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PIARMHEASÚNÚ

Is mór ag na heagarthóirí an cúnamh a fuarthas uathu siúd a rinne piarmheasúnú faoi rún ar na hailt atá san imleabhar seo.

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NEW CISALPINE CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM CANTON TICINO (CH)

Abstract

A presentation of two hitherto unpublished Cisalpine Celtic graffiti from Ticino, Switzerland (*LexLep* TI·55 and TI·56).

During an autopsy trip to Ticino, Switzerland, for the research project *Celtic Language and Identity in Northern Italy and the Alpine Region* in October 2023,[1] I was shown two unpublished graffiti, written in the Lepontic alphabet, from find places in the canton – one in storage at the Ufficio cantonale dei beni culturali in Bellinzona, one on exhibition in the Museo Castello di Montebello.[2] The present short paper presents the inscriptions, which have also been included in the digital edition *Lexicon Leponticum* (*LexLep*) with the sigla TI·55 and TI·56.

1. TI·55 (Tremona-Piasa).
Ufficio cantonale dei beni culturali (Bellinzona), inv. no. 240.006.13.

The object is a ceramic plate (max. diam. 17 cm, max. height 4.5 cm, foot diam. 6 cm), broken into multiple fragments, but complete (and reassembled). It was found in 2006 in tomb 2 of the late Iron-age and early Roman necropolis of Tremona-Piasa,[3] together with one iron and three bronze fibulae, an iron knife, assorted ceramics (one pot, one bowl, one beaker, one *vaso a trottola*, and one cup filled with fibulae and bearing a single character on the foot), and burned human and animal bones and ashes, which were also on the plate and in the bowl. The tomb appears to have been reused already in pre-Roman times, as the rectangular cist (40 × 25 cm), built of stone slabs of a type which belongs to the last pre-Roman phase of the necropolis, is set into the round pit of an earlier burial representing the oldest layer (see Cardani Vergani and Mosetti 2007: 175).

The sinistroverse inscription 𐌅𐌧𐌄𐌊 **katu** was written after firing on the outside bottom of the plate near the rim of the foot; it is upside-down, as is typical

[1]Funded by the European Union (Marie Skłodowska-Curie Postdoctoral Fellowship CLINIAR, project 101107478).

[2]My thanks are due to Moira Morinini Pè of the Ufficio cantonale dei beni culturali Bellinzona for hosting me, organising access to museums and sites and assisting with my work, and for permitting me to publish the inscriptions. I am also grateful to David Stifter and an anonymous reviewer for valuable observations.

[3]See Cardani Vergani (2007: 29), Cardani Vergani and Mosetti (2007) and Cardani Vergani (2008: 26–7) on the necropolis, where 37 cremation tombs were excavated in 2006 and 2007 in addition to four which had been found sporadically in the twentieth century (42 tombs altogether according to Bianchi (2017)).

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for late (La Tène C2/D) Cisalpine Celtic graffiti on open ceramic vessels.[4] It is *c*. 4.5 cm long; the letter height varies between 1.5 cm (*kappa*) and 2.5 cm (*upsilon*). The lines are not carved deeply, but neatly; a break runs through *alpha* and damages the upper tips of St Andrew's cross and *upsilon*. The letter shapes are the standard forms of the Lepontic alphabet; the hasta of *alpha* extends beyond the upper bar.[5]

The sequence **katu** can be analysed as a Celtic *on*-stem personal name in the nominative. Due to the orthographical ambiguities of the Lepontic alphabet, viz. the non-distinction of voiced and voiceless stops and the non-notation of /n/ before /t/ and of geminates, the base could in theory have multiple shapes (*k*/*gă*(*n*)*t*(*t*)/*d*(*d*)-). We can largely exclude the variants with voiced stops, as they find only sparse comparanda in Transalpine Gaul. Clear evidence for post-vocalic /d/ being spelled with St Andrew's cross in inscriptions after the fourth century BC being absent, it could also be argued (very tentatively) that inter-vocalic /d/ would be spelled with *san* in the present inscription (cf. Stifter 2010: 373). The most straightforward analysis of the name is *katū* (or maybe *kattū* with hypocoristic gemination), a short name formed from a dithematic name with first element *katu-* 'battle, fight' (cf. OIr. *cath* 'battle, fight'),[6] such as *CIL* XIII 11473 CATURICI (dat., Yverdon).[7] *katu-* is also otherwise attested in Cisalpine Celtic in BG·41.19 **katutiniois** (Carona),[8] BG·15 **katua** *kat*(*t*)*uā* (Parre; uncertain reading), and repeatedly in abbreviation **kat** (VA·29, BG·11, VR·4.1, NM·12). Also possible (as for the abbreviations just mentioned) is *kantū* from a name in *kanto*/*i-*, e.g. *CIL* XIII 4547 CANTOGNATI (gen., Neufgrange), *RIG* IV M-291 CANTORIX (coin legend), for which multiple etymologies are feasible (see Delamarre 2003: 103–5 on *kanti-* 'together with', *kanto-* 'hundred' and *kantos* 'circle [of the wheel], rim').

The name is likely to be that of the buried person, either inscribed as an owner's inscription on a personal item which was used as an urn, or on the occasion of the burial. It must be kept in mind, however, that not all inscriptions on grave furniture necessarily name the deceased; cases like TI·23 **setupokios** *se*(*n*)*tubog*(*i*)*i̯os* (m) and VA·13 **polios** (m) in the graves of women at Solduno and Arsago Seprio,[9] or VA·7 **ateuloipitus** (m) and VA·8 **anisa** *an*(*n*)*is*(*s*)*ā* (f) in the same grave at Somma Lombardo indicate that (presumably) owners' inscriptions could find their way into other peoples' tombs, e.g. on (funerary) gifts or inherited items.

[4] E.g. *LexLep* TI·2, TI·5, TI·8, VA·8, VA·13, VA·19, VA·21, VA·27, MI·1. All references to Lepontic inscriptions in this article will be by sigla in *LexLep*.

[5] Cf. e.g. VB·4, TI·21, VA·8, BG·24.

[6] See Delamarre (2003: 111), Matasović (2009: 195), *LEIA* C-47–8.

[7] See Holder (1896–1907: i, 837–65), Schmidt (1957: 167–9), Evans (1967: 171–5), Delamarre (2007: 216 *et passim*).

[8] See Eska (2024: 171).

[9] Crivelli (1939: 199), Binaghi Leva (1990: 34, 52–4).

2. TI·56 (GIUBIASCO-PALASIO).
MUSEO CASTELLO DI MONTEBELLO (BELLINZONA), INV. NO. 113.2013.1.

The *vaso a trottola* was found in tomb 21 of the late Iron-age necropolis of Giubiasco-Palasio (located *c*. 700 m south-west of the one near the train station, closer to the mountains), where 31 inhumations in 29 tombs, dated to the fourth to second century BC (La Tène B1–C2), were excavated before building work in 2013.[10] The tombs are rectangular, with walls constructed out of small stone blocks, and covered with stone slabs. Tomb 21, dated to La Tène C2 (second century BC, cf. Tori et al. 2022: 745), is one of three which were chosen for immediate analysis and restauration due to its rich furniture, which is currently exhibited in its entirety in the Museo Castello di Montebello in Bellinzona. It includes three bronze fibulae, a pair of bronze earrings with amber beads, a silver spiral ring and an iron chain belt (all on the body of the deceased), as well as a ceramic bowl and goblet (De Marinis type H) placed, with the inscribed bottle, at the feet of the body.[11] The perfectly preserved *vaso a trottola* (max. diam. 13.5 cm, mouth diam. 3.5 cm, foot diam. 7.3 cm, height 13 cm), type 2 in the system of Tori et al. (2010: 215–16), is decorated with four concentric circles around the widest section and three around the neck, painted in reddish-brown colour (drawing in Tori et al. 2022: 746, fig. 1). On its foot is scratched a single character in the shape 𐌇 (with one hasta and the upper bar prolonged) – this element, which joins a plethora of similar more or less script-like 'marks' on the Iron-age pottery of the North Italic region, is unlikely to represent writing, but may be a manufacturer's sign.[12]

Sinistroverse 𐌉𐌗𐌀𐌗 **tati** is inscribed in tall letters (height 3–4 cm, length of inscription 3.5 cm) on the bottom of the bottle. The letters feature a few prolonged lines, and some additional scratches disturb the inscription – a reviewer notes that, when factoring in one of these scratches, a reading of the last letter as *upsilon* 𐌅 rather than *iota* seems possible. While it is not admissible to summarily exclude this possibility, the scratch in question is considerably fainter than the others and crosses both lines of preceding St Andrew's cross. The letter shapes are the standard forms of the Lepontic alphabet, but the placement of the inscription on the bottom is untypical for inscriptions on *vasi a trottola*, which are more often placed on the shoulder;[13] BS·19 (Remedello) and CO·66 (Como) on the undersides of *vasi a trottola* are both upside-down, while TI·56 is upright.

The sequence **tati** may be a personal name in the genitive *-ī*, though an abbreviation seems more likely, as clear genitive forms are not otherwise attested in the graffiti from the Ticino necropoleis.[14] As in the case of **katu**,

[10] See Cardani Vergani (2014) and, in greater detail, Tori et al. (2022).

[11] See Mosetti (2016: 6–7) and Tori et al. (2022: 743, with drawings of the objects at p. 746) for details about the tomb.

[12] *Pace* Tori et al. (2022: 743), who read 𐌉𐌀 **ai**.

[13] In the Ticino e.g. TI·12, 13, 14 at Giubiasco-Stazione and TI·21, 24 at Solduno.

[14] Probable four-letter abbreviations of names are TI·14 **plai** (Giubiasco), TI·15 **riop** (Giubiasco) and TI·24 **śium** (Solduno). If the reading should indeed be **tatu**, an interpretation as an *on*-stem (as with **katu** above) would be possible.

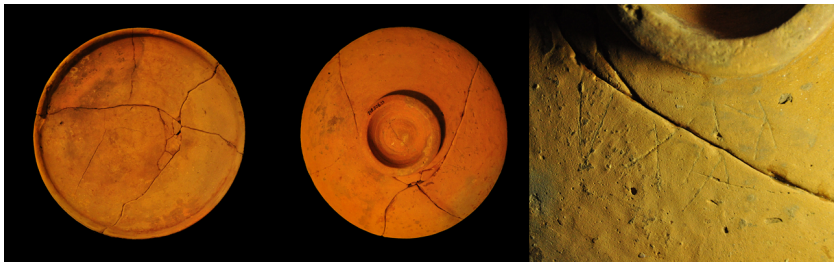


Fig. 1: TI·55 (Tremona-Piasa), object and inscription.



Fig. 2: TI·56 (Giubiasco-Palasio), object and inscription.

the ambiguous letters allow for multiple readings (*t*/*dă*(*n*)*t*(*t*)/*d*(*d*)-). The best candidates are *dăt*- (or, with hypocoristic gemination, *datt*-), cf. DATOS (potter's name, Bavay), DATUSIO (potter's name, Trèves), *CIL* XII 2770 DATTOUIR (Laudun), and *tăt*- (*tatt*-), cf. *RIG* IV M-278 TATINOS (coin legend of the Ruteni), *CIL* XIII 8221 TATICENUS (Cologne), XIII 11978 TATICONI (dat., Urmitz), III 5350 TATUCAE (dat., Kaindorf), *RIU* V 1208 TATUNI[s] (gen., Dunaujvaros) (see Delamarre 2007: 219, 233–4 *et passim*).[15] Both bases are etymologically obscure, but *tat*- is plausibly connected to the *Lallwort* for 'father' (OIr *tata*, W *tad*, see Holder 1896–1907: ii, 1751) by Meid (2005: 291–2). Theoretically, the name could of course also be non-Celtic and borrowed from a substrate language.

Concerning the inscription's function, what was said above about TI·55 also applies here. If **tati** is an *o*-stem name *dat*(*i̯i̯*)*os** or *tat*(*i̯i̯*)*os** *uel sim.* in the genitive, it is, like *se*(*n*)*tubog*(*i*)*i̯os* at Solduno, a masculine name on a piece of grave furniture in a woman's tomb, possibly the owner's inscription of a male relative; if it is an abbreviation, it may of course be that of a woman's name.

ABBREVIATIONS

CIL	MOMMSEN, THEODOR et al. (eds) 1863–: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin).
LexLep	STIFTER, DAVID, SALOMON, CORINNA, BRAUN, MARTIN, et al. (eds) 2009–: *Lexicon Leponticum*, https://lexlep.univie.ac.at (accessed 16 October 2024).
RIB	*Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/ (accessed 16 October 2024).
RIG IV	COLBERT DE BEAULIEU, JEAN-BAPTISTE and FISCHER, BRIGITTE (eds) 1998: *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises IV: Les légendes monétaires* (Paris).
RIU	BARKÓCZI, LÁSZLÓ et al. (eds) 1972–2001: *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, 6 vols (Amsterdam, Budapest, Bonn).

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CARDANI VERGANI, ROSSANA 2007: 'Ricerche archeologiche in Cantone Ticino nel 2006', *Bollettino dell'Associazione Archeologica Ticinese* 19, 28–31.

[15] TADIUS, TADIA are attested in a British inscription (*RIB*-369, Isca Silurum); a few forms in *tant*- are listed by Holder (1896–1907: ii, 1723).

——, 2008: 'Ricerche archeologiche in Cantone Ticino nel 2007', *Bollettino dell'Associazione Archeologica Ticinese* 20, 26–31.

——, 2014: 'Ricerche archeologiche in Cantone Ticino nel 2013', *Bollettino dell'Associazione Archeologica Ticinese* 26, 28–33.

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TECHNICAL SIGNS AND *SIGNES DE RENVOI* IN ROME, BAV, REG. LAT. 49 (SAEC. X^{EX}; BRITTANY?)[1]

Abstract

This case study of the technical signs and *signes de renvoi* in Rome, BAV, Reg. lat. 49 (R) describes their forms, functions, and possible origins, referencing the work of P.-Y. Lambert, M. B. Parkes, and E. Steinová. The primary annotator may have drawn from at least two sign collections. The sign inventory may help locate R in the scribal community that produced it by exploring possible links with sign collections in contemporary manuscripts from different regions.

Introduction

Rome, BAV, Reg. lat. 49 (R),[2] a compilation of fifty-six Latin insular and non-insular religious texts, is a late-tenth-century manuscript of possible Breton origin transcribed by a scribe calling himself 'Guilhelm' (fol. 53rb27–8).[3] It has been of interest to modern scholars since 1913, but except for an

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 41st Annual Harvard Celtic Colloquium at Harvard University on 8 October 2022. I am grateful to the anonymous reader for valuable suggestions. I would like to thank Dr Christina Cleary for sending me a pdf of her article ('Critical notes and signs'). Any remaining errors are my responsibility alone.

[2] A digital facsimile of the manuscript Rome, BAV, Reg. lat. 49 is available online at *DigiVatLib*, at the URL: https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Reg.lat.49 (accessed 10 December 2022). A description of the manuscript is in Wilmart (1937: 112–17). The folio numbers used here are those in the upper right corner of the folio recto. The appendix to this paper offers an updated list of the contents of manuscript R, following a revision carried out in 2023.

[3] Scholars have suggested a range of dates (from the end of the ninth century to the end of the tenth century) and geographic origins for this manuscript. Bannister (1913: §118) suggested a probable tenth-century date. Wilmart (1933: 29, 31) proposed the end of the ninth century as *la date la plus haute* ('the earliest possible date') and the tenth century as *plus probable* ('more probable'), expressing a preference for the first half of the tenth century, with origin in a scribal centre in Wales, Cornwall, Armorica, or a Frankish foundation frequented by Celtic scholars, such as Fleury-sur-Loire. In his catalogue (1937: 112), Wilmart adopted the tenth-century date and origin in Brittany or the British Isles. Bischoff assigned it to ninth-century Brittany (1966: 216 = 1976: 82), but later to ninth- or tenth-century Brittany (2014: §6608). Deuffic (1985: §109) opted for Brittany and a date range between 850 and 950. Others adopted a tenth-century date but differed over the strength of the evidence for a Breton origin (Lemoine 2001: 265 [Brittany]; (*DigiVatLib*: https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/313227 [Brittany (?)]). *IrCaBriTT* adopted an end-of-the-ninth-century date or a tenth-century date and accepted a probable Breton origin (https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/189) (accessed 14 December 2022). An anonymous palaeographer, whom McNamara (1994: 197) consulted in 1991, dated the manuscript to the 'second half of the tenth century' and described the script as 'English, English Caroline minuscule'. Most convincing as to date is Leonard Boyle, who in 1992 wrote McNamara (1994: 197) that the 'ubiquitous' cedilla 'definitely' dates this manuscript to the 'late tenth century'. Finding its 'mixture of caroline script,

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examination of two glosses now believed to be Breton, none has discussed the marginal and interlinear additions, both verbal and non-verbal, that the scribe and contemporary scholars added to correct, gloss, and clarify the meaning of the text.[4] A construer added *signes de grammaire* to identify syntactical, grammatical, and logical units. Annotators added technical signs and *signes de renvoi* that fall into four categories: I (Technical Signs), II (*Signes de renvoi*: Cross-Reference Marks), III (*Signes de renvoi*: *Appels de note*), IV (*Signes de renvoi*: Omissions and Corrections). This case study of the technical signs and *signes de renvoi* in R has a three-fold goal. The first is to inventory the graphic symbols from a single manuscript (R), describing their forms, their functions, and their origins, where possible. The second goal is to situate R, whose origin is uncertain, but whose scribe may have been acquainted with

insular tricks and insular symbols intriguing', he speculated that the continental scribe Guilhelm could have been working in an Irish monastery. Bauer (2008: 183) adopted a date *vom Ende des 10 Jh.* ('from the end of the tenth century). Lindsay, in a letter to Joseph Loth (1915–16: 411), had already dated this manuscript to *la dernière partie du Xe siècle* ('the last part of the tenth century') because *[l]es caractères sont du type de la minuscule continentale qui était aussi en usage dans les Isles Britanniques au Xe siècle* ('the characters are of the type of continental minuscule that was also in use in the British Isles in the tenth century'). He noted, moreover, that the insular abbreviations in the manuscript were used in both the British Isles and Brittany at this time.

[4]Two vernacular extra-textual glosses exist, which Loth believed were Co, but which Fleuriot later confirmed were OBr. The designations 25R and 26R *infra* refer to the individual texts in R where these glosses are found. The 'Appendix: Contents List' at the end of this article has basic information about each of R's texts.

(1) 25R, fol. 21rb29^mg: *Ita terre motus factus est .i. fracta est summitas inferni cum resurgerent mortui, uicto rege illius* ('So the earthquake happened, that is, the highest part of hell was broken open when the dead rose after its king had been defeated'): *summitas* is glossed by *.i. guorcher*. Preceding his analysis of the non-scribal neumes accompanying the Antiphon to the Magnificat for the feast of St Martin on the back flyleaf (fol. 54v), Bannister (1913: §118) mentioned that the vernacular *quorcher* was *probabilmente* added as a gloss of *summitas* but did not specify its language although he stated that the *probabilmente* tenth-century scribe was *un Irlandese del continent*. Loth (1915–16: 411–12) cited a private communication from Lindsay, who corrected Bannister's spelling of the gloss (*guorcher* not *quorcher*) and believed it to be Brittonic, but whether W, Co, or Br, he could not say. Loth speculated that *guorcher* was a non-extant Co word related to '*gorhery*, couvrir'. Wilmart (1933: 31) mentioned Loth's inclination toward *guorcher* being a Co word. Fleuriot (1985: 198) accepted it as OBr with the meanings *couvercle, surface, partie supérieure* ('lid, cover, surface, upper part'); the OCo form would have been **worcher*. Peter Schrijver (1995: 113, 120) confirmed *guorcher* as OBr.

(2) 26R, fol. 32va12: *Ipse oblatus est super altare crucis pro capite prolis Adae* ('He sacrificed himself upon the altar of the cross on behalf of the race of Adam'): *pro capite* is glossed by *.i. tra pen*. In a private communication (12 May 1932) Wilmart queried Loth about an interlinear gloss *.i. trapen* over *(pro) capite (prolis Adae)*. Loth (1933: 357–8) identified it as Brittonic, gave the meaning of the MW as *par dessus la tête* ('over the head'), and added his understanding of the full sentence: *Le sacrifice du Christ se serait étendu par-dessus la tête de la race d'Adam, sur la race tout entière* ('Christ's sacrifice would have extended *over the head of the race of Adam*', that is, 'over the whole race'). Wilmart (1933: 47 and 1937: 117) mentioned this gloss again. Both Loth and Wilmart took *.i. trapen* to be a gloss of *capite* alone rather than of *pro capite*. Grosjean (1936: 116) clarified that *tra* glossed *pro* and had a meaning found frequently *dans toutes les langues brittoniques. C'est le sens requis par le context, celui de la préposition latine sur laquelle porte la glose, pro, 'en faveur de'* ('[…] in all the Brittonic languages. It is the sense required by the context, that of the Latin preposition on which the gloss rests, *pro*, 'in favour of'). Fleuriot (1985: 318) confirmed that the OBr phrase *tra pen* 'à cause de, en faveur de' ('due to, in favour of') glossed the Latin phrase *pro capite*, understood literally as 'pour la tête de' ('for the head of'), comparing it to the Br expression *diwar benn* 'au sujet de' ('about').

Breton practices, within the scribal community that produced it, by exploring any possible affiliations between R's inventory and the sign collections in contemporary manuscripts from various geographic regions. The third goal is to examine the possibility that Guilhelm, the scribe and chief annotator, used sign collections himself and to list their contents.

TECHNICAL SIGNS AND *SIGNES DE RENVOI*: TERMINOLOGY

Technical signs were graphic symbols added in the margin next to the text in a manuscript. They had no inherent meaning but were assigned their functions by members of the 'professional groups of sign users in Antiquity', Late Antiquity, and 'the Early Middle Ages' (Steinová 2019: 55). The Late Antique 'tradition of sign use was transmitted […] to early medieval scriptoria', whose Christian scribes 'regionalized' both the forms and the functions of the technical signs that they inherited (Steinová 2019: 195–6).

> *Signe de renvoi*, meaning 'sign of return', is a term for a visual mark […] that links a location in a text to a corresponding correction, annotation, or cross-reference in the margin. The 'return' refers to the reader's practice of leaving the primary text to read the annotation and then returning to the primary text. (Neudorf and Liu 2016)

This term encompasses different uses, all expressing the idea of repetition. The symbol is always doubled. R's three categories of *signes de renvoi* use graphic symbols repurposed from available collections of technical signs, borrowed from existing collections of *signes de renvoi*, or freshly created.

(1) The *signe de renvoi* can signal a cross reference. The annotator's signs facilitate the identification of two or more widely separated places in the text (not in the same column) where the same word or subject is discussed or where the same quotation appears (Lambert 1987: 223, 226). In his study of St Gallen, Stiftsbibl., 904, Lambert (1987: 217) restricted the term *signe de renvoi* to a system of cross-references, *destinés à faciliter l'utilisation d'un épais codex* ('intended to facilitate the use of a large codex').

(2) It can be an *appel de note*, a doubled symbol linking a word in the main text to a marginal gloss.[5] This is the type of *signe de renvoi* that Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.21.28, is referring to when he explains that the *signe de renvoi* in the margin introduces 'an explanation of the same word or line' in the text that has 'a similar mark lying above it':

> Fiunt et aliae notulae librorum pro agnoscendis his quae per extremitates paginarum exponuntur, ut, ubi lector in liminare

[5]Lambert (1987: 225) cited Draak (1957: 274), who called them 'reference marks' because they 'have their partners, their twins, in the margins, and they never have more than one partner'.

> huiusmodi signum invenerit, ad textum recurrens eiusdem sermonis vel versiculi sciat esse expositionem, cuius similem superiacentem notam invenerit. (IS ety 1.21.28)
>
> 'There are also other small marks (i.e. signes de renvoi) made in books for drawing attention to things that are explained at the edges of the pages, so that when the reader finds a sign of this type in the margin he may know that it is an explanation of the same word or line that he finds with a similar mark lying above it when he turns back to the text.' (Barney, et al. 2010: 51)

Lambert (1987: 225) insisted that the *appel de note* was functionally different from the true *signe de renvoi* used for cross reference:

> [L]es appels de note sont généralement des signes plus petits et plus simples, composés de points, traits ou virgules. […] La lecture (la compréhension) de ces appels de notes est généralement immédiate, parce qu'il est évident que l'on trouve le signe correspondant deux fois dans la même page. […]
>
> 'The *appels de note* are generally smaller and simpler signs, composed of points, dashes, or commas. […] The reading (the understanding) of these *appels de notes* is generally immediate because it is evident that one finds the corresponding sign twice on the same page. […]'

The true *signe de renvoi*, on the other hand, cross-references one passage in the main text with another passage in the main text:

> [L]es véritables signes de renvois renvo[ient] d'un endroit du texte principal à un autre endroit du même texte de Priscien.
>
> 'The real reference signs refer from one place in the main text to another place in the same text of Priscian.'

Still, scholars generally count the *appel de note* and other doubled marks as *signes de renvoi* because they link a word or space in the text to an annotation in the margin.

(3) It can be a 'graphic symbol marking a place' in the text 'where a correction or insertion is to be made'; the same symbol, usually added in the margin, 'introduces the corrected text or insertion' (*HMML School*, 'Lexicon: Signe-de-renvoi'. Online at the URL: https://hmmlschool.org/lexicon/14740 [accessed 4 June 2022]).

List of manuscripts mentioned in this paper, listed by approximate date[6]

[6]Unless otherwise indicated, the first bibliographical entry supplies the information regarding date, origin, and provenance.

CATHACH OF COLUMBA, DUBLIN, RIA, 12 R 33 AL., (suggested dates of saec. VI^{2}, saec. VI^{ex}, saec. VII^{1}, saec. VII^{med}; 'origin Iona'). (*CLH* §12; https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/585). A digital facsimile of the manuscrit is available online at the URL: https://www.isos.dias.ie/RIA/RIA_MS_12_R_33.html (accessed 29 September 2024).

SAINT-OMER, BIBL. MUN., 342*BIS*, FOL. B (saec. VII/VIII [Lowe], saec. VII^{ex} [Parkes]; 'origin Ireland or Wales' [Lowe], 'copied in Ireland' [Parkes]; 'provenance St Bertin') (*CLH* §47, 61; https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1243; Parkes 1993: 25, 176–7; *CLA* vi, §826). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available online at the URL: https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md257d27cc2q (accessed 10 May 2024).

Punctuation system: | . | : · |

THE BOOK OF MULLING, TCD, A 1.15 (60 OLIM) (saec. VII^{ex} or saec. VIII^{2} (?) or saec. VIII/IX; 'origin Tech Moling now St Mullins [Co. Carlow]') (*CLH* §14; O'Neill 1984: 16–17). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available at the URL: https://doi.org/10.48495/9019s695d (accessed 26 September 2024).

Punctuation system: | . | : | .. | :~ |

ROME, BAV, PAL. LAT. 68 (saec. VIII; origin Northumbria; provenance Lorsch or Mainz) (*ASM* §909; Steinová 2017: 43, 76). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available online at *DigiVatLib*, at the URL: https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Pal.lat.68 (accessed 30 April 2024).

Punctuation system: | . | .. | ... | : · |

ST PETERSBURG, RUSSIAN NATIONAL LIBRARY, Q.V.XIV.1 (saec. VIII^{1}; origin Northumbria [Lindisfarne?]; provenance Corbie) (*ASM* §847; *CLA* xi, §1622; Parkes 1993: 28).

Punctuation system: | . | : | .., | :, | : · |

WÜRZBURG, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBL., M. P. TH. F. 12 (saec. VIII$^{med.}$ or saec. VIII^{ex}; 'origin Ireland') (*CLH* §800; Steinová 2017: 43–4, 77). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available online at the URL: http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/mpthf12/ueber.html (accessed 1 May 2024). A collotype facsimile is available in Stern (1910).

Punctuation system: | . | .. | ... | .., | : · |

MILAN, BIBL. AMBROSIANA, C 301 INF. (saec. IX$^{1/4}$; 'origin Ireland, perhaps Bangor, possibly Leinster') (*CLH* §343; Steinová 2017: 44, 77). A collotype facsimile of this manuscript is available in Best (1936).

Punctuation system (approximation): | . | .. | .~ | ... | ..~ | :~ | : · | ·:· |

ST GALLEN, STIFTSBIBL., 48 (saec. IX$^{2/4}$; 'Continent, perhaps northern Italy') (Steinová 2017: 42, 69–70; *CLH* §491). A digital facsimile of this manuscript

is available online at the URL: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0048 (accessed 1 May 2024).

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. perg. 132 ('AD 826 × 848'; 'origin southern Ireland or a southern Irish settlement near Soissons; provenance Reichenau') (*CLH* §802; Steinová 2017: 43, 74). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available online at the URL: https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/titleinfo/64199 (accessed 1 May 2024).

Punctuation system: | . | .. | ... | ....~ |

Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibl., A 145b al. (saec. IX$^{2/3}$ [Steinová]; 'origin probably St Gall') (*CLH* §487; Steinová 2017: 42, 71–2). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available online at the URL: https://digital.slub-dresden.de/id274591448/1 (accessed 26 September 2024).

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. perg. 195 (saec. IX$^{med.}$; 'origin Ireland; provenance Reichenau') (*CLH* §811; Steinová 2017: 43, 75). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available online at the URL: https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/titleinfo/3298726 (accessed 1 May 2024).

St Gallen, Stiftsbibl., 904 al (AD 850–1 [Ó Néill]; 'origin Ireland, perhaps Nendrum or Bangor; in Cologne in the time of bishop Gunther (850–69) and probably did not reach St Gall before the end of the ninth century') (*CLH* §805; Ó Néill 2000: 178; Steinová 2017: 44, 77–8). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available online at the URL: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0904 (accessed 6 June 2022).

Punctuation system: | . | , | .. | „ |

Basel, Universitätbibl., A VII 3 (saec. IX$^{3/4}$ [Steinová]; 'origin probably a North Italian scriptorium under Irish influence, possibly Bobbio, and brought to St Gall *c.* AD 850; provenance St Gall') (*CLH* §489; Steinová 2017: 42, 70–1). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available online at the URL: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/searchresult/list/one/ubb/A-VII-0003 (accessed 1 May 2024).

Bern, Burgerbibl., 363 ('AD 855 × 869; an Irish scriptorium in Northern Italy') (*CLH* §459; Steinová 2017: 42, 72–4). A collotype facsimile of the manuscript is available in Hagen (1897).

Paris, BnF, lat. 10290 (saec. IX^{2}; Northern Francia: Saint-Germain-des-Prés?, Soissons?) (*IrCaBriTT*, DHBM #146; *CLH* §803). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available online at the URL: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84790031 (accessed 1 May 2024).

Punctuation system: | . | : | .' | .., |

Paris, BnF, lat. 10289 (saec. IX^{ex}/X^{in}; Brittany?: Redon?, North-Western Francia?: Chartres?) (*IrCaBriTT*, DHBM #145). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available online at the URL: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10550775c (accessed 1 May 2024).

Punctuation system: | . | ⁝ | ; |

Rome, BAV, Reg. lat. 49 (saec. X^{ex} [Boyle]; Brittany ('probably') [*IrCaBriTT*]) (McNamara 1994: 197; *IrCaBriTT*, DBHM #189). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available online at *DigiVatLib*, at the URL: https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Reg.lat.49 (accessed 10 December 2022).

Punctuation system: | . | .. | ., | : | .., | : · |

Editorial treatment of the excerpts from R

I have adopted the following practices in regard to the editing and translation of the Latin excerpts from R.

Edited excerpts

For categories I (Technical Signs) and II (Cross-Reference Marks) the original layout of each passage is retained in order to show the position of these marginal signs in relation to the entire excerpt. Retaining the layout for categories III (*Appels de Note*) and IV (Omissions and Corrections) is not necessary because a marginal sign joined to a brief comment (III) or omission or correction (IV) pairs with the same interlinear sign joined to a word or space in the text where the comment or omission/correction belongs. In categories I–III, to aid in reading the excerpts, proper names and lemmata are capitalised, and the Bible verses are identified by quotation marks, but the original punctuation and capitalization (or lack of it) are otherwise retained. Category IV presents diplomatic, edited, and translated versions of the excerpts. Each diplomatic version keeps separate the incomplete text and the omission added in the margin while linking them together through the annotator's paired omission marks. The edited version assembles the two parts into the scribe's intended statement.

Translations

The English translations of quotations from the Vulgate translation of the Hebrew Bible are from the Challoner-Douay version (*The Holy Bible* 2007). The English translations of quotations from the Vulgate translation of the New Testament are from the revision of the Challoner-Rheims (*The Holy Bible* 1948). Unless otherwise indicated, translations of other passages from R are my own.

Notation conventions

« » doubled carets enclose the lemma identifier, e.g., «Io 20, 26».
( ) parentheses enclose the Bible verse identifier, e.g., (Io 6, 20).
{ } curly brackets enclose glosses, technical signs, and *signes de renvoi.*

\ / diagonal lines enclose interlinear glosses.

| a vertical bar marks the end of a line in the manuscript.

< > carets enclose words omitted in R and supplied from the source, e.g., *flos* <*lilii*>.

[ ] square brackets indicate letters or words added to the text or translation by the editor, e.g., [i.e., *fragrantia*].

[ ] square brackets also indicate correction to the Latin text by *intentional* scribal cancellation through washing, scraping, pouncing, or the *punctum delens*, or where the correction is written over the cancelled word or letter, e.g., [ualet/uult] means 'ualet *corr. e* uult'.

[*] square brackets enclose asterisks to indicate the estimated number of intentionally deleted letters that are illegible in the Latin text.

⟦ ⟧ doubled square brackets indicate illegible text from *accidental* loss, e.g., tearing, trimming, staining, fading. Where possible, text is restored from the source, e.g., ⟦nos⟧.

⟦*⟧ doubled square brackets enclose asterisks to indicate the estimated number of letters lost through accidental damage.

TECHNICAL SIGNS AND *SIGNES DE RENVOI* IN R

R has three annotators. Annotator[1], Guilhelm the scribe, added the majority of the technical signs and *signes de renvoi*. Annotator[2] added the cross[2] technical sign (I.C.1–16), characterized by thin cross strokes in reddish ink. Annotator[3], the rubricator, added one *signe de renvoi* (IV.J.2).[7] Steinová (2019: 196) observed that early medieval scribes, trained as they were in sign use, would add the technical signs as part of the transcription process:

> [S]cribal sign use was so widespread and overall of such a high quality and consistency in the Carolingian period (among both insular and Frankish users) that it is clear that knowledge of scribal conventions was common among the Christian literary elite. In fact, the absence of signs in a manuscript is atypical. […]

In this Guilhelm was like his predecessors and contemporaries. Moreoever, based on a comparison of the ink and scripts in both text and margin, he added not just the majority of the technical signs, but the *signes de renvoi* as well.[8]

[7] The two categories and subcategories mentioned *supra* (I.C and IV.J) belong to the categories of signs described in the rest of the article.

[8] I concluded that Guilhelm the scribe and Annotator[1] were the same person for the following reasons:

1. The ink used to add the technical signs and *signes de renvoi* matches the dark brown-black ink used by the scribe.

2. The scribal hand and the script of the *signes de renvoi* are the same.

(a) The ascender of *b*, *d*, *h*, *l* is a flat-angle (verging on wedged). It is not clubbed.

(b) The descender of *q* ends in a slightly angled point.

(c) The waist of *f* and tall *s* is not well articulated.

(d) The neck of *f* and tall *s* is narrow and ends in a short, angled hook.

(e) The bowl of *b* and *p* is circular.

Each entry includes Category (I–IV), Subcategory (A–M), Item Number (1–36). Then follow the Text Number ending in R (for a fuller description, see 'Appendix: Contents List'), Folio Number, and Line Number where the technical sign or *signe de renvoi* is located in the digital facsimile. For example, **IV.G.1:** 4R, fol. 7va25$^{mg.\ s.}$ shows a double punctus {:} used to mark an omission. To locate a sign in the digital facsimile, use the hand-written number added to the upper, right-hand corner of each folio recto (not the 'official' number stamped on the lower, right-hand corner).

I. TECHNICAL SIGNS

Early medieval technical sign

I.A: ⸭ *asteriscus* cross with two points (*asteriscus*: Steinová 2017: 58; 2019: 204–6) (cross: Steinová 2017: 47; 2019: 209)

This could be one of two technical signs: either an '*asteriscus* cross with two points' related to the '*asteriscus* cross with four points' (my terms), the latter symbol counted by Steinová (2019: 204) as a variant of the *asteriscus*; or a 'cross with two points', related to the 'cross with four points' (my terms), the latter counted by Steinová (2019: 209) as a variant of the cross. She (2019: 205) described the asteriscus in papyri as 'a text-structuring sign marking lesser breaks in the text'. This convention is the origin of the practice in Western manuscripts of using the *asteriscus* to mark the beginning of a lesson or new section. It also serves as an omission sign (Steinová 2019: 205–6). Additionally, Jerome used the *asteriscus* 'to mark differences between Greek and Hebrew texts of the Psalter' (Steinová 2017: 58). When both the *asteriscus* and the cross (I.B infra) are drawn as 'crosses with four points' and used as text-structuring signs that mark the beginning of a passage, neither appearance nor use distinguishes them. In the case of R's 'cross with two points' as a text-structuring sign, I have chosen to categorize it as a variant of the *asteriscus*.

I.A.1: 28R, fol. 36rb3$^{mg.\ d.}$

TEXT: Egrotos pestifero peccati ueneno prostratos.
uerbo uini ueri salutifero curauit dicendo.., .i. ⸭
COLUMNE CAELI CONTREMESCENT ET PAUENT AD NU
MENTUM EIUS. […] huius .v. ciuitates loquuntur lingua motata quod

(f) The bowl of *d* and *q* is an elongated oval.

(g) The head of *g* is a narrowed eye slit with a short tail. A short, straight neck joins the head to the bowl, which is an ample, unclosed circle

(h) Wilmart (1933: 37 n. 15; 81 n. 6; 47 n. 3; 61 n. 12) mentioned four instances where the scribe added marginal notes and interlinear glosses: 15R, fol. 18ra36$^{mg.\ med.}$ (III.D.1); 39R, fol. 24va28 'in cantico legitur *in mg.*'; 26R, fol. 32va12 '.i. trapen *sup.* pro capite'; 28R, fol. 36rb29 '.i. esaias *add. sup.* In die'.

3. In support of Steinová's conclusion that scribes added technical signs to the manuscripts they transcribed, one clue suggests that Guilhelm did as well. The transom of cross[1] (I.B.2: 26R, fol. 32vb33$^{mg.\ med.}$) has the same upturn at one end and the same downturn at the other end as the cross-stroke used to abbreviate *Ioh(annem)* in the top margin of fol. 32vb, where it is part of the heading, *S(e)c(un)d(u)m Ioh(annem)*.

interpretatur Chanan., si quis uult uenire post me reliqua.. Quid est ut nos ipsos abnegemus nisi uitia quae sumus occidamus.

Translation: 'With the saving word of the true vine he has cured those who are sick, laid low by the deadly poison of sin, by saying, that is,'

> «Ib 26, 11» 'the pillars of heaven tremble and quake with fear at his nod. […] The five cities of this [land of Egypt] speak in a changed language, which is called Canaanite' (cfr Is 19, 18).

«Mt 16, 24» 'if anyone wishes to come after me, and the rest. What is it to deny ourselves if not to kill the vices that we are?'

Notes: 28R is a passage of reordered excerpts from Bede, *In Lucae Euangelium Expositio*, 5.19 and 6.21–2 on the End Times that the exegete applied to Ib 26, 11.[9] It intrudes into the middle of 27R, a sermon on discipleship (Mt 16, 24), where *dicendo*, followed by an end-of-section pause (a triple mark ..,) and an .i. *nota* are set to introduce a Bible verse. This intrusion of 28R ends mid-line, forty-three lines later (fol. 36va6), marked by an end-of-sentence pause (a double mark .,), after which the sermon resumes without warning (*si quis uult uenire post me*), finally providing the Bible verse introduced on fol. 36rb3 by *dicendo.., .i.* When the scribe realises that the sermon is contaminated by a second text, he adds a text-structuring sign { ⸬ } to alert the reader that the section following is separate from the discipleship sermon. Unfortunately, he fails to add a second sign { ⸬ } that shows where the interpolation ends. I have indented the interpolation in the translation for easier identification.

Early medieval technical sign

I.B: ✠ cross[1]: bold 'Greek' cross (Steinová 2017: 47–8; 2019: 209)

The cross is a frequent technical sign in medieval manuscripts (Steinová 2017: 47). Apparently 'a generic graphic symbol since Antiquity', it was used for many purposes and consequently lacked a specific function (Steinová 2019: 209). This may be why Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 1.21: *De notis sententiarum* (IS ety) does not include it in his catalogue of technical signs. In papyri they are 'text-division, omission, and correction signs'. In Late Antique and early medieval manuscripts they are 'excerption signs', 'attention signs' and text-structuring signs that identify 'scriptural quotations, […] lessons, […] the end of patristic quotations, […] the beginning of new sections' (Steinová 2019: 209). In three manuscripts in Irish minuscule that Steinová (2017: 47–8) examined, it serves as a text-structuring sign to 'mark the beginning of new sections' or 'lessons': Rome, BAV, Pal. lat. 68; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. perg. 132; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. perg. 195. In R both Annotator[1] and Annotator[2] treat the cross as an attention sign and a text-structuring sign.

I.B.1: 1R, fol. 4va35[mg. s.]

Text: Qui uult orationem | ✠ suam uolare ad Deum. Faciat illi duas alas. Elumosina et ieiunium et ascendet celeriter et exaudietur..

[9] BED Lc: 369, ll. 267–70; 372, ll. 367–76; 374, ll. 457–67; 339, ll. 1721–36.

TRANSLATION: 'And he who wants his prayer to fly to God, let him make two wings for it, alms and fasting, and it will climb quickly and be heard.'

NOTES: Cross[1] as an attention sign marks this sentence as one to remember: A prayer's two wings of alms and fasting will quickly bring it to God's attention.

I.B.2: 26R, fol. 32vb33[mg. med.]
TEXT: in Hie | ✠ rusalem: Ipsa est ergo .vi. ostensio quae narratur. hic | de qua dicit Iohannes: POST DIES VIII ITERUM ERANT DISCIPULI | INTUS ET TOMAS CUM EIS:

TRANSLATION: '[…] to Jerusalem. So, this is the sixth appearance that is related here, about which John says:' «Io 20, 26» 'AFTER EIGHT DAYS THE DISCIPLES WERE AGAIN INSIDE, AND THOMAS WITH THEM.'

NOTES: The homily concerns Christ's post-resurrection appearance to Thomas and the other disciples (Io 20, 26–31). Having just listed Christ's ten post-resurrection appearances, the homilist returns to his main subject by noting it is Christ's sixth appearance that is related here. Cross[1] functions as a text-structuring sign, drawing the reader back to the subject of the homily.

Early medieval technical sign
I.C: 𐆙 **cross[2]**: fine-nibbed, light reddish-brown cross by Annotator[2]

I.C.1: 13R, fol. 14rb1[mg. med.]
TEXT: 𐆙 CUM APPROPINQUASSENT. heret. "egredientibus illis | ab Iericho.."

TRANSLATION: «Mt 21, 1» 'WHEN THEY DREW NEAR joins to: "As they were leaving Jericho" ' (Mt 20, 29).

NOTES: This homily on Palm Sunday (Mt 21, 1–17) opens with the full pericope (fol. 14ra3–40). Annotator[2] uses cross[2] as a text-structuring sign to mark the first line of historical exegesis in the next column.

I.C.2: 15R, fol. 18rb4[mg. med.]
TEXT: 𐆙 gratias post cibaria.., IN MONTEM OLIUETI. osten | dit quod qui inebriatus fuerit calice Domini laudat | Dominum .i. uino scripturae sanctae et ille ascendit in lo | cum ubi laboris refectio .i. regnum caeli ibi | doloris solacium ac ueri luminis notitia habetur | .i. uerum lumen quod non habet finem..

TRANSLATION: '[…] thanks after the food.' «Mt 26, 30» '<THEY WENT OUT> TO MOUNT OLIVET. It shows that whoever has become drunk from the Lord's cup praises the Lord, that is, from the wine of Holy Scripture, and he climbs up to a place where refreshment from labour, that is, the kingdom of heaven, solace from sorrow, and the notice of the true light are found there, that is, the true light, which does not have an end.'

NOTES: In this homily on Maundy Thursday (Mt 26, 20–30) cross[2] suggests that the lemma (*IN MONTEM OLIUETI*) and allegorical commentary are important to the annotator. The person who drinks the wine of Scripture and climbs thereby

to the kingdom of heaven will find rest from labour, comfort from sorrow, and the true, eternal light.

I.C.3: 18R, fol. 18va20–1[mg. s.]
TEXT: Et sicut per hanc lectionem primus Adam de terra creari ostenditur.. Ita in hac sollemnitate .iii.[a] | ⊀ natiuitas secundi Adae .i. Christi facta est.. Ter enim natus est Christus. pri | mo ex patre secundum diuinitatem. secundo ex Maria uirgine secundum | carnem. iii.[o] ex utero terrae in resurrectione sicut in hac sollemnitate completum est..

TRANSLATION: 'And just as through this reading the first Adam is revealed to be created from the earth, so in this festival did the third birth of the second Adam, that is, of Christ, happen. For Christ was born three times: first, from the Father according to the divinity; second, from the Virgin Mary according to the flesh; third, from the womb of the earth in the resurrection, just as it has been accomplished in this festival.'

NOTES: This homily on the Paschal Vigil (Gn 1, 1–26) discusses the meaning of Christ's baptism. Cross[2] is in the margin next to the list of Christ's three births: from the Father (divinity), from the Virgin Mary (the flesh), from the earth (the resurrection).

I.C.4: 18R, fol. 19ra2[mg. med.]
TEXT: Secunda diuisione | FACTUM FIRMAMENTUM .i. caelum aereum uel glaciale | et iacinthinum. uel celum igneum. Deus autem firma ⊀ | mentum posuit. quasi tabulatas in domu ut mi | steria caelestia ab hominum oculis caelaret., | Quia praesciuit quod peccarent homines..

TRANSLATION: '.ii. In the second division,' «Gn 1, 7» 'THE FIRMAMENT WAS MADE, that is, an airy heaven or chilly and blue or a fiery heaven' (cfr Gn 1, 6–8). 'In fact, God set the firmament as floors in a house, so to speak, to hide the heavenly mysteries from men's eyes because he knew in advance that men would sin.'

NOTES: The lemma (Gn 1, 7) introduces the firmament. Cross[2] draws attention to the description of it as floors of a house that hide the heavenly mysteries from men because God knew that men would sin.

I.C.5: 26R, fol. 34vb38[mg. med.]
TEXT: plus profuit | nobis infidelitas Tomae quam credulitas aposto | lorum quia pro illa causa ostendit se Tomae. et | ⊀ apostolis. ut fides ⁝ illorum integra esset post resurrectionem \{illos}/ ut | habeamus beatitudinem perpetuae uitae pro fide | nostra.
⁝
mg. d. nostra

TRANSLATION: 'The infidelity of Thomas benefited us more than the credulity of the apostles because Jesus showed himself to Thomas and to the apostles for this reason: so that their {our} faith might be whole after the resurrection {them} so that we may have the blessedness of eternal life by virtue of our faith.'

NOTES: The homily about Doubting Thomas (Io 20, 26–31) has a marginal *appel de note* that updates the phrase *fides illorum* to *fides nostra*, referring to the contemporary audience, where the double *punctus* symbol links *nostra* to *illorum* (see III.B.4). Interlinear *illos* glossing *(post) resurrectionem* (i.e., *post illos*), added by a non-scribal glossator, refers to the apostles. Cross^2, prefixed to this line draws attention to the updated comment: Jesus showed himself to Thomas and the apostles so that our faith might be whole after them, i.e., after the example they set by accepting the truth of Christ's resurrection.

I.C.6: 27R, fol. 36va16$^{\text{mg. s.}}$
TEXT: Tunc nos ipsos abnegamus cum uitamus quod per uetustatem fuimus.. | Nisi enim quis a se ipso difficiat ad eum qui supra ipsum est non | ⊀ appropinquat. et nec [ualet/uult] [apprehendere/-are] quod ultra ipsum | est si nescierit mactare quod est.

TRANSLATION: 'Then we deny ourselves when we escape what we were in our old state. In truth, unless a person forsakes himself, he would not draw near to the one who is above himself, and he cannot lay hold of what is beyond himself if he does not know how to slay what he is.'

NOTES: This homily on discipleship (Mt 16, 24) is comprised of patristic excerpts, this one from Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Euangelia*, 32.2 (GR-M Ev: 279, ll. 46–7 and 57–9). Cross^2 is prefixed to a line with two scribal corrections: *ualet* (*corr. e* uult) and *apprehendere* (*corr. ex* -are). Is it intended to mark these two corrections or the partial definition of what 'denial of the self' means?

I.C.7: 32R, fol. 42rb4$^{\text{mg. d.}}$
TEXT: Christus uero | fructus est et pomum sicut ei sponsa dixit. "sicut malum inter ligna siluarum sic dilectus meus inter filios" .i. Christus inter sanctos. quia licet arbo | res sint pulcrae. tamen fructus earum pulcriores sunt | ⊀ et dulcieres [*sic*]. Sic Christus sanctos omnes praecellit.. Itaque ca | uendum est unicuique ne in pomario isto aeclesiae. sicut ficul | nea quae absciditur infructuosus sit.

TRANSLATION: 'Truly Christ is the fruit and the apple, just as his spouse said to him: "As the apple tree among the trees of the woods, so is my beloved among the sons" ' (Ct 2, 3), 'that is, Christ among the saints, because although the trees are beautiful, nevertheless their fruits are more beautiful and sweeter. So does Christ surpass all the saints. And so, each person must take care that he not be barren in this orchard of the church like the fig tree that is cut down.'

NOTES: In this homily about the fig tree (Lc 13, 6–9), righteous men (i.e., repentant sinners) are fruit-bearing trees (olive, palm), but Christ the apple tree, whose fruits are more beautiful and sweeter, surpasses all the saints. Cross^2 is here a text-structuring *nota* that marks the beginning of the homilist's reflections on barrenness and fruitfulness in the church, which opens with a warning: *Itaque cauendum est*. […]

I.C.8: 32R, fol. 42rb17$^{\text{mg. d.}}$
TEXT: aliter. flos | rosae. quia mira <est> flagrantia [i.e., fragrantia] quae rutulat

et redolet | ex cruore martirum. aliter. flos <lilii>. quia flos candi ☩ | da est uita carnis. de incorruptione <uirginitatis>. aliter. flos ui | olae.

TRANSLATION: 'Another kind, the flower of the rose, because its fragrance <is> wonderful, which gleams and has the fragrance of the blood of the martyrs. Another kind, the flower <of the lily>, because its life of the flesh is a flower white with the incorruptibility <of virginity>. Another kind, the flower of the violet.'

NOTES: This excerpt from Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem Prophetam*, 1.6.4 (GR-M Ez: ll. 73–75), describes the symbolic virtues of six different flowers. Annotator^{2} draws attention to the fourth flower, the white lily, which symbolises a life of incorruptible virginity.

I.C.9: 33R, fol. 42vb34$^{\text{mg. med.}}$
TEXT: Sicut has sanitates quae in euangelio narrantur | ☩ fecit. Ita etiam animas saluat. sicut de eo angelus ad Mari | am dixit: "paries filium et uocabis nomen eius Iesum. Ipse enim | saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum:"

TRANSLATION: 'Just as he performed these cures, which are related in the gospel, so he also saves souls, just as the angel described him to Mary: "You shall bring forth a son, and you shall call his name Jesus" ' (Lc 1, 31). ' "For he shall save his people from their sins" ' (Mt 1, 21).

NOTES: In this homily about Jesus' conversation with Matthew the tax collector (Mt 9, 10–13), cross^{2} marks the statement that Christ also saves souls, supported by two Bible verses.

I.C.10: 34R, fol. 44va1$^{\text{mg. s.}}$
TEXT: Ubi martirum exercitus apud | Christum. qui pro humano genere martirium perpetrauit in beatitudi | ne habitat. ut Iohannes babtista .xii. apostoli et omnes sancti qui pro | Christo passi sunt. de quibus dictum est.. "hi sunt qui uenerunt ex ma | ☩ gna tribulatione et lauauerunt stolas suas et | candidas eas fecerunt in sanguine agni.."

TRANSLATION: 'Where the army of martyrs near Christ, who achieved martyrdom for the sake of the human race, live in blessedness, as John the Baptist, the twelve apostles, and all the saints who suffered for Christ's sake, about whom it was said: "These are they who have come out of the great tribulation and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb" ' (Apc 7, 14).

NOTES: In this homily on the many mansions in heaven (Io 14, 1–2), cross^{2} draws attention to the white robes washed in Christ's blood and worn by the martyrs, who now dwell with Christ.

I.C.11: 41R, fol. 26rb18$^{\text{mg. med.}}$
TEXT: Est et alia de margaretis can | didis gemma quae dicitur pedros de qua quaeritur in quo | ☩ colore nummari debeat toties iactata. per ali | enas pulcritudines nominis adeo ut dedecoris prae | rogatiua uocabulo facta sit. qui ergo hanc margare | tam uariam inuenit multo praetio emit..

TRANSLATION: 'There is another jewel from among the white pearls, and it is called *pedros*, about which it is asked in which colour it ought to be counted, [a jewel] of a name so much tossed about among other [jewels] of conspicuous beauty that it has become in its name a sure sign of beauty. Therefore, the man who finds this pearl with its diverse colours buys it for a great price.'

NOTES: In this homily on the pearl (Mt 13, 45–6), cross[2] precedes the line querying the color of the type of white pearl called *pedros*.

I.C.12: 43R, fol. 29va8[mg. s.]

TEXT: "Dedit ergo regi .c.xx. talenta au | ri. et aromata multa nimis. et gemmas preti | ⸸ osas:" huc usque ex regum libris.. hoc itaque item de | lonquinquis terrae regionibus quo uenit regina | austri pro honore et amore sapientiae. ad | filium Dauid. Hic laudauit. Christus dicens. REGINA | AUSTRI SURGET et reliqua. usque SALAMO. quasi diceret. regina austri laborauit uenire | de longe ut sapientiam inueniret.. Ego autem ad | uos de longinquo cum sapientia [ueni]. ut dictum est. "Deus ab | austro ueniet. et non me recipistis.."

TRANSLATION: ' "And she gave the king one hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices a very great store, and precious stones" ' (3 Rg 10, 10). 'Thus far, from the books of Kings. And so, this passage is likewise about the distant regions of the land from which the queen of the South came to the son of David for the sake of honour and a love of wisdom. Christ praised her here, saying:' «Mt 12, 42» 'THE QUEEN OF THE SOUTH WILL RISE UP, and the rest, up to SOLOMON, as if he were saying: "The queen of the south strove to come from afar to find wisdom. Now I [have come] to you from afar with wisdom, as it is said: "God will come from the south, and you did not receive me" ' (Hab 3, 3; Io 5, 43).

NOTES: This homily about the queen from the south (Mt 12, 42) provides the historical background to Jesus' narrative by summarising the story of Solomon and Sheba in 3 Rg 10. Following the end of this section, the homilist begins a new topic, describing how far the queen came to find wisdom and that Jesus has also come a long way to bestow wisdom, which was rejected by those who heard him. Cross[2], here a text-structuring sign, is affixed to the line where the first narrative ends and the new topic begins (*hoc usque ex regum libris.. hoc itaque item*).

I.C.13: 45R, fol. 49ra12[mg. s.]

TEXT: Exemplum nobis est. ut cum prae | dicationem audierimus statim diligentissime me | ⸸ ditemur.. TRANSEAMUS .i. curramus. Non dicunt eamus. | Quia per transitum celeriter euenientia tam aduersa | quam prospera non cernuntur. Hinc Paulus dicit. "per gloriam et ignobilitatem. per infamiam et bonam famam. ut se | ductores et ueraces.."

TRANSLATION: 'This is an example for us that when we have heard preaching, we should immediately reflect very attentively.' «Lc 2, 15» 'LET US GO OVER, that is, Let us run. They do not say: "Let us go," because in crossing quickly from one place to another place, unfavourable and favourable events are not

distinguished. Hence, Paul says: "In honour and dishonour, in evil report and good report, as deceivers and tellers of truth" ' (2 Cor 6, 8).

Notes: In this homily on the shepherds (Lc 2, 1–20), cross^2 marks the first of three interpretations of the lemma *transeamus* (Lc 2, 15).

I.C.14: 49R, fol. 50vb5$^{\text{mg. med.}}$
Text: Et iudicabit illas. Atque illis di | cetur. Ite et uenite. Resurget impius ut dam | ↾ naetur. Iustus ut iudicet. Timendum est iudicium. etiam | iusti timent. Timuit Paulus.

Translation: 'And he shall judge them, and it shall be said to them: "Go and come." The wicked man will rise again in order to be condemned, the just man in order to judge. Judgement is to be feared. Even the just fear it. Paul feared it.'

Notes: In this homily about Christ's second coming (Mt 19, 16–30), the annotator prefixes cross^2 to the line to remind him and others that even the just must fear the Last Judgement.

I.C.15: 50R, fol. 51vb15$^{\text{mg. med.}}$
Text: Caueamus in tempore ieiunii. Mare quod mun | dum significat. Moris est maris. amaritudinem | habere. Sic sunt peccatores amari in mundo pug | nantes inter se inuicem et inter se et aeclesiam.. Moris | ↾ est maris. Amaritudinem habere. Fluctibus ex | tollitur temptationibus instinctu diaboli..

Translation: 'In the period of fasting let us avoid the sea, which signifies the world. It is the nature of the sea to have bitterness. In the same way, there are sinners in the world who are bitter, fighting between themselves by turn and fighting between themselves and the church. It is the nature of the sea to have bitterness. It is lifted up by waves, by temptations at the devil's instigation.'

Notes: The homilist provides both historical and allegorical reasons why we should avoid the sea, which signifies the world, during a time of fasting. Cross^2 draws attention to the sea's second kind of *amaritudo*, wherein the waves lift it up, that is, temptations provoked by the devil lift up bitterness, which, by implication, shatters the world.

I.C.16: 52R, fol. 52rb2$^{\text{mg. med.}}$
Text: Praecepta Dei factis cotidie adim | plere. Castitatem amare. Nullum odire. | zelum et inuidiam non habere. Contentionem non amare. E | ↾ lationem uel iactantiam fugere. Seniores amare. | Iuniores diligere in Christi amore. pro inimicis orare. | Cum discordantibus ante solis occasum <in pacem> redire. De Dei | misericordia numquam disperare. (BEN-N 4.63–74: 36–7)

Translation: 'To fulfil God's commandments daily by one's actions. To love chastity. To hate no one. To have no jealousy and envy. To hate quarrelling. To flee self-exaltation or boasting. To love the elderly. To love the young. To pray for one's enemies in the love of Christ. To return <to peace> with those with whom you disagree before the setting of the sun. Never to despair of God's mercy.'

NOTES: In this excerpt from Benedict of Nursia, *Regula*, IIII. *Quae sunt instrumenta bonorum* (BEN-N), cross[2] marks the line that mentions both the need to flee self-exaltation and boasting and to love those older and younger than oneself.

Insular technical sign

I.D: ., ***diple*** **using insular form** (*punctus* + short-tailed *positura*) (Steinová 2017: 48; 2019: 214)

Latin manuscripts 'from the late 4th century onwards' adopted Greek methods of marking quotations. 'Used in early Greek manuscripts to indicate pagan citations, they came to be employed almost exclusively for Christian texts in Latin manuscripts. […] Insetting […] disappeared with the decay of the Late Antique tradition of writing' while the *diple* 'bred a variety of corrupt forms' (McGurk 1961: 8). Lindsay (1923: 19–20) noted that Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 1.21.13 (IS ety) limits *diple* usage to quotations of Scripture, but scribes also use it to signal quotations from Christian and secular authors. Ideally, it 'stands in the margin and is repeated opposite each line of the quotation'. R's compact *diple* descended from the { ., } or { .., } form, which may have originated in eighth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (Lindsay called it an 'English variety') and spread to Irish and Continental scriptoria (McGurk 1961: 7, 10–13; Lindsay 1923: 20). Annotator[1] adds the *diple* to three texts, 12R (I.D.1–5), 13R (I.D.6–10), and 25R (I.D.11).

I.D.1: 12R, fol. 13va7, 12 (Mt 10, 27)

TEXT: Et iterum. "quod audistis
in aure praedicate super tecta.." Acsi dixisset.
., Quod dico uobis in secretis dicite coram cunctis re
uelate populis. Et idcirco fratres karissimi sicut
necesse est sacerdotibus uirtutes et mirabilia
qui [*sic*] fecit Iesus narrare uobis. Ita et uos debitis
humiliter audire et in corde firmiter tenere.
., In actu et in opere uoluntarie perficere.

TRANSLATION: 'And again: "What you hear whispered, preach it on the housetops" (Mt 10, 27), 'as if he had said: "What I tell you in secrets, say it in front of everyone, reveal it to the peoples." And therefore, most beloved brothers, just as it is necessary for priests to recount to you the works of power and the miracles that Jesus did, so also you ought to listen humbly and keep them firmly in your heart, to accomplish them in action and in deed of your own free will.'

NOTES: Rather than marking the Bible verse (Mt 10, 27) being commented on in the previous line, the *diple* marks the beginning and end of a passage that includes both a paraphrase of it and an admonition to the audience of brethren to take to heart the stories of Christ's miracles told to them by the priests and to perform them voluntarily in their own lives. The *diple* is not normally used as a text-structuring sign.

I.D.2: 12R, fol. 13va15–19 (Lc 18, 31–3)
Text: Surgens quidem Iesus hodie a Bethania uolens
ire in Hiericho assumpsit .xii. discipulos suos. dicens
., illis. ecce ascendimus hierosolimam et consum
., mabuntur omnia quae scripta sunt per profetas de filio
., hominis. tradetur eum gentibus et illudetur et fla
., gellabitur et conspuetur. et postquam flagellauerint oc
., cident eum. et tertia die resurget.

Translation: 'Indeed, Jesus getting up, wanting to go from Bethany into Jericho today, took his twelve disciples, saying to them:' «Lc 18, 31–3» '"behold, we are going up to jerusalem, and all things that have been written by the prophets concerning the son of man will be accomplished. for he will be delivered to the gentiles and will be mocked and scourged and spit upon. and after they have scourged him, they will put him to death, and on the third day he will rise again"' (cfr Mt 20, 17–19).

Notes: The *diple* marks each line of this homily's first pericope, a quotation of what Jesus says to the disciples. Commentary by Gregory and Jerome follows.

I.D.3: 12R, fol. 13va40–13vb3 (Mt 20, 30–1)
Text:
., et ecce ii cecus [*sic*] sedentes secus uiam audierunt
., quia iesus transiret. et clamauenerunt [*sic*] uoce ma
., gna dicentes. domine fili dauid miserere nobis.. turba autem in
., increpabat eos. ut tacerent. at illi magis
magisque clamabant. dicentes. domine miserere nostri
fili dauid..

Translation: «Mt 20, 30–1» 'and behold, two blind men sitting by the side of the road heard that jesus was passing by, and they cried out, saying: "lord, son of david, have mercy on us!" and the crowd angrily tried to silence them. but they cried out all the louder, saying: "lord, have mercy on us, son of david!" '

Notes: A *diple* marks the first four lines of this homily's 5-1/4-line second pericope. Commentary on individual lemmata follows.

I.D.4: 12R, fol. 13vb14–16 (Mt 30, 32–3)
Text:
., tuissent.., stetit iesus et uocauit eos ad
., se. ēt ait quid uultis ut faciam uobis. at illi
., dixerunt. domine ut uideamus..,

Translation: «Mt 20, 32–3» 'jesus stopped and called them, and said: "what will you have me do for you?" they said to him: "lord, that our eyes be opened." '

NOTES: A *diple* marks the three lines of this homily's third pericope and is also added above *ait* to introduce a quotation of Jesus, similar to citing a Bible verse within commentary.

I.D.5: 12R, fol. 13vb19, 22 (Mt 20, 34)
TEXT:
., ut [...] uirtutem ex remedio omnes cognoscerent..
MISERTUS AUTEM EORUM IESUS TETIGIT OCULOS EORUM. ET
CONFESTIM UIDERUNT ET SECUTI SUNT EUM.. O ineffabi
., les potentia. praestat artifex quod natura <non> dederat..

TRANSLATION: 'so that […] from the cure they might all perceive his work of power.' «Mt 20, 34» 'AND JESUS, MOVED WITH COMPASSION FOR THEM, TOUCHED THEIR EYES, AND AT ONCE THEY RECEIVED THEIR SIGHT AND FOLLOWED HIM. O unutterable power! The maker guarantees what nature had <not> given.'

NOTES: Perhaps in error, Annotator[1] prefixes a *diple* to the lines before and after this homily's fourth pericope, rather than next to the pericope itself. Commentary follows.

I.D.6: 13R, fol. 14rb8, 11, 13 (Mt 21, 3 and 5)
TEXT: Haec praedixit illis in signum confirmationis uerborum
., eius de cruce et resurrectione., DICITE QUIA DOMINUS .i. consue
to honore nominis est et uere quia Dominus caeli et terrae
id est .i. ac si diceret. quis creaturas eius a creatore tenere
., poterit.. FILIAE SION .i. siue ciuitas Dauid. siue ipsa Hi
erusalem.. REX TUUS .i. Heremias in reuersione de Ba
., bilone: TUUS .i. non extraneus non alienigena..

TRANSLATION: 'He foretold these things to them as a sign of confirmation of his words about the cross and resurrection.' «Mt 21, 3» 'YOU SHALL SAY THAT THE LORD, that is, It is because of the accustomed honour of his name and, truly, because he is Lord of heaven and earth, that is, as if he were saying: "Who can keep his creatures away from the Creator?" ' «Mt 21, 5» 'DAUGHTER OF ZION, that is, either the city of David or Jerusalem itself. YOUR KING, that is, Nehemiah in the return from Babylon' (cfr 1 Esd 2, 1–2; 2 Esd 7, 6–7). 'YOUR, that is, not a stranger, not an alien.'

NOTES: After the entire pericope (Mt 21, 1–17 = 13R, fol. 14ra3–40) introduces the next part of the homily on Palm Sunday, the homilist breaks down the historical meaning of the text, lemma by lemma. For the rest of the homily, Annotator[1] seems to treat the *diple* as if it were an attention sign, like the use of the cross symbol, identifying passages of interest (I.C.2–6, 8–11, 13–16). He marks one lemma from Mt 21, 3 and two lemmata from Mt 21, 5.

I.D.7: 13R, fols. 14vb39, 15ra2 (Mt 21, 14–15)
TEXT:
., "Ab illo ergo die cogitauerunt ut interficerent eum.."
ET ACCESSERUNT AD EUM CAECI ET CLAUDI IN TEMPLO ET SANAUIT EOS.
.i. Ideo Dominus in templo uirtutes operatur. ut quid in tem

., plo facundum esset doceret.. UIDENTES HAEC MIRA
BILIA INDIGNATI SUNT. MIRABILIA .i. infantes cla
mantes siue supradictae uirtutes.

TRANSLATION: ' "So, from that day forth their plan was to put him to death" ' (Io 11, 53).

«Mt 21, 14» 'AND THE BLIND AND THE LAME CAME TO HIM IN THE TEMPLE, AND HE HEALED THEM, that is, So the Lord performs works of power to teach what is to be said in the temple.' «Mt 21, 15» 'SEEING THESE MIRACLES, THEY WERE INDIGNANT. MIRACLES, that is, the infants crying out or the above-mentioned works of power.'

NOTES: Annotator[1] may have mistakenly prefixed the *diple* to the final line of the quotation from Io 11, 47–53, rather than to the Mt 21, 14 lemma. A second *diple* is placed next to the line citing the Mt 21, 15 lemma.

I.D.8: 13R, fol. 15rb13 (Mt 21, 3)
TEXT:
., credit nouus efficitur.. SOLUITE ET ADDUCITE MIHI
hoc est praedicate illis ut agant penitentiam
et conuertantur ad me. hoc significat conuersationem omnium gentium
ad Christum..

TRANSLATION: '<when the gentile people> believes, it is made new.' «Mt 21, 3» 'LOOSE THEM AND BRING THEM TO ME. that is, "Preach to them to repent and to be restored to my favour." This signifies the restoration of all the gentiles to Christ's favor.'

NOTES: A *diple* is placed next to the line quoting the lemma (Mt 21, 3) in the spiritual section of commentary.

I.D.9: 13R, fol. 15rb23, 25, 32–5, 37, 15va2 (Mt 21, 5)

TEXT:
., uationem.. et SION pro speculatione uitae aeternae. REX
TUUS .i. Christus qui proprie tuus est., Diabolus enim est: alienus ..
., MANSUETUS .i. qui ait. "Discite a me. quia mittis sum" reliqua
Diabolus enim inmitis est "qui circumit. ut leo rugiens.." Siue
MANSUETUS .i. nunc. quia iratus erit cum ad iudicium uene
rit. quod dicit REX TUUS non extraneus. sed proprius rex caeli ac
terrae. corporis et animae. qui mentem regit. qui in aeter
num consulit. qui in regnum caelorum credentes speran
tes amantes se perducit. non ferox. non immitis.
., non superbus. sed proprius. MANSUETUS. qui cum pateretur non commina
., batur.. MITTIS qui cum malediceretur non maledicebat.,
., HUMILIS. qui de caelis discendit. ut nos ascendemus
., in caelis.., SEDENS SUPER ASINAM ET PULLUM .i. quia Dominus .ii.
populos supersedet. quando regebat per patriarchas et pro
., fetas et sacerdotes et iudices et reges.. Cuius populi FRENUM est.
lex dura. et inmite erat in eo quod [docuit] oculum pro

., oculo dentem pro dente.. Istius populi FRENUM est. ca
stitas et timor et misericordia. cum ait. "bea

I.D.10: 13R, fol. 15va4–5 (Mt 21, 5, continuation of I.D.9)
TEXT:
., ti mundo corde.." et Dauid dicit. "sanctus timor Domini permanens."
., et Dominus ait. "Beati misericordes.."

TRANSLATION OF **I.D.9** AND **I.D.10**: and «Mt 21, 5»
'ZION for the contemplation of eternal life. YOUR KING, that is, Christ, who is properly your [king], for the devil is alien. MEEK, that is, he who says: "Learn from me because I am meek," and the rest' (Mt 11, 29), 'for the devil is harsh, "who goes about as a roaring lion" ' (1 Pt 5, 8 or Ez 22, 25). 'Or, MEEK, that is, now, because he will be angry when he comes to the judgement. And he says this: YOUR KING, not a foreign [king], but the proper king of heaven and earth, of body and soul, who rules the mind, who gives counsel forever, who conducts those believing in him, hoping in him, loving him into the kingdom of heaven, not fierce, not harsh, not proud, but the proper [king]. MEEK, "who, when he suffered, did not threaten." MILD, "who, when he was reviled, did not revile" ' (1 Pt 2, 23). 'HUMBLE, who descended from heaven so that we may ascend into heaven. SITTING UPON AN ASS AND UPON A COLT, that is, because the Lord sits upon two peoples when he ruled the patriarchs and prophets and priests and judges and kings, whose people's BRIDLE is a hard law. And it was harsh in that [it taught]: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" ' (Ex 21, 24). 'The BRIDLE of this people is chastity and fear and mercy when he says: "Blessed [I.D.10 begins] are the clean of heart" ' (Mt 5, 8), 'and David says: "The fear of the Lord is holy, enduring" ' (Ps 18, 10), 'and the Lord says: "Blessed are the merciful" ' (Mt 5, 7).

NOTES: Annotator[1] prefixes the *diple* to the lines containing lemmata except in the one case where he does not mark the lemmata for the second interpretation of MANSUETUS […] REX TUUS. He includes words that he treats as lemmata but are not (*mittis, humilis, frenum* × 2). In a separate instance (I.D.10) that provides biblical support for the exegesis of *frenum* (I.D.9), he tags lines that contain two verses from the Beatitudes (Mt 5, 8 and 7) and from Ps 18, 10, following a standard practice, i.e., marking Bible verses quoted within commentary, which support the exegete's statement that chastity, fear, and mercy are this people's bridle.

I.D.11: 25R, fol. 21rb22 (Mt 28, 2)
TEXT:
., sepulcri et aeclesiae rotunde. Arculfus refert.. ET ECCE
TERRAE MOTUS FACTUS EST MAGNUS .i. terre concutio. uel terrae confractio..

TRANSLATION:[…] 'of the sepulchre and the church of round shape, [as] Arculf relates.' «Mt 28, 2» 'AND, BEHOLD, THERE WAS A GREAT EARTHQUAKE. A violent shaking of the earth or a rupture of the earth.'

NOTES: A *diple* is placed next to the line where the lemma begins.

Irish technical sign

I.E: ⊙ *oculus* (Steinová 2017: 58; 2019: 218)

The *oculus*, Irish in origin, has 'the form of a dotted circle. […] Its function is entirely unclear' (Steinová 2017: 58).[10] R has two instances, one used as a text-structuring sign and the other as an *appel de note* to add a textual variant (III.A.1).

I.E.1: 2R, fol. 3rb20[mg. s.] , 38[mg. s.]

TEXT: Curet unusquis | que de paupere quem habet secum in domu sua .i. de anima..,
⊙ SPIRITUS SAPIENTIAE. qui fuit cum Adam qui prius profetauit et nomina
.i. uit omnem creaturam quae est sub sole. SPIRITUS INTELLECTUS […]
de libro uitae. SPIRITUS TIMORIS qui fuit cum Dauid. qui dixit.
"non contingat mihi mittam ut manum meam in Christum
⊙ Domini." Oportet unumquemque animam suam diligere
.i. quomodo diligit corpus suum..

TRANSLATION: 'Let each person care for the poor person whom he has with him in his own home, that is, for his soul.'

> «Is 11, 1» 'THE SPIRIT OF WISDOM, which was with Adam, who first prophesied and named every creature under the sun. THE SPIRIT OF UNDERSTANDING […] from the book of life. THE SPIRIT OF FEAR, which was with David, who said: "May it not happen to me that I lay my hand upon the anointed of the Lord" ' (1 Rg 24, 7).

'Each person must love his own soul as he loves his body.'

NOTES: 2R, a brief exposition on the seven gifts of the Spirit, commenting on Is 11, 2–3, intrudes into the middle of the exegete's discourse in IR on the six works of mercy and the five needs of the soul. Noticing the interpolation, the scribe adds the *oculus* in conjunction with the .i. *nota*, here a text-structuring combination, to mark the beginning (*SPIRITUS SAPIENTIAE*) and end (*DOMINI*) of the eighteen-line interpolation, which I have indented in the translation for easier identification.

Annotator[1] innovation (based on the oculus (I.E)?)

I.F: ⊙ *oculus* with hooked tail

The '*oculus* with hooked tail' may be an Annotator[1] variation of the *oculus*.

I.F.1: 25R, fol. 22va1[mg. s.]

TEXT: ⊙ ad mulieres loquitur. ILLE [*leg.* illae] AUTEM ACCESSERUNT .i. corpore | primo fide deinde accedunt ut explorarent fidem | resurrectionis. ET TENUERUNT PEDES EIUS .i. utrum hominem forsitan | enim angelum putabant. uel pro adoratione et timore. | ut sequitur.. "Nolite timere." ADORAUERUNT EUM.

TRANSLATION: '[…] he speaks to the women.' «Mt 28, 9» 'AND THEY CAME UP, that is, They approach first in the body, then by faith to explore the faith of the

[10]Early examples of the *oculus* are in the *Cathach*, Dublin, RIA, 12 R 33 al. They are placed above the decorated initials introducing each psalm, e.g., fols 3r15, 4r11, 6r4, 8v16, 11r5.

resurrection. AND THEY EMBRACED HIS FEET, that is, for perhaps they thought the man was an angel, or out of adoration and fear, as follows: "Do not be afraid" ' (Mt 28, 10). 'THEY WORSHIPPED HIM.'

NOTES: This sign functions as an attention sign, noting the moment when the two Marys recognise the risen Jesus.

Summary of the use of technical signs in R

The cross in R functions as both a text-structuring sign and an attention sign. Cross[1] marks the beginning of a new section (I.B.2) and for content (I.B.1). Cross[2] marks the beginning of new sections three times (I.C.1, 7, 12) and for content thirteen times (I.C.2–6, 8–11, 13–16). In one instance (I.C.6) it is unclear whether cross[2] is marking a partial definition of what 'denial of the self' means or two corrections. The '*asteriscus* cross with two points' and the *oculus* are used as text-structuring signs (I.A.1 and I.E.1). The '*oculus* with hooked tail', possibly an Annotator[1] innovation based on the *oculus*, functions as an attention sign (I.F.1).

Annotator[1] applies the *diple* in multiple ways to three texts, 12R, 13R, and 25R, but sparingly, haphazardly, and with errors:

(1) Standard practice (the *diple* marks Bible verses quoted within commentary):
I.D.10: 13R, fol. 15va4–5 (Mt 5, 8 and 7 and Ps 18, 10).

(2) Standard practice (the *diple* marks each line of the scriptural pericope in margin):
I.D.2: 12R, fol. 13va15–19 (Lc 18, 31–3);
I.D.4: 12R, fol. 13vb14–16 (Mt 20, 32–3);
I.D.5: 12R, fol. 13vb19, 22 (Mt 20, 34). In an apparent error, the *diple* is prefixed to the lines above and below the pericope.

(3) Standard practice modified (the *diple* marks part of the pericope):
I.D.3: 12R, fol. 13va40–13vb3 (Mt 20, 31).

(4) Standard practice adapted (the *diple* serves as an attention sign to identify scattered lemmata of interest to annotator[1]):
I.D.6: 13R, fol. 14rb8, 11, 13 (Mt 21, 3 and 5);
I.D.7: 13R, fols. 14vb39, 15ra2 (Mt 21, 14–15). The second lemma is marked correctly, but the first *diple* may be placed in error on the line preceding the first lemma;
I.D.8: 13R, fol. 15rb13 (Mt 21, 3);
I.D.9: 13R, fol. 15rb23, 25, 32–5, 37; fol. 15va2 (Mt 21, 5);
I.D.11: 25R, fol. 21rb22 (Mt 28, 2).

(5) Standard practice abandoned (the *diple* is used as a text-structuring sign to mark the beginning and end of a passage that is not a quotation):
I.D.1: 12R, fol. 13va7, 12.

II. The three categories of *signes de renvoi*: *Signes de renvoi* as cross-reference marks

None of R's four cross-reference signs is recorded as a technical sign in either Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 1.21 (IS ety) or Steinová's catalogues (Steinová 2017: 46–58; Steinová 2019: 201–22). Like many of the cross-reference signs in two mid-ninth-century Priscian manuscripts written in Irish minuscule, they have a two-part structure, consisting of a shape plus one or more dots.[11] The cross-reference signs in St Gallen, Stiftsbibl., 904 not only connect passages quite close to each other (within one to four pages), but they also connect passages quite distant from each other (29, 36, 38, 42, 142, 181, 219 pages) (Lambert 1987: 226–7). In the same way, R's cross-reference signs connect passages on the same folio (II.C.1; II.D.1) but also passages seventeen folios apart (II.A.1) and twenty-five folios apart (II.B.1).

Annotator^{1} *innovation?*

II.A: waning crescent moon rising in early dawn cradling a double dot[12]

This consists of a shape-plus-dot combination, a crescent moon cradling a double dot.

II.A.1: 26R, fol. 35vb13$^{mg.}$

Text: Item erunt signa magna per .vii. dies
qui numerantur ante diem iudicii. haec sunt signa primi diei .i.

tonitrua magna.., reliqua.,

54R, fol. 52va1$^{mg.\ s.}$

Text: <D>e diebus .vii. ante diem iudicii. primo die primum si
gnum iudicii. Mormur magnum erit in caelo. Ho
ra tertia diei erit uox magna. In firmamento
caeli nube magna sanguinea discendente
ab aquilone. Et **tonitrua magna** erunt. Et ful
gora fortia sequentur illam nubem. Et cooperient nu
bes caelum. Et erit pluuia sanguinis super terram.

Translation: 26R: 'Likewise, there will be great signs during the seven days that are enumerated before the day of judgement. These are the signs of the first day, that is, **Great claps of thunder**, and the rest.'

Translation: 54R: 'Concerning the seven days before the day of judgement. On the first day, the first sign of the judgement will be a great murmuring in heaven. At the third hour of the day there will be a great voice in the firmament

[11] Lambert (1987: 229, 231, 234) inventoried the cross-reference marks in St Gallen, Stiftsbibl., 904 and Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. perg. 132.

[12] The name of this graphic sign is taken from the title of the photograph archived at the URL: https://stock.adobe.com/images/waning-crescent-moon-rising-in-the-early-dawn/305240286 (accessed 22 July 2022).

of the sky descending on a great bloody cloud from the north. And there will be **great claps of thunder**, and powerful flashes of lighting will follow, and the clouds will cover over the sky, and there will be a rainfall of blood over the land.'

NOTES: This cross-reference symbol alerts the reader that another account exists of the first of the seven days before Judgement Day (in fact, it is a description of all seven days), only briefly alluded to in 26R, by the phrase *tonitrua magna*. The matching symbol and second account (54R) are found on the penultimate folio of the manuscript, which also includes *tonitrua magna* as one of the signs of the first day.

Annotator[1] innovation based on 'staff with double punctus', an insular signe de renvoi?

II.B: :|: staff with twin double *punctus*

This cross-reference mark is another shape-plus-dot combination, a staff enclosed by two sets of the double *punctus*. It may be an Annotator[1] variant of the 'staff with double *punctus*', found both as a *signe de grammaire* and as a *signe de renvoi* (i.e., an *appel de note*) in Milan, Bibl. Amb., C 301 inf. (Best 1936: 29). Although Annotator[1] does not use this specific sign in R, he may have been familiar with it from an insular *signes de renvoi* collection and may have based the three 'staff'-centered *signes de renvoi* that he does use on it (see also II.C and IV.1, IV.E). Here, the annotator enters both signs, not in the margins, but interlinearly, using the *signum omissionis*.

II.B.1: 11R, fol. 12vb34[i.l.]

TEXT: BEATI MUNDO CORDE. […] Agustinus.. stulti sunt et infelices qui Deum quaerunt istis praesentibus oculis dum corde conspicitur mundo.. Hoc est mundum cor quod simplex. sicut scriptum est. "In simplicitate cordis quaerite illum." Agustinus.. **Sicut lumen hoc uideri non potest :|: nisi mundum illud fuerit. a quo uideri possit**. Infelices sunt miseri et corde polluti qui Deum uidere non possunt.. Cor mundum dicitur pro animo puro. qui est fons omnium cogitationum. dicente Christo "de corde exiunt cogitationes," reliqua.

29R, fol. 37va24[i.l.]

TEXT: Quod nobis imitandum est.. Nam quando fuerimus senes plenitudine peccati. et quando caliginati fuerint occuli mentis nostrae.. **Tunc debemus abstinere et ieiunare carnis uoluntatibus .xl. diebus .i. per omne tempus uitae nostrae :|:** .iiii. temporibus animus constat: nos quoque oportet senescentem pellem derelinquere. hoc est plenitudinem peccati.

TRANSLATION: 11R: «Mt 5, 8» 'BLESSED THE CLEAN OF HEART. […] Augustine: They are foolish and unhappy who seek God with these present [i.e., that is, bodily] eyes while he is perceived with a clean heart. This is a clean heart which is a simple heart, just as this passage says: "In simplicity of heart seek Him" ' (Sap 1, 1). 'Augustine: **Just as this light cannot be seen unless it can be seen by what is clean.** Unhappy people, who cannot see God, are wretched and polluted in their heart. "Clean heart" is said instead of pure mind, which is the

fountain of all thoughts, as Christ says: "Out of the heart come thoughts," and the rest' (Mt 15, 19).

Translation: 29R: 'And we must imitate this. For when we are old from a fullness of sin and when the eyes of our mind are darkened, **then because of the desires of the flesh we ought to abstain and to fast for forty days, through every period of our life**. The rational mind consists of four periods [of life]. We must also leave behind the old skin, that is, the fullness of sin.'

Notes: Annotator[1] links two widely separated passages, possibly to explain that (29R) cleansing the desires of the flesh by abstaining and fasting forty days per year throughout our life will give us (11R) a pure heart that will allow us to see the light (i.e., God).

Annotator[1] innovation based on the triple punctus (IV.H), an insular signe de renvoi*?*

II.C: ⸗ and ⸗ staff with/without left crook with triple *punctus*

This cross-reference mark consists of a shape-plus-dot combination, the 'staff with/without crook with triple *punctus*'. As a simple 'staff with triple punctus' it also marks omissions (IV.I). Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 301 inf. has two similar *signes de renvoi*: the triple *punctus* { ⁝ } and the 'staff with double *punctus*' { ⸗ }, the latter also used as a *signe de grammaire*, but it does not have this sign (Best 1936: 29–30). This seems to be an Annotator[1] innovation built on the triple *punctus* (IV.H) and influenced by the 'staff with double *punctus*', which the annotator may have known from an insular *signes de renvoi* collection (see II.B).

II.C.1: 7 (a) R, fol. 9ra29[mg. med.]

Text: Tria in hoc psalmo continentur. diffinitio increpa
tio laudatio. primo currit diffinitio hominis iusti.
a loco ubi dicit. "Beatus uir" per .ii. uersus usque dum dicit.
"Erit tamquam lignum." Currit item laudatio ho
minis iusti. per .v. [*recte* .ii.] uersus usque dum dicit. "non sic impii." Postquam sequuntur. Item uersus .ii. **de hac laudatione** [*recte* increpatione] ubi dicit ⸗ "Non sic" usque dum dicit "peribit."

7 (b) R, fol. 9rb8[i.l.]

Text: aliter. **De Ioseph cantatus est psalmus iste qui corpus Domini sepeliuit** ⸗ ., beatus uir .i. Ioseph. in uia peccatorum
.i. Ponti Pilati et Romanorum. in cathetra .i. in sina
goga. in lege domini .i. custodiendi corporis Iesu., nocte .i. sepulcri.

Translation: 7 (a) R: 'Three things are contained in this psalm: a definition, a rebuke, praise. First, the definition of the just man runs from the place where it says: "Blessed is the man," through the two verses' (Ps 1, 1–2) 'up to the point where it says: "He shall be like a tree" ' (Ps 1, 3). 'Likewise, the praise of the just man runs through five [*recte* two] verses' (Ps 1, 3ab) 'up to the point where it says: "Not so the wicked" ' (Ps 1, 4). 'Afterwards, likewise, two verses' (Ps

1, 4–5) 'follow **about this praise** [*recte* rebuke], where it says: "Not so" up to the point where it says: "<The way of the wicked> shall perish" ' (Ps 1, 6b).

TRANSLATION: 7 (b) R: 'In another way. **This psalm was chanted about Joseph, who buried the body of the Lord'** (cfr Lc 23, 50–6; Io 19, 38–42). 'BLESSED IS THE MAN, that is, Joseph. IN THE COUNSEL OF THE UNGODLY, that is, of Pontius Pilate and of the Romans. IN THE CHAIR, that is, in the synagogue. IN THE LAW OF THE LORD, that is, of the guarding of the body of Jesus. BY NIGHT, that is, of the sepulchre.'

NOTES: This symbol set links the two verses from Ps 1 (Ps 1, 3ab) that praise the just man to the fourth literal interpretation of Ps 1, which states that this psalm is about Joseph (of Arimathea), who buried Jesus' body (cfr Mt 27, 57–61). The exegete writes that Ps 1 contains three things: a definition, a rebuke, praise. The scribe then writes *laudatio* twice, the second time instead of *increpatio*. Misled by his own mistake, he later places a cross-reference mark after *de hac laudatione* (recte *increpatione*) *ubi dicit* rather than two lines up after *Currit item laudatio hominis iusti*, where the just man is mentioned. Still, he understands the link between Ps 1's just man and Joseph of Arimathia and cross-references it, carefully placing the second cross-reference sign before the 'double mark' punctuation {.,}, linking praise of the just man to the sentence, *De Ioseph [...] sepeliuit*.

From an insular collection of signes de renvoi?

II.D: ◠ umbrella with double mark

This cross-reference sign is another shape-plus-dot combination, an umbrella incorporating a double mark {..}. In Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 301 inf., it is an *appel de note* marking variants and glosses (Best 1936: 29).

II.D.1: 26 (a) R, fol. 32va29[i.l.]

TEXT: quae ad uescendum pertinent.. Hic est dies in quo
uenit Christus ad apostolos suos in domu clausa. quae
non aperta est clauibus est clauibus ante illum.. In illa hora dixit

26 (b) R, fol. 32vb7[i.l.]

TEXT:
Quia .x. uicibus apparuit Christus apostolis suis per .xl. di
es a resurrectione usque ad ascentionem.,

TRANSLATION: 26 (a) R: 'This is the day on which Christ came to his apostles in the closed house, which was **not opened** to him with keys.'

TRANSLATION: 26 (b) R: '**Because** Christ appeared to his apostles in ten places throughout the forty days from his resurrection until his ascension.'

NOTES: The cross-reference mark, which is interlinear at the beginning of both lines, joins Christ's appearance to the apostles in the locked house to the sentence in the next column that lists Christ's ten post-resurrection appearances (fol. 32vb7–33).

III. *Signes de renvoi* as *appels de note*

Annotator[1] uses four doubled symbols as *appels de note* to link thirteen marginal notes to the corresponding word or phrase in the text: a repurposed Irish technical sign, two insular *signes de renvoi*, and an insular *nota latina*. A *signum omissionis* does not accompany the interlinear symbol since the marginal note is not part of the text.

Irish technical sign, repurposed

III.A: ⊙ *oculus* (Steinová 2017: 58; 2019: 218)

Annotator[1] uses the *oculus* to add a critical reading. The annotators of Würzburg, Universitätsbibl., M. p. th. f. 12, fol. 3ra30 and Paris, BnF, lat. 10290, fol. 3r also treat the *oculus* as an *appel de note* to add a marginal Latin *nota* although the Paris annotator simply places the *oculus* next to the line with the relevant word, rather than adding a second *oculus* in the interlinear space above the word.

III.A.1: 1R, fol. 4rb9[i.l. + mg. d.]

Text: ⟦Nos⟧ uero cum percepto babtismate gratia ⟦Spiritus heremum⟧ uirtutum adimus. cum ieiunium qua⟦dragesim⟧ale suscipimus .i. ab illicebris sae⟦cularib⟧us toto uitae nostrae tempore continere debe⊙mus uel tacitis appatimur insidiis. uel aliquando etiam proximi ore pulsamur.

mg. d. ⊙disponimus

Translation: 'But, after ⟦we⟧ have received baptism by the grace ⟦of the Spirit⟧, when we go ⟦to the desert⟧ of the works of power, when we take up the forty-day fast, that is, we ought {we arrange} to stay away from worldly enticements for our entire life, or we are eagerly gripped by silent plots or from time to time are even assailed by the word of a neighbour.'

Notes: This exposition on Christ's forty-day fast in the desert (Mt 4, 1–11) cites from Bede, *In Lucae Euangelium Expositio*, 1.4.13 (BED Lc: 98–9, ll. 3137–42), from which I have emended the damaged text. Annotator[1] has repurposed the *oculus*, an Irish technical sign (see I.E), as an *appel de note* to add a critical reading to the Bedan text. He implies that *disponimus* is the correct reading since he does not prefix *uel* as he does with the variant glosses listed in III.B and III.C. Indeed, Hurst's edition (BED Lc: 99, l. 3141) has *disponimus* as the critical reading and does not offer any variants, including *debemus*.

From an insular collection of signes de renvoi*, a repurposed punctuation mark?*

III.B: ⁝ double *punctus*

The double *punctus* is rare, used in some late-seventh-century and eighth-century Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, where it marks a medial pause (Parkes 1993: 28). The Book of Mulling, TCD, A 1.15 (60 olim) and St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Q.v.XIV.1 have examples. In the much later Breton manuscript, Paris, BnF, lat. 10290, it is a period-pause at

the end of a sentence. In R, fols 1r–4v, it marks different kinds of pauses: explanation, disjunction, connection, comma, end-of-sentence. Although a relatively uncommon punctuation mark, the double *punctus* is a popular *signe de renvoi*, especially for marking omissions: Rome, BAV, Pal. lat. 68, to mark omitted words only, not letters (McNamara 1986: 14, n. 50); Würzburg, Universitätsbibl., M. p. th. f. 12, to mark glosses (Stern 1910: xiv); Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 301 inf., to mark omissions only (Best 1936: 30); Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. perg. 132, fol. 5r13 *in mg.*, to mark an omission; St Gallen, Stiftsbibl., 904, p. 4a17 i.l., to mark an omission; Paris, BnF, lat. 10290, fol. 3r7 i.l., to mark an omission; Paris, BnF, lat. 10289, fols. 4r *in mg.*, 6r3 i.l., 7r14 i.l., 7v1 i.l., to mark omissions. In R the double *punctus* links marginal glosses to words in the text. They fall into four categories: (1) Syntax gloss using a word (III.B.1);[13] (2) Lexical gloss (III.B.2: OBr lexical gloss; II.B.7: Latin lexical gloss);[14] (3) Variant gloss (III.B.5: grammatical 'introductory *uel* gloss' [verb]; III.B.6: lexical 'introductory *uel* gloss' [noun]);[15] (4) Commentary gloss (III.B.3; III.B.4).[16] It also marks omissions (IV.G).

[13]Wieland (1983: 98): A syntax gloss creates 'a relationship between various words of a sentence'. It 'clarifies the Latin word order by means of words' or 'through syntactical code'.

[14]Wieland (1983: 26): 'The lexical gloss is a lexical unity […] which explains another lexical unity in such a way that both lemma and gloss have approximately equivalent meaning'.

[15]Describing the glossing practices in Cambridge, U. L., Gg.5.35 (*ASM* §12), Wieland (1983: 195) wrote: The introductory *uel* glosses 'usually introduce either lexical or grammatical variants for the word used in the text, and can usually be found in other manuscripts'. These alternative words or spellings or verb forms suggest 'that the glossator engaged in critical reading of at least one other manuscript while glossing his own' (p. 31 re: lexical; p. 83 re: grammatical), or that 'he himself conjectured an emendation' (p. 89 re: grammatical). Elsewhere, Wieland's comment about 'the *uel* between two lexical glosses' which 'clearly offers an alternative between the two words […] without giving a preference to either', can also apply to the 'introductory *uel* gloss' (p. 30).

[16]Wieland (1983: 147): '[C]ommentary glosses interpret the text, summarize it, and give background and sources'.

In the forty years since Wieland's 1983 monograph on the Latin glosses in Cambridge, U. L., Gg.5.35, scholarly literature on the function and typology of glosses has flourished, represented recently in a volume of twenty-six papers by speakers at a June 2015 conference sponsored by the project 'Marginal Scholarship: The Practice of Learning in the Early Middle Ages (*c.* 800–*c.* 1000)' (*s.v.* Bibliography under Steinová 2017). In December 2015 the study of the annotated book was formalised with the creation of *The Network for the Study of Glossing* (http://www.glossing.org) (accessed 14 April 2024), an organisation founded by Alderik Blom (Marburg), Franck Cinato (Paris), Pádraic Moran (Galway), Andreas Nievergelt (Zürich), Mariken Teeuwen (Amsterdam), and Matthew Zisk (Tohoku). The website's continually updated categories include: News, Register of Researchers, Register Map, Workshops, Bibliography, and Digital Editions of Glosses. Related to this is GLOSSAM (http://www.glossam.ie) (accessed 14 April 2024), a four-year research project (2022–26) directed by Pádraic Moran. It has two global objectives and three localised objectives. GLOSSAM will 'articulate a new conceptual framework for the entire field of global glossing', and 'develop an open-access tool to facilitate data sharing and knowledge generation'. It will survey 'Irish glossed manuscripts […] in the period from *c.* AD 700 to 900', the 'European glossing tradition […] on the sixth-century Latin grammar of Priscian', and 'a new narrative for glossing […] in early medieval Ireland'.

III.B.1: 1R, fol. 1rb35[mg. d.]

TEXT: ⟦ACC⟧EDENS diabolus contra Adam se erexit in gula ⟦cum ait "qua⟧cumque die comederitis." reliqua.[17]

mg. d. .i. diabolus

TRANSLATION: «Mt 4, 3» 'WHEN <THE TEMPTER> CAME. The devil rose up against Adam in gluttony ⟦when he {that is, the devil} said: "On⟧ whatever day you shall eat," and the rest' (Gn 3, 5).

NOTES: This marginal syntax gloss clarifies that the devil is the subject of *ait*, part of a phrase in a now damaged section of R (cfr Wieland 1983: 107). The damaged section likely had the matching symbol, which I have added.

III.B.2: 25R, fol. 21rb29[mg. d.]

TEXT: Uel MAGNUS .i. more domus plenae in qua fiunt cum consurgunt. ita terre motus factus est .i. fracta est summitas inferni cum resurgerent mortui uincto rege illius

mg. d. .i. guorcher

TRANSLATION: 'Or,' «Mt 28, 2» 'A GREAT <EARTHQUAKE>, that is, in the manner of an entire house, where they are when they rise up, so the earthquake happened, that is, the highest part {that is, the lid} of hell was broken open when the dead rose up after its king had been defeated.'

NOTES: Fleuriot (1985: 198) confirmed *guorcher* as an OBr gloss, meaning *couvercle, surface, partie supérieure* ('lid, cover, surface, the top part') (see n. 4). Translating it as *couvercle* conveys exactly the meaning of *summitas* before its closed 'lid' is broken open in an earthquake.

III.B.3: 26R, fol. 33va17[mg. s.]

TEXT: "Quam angusta porta et arcta est uia quae ducit ad uitam.. et pauci sunt qui inueniunt eam.." Declarat Christus quod difficile est hanc ianuam intrare quando dicit ascensum uiae. et angustiam ianuae..

mg. s. excelsum

TRANSLATION: ' "How narrow the gate and close the way that leads to life, and there are few who find it" ' (Mt 7, 14). 'Christ states that it is difficult to enter this door when he mentions the {very elevated/very steep} ascent of the road and the narrowness of the door.'

NOTES: Annotator[1] adds *excelsum* in the margin, a commentary gloss that interprets the road as a very steep and difficult climb to the narrow door that challenges the would-be virtuous man.

III.B.4: 26R, fol. 34vb38[mg. med.]

TEXT: pro illa causa ostendit se Tomae. et apostolis. ut fides illorum integra esset post resurrectione \{illos}/ ut habeamus beatitudinem perpetuae uitae pro fide nostra.

[17]The words cut off in R are supplied from the source, AN LQE 75, ll. 81–2.

mg. d. ⁝nostra

NOTES: I.C.5 has the translation and commentary for this excerpt.

III.B.5: 30R, fol. 39va37[mg. med.]
TEXT: et difficilis est potestatis adquisitio. et postquam adquiritur multi eam contendunt \{contempnunt}/. et si non contenderetur \{contempn⁝aretur}/ mox aut dolori aut morti relinquitur.

mg. med. ⁝uel e

TRANSLATION: 'The acquisition of power is also difficult, and after it is acquired, many eagerly desire {scorn} it, and if it were not eagerly desired {scorned} {or, e}, it is soon abandoned either to sorrow or to death.'

NOTES: Annotator[1] adds the i.l. commentary glosses *contempnunt* above *contendunt* and *contempnaretur* above *contenderetur*, reminding his audience to scorn power, not desire it. He adds an 'introductory *uel* gloss' to suggest that *contempnaretur*, assigned to the first conjugation in the i.l. gloss, has a third-conjugation form (*contempneretur*). He offers this alternative by linking the marginal double *punctus* to the same sign carefully inserted next to the *a* in *contempnaretur*.

III.B.6: 30R, fol. 40rb9[mg. d.]
TEXT: Sed hoc nihil est in comparatione ⁝uisitationis Dei inter .ix. angelorum ordines. et omnes sanctos sedentes in regno suo:

mg. d. uel ⁝uisionis

TRANSLATION: 'But this is nothing in comparison to the visitation {or, vision} of God among the nine orders of angels and all the saints sitting in his kingdom.'

NOTES: The double *punctus* links the lexical 'introductory *uel* gloss' *uel uisionis* to *uisitationis* in the text without committing to one or the other reading.

III.B.7: 45R, fol. 30va4[mg. med.]
TEXT:
UT DISCRIB⁝ERETUR UNIUERSUS ORBIS
mg. med. ⁝.i. census

TRANSLATION: «Lc 2, 1» 'THAT THE WHOLE WORLD SHOULD BE ENROLLED {that is, a census}'

NOTES: Introduced by *.i.* and linked by the double *punctus* to DISCRIBERETUR, *census* defines *discribere* 'to enroll'.

From an insular signes de renvoi *collection, a repurposed punctuation mark?*
III.C: ⁘ *trigon* (Steinová 2017: 48–9; 2019: 222–3)
Steinová named this symbol '*trigon*', classifying it as a technical sign. She took the name 'from the neume of the same shape', confirming the resemblance noticed by Peter Saenger. She also confirmed that 'the same symbol was used in insular manuscripts as a punctuation sign,' which Saenger had described 'as

a terminal mark for a sentence or larger textual unity' (2017: 48 n. 39; Saenger 1997: 73). No written description of it or its true name exists. She described it as a 'common all-purpose early-medieval sign', whose 'miscellaneous character' makes it difficult to describe its purpose (Steinová 2019: 222). 'Irish annotators' of the manuscripts in Irish minuscule that Steinová studied used it frequently, as did annotators of Carolingian manuscripts without insular or Irish connections. In both groups the *trigon* marks 'passages of interest' (Steinová 2017: 49).

The *trigon* as *signe de renvoi*, *signe de grammaire*, and technical sign may have been repurposed from the punctuation system developed by Irish scribes in the late seventh century. The *trigon* is a feature of punctuation in Irish manuscripts from the end of the seventh century, where it 'indicates a final pause' in Saint-Omer, Bibl. Mun., 342*bis*, fol. B (Parkes 1993: 25, 176–7). It peppers the folios of Rome, BAV, Pal. lat. 68, an eighth-century Northumbrian manuscript. By the middle of the eighth century it was used not only as a punctuation mark, but had been repurposed as a *signe de renvoi*, as a *signe de grammaire*, and as a technical sign in two manuscripts: Würzburg, Universitätsbibl., M. p. th. f. 12 (Stern 1910: xiv; Steinová 2017: 48 and 77 counted twenty times that it was used as a technical sign); Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 301 inf. (Best 1936: 29; Steinová 2017: 48 and 77 counted twenty-one times that it was used as a technical sign). It was used both as a punctuation mark and *signe de renvoi* in Paris, BnF, lat. 10290, fol. 3r, and as a *signe de renvoi* in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. perg. 132, fol. 2r10, and Paris, BnF, lat. 10289, fols. 1v, 2r, 4r. Both Annotator[1] and Annotator[3] in R use it as a *signe de renvoi*. It introduces omissions (IV.J). As an *appel de note*, Annotator[1] links it to: (1) variant glosses (III.C.2; III.C.3) and (2) a commentary gloss (III.C.1).

III.C.1: 1R, fol. 1va34[mg. s.]

Text: Qui et si quando turbatus spiritu infremuisse ⟦:di⟧uinitus disponebat. quantum ipse huma⟦nitas turbaretur⟧

mg. s. .:i. quando pro Lasare flebit

Translation: 'And if at any time ⟦he is said⟧ to be troubled and to have groaned in the spirit {that is, when he wept for Lazarus}' (cfr Io 11, 33–6), 'his divine nature arranged how much his human nature ⟦would be troubled⟧.'

Notes: This is a verbatim extract from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, 3.16.30 (GR-M Ib: 135, ll. 48–50), from which I have emended the damaged text. As an example of Jesus groaning and being troubled in spirit, Annotator[1] adds a commentary gloss in the margin, citing the time when Christ wept for Lazarus. This comment is an independent addition by Annotator[1], not a part of Gregory's exegesis omitted by mistake. The damaged section likely had the matching symbol, which I have added.

III.C.2: 13R, fol. 14rb16[mg. d.]

Text: sedens super asinam .i. iste in equo sedens circuiuit. uidere distructos muros :templi sicut in Hestra legitur..

mg. d. :. uel urbis

TRANSLATION: «Mt 21, 5» 'SEATED UPON AN ASS, that is, Seated on a horse, that one [Nehemiah] went around to see the destroyed walls of the temple {or, of the city}, just as is found in Ezra' (cfr 2 Esd 2, 11–15).

NOTES: Using a lexical introductory *uel* gloss, Annotator[1] provides a variant reading that more accurately describes Nehemiah's inspection of the walls of Jerusalem, not of the temple.

III.C.3: 13R, fol. 14rb33[mg. d.]

Text: TURBE AUTEM UESTIMENTA IN UIA STERNUNT. […] Hoc ad :. honorem magis factum quam ad necessitatem..

mg. d. :. uel ornamentum

TRANSLATION: «Mt 21, 8» 'THE CROWDS SPREAD THEIR CLOAKS UPON THE ROAD. […] This was done more for esteem {or, decoration} than for need.'

NOTES: The *trigon* accompanies a lexical introductory *uel* gloss.

Insular nota latina

III.D: .i. insular '*id est*' symbol (Lindsay 1915: §118 [105–6])

The insular 'cursive *id est* symbol', whose 'proper sphere is in marginal or interlinear glosses rather than in the actual text', belongs to the *notae latinae*, or *notae communes*, i.e., abbreviations commonly used in classical and medieval Latin texts: (1) Lexical gloss (III.D.2); (2) Commentary gloss (III.D.1).

III.D.1: 15R, fol. 18ra36[mg. med.]

TEXT: uel NON BIBAM .i. de <.i.> fide Iudeorum uel in aeclesia gentium corporis et sanguinis mei sacrificium assummam.

mg. med. .i. de ostis Iudeorum non accipiam

TRANSLATION: 'Or,' «Mt 26, 29» 'I SHALL NOT DRINK, that is, of the faith of the Jews {that is, I shall not partake of the sacrifices [*hostia*] of the Jews}, or I shall take up the sacrifice of the body and blood in the church of the gentiles.'

NOTES: Annotator[1] neglects to add an {.i.} *nota* above *de fide Iudeorum* as a link to the *appel de note* in the margin three lines down.

III.D.2: 43R, fol. 29va38[mg. s.]

TEXT: Secundum autem spiritualem intellectum sensibilemque .i. sententiam

mg. s. .i. intelligentiam

TRANSLATION: 'Now according to the spiritual sense and the sensible meaning {that is, the sense}'

NOTES: This lexical gloss provides a synonym for *sententiam*.

Summary of the ways in which the appel de note is used in R
Annotator[1]'s *appels de note* include four twin signs that link thirteen marginal notes to the appropriate word or phrase in the text. He repurposes the *oculus* { ⊙ }, an Irish technical sign, to signal a critical reading (III.A.1). An insular *signes de renvoi* collection may have supplied the double *punctus* { : }, a repurposed punctuation mark, used to introduce a syntax gloss (III.B.1), lexical glosses (III.B.2, 7), introductory *uel* glosses (III.B.5–6), and commentary glosses (III.B.3–4). It may also have been the source of his *trigon* { ⁖ }, another repurposed punctuation mark, used to link a word or phrase to introductory *uel* glosses (III.C.2–3) and a commentary gloss (III.C.1). He converts the insular { .i. } *nota* from an in-text or interlinear *nota* to an *appel de note* introducing a marginal lexical gloss (III.D.2) and a commentary gloss (III.D.1).

IV. *SIGNES DE RENVOI* AS OMISSION AND CORRECTION MARKS

Annotator[1] uses thirteen different symbol sets to link seventy-four omissions and seven corrections to the textual space where the omitted or corrected text belongs. The *signum omissionis* insertion mark { , } usually accompanies the interlinear omission symbol. Like the *oculus*, one of R's *appels de note* (III.A), a second technical sign from Annotator[1]'s technical signs collection, the 'c-shaped sign with *punctus*' (IV.A), was repurposed, here as an omission mark.

Irish technical sign, repurposed
IV.A: ϲ c-shaped sign with *punctus* (Steinová 2017: 49–50)
This sign was repurposed from the technical sign, which is found in five of the manuscripts in Irish minuscule that Steinová studied, but for which she could not determine a clear function: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibl., A 145b; St Gallen, Stiftsbibl., 48; St Gallen, Stiftsbibl., 904; Basel, Universitätbibl., A VII 3; Bern, Burgerbibl., 363. As an *appel de note* in R it marks omissions added in the text margin.

IV.A.1: 1R, fol. 3rb10[mg. d.]
TEXT: haec ϲ, prima elimosina

mg. d. ϲ est

EDITED TEXT: Haec est prima elimosina.

TRANSLATION: 'This is the first alm.'

IV.A.2: 4R, fol. 7va39[mg. s.]
TEXT: auferetur a uobis heret. ϲ, qui reddent fructum. reliqua.

mg. s. ϲ uiniam locauit reliqua. facienti fructum. heret [*om. per homoioteleuton*]

EDITED TEXT: AUFERETUR A UOBIS heret: "Uiniam locauit," reliqua. FACIENTI FRUCTUM heret: "Qui reddent fructum," reliqua.

TRANSLATION: «Mt 21, 43» 'IT [THE KINGDOM OF GOD] WILL BE TAKEN AWAY FROM YOU joins to: "He will rent the vineyard," the rest. TO A PEOPLE YIELDING ITS FRUITS joins to: "Who will render the fruits," the rest' (Mt 21, 41).

From an insular signes de renvoi *collection?*

IV.B: Ɔ c-shaped sign with *punctus*, reversed[18]

This sign is not related to the technical sign, the 'c-shaped sign with *punctus*' (IV.A). It is already being used as a *signe de renvoi* in Würzburg, Universitätsbibl., M. p. th. f. 12 and somewhat later in Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 301 inf. (Stern 1910: xiv; Best 1936: 29). In R it is one of three symbols Annotator[1] uses when adding omitted text in the upper margin.[19] The other two symbols that introduce omissions in the upper margin are at IV.C { ⳑ } and IV.I { ⁞ }. Here, the omissions added in the upper margin are at IV.B.1–3, 5; the omissions added in the text margin are at IV.B.4, 6–7.

IV.B.1: 5R, fol. 6vb20[mg. sup.]

TEXT: qui confitentur se nose deum factis autem negant Ɔ, Hinc iacobus ait

mg. sup. ⟦Ɔ⟧ ⟦fides sine⟧ operibus otiosa est

EDITED TEXT: "Qui confitentur se nose [*recte* nosse] Deum factis autem negant." "⟦Fides sine⟧ operibus otiosa est." Hinc Iacobus ait. […]

TRANSLATION: ' "They profess to know God, but by their works they disown him" ' (Tt 1, 16). ' "⟦Faith without⟧ works is ⟦useless⟧" ' (Iac 2, 20). 'Hence, James says. […]'[20]

NOTES: Annotator[1] mistakenly inserts the omission mark after *negant*, rather than after *Hinc Iacobus ait*, where the Bible verse belongs. The damaged portion likely had the matching symbol, which I have added.

IV.B.2: 5R, fol. 8ra23[mg. sup.]

TEXT: quod iuxta beatorum martirum iohannis et pauli aecleseam situm est Ɔ, sed

mg. sup. ⟦Ɔ⟧ ⟦frater quidem ad conuersionem uenit deuoti susceptus est⟧

EDITED TEXT: quod iuxta beatorum martirum Iohannis et Pauli aecleseam situm est, ⟦frater quidem ad conuersionem uenit deuoti susceptus est⟧, sed. […][21]

TRANSLATION: 'which is situated next to the church of the blessed martyrs John and Paul, ⟦a certain brother came to the monastic life; he was received faithfully⟧, but. […]'

NOTES: The omitted text in the upper margin is completely trimmed.

[18] Steinová (2019: 204) cautioned that insular scribal use of this symbol 'should not be confused with the ancient critical sign,' *antisigma cum puncto*, *dotted antisigma*, used for the critical annotation of Homer and Plato.

[19] Although the symbols and much of the text in the upper margin may be cut off through trimming, traces remain that allow for emendation based on the source or a previous edition.

[20] The words cut off in R are supplied from the source, GR-M Ev 19.5: 148, l. 130.

[21] The words cut off in R are supplied from the source, GR-M Ev 19.7: 149, ll. 163–4.

IV.B.3: 26R, fol. 34vb22[mg. sup.]

TEXT: Ex parte igitur deitatis uocauit illum nomine [dei/dn̄i] ↄ.. donec postea dixit contra tomas. quia

mg. sup. ↄ ex parte humanitatis uocant illum ⟦nomine domini⟧ [*om. per homoioteleuton*]

EDITED TEXT: Ex parte igitur deitatis uocauit illum nomine Dei [*corr. e* domini]; ex parte humanitatis uocauit [*male* uocant] illum ⟦nomine Domini⟧ donec postea dixit contra Tomas: QUIA. […]

TRANSLATION: 'Therefore from the part of his divinity he [i.e., Thomas] called him by the name of God; from the part of his humanity he called him by the name ⟦of Lord⟧ until he said to Thomas afterwards,' «Io 20, 29» 'BECAUSE. […]'[22]

NOTES: The *signum omissionis* is omitted.

IV.B.4: 26R, fol. 35rb11[mg. d.]

TEXT: Sancti uero ascendent cum ↄ, obiam illis apertae

mg. d. ↄ christo ad regnum suum et erunt ianuae regni cae⟦lorum⟧

EDITED TEXT: Sancti uero ascendent cum Christo ad regnum suum, et erunt ianuae regni cae⟦lorum⟧ obiam illis apertae.[23]

TRANSLATION: 'The saints, truly, will climb with Christ to their kingdom, and the doors of the kingdom ⟦of the heavens⟧ will have been opened to meet them.'

IV.B.5: 32R, fol. 41vb1[mg. sup.]

TEXT: Item poma […] ascendunt. ac in uirgis summis aparent. ↄ, poma itaque conuallis lacrimae sunt iustorum..

mg. sup. ⟦ↄ⟧ Sic lacrimae ex cogitatu cor⟦dis ****⟧ per pectus ascendentes in geniis apparent.. [*om. per homoioteleuton*]

EDITED TEXT: Item poma […] ascendunt ac in uirgis summis aparent. Sic lacrimae ex cogitatu cor⟦dis ****⟧ per pectus ascendentes in geniis apparent. POMA itaque CONVALLIS lacrimae sunt iustorum.

TRANSLATION: 'Likewise, apples […] climb up and appear in the topmost branches. So tears climbing up from the thought of the heart ⟦****⟧ through the breast appear on the cheeks. And so' «Ct 6, 10» 'POMEGRANATES are the tears of the just.'

IV.B.6: 37R, fol. 47rb35[mg. d.]

TEXT: per .viii. mulier non ingrediebat templum: ↄ, et aries immolabatur

mg. d. ↄ post partum filii post partum uero filiae per .xv. uel .xvi. non ingrediebat templum: [*om. per homoioteleuton*]

[22]The words cut off in R are supplied from Wilmart (1933: 55).
[23]The word cut off in R is supplied from Wilmart (1933: 57).

EDITED TEXT: Per VIII mulier non ingrediebat templum post partum filii, post partum uero filiae per XV uel XVI non ingrediebat templum, et aries immolabatur.

TRANSLATION: 'A woman did not enter the temple for eight [days] after the birth of a son, after the birth of a daughter she did not enter the temple for fifteen or sixteen [days]' (cfr Lv 12, 2 and 5), 'and a ram was sacrificed.'

IV.B.7: 38R, fol. 24ra17[mg. med.]

TEXT: Uidens deus illius penitentiam misericorditer indulgeat illi peccata sua. et ipse nouus homo efficitur.. De eo quod ante ea ϽϽ terrenus esset.

mg. med. ϽϽ uetus fuisset et celestis. de eo quod ante ea [*om. per homoioteleuton*]

EDITED TEXT: Uidens Deus illius penitentiam misericorditer indulgeat illi peccata sua, et ipse nouus homo efficitur, de eo quod ante ea uetus fuisset et celestis, de eo quod ante ea terrenus esset.

TRANSLATION: 'Seeing his penitence, God mercifully spares him his sins, and he is made a new man, concerning which before these events he had been old and heavenly, concerning which before these events he was made of earth.'

Annotator[1] innovation based on 'c-shaped sign with punctus, reversed' (IV.B)?

IV.C Ɔ c-shaped sign with double *punctus*, reversed

This may be a minor Annotator[1] variation on the 'c-shaped sign with *punctus*, reversed' (IV.B). The four examples include three omissions added in the upper margin (IV.C.1, 3–4) and one omission added in the text margin (IV.C.2).

IV.C.1: 8R, fol. 11rb11[mg. sup.]

TEXT: nomen tuum manifestaui. regnum tuum christus ait. ϽϽ Cibus meus est. ut faciam uoluntatem patris mei..

mg. sup. ⟦ϽϽ⟧ ⟦Regnum uoluntas tua christus ait non sicut ego uolo reliqua panem nostrum christus ait⟧ [*om. per homoioteleuton*]

EDITED TEXT: "Nomen tuum manifestaui." REGNUM TUUM. Christus ait: ⟦"Regnum." UOLUNTAS TUA. Christus ait: "Non sicut ego uolo," reliqua. PANEM NOSTRUM. Christus ait:⟧ "Cibus meus est ut faciam uoluntatem Patris mei."[24]

TRANSLATION: ' "I have revealed your name" ' (Io 17, 6). «Mt 6, 9» 'YOUR KINGDOM. Christ says: ⟦"Kingdom" ' (Io 18, 36). 'YOUR WILL. Christ says: "Not as I will," and the rest' (Mt 26, 39). 'OUR BREAD. Christ says:⟧ "My food is to do the will of my Father" ' (Io 4, 34).

IV.C.2: 36R, fol. 46rb31[mg. d.]

TEXT: Item terrae bonum uerbum bonum opus. ϽϽ Item terrae .i. legitimi coniuges

mg. d. ϽϽ Item ternae .i. .iii. tempora ante legem sub lege. post legem [*om. per homoioteleuton*]

[24]The words cut off in R are supplied from the source, AN LQE 136, ll. 10–12.

EDITED TEXT: Item TERNAE [*male* terrae]. Bona cogitatio, bonum uerbum, bonum opus. Item TERNAE .i. III tempora, ante legem, sub lege, post legem. Item TERNAE [*male* terrae] .i. legitimi coniuges.

TRANSLATION: 'Likewise,' «Io 2, 6» 'THREE <MEASURES>. Good thought, good word, good deed. Likewise, THREE <MEASURES>, that is, the three eras, the periods before the law, under the law, after the law. Likewise, THREE <MEASURES>, that is, legal spouses.'

IV.C.3: 45R, fol. 48vb27[mg. sup.]

TEXT: multitudo caelestis. Multitudo .i. exercitus angelorum. ⟨ↄ⟩ laudantium deum et dicentium.

⟦ↄ⟧
mg. sup. christum ducem militia caelestis sequitur.,

EDITED TEXT: MULTITUDO CAELESTIS. MULTITUDO .i. exercitus angelorum. Christum ducem militia caelestis sequitur. LAUDANTIUM DEUM ET DICENTIUM.

TRANSLATION: «Mt 2, 13» 'A HEAVENLY HOST. A HOST, that is, an army of angels. The heavenly militia follows Christ as its leader. PRAISING GOD AND SAYING.'

NOTES: The symbol is partially visible above *christum*.

IV.C.4: 49R, fol. 50vb17[mg. sup.]

TEXT: a deo semetipso dicente ite:⟨ↄ⟩ Uae illi homini qui expectat hanc diem cum malo merito.

⟦ↄ⟧
⟦**********⟧
mg. sup. et terrae dicente domino maledicti..,

EDITED TEXT: Uae illis qui separabuntur […] a ipso Deo semetipso dicente: ITE, ⟦**********⟧ et terrae, dicente Domino: MALEDICTI. Uae illi homini qui expectat hanc diem cum malo merito.

TRANSLATION: 'Woe to those who will be separated […] from God himself, who will say,' «Mt 25, 41» 'GO, ⟦**********⟧ and to the earth, with the Lord, who will say, CURSED. Woe to that man who dreads this day with its bad punishment.'

NOTES: The trimmed portion likely had the matching symbol, which I have added.

From an insular signes de renvoi *collection, repurposed punctuation mark?*

IV.D: · *punctus*

The *punctus*, the punctuation in insular manuscripts that signifies a minor pause, also marks omissions in two early manuscripts: Rome, BAV, Pal. lat. 68, where it adds omissions between the lines, not in the margin (McNamara 1986: 14–15, nn. 50, 52, 54); Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 301 inf, where it also serves as a *signe de grammaire* (Best 1936: 29). In Würzburg, Universitätsbibl., M. p. th. f. 12, it is more than an omission mark (Stern 1910: xiv). In Paris, BnF, lat. 10289, fols. 2v31 and 36, it marks omissions. In R its four uses include: (1) marking an interlinear insertion of an omission,

with *signum omissionis* not included (IV.D.2); (2) linking a correction in the margin to a deletion in the text (IV.D.1); (3) linking a correction in the margin to a textual deletion using the *punctum delens* and adding a superfluous *signum omissionis* (IV.D.3); (4) linking a marginal clarification to a correction in the text (IV.D.4).

IV.D.1: 1R, fol. 2ra30[mg. med.]
TEXT: eritis ˙s̄ dii:

mg. med. ˙s

EDITED TEXT: "Eritis sicut [*corr. e* sed] dii."

TRANSLATION: ' "You shall be as gods" ' (Gn 3, 5).

NOTES: The *punctus* links textual *s(ed)* to *si(cut)*, its replacement in the margin.

IV.D.2: 5R, fol. 6va22[i.l.]
TEXT: Eorum hoc ipsum murmurasse est quod et ˙ pro percipiendo regno

i.l. ˙recte

EDITED TEXT: Eorum hoc ipsum murmurasse est quod et recte pro percipiendo regno <uixerunt>.[25]

TRANSLATION: 'It belonged to these men to have muttered this very utterance because they also <lived> righteously in order to obtain the kingdom.'

NOTES: Annotator[1] makes an interlinear insertion of the omitted word, *recte*, omitting the *signum omissionis*.

IV.D.3: 29R, fol. 39rb15[mg. d.]
TEXT: Sic et dauid per ˙ [ẋp̄ṃ] dixit.

mg. med. ˙sp̄m

EDITED TEXT: Sic et Dauid per Spiritum [*corr.* e christum] dixit.

TRANSLATION: 'So also David spoke through the Spirit.'

NOTES: Annotator[1] links the correction in the margin to the deletion in text, using the *punctus*. He includes a *signum omissionis*.

IV.D.4: 38R, fol. 47vb28[mg. med.]
TEXT: et qui non supra uiam quae est christus qui est uita [*sic*] ueritatis [sedeṙunt/sedent]

mg. med. ṙ

EDITED TEXT: et qui non supra uiam quae est Christus qui est uia [*male* uita] ueritatis sederunt [*corr. e* sedent]

TRANSLATION: 'and who did not sit upon the way, which is Christ, who is the way of truth'

NOTES: The scribe wrote *sedent*, then corrected it to *sederunt* by changing *n* to *r* and adding a stroke over *t* = *runt*. Using the *punctus*, he clarifies the reading by linking marginal *r* to corrected -*r*-.

[25]The word omitted in R is supplied from the source, GR-M Ev 19.4: 147, l. 100.

Annotator[1] innovation based on the punctus (IV.D)?

IV.E: |· staff with *punctus*

This may be an Annotator[1] innovation built on the *punctus* (IV.D) and influenced by the 'staff with double *punctus*' (see II.B). This sign marks an omission added in the text margin (IV.E.1).

IV.E.1: 12R, fol. 15va24[mg. s.]

TEXT: quia palma ,|· graece interpretatur latine

mg. s. |·uictoria

EDITED TEXT: quia palma uictoria graece interpretatur latine

[*recte* quia palma graece interpretatur uictoria latine]

TRANSLATION: 'because 'palm' in Greek is translated 'victory' in Latin'

NOTES: Annotator[1] should have placed the symbol before *latine* rather than *graece*.

Annotator[1] innovation based on the punctus (IV.D)?

IV.F: ¯ *punctus* with lid

This may be an Annotator[1] innovation built on the *punctus.* It marks an omission added in the text margin (IV.F.1).

IV.F.1: 32R, fol. 41rb23[mg. d.]

TEXT: quia in eo loco in quo est ¯; operandi occasionem negat

mg. d. ālii

EDITED TEXT: quia in eo loco in quo est alii operandi occasionem negat

TRANSLATION: 'because in this place where he is, he is denying the opportunity of another to work'

From an insular signes de renvoi *collection, a repurposed punctuation mark?*

IV.G: : double *punctus*

The double *punctus* had its start as a punctuation mark and was later repurposed as a *signe de renvoi*, used especially to indicate omissions (see III.B for fuller discussion). Annotator[1] uses it as an *appel de note* to introduce seven marginal glosses (III.B), but it is also his favorite omission sign, marking thirty-four omissions added in the text margin (IV.G.1–19, 21–32, 34–6). The *signum omissionis* is sometimes missing (IV.G.12, 24, 31). The symbol also links two corrections in the margin to deletions in the text (IV.G.20, 33).

IV.G.1: 4R, fol. 7va25[mg. s.]

TEXT: Numquam legistis. ostendit hoc uerbo quod contrarium sunt ⁝ absit

mg. s. ⁝locuti

EDITED TEXT: NUMQUAM LEGISTIS. Ostendit hoc uerbo quod contrarium sunt locuti: "Absit."

TRANSLATION: «Mt 21, 42» 'HAVE YOU NOT READ? He shows by this word that they have said the opposite: "By no means" ' (Lc 20, 16).

IV.G.2: 5R, fol. 6va6[mg. s.]
TEXT: cum his qui a mundi ⟦initio ⁝ fuerant hi qui in⟧ mundi fine ad deum uenerunt
mg. s. ⁝uocati

EDITED TEXT: cum his qui a mundi ⟦initio uocati fuerant, hi qui in⟧ mundi fine ad Deum uenerunt[26]

TRANSLATION: 'with those who ⟦had been⟧ called from ⟦the beginning⟧ of the world, ⟦those who⟧ came to God at the end of the world'

NOTES: The damaged portion likely had the matching symbol, which I have added.

IV.G.3: 5R, fol. 8ra18[mg. med.]
TEXT: Unusquisque proximum […] disperare non audeat ⁝ diuinae misericordiae diuisias ignorat..
mg. med. ⁝quia

EDITED TEXT: Unusquisque proximum […] disperare non audeat quia diuinae misericordiae diuisias ignorat.

TRANSLATION: 'No one should dare to despair for his neighbour […] because he does not know the wealth of divine mercy.'

IV.G.4: 7R, fol. 9rb25[mg. d.]
TEXT: formosites fructuositas uiriditas et ⁝ frondosum
mg. d. ⁝., semper

EDITED TEXT: formositas, fructuositas, uiriditas, et semper frondosum

TRANSLATION: 'beauty, fruitfulness, greenness, and always leafy'

IV.G.5: 8R, fol. 9va31[mg. med.]
TEXT: Septinario ⁝ hoc numero. spiritus
mg. med. : ergo

EDITED TEXT: septinario ergo hoc numero, Spiritus

TRANSLATION: 'with the number seven, therefore, the Spirit'

IV.G.6: 8R, fol. 9vb36[mg. med.]
Text: sicut in graeco habetur. Quod uerbum ⁝ interpretes ne possi non frequentissime transferunt..
mg. med. .⁝lxx.

EDITED TEXT: sicut in Graeco habetur. Quod uerbum LXX interpretes perossion [*male* ne possi non] frequentissime transferunt.

[26]The words cut off in R are supplied from the source, GR-M Ev 19.3: 146, ll. 84–5.

TRANSLATION: 'just as it is in Greek. And this word the LXX translaters very frequently render *perossion* [*recte* perousion, i.e., periousion].'

IV.G.7: 13R, fol. 14ra12$^{mg.\ med.}$
TEXT: mansuetus et sedens: super asinam ⁝ filium subiugalis
mg. med. ⁝et pullum

EDITED TEXT: MANSUETUS ET SEDENS SUPER ASINAM ET PULLUM FILIUM SUBIUGALIS

TRANSLATION: «Mt 21, 5» 'MEEK AND SEATED UPON AN ASS, AND UPON A COLT, THE FOAL OF A BEAST OF BURDEN'

IV.G.8: 13R, fol. 14vb7$^{mg.\ d.}$
TEXT: hic est filius meus dilectus in quo mihi ⁝ complacui ipsum audite..
mg. d. ⁝bene

EDITED TEXT: "Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui. Ipsum audite."

TRANSLATION: ' "This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased. Listen to him" ' (Mt 3, 17).

IV.G.9: 13R, fol. 15va10$^{mg.\ s.}$
TEXT: significantes praedicationes per quas ⁝ sedere desiderat in corda hominum
mg. s. ⁝dominus

EDITED TEXT: significantes praedicationes, per quas Dominus sedere desiderat in corda hominum

TRANSLATION: 'signifying the apostolic preaching, through which the Lord desires to settle in the hearts of men'

IV.G.10: 14R, fol. 17ra22$^{mg.\ med.}$
TEXT: erubescunt enim suis manibus in hoc mundo paupertatem sustinentium ⁝ contractare uestigia..
mg. med. ⁝sanctorum

EDITED TEXT: Erubescunt enim suis manibus in hoc mundo paupertatem sustinentium sanctorum contractare uestigia.

TRANSLATION: 'For they are ashamed to touch with their hands the footprints of the holy men who endure poverty in this world.'

IV.G.11: 15R, fol. 18rb39$^{mg.\ s.}$
TEXT: et sanctificabit animas nostras ⁝ splendidiores
mg. s. ⁝ut sint

EDITED TEXT: et sanctificabit animas nostras ut sint splendidiores

TRANSLATION: 'and he will make our souls holy so that they may be brighter'

IV.G.12: 25R, fol. 20va38[mg. s.]

.i. uespere ·· : .i. quae

TEXT: sic est in euangelio graeco. OΨE. TH. CABATOY. TH.
.i. lucescit .i. in .i. primum .i. sabaturum
ΕΠΙΦΟC. EIC. MOYAU. CABBATON

·· :
mg. s. .i. hac .i. sabati

EDITED TEXT: sic est in euangelio Graeco: OΨE {.i. uespere} TH {.i. hac} CABBATON {.i. sabati} TH {.i. quae} ΕΠΙΦΟC {.i. lucescit} EIC {.i. in} MOYAU {.i. primum} CABBATON {.i. sabaturum}

TRANSLATION: 'so it is in the Greek gospel:' «Mt 28, 1» 'OΨE {.i. uespere} TH {.i. hac} CABBATON {.i. sabati} TH {.i. quae} ΕΠΙΦΟC {.i. lucescit} EIC {.i. in} MOYAU {.i. primum} CABBATON {.i. sabaturum}'

NOTES: Annotator[1] omits two Latin i.l. glosses above the Greek text of Mt 28, 1, possibly for lack of space, and adds them in the margin. He omits *signa omissionis*. For the gloss *hac*, marked with the double mark, see also IV.L.4.

IV.G.13: 25R, fol. 21va25[mg. s.]

TEXT: angelus quem ⁝ nuntiat
⁝
mg. s. matheus

EDITED TEXT: angelus quem Matheus nuntiat

TRANSLATION: 'the angel whom Matthew announces'

IV.G.14: 27R, fol. 36ra12[mg. med.]

TEXT: Non solum quae sunt in hac uniuersa creatura. uerum ⁝ etiam fuerunt
⁝
mg. med. quae

EDITED TEXT: non solum quae sunt in hac uniuersa creatura, uerum etiam quae [*male* uerum quae etiam] fuerunt

TRANSLATION: 'not only the things that are in this whole creation, but also the things that have been'

IV.G.15: 27R, fol. 36vb34[mg. med.]

TEXT: restringere ⁝ uoluntatum luxa deliberat.
⁝
mg. med. ergo

EDITED TEXT: Restringere ergo uoluntatum luxa deliberat.

TRANSLATION: 'Therefore, he resolves to restrain the excesses of his desires.'

IV.G.16: 29R, fol. 37vb38[mg. d.]

TEXT: Nam si per aquam uenenum biberit ⁝ . Sed cautius est quam facit..
⁝
mg. d. ipse serpens peribit

EDITED TEXT: Nam si per aquam uenenum biberit, ipse serpens peribit, sed cautius est quod [*male* quam] facit.

TRANSLATION: 'For if it drinks venom through the water, the serpent itself will perish, but what it does is more cautious.'

IV.G.17: 29R, fol. 38rb33[mg. d.]
TEXT: Dorsum autem eius et pectora <⁝> aurea sunt
mg. d. ⁝posteriora

EDITED TEXT: Dorsum autem eius et pectora posteriora aurea sunt.

TRANSLATION: 'But its back and back pectorals are made of gold.'

NOTES: Annotator[1] neglects to add both the double *punctus* and the *signum omissionis* in the text itself.

IV.G.18: 30R, fol. 39va29[mg. med.]
TEXT: Inde hoc sensu apostolus ⁝ . Non contemplantes quae uidentur sed quae non uidentur.
mg. med. ⁝dixit

EDITED TEXT: Inde hoc sensu apostolus dixit: "Non contemplantes quae uidentur, sed quae non uidentur."

TRANSLATION: 'Then, the apostle spoke in this sense: "While we look not at the things that are seen, but at the things that are not seen" ' (2 Cor 4, 18).

IV.G.19: 32R, fol. 41rb4[mg. d.]
TEXT: quia genus humanum ante legem. sub lege. sub gratia. expectando. ammonendo. ⁝ requisiuit
mg. d. ⁝uisitando

EDITED TEXT: quia genus humanum ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia, expectando, ammonendo, uisitando requisiuit

TRANSLATION: 'because he sought out the human race before the law, under the law, under grace, by waiting for, by admonishing, by visiting'

IV.G.20: 33R, fol. 42vb6[mg. med.]
TEXT: propterea iesus arguendus non erat. sed ⁝ [t̤n̤o̤] magis laudandus erat.
mg. med. ⁝multo

EDITED TEXT: Propterea Iesus arguendus non erat, sed multo [*corr. e* tanto] magis laudandus erat.

TRANSLATION: 'On that account, Jesus was not to be censured, but was much more to be praised.'

NOTES: The double *punctus* links the marginal correction (*multo*) to the text (*tanto*), which is deleted using the *punctum delens*. The *signum omissionis* is superfluous because the correction is not an omission.

IV.G.21: 33R, fol. 43va23[mg. d.]
TEXT: et non ⁝ uelocitatem uindictae sed ad salutis causas respicit
mg. d. ⁝ad

EDITED TEXT: et non ad uelocitatem uindictae sed ad salutis causas respicit

TRANSLATION: 'and he does not look to exact vengeance speedily, but to bestow salvation quickly'

IV.G.22: 34R, fol. 44rb17[mg. d.]
TEXT: quae ⁝ sedes domini
mg. d. ⁝ domus

EDITED TEXT: quae domus sedes Domini

TRANSLATION: 'which house is the throne of the Lord'

IV.G.23: 36R, fol. 45vb31[mg. med.]
TEXT: cum ⁝ muneribus
mg. med. ⁝ .iii.bus

EDITED TEXT: cum tribus muneribus

TRANSLATION: 'with three gifts'

IV.G.24: 36R, fol. 46ra18[mg. med.]
TEXT: Iesus ad patrem. quoniam zelus domus ⁝ comedit me..
mg. med. ⁝ tue

EDITED TEXT: Iesus ad Patrem: "Quoniam zelus domus tue comedit me."

TRANSLATION: 'Jesus [said] to his Father: "Since the zeal of your house consumes me" ' (Ps 68, 10).

NOTES: The *signum omissionis* is missing.

IV.G.25: 36R, fol. 46rb38[mg. d.]
TEXT: Prima aetas mundi ab adam usque ad noe est. cuius aqua .i. ⁝ in adam et eua praefigurata est
mg. d. ⁝ figura

EDITED TEXT: Prima aetas mundi ab Adam usque ad Noe est, cuius aqua .i. figura in Adam et Eua praefigurata est.

TRANSLATION: 'The first age of the world is from Adam to Noah, whose water, that is, a figure, was prefigured in Adam and Eve.'

IV.G.26: 37R, fol. 47va13[mg. med.]
TEXT: hanc autem hostiam a nobis ⁝ paulus dicens obsecro uos
mg. med. ⁝ postulat

EDITED TEXT: Hanc autem hostiam a nobis postulat, Paulus dicens: "Obsecro uos."

TRANSLATION: 'Moroever, Paul demands this animal for sacrifice from us, saying: "I exhort you" ' (Rm 12, 1).

IV.G.27: 37R, fol. 47va17[mg. s.]
TEXT: et ⁝ circumcidamus a nobis uitia corporis et animae
mg. s. ⁝ ut

EDITED TEXT: et ut circumcidamus a nobis uitia corporis et animae

TRANSLATION: 'and so that we may cut off from ourselves the vices of body and soul'

IV.G.28: 38R, fol. 24ra10[mg. med.]
TEXT: et in ea audiens ⁝ praedicationem uerbi dei
mg. s. ⁝ sicut

EDITED TEXT: et in ea audiens sicut praedicationem uerba Dei

TRANSLATION: 'and hearing in them, as it were, the proclamation of God's word'

IV.G.29: 39R, fol. 24ra37[mg. med.]
TEXT: .i. de regibus natus est ut ⁝ dictum est..
mg. med. ⁝ de eo

EDITED TEXT: .i. De regibus natus est ut de eo dictum est.

TRANSLATION: 'that is, He was born from kings, as it has been said about him.'

IV.G.30: 40R, fol. 25rb11[mg. d.]
TEXT: Isti uero desiderium datum est: ut deum semper ⁝ ..
mg. d. ⁝ adoret

EDITED TEXT: Isti uero desiderium datum est ut Deum semper adoret.

TRANSLATION: 'But to this man the desire was given to worship God always.'

IV.G.31: 41R, fol. 26rb7[mg. d.]
TEXT: Hinc etiam ⁝ et in operibus
mg. d. ⁝ uerbis

EDITED TEXT: hinc etiam [in] uerbis et in operibus

TRANSLATION: 'hence, also [in] their words and in their works'

NOTES: The *signum omissionis* is missing.

IV.G.32: 42R, fol. 27vb4[mg. med.]
TEXT: Cum intrauit ⁝ hierusalem
mg. med. ⁝ iesus

EDITED TEXT: CUM INTRAUIT IESUS HIERUSALEM

TRANSLATION: «Mt 21, 10» 'WHEN JESUS ENTERED JERUSALEM'

IV.G.33: 42R, fol. 28ra38[mg. med.]
TEXT: Et interrogauit ⁝ [ḛụṃ] uirum
mg. med. ⁝ illum

EDITED TEXT: Et interrogauit illum [*corr. ex* eum] uirum. […]

TRANSLATION: 'And he asked that man. […]'

NOTES: The double *punctus* links the marginal correction (*illum*) to the text (*eum*), which is deleted using the *punctum delens*. The *signum omissionis* is superfluous since the correction is not an omission.

IV.G.34: 45R, fol. 48ra3[mg. med.]
TEXT: In eius ⁝ tempus serui dominos fugientes
mg. med. ⁝ quoque

EDITED TEXT: in eius quoque tempus serui dominos fugientes

TRANSLATION: 'in his time also slaves fleeing their masters'

IV.G.35: 49R, fol. 50va29[mg. med.]
TEXT: omnes gentes quascumque fecisti uenient et ⁝ coram te domine..
mg. med. ⁝ orabunt

EDITED TEXT: "Omnes gentes quascumque fecisti uenient et orabunt coram te, Domine."

TRANSLATION: ' "All the nations that you have made shall come and will pray before you, Lord" ' (Ps 85, 9).

IV.G.36: 55R, fol. 53ra9[mg. med.]
TEXT: qui autem in amarissimo pilago peccati fuit. amarissimis debet ⁝ lacrimis
mg. med. ⁝ flere

EDITED TEXT: Qui autem in amarissimo pilago peccati fuit amarissimis debet flere lacrimis.

TRANSLATION: 'He, moroever, who was in the bitterest sea of sin ought to weep with bitterest tears.'

From an insular signes de renvoi *collection?*
IV.H: ⁝ triple *punctus*
The triple *punctus* is *ab origine* a *signe de renvoi*; it did not begin as an insular punctuation mark. In Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 301 inf., it marks variants, glosses, and the occasional omission (⁝ *curam*, fol. 19vb33; Best 1936: 29–30). Annotator[1] uses it to add omissions in the text margin (IV.H.1–6). It may also be the basis for the 'staff with triple *punctus*' symbol, used both as a cross-reference sign (II.C) and an omission sign (IV.I).

IV.H.1: 13R, fol. 16va6[mg. s.]
TEXT: quia haec dies ⁝ ueneranda est
mg. s. ⁝ ualde

EDITED TEXT: quia haec dies ualde ueneranda est

TRANSLATION: 'because this day is very much worthy of veneration'

IV.H.2: 14R, fol. 16vb6[mg. med.]
TEXT: Etenim iudas ⁝ inter eos commanebat
mg. med. ⁝ adhuc

EDITED TEXT: Etenim Iudas adhuc inter eos commanebat.

TRANSLATION: 'For indeed Judas still remained among them.'

IV.H.3: 18R, fol. 19rb5[mg. d.]
Text: Uidens autem deus quod patriarchae et profetae illam domum adae restaurare non posse. ⁝ restauratorem iesum christum
mg. d. ⁝ misit

Edited text: Uidens autem Deus quod patriarchae et profetae illam domum Adae restaurare non posse, misit restauratorem Iesum Christum.

Translation: 'Seeing, moreover, that the patriarchs and prophets cannot rebuild that house for Adam, God sent the rebuilder, Jesus Christ.'

IV.H.4: 25R, fol. 23ra29[mg. med.]
Text: Candida sicut nix cum lenis sanctis. ⁝ sancti qui uestimentum christi sunt
mg. med. ⁝ siue cum

Edited text: candida sicut nix. Cum lenis sanctis siue cum sancti qui uestimentum Christi sunt. […]

Translation: «Mt 28, 3» 'white as snow. When he is gentle with his holy people or when the saints, who are Christ's clothing. […]'

IV.H.5: 27R, fol. 36ra17[mg. s.]
Text: et illa ⁝ facta, sed creatrix
mg. s. ⁝ uita non

Edited text: et illa uita non facta sed creatrix

Translation: 'and that life [was] not made, but [is itself] mother'

IV.H.6: 33R, fol. 43rb21[mg. d.]
Text: quia non sum sicut caeteri homines raptores iniusti. uel etiam ⁝ puplicanus

mg. d. ⁝ sicut hic

Edited text: "quia non sum sicut caeteri homines, raptores, iniusti, uel etiam sicut hic puplicanus"

Translation: ' "that I am not like other men, extortioners, unjust men, or even like this tax collector" ' (Lc 18, 11)

Annotator innovation based on the triple punctus (IV.H)?
IV.I: ⁞ staff with triple *punctus*
This seems to be an Annotator[1] innovation built on the triple *punctus* (IV.H) *signe de renvoi* and influenced by the 'staff with double *punctus*' (see II.B). As a 'staff with/without crook with triple *punctus*' it is a cross-reference sign (II.C). As a simple 'staff with triple *punctus*' it marks omissions added in the upper margin, the third sign used to do so (see also IV.B and IV.C).

IV.I.1: 25R, fol. 21ra6[mg. sup.]
Text: Idcirco antecedit maria magdalene ⁞ mariae matri domini anteponitur.,

⟦ ⁞ ⟧
mg. sup. propter similitudinem.., S⟦icut⟧ aurora antecedit solem. ita maria magdalene [*om. per homoioteleuton*]

EDITED TEXT: Idcirco antecedit Maria Magdalene propter similitudinem. S⟦icut⟧ aurora antecedit solem, ita Maria Magdalene Mariae matri Domini anteponitur.

TRANSLATION: 'Therefore, Mary Magdalene goes ahead for the sake of comparison. Just as dawn goes before the sun, so Mary Magdalene is put ahead of Mary, the mother of the Lord.'

IV.I.2: 36R, fol. 46vb16[mg. sup.]
TEXT: princeps circulorum. qui significat deum dominatorem caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum.. ⁞ Nesciebat uinum

⟦ ⁞ ⟧
mg. sup. ⟦**********est datum semen bonum in terram bonam⟧

EDITED TEXT: princeps circulorum qui significat Deum dominatorem "caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum." ⟦**********est datum semen bonum in terram bonam⟧. NESCIEBAT UINUM.

TRANSLATION: 'the prince of the [angelic] spheres, who signifies God, the ruler "of those in heaven and on earth and under the earth" ' (Phil 2, 10). '⟦********** good seed was cast onto good ground.⟧' «Io 2, 9» 'HE DID NOT KNOW THE WINE.'

From an insular signes de renvoi *collection, repurposed punctuation?*
IV.J: ⁖ *trigon* (Steinová 2017: 48–9; 2019: 222–3)
The *trigon*, which began as a punctuation mark in Irish manuscripts to mark the end of a section, was later repurposed three times: as a *signe de renvoi*, a *signe de grammaire*, and a technical sign of unclear function (see III.C). In R, in addition to the three *appels de note* already noted, the *trigon* marks two corrections and nine omissions. The two corrections are added in the text margin (IV.J.1, 9), as are the omissions (IV.J.2–7, 10–1), one by Annotator[3] (IV.J.3). One *signum omissionis* is missing (IV.J.5).

IV.J.1: 1R, fol. 4ra27[mg. s.]
TEXT: Notandum quod tribus solum temptatoris fraudibus expositis. Omnis ⁖ [c̣o̩n̩s̩u̩m̩m̩a̩t̩i̩o̩] consummata sit.
⁖
mg. s. temptatio

EDITED TEXT: Notandum quod tribus solum temptatoris fraudibus expositis omnis temptatio [*corr. e* consummatio] consummata sit.

TRANSLATION: 'It must be noted that every temptation was accomplished only after the tempter's three frauds were exposed.'

IV.J.2: 11R, fol. 11vb8[mg. med.]

TEXT: usque copiosa est in caelis., Sic persecuti sunt ⁖ qui fuerunt ante uos.

mg. med. ⁝,7 prophetas

EDITED TEXT: usque: COPIOSA EST IN CAELIS; SIC PERSECUTI SUNT ET PROPHETAS QUI FUERUNT ANTE UOS.

TRANSLATION: 'up to:' «Mt 5, 12» '<YOUR REWARD> IS GREAT IN HEAVEN; FOR SO DID THEY PERSECUTE THE PROPHETS WHO WERE BEFORE YOU.'

NOTES: Annotator[3], the R rubricator, links the *trigon* to his omission added in the margin and includes a *signum omissionis* in both the textual insertion point *and* the margin.

IV.J.3: 11R, fol. 13rb22[mg. d.]
TEXT: ut dicitur qui peccatum non fecit nec ⁝inuentus in ore eius.,

mg. d. ⁝dolus

EDITED TEXT: ut dicitur: "Qui peccatum non fecit, nec dolus inuentus in ore eius."

TRANSLATION: 'as it is said: "Who did no sin, neither was deceit found in his mouth" ' (1 Pt 2, 22).

IV.J.4: 12R, fol. 13va24[mg. s.]
TEXT: ut cum factum fieret non dubitarent. et ⁝consulationem

mg. s. ⁝haberent

EDITED TEXT: ut cum factum fieret non dubitarent et haberent consulationem

TRANSLATION: 'so that when the event happened, they might not doubt and might have consolation'

IV.J.5: 13R, fol. 15ra25[mg. med.]
TEXT: ⁝Cum appropinquassent hierosolimis .i. celum post sanitatem generis humani..

mg. med. ⁝spiritualiter

EDITED TEXT: Spiritualiter. CUM APPROPINQUASSENT HIEROSOLIMIS .i. celum post sanitatem generis humani.

TRANSLATION: 'Spiritually.' «Mt 21, 1» 'WHEN THEY HAD DRAWN NEAR TO JERUSALEM, that is, heaven after the salvation of the human race.'

NOTES: To the spiritual interpretation of Mt 21, 1–17, Annotator[1] adds a *trigon* above *appropinquauit* without a *signum omissionis*, linked to the omitted *spiritaliter* in the margin. That this is not an *appel de note* added as a comment is confirmed by the inclusion of *moraliter* within the text to introduce the moral interpretation at fol. 16ra9.

IV.J.6: 13R, fol. 15va4[mg. s.]
TEXT: cum ait. beati mundo corde.. et dauid dicit. ⁝sanctus permanens.

mg. s. ⁝timor domini

EDITED TEXT: cum ait: “Beati mundo corde’ ” et Dauid dicit: “Timor Domini sanctus, permanens.”

TRANSLATION: ‘when he says: “Blessed are the clean of heart” (Mt 5, 8), and David says: “The fear of the Lord is holy, enduring” ’ (Ps 18, 10).

IV.J.7: 28R, fol. 36rb19[mg. d.]
TEXT: quod dominum ac magistrum ⁝ suum pecunia uendiderit
mg. d. ⁝ deumque

EDITED TEXT: quod Dominum ac Magistrum Deumque suum pecunia uendiderit

TRANSLATION: ‘because he sold his Lord and Master and God for money’

IV.J.8: 29R, fol. 37va2[mg. s.]
TEXT: Triticinale est ⁝ quod dominus iactauit in segetem uniuersae aeclesiae
mg. s. ⁝ hoc semen

EDITED TEXT: Triticinale est hoc semen quod Dominus iactauit in segetem uniuersae aeclesiae.

TRANSLATION: ‘Wheaten is this seed that the Lord has cast onto the field of the universal church.’

IV.J.9: 29R, fol. 38rb32[mg. inf.]
TEXT: Nam pectus est ⁝ [******] et pennae sunt argenteae.
mg. inf. ⁝ argenteum

EDITED TEXT: Nam pectus est argenteum [*e corr.*] et pennae sunt argenteae.

TRANSLATION: ‘For its breast is made of silver, and its wings are made of silver.’

NOTES: A *trigon* links the correction in the lower margin to the *trigon* next to an erasure in the text.

IV.J.10: 32R, fol. 41va29[mg. s.]
TEXT: Nux enim extrinsecus ⁝ autem dulcem et tenerem tenet nucleum.
mg. s. ⁝ fortis et ualida intrinsecus

EDITED TEXT: Nux enim extrinsecus fortis et ualida intrinsecus autem dulcem et tenerem tenet nucleum.

TRANSLATION: ‘For although the nut is tough and strong on the outside, inside it has a sweet and tender kernel.’

IV.J.11: 45R, fol. 30vb5[mg. med.]
TEXT: siue in diebus quibus maria reuersa est in domum suam postquam ⁝ elizabeth .iii. mensibus
mg. med. ⁝ fuerat cum

Edited text: siue in diebus quibus “Maria reuersa est in domum suam” postquam fuerat cum Elizabeth “III mensibus”

Translation: ‘or, in the days in which “Mary returned to her own house” after she had been with Elizabeth “for three months” ’ (Lc 1, 56)

From an insular signes de renvoi *collection?*
IV.K: ⁘ *rhombus*
The *rhombus* is a *signe de renvoi* in Würzburg, Universitätsbibl., M. p. th. f. 12 (Stern 1910: xiv) and a punctuation mark in Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 301 inf. (Best 1936: 29). This different usage shows how fluid the boundary was between punctuation and signs. In R the *rhombus* is linked to an omission in the text margin (IV.K.1).

IV.K.1: 34R, fol. 44rb18[mg. d.]
Text: quae domus sedes domini est ⁘ terra autem scamellum pedum meorum

mg. d. ⁘ ut ipse dixit caelum mihi sedes est.. [*om. per homoioteleuton*]

Edited text: quae domus sedes Domini est ut ipse dixit: “Caelum mihi sedes est, terra autem scamellum pedum meorum.”

Translation: ‘which house is the throne of the Lord, as he himself said: “Heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool” ’ (Is 66, 1).

From an insular signes de renvoi *collection, repurposed punctuation mark?*
IV.L: ·· double mark (*distigme*: Steinová 2017: 56; 2019: 212)
Steinová (2019: 212) applied the modern name *distigme* to a technical sign used in two distinct, unrelated traditions, the Late Antique tradition and the Irish tradition. In one Late Antique codex, ‘the *Codex Vaticanus* (Vatican, BAV, Vat. Gr. 1209),’ it marks textual variants, but in others its purpose is uncertain. Steinová (2017: 56) noted its appearance in three manuscripts in Irish minuscule, where ‘[i]ts function is unclear’: Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 301 inf.; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. perg. 132; St Gallen, Stiftsbibl., 904. She speculated that it could be ‘a variant of the *trigon* and thus an attention sign’, but she may have abandoned this idea since she did not mention it in her 2019 book (Steinová 2017: 56, 74, 77–8).

It is more probable that in the insular tradition this symbol’s original use was not as a technical sign. Rather, a pair of related *signes de renvoi* likely began as punctuation marks, the double mark and the triple mark, in some eighth and ninth-century Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Welsh manuscripts. They replaced or appeared alongside the earlier *punctus-positura* { ., } and *trigon* { :· } to mark ‘the end of a *sententia* or *versus* within a section’ and the end of a section (Parkes 1993: 32, 127 n. 25). This punctuation system | . | .. | … | :· | is used in the following manuscripts: Rome, BAV, Pal. lat. 68; Würzburg, Universitätsbibl., M. p. th. f. 12; Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 301 inf. Both the double mark and the triple mark are also repurposed as *signes de renvoi* in Würzburg, Universitätsbibl., M. p. th. f. 12 (Stern 1910: xiv), but they are not popular *signes de*

renvoi. The double mark is repurposed as a *signe de grammaire* in Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 301 inf. (Best 1936: 29), in St Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 904 (Draak 1957: 266, 268, 270, 272), and in R. When used as a *signe de renvoi* in R, the double mark introduces omissions added in the margin.

IV.L.1: 3R, fol. 7ra19[mg. med.]
TEXT: non ait qui ⁖ liquistis omnia
mg. med. re

EDITED TEXT: Non ait: Qui reliquistis omnia.

TRANSLATION: 'He does not say: "You who have left everything." '

IV.L.2: 8R, fol. 9va37[mg. s.]
TEXT: Quo partem his .vii. et his .viii. id est praesentibus et futuris daret. et ueteri nouoque constringeret testamento. Unde ⁖ interdum iterat..
mg. s. interdum

EDITED TEXT: Quo "partem his VIII et his VIIII," id est praesentibus et futuris "daret" et ueteri nouoque constringeret testamento. Unde interdum interdum iterat.

TRANSLATION: 'so that "he might give a part to" these "seven and to" these "eight" ' (Eccl 11, 2), 'that is, to the people living today and to those living in the future, and might bind [a part] to the Old and [a part] to the New Testament. Whence he sometimes repeats *interdum.*'

NOTES: The *signum omissionis* is missing.

IV.L.3: 13R, fol. 15vb10[mg. med.]
TEXT: dominus autem ait. quod ⁖ accepistis gratis date:,
mg. med. gratis

EDITED TEXT: Dominus autem ait: "Quod gratis accepistis gratis date."

TRANSLATION: 'But the Lord said: "What you have freely received, freely give" ' (Mt 10, 8).

IV.L.4: 25R, fol. 20va38[mg. s.]
.i. uespere ⁘ : .i. quae
TEXT: sic est in euangelio graeco. OΨE. TH. CABATOY. TH.
.i. lucescit .i. in .i. primum .i. sabaturum
ΕΠΙΦΟC. EIC. MOYAU. CABBATON
mg. s. .i. hac ⁘ .i. sabati

NOTES: IV.G.12 discusses both the use of the double *punctus* and the double mark found here.

IV.L.5: 30R, fol. 39vb31[mg. med.]
TEXT: Uitam petiit a te et tribuisti ei longitudinem dierum in saeculum et in saeculum saeculi ⁖ replebo eum et ostendam illi salutare meum.

..
mg. med. item deus dixit. longitudine dierum [*om. per homoioteleuton*]

Edited text: "Uitam petiit a te et tribuisti ei longitudinem dierum in saeculum et in saeculum saeculi." Item Deus dixit: "Longitudine dierum replebo eum, et ostendam illi salutare meum."

Translation: ' "He asked his life of you, and you have given him length of days for ever and ever" ' (Ps 20, 5). 'Likewise, God said: "I will fill him with length of days, and I will show him my salvation" ' (Ps 90, 16).

From an insular signes de renvoi *collection, repurposed punctuation mark?*

IV.M: ⋯ triple mark

Like the double mark, this sign began as a punctuation mark before being repurposed as a *signe de renvoi* (cfr IV.L). Both marks are repurposed as *signes de renvoi* in Würzburg, Universitätsbibl., M. p. th. f. 12 (Stern 1910: xiv), but neither is a reference mark favored by annotators. In R, it marks an omission added in the text margin.

IV.M.1: 29R, fol. 39ra30$^{mg.\ d.}$
Text: ut iohannes ⋯ dicit
...
mg. d. de eo

Edited text: ut Iohannes de eo dicit

Translation: 'as John says about him'

Conclusions

R contains technical signs, cross-reference marks, *appels de note*, and marks of omission and correction. Annotator[1], Guilhelm the scribe, added the majority of the signs.[27] He may have used, repurposed, or reworked and repurposed signs from two different collections available to him: a technical signs collection and an insular collection of *signes de renvoi*.

A technical signs collection containing at least five signs

Annotator[1] may have drawn from a technical signs collection comprised of at least five signs. He used four in their original role as technical signs, including the *oculus*, which he also repurposed as a *signe de renvoi*, i.e., *an appel de note* (III.A). He repurposed the fifth sign, the 'c-shaped sign with *punctus*', as a *signe de renvoi* to mark omissions (IV.A). He did not use it as a technical sign. This collection would have included:

- two *early medieval* technical signs:
  - ⁂ '*asteriscus* cross with two points' (I.A): used as a text-structuring sign to note the beginning of an intrusive passage (× 1);

[27] Annotator[2] added sixteen instances of cross[2] (I.C), used as an attention sign (× 13) and a text-structuring sign (× 3). Annotator[3], the rubricator, used a *trigon* to add an omission (IV.J.2).

- ✠ cross[1] (I.B): used as an attention sign (× 1) and a text-structuring sign (× 1);

- one *insular* technical sign:
  - ., *diple* (I.D): used to mark Bible verses, scriptural pericopes, lemmata (× 10); used as a text-structuring sign to mark a passage that is not a quotation (× 1);

- two *Irish* technical signs:
  - ⊙ *oculus*: (I.E. and III.A): used as a text-structuring sign to mark the beginning and end of an intrusive passage (× 1); repurposed as an *appel de note* to mark a critical reading (× 1);
  - ↄ 'c-shaped sign with *punctus*' (IV.A): repurposed to mark omissions (× 2).

Annotator[1] may have also added a sixth technical sign of his own, a variation of the *oculus* (I.E):

- ⊙ '*oculus* with hooked tail' (I.F): used as an attention sign to mark content (× 1).

An insular signes de renvoi *collection, containing at least eleven signs*

Annotator[1] may have borrowed or adapted some of the *signes de renvoi* in R from an insular collection similar to Best's aggregation of the non-technical signs used in Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 301 inf. (1936: 29–30). After ascertaining their function, Best divided the marginal symbols in this manuscript into different categories: critical symbols, quotation marks, *signes de grammaire*, reference marks, and omissions. He also described the punctuation system. (Best's critical symbols and the quotation mark, the *diple*, belong in the 'technical signs' category and are not considered here.)

The *signes de grammaire* are functionally separate from the *signes de renvoi*, which encompass Best's reference marks and omission marks. Nevertheless, these two categories frequently use the same graphic symbols:{ : } { |: } { ◠ } and variants { ◠· } { ◠·· }. They share two symbols with the manuscript's punctuation system: { · } { :· }. The *signes de grammaire* and the punctuation system also share one symbol: { .. }. It is possible that, given the sharing of graphic signs, an insular collection similar to the one in the Milan manuscript could have circulated as an undifferentiated assemblage of non-technical signs used by construers and annotators alike.

Or, specialised collections of non-technical signs may have circulated, one of *signes de grammaire* and the other of *signes de renvoi*, the latter comprised of cross-reference marks, *appels de note*, and omission and correction signs. Such a specialised collection, available to Annotator[1], would have contained a combination of original *signes de renvoi* in use in the insular world and punctuation marks already repurposed as *signes de renvoi*.

R contains sixteen different *signes de renvoi*. The eleven signs from the proposed *signes de renvoi* collection that I suggest was known to Annotator[1]

in some form includes six signs that were *signes de renvoi* from their inception and five signs that were repurposed from punctuation marks. The six original *signes de renvoi* are:

- Ɔ 'c-shaped sign with *punctus*, reversed' (IV.B): omission (× 7);
- ⍩ 'umbrella with double mark' (II.D): omission (× 1);
- ⁞ 'staff with double *punctus*'. Although this sign does not appear as such in R, I infer its existence in the collection from three Annotator[1] innovations, for which it may have been the model: the 'staff with twin double *punctus*' (II.B); the 'staff with *punctus*' (IV.E); the 'staff with triple *punctus*' (II.C and IV.I);
- ⁝ triple *punctus* (IV.H): omission (× 6);
- ⁘ *rhombus* (IV.K): omission (× 1);
- .i. *id* est: insular *nota latina* (III.D): *appel de note* (× 2).

This collection also had five *signes de renvoi* repurposed from punctuation marks:

- · *punctus* (IV.D): omission (× 4);
- : double *punctus* (III.B and IV.G): *appel de note* (× 7); omission (× 34); correction (× 2);
- ⁖ *trigon* (III.C and IV.J): *appel de note* (× 3); omission (× 11);
- ‥ double mark (IV.L): omission (× 5);
- … triple mark (IV.M): omission (× 1).

Six possible Annotator[1] innovations

Annotator[1] may have added six of his own signs to R by designing his own cross-reference sign and making minor changes to five existing *signes de renvoi*:

- ☪ 'waning crescent moon cradling a double dot' (II.A): a new sign used as a cross-reference mark (× 1);
- Ɔ 'c-shaped sign with double *punctus*, reversed' (IV.C): omission (× 4). This may be an Annotator[1] variant of 'c-shaped sign with *punctus*, reversed' (IV.B);
- ⁖ '*punctus* with lid' (IV.F): omission (× 1). This may be an Annotator[1] variant based on the *punctus* (IV.D).
- ⁞· 'staff with *punctus*' (IV.E): omission (× 1). This may have been built on the *punctus* (IV.D) and influenced by the 'staff with double *punctus*', a *signe de renvoi* that may also have influenced the formation of the 'staff with twin double *punctus*' (II.B) and the 'staff with triple *punctus*' (II.C and IV).
- ⁞:⁞ 'staff with twin double *punctus*' (II.B): cross-reference sign (× 1). This may have been modelled on 'staff with double *punctus*';
- ⅄⁝ and ⁞⁝ 'staff with/without left crook with triple *punctus*' (II.C and IV.I): cross-reference sign (× 1); omission (× 2). This incorporates the triple *punctus* (IV.H), and may have been influenced by the 'staff with double *punctus*'(cfr II.B).

Comparing the similarities and differences between R's sign inventory and the inventories in other manuscripts, as they become available, may reveal direct and indirect relationships among them and expand our understanding of the scribal networks that used these sign collections. R's sign collection, in conjunction with what is known and still to be learned about this manuscript, will also provide more clarity about R's geographical and intellectual origins.

APPENDIX: CONTENTS LIST FOR ROME, BAV, REG. LAT. 49 (REVISED, 2023)[28]

1R (1 MMN/RITT/RMN/AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 1ra–2vb, 4ra–4vb, 3ra1–3rb19, 3rb38–3va9:
Lection: Mt 4, 1–11: [*Expositio de ieiunio Domini in deserto*]

2R (2 MMN/RMN; 1 RITT/AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 3rb20–38:
Lection: Is 11, 2–3: [*Expositio de septem donis Spiritus sancti*]

3R (3 MMN/RMN; 2 RITT/AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 3va10–3vb, 7ra1–7rb15:
Lection: Mt 19, 16–30: [*Expositio de primis nouissimos fieri*]

4R (4 MMN/RMN; 3 RITT/AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 7rb16–7vb21:
Lection: Mt 21, 33–44: [*Expositio de uinitoribus*]

5R (5 MMN/RMN; 4 RITT/AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 7vb22–40, 6ra–6vb, 8ra1–8va23:
Lection: Mt 20, 1–16: [*Expositio de operariis in uineam conductis*]

6R (6 MMN/RMN; 5 RITT/AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 8va24–9ra5:
Lection: Mt 20, 1–16: [*Expositio de operariis in uineam conductis*]

7R (7 MMN/RMN; 6 RITT/AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 9ra6–9va17:
Lection: Ps 1, 1–6: [*Expositio in psalmum I: Beatus uir*]

8R (8–9–10 MMN/RMN; 7–8 RITT; 7 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 9va18–11va9:
Lection: Mt 6, 9–13: *In*⟦*cipit om*⟧*elia de oratione dominica*

9R (11 MMN/RMN; 9 RITT; 8 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 11va10–28:
Ordo Romanus XIV: [*Ordo lectionum in aeclesia sancti Petri Romae*]

10R (12 MMN; 10 RITT/RMN; 9 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 11va29–11vb5:
[*De causis quibus flagellantur homines*]

11R (13 MMN; 11 RITT; 12 RMN; 10 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 11vb6–13rb34:
Lection: Mt 4, 23–5; Mt 5, 1–12: [*Expositio de beatitudinibus*]

12R (14 MMN; 12 RITT; 13 RMN; 11(a) AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 13rb35–14ra2:
Lection: Lc 18, 31–3; Mt 20, 29–34; Mt 21, 1–17: *Omelia in dominica die palmarum*

13R (15–16 MMN; 13–14 RITT; 14–15–16 RMN; 11(b)–12 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 14ra3–16va12:
Lection: Mt 21, 1–17: [*Omelia in dominica die palmarum*]

14R (17 MMN/RMN; 15 RITT; 13 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 16va12–17rb8:
Lection: Io 13, 4–15: *Omelia in cena Domini*

[28]The text titles in square brackets are my own. This revised numbering of the manuscript contents supersedes the numbering in the earlier contents lists *infra*:
AW = Wilmart 1937: 112–17
MMN = McNamara 1994: 185–237 (201–35)
RITT = Rittmueller 1992–3: 259–305 (263–96)
RMN = McNally n. d.

15R (18 MMN/RMN; 16 RITT; 14 AW): Reg. lat. 49, fols. 17rb9–18va1:
Lection: Mt 26, 20–30: *De cena Domini*
16R (19 MMN/RMN; 17 RITT; 15 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 18va1–5:
[*De morte sine sacrificio*]
17R (19 MMN/RMN; 17 RITT; 15 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 18va6–10:
[*De filio suffocato uel occiso aliquo casu*]
18R (20 MMN/RMN; 18 RITT; 16 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 18va11–20ra16:
Lection: Gn 1, 1–26; Gn 2, 18: [*Omelia in uigiliam paschalem*]
19R (21 MMN/RMN; 19 RITT; 17 (a) AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 20ra17–20rb8:
[*De quinque infernis*]
20R (22 MMN; 20 RITT; 21 RMN; 17 (b) AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 20rb9–29:
Lection: Mt 25, 40: [*Excerptum Augustini* (recte *Caesarii*) *de elimosina*]
21R (23 MMN; 21 RITT/RMN; 17 (c) AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 20rb30–5:
[*De nominibus Iesu Christi*]
22R (24 MMN; 22 RITT; 21 RMN; 17 (d) AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 20rb36–20va9:
[*De Matheo euangelista*]. This is the *exordium* to 25R.
23R (25 MMN; 23 RITT; 21 RMN; 17 (e) AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 20va10–5:
[*De septem quae homo in hoc mundo habere non potest*]
24R (26 MMN; 24 RITT; 21 RMN; 17 (f) AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 20va15–17:
[*De quattuor causis quibus lingua data est homini*]
25R (27–8 MMN; 25–6 RITT; 25–6 RMN; 18–19–20 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 20va18–23vb40, 32ra1–32rb37:
Lection: Mt 28, 1–15: [*Omelia de resurrectione Domini*]
26R (29 MMN; 27 RITT; 37 RMN; 21–22 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 32va1–35vb13:
Lection: Io 20, 26–31: [*Omelia de octauis Paschae*]
27R (30 MMN; 28 RITT; 38 RMN; 23 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 35vb14–36rb3, 36va7–37rb20:
Lection: Mt 16, 24: [*Sermo de discipulatu*]
28R (30 MMN; 28 RITT; 39 RMN; 23 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 36rb4–36va6:
Lection: Ib 26, 11; Lc 21, 36; Is 19, 18: [*Quomodo Christiani semper Filio hominis seruiant?*]
29R (31 MMN; 29 RITT; 40 RMN; 24 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 37rb20–39rb22:
Lection: Mt 10, 16: [*Omelia de prudentia et simplicitate*]
30R (32 MMN; 30 RITT; 41 RMN; 25 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 39rb22–40va5:
Lection: Mt 6, 33: [*Omelia de thesauro in caelo*]
31R (33 MMN; 31 RITT; 42 RMN; 26 AW): Reg. lat. 49, fol. 40va6–40vb13:
Lection: Apc 5, 1–3: [*Expositio de septem sigillis*]
32R (34 MMN; 32 RITT; 43 RMN; 27 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 40vb14–42va4:
Lection: Lc 13; 6–9, Ct 6; 10; Ct 7, 12: [*Omelia de ficulnea infructuosa*]
33R (35 MMN; 33 RITT; 44 RMN; 28 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 42va4–43vb24:
Lection: Mt 9, 10–13: [*Omelia de uocatione Mathei publicani*]
34R (36 MMN; 34 RITT; 45 RMN; 29 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 43vb24–45rb21:
Lection: Io 14, 1–2: [*Omelia de mansionibus multis in caelo*]
35R (37 MMN; 35 RITT; 46 RMN; 30 AW): Reg. lat. 49, fol. 45rb21–45va2:
Lection: Apc 4, 5a: [*Expositio de uisione sedis Dei*]

36R (38 MMN; 36 RITT; 47 RMN; 31 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 45va3–47ra35:
Lection: Io 2, 1–11: [*Omelia de nuptiis Canae Galileae*]
37R (39 MMN; 37 RITT; 48 RMN; 31 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 47ra35–47va31:
Lection: Lc 2, 21: [*Omelia de circumcisione Iesu Christ*]
38R (40 MMN; 38 RITT; 49 RMN; 33 AW): Reg. lat. 49, fols. 47va32–47vb, 24ra1–27:
Lection: Mt 20, 29–34: [*Omelia de duobus caecis sedentibus secus uiam*]
39R (41 MMN; 39 RITT; 27 RMN; 34 AW): Reg. lat. 49, fols. 24ra28–25ra5:
Lection: Lc 11, 27–8: [*Omelia de beatitudine matris Domini*]
40R (42 MMN; 40 RITT; 28 RMN; 35 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 25ra6–25va29:
Lection: Mt 7, 12: [*Expositio de regula aurea*]
41R (43 MMN; 41 RITT; 29 RMN; 36 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 25va29–27va11:
Lection: Mt 13, 45–6: [*Omelia de una pretiosa margareta*]
42R (44 MMN; 42 RITT; 30 RMN; 37 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 27va11–29ra23:
Lection: Mt 21, 10–11: [*Omelia de Iesu propheta a Nazareth Galileae*]
43R (45 MMN; 43 RITT; 31 RMN; 38 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 29ra23–30ra7:
Lection: Mt 12, 42: [*Omelia de regina austri*]
44R (46 MMN; 44 RITT; 32 RMN; 39 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 30ra7–30va1:
Lection: Mt 21, 1–9: [*Omelia in dominica die palmarum*]
45R (47 MMN; 45 RITT; 33–34–35 RMN; 40 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 30va2–31vb40, 48ra1–49vb19:
Lection: Lc 2, 1–20: [*Omelia in die natalis Domini*]
46R (48 MMN; 46 RITT; 36 (1) RMN; 41 AW) BAV. Reg. lat. 49, fol. 49vb20–39:
Lection: Ib 40, 10: [*Expositio de Baeemoth*]
47R (49 MMN; 47 RITT; 36 (2) RMN; 42 (a) AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 49vb40–50ra20:
[*De quinque locis in quibus fiunt animae usque ad diem iudicii*]
48R (50 MMN; 48–49 RITT; 36 (3) RMN; 42 (b–c) AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 50ra21–50rb16:
[*De elimosina*]
49R (51 MMN; 50 RITT; 37 RMN; 43 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 50rb17–51ra12:
Lection: Mt 19, 16–30: [*Omelia de aduentu secundo Christi*]
50R (52 (a) MMN; 51 RITT; 51 RMN) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 51ra13–51vb23:
[*Sermo de ieiunio*]
51R (52 (b) MMN; 51 RITT; 52 RMN; 44 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 51vb23–39:
[*De quattuor generibus lignorum*]
52R (52 (c) MMN; 51 RITT; 53 RMN; 44 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 51vb39–52rb11:
[*Regula sancti Benedicti, IIII. Quae sunt instrumenta operum bonorum*]
53R (52 (d) MMN; 51 RITT; 54 RMN; 44 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 52rb12–41:
[*Sermo de prouidentia*]
54R (53 MMN; 52 RITT; 55 RMN; 44 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 52va1–52vb26:
<D>e diebus VII ante diem iudicii
55R (54 MMN; 53 RITT; 56 RMN; 45 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fols. 52vb27–53ra15:
Lection: Mt 5, 4: [*Expositio de beatitudine lacrimarum*]

56R (55 MMN; 54 RITT; 57 RMN; 46 AW) Reg. lat. 49, fol. 53ra16–53rb26:
De die domi<ni>co

57R (55 RITT) Reg. lat. 49, fols 53va–54ra21 (post-dates the original compilation):
As Wilmart (1937: 116–17) noted, *alia manus saec. X principia subiunxit antiphonarum, responsoriorum, psalmorum, qui ad peragendum Romanum officium sacri tridui [...] delecti sunt* ('another tenth-century hand added the opening words of the antiphons, responses, and psalms, which were chosen to celebrate the Roman office of the sacred *Triduum*. […]').

58R Reg. lat. 49, fol. 54v (post-dates the original compilation):
Two pen trials:
(1) Arator (*fl.* 513–44), *De Actibus Apostolorum* II, versus 1121 (Orbán 2006: 391);
(2) Antiphon to the *Magnificat* for the feast of St Martin for the office of First Vespers, accompanied by neumes (Bannister 1913: 34a §118; *Cantus* ID 004005 at the URL: http://cantusdatabase.org/chant/205116 [accessed 25 September 2020]).

Abbreviations

AN LQE	Rittmueller 2003.
ASM	Gneuss and Lapidge 2014.
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
BED Lc	Hurst 1960.
BEN-N	Hanslik 1977.
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 1953– (Turnhout).
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 1866– (Wien).
CLA	Lowe 1934–71.
CLH	Ó Corráin 2017.
DHBM	A Descriptive Handlist of Breton Manuscripts, *c*. AD 780–1100, in *IrCaBriTT*.
DigiVatLib	*The Digital Vatican Library* (https://digi.vatlib.it).
e-codices	*Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland* (https://e-codices.unifr.ch/en).
elmss	*Early Latin Manuscripts. Tools for Studying the Scripts of the Oldest Latin Manuscripts* (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie).
GR-M Ev	Étaix 1999.
GR-M Ez	Adriaen 1971.
GR-M Ib	Adriaen 1979.
HMML School	*Hill Museum and Manuscript Library School* (https://hmmlschool.org)
IrCaBriTT	*Ireland and Carolingian Brittany: Texts and Transmission (c. 750–1000)* (https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie).
IS ety	Lindsay 1911.

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THE IRISH JERUSALEM: ETYMOLOGICAL POLITICS AND THE STUDY OF GREEK IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND

Abstract

This study examines the etymology of the placename Tara, Irish *Temair*, in the Old Irish glossary *Sanas Cormaic* and in the *Dindṡenchas* tradition. Its focus is the derivation of *Temair* from a purported Greek verb *teomoro* and it is proposed that this etymology may have drawn on the Harleian Graeco-Latin (Cyrillus) glossary and could ultimately have been inspired by the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. It further addresses the idea that Cormac mac Cuilennáin, king and bishop of Cashel, was the author of *Sanas Cormaic* and proposes that medieval etymology, as a branch of Irish learning drawing on the Graeco-Roman learned tradition, might reveal contemporary political concerns coded into the origins of words.[1]

One of the earliest sources to give an origin for the placename Tara, Irish *Temair*, is the late Old Irish glossary *Sanas Cormaic*, dated to the late ninth or early tenth century on the basis of its association with the king and bishop of Cashel, Cormac mac Cuilennáin (d. 908).[2] The textual history of this glossary was discussed in detail in a 1988 study by Paul Russell, but points made in it bear repeating here as they are relevant for the present examination.[3] The text has survived in a shorter and a longer version in altogether ten manuscripts which date from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. The short recension is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud MS 610 (Ld.), in RIA MS D ii 1, the Book of Uí Maine (M), in TCD MS 1339, the Book of Leinster (LL), and in RIA MS 23 P 16, the Leabhar Breac (LB), while the long version is found in TCD MS 1318, the Yellow Book of Lecan (Y), in two sections in TCD MS H 2.15b (pp. 13–37 and 77–102), in UCD Franciscan MS A 12, while extracts of the text survive in RIA MS 23 N 10 and BL Harley MS 5280.[4] Russell, citing a study by William O'Sullivan, notes that the copies in Ld. and LL preserve the oldest version of the text.

[1]This article is the result of research carried out on the 'Mapping the Medieval Mind' project at the University of Cambridge, and funded by the Leverhulme Trust (2020–6). Many thanks to an anonymous reader and to the editors of *Celtica* for their critical comments on an earlier draft of this article. Further thanks for their insights on various aspects addressed in the present study are due to Michael Clarke, Kevin Murray, Erich Poppe, and Paul Russell. For any remaining errors I alone am responsible.

[2]The evidence of Cormac's authorship is discussed below.

[3]Paul Russell, 'The sounds of a silence: The growth of Cormac's Glossary', *CMCS* 15 (Summer 1988), 1–30.

[4]See list of manuscripts, editions and secondary literature in Donnchadh Ó Corráin, *Clavis litterarum Hibernensium: Medieval Irish Books*, 3 vols (Turnhout, 2017), ii, 1171–4 (§887).

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No critical edition of *Sanas Cormaic* has been published to date, but various versions of the text have appeared both with and without a translation since the mid-nineteenth century.[5] The text has received its most recent editorial treatment as part of the *Early Irish Glossaries* database, produced by Paul Russell, Sharon Arbuthnot and Pádraic Moran at the University of Cambridge between 2006 and 2009.[6] The entry on *Temair* is found in both versions of the text and is given here from the *Early Irish Glossaries* database:[7]

Short version

Ld. Temair .i. greic ro tuaillned ann .i. teomoro .i. conspicio. Temair didiu cach loc asnad airgna decsin, unde dicitur temair na tuathe ⁊ temair in tige.

'*Temair*, that is, Greek was corrupted there, namely, *teomoro*, that is, *conspicio*. *Temair* then is every place from which the view is excellent, as is said *temair na túaithe* (*temair* of the land) and *temair in tige* (*temair* of the house).'

M Teamair .i. grec ro truaillnead and .i. teomora .i. conspico temair didiu cach loc asnadh airgna deacsin unde sin teamair na tuaithe ⁊ temair in tige.

LB[8] Temair .i. te múr. múr Téa ingine Lúgdach maic hItha .i. grec ro truaillned and. téomora i.e. conspicio. teamúr didiu cach loch ba hurgna décsiu iter mhag ⁊ tech. ut dicitur temair na duath .i. grianan *nó* tulach. temair in tige .i. grianan.

'*Temair*, that is, *te-múr*, namely, the *múr* of Tea daughter of Lugaid son of Íth. *Temair*, that is, Greek was corrupted there. *Teomora*, that is, *conspicio*. *Teamúr* then is every place from which the view

[5] It was first edited from LB in Whitley Stokes, 'Cormac's Glossary', in Whitley Stokes (ed.), *Three Irish Glossaries* (London, 1862), v–lxxx, 1–46; shortly thereafter, it was re-edited from the LB, but with material from Y and with an English translation by John O'Donovan in Whitley Stokes (ed.) and John O'Donovan (trans.), *Sanas Chormaic: Cormac's Glossary* (Calcutta, 1868). Stokes further edited the text found in Laud MS 610 in Whitley Stokes (ed.), 'On the Bodleian fragment of Cormac's Glossary', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 22 (1891–4, 1894), 149–206. The text of Y was edited, with readings from LB and from H 2.15b in Kuno Meyer (ed.), '*Sanas Cormaic*: an Old-Irish glossary compiled by Cormac úa Cuilennáin, king-bishop of Cashel in the ninth century', in Osborn J. Bergin, R. I. Best, Kuno Meyer and John G. O'Keeffe (eds), *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, vol. 4 (1912), 1–128. The version in M was later edited in Kuno Meyer (ed.), 'Cormac's Glossar nach der Handschrift des Buches der Uí Maine', *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 23 (1919), 290–319.

[6] See: Paul Russell, Pádraic Moran, Sharon Arbuthnot, *Early Irish Glossaries Database*, version 3.3 (2023) <www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries/> (accessed 14 July 2024).

[7] Translations are my own. Text given with slight adjustments for word separation from: https://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries/concordances.php?readingID=&main=1&cp1=1&cp15=1&cp16=1&cp18=1&cp7=1&cp11=1&cp8=1&cp9=1&page=7&perPage=100 (accessed 14 July 2024).

[8] As Paul Russell points out to me, while the LB text is a representative of the short version, it has been conflated with a text of the long version in the course of its transmission and therefore also contains the first paragraph about Tea wife of Érimón.

is excellent whether on the plain or the house, as is said *temair na túaithe*, that is, a *gríanán* or a hill, and *temair in tige*, i.e. *gríanán*.'

Long version

Y Temair .i. te-mur .i. mur Tea ingine Luigdech maic Ithæ. Temair .i. grec ro truailled and .i. teomoro id est conspicio. Temair didiu cech locc as mbi aurgnam deicsi iter mag ⁊ tech, ut dicitur temair na tuaithe ⁊ temair in tighe.

'*Temair*, that is, *te-múr*, namely, the *múr* of Tea daughter of Lugaid son of Íth. *Temair*, that is, Greek was corrupted there, namely, *teomoro*, that is, *conspicio*. *Temair* then is every place from which the view is most excellent whether on the plain or the house, as is said *temair na túaithe* and *temair in tige*.'

The longer version gives two explanations. The first explains that *Temair* is analysed as *te-mur* and is named after the *múr* 'rampart' of Tea[9] daughter of Lugaid son of Íth and wife of Érimón son of Míl.[10] The second explanation asserts that *temair* is a common noun designating any place which affords a great view, and that it is derived from the Greek verb *teomoro* which means *conspicio* in Latin. The shorter and older version only contains the second explanation. The significance of this is discussed below.

The Book of Leinster (LL) is another witness to the short version but does not contain the entry on *Temair* since only a fragment covering the latter half of the letter T and the letter U has survived after the manuscript was rebound in the fourteenth century. But as Anne and William O'Sullivan argued, the LL text of *Sanas Cormaic* appears to have been substantially the same as Laud's.[11] We may argue therefore that LL's entry on *Temair* would have looked much the same as that found in Laud 610 given above. Indirect evidence of this is given elsewhere in LL, in a prose passage on page 159a which heads a section of prose *dindṡenchas* texts and which is likely the earliest version of the prose *dindṡenchas* of Tara:

Temuir, un*de* no*min*atur. Ni *handsa*. Tem*air* .i. Teamur .i. múr Tea ingine Lugdach m*ei*c Itha. ben Herimoin m*ei*c Mil*ed* .i. is and ro hadnacht hí. Un*de* poeta c*ecinit*.

[9] *eDIL* s.v. gives the name as 'Téa' with long *e*, but in the only metrical examples of the name, the word is written in hiatus as 'Teä' making the first syllable short. See *MD* i, 6 l. 11 (*fors' mbiad lecht Tea iar tuinnem*; with elision of second syllable) and l. 17 (*Brega Teä treb tuilltech*). Both examples are found in Gwynn's 'Temair II', a poem beginning *Ní cheil maissi dona mnáib*, likely composed by the tenth-century poet Cináed úa hArtacáin (d. 975), to whom the poem is ascribed in several manuscripts.

[10] Edited from Y in Meyer, '*Sanas Cormaic*', 105. See the earlier edition and translation in Stokes and O'Donovan, *Sanas Chormaic*, 157.

[11] Anne O'Sullivan and William O'Sullivan, 'Three notes on Laud Misc. 610 (or the Book of Pottlerath)', *Celtica* (1971), 135–51, at 150.

> In cetben luid i n-uaig úair
> don chúain a Tur Bregain báin;
> Tea Brega ben in ríg
> dianid ainm Temair fir Fáil.
>
> U*e*l Temuir a u*er*bo G*rec*o temoro .i. conspicio. úair is Temair ainm do ce*ch* inad asnid soirb fegad radairc. Un*de* d*icitu*r temair na tuathe ⁊ temair in tige.[12]
>
> 'Temair. Whence is it named? Not difficult. Temair, that is, Teamur, that is, the rampart of Tea daughter of Lugaid son of Íth, wife of Érimón son of Míl. It is there that she was buried. From that the poet sang:
>
> "The first woman who went into the cold earth
> of the company from the Tower of fair Bregon
> Tea of Brega, wife of the king,
> from whom is named 'true Tara of Fál"."
>
> Or Temair [comes] from the Greek verb *temoro*, which means *conspicio*. Because Temair is the name of every place from which the view is pleasant.[13] From which is said *temair na tuathe and temair in tige* "*temair* of the land" and "*temair* of the house".' [14]

Russell has noted that the LL prose *dindṡenchas* passage above 'is in part identical with Cormac Y 1212', i.e. the entry on *Temair* in Y.[15] But as can be seen from the image below, while the passage corresponds to the longer version of the Temair entry in *Sanas Cormaic*, the reference to Cormac mac Cuilennáin is written at the height of the line in which the second explanation begins. The angled bracket, though faded towards the bottom, also indicates that only the last three to four lines are derived from *Sanas Cormaic*. While the main text on this page was written in the hand of A, the scribe responsible for

[12] *LL* ll. 1032–41.

[13] Literally 'out of which seeing a view is pleasant'.

[14] Translation of the prose adapted from Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'The significance of the placename *Temair*', in Edel Bhreathnach (ed.), *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara* (Dublin, 2005), 423–48, at 424, 426. The translation of the quatrain is that from John Koch and John Carey (eds), *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe and Early Ireland and Wales*, Celtic Studies Publications 1 (Malden, MA, 1994), 250 (cf. R. A. S. Macalister (ed. and trans.), *Lebor Gabála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, 5 vols (London, 1938–56), iv, 58.1605; hereafter *LGÉ*). The stanza comes from the *LGÉ* poem on the Fir Bolg beginning *Dene mo resnís a meic* and is ascribed to Colum Cille in LL (*LL* ll. 942–1016). The same stanza is also found in Recension B of *Dindṡenchas Érenn* (Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The Bodleian *Dinnshenchas*', *Folklore* 3 (1892), 467–516, at 470), where the text (perhaps following Cináed úa hArtacáin's poem *Ní cheil maissi dona mnáib*, *MD* i, 6) suggests, anachronistically, that Temair was the wife of Géde Ollgothach, son of Ollam Fótla, and incorporates phrases related to Géde from the third recension of *LGÉ* (see *LGÉ* v, 236; cf. *LL* ll. 2341–2, and Sharon Arbuthnot, *Cóir Anmann: A Late Middle Irish Treatise on Personal Names*, ITS 59–60, 2 vols (London, 2005–6), i, 108 §135). The connection with Géde is also found in Recension C of the *Dindṡenchas* (§1 of the prose *dindṡenchas* of Tara in Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The prose tales in the Rennes *Dindsenchas*', *RC* 15 (1894), 272–336, 418–84, at 277, 279).

[15] Russell, 'Sounds of a silence', 11.

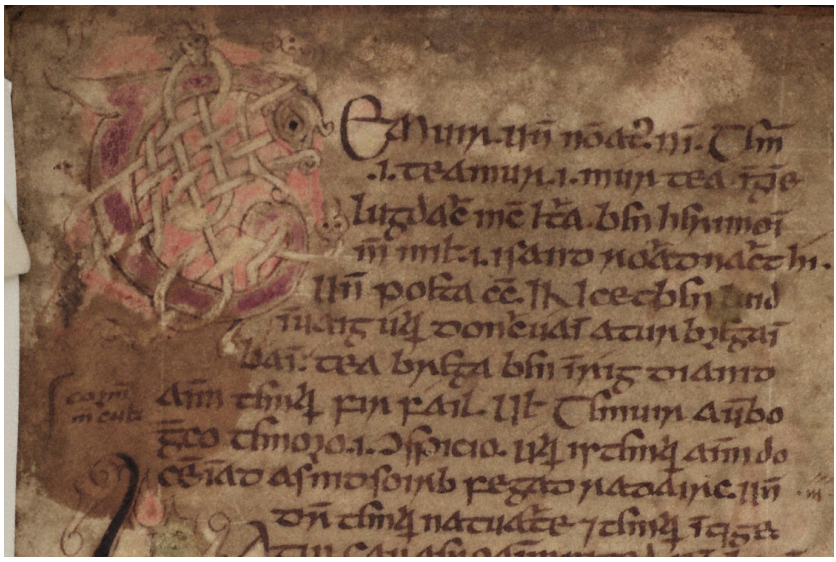


Figure 1: Prose *dindṡenchas* of Tara on p. 159a in LL

the majority of the LL *Dindṡenchas*, the marginal note appears to have been written in the hand of T, the scribe who also wrote the LL *Sanas Cormaic*.[16]

This marginal note is the earliest piece of evidence, and the only pre-Norman one, to suggest that Cormac mac Cuilennáin was the author of *Sanas Cormaic*. Russell further notes that the compilation bears the title *Sanas Cormaic* in LB and *sanasán saltrach Cormaic* in Ld.[17]

A further piece of evidence, though later, comes from the prosimetrical *Dindṡenchas Érenn*.[18] In the prose *dindṡenchas* of Tara in this recension, in the only Latin passage in the entire corpus, the Greek etymology given by Cormac, who is cited as a source, is considerably expanded:[19]

> Temair a uerbo graeco *temorio* quod latine interpretatur conspicio. Huius oppidi quod Temoriam uocamus nomen esse deriuatum autores affirmant; omnisque locus conspicuus et eminens, siue in campo, siue in domo, siue in quocumque loco sit, uocabulo quo dicitur Temair nominari potest. Sic in prouerbio scotico reperitur, ut dicitur ***temair na tuaithi*** et ***temair in tigi***, quam sententiam **in suo *Silentio* [i.e. *Sanas*] Cormaccus** de hoc nomine disputando possuit. Hoc igitur oppidum multorum sibi commune uindicat, nunc cunctis enim Hibernensibus oppidis excellens congruenter

[16] O'Sullivan and O'Sullivan, 'Three notes', 15–16.

[17] Russell, 'Sounds of a silence', 10–11. See further (pp. 13–14) his arguments on the Munster and Cashel association with the term *sanas* which is only attached to this glossary.

[18] On the different recensions of the *Dindṡenchas*, see Marie-Luise Theuerkauf, *Dindshenchas Érenn*, Cork Studies in Celtic Literatures 7 (Cork, 2023), 1–15.

[19] This passage corresponds to what is §4 of the prose on Tara in Stokes' edition of the Rennes prose *Dindṡenchas* (Stokes, 'The Rennes *Dindṡenchas*', 278).

> eorum commune uocabulum possidet, quippe cum huius rector usque hodie totius insolae Scotorum monarchiam sortitur.[20]
>
> 'Authors affirm that *Temair*, the name of this stronghold which we call *Temoria*, is derived from the Greek verb *temorio* which is translated into Latin as *conspicio*. And every conspicuous and eminent place, whether on a plain or in a house, or wherever it may be, can be called by this word '*temair*'. Thus it is found in the Irish saying,[21] as is said ***temair na tuaithi*** '*temair* of the land' and ***temair in tigi*** '*temair* of the house', an opinion concerning this name under discussion, which **Cormac** cited in his ***Silence***. This *oppidum*, then, claims for itself what is common to many, since it surpasses all *oppida* in Ireland it now appropriately possesses their common name, because, naturally, even today its [i.e. Tara's] ruler obtains the sovereignty of the entire island of Ireland.'[22]

The phrases *siue in campo siue in domo* are likely translations for *iter mag 7 tech*, the phrase found in the long version of *Sanas Cormaic* given above, which suggests that a text of the long version was likely used as the source for the Latin passage.

Immediately preceding this Latin passage is a list of Tara's previous names, each one given by Ireland's previous occupants.[23] The list concludes with the

[20] Stokes, 'The Rennes *Dindšenchas*', 278.

[21] The word *scotico* < *scoticus* refers to the Irish language here.

[22] Marie-Luise Theuerkauf, '*Dindshenchas Érenn* 'Knowledge of Ireland's Notable Places': the Theban origins of Tara', in Michael Clarke, Erich Poppe, and Isabelle Torrance (eds), *Classical Antiquity in Medieval Ireland*: *The Antiquity Sagas and Related Literature* (London, 2024), 355–70, at 365.

[23] In the *Dindšenchas*, it is not uncommon to find references to a place's previous names before it received the name whose origin is related in the story. In the case of Tara, its previous names are connected to the pre-Milesian groups of settlers of Ireland. In what is the first poem of the prosimetrical tract in many manuscripts, *Temair Breg cid ní dia tá* ('Temair Breg, what is it from?'), Fintan states that Tara had four names before it was named *Tara* (*MD* i, 4–5 ll. 39–40: *cóic anmann uirri iarsin / ó tá Fordruim co Temair*, 'five names accordingly were given it / from the time when it was Fordruim till it was Temair'). Theses were *Druim Léith*, named after Líath mac Laigni Leth-anglais; *Druim Cáin*, named after Cáin son of Fíachu Cendfindáin; and *Cathair Crofind*, named after Crofind daughter of Alloid (brother of the Dagda). The fourth name, not attached, it seems, to any person or event, is given as *Fordruim* ('Over-ridge'?). The preposition *for* may not be merely situational here, but, like its Celtic cognates such as Gaulish *wer-* (see *Uer-cingetorix*) may express superiority, in the vein of 'super-hill', or the German nominal and verbal prefix 'ober-'. *Temair Breg cid ní dia tá* is shared between the prosimetrical *Dindšenchas Érenn* and the third redaction of *LGÉ*. A prose passage, which is only found in the Book of Lecan copy of this redaction of *LGÉ*, where it directly precedes the poem, explains that each of Temair's previous names (apart from *Fordruim*), comes from a representative of some of Ireland's previous settlers: it was called *Druim Léith* or *Líathdruim* under the occupation of Nemed's people; *Druim Cáin* during the reign of the Fir Bolg, *Cathair Crofind* while the Túatha Dé Danann ruled Ireland, and *Temair* from Tea, the wife of Érimón son of Míl. This information is only supplied in the Book of Lecan copy of the third redaction of *LGÉ* (Macalister, *LGÉ* v, 82–3). *LGÉ* omits *Fordruim*, but in addition to *Líath-druim* (Clanna Nemid), *Druim Cáin* (Fir Bolg), *Cathair Crofind* (Túatha Dé Danann) and *Temair* (sons of Míl), gives two further names for Temair under the reign of the last king of the Fir Bolg, Eochu mac Eircc: *Tulach in Trír* 'Mound of the Three Men', and *Carn in Áenfhir* 'Stone-heap of the Solitary Man'. Although the poem asks whether it was under Parthalón's or Cessair's occupation of

name *Druim nDécsin* 'Ridge of Looking' or 'Lookout Ridge'. This is a curious name for Tara, which is not connected to any of the groups of settlers:

> §3. Temhair ⁊ Druim Cáin ⁊ Liathdruim ⁊ Cathair Cro[ḟ]ind, Druim nDéscin .u. anmanda Temrach ind sin.
>
> '§3. *Temair* and *Druim Cáin* 'Cáin's Ridge' and *Líathdruim* 'Grey Ridge' (or 'Líath's Ridge') and *Cathair Croḟind* 'City of Crofind' and *Druim nDéscin* 'Ridge of Looking' (or 'Lookout Ridge'), those are the five names of Temair.'[24]

Since *Druim nDéscin* is directly followed by the Latin passage in which the Greek etymology of *Temair* is given, it is possible that *Druim nDéscin* was coined as an etymological translation of *teomoro*/*conspicio* to capture the idea that Tara was closely connected with 'looking', 'gazing' or 'having a view'.

While *Druim nDécsin* might be an invention of the *Dindṡenchas* compiler to form a closer connection between the various thematic strands of tradition given in the prose, the idea of *conspicio* in the Latin passage serves another purpose. It is rephrased to express notions of *conspicuus* and *eminens* in the *Dindṡenchas*. While *Sanas Cormaic* allows for the passage to be interpreted in a more neutral way – a *temair* is simply any place, whether inside or outside, which affords a good view – the *Dindṡenchas* clearly stamps out any notion of equality between the various namesakes. In the *Dindṡenchas*, Tara is a place which *is seen* rather than a place *from which one can see*. And this idea forms the basis of the second part of the Latin *Dindṡenchas* passage above: although every *locus conspicuus et eminens* can be called a *temair*, it is *this Temair*, the one in Brega, which surpasses all others. Although it possesses a name common to all, it is *primus inter pares*. And because of this onomastic eminence, its king is the rightful ruler over the island of Ireland. Arguably, the claim sounds a little contrived and not particularly elegant, but the intention of the statement is clear: the Greek etymology *teomoro*/*conspicio* ultimately forms the basis of a political claim – the supremacy of the king of Tara over all others and his right to rule Ireland. As Cormac's Greek etymology was being absorbed into the *Dindṡenchas*, its explanation was rephrased so as to express the more overtly political outlook of a flourishing topographical tradition.

If we accept his authorship of *Sanas Cormaic*, it might be worth querying whether Cormac's Greek etymology may not itself have been politically inclined, that it may never have been all that 'neutral'? On the face of it, *Sanas*

Ireland (*In ac Partolan na cath / nó 'n ac cétgabáil Cesrach*) that Tara was so named, no previous name for Tara is attached to either of these groups. Nor indeed to the groups of Cicul Cricenchlos of the Fomoire or to anyone *do line Lupracán* 'from the line of the Lupracans', which the poem mentions. See *MD* i, 2.5–10.

[24]Translation slightly adapted from Stokes, 'The Rennes *Dindṡenchas*', 279–80, §1.3). Stokes translated *Druim Cáin* as 'Beautiful Ridge', but this can hardly be correct: *Temair Breg cid ní dia tá*, on which this part of the prose is likely based, rhymes *Cáin*: *máir* (pl. < *már*); it can hardly be the same as the adjective *caín* (see *eDIL* s.v.) here. As Kevin Murray points out to me, this was also the understanding of later scholars, see Pádraig Ó Riain, Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, Emma Nic Cárthaigh, and Kevin Murray (eds), *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames / Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge* (London, 2003), viii, s.n. *Druim Caoin* (1).

Cormaic may simply have been pointing to the fact that *Temair* applied to a number of placenames besides the one in Meath, notably the Munster placename *Temair Lúachra*. Alternatively, Cormac mac Cuilennáin, king and bishop of Cashel, may have phrased the etymology of Tara in a deliberately more equalizing or 'inclusive' way in order to reject the supremacy of Bregian Tara, the seat of his political rivals, the Uí Néill. It is no secret that Cormac's intellectual prowess was more than matched by his political ambitions and that he sought to challenge the Uí Néill kingship of Tara and make a bid for it himself.[25]

The (no doubt politically-motivated) idea of Bregian Tara's pre-eminence among Ireland's places is explored in other glossaries besides *Sanas Cormac*.[26] Outside of the glossary tradition, there appears to be only once instance of *temair* being used in the way Cormac explains, as a common noun meaning 'height' or 'hill'.[27] The word is employed to describe a particular aspect of the city of Troy in the first recension of *Togail Troí*, the eleventh-century prose adaptation of Dares Phrygius' *De excidio Troiae historia*: [28]

> *Con-rótacht leis rigimscing amra i mmedhón na catrach. Do-rónadh dano treb chain chumtachta ⁊ foradh leis for* ***temair*** *⁊ dingna na cathrach do dálloc ⁊* ***d'fordécsin*** *⁊ do dibricud námhat tairis sechtair:* ***arc*** *(.i.* ***dind****) Priaimh ba hedh a hainm.*
>
> 'A wonderful royal pavilion was erected by him amidst the city. Moreover, a fair well-built dwelling, and a viewing platform were built by him [i.e. Priam] on the ***temair*** and the stronghold of the city as a meeting place and for **observation**, and for hurling at foes over it outside. 'Priam's ***arc*** (that is ***dind***)' was its name.'[29]

This passage finds no counterpart in its Latin source; all Dares offers is: *Priamus ut Ilium venit, ampliora moenia extruxit, civitatem munitissimam reddidit* 'When Priam came to Ilium, he had greater fortifications built, and saw to it that the city was most secure'.[30] It was the invention of the *Togail Troí* compiler

[25] Francis J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* (Dublin, 1973, repr. 2001), 203.

[26] These are discussed in Marie-Luise Theuerkauf, '*Dindṡenchas*, law texts and glossaries: The lexical eminence of Tara', forthcoming.

[27] The use of *temair* as an appellative noun has been examined by Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig. Although Mac Giolla Easpaig initially points out that '[a]ctual occurrences of *temair* as a common appellative are few and are attested only in glossaries or in works of translation', he suggests that it was in such special and learned contexts 'that the source of the common noun meaning "height" is to be found'. See Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'Significance and etymology of the placename *Temair*', 427, 428.

[28] See Ralph O'Connor, 'Irish narrative literature and the classical tradition, 900–1300', in Ralph O'Connor (ed.), *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative* (Cambridge, 2014), 1–22, at 14.

[29] Text and translation slightly adapted from Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The destruction of Troy', in Ernst Windisch, and Whitley Stokes (eds), *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, 4 vols (Leipzig, 1884), ii, 1–142, at 9, 70. Stokes translates *temair* as 'acropolis', but this term usually refers to a structure built on a hill, not to the hill itself.

[30] See Ferdinand Otto (ed.), *Daretis Phrygii De excidio Troiae historia*, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig, 1873), 6. Translation is my own.

therefore, deliberately drawing on his knowledge of the word's Greek etymology.[31] His description of the topography of the most famous city in classical antiquity by means of a word which itself was supposedly derived from Greek is evidence that he was not only keenly aware of the word's learned origin but also wished to establish a connection between the prestige of Troy as the seat of the kings of Asia Minor and Tara as the seat of Irish kings.[32] The textual context in which *temair* is used suggests conspicuousness and eminence. That the structure built by Priam, called his *arc* (borrowed from Latin *arx* and meaning 'height', 'citadel', or 'city'), is glossed by the word *dind* and is intended for *fordécsin* 'overlooking', further suggests that *Togail Troí* actively participated in the same learned milieu which used *Sanas Cormaic* as a source for developing the *dindṡenchas* of Tara. The citation from *Togail Troí* evidently draws on the same connection between *Temair* and 'looking', giving a telling example of how one branch of Irish classical learning, that of the glossary tradition, may have informed another, the development of the antiquity sagas.[33]

Greek etymologies and the study of Greek in Medieval Ireland

Irish learned interest in classical antiquity goes back to the earliest period of literary production. A number of early linguistic and aetiological works promote the idea that Greece was the cradle of Irish civilisation.[34] For instance, the prologue to the early Old Irish *De origine Scoticae linguae* (commonly referred to as 'O'Mulconry's Glossary') states that *Scoti de Graecis originem duxerunt, sic et lingam* 'the Irish derived their origin from the Greeks, and likewise their

[31]The description of the new Troy under Priam in the second recension of *Togail Troí* does not use the word *temair*, but gives a similar description. See Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Togail Troi: The Destruction of Troy* (Calcutta, 1881), 19; 79–80: *Ra cumtaiged imscing rígda lais i mmédón na cathrach. Ra cossecrad ar cúl na rígdai sin fidneimed do Ḟoib 7 a delb in dea isin fidnemiud tall. Da-rónad dano leis grianán caemdathach cumdachtha for dreich in dindgnai do rígaib 7 do rurechaib, do degḟeraib 7 do degdaínib*, 'A royal room withal was built by him amidst the city. Behind that royal room a sacred grove was consecrated to Jupiter, and the god's image was there in the grove. Then he made a balcony [*gríanán*], fair-coloured, adorned, in front of the fortress, for kings and lords, for gentlefolk.' But the word *gríanán* may also be connected with the etymology of *Temair* in the LB version of *Sanas Cormaic*. See Stokes, 'Cormac's Glossary', 42: *[…] ut dicitur temair na duath .i. grianan no tulac. temair in tige .i. grianan*.

[32]See Stokes, *The Destruction of Troy*, 2, 58: *In Troí-sin immoro prímchathir na Asia bice í-side* 'Now that Troy was the chief city of Asia Minor'. *Togail Troí* (same pages) further stresses that Troy and the Trojans themselves are not Greeks, but instead go back to a common ancestor in Jupiter from whose two sons, Dardanus and Mercury, both peoples are respectively descended: *Is é seo turthiud bunaid na Troiana 7 a craeb choibniusa fri Grécaib .i. Mercuir mac Ioib brathair Dardain meic Ioib. Is uad ra genatar Gréic. O Dardán immoro ra genatar Troianai*, 'This is an account of the origin of the Trojans and their branch of kinship to the Greeks: to wit, Mercury son of Jove, brother of Dardanus son of Jove, it is from him the Greeks were born: from Dardanus, however, were born the Trojans.' My thanks to Michael Clarke for highlighting this important distinction.

[33]This scenario, and the arguably highly conscious choice of intertextually evocative vocabulary can also be viewed in the context of Brent Miles' examination of the Latin rhetorical technique of *amplificatio* in classical adaptations such as *Togail Troí*. See Brent Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), 95–144 ('Classicism and *Togail Troí*'), especially 102–4.

[34]For a survey of this topic, see Bart Jaski, '"We are of the Greeks in our origin": new perspectives on the Irish origin legend', *CMCS* 46 (Winter 2003), 1–53.

language'.[35] Similarly, the ninth-century poet Máel Muru Othna (†887) says in his *Can a mbunadus na nGaedel* 'Whence the Origin of the Gaels?': *do Grécaib dún conar mbunud, conar ndligud* 'we are of the Greeks in our origin, in our laws'.[36]

Given the emphasis on the common origin of Trojans and Greeks, the link established between Troy and Tara in *Togail Troí* seems to be an extension of the Hellenic origin paradigm, a paradigm which was eventually absorbed into and superseded by the more ibero-centric model found in *Lebor Gabála Érenn* and affiliated texts.[37]

A fair amount of ink has been spilled to ascertain whether these intellectual endeavours – carving Ireland's people, laws and especially the Irish language from the classical ether as the new Hellenic west – were matched by a proper understanding of the Greek language. Knowledge of Greek in medieval Ireland was, by all accounts, limited to specific contexts, and, as far as glossaries were concerned, the evidence suggests that glossators drew on 'vocabularies and Latin texts citing Greek words in isolation' rather than on continuous texts.[38]

To what extent the derivation of *Temair* from Greek *teomoro* (*al. teomora*, *temoro*, *temorio*, *temoria*), shared between *Sanas Cormaic* and the *Dindṡenchas*, reflects real Greek has been a matter of debate. It was taken by Stokes, in both his translation of *Sanas Cormaic* and of the prose texts from the Rennes *Dindṡenchas*, to represent the transliteration of the first person singular Greek verbal form *θεωρέω* (*theoréo*) 'I look at, view, behold'. In this, he was likely guided by the word's Latin translation as *conspicio*.[39] Without further explanation, Joseph Vendryes took *teomoro* to represent *θεώρημα* (*theṓrēma*) 'that which is looked at, viewed, a sight' in his *Lexique étymologique*, but ultimately said that Cormac's etymology 'n'est pas à retenir' ('should not be retained').[40] Paul Russell has also suggested *θεωρέω*, or possibly *θεῶμαι* (*theomai*), remarking that 'it is not easy to explain the formal connection', but he has later argued

[35] Pádraic Moran (ed. and trans.), *De origine Scoticae linguae ('O'Mulconry's Glossary): An Early Irish Linguistic Tract, with a Related Glossary, Irsan* (Turnhout, 2019), 127.

[36] Jaski, ' "We are of the Greeks in our origin" ', 12.

[37] While the Irish, unlike other medieval European nations, never claimed descent from the Trojans, the association – obviously considered prestigious – remained attractive and found other expressions. The most notable example of this is likely the twelfth-century poem *Clann ollaman uaisle Emna* 'The Children of Ollam are the nobles of Emain', a poem comparing the nobles of Ulster to the Trojans while the kings and heroes of Connacht are compared to the Greeks. For the standard edition and translation, see Francis John Byrne, '*Clann Ollaman uaisle Emna*', *Studia Hibernica* 4 (1964), 54–94. Now see Michael Clarke, '*Clann Ollaman uaisle Emna* "The nobles of Emain Macha are Ollam's descendants" ', in Michael Clarke, Erich Poppe, and Isabelle Torrance (eds), *Classical Antiquity in Medieval Ireland*: *The Antiquity Sagas and Related Literature* (London, 2024), 79–84.

[38] Pádraic Moran, 'Greek in medieval Ireland', in Alex Mullen, and Patrick James (eds), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 2012), 172–92, at 190. See also Michael Herren, 'The study of Greek in Ireland in the Early Middle Ages', *L'Irlanda e gli Irlandesi nell'alto medioevo, Spoleto, 16–21 April 2009* (Spoleto, 2010), 511–28.

[39] Stokes and O'Donovan, *Sanas Chormaic*, 157; Stokes, 'The Rennes *Dindṡenchas*', 280. See H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Seventh Edition (Oxford, 1940), s.v. *θεωρέω*. This interpretation squares well with Moran's observation ('Greek in medieval Ireland', 191) that most Greek verbal forms cited are in the first person singular present indicative active.

[40] *LEIA*, T-48 s.v. *temair*.

that establishing the correct Greek form actually defeats the purpose of the gloss since 'etymological analysis of the headword very often depends precisely on the mangled Greek form found in our manuscripts'.[41] Indeed, in his entry on *Temair* Cormac himself says that *Gréc ro trúailled and* 'Greek was corrupted there'.

The idea of 'corruption' crops up in a number of etymological entries in *Sanas Cormaic*.[42] In the case of *teomoro*, the 'corruption' present might refer to the presence of medial *m*, although it finds a corresponding sound in all but one of Greek words suggested (thus present in Vendryes' *θεώρημα*, and Russell's *θεῶμαι*), namely *θεωρέω*. Without this intruding *m*, which is necessary to spell *Temair*, we would be left with *teo(o)ro* (i.e. *teomoro -m = teooro*; LL's *temoro -m = teoro*). The closest Greek lexeme of which *teo(o)ro* would be the Latin transliteration, is *θεωρῶ* (*theorô*), the contracted form of the verb proposed by Stokes.[43] This lexeme becomes an especially attractive suggestion because one of its Latin translations is given as *conspicio*, the very translation Cormac gives for *teomoro*, in a Graeco-Latin glossary which was arguably available to Cormac.[44] This is the glossary referred to as the Harleian (or Cyrillus) Glossary which survives in an eighth-century codex of Italian provenance in BL Harleian MS 5792. A copy of the Harleian Glossary is preserved in Laon Bibliotèque municipale MS 444, a ninth-century manuscript which bears the signature of Martinus Hibernensis (d. 875). Paul Russell has shown that a version of the Harleian glossary was the likely source for a number of Greek etymologies in *Sanas Cormaic*.[45] It is possible therefore that Cormac used the entry on *θεωρῶ* in the Harleian glossary as a source for his *teomoro*. In light of this possibility, Cormac's 'corruption' could actually represent a hermeneutic

[41] Russell, 'The sounds of a silence', 15 n. 68. Cf. idem, '*Graece … Latine*: Graeco-Latin glossaries in early medieval Ireland', *Peritia* 14 (2000), 406–20, at 410, and Pádraic Moran, ' "A living speech"? The pronunciation of Greek in early medieval Ireland', *Ériu* 61 (2011), 29–57, at 45.

[42] What the corruption entails varies from entry to entry: initial or medial consonants and vowels may be different, or an ending may have been omitted. See Meyer, '*Sanas Cormaic*', 86, §1011: *Om in bīd, grēicc ro trūailled and; om [ὠμόν] isin grēic, cruor isin laitin* '*om* (raw) is the food, Greek was corrupted there: *omon* in Greek, *cruor* in Latin.' As *LEIA* O-21 s.v. *om* states, Irish *om* and Greek *ὠμός* do indeed go back to the same IE root. Further evidence of such cross-linguistic reasoning has been observed by Pádraic Moran ('Greek in medieval Ireland', 190) who noted that '[t]he Irish glossaries might thus be considered as an early stage in the history of comparative linguistics'.

[43] Michael Clarke has suggested to me that the medial *m* in *teomoro*, apart from making the word look more like *Temair*, might serve to facilitate the pronunciation of Greek *-eo-* as two separate syllables, meaning that it would act as a glide /w/. He cites another, much later example of this phenomenon in the spelling of Menelaus (with *-aus* pronounced as two short syllables) as *Menela**b**us* in Irish, where lenited *b* acts as a glide. While this is an attractive suggestion, the development by which lenited *m*, pronounced /v/ in the Old and Middle Irish period becomes /w/ had not yet taken place by the time of the compilation of *Sanas Cormaic*.

[44] See Georg Goetz (ed.), *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (Leipzig, 1888), ii, 328.15–17 (hereafter *CGL*): *θεωρῶ aspecto cerno respicio aspicio* ***conspicio conspicio*** *conspicor dispicio* ('I look at, I perceive, I look back, I look upon, I catch sight of, I catch sight of, I see, I descry') [emphasis my own].

[45] See Russell, '*Graece … Latine*'.

device for deriving words from other languages.[46] In this way, his etymology of Tara looks less like an exercise in Procrustean morphology, where lemmata are arbitrarily made to 'fit' a desired meaning, and more like a consciously crafted etymology. Although it is unlikely that he was fully proficient in it, Cormac here demonstrates *some* knowledge of actual Greek.[47]

While we may have found the source from which Cormac took the Greek etymology of *Temair*, it does not tell us what inspired him to etymologize the word in this particular manner. In his gloss, Cormac was arguing that *Temair*, since it is derived from a Greek word which means 'to see', is also a common noun meaning 'hill' or 'height', and phrases like *temair na tuaithe* and *temair in tige* attest to this.[48] But phrases of the structure '*Temair* of X' are found in other glossaries, as well as in law texts, where they, as metaphorical expressions of the placename, serve to make the case for Tara's eminence among all Irish places.[49] Cormac's contribution to this bit of political lexicography, then, lay in refining the notion of Tara's pre-eminence by supplying it with a prestigious etymological foundation.

I would like to suggest that the Greek etymology of *Temair* was not the result of scientific serendipity, but a conscious choice to make a connection between the name *Temair* and the idea of 'seeing', 'observing', and 'catching sight of'. Of all the Latin texts which Cormac had at his disposal and which have been shown to have served as his source material, only one work provides such a connection: the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville.[50]

We know that medieval Irish scholars held Isidore's *Etymologies* in the highest esteem, and aptly referred to it as the *culmen*, the 'pinnacle' of all learning. As the late Old Irish text *Do Ḟailsigud Tána Bó Cúailnge* amusingly relates, the Irish held the *culmen* in such high regard that they gave away their own epic *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in exchange for it – and could only reassemble the *Táin* in its entirety after holding a *séance* with the pre-Christian warrior Fergus mac Roích, since he had participated in the *Táin* and could therefore relate it from personal experience.[51]

Book XV of the *Etymologies*, *De aedificiis et agris*, deals with the origins of buildings and fields in sixteen chapters, the first of which, *De civitatibus*, discusses the origin and foundation of famous cities. Parts of *De civitatibus*, especially the section on *Oppida nobilia, qui vel quae constituerunt*, almost

[46] 'Corruption' is therefore a type of glossatorial *topos*, not dissimilar from adverbial *quasi* 'approximately' found in about 200 entries in *Sanas Cormaic*. Paul Russell has demonstrated that the purpose of *quasi* in glossaries was 'intended to bridge the gap between the lemma and its etymon' (Paul Russell, '*Quasi*: bridging the etymological gap in early Irish glossaries', in Bernadette Smelik, Rijcklof Hofman, Camiel Hamans, and David Cram (eds), *A Companion in Linguistics: A Festschrift for Anders Ahlqvist on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (Nijmegen, 2004), 49–62, at 50).

[47] Moran, 'Greek in early medieval Ireland', 191 n. 88 (citing Vendryes).

[48] The word *didiu* in the entry on *Temair* in *Sanas Cormaic* given above from the various manuscripts is probably to be taken as having the force of Latin *ergo* ('therefore, consequently') here. See *eDIL* s.v. *didiu*.

[49] As argued in Theuerkauf, '*Dindṡenchas*, law texts and glossaries', forthcoming.

[50] Russell, '*Graece … Latine*', 410–11, 414 n. 32, 415, 418–19.

[51] Kevin Murray, 'The finding of the *Táin*', *CMCS* 41 (2001), 17–23.

read like an instruction manual for writing *dindṡenchas*, featuring the techniques of eponymy and etymological dissection of words we encounter in many topographical histories.[52] One of the most famous cities of the ancient east, described in greater detail by Isidore, is Jerusalem:

> Iudaei asserunt Sem, fillium Noe […] primum post diluvium in Syria condidisse urben Salem […] Hanc postea tenuerunt Iebusaei, ex quibus et sortita vocabulum est Iebus; sicque duobus nominibus copulata Iebus et Salem vocata est Hierusalem, quae postea a Salomone Hierosolyma quasi Hierosolomonia dicta est. Haec et **corrupte** a poetis Solyma nuncupata est, et postmodum ab Aelio Hadriano Aelia vocitata est. [In] ipsa est et Sion, quae Hebraice interpretatur **speculatio**, eo quod **in sublimi** constructa sit, et de longe venientia **contempletur**. Hierusalem [autem] pacifica in nostro sermone transfertur.[53]
>
> 'The Jews say that Noah's son Shem (*Sem*) […] was the first to found a city after the Flood, Salem in Syria […] Afterwards the Jebusites held it, from whom it got the name Jebus. Thus Jerusalem (*Hierusalem*) was named, from the coupling of the two names *Jebus* and *Salem*. Later it was called *Hierosolyma* by Solomon, as if it were *Hiero-solomonia* (< *ἱερός* 'holy'). **By corruption**, it is also named Solyma by the poets, and later it was called *Aelia* by Aelius Hadrian. [Within] it is also Zion, which means "**lookout**" (*speculatio*) in Hebrew, because it was built **on a height** and **looks out on** things approaching from afar. Jerusalem means "peaceable" (*pacificus*) in our language.'[54]

The similarities between what an Irish scholar would likely call 'the *dindṡenchas* of Jerusalem' (*Hierosalem can as' ro hainmniged*, as the familiar formula goes) and the *dindṡenchas* of Tara are striking. The eponymic derivation of Jerusalem from Iebus and Salem parallels that of *Temair* from *Tea-múr*, while Jerusalem's alternative names, reflecting the city's different occupations (like Aelia under Hadrian), find an echo in the previous names of Tara under the Túatha Dé Danann, the Fir Bolg, and the Clanna Nemid respectively. But the crucial analogy to be drawn is that between Jerusalem's Hebrew name *Zion*, translated by a Latin word from the semantic field of 'looking, seeing' (*speculatio*), and the Greek etymology of *Temair* which

[52] On these, see Theuerkauf, *Dindshenchas Érenn*, 70–9.

[53] W. M. Lindsay (ed.), *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX* (London, 1911), XV.i.5.

[54] Translation adapted from Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006), 301. As Paul Russell points out to me, Jerome etymologized Jerusalem as *visio pacis* 'sight/vision of peace' in his 'Book of Hebrew Names'. See Paul de Lagarde (ed.), '*Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum*', in Paul de Lagarde, Germain Morin, and Marc Adriaen (eds), *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera. Pars 1, opera exegetica 1: Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos, Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum, Commentarioli in Psalmos, Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 72 (Turnhout, 1959), 59–161, at 121, 136, 146.

establishes the same semantic connection. Even the idea of lexical corruption found in *Sanas Cormaic* (*Gréc* ***ro truailled*** *and*), is present in Isidore (*haec et* ***corrupte***). The etymology of Tara has not been traced back to Isidore so far, perhaps because it did not quote or translate him directly, but simply drew inspiration from him.

Cormac's knowledge of Greek was likely limited (and there is no evidence to suggest he knew any Hebrew), and he therefore may have made use of a Latin-Greek glossary like the Harleian one in search of a close enough Greek match for *Temair*. While Isidore's *speculatio* gives Greek κατοπτευσις (*katopteusis*) 'a lookout', other words using the stem *spec-* yielded more promising results, the most fitting being *spectacula* 'shows, spectacles', which is translated as *θεωριαι*.[55] Another entry in the glossary and potential match could have been *θεωρία* (*theoría*), a close-enough Greek rendering of *Temoria*, the Latinized form of Tara.[56] In the Harleian Glossary, *θεωρία* is translated as *spectacula* 'sights', which would have been an approximate semantic match to Isidore's *speculatio* 'watching'.[57] Supposing that Cormac was looking through the glossary for a Greek word from which to derive *temair*, he may have associated *spectacula* (and singular *spectaculum*) with its specific meaning 'spectacle, public sight, show', rather than its general meaning 'sight', thereby making *θεωρία* a less attractive choice than *θεωρῶ*. Alternatively, it is also possible that Cormac mistook Isidore's *speculatio* for a first singular verbal form, which may have prompted him to look for a verb as well. If this is the case, then the only entry matching Cormac's semantic and morphophonological requirements was *θεωρῶ*. And for *θεωρῶ* to become *teomoro*/*Temair*, the word needed to be 'corrupted' by adding *m*, and by losing the Greek verbal ending.[58]

It is further possible that it was Isidore's claim that Hebrew ציון (*tsiyón*) was not just the name for the Temple Mount, used synecdochically for the entire city of Jerusalem, but was also a word denoting a hill from which one could 'look out', which may have inspired Cormac to proceed likewise with *Temair*.[59]

[55] See Goetz, *CGL* ii, 186. As for the letter *θ*, Pádraic Moran has shown (' "A living speech"?', 52) that Greek *theta* was transliterated as both *t* or *th*. Yet Irish scholars did not do so arbitrarily, but adhered to the morphophonemic exigencies of their language: *th* was interpreted as a lenited sound, and *theta* was therefore not written as *th* in grammatical situations where lenition would not naturally occur, such as in the initials of stand-alone words.

[56] See *Thes.* ii, 259 (from the Book of Armagh), where *Temoria*, *-ae* declines like a first declension Latin noun.

[57] Goetz, *CGL* ii, 329.13–14: *θεωρια spectaculaludi* [*sic*] ('*θεωρια* "spectacles, plays" '). The index (*CGL* vii, 540) further gives *aspectio, contemplatio, ludus, spectaculum, spectamen* ('watching, viewing, play, spectacle, scene'). But, once again, all of these are nouns, while Cormac may have been looking for a verbal form.

[58] We may remark that *teomoro* looks like a closer match to gen. sg. *Temro* than to its nominative *Temair*.

[59] A point of nuance: in Lindsay's edition of the *Etymologiae*, above, he gives [*in*] *ipsa est et Sion* (*lege* abl. *ipsā*). As his apparatus (XV.i.5 l. 5 note) shows, some manuscripts did not contain *in* and just give *ipsa est et Sion* 'and it [i.e. Jerusalem] is Zion itself'. The presence or absence of *in* is not insignificant, since the first expresses that Zion was *part of* Jerusalem while the second states that Zion *was* Jerusalem. If Cormac used Isidore's history of Jerusalem, he likely would have understood it in the second sense (and this may point to what sort of manuscript of the *Etymologiae* was available to him). Interestingly, the etymology of *Zion* is uncertain, but pre-Israelite origins

Etymology, eponymy and the supremacy of *Temair*

We may wonder what had driven the king of Cashel to cast Tara, the seat of power of his political rivals, the Uí Néill, in such a favourable light? It appears particularly favourable in contrast to the etymology of Tara given in another text associated with Cormac. Within the Munster genealogical tracts, we find a short tale entitled *Do bunad imthechta Eóganachta* 'Concerning the origin of the wandering of the Eóganachta', which relates the settlement of Ireland by the dynasty's eponymous ancestor Eógan Taídlech ('the Shining'), identified with the first Míl Espáine, and contrasts Eógan's peaceful reign with the violent conquest of the Dál Cuinn (from whom the Uí Néill descend).[60] In this text, *Temair* is etymologized as *teime-úr*, that is *teime* 'darkness, death' and *úr* 'sod, soil', because *teime-úr* was what the second Míl Espáine (*in Míl Espáine tánaise/dédenach*), ancestor of the Dál Cuinn, brought to Ireland when he and his people conquered the land by the sword.[61] In *Do bunad*, Tara is no lofty Greek citadel nor the sacred bastion of the Israelites but the 'soil of death' brought by the Milesian usurpers from Spain.[62]

In 907 Cormac defeated the Uí Néill under the king of Tara at the battle of Mag Léna, and marched into Uí Néill and Connacht territory in the same year to obtain hostages.[63] Given Cormac mac Cuilennáin's own designs on the kingship of Tara, further demonstrated by military campaigns into Meath and against Clonmacnoise, the Munster king did not object to Tara's supremacy among Irish places *per se*.[64] Rather, it seems that his efforts, both military and scholarly, were intended to prevent the kingship of Tara from becoming the prerogative *ab origine* of a budding Uí Néill hegemony.[65] The notion of an hereditary Uí Néill high-kingship, to the exclusion of all other provincial dynasties, found its most scholarly expression in the Milesian teleological paradigm. Cormac may have sought to counter this very idea in *Do bunad*

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both in Hebrew itself, as well as in Arabic have been proposed, which suggest that the name may indeed derive from a common noun. See Tremper Longman III and Peter Enns (eds), *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Wisdom, Poetry and Writings* (Downers Grove, IL, 2008), 936 s.v. Zion.

[60] Edited by Kuno Meyer, 'The Laud genealogies and tribal histories', *ZCP* 8 (1912), 291–338, at 312–14. For a summary and partial translation see Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, 199–201. Byrne stated (p. 200) that it was 'very likely that this story was compiled, if not composed, by Cormac mac Cuilennáin when the Eóganachta were making a final effort to challenge the Uí Néill high-kingship.'

[61] Meyer, 'The Laud genealogies', 313. On the glossary word *teime* meaning 'death', see *eDIL* s.v. *teime* and cf. *temaid* 'dies'.

[62] As stated by Byrne (*Irish Kings and High-Kings*, 201), Eógan Taídlech is understood as the first Míl Espáine who was left *i tir Amazonum* 'in the land of the Amazons' and came to Ireland from there, before the second Míl Espáine came from *cathir Breogaint* 'Breogan's city' in Spain. On the etymology of Temair, the text further says *dind húir a Them is ala chéill in sin* 'sods from the city of Them that is its second meaning'.

[63] *AI* 907.1 and Donnchadh Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans* (Dublin, 1972), 113.

[64] See *AI* 907.

[65] In the course of the ninth century, these had not only come to claim the title *rex Temoriae* for themselves, but their expansionist politics were aimed at making the kingship of Tara synonymous with the (still theoretical) high-kingship of Ireland. See Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, 266.

imthechta Eóganachta,[66] all the while encoding his own political ambitions into his glossary by casting Tara in the etymological mould of Isidore's Jerusalem. As a bishop and scholar, Cormac emulated Isidore, but as a king and politician he may have aspired to be the Irish Solomon.[67] And under this new Solomon, Tara would not be the 'sod of death' of the second Míl Espáine, but the new Jerusalem, throwing off the clutches of the Uí Néill like Jerusalem had thrown off those of Babylon.

It is tantalizing to imagine how all these ideas first took shape as the *sanas*, the 'secret council' of Cormac mac Cuilennáin, king and bishop of Cashel.[68] If Cormac sought to counter the idea of Uí Néill dominance in his own glossary, and in the entry on *Temair* specifically, then only the shorter version of the entry would allow for this interpretation, indirectly supporting the argument that the shorter version was also the older one. As given above, the longer version states that Tea, the eponymous figure behind Tara, was the wife of Érimón son of Míl. Other texts explain that Tara was the place which Tea first spotted from Spain and which she demanded as a bridal portion from her husband Érimón, meaning that Tara rightfully belonged to the Erimonian branch of the Milesian family.[69] This branch included the Uí Néill, the Connachta, but also the Laigin and Osraige.[70] This pairing of Tea and Érimón is already found in Máel Muru's poem and indeed the pairing of Érimón and a female representation of Tara more generally has been a dominant theme from the late Old Irish period onwards.[71] Another eponymous figure, connected with Tara in the *dindṡenchas* tradition since the ninth century, is Tephe or Tebe, whose name supplies another etymology for *Temair* as *Tephe-múr* 'Rampart of Tephe'. An

[66] If *Do bunad* was indeed another brainchild of Cormac's, the sinister etymology of Tara in that text seems eerily prescient given the circumstances of Cormac's own demise: in 908, the Munster king's political aspirations came to a tragic end in the battle of Belach Mugna, when, in a cruel twist of historical irony, he met his death at the hands of the Uí Néill, the very dynasty whose power he had sought to rein in.

[67] Comparison to Solomon was a popular eulogistic motif; in Ireland it was commonly applied to the legendary king of Tara, and ancestor figure to the Uí Néill, Cormac mac Airt (see e.g. Cináed úa hArtacáin's *Dindṡenchas* poem, *Domun duthain a lainde*, where Cormac is compared to Solomon in the last stanza; *MD* i, 36–7). As John Carey and Barbara Hillers have recently shown, accounts of Solomon, perhaps transmitted to Ireland via early apocryphal texts, likely informed the portrayal of Cormac mac Airt in texts as early as the eighth century (John Carey and Barbara Hillers, 'Cormac, Solomon, and One Shearing for Another', *Peritia* 33 (2022), 29–39).

[68] On the meaning of *sanas* as 'secret counsel', 'secret council' or 'apocryphon', see Russell, 'The sounds of a silence', 13–14, and later Russell, '*Graece … Latine*', 416–17.

[69] She is named as the wife of Érimón in *Can a mbunadas na nGáedel* and in several prose and verse passages in *Lebor Gabála*, as well as in passages dealing with Tara across the various versions of the *Dindṡenchas*. James Henthorn Todd (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Breathnach annso sis: The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius* (Dublin, 1848), 244–5 (st. 45); Macalister, *LGÉ* iv, 58; v, 40, 56, 62, 98, 130; *LL* ll. 1032–41; Stokes, 'The Bodleian *Dinnshenchas*', 470; idem, 'The Rennes *Dindṡenchas*', 277; E. J. Gwynn (ed. and trans.), *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, 5 vols (Dublin, 1903–35), i, 4, 6.

[70] Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, 203.

[71] Todd, *Leabhar Breathnach*, 242–3. Her husband Érimón was also her great-uncle: Míl Espáine was the son of Bile son of Bregon. Íth, who was the first Milesian to see Ireland from Spain, was Bile's brother. When his father was killed by the then occupants of Ireland, the Túatha Dé Danann, it was Íth's son Lugaid, Tea's father, who mustered the first armed expedition to Ireland in order to avenge Íth. Érimón followed and brought Tea with him.

outlier to the tradition, she is variously described as being of (Theban) Greek, Egyptian, and later of Spanish origin.[72]

That subsequent generations of scholars, more than likely working for Uí Néill rulers, expanded and exploited Cormac's etymology of Tara to bolster their patron's claims to the high-kingship, comes close to a demonstration of the Barthesian 'death of the author'.[73] As his name became inseparably attached to his glossary, Cormac's etymology of Tara retained *auctoritas* all the while betraying its *auctor*.[74]

Etymology, the aetiology of words, affords us a fascinating insight into the development of linguistic thought in medieval Ireland. As the foregoing excursus into the history of Tara has sought to demonstrate, medieval etymology was likely never cultivated as a purely intellectual pursuit. Just as Isidore's *Etymologies* were the *culmen* of all learning, so Tara was the *culmen* of all Irish places. Etymology, then, was the prism through which classical and biblical antiquity – Thebes, Troy, and even Jerusalem – could be projected onto an Irish political landscape, and it therefore participated in the same discourses as did other more overtly historicist branches of learning. As medieval Irish etymology slowly divests itself of the grime of academic contempt, it imparts to us the lesson that any serious attempt to excavate what the Irish regarded as their 'antiquity' requires respect for, and faith in, the methods of their contemporary medieval reconstruction of it.

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[72]For a discussion of this figure, her likely origin and later development, see Theuerkauf, 'The Theban origins of Tara'.

[73]Roland Barthes, 'The death of the author', in Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London, 1977), 142–8.

[74]The second stanza from the poem *Temair Breg baile na fían* by Cúán úa Lothcháin, poet to Máel Sechnaill II, king of Ireland, reads like a versification of the entry on *Temair* from the longer version of *Sanas Cormaic*: *Eisséirge mná meicc Míled / fossad n-aurard n-airdírech / cathir Chormaic huí Chuind chain / less n-aurdairc íarthair domain* 'Resurrection-stead of the wife of Míl's son, stable, lofty, level: citadel of Cormac, grandson of fair Conn, conspicuous court of the western world' (Maud Joynt (ed. and trans.), '*Echtra Mac Echdach Mugmedóin*', *Ériu* 4 (1910), pp. 91–111, at 92–3).

HORSE-TRADING AND WIFE-SWAPPING: POLITICS, MARRIAGE, AND *SELAIDECHT* IN TWELFTH-CENTURY IRELAND[1]

Abstract

On the eve of the English invasion (1169), Ireland's marriage practices were regarded as barbarous and scandalous by contemporary European ecclesiastics. But were they really so divergent, and if so, why does it matter? This article proposes to explain the rationales underlying marriage with special reference to the *Banshenchas*, a twelfth-century record of aristocratic women and their sons. Close attention is given to pairings in terms of their dynastic affiliation and social standing, and a complex picture emerges: alliance was just one of a variety of political motives – others include suzerainty and local ties – and such strategic thinking was by no means universal. The expectations each family might have from a marriage of their daughters or sons existed on a spectrum from the very great to the very meagre; a spectrum greatly extended by the fact than an Irish royal dynasty might have many more children than their counterparts elsewhere in Europe.[2] There are indications of female agency and even marriages of no political importance, as well as evidence to support the view of serial monogyny over polygyny. Most importantly, marriage could be considered a recognition of royal status among groups that shared a common kingship. Constituting or avoiding such matches therefore had implications as dynasties sought to monopolise these kingships. In one province in particular, the failure of any one group to edge out their rivals contributed to political crisis: this was Leinster, whose king, Díarmait Mac Murchada, asked Henry II's aid in 1166 and thus enabled the English invasion.[3]

[1]I would like to acknowledge and thank those who read versions of this paper as it developed, and offered their comments: Ruairí Ó hUiginn, Elizabeth Boyle, Michael Potterton, the late Colmán Etchingham, Niamh Wycherley, Tiago Veloso Silva, Colin Veach, Seán Duffy and the anonymous reviewer for *Celtica*. I owe the title to the suggestion of Caitlin Ellis.

[2]In this article, 'political marriage' represents the portion of the spectrum where a qualitative change in the relationship with another dynasty can be observed, inferred or reasonably assumed; the range of these relationships is also one of our concerns. By comparison, less politically charged marriages (some perhaps even non-political) are characterised by features which make advantages to at least one of the families unlikely: principally the other party having a relatively low social status or being separated by a substantial geographical distance.

[3]I have endeavoured to follow the naming conventions of the *New History of Ireland* series, albeit with some modifications of my own, including substituting Irish plurals for Anglicised versions.

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IT IS WIDELY ACCEPTED that early Irish law distinguished a greater variety of marriage-types than did the legal systems of many other European kingdoms, but the implications of this are more difficult to pin down. A variety of unions were recognised, though not all were considered marriage, and even in the formal categories divorce was easy to obtain.[4] Consequently, many Irish kings had multiple wives. The prevailing consensus is that these men practised serial monogyny: marrying, divorcing, and re-marrying different women.[5] A less popular view is that such marriages represent polygyny: re-marriages not preceded by divorce.[6]

Ireland came to the attention of European ecclesiastical authorities from the late eleventh century onwards for its divergent practices, which were openly criticised. Pope Gregory VII's letter to Toirdelbach úa Briain may represent an early example of such criticism, albeit quite a subtle one. Gregory addressed Toirdelbach as 'the illustrious king of Ireland', and in very vague and general terms exhorted the latter to be loyal to the church's teachings: 'to St. Peter and his vicars … the whole world owes obedience and likewise reverence: these things you should remember to show the holy Roman church with a faithful mind'.[7] He similarly offered general terms of friendship: 'Should any matters of business arise among you which seem to call for our aid, be sure straightway to have recourse to us, and whatever you rightly ask you will with God's help obtain'.[8]

[4]The Irish term *lánamnas* is not limited to marriage but extends to all sexual unions; nine categories are acknowledged in the law tract *Cáin Lánamna* (Law of Couples). Like Bart Jaski and others, I am construing 'marriage' to apply more narrowly to the categories involving a formal period of betrothal (*lánamnas comthinchuir*, *lánamnas mná for ferthinchur*, and *lánamnas fir for bantinchur co fognam*). The distinction between these forms of marriage rests on the contributions made to the marriage fund. Of the three, *lánamnas comthinchuir* (mutual contribution) had achieved dominance among the nobility by the twelfth century so that, in practical terms, this is what is meant by marriage in this article. See Bart Jaski, 'Marriage laws in Ireland and on the continent in the early Middle Ages', in C. E. Meek and M. K. Simms (eds), *"The Fragility of Her Sex"? Medieval Irish Women in Their European Context* (Dublin, 1996), 16–42, esp. 20–7.

[5]See Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), 70–9; Anthony Candon, 'Power, politics and polygamy: women and marriage in late pre-Norman Ireland', in Damian Bracken and Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century* (Dublin, 2006), 106–27; Liam Breatnach, 'On Old Irish collective and abstract nouns, the meaning of *cétmuinter*, and marriage in early mediaeval Ireland', *Ériu* 66 (2016), 1–29.

[6]A preference for the theory of polygyny is found in Charlene M. Eska, *Cáin Lánamna: An Old Irish Tract on Marriage and Divorce Law* (Leiden, 2010), 3, though it is unclear whether Eska extends this view to the twelfth century; another similar view can be found in Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession* (Dublin, 2000), 153.

[7]H. E. J. Cowdrey (ed.), *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII* (Oxford, 1972), 138–41, at 138–9: '*Terdeluacho inclito regi Hiberniae*', '*Beato igitur Petro eiusque uicariis … orbis uniuersus obedientiam similiter et reuerentiam debet, quam mente deuota sanctae Romanae aecclesiae exhibere reminiscimini*'.

[8]Cowdrey, *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, 138–41: '*Siqua uero negotia penes uos emerserint quae nostro digna uideantur auxilio, incunctanter ad nos dirigere studete, et quod iuste postulaueritis Deo auxiliante impetrabitis*'; Martin Brett thought this letter might be a forgery due to its departures from Gregory's normal proof-texts, but his suggestion has not met with general acceptance. See idem, 'Canterbury's perspective on church reform and Ireland, 1070–1115', in Damian Bracken and Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century* (Dublin, 2006), 13–35, at 19–20, n. 14.

H. E. J. Cowdrey, the editor and translator of the letter in question, offered only a broad dating of 1074 × 84, but considering the communications of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, both with Toirdelbach and Gregory, an early date in that range is likely. Lanfranc was more specific in his criticisms and he also seems to have hoped to establish Canterbury's authority over the Irish church. Gregory did not openly sanction this, but he wrote to Lanfranc about Irish marriage practices, implying the latter's authority to correct them.

Lanfranc wrote to Toirdelbach úa Briain in 1074 to complain on the same score. He also oversaw the ordination of the bishop of Dublin in that year, and Canterbury's primacy was accepted among the Hiberno-Norse towns from at least that point until 1140.[9] Six and perhaps seven Hiberno-Norse bishops were consecrated at Canterbury in that period, hailing from Limerick and Waterford as well as from Dublin.[10] These towns were central to the affairs of the great provincial kings in the eleventh century, especially the Uí Briain kings of Munster, and it was therefore natural for the archbishops of Canterbury to make contact with them.

Though Canterbury's claim of authority over Ireland remained speculative, Lanfranc admonished the king of Ireland, saying 'in your kingdom a man abandons at his own discretion and without any grounds in canon law the wife who is lawfully married to him, not hesitating to form a criminal alliance – by the law of marriage or rather by the law of fornication – with any other woman he pleases, either a relative of his own or his deserted wife or a woman whom somebody else has abandoned in an equally disgraceful way'.[11]

Lanfranc's letter to Toirdelbach is regarded as a companion of one he sent to Gofraid mac Amlaíb, king of Dublin. In that epistle, he made essentially the same complaint: 'there are said to be men in your kingdom who take wives from either their own kindred or that of their deceased wives; others who by their own will and authority abandon the wives who are legally married to them; some who give their own wives to others and by an abominable exchange receive the wives of other men instead'.[12]

A generation later, Anselm, successor of Lanfranc in Canterbury, sought to exert the same influence in Ireland. Anselm wrote to Toirdelbach's son and

[9] J. A. Watt, *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge, 1970), 7.

[10] Watt, *The Church and the Two Nations*, 7.

[11] Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (eds and trans.), *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1979), 70–1: *uidelicet quod in regno uestro quisque pro arbitrio suo legitime sibi copulatam uxorem nulla canonica causa interueniente relinquit et aliam quamlibet, seu sibi uel relicte uxori consanguinitate propinquam siue quam alius simili imtemeritate coniungit*. It is also worth considering the impact of these criticisms on Irish society. For example, it appears that the Synod of Cashel (1101) legislated against marriages where the couple had pre-existing affinity (see Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'The Synod of Cashel: conservative or innovative?', in David Edwards (ed.), *Regions and Rulers in Ireland c. 1100–c. 1650* (Dublin, 2004), 13–19). Similarly, Ruairí Ó hUiginn has argued that a version of the tale *Tochmarc Emire* exhibits clear evidence of a concern with unregulated unions that arose out of eleventh-century clerical distaste for Irish marriage customs (idem, *Marriage, Law and Tochmarc Emire* (Cambridge, 2013)).

[12] Clover and Gibson, *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, 68–9: *In regno uestro perhibentur homines seu de propria seu de mortuarum uxorum parentela coniuges ducere, alii legitime sibi copulates pro arbitrio et uoluntate relinquere, nonnulli suas aliis dare et aliorum infanda commutatione recipere*.

successor Muirchertach *c*. 1106, reiterating his predecessor's complaints: 'We have heard that in your kingdom marriages are being dissolved and altered without any grounds; that those related to each other do not fear to live together openly without reproof despite canonical prohibition'.[13] In what is either another version of this letter or a separate missive, Anselm put the case even more forcefully, saying he had been informed that in Ireland 'husbands freely and publicly exchange their wives for the wives of others, as if they were exchanging one horse for another or anything whatever for something from someone else, or they abandon them at their pleasure and without reason'.[14]

We will leave aside Canterbury's claim on primacy over the Irish church, since we are more concerned here with their perspective on marriage.[15] But, whether taking their lead from Canterbury or from Rome, there is no doubt that the 'reforming' faction in Ireland regarded marriage as one of their principal targets. Even so, it was an area in which they had limited success. Take, for instance, the case of Cormac Mac Cárthaig. The king of Munster was considered a major ally of reform, through his association with Máel Máedoc Úa Morgair (St. Malachy) and his subsequent sponsorship of new foundations and buildings, notably Cormac's chapel at Cashel, which is perhaps the most famous example of Romanesque architecture in Ireland.[16] The Romanesque style is generally regarded as a signature of twelfth-century reformers, and in Cormac's case we are even more certain that he supported their cause. Nonetheless, his approach to marriage was considered less than satisfactory. In the *Visio Tnugdali* he is depicted enduring the penance of standing in fire up to his waist with his upper body in a hairshirt for three hours each day, because 'he had sullied the sacrament of lawful marriage'.[17] This comment is particularly interesting because, in other sources he is only associated with one wife: Derbail ingen Uí Lorcáin of Uí Muiredaig in Leinster.[18]

[13]Walter Fröhlich (ed. and trans.), *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, 4 vols (Kalamazoo, 1990–4), iii, 203; F. S. Schmitt (ed.), *S. Anselmi Opera Omnia*, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1938–63), v, 374: *Auditur apud nos quia coniugia in regno vestro sine omni ratione dissolvuntur et commutantur; quia cognati, sive sub nomine coniugii sive alio modo, palam sine reprehensione contra canonicam prohibitionem commisceri non vereantur.*

[14]Clover and Gibson, *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, iii, 215; Schmitt, *S. Anselmi opera omnia*, v, 382: *Dicitur enim quod viri ita libere et publice uxores suas uxoribus aliorum commutant, sicut quilibet equum equo aut aliam quamlibet rem re alia ab alio commuta aut pro libitu et sine ratione relinquunt.*

[15]Readers wishing to engage more closely with this question could begin with some of the following interpretations: Brett, 'Canterbury's perspective on church reform and Ireland, 1070–1115', 13–35; Mark Philpott, 'Some interactions between the English and Irish churches', in Christopher Harper-Bill (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies XX: Proceedings of the Battle Conference in Dublin, 1997* (Woodbridge, 1998), 187–204; Dan Armstrong, 'Gregory VII, Lanfranc and Ireland', in Dan Armstrong, Áron Kecskés, Charles C. Rozier and Leonie V. Hicks (eds), *Borders and the Norman World: Frontiers and Boundaries in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 2023), 149–70.

[16]See Tadhg O'Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), especially 123–65.

[17]Jean-Michel Picard (trans.) and Yolande de Pontfarcy (ed.), *The Vision of Tnugdal* (Dublin, 1989), 144–6; Marie Therese Flanagan, *The Transformation of The Irish Church in The Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2010), 171.

[18]Margaret E. Dobbs, 'The Ban-Shenchus', *RC* 48 (1931), 163–234, at 192, 234 [hereafter *Banshenchas* [part two]]; Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', unpublished PhD thesis, University College Galway, 1980, §565, pp. 304, 418. Note: Ní Bhrolcháin's edition supersedes

From the reforming perspective, there were far more egregious cases than Mac Cárthaig. We know of six wives of Toirdelbach Úa Conchobair, king of Connacht, for instance, and it is likely there were more still whose names have been forgotten. Five of these women have obituaries in the annals: Arlaith ingen Uí Máel Sechlainn in 1115,[19] Mór ingen Meic Lochlainn in 1122,[20] Tailtiu ingen Uí Máel Sechlainn in 1127 or 1128,[21] Derbforgaill ingen Meic Lochlainn in 1151,[22] and Dub Coblaid ingen Uí Máel Rúanaid in 1168.[23] The other, Caillech Dé ingen Uí hEidin, is attested in the *Banshenchas*.[24] Between them, these women produced at least twenty-two sons[25] and three daughters.[26] As with wives, it is probable that there were others, especially daughters, who went unnoticed in the record.

It has sometimes been thought that the order of marriages could be deduced by the seniority of sons, where that can be established or surmised. Among the many sons, it appears Áed was the oldest and most senior; certainly, it was either he or Máel Ísa who subsequently became *comarbae* of Roscommon.[27] The *Banshenchas* states that Derbforgaill ingen Meic Lochlainn was mother of Domnall, Áed, and Cathal; a statement which was copied into her obituary in *AFM*.[28] In the genealogies, a similar notice recorded that Rúaidrí, Domnall 'Mór', and Cathal Crobderg were the three sons of Toirdelbach's wife, the daughter of Mac Díarmata.[29] John Ryan read this statement to mean that Dub Coblaid ingen Uí

that of Dobbs and is based on all extant manuscripts but, since it is unpublished, I include reference to both throughout the article. For some discussion of the manuscript tradition, see below, p. 98.

[19] *Chron. Scot.* s.a. 1115.4: 'Arlaith'.

[20] *AU* s.a. 1122.4; *ALC* s.a. 1122.4; *AI* s.a. 1122.9.

[21] *AFM* s.a. 1128.17; *AU* s.a. 1127.7; *ALC* s.a. 1127.7; *Ann. Clon.* s.a. 1108.

[22] *AFM* s.a. 1151.7.

[23] *AFM* s.a. 1168.22.

[24] *Banshenchas* [part two], pp. 191, 233; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §566, pp. 304, 418.

[25] Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies,* ed. and trans. Nollaig Ó Muraíle, 5 vols (Dublin, 2003), i, §219.16, pp. 486–7: Rúaidrí, Cathal Crobderg, Domnall Mór, Máel Ísa, Áed Dall, Tadc Álainn, Brian Bréifnach, Brian Luignech, Magnus, Lochlann, Muirchertach Muimnech, Donnchad, Máel Sechlainn, Tadc Fidnachta, Cathal Miguran, two sons named Conchobar, Díarmait, Domnall, Muirghes, Tadc of Dairéan, & Murchad Fionn. This list is chosen in preference to a less comprehensive one found in the Ó Clérigh Book of Genealogies (Seamus Pender (ed.), 'The O Clery book of genealogies 23 D 17 (R.I.A.)', in *Analecta Hibernica* 18 (1951), ix, xi–xxxiii, 1–198, at §894, p. 102), which says Toirdelbach had seventeen sons and proceeds to list nineteen.

[26] *Banshenchas* [part two], p. 234; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The prose *Banshenchas*', §566, pp. 304, 418.

[27] There are alternative readings of a line in the genealogies here. Lists of Toirdelbach's sons include the line, '*Máel Ísa comorba Comain sindser a cloindi & a oigri* [&?] *Áed dall*', which can be read either as 'Máel Ísa comarba of Comán the eldest of his family and his [Toirdelbach's] heir, and Áed Dall', as in Ó Muraíle, *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*, i, §219.16, pp. 486–7; or alternatively, 'Máel Ísa comarba Comain, and the eldest of his family and his [Toirdelbach's] heir Áed dall', as in Jaski, *Early Irish kingship and Succession*, 139. See also RIA MS 23 P 2, fol. 63v.

[28] *AFM* s.a. 1151.7.

[29] Pender (ed.), 'The O Clery book of genealogies', §894, p. 102: *Ruaidrí rí Erenn et Cathal Croibhderg rí Connacht, ocus Domhnall Mór tanaisde na h-Erenn as do tucadh an toradh cétach fa dheoidh; a tri mic lia a mnai posda insin .i. ingen mac Diarmada*'; Ó Muraíle, *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*, i, §219.16, pp. 486–7: *Ruaidhrí, rí Érenn bheós, Cathal Croibhdhearg, rí Connacht,*

Máel Rúanaid (alias Mac Díarmata) was Toirdelbach's first wife, even though hers is by far the latest of the surviving obituaries.[30]

The two claims are not necessarily incompatible, since Toirdelbach had two sons named Cathal and two sons named Domnall, but it is probable that both of these documents claim at least the same 'Domnall' (i.e. Domnall Midech d. 1176), and perhaps also the same Cathal (Cathal Crobderg, d. 1224), and if so, there is a contradiction. Again, if so, there is every indication that the version recorded in the more contemporary *Banshenchas* is to be relied upon over that in the genealogies. It is also practically certain that Dub Coblaid ingen Uí Máel Rúanaid was not Toirdelbach's first wife, a supposition which must surely be incompatible with her being mother to Cathal Crobderg (d. 1224), Toirdelbach's youngest son, and dying in 1168. These discrepancies go to show the prestige women enjoyed by having sons who went on to claim kingship; only with a distance of time would it have been clear who was most creditable in this regard.

It is worth noting that non-canonical marriage practice could assist political strategy. Two of Toirdelbach's wives were drawn from Meath, a further two from the Northern Uí Néill, and two from his own province, developing significant internal and external relationships.[31] The sobriquets by which some of his sons were distinguished reveal the areas in which they were fostered (an important practice in Gaelic Ireland), and they also show the development of internal and external relationships. Brían Bréifnech, then, was fostered in Bréifne, Brían Luignech in Luigne, and Muirchertach Muimnech in Munster. Considering that fosterage took place during formative years, it may even be that these individuals developed characteristics and accents associated with different territories.

It was perhaps for such connections that Rúaidrí Úa Conchobair followed his father's lead and ignored the reformers' zeal. Under the year 1233, recording the fall of Rúaidrí's sons from power for the final time, *Ann. Conn.* pointedly attributed their demise to Rúaidrí's moral failings: 'Here ends the rule of the children of Ruaidri O Conchobair, King of Ireland. For the Pope offered him the title to (the kingship of) Ireland for himself and his seed for ever, and likewise six wives, if he would renounce the sin of adultery henceforth; and since he would not accept these terms God took the rule and sovranty [sic] from his

Domhnall Mór, tanaisde Connacht (as dó tugadh an toradh ceudach fa dheóigh): a thrí mec re (a) mnaoi posda.

[30] John Ryan, *Toirdelbach O Conchubair: King of Connacht, King of Ireland co Fresabra* (Dublin, 1966), 6.

[31] It may be of interest that the tale *Bórama Laigen* or 'The cattle tribute of Leinster', preserved in the (predominantly) twelfth-century Book of Leinster, recounts a dispute that resulted from the social norm of marrying older daughters off before younger ones. Eochu, king of Leinster, took the elder of the king of Ireland's two daughters as his wife. After marrying her, he was mocked by his own men, who said 'you left the better one behind you' ('*is ferr ind ingen ro fhácbais*'). He subsequently returned to the king of Ireland, Túathal Techtmar, telling him that his elder daughter had died, and that he wished now to take the younger one to replace her. Túathal agreed, but when his younger daughter went to Leinster and discovered her sister still living, they both died of shame. It is possible this account preserves a scandal connected with Toirdelbach Úa Conchobair or another king who married two or more sisters in succession. See Standish Hayes O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, 2 vols (London, 1892), i, 359–90, at 359–60; ii, 401–24, at 402.

seed for ever, in punishment for his sin.'[32] Apart from explaining the spectacular damage which the English invasion had dealt to Rúaidrí's kingship with reference to supposed moral failings, this comment suggests a contrast, in the mind of the author, with those who seized power at the expense of Rúaidrí's sons – i.e. Cathal Crobderg's sons. No doubt it was the same annalist who penned Cathal Crobderg's obituary of 1224, praising him as 'the king who was most chaste of all the kings of Ireland; the king who kept himself to one consort and practised continence before God from her death till his own'.[33] Cathal Crobderg's only wife, Mór, daughter of Domnall Úa Briain, had died in 1218.[34]

The comment in *Ann. Conn.* that Rúaidrí had at least six wives has been dismissed as an anachronism that more properly applied to his father, Toirdelbach.[35] Though it is true that only one wife of Rúaidrí's is known by name, Tigernán Úa Rúairc's daughter Dub Coblaid (d. 1181), there is plenty of evidence to suggest the annalist's complaint was substantive.[36] The genealogies give an incomplete list of Rúaidrí's sons, comprising seven individuals.[37] With reference to the annals we can increase this to at least fourteen sons,[38] and at least eight daughters.[39] Some of these are mentioned on one occasion only,

[32]*Ann. Conn.* s.a. 1233.3: *Deod flaithesa clainni Ruaidri h.Conchobair Rig Erenn ann sin. Uair tarcaid in Papa cert ar Erinn do fein & da sil 'na diaid co brath ⁊ seser do mnaib posta ⁊ scur do pecad na mban o sin amach, ⁊ o nar gab Ruaidri sin do ben dia rigi & flaithius dia sil co brath a ndigaltus pecaid na mban*. See also *ALC* s.a. 1233.2, 1233.3, 1233.4.

[33]*Ann. Conn.* s.a. 1224.2: *Ri is geanmnaide tanicc du rigaib Erenn; Ri ro congaib he fein ar oenmnai posta ⁊ dorone continaitt do Dia dara hes nocur marb*; *ALC* s.a. 1224.2; *AFM* s.a. 1224.7. These entries have been contrasted before (to the same effect), and it has been shown that Rúaidrí Úa Conchobair's 'reputation as a paragon of old-world regal immorality was to endure' down to the seventeenth century, when Geoffrey Keating reported that it had been his practice to have his way with every woman in his kingdom 'whether she were married or not'. See Ó hUiginn, 'Why was the king offered six wives by the pope?', in Terence Dooley, Mary Ann Lyons and Salvador Ryan (eds), *The Historian as Detective: Uncovering Irish Pasts. Essays In Honour of Raymond Gillespie* (Dublin, 2021), 37–40; Osborn Bergin (ed.), *Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis*, ITS (Dublin, 1931; repr. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1992), 171, ll. 5460–70.

[34]*ALC* s.a. 1218.6; *AU* s.a. 1218.5; *AI* s.a. 1218.2; *AFM* s.a. 1217.3.

[35]Flanagan, 'Ua Conchobair, Ruaidrí [Rory O'Connor] (*c*. 1116–1198), high-king of Ireland' in *ODNB* (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20522) (accessed 12 June 2018).

[36]*Ann. Clon.* s.a. 1181.

[37]Ó Muraíle, *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*, i, §220.9, p. 488: Áed, Tadc, Conchobar, Muiredach, Toirdelbach, Murchad, Díarmait.

[38]These are Áed (d. 1159), Murchad (blinded 1177, died 1216), Conchobar Maenmaige (d. 1189), Conchobar Úa nDíarmata (d. 1189), Donnchad Úaithnech (d. 1200), Díarmait (d. 1221), Murgius Canonach (d. 1224), Áed Muimnech (d. 1233), Muiredach (d. 1207), Toirdelbach (d. 1239), Áed (d. 1233), Domnall Murach (d. unknown), Rúaidrí (d. 1211), Gilla na Naem (d. 1228), and possibly also Donnchad Mór (d. 1233). Donnchad Mór is recorded as a son of Rúaidrí in *Ann. Clon.* s.a. 1233, but elsewhere as a grandson through Díarmait (*Ann. Conn.* s.a. 1233.2; *ALC* s.a. 1233.1; *AFM* s.a. 1233.4). This list is at variance with a similar list by Bart Jaski on the following points: Jaski considers Murchad (blinded 1177) and Murchad or, in his version, Muirchertach (d. 1216) to be separate individuals; and he excludes both Gilla na Naem (d. 1228) and Donnchad Mór (d. 1233), the latter of whom he includes as a son of Díarmait mac Rúaidrí, following *Ann. Conn.*, *ALC*, and *AFM*. See Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession*, 153; idem, 'Genealogical tables of the medieval Irish royal dynasties', published online (https://www.academia.edu/4144299/Genealogical_tables_of_medieval_Irish_royal_dynasties) (accessed 12 September 2022), no. 65.

[39]An unnamed daughter married to Úa Máel Doraid (d. 1176), Núalad, wife of Mac Duinn Sléibe (d. 1226), Duibhessa, wife of Cathal Mac Díarmata (d. 1230), an unnamed daughter married

purely incidentally, indicating that many more probably went unrecorded. Like Toirdelbach, Rúaidrí used his children to forge bonds inside and outside his province, so it is likely that if he had more than one wife, they offered the same opportunity; certainly, his one recorded marriage, to Tigernán Úa Rúairc's daughter, was politically important.[40]

Úa Rúairc's own case was different: Derbforgaill appears to have been his only wife. He had only two recorded sons, both of whom predeceased him: Máel Sechlainn (d. 1162) and Áed Manach (d. 1171). The former's name was no doubt an acknowledgement of Derbforgaill's family, a common way by which forenames were introduced into families, while the latter was named for Tigernán's father, Áed in Gilla Srónmael (d. 1122).

A comparison of the Uí Chonchobair and Uí Rúairc in this period shows the impact such divergent marriage practices had on dynastic development. Toirdelbach Úa Conchobair's productivity effectively accelerated the process of segmentation in his dynasty; there were no subsequent kings of Connacht who did not descend directly from him. Other existing segments, even those descended from Toirdelbach's father Rúaidrí na Saide Buide or his grandfather, Áed in Gaí Bernaig, were therefore excluded from the kingship. In the 1220s and 1230s, Rúaidrí's sons, referred to generally as the 'meic Rúaidrí', contested the kingship with Cathal Crobderg's sons. Had they been successful, it is possible that 'Meic Rúaidrí' would have eclipsed 'Uí Chonchobair' as the surname of the royal dynasty, just as 'Meic Duinn Sléibe' replaced Uí Eochada in Ulaid, for example.

A relatively distant dynastic segmentation prevailed among the Uí Rúairc. Two sons of Úalgarg Úa Rúairc (d. 1057), Tigernán and Domnall, gave rise to the 'Meic Tigernáin' and 'Meic Domnaill' lines respectively. Áed in Gilla Srónmáel (d. 1122) and Tigernán Úa Rúairc (d. 1172) belonged to the Meic Domnaill line, but this group did not monopolise the kingship of Uí Briúin Bréifne. The Meic Tigernáin candidates of Donnchad in Gilla Braite (d. 1124) and his son Áed (d. 1184) interrupted their rule at intervals. This was certainly the case after Áed In Gilla Srónmáel's death in 1122, when Donnchad in Gilla Braite took over, and also in 1152, when Tigernán was temporarily deposed. Tigernán had already suffered a deposition in 1140, and this may also have been in favour of Áed mac Donnchada in Gilla Braite. When Tigernán died in 1172, with his sons all dead before him, the Meic Tigernáin line took the kingship again.[41]

Traditionally, Úa Rúairc has not been considered a 'reforming' king, unlike his contemporaries Cormac Mac Cárthaig, Donnchad Úa Cerbaill, Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, and Díarmait Mac Murchada, for example. As we have seen, such a categorisation tells us nothing about the marriage practices of such men anyway (like Mac Cárthaig, Mac Murchada had more than one wife), but

to Hugh de Lacy and later to Henry de Blund (d. unknown), Finngúala (d. 1247), Ragnailt (d. 1211), Caillech Dé (d. 1211), and Éacht (d. 1206).

[40] See below, p. 109.

[41] For a full discussion of this point, see Seán Ó Hoireabhárd, 'Succession in twelfth-century Bréifne', *Bréifne: Journal of Cumann Seanchais Bhreifne* 15/58 (2023), 369–80.

given the fact that Úa Rúairc's wife Derbforgaill has been regarded as an ally of reform, and since it has now been established that her patronage was offered in concert with her husband, and not in opposition to him, it may well be that theirs is an example of 'reformed' marriage practice taking root in Ireland.[42] Cathal Crobderg Úa Conchobair is more notable in this regard because the annalists emphasised the point, but this was surely to create a contrast with Rúaidrí Úa Conchobair as well. If this was so, Mac Murchada's abduction of Derbforgaill in 1152 appears all the more calculated.

This paper's focus on the twelfth century reflects the centrality of Gaelic marriage practice in contemporary justifications of the English invasion, but it is also determined by the availability of good-quality source material; for instance, both the prose and metrical versions of the *Banshenchas* date from this era and inform us particularly well about it. Nevertheless, there is also a wider context in which findings about the twelfth century might be proved consequential. Gaelic culture stretched beyond Ireland into Scotland and the Western Isles, and broadly speaking, what applies in one case may apply equally well in another. Similarly, the customs grouped here under the heading of 'Gaelic marriage practice' proliferated well beyond the twelfth century, and even beyond the Middle Ages, so that evidence from later periods might also bear upon the twelfth century.

The durability of these practices is widely accepted. Katharine Simms, who has given their later history a great deal of attention, has explained that 'On the Gaelic side, although brehon law in the later Middle Ages had changed and developed considerably since the Old Irish period, the broad principles governing a woman's position in regard to property, marriage and legal guardianship seem to have remained surprisingly constant. She could possess movable goods, such as gold and silver, sheep and cattle, and when she married, she did not surrender this property completely into her husband's hands, she always retained some say in business matters which concerned them both. If divorce occurred, as was permissible under Irish secular law, she was normally entitled to receive her marriage-portion back intact'.[43]

Another historian, W. D. H. Sellar, also elaborated their geographical extent in an important paper on 'Marriage, divorce and concubinage in Gaelic Scotland'. He wrote: 'Given the tenacity of the institution in Ireland one would expect to find Celtic secular marriage also in Scotland. Scotland was united by a dynasty of Gaelic-speaking kings of Irish origin. In the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, as in Ireland, an archaic kin-based Gaelic society survived the Middle Ages […] It is true that the surviving Scottish record, especially

[42] See Seán Ó Hoireabhárd, 'Derbforgaill: twelfth-century abductee, patron and wife', *Irish Historical Studies* 46/169 (May, 2022), 1–24.

[43] Katharine Simms, 'Women in Norman Ireland', in Margaret Mac Curtain and Donncha Ó Corráin (eds), *Women in Irish society: The Historical Dimension* (Dublin, 1978), 14–25, at 14.

from the Gaelic side, is sparser than the Irish, but enough has survived to indicate that Celtic secular marriage had a long history in Gaelic Scotland as in Ireland'.[44]

Sellar has also suggested that 'Celtic law' underwent a revival in the Isles and Highlands after the 1100s and noted in particular the Morrisons of Ness in Lewis, who were the best known of the judges continuing to use the title of *britheamh*. They certainly continued to practise Gaelic law in the sixteenth century, while at the same time Shane Ó Néill employed an Anglo-Irishman, William Fleming, as *Judex Tyroniae*, apparently in response to the perception that Irish brehons were 'ignorant of English law, and very unskilled in civil and canon law'.[45] It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the Isles and Scotland provide useful evidence for the nature of marriage and divorce in a broader context.

This proves useful when we try to imagine what a sequence of marriages might have looked like in practice. If we accept that serial monogyny was the framework – an argument which will be developed further below – then the nature of divorce or separation inevitably comes to the fore. This is especially true when we face examples like Toirdelbach Úa Conchobair (d. 1156), who had six wives, or Toirdhealbhach 'An Fhíona' Ó Domhnaill (d. 1423), who had ten.[46] In many cases wives predeceased their husbands, probably often a result of complications during childbirth; occasionally, their deaths are recorded in the annals. This fact does not, however, account for such prodigious examples – much less explain them.

Nonetheless, there is no need to revive the theory of polygyny; the type of separation which we are seeking is alluded to in a variety of sources, some of which we have already seen. Certainly, this is what Lanfranc and Anselm meant by the 'dissolution' of marriages, and the 'abandonment' or 'exchange' of wives. In the Irish and Scottish sources, we hear it frequently referred to as 'putting away your wife' (*léig/cor do sétche úait*). Even though Sellar appears to have accepted early modern accusations of polygyny against certain individuals, the evidence he highlighted tends towards the contrary view. So, for instance, the second earl of Clanrickarde (d. 1582) was said to have been married six times, with five wives living with him at the same time – but four of them had nevertheless been 'put away by him', and another had died.[47] Similarly, there is the case of Rev. Farquhar MacRae's excursion to Lewis in 1610,

[44] W. D. H. Sellar, 'Marriage, divorce and concubinage in Gaelic Scotland', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1978–80), 464–93, at 474. I would like to thank Ruairí Ó hUiginn for this reference.

[45] Simms, 'The legal position of Irishwomen in the later Middle Ages', 107; *Cal. State Papers Ire.* 1509–73, 229.

[46] Paul Walsh (ed.), *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill. The Life of Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill*, 2 vols, ITS 42 and 45 (London, 1948 and 1957), ii, 168–9; K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, second ed. (Dublin, 2003), 12, 83–7; Séamus Pender, 'The O Clery Book of Genealogies: 23 D 17 (R.I.A.)', *Analecta Hibernica* 18 (1951), pp. ix, xi–xxxiii, 1–198 at 8.

[47] Sellar, 'Marriage, divorce and concubinage in Gaelic Scotland', 472.

where he married a great number of people 'thereby to legitimate their children' and 'to abolish the barbarous custom that prevailed of putting away their wives upon the least discord'.[48]

Even more detail can be provided for another seventeenth-century case, quoted in full below. It shows how Ranald Mór of Benbecula had ten sons by five wives – three of whom he put away, while another died:

> Ranald, son of Allan, a good man according to the times in which he lived; he was hospitable and generous, thrifty and friendly. He took unto him as his first wife the daughter of Ranald, son of James, i.e., Tanist of South Oirear, and she bore him a good son, Angus Mor, son of Ranald. He put her away, and she was afterwards married to Coll Mac Gillespie. She was the mother of the Clann Coll, namely, Gillespie, Ranald and Alaster, and a good family of daughters, who were afterwards married to good gentlemen. Ranald, son of Allan, having put away the daughter of Ranlad, took Fionnsgoth Burke, a lady of the Burkes of the Province of Connaught, in the County of Mayo, and she bore three sons for him, namely Alexander, Rory, and Farquhar. He put away Fionnsgoth, and married Margaret, the daughter of Norman Macleod of Harris, the wife whom Norman Og Macleod of Lewis had. She bore a family to the son of Allan, namely, Allan Og, son of Ranald. That good wife died from him. After her he took Mary, the daughter of Gillespie of Medhe Connaill, and she bore a son to him, namely Donald Gorm, son of Ranald, and he put her away. After all these he married Margaret, the daughter of Angus, son of James, and her issue were made heirs of Benbecula and of Ardnish. She bore him a good family, namely Ranald Og, the heir, and John Og, Angus, Ranald, and Rory.[49]

These examples show quite clearly that only one woman occupied the position of wife at any given time. A replacement was found only after the incumbent had died or been 'set aside'. The fact that a powerful man might have several wives over the course of his life is to be accounted for by the ease with which he could set them aside at a moment of his choosing. It seems very probable that twelfth- and thirteenth-century practice corresponded.

Only a prosopographical methodology can hope to explain the rationales behind non-reformed marriage practice in Ireland. There are some difficulties with this approach, however. On rare occasions marriages themselves are recorded, but this was not typical; we are instead dependent on chance references and obituaries to build a picture of these connections from the annals.[50] We also

[48] Sellar, 'Marriage, divorce and concubinage in Gaelic Scotland', 484 and n. 84, with thanks to John Bannerman; J. R. N. MacPhail (ed.), *Highland Papers* (Edinburgh, 1914–34), i, 226.

[49] Sellar, 'Marriage, divorce and concubinage in Gaelic Scotland' (my emphasis), 485–6; Alexander Cameron, Alexander Macbain, John Kennedy, 'The Book of Clanranald' in Alexander Macbain & John Kennedy (eds), *Reliquiae Celticae* (2 vols, Inverness, 1894) ii, 149–288, at 173–5.

[50] See for instance, *AFM* s.a. 1159.5; *Ann. Conn.* s.a. 1259.6; *AU* s.a. 1263.22.

have the *Banshenchas*, mentioned above, which was a twelfth-century genealogical record of the sons (and sometimes the daughters) produced by prominent aristocratic women. Though the origins of some named individuals are obscure, many more links are illuminated than could be by reliance on the annals alone.

We must assume, for our present purpose, that the mothers named in the *Banshenchas* were all wives as well; this is likely to be correct in the vast majority of cases, but there may be exceptions of which we are unaware. In the original, metrical, *Banshenchas*, the author, Gilla mo Dutu Úa Caiside, stated his purpose in this regard: 'I omit from my poem the harlots and unfree offspring, evil women and people of a low birth of the generations. Since I have not enumerated them strictly, so that there would be no true dishonour against the king by listing them before their peoples'.[51] It was probably an aim that appealed to those who added entries to their prose versions of the text.

There are eight extant manuscripts of the prose *Banshenchas*, including six major copies, and all appear to derive from Úa Caiside's work. The exemplar in the Book of Lecan is the longest copy of the text, containing 457 of the 569 entries in Ní Bhrolcháin's diplomatic edition. It shows a sustained interest in the Uí Máel Sechlainn of Meath and has been dated to *c*. 1160.[52] The only manuscript that provides this study with substantial alternative information is the Book of Uí Maine text. With 412 entries it is the second longest version, and it contains 64 entries not found elsewhere. It shows a strong interest in Leinster, and in Díarmait Mac Murchada – even sympathising with him because Úa Rúairc had forced him overseas.[53] For both this and for its reference to Conchobar Mac Murchada's execution, as well as some other details, it has been assigned a date of *c*. 1170. We are indeed fortunate to have this twelfth-century record and are fully justified in placing weight on it while re-creating the links between Irish dynasties.

Modern commentary has hitherto argued in general terms for the use of women as 'political pawns' in Gaelic Ireland, and for the existence of an alliance system comparable to continental Europe.[54] This is not a fanciful suggestion: there are cases where marriage links clearly coincided with important military and political alignments. Perhaps the most obvious example in the twelfth century is that of Tigernán Úa Rúairc and Rúaidrí Úa Conchobair, already mentioned: a long-lasting alliance, the beginning of which is recorded in the annals,[55] and in support of which there was a marriage.[56] An earlier example may be found in Ragnailt ingen Amlaíb,

[51]Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin, *'An Banshenchas Filíochta'*, unpublished MA thesis, University College Galway, 1977, §269, pp. 147, 214: *Eachlacha is dear-clanda is droch-mna daine droch-ceneoil na ndream. Facbaim cen a cor a cuibdes mod na ro thuirmes co tend. Na beith beim for rig da ririb tria reim dib da tirib thall*.

[52]Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', 29–33.

[53]Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', 41–2.

[54]Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The *Banshenchas* revisited', in O'Dowd and Wichert, *Chattel, Servant Or Citizen*: *Women's Status in Church, State and Society* (Belfast, 1995), 70–81 at 72; Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church*, 185.

[55]*AFM* s.a. 1159.10.

[56]*Ann. Clon.* s.a. 1181.

whose father may be identified as Amlaíb Cúarán of Dublin. She was mother of Muirchertach úa Congalaigh,[57] who died in 995,[58] reflecting the alliance between the Norse of Dublin and Domnall mac Congalaig of Síl nÁedo Sláine *c*. 970, ill-fated though it ultimately was.[59]

However, the relationship reflected by marriage between major families was often not alliance but suzerainty. The marriage of Cathal Crobderg to Mór, daughter of Domnall Úa Briain, a figure over whom Úa Conchobair tried to establish his authority, was one such. This had even more significance because it was Cathal Crobderg's only marriage. Toirdelbach Úa Conchobair's repeated marriages to the daughters of Murchad Úa Máel Sechlainn, at a time when overkingship of Meath was contested by Connacht and the Northern Uí Néill, also corresponds with this rationale for marriage.[60] It is clear, too, that when Rúaidrí Úa Conchobair offered his daughter in marriage to Díarmait Mac Murchada it was the confirmation of his authority over Mac Murchada, not the creation of a future alliance.[61] Another daughter of Rúaidrí's had been given to Mac Duinn Sléibe in the same way.[62]

Neither alliance nor overlordship explain all or even most recorded aristocratic marriages. Marriages between families of geographical proximity constitute a significant portion of the total recorded specimens, whether between families of regional, local, or provincial influence, or inter-marriages between the same. They frequently took place across provincial boundaries. Rúaidrí na Saide Buide Úa Conchobair's marriage to Úa Conaing's daughter, producing Domnall mac Rúaidrí Uí Chonchobair (d. 1118), was one such example.[63] Domnall later lost the kingship of Síl Muiredaig to his half-brother Toirdelbach because the latter's mother was a sister of Muirchertach Úa Briain, and Úa Briain supported Toirdelbach over Domnall in 1106 as a result. In this case, therefore, the son of an intra-provincial marriage lost out to the son of an inter-provincial marriage.

Ailenn ingen Uí Baigelláin of Fir Manach, whose father was a figure of only regional importance, was mother of two provincial kings in different provinces: Tigernán Úa Rúairc of Bréifne and Donnchad Úa Cerbaill of Airgíalla. She therefore had at least two local marriages, one intra-provincial (to the king of Fernmag) and one inter-provincial (to the Uí Briúin Bréifne).[64] Similarly, the Uí Egra family of north Connacht are recorded to have had multiple marriages

[57] *Banshenchas* [part two], 188, 227; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §417, pp. 272, 389.

[58] *Ann. Tig.* s.a. 995.4.

[59] On this alliance, see Benjamin T. Hudson, 'Óláf Sihtricson [Óláfr Sigtryggsson, Amlaíb Cúarán] (*c*. 926–981), king of Dublin and of Northumbria', in *ODNB*, accessed online (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20671) (4 April 2019).

[60] *Chron. Scot.* s.a. 1115.4; *AFM* s.a. 1128.17; *AU* s.a. 1127.7; *ALC* s.a. 1127.7; *Ann. Clon.* s.a. 1108.

[61] A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (eds), *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (Dublin, 1978), 50–1.

[62] *AFM* s.a. 1226.6; *ALC* s.a. 1226.6; *Ann. Conn.* s.a. 1226.6.

[63] *Banshenchas* [part two], 191; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §449, pp. 279, 395; as Ní Bhrolcháin noted, the Uí Briain Ratha transcribed by Dobbs should read Uí Briúin Ratha.

[64] *Banshenchas* [part two], 191; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §447, pp. 278–9, 395.

with the Uí Chonchobair. Étaín, mother of Cathal Úa Conchobair (d. 1082) was a daughter of Úa hEgra,[65] Dub Coblaid ingen Toirdelbaigh Uí Chonchobair and wife of Úa hEgra died in 1131,[66] and the wife of Murchad Úa hEgra who died in 1134 was also a daughter of Toirdelbach Úa Conchobair, though it is possible that the last two entries refer to the same person.[67]

In the same category we can mention Caillech Caímgin ingen Ocain Uí Fallamain, a minor family of Síl Muiredaig, who was the mother of Rúaidrí na Saide Buide Úa Conchobair.[68] Similarly, Mór ingen Conchobair Failge married Conchobar úa Máel Sechlainn; they were notable figures and Anthony Candon has suggested that Mór may have been used as a political hostage.[69] The Uí Failge were from north Leinster and the Uí Máel Sechlainn were the royal dynasty of Meath.

Another wife of Conchobar úa Máel Sechlainn's, if Dobbs's identification is accepted over that of Ní Bhrolcháin, was Sadb ingen Uí Anradáin,[70] perhaps the family of that name from Corco Roíde in Meath discussed by Patrick Woulfe.[71] The origin of Conchobar's own mother, Cacht ingen Briain Uí Bicin of Síl Báithín, is unclear, but certainly it was a minor and probably a local family.[72] Gormlaith ingen Uí Donnacáin, king of Arad Tíre in Thomond, was the mother of the Murchad Úa Briain who died in 1068.[73]

Such marriages may reflect political concerns, and they may not – but other examples show even less useful connections. For instance, Caintigern (or Caindeach) ingen Gúairi Uí Lachtnáin of east Tethba was a wife of Flann mac Máel

[65] *Banshenchas* [part two], 191; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §448, pp. 279, 395.

[66] *AFM* s.a. 1131.2.

[67] *AFM* s.a. 1134.19; *Ann. Tig.* s.a. 1134.12; *Ann. Clon.* s.a. 1135; *Chron. Scot.* s.a. 1134.4.

[68] *Banshenchas* [part two], 190; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §444, pp. 278, 394.

[69] Candon, 'Power, politics and polygamy', 123–5.

[70] *Banshenchas* [part two], 196; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §511, pp. 291, 406, 466. This depends on one's reading of the Irish: '*clann sin Chonchobar meic Mail tEchlaind*'. Ní Bhrolcháin was evidently of the view that it meant 'that is the family of Conchobar son of Máel Sechlainn', for whom she suggested possible counterparts in the annals under 1003 and 1105 ('The Prose Banshenchas', 466). Dobbs, by contrast, must have interpreted this as 'that is the family of Conchobar grandson of Máel Sechlainn', i.e. Conchobar úa Máel Sechlainn, who died in 1073.

[71] Patrick Woulfe, *Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall: Irish Names and Surnames* (Dublin, 1923), 555–6; Another daughter of the Uí Anradáin is noted to have been mother of Muirchertach mac Taidc Uí Briain in the *Banshenchas* (*Banshenchas* [part two], 197; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §515, pp. 292, 407), and the entries are located beside one another, suggesting they refer to the same family. There was a family, usually rendered 'Uí Anracháin', among the Dal Cais, as well as the family of Meath mentioned above – one or perhaps both of these marriages were local links, then.

[72] *Banshenchas* [part two], 190; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §440, pp. 277, 393. Ó hUiginn has suggested to me that the name Cacht (originally meaning 'captive' or 'slave') may be significant under certain circumstances. There are certainly cases where captive women were impregnated by their captors: see Sellar, 'Marriage, divorce and concubinage in Gaelic Scotland', 482: Alexander son of John Cathanach Mac Donald, 'begotten by the Savages' daughter in the County of Downe in Ireland and spouse of Achilles Bay MacCartin, they being both at the same time his [John Cathanach's] prisoners', and the 'association' between Shane Ó Néill and Catherine MacLean, widow of the fourth Earl of Argyll and wife of Calvagh Ó Donnell: 'this association, which produced several sons, began when Catherine and her husband Calvagh were Shane's prisoners'; G. A. Hayes-McCoy, *Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland (1565–1603)* (Dublin, 1937), 149–52.

[73] *Banshenchas* [part two], 190; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §417, pp. 272, 389.

Sechlainn and mother of two of his sons whose obituaries appear in the annals, Murchad (d. 1076) and Domnall (d. 1094).[74] Her father, Gúaire Úa Lachtnáin, was described as the 'learned man of Clonmacnoise' in the *Banshenchas* entry containing his daughter's marriage to Flann mac Máel Sechlainn, revealing a clerical background. At the time of their union, the early to mid-eleventh century, Clonmacnoise was still firmly in the Meath sphere, so if there were any political expectations from the marriage, they must have been very limited indeed.[75] Even more obviously non-political is the case of the unnamed ingen Dearrsada Uí Diumai (elsewhere Úa Berri), wife of one Donnchad, perhaps of Osraige, and mother of Gilla Pátraic mac Donnchada. Her father is reported to have been the 'royal jester of Leinster' – a low social position indeed for the mother of royal offspring.[76]

Marriages of no apparent political importance were formed by even the most prominent families. Mór, daughter of Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill (d. 1022), was the mother of Cenn Fáelad Úa Dúngalaig, the king of Múscraige Tíre in Munster who died in 1078.[77] It seems probable that this figure was the Cenn Fáelad mac Finn of the genealogies, and if so the person to whom Mór was married of little significance.[78] The mother of Toirdelbach úa Briain, king of Ireland (d. 1086), was Mór ingen Gilla Bríde Úa Máel Múaid, the king of Fir Cell, a regional kingdom in Meath.[79] Likewise, the mother of Díarmait Mac Murchada was Arlaith ingen Gilla Michil, perhaps of the Fothairt Airthir Life who had a base at Kilteel, County Kildare; they were a subject people and therefore not of any great political value at the time of the union – although it is true that they did prove useful to Díarmait himself towards the end of his reign.[80]

In a study of certain aspects of the role of honour in early Irish literature, Philip O'Leary has shown that women's honour was defined with reference to their husbands. Women are depicted boasting about the adherence of their husbands to the honour-code, and their honour has been described as a 'function' of their husbands' status and actions.[81] Women are also depicted inducing and inciting their husbands and sons to action, and this was no doubt a consequence of how inaction reflected upon them personally.[82] The opposite does not apply,

[74] *Banshenchas* [part two], 190, 226; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §§441, 514, pp. 277, 292, 393, 407.

[75] *Banshenchas* [part two], 190: '*fear-leigind Cluana Meic Nois*'; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §441, pp. 277, 393.

[76] *Banshenchas* [part two], 228: '*rig-druth Laigen*'; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §433, pp. 275, 391.

[77] *AFM* s.a. 1078.11.

[78] M. A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1962), 367.

[79] *Banshenchas* [part two], 228; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §436, pp. 276, 392.

[80] *Banshenchas* [part two], 98, 231; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §533, pp. 297, 411; Francis John Byrne 'The trembling sod: Ireland in 1169', in Art Cosgrave (ed.), *A New History of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland 1169–1534* (Oxford, 1987), 1–42, at 27.

[81] Philip O'Leary, 'The honour of women in early Irish literature', *Ériu* 38 (1987), 27–44, at 28–29.

[82] O'Leary, 'The honour of women', 7, n. 1, 29–30; J. H. Todd (ed.), *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh; The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (London, 1867), 142–5.

however. Men were apparently not negatively affected socially by taking a wife of a minor dynasty, whether from close-by or far away. As such, they were relatively free to choose partners for more aesthetic or amorous reasons.

If this literary depiction reflected reality, it may also indicate the agency of women in the selection of husbands. There are examples of women who married on multiple occasions, and for whose natal families at least one of the connections appears to have been politically unhelpful. Sadb ingen Domnaill Meic Gilla Pádraig of Osraige married into the Uí Máel Sechlainn, the Uí Chonchobair Failge, and the Uí Uidir of Airgíalla, with no obvious political reason for the final pairing – which was considerably further removed from her kin than the first two. Similarly, Gormlaith ingen Máel Sechlainn Uí Máel Sechlainn was mother of Cú Ulad Úa Caindelbáin of Láegaire, which was a regional kingdom in Meath, of Congalach Úa Conchobair Failge, from a regional kingdom in Leinster on the Meath border, and of Rúaidrí Úa Flaithbertaig of Uí Briúin Seóla in west Connacht.[83] Again, no obvious advantage could accrue to Gormlaith's natal family by the establishment a third union so far afield.

In other words, there are indications that the interests of a woman's natal family were less directly represented in second and subsequent marriages. Furthermore, a woman who had already been married had more independent wealth than one who had not, through the *coibche* or brideprice, a payment made to her by a prospective husband upon her marriage. This sum was increasing in the central Middle Ages, and greater wealth naturally allowed for the exercise of greater discretion.[84]

Elsewhere in Europe, a dynasty's fortunes could rest on the marriages of its one or two sons or daughters; in Ireland, the fact that a sequence of marriages produced much larger dynasties relieved the pressure on these links. Therefore, in Ireland, a woman's natal family could afford to be more indulgent. Of course, that does not mean they took no interest in her marriages or that Irish royal women had absolute autonomy over their matches.

It may be worth calling to mind the poem *Éirigh a ingen an rígh*, published with a translation and commentary by Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha in 2000. This poem, which purports to be an address by Cormac mac Cuillennáin (d. 908) to his wife Gormlaith (d. 947, daughter of Flann Sinna), can actually be dated with some confidence to the late eleventh or early twelfth century.[85] Ní Dhonnchadha remarked that 'the dominant image of Gormfhlaith projected by the poem is that of the serial monogamist', and suggested that the poem may reflect church reformers' advocacy of celibacy for clerics.[86] We may note in particular that Cormac left Gormlaith for the church and, saying to her 'you are not one who

[83] *Banshenchas* [part two], 191, 233; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §§446, 557, pp. 302, 394, 417; Ní Bhrolchain, 'The *Banshenchas* revisited', 77.

[84] Ó Hoireabhárd, 'Derbforgaill: twelfth-century abductee, patron and wife', 8–13.

[85] Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, 'On Gormfhlaith daughter of Flann Sinna', in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), 225–37, at 226, 234. I would like to thank Máire Ní Mhaonaigh for this reference.

[86] Ní Dhonnchadha, 'On Gormfhlaith daughter of Flann Sinna', 226.

ever refused [a partner]', he arranged that she be married again.[87] True, in this instance Gormlaith had a partner picked for her, by her soon to be ex-husband no less, but the idea that she was 'not one who ever refused' presupposes that she had been propositioned multiple times before, and had the authority to refuse prospective partners if she so chose.

There are other literary examples of this right to choose being exercised. In *Tochmarc Emire*, the hospitaller Forgall Monach tries to marry his daughter, Emer, to Lugaid mac Nóis, king of Munster – but she declines so as to keep faith with Cú Chulainn.[88] Similarly, in *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*, Fionn hesitates to ask Gráinne's hand because she has already refused a great number of high-ranking suitors. Though she accepts Fionn at her father's request, she later makes clear that she only did so to gain the acquaintance of Diarmaid. She also makes comments about the greater suitability of a younger man.[89] As Ó hUiginn has pointed out, the failure of her elopement reprimands the young woman's reckless disregard for her father's will, but so too does the shaming of Fionn imply that this kind of forced marriage should be avoided.[90] In other words, the intended audience would hear that there were dangers for all parties; just as daughters should take their father's advice, nevertheless they had the power to exercise discretion over their suitors.

In light of this evidence, we may confidently support a reading of serial monogyny over polygamy or polygyny in early and high medieval Ireland. For one thing, as mentioned above, the complaints of Lanfranc and Anselm do not envision either sex having multiple concurrent marriage partners, whatever their other misgivings. Indeed, Lanfranc said Irish men 'abandon the wives legally married to them' and take others 'by an abominable exchange', while Anselm described Irish men leaving their wives and taking women 'whom somebody else had abandoned in an equally disgraceful way'. The language of abandonment and exchange is an understandable response to serial monogyny but not polygyny; there is nothing here to suggest the acquisition of multiple wives concurrently. Nor are these passages about concubines – a phenomenon with which the archbishops were doubtless familiar – but rather wives taking the place of other wives.

As we have seen, evidence from early modern Scotland supports this view. Men whose unorthodox marriages had been criticised by non-Gaelic contemporaries are nevertheless described as putting one wife aside in order to taken another – and not just once, but on several successive occasions. If it was acceptable to have several wives simultaneously, there would have been no question of 'setting aside' at all.

[87] Ní Dhonnchadha, 'On Gormfhlaith daughter of Flann Sinna', 236: '*ní tusa ríamh ro ob*'.

[88] Ó hUiginn, *Marriage, Law and Tochmarc Emire.*

[89] Ó hUiginn, '*Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*: characters, themes and history', in Kevin Murray (ed.), *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne: reassessments*, ITS Subsidiary Series 30 (Dublin, 2018), 43–71, at 62–3.

[90] Ó hUiginn, '*Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*: characters, themes and history', 70–1.

Likewise, if we accept that a woman's status was determined by her husband, it tells against polygyny – where nothing would have distinguished her from other wives of the same man. It also suggests women would have exercised any agency they had in the selection of a partner whose qualities would have reflected on them. That is to say, if the above examples are indeed reflective of something other than the dynastic interests of a woman's natal family, it is likely to be the influence of the woman herself. The life of another Gormlaith (d. 1030), who was married to three major kings in turn, illustrates the practice of serial monogamy as it existed in medieval Ireland – i.e. with female agency in the selection of partners. Gormlaith, whose interesting life is turned to great effect in the *Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib*, is sometimes characterised as a literary trope – a personification of sovereignty – but this results from a notion that such successive marriages were atypical. They certainly were not.

Of course, this excludes concubinage, which was at least as prevalent in medieval Ireland as it was in the rest of Europe. It is the concubine (*adaltrach*) who is envisioned in the legal principle that a wife (*cétmuinter*) has the right to inflict violence on her husband's other partners.[91] Confusion on this point may have been occasioned by the traditional mistranslation of *cétmuinter* as 'first wife'. It has been shown by Liam Breatnach that this term should be translated as 'wife', 'husband' or 'spouse' according to context – but certainly not 'first wife'.[92] Nor do I know of any evidence to support the view of Kathleen Mulchrone, endorsed and amplified by Charlene Eska, that fosterage was intended to mitigate the enmity of rival wives and their sons; if it were so we ought to be able to point to a literary or historic example.[93] Not only can we not do so, but there are no other reasons for thinking such a situation prevailed.

We can now turn our attention to another (hitherto unnoticed) pattern of aristocratic marriage, to show how one province was out of step with a twelfth-century norm. In provinces where kingship alternated between two or more distinct lines, in a system called *sel* or *selaidecht*, marriages between those same lines were regularly constituted. This took place regardless of similarly regular animosity, which was characteristic of competition for a common kingship. But, when the kingship became dominated by one group and the other segment was edged out, or the common kingship otherwise collapsed, marriage links between these formerly associated lines ceased to be formed. It therefore appears that among certain groups, marriage could be deemed a recognition of royal status.

In Ulaid, the Dál Fíatach and Dál nAraide represent an example of this practice. A granddaughter of the ninth-century Dál nAraide king of Ulaid Bécc,[94] Ablach ingen Domnall mac Béicce, married Áed mac Madagáin of Dál Fíatach,

[91] *CIH* 7.29, 289.31; Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, 79.

[92] Breatnach, 'On Old Irish collective and abstract nouns, the meaning of *cétmuinter*, and marriage in early mediaeval Ireland', 6–26.

[93] Kathleen Mulchrone, 'The rights and duties of women with regard to the education of their children', in R. Thurneysen, Nancy Power and Myles Dillon (eds), *Studies in Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1936), 187–234, at 187; Eska, *Cáin Lánamna*, 8.

[94] *AFM* s.a. 889.6.

and produced Eochacán mac Áeda, himself described as 'joint king of Ulaid' in the *Banshenchas*, and 'king of Ulaid' in the annals.[95] Ailenn daughter of Ainbith mac Áeda meic Madagáin married back into the Dál nAraide, albeit as her second marriage, producing Cellach mac Béicce, who died in 941 and was named as king of Dál nAraide.[96] Barrdub, daughter of Lethlobar, the Dál nAraide king of Ulaid who died in 873, married Áed mac Eochacáin, the Dál Fíatach king of Ulaid who died in 919.[97] Another manuscript version of the *Banshenchas* records Barrdub ingen Lethlobair to have married Bécc Bairche, also of Dál Fíatach, and produced Áed Róin, the king of Ulaid who died in 734.[98] It is possible that two different women are in question as Dál nAraide men named Lethlobar lived in both periods, but it seems more likely that the manuscript traditions have diverged in their record of the same person. Nevertheless, it is still of significance that both record the intermarriage of Dál nAraide and Dál Fíatach.

The Uí Néill also practised *selaidecht*, but the pattern was complicated by a second common kingship. Both northern and southern branches had their own kingships, and also recognised the possibility of extending authority over the other branch. Marriage links between the segments of the northern and the southern branches are therefore also relevant. Within this dynamic the Cenél nEógain (of the north) and Síl nÁedo Sláine (of the south) are the pairing with the greatest number of recorded marriages.

A daughter of Níall Caille of Cenél nEógain married Conaing mac Flainn of Síl nÁedo Sláine and produced Flann mac Conaing, the king of Brega who died in 868.[99] Eithne ingen Áed Findléith of Cenél nEógain married Flannacán mac Cellaigh of Síl nÁedo Sláine, and was mother to Máel Mithig, the king of Brega who died in 918 or 919.[100] Another Eithne, Eithne ingen Fergaile meic Domnaill meic Áeda Findléith of Cenél nEógain, also married into the Síl nÁedo Sláine. She married Congalach mac Máel Mithig and produced Muirchertach mac Congalaig, who died in 964.[101] There was also a marriage between Derbail ingen Máel Dúine meic Áeda Ordnige of Cenél nEógain and the Síl nÁedo Sláine. The *Banshenchas* itself is unclear on whether she married Cellach mac Flannacáin or his father Flannacán mac Cellaig, but it was nevertheless another marriage between the Síl nÁedo Sláine and Cenél nEógain.[102]

[95] *Banshenchas* [part two], 226: '*leith-rig Ulad*'; *AFM* s.a. 882.12: '*rí Uladh*'; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §397, pp. 267, 385.

[96] *Banshenchas* [part two], 187; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §402, pp. 268, 385; *AFM* s.a. 941.10.

[97] *Banshenchas* [part two], 226; *Chron. Scot.* s.a. 919.2; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §401, pp. 268, 385.

[98] *Banshenchas* [part two], 187; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §401, pp. 268, 385.

[99] *Banshenchas* [part two], 186; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §389, pp. 265, 383; *AU* s.a. 868.4.

[100] *Banshenchas* [part two], 226; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §396, pp. 267, 384; *AU* s.a. 918.7; *AI* s.a. 919.3.

[101] *Banshenchas* [part two], 226; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §407, pp. 269, 386; *Chron. Scot.* s.a. 964.6.

[102] *Banshenchas* [part two], 225; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §395, pp. 266–7, 384.

By comparison, other north–south marriage links in the Uí Néill are less well attested. In this category we find Dunlaith ingen Muirchertaigh meic Néill Glúnduib of Cenél nEógain, who married Domnall Donn mac Donnchada of Clann Cholmáin and was the mother of Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill, the famous king of Ireland, ancestor of the Uí Máel Sechlainn, and rival of Brían Bóraime.[103] There may also be an example of Clann Cholmáin and Cenél Conaill intermarriage in the case of Caindech ingen Chanannáin, who is named as the third wife of Donnchad mac Flainn of Clann Cholmáin.[104] This would be the case if her father was the Canannán from whom the Uí Chanannáin of Cenél Conaill descended.

Within the Southern Uí Néill the pattern can again be found, and the fact that it occurs to a lesser extent than in Ulaid may reflect the fact that the kingship was less evenly contested. The Clann Cholmáin and Síl nÁedo Sláine dynasties occasionally married into each other, notably during rare periods of prominence for the weaker Síl nÁedo Sláine branch. Gormlaith ingen Flainn meic Conaig of Síl nÁedo Sláine married Flann mac Máel Sechlainn of Clann Cholmáin and was mother of Donnchad mac Flainn, who died in 942 and was called king of Tara in the *Banshenchas* and king of Ireland in the annals.[105] Another child of Flann mac Máel Sechlainn, Ligech, a daughter not of Gormlaith but of a different woman, married back into the Síl nÁedo Sláine. She married Máel Mithig mac Flannacáin, and was mother of Congalach mac Máel Mithig, king of Ireland and the last Síl nÁedo Sláine king of the Southern Uí Néill.[106]

The example of the Northern Uí Néill underscores the relationship between this pattern of intermarriage and the status of each branch within the kin-group. The marriage of the unnamed ingen Earnaine of Cenél Conaill to Fergal mac Máel Dúin, the king of Cenél nEógain and Ireland who died in 722, is the latest example of a marriage between these dynasties in the *Banshenchas*.[107] Apart from the anomalous Rúaidrí úa Cannanáin (d. 950),[108] Domnall mac Áeda Muindeirg, who died in 804, was the last Cenél Conaill 'king of the North'[109] until Flaithbertach Úa Máel Doraid, who was styled (more ambiguously) king of Cenél Conaill and Cenél nEógain in his obituary of 1196.[110] Evidently the dominance of the Cenél nEógain in the common overkingship precluded the perpetuation of marriage links between the two dynasties.

[103] *Banshenchas* [part two], 188; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §418, pp. 272, 389.

[104] *Banshenchas* [part two], 187; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §405, pp. 269, 386.

[105] *Banshenchas* [part two], 226; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §404, pp. 268, 386; *AFM* s.a. 942.13.

[106] *Banshenchas* [part two], 226; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The prose *Banshenchas*', §406, pp. 269, 386.

[107] *Banshenchas* [part two], 186; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §378, pp. 263, 381.

[108] Even though the growing importance of Rúaidrí úa Cannannáin's family in the mid-tenth century does not seem to have been recognised by a marriage with Cenél nEógain, it was acknowledged in this way by the Clann Cholmáin: Cainnech, a daughter of Canannán, was married to Donnchad Donn mac Flainn, king of Ireland (*AFM* s.a. 927.16 (*recte* 929)).

[109] *AU* s.a. 804.1: '*rex Aquilonis*'.

[110] *ALC* s.a. 1196.20; *AFM* s.a. 1197.3; *Misc.Ir.Annals* s.a. 1197.4.

Fourteen Uí Néill kings of Tara appear in the *Banshenchas* with no named mother or wife.[111] Most of these men were from the Síl nÁedo Sláine or Cenél Conaill; that is to say, from the weaker branches of their respective dynasties.[112] It is therefore likely that there were more marriages of this type for which the record is defective. Anne Connon suggested that the compiler of the main source for the 'Tara framework' of the *Banshenchas* did not have access to a good-quality record for these groups.[113] This is possible, but it may also be that such matches were diplomatically sensitive at the time the *Banshenchas* itself was compiled; that is, in the twelfth century when the Cenél nEógain and Clann Cholmáin were dominant.

The key point here is that such marriages were abandoned after monopolisation. In Ulaid, the successor segments of Dál Fíatach, which were Uí Mathgamna, Uí Eochada, and later Meic Duinn Sléibe, had no recorded marriages with the successor segments of Dál nAraide, Uí Lethlobair and Uí Loingsig. The last Dál nAraide king of Ulaid was Áed mac Loingsig (d. 972), and the latest recorded marriages between the two branches concern tenth-century figures.[114] Among the Southern Uí Néill, the Uí Máel Sechlainn, successors of the Clann Cholmáin line, had no recorded marriages with the Meic Gilla Sechnaill, Uí Chellaig, Uí Chongalaig, Uí Airt, or other successors of the Síl nÁedo Slaine dynasty in east Meath. The last Síl nÁedo Sláine king of the Southern Uí Néill was Congalach mac Máel Mithig (d. 956),[115] and the latest marriages between Clann Cholmáin and Síl nÁedo Sláine also concerned tenth-century individuals.[116] Regarding the Uí Néill generally, the common kingship that broke down in the late tenth or early eleventh century, is also reflected by marriage practice. The mother of Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill (d. 1022), the last claimant to such an authority, was of Cenél nEógain, and hers is one of the latest recorded marriages between Cenél nEógain and Clann Cholmáin.[117] The very latest is that of Ben Mide (d. 1137) ingen Chonchobair Uí Máel Sechlainn (d. 1073) who was the mother of Níall Mac Lochlainn, but there is some uncertainty with this example. The only record of the pairing is the *Banshenchas*, which reports that Ben Mide was '*mathair Neill mc Mail Eachlaind mc meic Lochlaind*', which rendered literally, might be 'mother of Níall son of Máel Sechlainn son of Úa Lochlainn', though one manuscript omits the final '*meic*'.[118] This individual was identified by Dobbs as Níall mac Máel Sechlainn (d. 1061); the Máel

[111] Anne Connon, 'The "*Banshenchas*" and the Uí Néill queens of Tara', in Alfred Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), 98–108, at 106.

[112] Connon, 'The "*Banshenchas*" ', 106.

[113] Connon, 'The "*Banshenchas*" ', 106.

[114] *Banshenchas* [part two], 187, 226; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §399, pp. 267, 385.

[115] *AU* s.a. 956.3.

[116] *Banshenchas* [part two], 188, 226; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §406, pp. 269, 386.

[117] *Banshenchas* [part two], 188; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §418, pp. 272, 389.

[118] *Banshenchas* [part two], 190; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §442, pp. 277, 386.

Sechlainn in question also being the father of Lochlann from whom the Meic Lochlainn descend. As the obituary for this Máel Sechlainn is under 997, he and Ben Mide were not contemporaries, however.[119] Ní Bhrolcháin thought the entry was corrupt, and suggested an alternative identification, also Cénel nEógain.[120] More recently, this Níall has been identified by Flanagan as Níall mac Domnaill Meic Lochlainn (d. 1119).[121] In this latter case he would have the pedigree of son of Domnall, son of Ardgar, son of Lochlainn (*a quo* Meic Lochlainn), son of Máel Sechlainn (d. 997). While Domnall Mac Lochlainn and Ben Mide ingen Conchobair Uí Máel Sechlainn were contemporaries, his is clearly not the name given in the *Banshenchas*. The significance of the point is that, if Flanagan's identification is correct, the twenty-eight-year-old Níall mac Domnaill Meic Lochlainn killed in 1119 puts the Clann Cholmáin-Cenél nEógain pairing in 1090–1 and thus a slight anomaly to the pattern being discussed, whereas if it was at a date closer to the mid-eleventh century it would not be as incongruous.[122] It may be relevant that the common kingship of the Uí Néill did not become dominated by one dynasty like the provincial kingships, but rather fell out of use. As such, this very late example can provide evidence of an ambition to perpetuate the office, whether in a mid-or-late eleventh-century context. This also serves to underline the innovation shown by Domnall Mac Lochlainn (d. 1121) in abandoning it – a subject worthy of fuller consideration elsewhere.

One fact that should be noted here is that there were late marriages between the Uí Chathasaig and Uí Máel Sechlainn, and the Uí Chathasaig of Saithne were also descendants of the Síl nÁedo Sláine. Tailtiu ingen Chonchobair Uí Máel Sechlainn was wife of Ímar Úa Cathasaig of the Saithne,[123] and an unnamed daughter of Úa Cathasaig was mother of Conchobar Dall Úa Máel Sechlainn.[124] Both examples come from the mid-to-late twelfth century, by which time this area, Saithne, was under the control of Hiberno-Norse Dublin rather than the Southern Uí Néill of Meath.[125] This interesting behavioural modification emphasises the overtly political nature of such matches: the transfer of one group into another kingdom evidently relieved the prohibition on the creation of marriage links.

Unfortunately, we lack enough examples to include Munster in this discussion. Similarly, in Connacht there was no longstanding alternation for the provincial kingship, which was largely the preserve of the Uí Briúin Aí, and later their successor segment Síl Muiredaig. The Uí Rúairc of Uí Briúin Bréifne, itself a questionable genealogy, only latterly competed for kingship but there

[119] *AU* s.a. 997.2.

[120] Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchasi*', §442, pp. 277, 386, 455.

[121] Flanagan, 'Ua Lochlainn, Domnall [Domhnall O'Lochlainn] (1048–1121)', in *ODNB*, accessed online (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20744) (10 May 2019).

[122] *AFM* s.a. 1119.5; *AU* s.a. 1119.8; *ALC* s.a. 1119.6; *Misc.Ir.Annals* s.a. 1119.1; *Ann. Tig.* s.a. 1120.1; *AI* s.a. 1120.3.

[123] *AFM* s.a. 1171.6.

[124] *Banshenchas* [part two], 192; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §463, pp. 281, 397.

[125] MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, 165–6.

are almost no recorded marriages between the two dynasties.[126] The marriage of Tigernán Úa Rúairc's daughter to Rúaidrí Úa Conchobair may here be discounted, as it clearly corresponded with an alliance and occurred at a time when the Uí Rúairc were no longer challenging to be kings of Connacht. One such marriage may be pointed to: that of Fergal Úa Rúairc to Bé Binn ingen Taidc in Eich Gil Uí Chonchobair.[127] After Fergal was killed by Domnall mac Congalaigh of Síl nÁedo Sláine, Bé Binn became the wife of Domnall, showing how wives could be considered spoils of war in some circumstances.

Recorded marriages concerning the Uí Rúairc overwhelmingly point to marriages into Meath and the Southern Uí Néill, not back into Connacht. This may well reflect the concern of the original author of the metrical *Banshenchas*, Gilla Mo Dutu Úa Caiside, with emphasising this particular link (he was from Ardbraccan in Meath and was patronised by Úa Rúairc and Derbforgaill).[128] We must be aware that he, and other later redactors, may have heavily censored the examples included in the various iterations of the *Banshenchas*.

In all provinces where *selaidecht* existed, the dominant line (the one that held the kingship most frequently) is also recorded to have had a greater number of external marriage links. The leading lines of the Northern Uí Néill and Ulaid, the Cenél nEógain and Dál Fíatach, married into each other while also pursuing the type of intra-provincial marriage outlined above. The marriage of Dunlaith ingen Domnaill meic Áeda mac Néill of Cenél nEógain to Áed mac Eochacáin of Dál Fíatach is one of many such examples.[129] The Cenel nEógain also formed marriage links with the Connachta,[130] the Airgíalla,[131] and even the Eóganachta Durlais (alias Eóganacht Airthir Clíach) in Munster.[132] The Clann Cholmáin contracted a number of marriages with Osraige[133] and with the Connachta.[134] They also had marriages with the Dál Fíatach, in the case of Bé Bail ingen Cathail 'rí Ulad', married to Donnchad mac Domnaill Midi.[135] Such wider links can only occasionally be shown to exist for the subordinate or weaker dynasties.

International marriages were also the preserve of the most important dynasties. Notably, Máel Muire ingen Cináeda meic Ailpin king of Scotland married into both the Cenél nEógain and the Clann Cholmáin, producing Níall Glúndub and Domnall mac Flainn meic Máel Sechlainn for those dynasties

[126] Eoghan Ó Mordha, 'The Uí Briúin Bréifni genealogies and the origins of Bréifne', *Peritia* 16 (2002), 444–50.

[127] *Banshenchas* [part two], 188; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §409, pp. 270, 387.

[128] See Kevin Murray, 'Gilla Mo Dutu Úa Caiside' in John Carey, Máire Herbert and Kevin Murray (eds), *Cín Chille Cúile: Texts, Saints and Places. Essays in Honour of Pádraig Ó Riain* (Aberystwyth, 2004), 150–62.

[129] *Banshenchas* [part two], 226; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §400, pp. 268, 386.

[130] *Banshenchas* [part two], 188; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §413, pp. 271, 388.

[131] *Banshenchas* [part two], 186; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §387, pp. 264, 382.

[132] *Banshenchas* [part two], 186; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §388, pp. 265, 383.

[133] *Banshenchas* [part two], 187; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §392, pp. 265, 383.

[134] *Banshenchas* [part two], 187; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §403, pp. 268, 386.

[135] *Banshenchas* [part two], 186; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §385, pp. 264, 382.

respectively.[136] Muirchertach Úa Briain gave a daughter to the son of the king of Norway, Magnus Barefoot Ólafsson, in 1101, and another to Arnulf de Montgomery.[137] The marriage of Áed Úa Conchobair to ingen Dubgaill meic Rúaidrí of Clann Somarlaide in the Hebrides in 1259 is another example.[138]

There were some Anglo-Gaelic marriages in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries as well. Hugh de Lacy's (d. 1186) marriage to Rúaidrí Úa Conchobair's daughter (*c.* 1180) is particularly noteworthy because it was undertaken without Henry II's licence and according to Irish custom, by which the payment of *coibche* by the husband is probably indicated.[139] William Gorm de Lacy, a fascinating character in both Irish and Angevin domains, was the result of this marriage.[140] There was also Richard de Clare's marriage to Aífe ingen Díarmata Meic Murchada, of course, through which Giraldus Cambrensis suggested de Clare was entitled to the kingship of Leinster. Cambrensis also wrote that Mac Murchada had offered Aífe to Robert fitz Stephen, while in England, but that fitz Stephen had refused because he was already married; the veracity of these statements is often doubted.[141]

John de Courcy married Affrica, daughter of Gofraid (d. 1187), king of Man and the Isles, *c.* 1180. While this was not a marriage into Gaelic Ireland, the Norse rulers of the Isles had been active in Irish politics for centuries; Gofraid himself had also married Finngúala, a granddaughter of Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn.[142] There is the case of William de Burgh as well; while the source we rely on for this is very late, it seems that he married a daughter of Domnall Úa Briain's (d. 1194) shortly before the latter's death, and Richard de Burgh, future conqueror of Connacht, was a product of the union.[143] Later, Donnchad Cairprech Úa Briain may have married a daughter of William de Burgh, but the evidence for this is slight.[144] It is perhaps surprising that such unions were not more prevalent – though this may simply reflect our sources, which are much poorer for the early thirteenth century than the twelfth. It is strange, for example, to note that the lords of Ulaid, John de Courcy and Hugh de Lacy (d. 1242), did not contract marriages with the Uí Néill Glúnduib or

[136] *Banshenchas* [part two], 188, 225; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §§393, 406, pp. 266, 269, 384–5, 386.

[137] *AFM* s.a. 1102.11.

[138] *AFM* s.a. 1259.5; *Ann. Conn.* s.a. 1259.6.

[139] For the importance of *coibche*, see Ó Hoireabhárd, 'Derbforgaill', 8–13.

[140] See Colin Veach and Freya Verstraten Veach, 'William Gorm de Lacy: "chiefest champion in these parts of Europe" ', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Princes, Prelates and Poets in Medieval Ireland: Essays in Honour of Katharine Simms* (Dublin, 2013), 63–84.

[141] M. T. Flanagan, 'Aífe (Aoife, Eva)', in *DIB.*, accessed online (https://www.dib.ie/biography/aife-aoife-eva-a0069) (accessed 29 July 2021); David Beresford, 'fitz Stephen, Robert', in *DIB.* (https://www.dib.ie/biography/fitz-stephen-robert-a3123) (accessed 29 July 2021).

[142] Colmán Etchingham, Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, and Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, *Norse–Gaelic Contacts in a Viking World* (Turnhout, 2019), 165–6; George Broderick (ed.), *Cronica Regum Mannie & Insularum: Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles BL Cotton Julius A viii*, second ed. (Douglas, 1995), fol. 37r.

[143] John O'Donovan (ed.), *The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many* (Dublin, 1843), 44–5.

[144] C. A. Empey, 'Ó Briain, Donnchad Cairprech [Donogh Cairbrech O'Brien]' in *ODNB*, accessed online (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20451) (27 July 2022).

Meic Lochlainn of the North, a policy which might have helped them advance westwards – as it had William de Burgh.

The situation in Leinster may now be juxtaposed with these kingdoms to show how this practice is relevant to the course of events in the twelfth century. Here, kingship was contested by the Uí Fáeláin, Uí Dúnchada, and Uí Muiredaig for much of the medieval period. The claim of the Uí Chennselaig was resurrected by Díarmait mac Máel na mBó in the mid-eleventh century, after a period of dormancy since the eighth century. His successors claimed the same provincial authority, with success, though on occasion, even in the twelfth century, they were only recognised with the lesser title 'king of Uí Chennselaig', while other dynasties also advanced a claim.[145] That is to say, even though it is often assumed that the Uí Chennselaig monopolised the kingship of Leinster from Díarmait mac Máel na mBó onwards, they did not.

Marriages continued to occur between all of the dynasties with royal aspirations in Leinster. For instance, Caillech ingen Dunlaing of the Uí Muiredaig branch of Uí Dunlainge married Máel Mórda of the Uí Fáeláin and was mother of Braen mac Máel Mórda, the king of Leinster who was blinded and died of his wounds in Dublin in 1018.[146] Cacht ingen Uí Fáeláin married Loísech mac Aimergin of the Laígis and was mother to Cú Críche mac Laísig, styled king of Leinster in the *Banshenchas* but merely king of Loígis in the annals on his death in 1042.[147] Sadb ingen Máel Mórda Uí Domnaill, the king of Uí Chennselaig who died in 1024, was mother of Gilla Comgaill Úa Túathail.[148] Gormlaith ingen Éanna Mac Murchada of Uí Chennselaig, the king of Leinster who died in 1126, married into the Uí Mórda.[149] Díarmait Mac Murchada's first marriage was with Sadb ingen Cerbaill mac Fáeláin of Uí Fáeláin.[150] His last marriage was to Mór ingen Muirchertaigh Uí Thúathail, a daughter of the king of Uí Muiredaig.[151] Both were to families that had held the kingship of Leinster, and, in keeping with the pattern discussed above, both therefore recognised the royal status of those families. Had the Uí Chennselaig monopolised the kingship, they would not have acknowledged the Uí Fáeláin or Uí Thúathail in this way.

Further evidence may be found in the 1177 obituary of Máel Mórda Úa Fáeláin, killed by the Uí Thúathail, described as 'the best crownprince [*rigdamna*] in Leinster'.[152] The exact meaning of the term *rigdamna* has been debated, but it may be taken to mean the leader of a segment currently excluded

[145] *AFM* s.a. 1089.5, 1092.9, 1115.5; *ALC* s.a. 1115.4; *AU* s.a. 1115.4.

[146] *Banshenchas* [part two], 228; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §426, pp. 274, 390; *AU* s.a. 1018.2; *AI* s.a. 1018.4; *AFM* s.a. 1017.5.

[147] *Banshenchas* [part two], 233; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §563, pp. 304, 418; *AFM* s.a. 1042.9.

[148] *Banshenchas* [part two], 195; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §498, pp. 289, 404.

[149] *Banshenchas* [part two], 233; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §562, pp. 303, 418.

[150] *Banshenchas* [part two], 233; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §559, pp. 303, 417.

[151] *Banshenchas* [part two], 232; Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Prose *Banshenchas*', §555, pp. 302, 416.

[152] *Ann. Tig.* s.a. 1177.12: '*rigdamna rob fherr do Laignib*'.

from kingship who had a prospect of reclaiming it for his dynasty.[153] It was also this term that was applied to Énna Mac Murchada, son of Díarmait, in the same collection of annals, only nine years before, when he was blinded by the king of Osraige.[154] Furthermore, under 1103 there is a reference to a 'Muirchertach Mac Gilla mo Cholmóg, king of Leinster', in both *AFM* and *Ann. Tig.*[155] The Meic Gilla mo Cholmóg belonged to the Uí Dúnchada. Later, Díarmait Mac Murchada's own daughter was married to Domnall Mac Gilla mo Cholmóg (d. 1185).[156]

Perhaps even more importantly, the Book of Leinster acknowledges the royalty of Conchobar Úa Conchobair Failge (d. 1115), who is described as having 'joint sovereignty' with Donnchad mac Murchada for two years.[157] Both died in battle against Muirchertach Úa Briain and his son Domnall.[158] In *AFM*, *AU* and *ALC* descriptions of that event, both men are given their regional titles (i.e., king of Uí Chennselaig and king of Uí Failge). In *Ann. Tig.*, Donnchad mac Murchada is 'king of Leinster' and Conchobar Úa Conchobair Failge merely 'king of Offaly'.[159] Nonetheless, the Book of Leinster's interpretation is further evidence that the Uí Chennselaig had not persuaded everyone else that their claims were now defunct.

This discovery has considerable implications for our understanding of Leinster in the twelfth century. Possession of the provincial kingship was not considered a settled issue, and both Mac Murchada and his subordinates knew it. It is therefore clearer why, to take one example, his vassals should seek to betray him in 1166. In the words of *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland*, 'All his men from Leinster and from Osraige have abandoned him. When King Diarmait saw then that he was betrayed, that his own men had failed him, and that he was thus betrayed and that they wanted to capture him, to hand him over and sell him to Ua Ruairc, and that moreover the king of Connacht would inflict great destruction on him – but why should I prolong our chronicle in any way? His own men have driven out King Diarmait by force'.[160]

[153]See Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Irish regnal succession: a reappraisal', *Studia Hibernica* 11 (1971), 7–39, at 35: 'I suggest, then, with some hesitation, that the *rígdamna* is usually the head of the main segment out of the kingship and that his office is what Goody calls, a pledge to the segment that it would have the next bite of the cherry. And the degree to which the dynasty is segmented together with the power (or weakness) of the king in office determines whether the *rígdamna* is nearly or distantly related to the king'.

[154]*Ann. Tig.* s.a. 1168.2: '*Enda Mac Murchadha, rígdamna Laigen, do dallad la Donnchadh Mac Gilla Padraic la ríg Osraigi*'.

[155]*AFM* s.a. 1103.10; *Ann. Tig.* s.a. 1103.4. Note also that Muirchertach Mac Gilla mo Cholmóg is mentioned in similar entries in *ALC*, *AU*, and *AI*, but without the provincial title (*ALC* s.a. 1103.3, 1103.4; *AU* s.a. 1103.5; *AI* s.a. 1103.4).

[156]John T. Gilbert (ed.) *Chartulary St Mary's Dublin*, 2 vols (London, 1884), i, 31–2.

[157]Best et al. (eds), *The Book of Leinster*, i, 184: '*i comflathius*'.

[158]*AU* s.a. 1115.4, 1115.6.

[159]*Ann. Tig.* s.a. 1115.4: '*rí Laigen*', '*ri h-Úa Failghi*'.

[160]Evelyn Mullally (ed.), *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland: La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande. A new edition of the chronicle formerly known as The Song of Dermot and the Earl* (Dublin, 2002), 58, ll. 204–27: *Tute sa gent li sunt faillie De Leynestere e de Osserie. Quant ço vit Dermot li reis Que traï esteit a cele feis, Sa gent demeine lui sun failliz, Ent el maere iert traïz E que voleint [le] prendre, A O Roric liverer e vendre, Si li f[e]ïst mult grant essart De Connoth li reis d'autre part-*

Similarly, we can better understand why Giraldus Cambrensis wrote of Díarmait Mac Murchada that 'From his earliest youth and his first taking the kingship he oppressed his nobles, and raged against the chief men of his kingdom with a tyranny grievous and impossible to bear … He preferred to be feared by all rather than loved. He treated his nobles harshly and brought to prominence men of humble rank'.[161]

F. X. Martin suggested that too much credence had been given to this commentary, which he deemed to be anti-Irish rhetoric, and which certainly was at odds with the positive image of Mac Murchada portrayed in *The Deeds*.[162] But we know that Giraldus had grounds for his comments because in 1141 Mac Murchada had killed or blinded seventeen of his leading nobles. They included Domnall Úa Fáeláin, Muirchertach Mac Gilla mo Cholmóg, and Murchad Úa Túathail.[163] In other words, those who suffered at Mac Murchada's hands represented genuine rivals whose designs he feared. Thomas Charles-Edwards's argument that Mac Murchada intended to secure his own (and his dynasty's) hold on Leinster by having the early English invaders take land holdings in the territory of his rivals within Leinster is entirely harmonious with the present interpretation.[164] Mac Murchada clearly planned to damage the independent power of his subordinates by planting Anglo-Normans on their lands. In this way he could ensure Uí Chennselaig dominance of the provincial kingship of Leinster going forward.

This discovery also answers the question of succession in Leinster after Díarmait. Since we can now show that one of the main aims of his scheme was to ensure his dynasty's dominance, there can be no question that he willingly bequeathed the province to Richard de Clare. This assertion, underlying the Anglo-Norman claim in Leinster, has always been suspect, but hitherto Mac Murchada has also been difficult to understand. I suggest, too, that the execution of his son Conchobar by Rúaidrí Úa Conchobair surprised him, and I hope to deal with this point on another occasion.

There are some limits to this argument that must be acknowledged. The *Banshenchas* contains a strong stratum of Leinster material, based on the Book of Uí Maine exemplar, as discussed above, and we therefore have a better chance of observing such unions here than we do for some other provinces, particularly Munster and Connacht, for which such detailed material is lacking. At the same time, we lack a dedicated collection of annals for Leinster, impeding our understanding of the development of rival claims on its kingship in the twelfth century.

Kev us irrai purloingnant De nostre geste tant ne quant? Le reis Dermot en unt geté Sa gent par vive poësté.

[161] Scott and Martin, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 25–6, 40–1.

[162] F. X. Martin, 'Diarmait Mac Murchada and the coming of the Anglo-Normans', in Art Cosgrave (ed.), *New History of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland 1169–1534* (Oxford, 1987), 43–66, at 46–7.

[163] *Ann. Tig.* s.a. 1141.5.

[164] T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'Ireland and its invaders, 1166–1186', *Quaestio Insularis* 4 (2003), 1–34; *The Deeds*, 100, ll. 1852–56.

Since marriages are usually only recorded incidentally in the Irish annals, typically in the form of obituaries of notable wives, there are certainly vast gaps in our knowledge. Our data, such as they are, provide a window on marriage practice in medieval Ireland and most especially on the twelfth century. Judging by what we can see through this window, Irish nobles typically practised serial monogyny, often complemented with concubines in the case of powerful men. Political motives can be seen as an important factor, but certainly not the only one, and the agency of women in the selection of partners is equally perceptible.

The fact that marriage could be seen as an endorsement of royal status complicated internal politics once a particular dynasty monopolised the kingship, since they were now disincentivised to contract marriages with their former rivals. Some such unions probably occurred, particularly in the period when monopolisation was not firmly established, but the *Banshenchas* shows a definite trend away from such pairings. As such, the continued inter-marriages of aspiring royal dynasties in Leinster informs us about the difficulties and policies of its famous twelfth-century king, Díarmait Mac Murchada.

There are two important links here with the English invasion of Ireland. In the first place, Ireland's divergent marriage practices were strongly criticised by the archbishops of Canterbury in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. This dialogue played a role in the perception of Ireland at the curia later in the twelfth century, and perhaps even in the papal bull Laudabiliter (though this is open to question).[165] Crusading language certainly supported the invasion after the fact, with Irish marriage practice a key consideration, as is clearly shown by a letter of Pope Alexander III to Henry II, urging him to subjugate 'this barbarous and uncouth race which is ignorant of divine law'.[166]

The second link is that it was Díarmait Mac Murchada who, when driven from Ireland in 1166, sought Henry's aid. The king of England may not have been particularly inclined to act on that occasion, but his barons were, and he later renewed his enthusiasm for the scheme. Because it was Mac Murchada who solicited aid, it was Leinster in which the earliest arrivals first staked claims to land. It was also succession in Leinster with which they were concerned when Mac Murchada conveniently died in 1171. We may wonder how Richard de Clare and his allies understood succession in an Irish context, but they were doubtless made aware of the rival claims which, in Leinster, extended across the province.

[165]Marie Therese Flanagan, 'Laudabiliter', in S. J. Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, second ed. (Oxford, 2003), 319.

[166]Maurice P. Sheehy, *Pontificia Hibernia*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1962–5), i, 19–20 at 20: '*gentem illam barboram, incultam et divine legis ignaram*'.

Abbreviations

ALC	*The Annals of Loch Ce: a chronicle of Irish affairs, 1014–1590, ed. W.M. Hennessy (2 vols, London, 1871).*
Ann. Clon.	*The Annals of Clonmacnoise, being annals of Ireland from the earliest period to ad 1408, translated into English, ad 1627, by Connell Mageoghagan, ed. Denis Murphy (Dublin, 1896).*
Ann. Conn.	*Annála Connacht, […] (ad 1224–1544), ed. A. Martin Freeman (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1944).*
Chron. Scot.	*Chronicum Scotorum: a chronicle of Irish affairs […] to 1135, and supplement […] 1141–1150, ed. W. M. Hennessy (London, 1866).*
DIB	*Dictionary of Irish Biography* (online).
Misc.Ir.Annals	*Séamus Ó hInnse (ed.), Miscellaneous Irish annals (ad 1114–1437) (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1947).*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online).

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AN EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF 'FINN AND MAC LESC' INCLUDING 'FUITT CO BRÁTH' AND 'TÁNIC SAM'[1]

Abstract

This article reconsiders the well-known 'nature' poems 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Tánic sam' within their manuscript and textual context. The poems form part of a prosimetric anecdote featuring Finn mac Cumaill, known as 'Finn and Mac Lesc' or 'Finn and the Lazy Lad', which survives in the Book of Leinster (*s*. xii), Rawlinson B 502 (*ss*. xi–xii) and RIA C iii 2 (*s*. xvi). The introduction discusses the textual clusters in which 'Finn and Mac Lesc' survives, manuscript layout and textual transmission. The metre of the poems is reconsidered; I argue that 'Tánic sam' fits a syllabic metre rather than a stressed metre. Finally, the full anecdote is edited and translated with notes on the text and its language.

The text edited here is a prosimetric anecdote in which Finn mac Cumaill and an otherwise unknown member of his *fían*, Mac Lesc mac Ladáin (*lesc* 'lazy'; perhaps *ladan* 'dumb'?), are apart from the rest of the *fían* in Slíab Cuilinn (Slieve Gullion, Co. Armagh). Finn asks Mac Lesc to go and seek water for them, but the latter refuses and recites a poem detailing the bad weather, beginning 'Fuitt co bráth' 'Forever cold' (4 qq). The tale is found in three manuscripts. In TCD MS 1339 (H. 2. 18), the Book of Leinster (*s*. xii) (**L**), p. 208a37–54, the text ends with 'Fuitt co bráth'. However, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 502 (*ss*. xi–xii) (**R**), fols 59vb42–60ra18 and RIA MS C iii 2 (1236) (*s*. xvi) (**C**), fol. 10ra9–46, the text continues beyond that point with a short prose sentence introducing Finn's response, which is a poem praising the coming of summer and beginning 'Tánic sam' 'Summer has come' (7 qq).[2] The anecdote ends with another segment of prose describing how Finn punished Mac Lesc by binding him, naked, to a standing-stone, until the next morning. Editions and translations of the poems 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Tánic sam' are numerous, partly because of their association with the corpus of so-called 'nature poetry'.[3] However, the poems

[1]This article is based on my Masters thesis (University College Cork, 2019), and benefitted greatly from the advice and supervision of Dr Kevin Murray. I developed my work on the Book of Leinster in particular during my PhD, and I thank my supervisor Prof. Máire Ní Mhaonaigh for her advice. I would also like to thank Prof. Ruairí Ó hUiginn, Prof. Barry Lewis and an anonymous reader for their many helpful corrections and suggestions. I am responsible for any remaining errors.

[2]I would like to thank the Bodleian Library and the Royal Irish Academy for allowing me to consult these manuscripts.

[3]See Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The invention of Celtic nature poetry', in Terrence Brown (ed.), *Celticism*, Studia Imagologica 8 (1996), 97–124. Other discussions of this corpus include Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Early Irish hermit poetry?', in Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach and

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have been published for the most part in anthologies, without their prose context and with little academic discussion of their content.[4]

'Finn and Mac Lesc' has only been edited and translated in its entirety once, by Meyer in 1903.[5] His edition, based on **R**, offered no detailed critical commentary, and he did not seem to know of the existence of the version in **C** at the time. Meyer also included in this same publication an edition and translation of the now-famous poem 'Cétamon' 'May-day', recited by Finn in *Macgnímartha Find* 'The Boyhood Deeds of Finn', and an edition and translation of 'Scél lem dúib' 'I have a story for you', a poem which survives as part of the commentary on *Amra Choluim Chille* 'The Eulogy of Colum Cille'.[6] He justified the publication of these four poems together by saying that 'they bear internal evidence of having been composed either by one poet, or on the same pattern'.[7] This suggestion strongly influenced subsequent treatment of the poems, specifically 'Tánic sam'.

Thus, in 1971, Carney wrote an influential article which aimed to reassess Murphy's edition of 'Cétamon', which had been published in 1955.[8] Murphy heavily emended the text to fit a strict syllabic pattern. Basing his argument on Meyer's statement that 'Cétamon' and 'Tánic sam' were composed by the same poet, Carney criticised Murphy's approach and stated that 'Murphy's thesis, although he does not advert to the fact, would demand that *Tánic sam* should

Kim R. McCone (eds), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney*, Maynooth Monographs 2 (1989), 251–67; and more recently Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Early Gaelic nature poetry revisited', in Georgia Henley and Paul Russell (eds), *Rhetoric and Reality in Medieval Celtic Literature: Studies in Honor of Daniel F. Melia* (Hamilton, NY, 2014), 8–19 and Elizabeth Boyle, 'The forms and functions of medieval Irish poetry and the limitations of modern aesthetics', in Tom Birkett and Kirsty March-Lyons (eds), *Translating Early Medieval Poetry: Transformation, Reception, Interpretation* (Cambridge, 2017), 92–108.

[4] Hull made significant progress in the interpretation of parts of the text taking into account the **C** version, though he did not venture to edit the full anecdote again; Vernam Hull, 'Four Old-Irish songs of Summer and Winter', *Celtica* 9 (1971), 200–1. Other editions and/or translations include the following: for 'Fuitt co bráth': James Carney (trans.), *Medieval Irish Lyrics* (Dublin, 1967), 22–25; for 'Tánic sam': Kuno Meyer (trans.), *Selections from Ancient Irish Poetry*, 2nd ed. (London, 1913), 53; Myles Dillon (trans.), *Early Irish Literature* (Dublin, 1948), 159; David Greene and Frank O'Connor (ed. and trans.), *A Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry A.D. 600 to 1200* (London, 1967), 137–39; for both 'Tánic sam' and 'Fuitt co bráth': Kenneth Jackson (trans.), *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry* (Cambridge, 1935), 25–27, 43–44; Geoffrey Squires (trans.), *My News for You: Irish Poetry 600–1200* (Bristol, 2015), 80–81, 193–94, 221.

[5] Kuno Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs of Summer and Winter* (London, 1903), 16–23.

[6] 'Cétamon' has been edited many times: Meyer (ed.), 'Macgnímartha Find', *RC* 5 (1882), 195–204, at 201; re-edited separately by Meyer, *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 8–13, and with corrections by Meyer (trans.), 'The boyish exploits of Finn', *Ériu* 1 (1904), 180–90, at 186; by Jackson (trans.), *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry*, 23–5 and 41–3; Gerard Murphy (ed. and trans.), 'Finn's poem on May-day', *Ériu* 17 (1955), 86–99; James Carney (ed. and trans.), 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', *Ériu* 22 (1971), 23–80. See the 'metre' and 'similarities' sections of this article below for a discussion of possible relationships between this poem and 'Tánic sam'. For 'Scél lem dúib', see Meyer, *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 14–15; Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille', *Revue Celtique* 20 (1899), 31–55, 132–83, 248–89, 400–37, at 258–9.

[7] Meyer, *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 5.

[8] James Carney (ed. and trans.), 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', *Ériu* 22 (1971), 23–80, at 43–7 and 51–2.

be reconstructed in exactly the same way as *Cétamon*, and we would have to assume almost the same amount of "corruption". His ignoring of the problem of *Tánic sam* is a grave weakness in his thesis.'[9] He further elaborated on Meyer's argument, deciding that the 'poverty in diction and imagery' in 'Tánic sam' compared to 'Cétamon', as well as differences in metre and date (based on the language), suggest that 'Tánic sam' is a later imitation of 'Cétamon'. Carney thus argued that both poems were composed in a stressed, alliterative metre, and presented an edition and translation of both 'Tánic sam' and 'Cétamon' following this metre.

Although Carney's article was well received, there are problems with this interpretation. First, the manuscript contexts of 'Tánic sam' and 'Cétamon' are quite different, and there is no indication in the manuscripts that the poems are connected. 'Tánic sam' is only ever attested as part of the 'Finn and Mac Lesc' anecdote in which it follows the poem 'Fuitt co bráth'. 'Cétamon', on the other hand, survives in a single manuscript witness, namely Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc 610, in which it forms part of *Macgnímartha Find*. Secondly, the similarities of theme and vocabulary in both poems are superficial and to be expected in poems in praise of summer, which are common in other languages too. Finally, there are significant metrical differences between 'Tánic sam' and 'Cétamon', for example, in patterns of alliteration used.

Modern scholarship has isolated 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Tánic sam' from their manuscript and textual context and focussed on the latter poem's possible links to 'Cétamon'. Yet, 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Tánic sam' are not attested without their prose frame, and in prosimetric texts, 'the poetry—whether or not composed specifically for the context in question—and the prose are intended to be read as a single unit'.[10] Therefore, it is worth reconsidering 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Tánic sam' as part of the 'Finn and Mac Lesc' anecdote, both contextually and metrically. The following edition presents the anecdote in full for the first time since Meyer's publication. I will start by analysing the manuscript contexts and textual transmission. Then, I will address the question of the similarities between 'Cétamon' and 'Tánic sam' and reconsider the metre of 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Tánic sam'. Finally, I include an analysis of the language, before the edition, translation and notes on the text.[11]

Manuscripts, textual clusters and transmission

*Dublin, Trinity College MS 1339, the Book of Leinster (**L**)*

The Book of Leinster (hereafter **L**) is a well-known twelfth-century Irish codex which contains a large variety of vernacular writing.[12] It was probably com-

[9] Carney, 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', 34.

[10] Geraldine Parsons, '*Acallam na Senórach* as prosimetrum', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 24–5 (2009), 86–100, at 87.

[11] I also intend to publish a fuller literary analysis of the text in the future.

[12] A small portion of the manuscript is kept in UCD under the name Franciscan A 3; this part of the manuscript is not relevant to the current discussion.

posed in Terryglass (Co. Tipperary) or Clonenagh (Co. Laois),[13] as Scribe A identifies himself as Áed mac meic (or Ua) Crimthainn, and he is addressed as '(…) chomarbu Choluim meic Crimthaind'.[14] Áed is one of several scribes involved in the copying and writing of **L**; O'Sullivan lists six scribes (A, F, M, S, U and T).[15] T appears to have worked later than the other scribes, perhaps as late as the early thirteenth century, and O'Sullivan describes him as 'the real author of the Book of Leinster as we know it' because he re-arranged material from A, F and U in the 'Metrical *Dindshenchas*' section of the manuscript, which contains 'Finn and Mac Lesc'.[16] Duncan argues that T was in fact four different scribes who worked on **L** at various times, the latest person being T2.[17] 'Finn and Mac Lesc' was written by A at the bottom of p. 208a. It is the last text scribed by A in this section, and the rest of the bifolium was filled and added to at a later time by scribe T (Duncan's T2), as seen in Table 1 below.[18]

The literary context of this section of **L** is particularly interesting. 'Finn and Mac Lesc' forms part of one of three sections of *dindshenchas* material in **L**. The codex contains a compilation of prose *dindshenchas* material (fols CXII–CXIX in A and U's hands), and two codicologically separate compilations of mostly metrical *dindshenchas* material (fols CVIII–CXI in U's hand and fols CLII–CLXVII in A, T (Duncan's T2) and F's hands).[19] 'Finn and Mac Lesc'

[13] Others argue that it was written in Kildare (Gearóid Mac Eoin, 'The provenance of the Book of Leinster', *ZCP* 57 (2009–10), 79–96) or Oughavall (Alfred P. Smyth, *Celtic Leinster: Towards an Historical Geography of Early Irish Civilisation, A.D. 500–1600* (Dublin, 1982), 102–3), but O'Sullivan and Schlüter argue that the lack of surviving information about Oughavall goes against the idea that the monastery was rich enough to produce such a large codex (William O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the scripts and make-up of the Book of Leinster', *Celtica* 7 (1966), 1–31 at 1–2; Dagmar Schlüter, 'Medieval manuscripts and cultural memory: the case of the Book of Leinster', in Jan Erik Rekdal and Erich Poppe (eds), *Medieval Irish Perspectives on Cultural Memory*, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie 11 (Münster, 2014), 61–79 at 71–2).

[14] Sheryl L. Forste-Grupp (ed. and trans.), 'The earliest Irish personal letter', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 15 (1995), 1–11, at 6; O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the scripts', 6.

[15] O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the scripts'.

[16] O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the scripts', 9. *Dindshenchas* '(hi)story of notable places' was a very common textual device in medieval Irish texts, usually concerned with the aetiology of place-names. *Dindshenchas*-focussed texts were transmitted together in compilations entitled *Dindshenchas Érenn* (or *Senchas Dind nÉrenn*) 'The History of the Notable Places of Ireland', which are preserved in manuscripts dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The earliest surviving compilation of *dindshenchas* material survives in **L**; however, it is not titled *Dindshenchas Érenn* or *Senchas Dind nÉrenn* in this manuscript. It is written by several scribes and split into different sections of the codex. Applying the title *Dindshenchas Érenn* to the **L** compilations is thus anachronistic, even though **L** is the earliest witness to an interest in compiling *dindshenchas* 'articles' together. See David McCay, 'The *Dindshenchas* in the Book of Leinster' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2020) and Marie-Luise Theuerkauf, *Dindshenchas Érenn*, Cork Studies in Celtic Literatures 7 (Cork, 2023), 2–8 regarding **L**.

[17] Elizabeth Duncan, 'A reassessment of the script and make-up of *Lebor na Nuachongbála*', *ZCP* 59 (2012), 27–66.

[18] O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the scripts', 22. McCay, 'The *Dindshenchas* in the Book of Leinster', 53–5 provides a detailed explanation of the work of T(2) in this section and a description of the codicology, with a graph of the bifolium involved.

[19] Fols CLII–CLXVII are traditionally considered to be the 'Metrical *Dindshenchas*', although some prose articles are interspersed (on fol. CLVII especially), and, as will be seen below, some scholars have considered our anecdote and the other texts surrounding it as different from *dindshenchas* material. See Schlüter, *History or Fable*, 226–43.

Medieval foliation		Facsimile pagination	Scribe	Texts
CLII–CLX		215–16, 191–204 (in this order)	A	Mainly *dindshenchas* poetry and prose.
New bifolium:				
CLXI		205–6	A	– 'Ligi Guill i mMaig Raigni' (continued from CLXv) – *dindshenchas* poem on Lége – *dindshenchas* poem on Ard Ruide (with prose introduction) – 'Oenach indiu luid in rí'
CLXII	recto	207	A	– 'Oenach indiu luid in rí' (continued) – 'Dámh trír tháncatar illé'
	verso a	208a	A	– 'Dámh trír tháncatar illé' (continued) – 'Tuilsiter mo derca súan' – 'Bec innocht lúth mo dá lúa' – **'Finn and Mac Lesc'**
	verso b	208b	T(2)	– 'Secht o.f.n.'
CLXIII		209–10	T(2)	*dindshenchas* poetry.
CLXIIII–CLXV		161–64	F	
CLXVI–CLXVII		211–14	T(2)	

Table 1: Scribes and texts, fols. CLII–CLXVII in the Book of Leinster.[20]

is found within the latter section, on CLXIIv. However, in his edition of the *dindshenchas* poems from **L**, Gwynn famously stated that the poems forming the end of Scribe A's stint in this section 'cannot be brought within any definition of the term *dindshenchas*, however loosely interpreted',[21] as 'the compiler seems at this point to have lost sight of his intention of collecting place-legends, and to have turned aside to put together a number of poems about Finn and the Fianna'.[22] Indeed, 'Finn and Mac Lesc' is preceded by several poems which

[20] In this table, I have listed only poems which form part of the 'Fenian cluster' of texts identified by Gwynn (discussed below), and texts which directly follow 'Finn and Mac Lesc' on the same folio. I refer to the medieval foliation throughout since the order of leaves was changed in the facsimile pagination. See Dagmar Schlüter, *History or Fable? The Book of Leinster as a Document of Cultural Memory in Twelfth-Century Ireland*, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie 9 (Münster, 2010), 226–43 for a full list of contents with corresponding medieval foliation and facsimile pagination.

[21] Edward John Gwynn (ed. and trans.), *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, 5 vols, Todd Lecture Series 8–12 (Dublin, 1903–35), v, 25.

[22] Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, iv, pp. v–vi. See also Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, v, 19.

can be linked to *fíanaigecht*: 'Ligi Guill i mMaig Raigni' 'The grave of Goll in Mag Raigne' (CLXva32),[23] 'Trí tuli bit a dún Ardda Rudi' 'Three affluences are in the fort of Ard Ruide' (*dindshenchas* poem of Ard Rudi with prose introduction, CLXIva32),[24] 'Oenach indiu luid in rí' 'Today the king went to a fair' (CLXIvb1),[25] 'Dám thrír táncatar illé' 'A company of three men came here' (CLXIIrb5),[26] 'Tuilsiter mo derca súan' 'My eyes slumbered in sleep' (CLXIIva7),[27] and 'Bec innocht lúth mo dá lúa' 'Small tonight the vigour of my heels' (CLXIIva24).[28] There is also a *dindshenchas* text between 'Ligi Guill' and 'Trí tuli', which seems unconnected to Finn and his *fían*, namely 'Senchas Lége láthar sain' 'The history of Lége, a special arrangement' (*dindshenchas* poem of Lége i nUíb Failge, CLXIrb37).[29] Besides this latter text, the others can, to different extents, be linked to *fíanaigecht*. Yet, there is no indication in the manuscript that this section is to be considered separate from what precedes. The initial letters are in the same style as the material in the preceding folios.[30] The material is in the same hand as what precedes (that of Scribe A), there are no headings marking a new section of the manuscript, and there is no blank space between any of the texts. Furthermore, the folios are linked together textually, as poems are continued with no apparent lacunae from CLVIIIv to CLXr,[31] CLXv to CLXIr and CLXIv to CLXIIr. Thus, there is no evidence that A considered these last few texts of his stint as different from the *dindshenchas* material he had been compiling; nor does it look like he added them at a later date than the preceding material. Consequently, 'Finn and Mac Lesc' and the preceding 'Fenian' poems are to be considered as part of the section of *dindshenchas*-oriented poetry compiled by Scribe A on fols. CLII–CLXII.[32]

[23] Diarmuid Ó Murchadha (ed. and trans.), *Lige Guill: The Grave of Goll. A Fenian Poem from the Book of Leinster*, ITS 62 (London, 2009). See further Kevin Murray, *The Early Fenian Corpus*, Cork Studies in Celtic Literatures 5 (Cork, 2021), 15–7 (#A12).

[24] Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, iv, 368–71.

[25] Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'Find and the Phantoms', *RC* 7 (1886), 289–307. See further Murray, *The Early Fenian Corpus*, 23–6 (#A18a and b).

[26] Ludwig Christian Stern (ed. and trans.), 'Ein ossianische Ballade aus dem XII. Jahrhundert', in Kuno Meyer, Ludwig Christian Stern, Rudolf Thurneysen, F. Sommer and W. Foy (eds), *Festschrift Whitley Stokes zum siebzigsten Geburtstage am 28. Februar 1900 gewidmet* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 7–19. See further Murray, *The Early Fenian Corpus*, 29–30 (#A21).

[27] Ernst Windisch and Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1900), iv/i, 161–3. See further Murray, *The Early Fenian Corpus*, 31–2 (#A23).

[28] Meyer (ed. and trans.), 'Cáilte cecinit', *Ériu* 1 (1904), 72–3. See further Murray, *The Early Fenian Corpus*, 31 (#A22).

[29] Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, iv, 246–53.

[30] See for example ISOS, https://www.isos.dias.ie/TCD/TCD_MS_1339.html#207 (accessed 10 July 2023).

[31] Fol. CLVIIII probably never existed (Schlüter, *History or Fable*, 239).

[32] I make this argument in more detail in my doctoral thesis: Nina Cnockaert-Guillou, 'Compilation and creativity in medieval *fíanaigecht*: a case-study of "Three Men and the Dog of Irúath" ' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2024), 25–61. I also presented this research at the Fourth International Finn Cycle Conference, Mary Immaculate College, Limerick (23 June 2022), in a paper entitled 'A reassessment of the cluster of *fíanaigecht* poetry in the Metrical *Dindshenchas* of the Book of Leinster', which I intend to publish.

*Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson B 502 (**R**)*

What is now known as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 502 (hereafter **R**) is a compilation of two independent vellum manuscripts interspersed with paper leaves assembled by the seventeenth-century antiquarian James Ware. 'Finn and Mac Lesc' is found in the second section, which has been dated to the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth century.[33] It contains mostly religious texts and genealogies, but also verse and prose items, all of which appear to have been copied by a single scribe.[34]

R is at the heart of a long-standing argument about the identification of the lost Lebor Glinne Dá Locha (LGDL) or Book of Glendalough. Ó Riain suggested that **R** was LGDL based on references to LGDL as a source of texts in other manuscripts including RIA MS C iii 2 (hereafter **C**) in which another version of our text is found (see below).[35] His reasoning concerning **C** differs from that of Carney;[36] and both arguments have been re-examined by Breatnach.[37] More recently, Bisagni has reviewed the evidence in relation to *Amra Choluim Chille* (*ACC*), the eulogy of Colum Cille attributed to the sixth-century poet Dallán Forgaill, and put forward his own suggestions.[38] Though the identification of LGDL is not my purpose here, a small part of the controversy focusses on 'Tánic sam', which is part of 'Finn and Mac Lesc', therefore I will briefly summarise the arguments involving this poem here. Carney believed the **C** version of 'Tánic sam' to be independent from the version in **R**; and he thought that **C** derived it from LGDL, as 'Tánic sam' is followed by a reference to LGDL.[39] Ó Riain, on the contrary, pointed out the similarities between the two versions and concluded that **R** is in fact LGDL, and that the **C** version of 'Tánic sam' derives from **R**/LGDL.[40] Breatnach argued that **R** was not the immediate exemplar for **C**.[41] He pointed out that 'Fuitt co bráth', which precedes 'Tánic sam' in both manuscripts, has an additional quatrain in **C**. According to him, because LGDL is mentioned as a source shortly after the **C** version of 'Fuitt co bráth',

[33]Brian Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford College Libraries. Part 1: Descriptions* (Dublin, 2001), 174.

[34]Ó Cuív, *Catalogue*, 171.

[35]Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B. 502', *Éigse* 18/2 (1981), 161–76; see also subsequent articles by the same author, 'NLI G 2, f. 3 and the Book of Glendalough', *ZCP* 39 (1982), 29–32, 'Rawlinson B. 502 alias *Lebar Glinne Dá Locha*: a restatement of the case', *ZCP* 51 (1999), 130–47, and 'The Book of Glendalough: a continuing investigation', *ZCP* 56 (2008), 71–88.

[36]James Carney (ed. and trans.), *The Poems of Blathmac Son of Cú Brettan*, ITS 47 (Dublin, 1964), xii–xiii.

[37]Caoimhín Breatnach, 'Rawlinson B. 502, *Lebar Glinne Dá Locha* and *Saltair na Rann*', *Éigse* 30 (1997), 109–32; see also by the same author, 'Manuscript sources and methodology: Rawlinson B. 502 and *Lebar Glinne Dá Locha*', *Celtica* 24 (2003), 40–54 and 'Aspects of the textual transmission of *Sex Aetates Mundi* and *Druimm Cetta céte na noem*', *Éigse* 35 (2005), 9–26.

[38]Jacopo Bisagni (ed. and trans.), *Amrae Coluimb Chille: A Critical Edition*, Early Irish Text Series 1 (Dublin, 2019), 61–76.

[39]Carney, 'Three Old Irish Accentual Poems', 40.

[40]Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B. 502', 174.

[41]Breatnach, 'Rawlinson B. 502, *Lebar Glinne Dá Locha* and *Saltair na Rann*', 114.

which is different from **R**, it means that **R** is not LGDL.[42] Ó Riain pointed out that the reference to LGDL in **C** specifically mentions the following texts, and not what precedes (i.e., not 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Tánic sam').[43]

The foregoing is obviously just a small part of the discussions on LGDL; however, one may note that neither Ó Riain nor Breatnach considered 'Finn and Mac Lesc' as a unit. Like previous scholars, they presented the poems 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Tánic sam' as individual texts, despite the prosimetric frame with which they are found.

In **R**, 'Finn and Mac Lesc' survives with other poetic material at the end of *ACC* (fols 54ra1–59vb17).[44] 'Colum Cilli co Dia dommerail' 'Colum Cille enjoined me to God' (fol. 59vb18–38), a prayer attributed to Adomnán, directly follows the end of the main text of *ACC*.[45] 'Dia ard árlethar' 'God above regulates' (fol. 59vb39–42), a poem of three quatrains attributed to Colum Cille, also precedes 'Finn and Mac Lesc'.[46] Our tale then runs from fol. 59vb42 to 60ra17, and includes the poems 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Tánic sam', the former attributed to Mac Lesc and the latter to Finn. The text directly following the anecdote is a poem beginning 'Colum caid cumachtach' 'Holy, mighty Colum' (fol. 60ra18–33).[47] The following poem, beginning 'Guidium mac Feidelmid' 'I pray to the son of Feidelmid' (fol. 60ra34–60rb16),[48] is also of interest since it precedes the other version of our text in **C** (for which see below).

Though the poems listed above are not found within the commentary on *ACC* itself, the contents of all these texts (excluding 'Finn and Mac Lesc') indicate that they are to be read as a continuation of *ACC*. Russell has shown the importance of manuscript layout when discussing *ACC* and its commentary.[49]

[42] Breatnach, 'Rawlinson B. 502, *Lebar Glinne Dá Locha* and *Saltair na Rann*', 114.

[43] Ó Riain, 'Rawlinson B. 502 alias *Lebar Glinne Dá Locha*: a restatement of the case', 142. The reference reads: 'don logaims*ir*-so sīs do rēir Lebuir Glinne da Lacha', 'for this time and place below according to the Book of Glendalough' (C iii 2, fol. 10r47). Although the reference is found at the bottom of column *a*, and 'Druim Ceta céte na naem' begins on the first line of column *b*, the adverb *sís* specifically refers to what follows in writing, 'below, onwards, throughout'; see *eDIL* s.v. *sís* (d) (https://dil.ie/37699, accessed 23 October 2023).

[44] Ó Cuív, *Catalogue*, 186–7. *ACC* 'proper', i.e. the text in majuscules with commentary in smaller script, starts on fol. 56ra5 and ends on fol. 59vb17. On the structure of *ACC*, see Bisagni, *Amrae Coluimb Chille*, 14–17.

[45] Paul Grosjean (ed. and trans. from **R**), 'L'hymne d'Adamnán à Colum Cille', *Revue des Études Indo-européennes* 1 (1938), 184–91.

[46] Kuno Meyer (ed.), 'Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften: Aus Laud 615', *ZCP* 10 (1915), 338–48 at 345.

[47] Julius Pokorny (ed. and trans.), 'Ein altirisches Gebet zu St. Columba', *ZCP* 8 (1912), 285–8.

[48] Kuno Meyer (ed.), 'Neue Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften: Cainnech's Hymnus auf Colum Cille', *ACL* 3 (1907), 217–19.

[49] Paul Russell, '*In aliis libris*: adaptation, re-working and transmission in the commentaries to *Amra Choluim Chille*', in Elizabeth Boyle and Deborah Hayden (eds), *Authorities and Adaptations: The Reworking and Transmission of Textual Sources in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2014), 63–93, at 66–9. Indeed, studies of manuscript layout deserve to be incorporated into discussions of medieval Irish texts. This was done recently by Chantal Kobel, 'Fort Margan co mBáni Bieit inna Líni: elements of readability in the *Leabhar Breac*', a paper delivered at the Royal Irish Academy *Leabhar Breac* Conference (Dublin, 28 April 2023) and by Ralph O'Connor, *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel: Kingship and Narrative Artistry in a Mediaeval Irish Saga* (Oxford, 2013), 154–5. See also Nina Cnockaert-Guillou, 'Textual structure, dialogue and the layout of the manuscripts of

In particular, he has argued that the textual layout of all versions of *ACC*, in which the main text is followed by the commentary (contrary to other instances of texts with a main display script and marginal glosses and commentary), indicates that the glossing and commentary tradition was no longer active at the time of copying.[50] In light of this, the poems found at the end of *ACC* on 59v–60r in **R** are particularly interesting because of how they are laid out on the page.[51] On 59v, the scribe was finishing *ACC*, its majuscule text interspersed with commentary in minuscule script. When he reached the end of the main text of *ACC*, after adding the commentary, he marked the *dúnad* of the poem (59vb17). He proceeded with a new poem on a new line, 'Colum Cilli co Dia dommerail', in the same style as *ACC*, that is, with the main text in majuscules, and some commentary in minuscule script. The initial of the poem, a large C, is decorated and coloured in the same fashion as the initials of sections of the *ACC* poem, and the poem is introduced by an ascription to Adomnán boxed in red ink above the first line of the poem. As in the preceding material, the scribe coloured letters at the beginning of segments of commentary and lines of verse. As such, this poem beginning 'Colum Cilli co Dia dommerail' is laid out exactly like *ACC*.

By contrast, the following poem, beginning 'Dia ard árlethar', follows in the same minuscule script as the commentary on 'Colum Cilli co Dia dommerail', and if it were not for the *dúnad* of the preceding, one could mistake it for the commentary on 'Colum Cilli co Dia dommerail'. It is marked by the scribe with a slightly larger initial D coloured in red, and the poem is indicated in the middle margin by a *phi*-sign and an ascription to Colum Cille, both boxed in red ink.[52] The words at the start of poetic lines are coloured in red, but the poem is written in the same script throughout and only takes up four lines in the column. Its end is marked by a *dúnad* coloured in red, and 'Finn and Mac Lesc' follows directly, on the same line and in the same minuscule script.

Acallam na Senórach', *Studia Celtica Fennica* (forthcoming). See also Réjean Bergeron and Ezio Ornato, 'La lisibilité dans les manuscrits et les imprimés de la fin du Moyen Âge: préliminaires d'une recherche', *Scrittura e civiltà* 14 (1990), 151–98 at 151–2 and Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992), 23.

[50]Russell, '*In aliis libris*', 68–9. For other discussions of the commentary on *ACC*, see Dagmar Bronner, 'Die Kommentare zu Amra Coluimb Chille', in Dieter Bachmann, Karin Stüber, Thomas Zehnder (eds), *Akten des 5. Deutschsprachigen Keltologensymposiums. Zürich, 7.- 9. September 2009*, Keltische Forschungen: Allgemeine Buchreihe 1 (Vienna, 2010), 33–43, and Bronner, 'Der kommentierte Kommentar: Schreiber M und die mittelirische Edition von *Amra Coluimb Chille* im *Lebor na hUidre*', in Franziska Bock, Dagmar Bronner and Dagmar Schlüter (eds), *Allerlei Keltisches: Studien zu Ehren von Erich Poppe. Studies in Honour of Erich Poppe* (Berlin, 2011), 79–96.

[51]The following description is most useful if readers also refer to the digital images of the manuscript, available on the website of the Bodleian Library (fol. 59v: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/ea96c258-35fa-4d52-949c-5a0ef99ce659/surfaces/3af46e40-75e7-4b92-b71c-dc6a8b81ad2c/, accessed 24 October 2023).

[52]These signs are used to indicate poetry in the commentary throughout the version of *ACC* in **R**, as well as in other manuscripts; see Christina Cleary, 'Critical notes and signs in the Book of Leinster *Táin Bó Cúailnge*', in John Carey (ed.), *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster: Reassessments*, ITS Subsidiary Series 32 (Dublin, 2020), 90–121, at 105–8.

The initial M of our text is coloured in red, but there is no other indication that a different text has started. The second sentence of the initial prose segment is marked by a red initial (the *con* compendium), and 'Fuitt co bráth' is indicated by a *phi*-sign in the middle margin, like 'Dia ard árlethar'. The initial F is larger than the rest of the script, though not at the beginning of a line, and is in much thicker ink than the rest of the page. It is not coloured, and is perhaps reminiscent of the type of large initials using heavy black ink noticed by Ó Cuív, such as the ones on fol. 60rb.[53] The poem is laid out in the same way as 'Dia ard árlethar', i.e. with the initial letters of each verse coloured in red, but the poem written continuously. It continues over the beginning of 60ra, and the *dúnad* is coloured to mark the end of the poem. The prose introducing 'Tánic sam' continues on the same line as the end of the poem, and in the same script. However, 'Tánic sam' is then written in the usual fashion for medieval Irish manuscripts; each verse starts with a larger initial in the left margin, and *cinn faoi eite* are used to ensure this. The initials and *cinn faoi eite* are coloured in red and purple. Following 'Tánic sam' and the prose conclusion of the anecdote, which continues on the same line as the end of the poem, the next poem, 'Colum caid cumachtach', is laid out in the same way as 'Tánic sam' with each verse starting in the margin (though no *cinn faoi eite* are needed). 'Guidium mac Feidelmid' follows in the same fashion.

The contrast between the layout of these last three poems and what precedes is all the more noticeable since these are on a verso and recto which face each other when holding the manuscript open. The anecdote about 'Finn and Mac Lesc' was included in this body of material, yet its content is unconnected to Colum Cille or *ACC* as far as I am aware. It appears on fol. 59vb almost as a filler text, for it is not laid out with verses starting on a new line. Yet, if it was added by the scribe of **R** as a filler text, one would have expected it to end on fol. 59vb rather than continue for a significant portion of fol. 60ra.[54] 'Finn and Mac Lesc' may therefore have been present in this scribe's exemplar of the commentary on *ACC*.

*Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS C iii 2 (**C**)*

This sixteenth-century vellum manuscript is missing leaves, and is bound out of order, as folios 1–3 should be placed after fol. 7.[55] The manuscript contains an incomplete copy of *ACC* with extensive commentary, a version of *Immacallam in Dá Thúarad* 'The Colloquy of the Two Sages', and a fragment of the Triads of Ireland. In a detailed colophon on fol. 12v, the scribe identifies himself as Forandán, and indicates his patron, Domhnall Óg Mac Fhlannchadha, as well as the date the manuscript was compiled, 1552, begun in Cathair meic

[53] Ó Cuív, *Catalogue*, 174.

[54] On filler texts, see the forthcoming article by Chantal Kobel, 'The Book of Ballycummin: codicology and the significance of filler-texts'. I am grateful to Dr Kobel for sending me a copy of her article and discussing the context of 'Finn and Mac Lesc' with me.

[55] Kathleen Mulchrone, Thomas O'Rahilly, Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and A. I. Pearson, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, 8 vols (Dublin, 1926–70), vi, 3421.

Nechtain and completed in Baile Meclandcada, closer to the patron.[56] Cathair Mhic Neachtain (anglicised Cahermacnaghten) in the parish of Rathborney, b. Burren (Co. Clare), was the location of a law school run by the Uí Dhuibh dá Bhoireann.[57] Domhnall Óg Mac Fhlannachadha, the patron of the book, also had a law school in Baile Meclandcada (Knockfin Crossroads, parish of Killilagh, b. Corcomroe), so this manuscript appears to have been compiled for the use of learned brehons.

The Mac Lesc anecdote is again (as in **R**) found as part of the texts included at the end of *ACC*, on fol. 10ra. Due to the similarity of the context, I will also discuss the layout of **C** to compare the treatment of the texts by the scribe with that in **R**.[58] As in **R**, *ACC* in **C** is presented in a majuscule script with the commentary in minuscule, and both run continuously, thus indicating that the commentary and the main text were copied from an exemplar.[59] No colours are used in **C**. *ACC* and its commentary end on fol. 9rb24 with the words 'f.i.n.i.m. do*n* āth-si*n*' 'end of that subject matter'.[60] It is directly followed by the poem 'Colum Cilli co Dia dommerail', which is also laid out in majuscule script with commentary in minuscule script. The first letter of the text was intended to be an enlarged capital but was never filled in (fol. 9rb28). The commentary is much longer than in the version in **R**, and a short poem of two verses is included within it on fol. 9vb, using *cinn faoi eite* to start each verse on a new line (the initial letters are set in the margin for both verses). As in **R**, the texts following 'Colum Cilli co Dia dommerail' are all in minuscule script, and the layout of *ACC* with majuscule and commentary is abandoned. 'Colum Cilli co Dia dommerail' is thus followed by 'Colum caid cumachtach' (fol. 9va44), with the initial letters of the verses in the margins. 'Dia ard árlethar' is then added on the same line after the *dúnad* of 'Colum caid cumachtach' (fol. 9vb11), with a slightly larger initial *D*, but otherwise no indication of a new text, and the poem runs continuously until fol. 9vb16 and the mention 'fini*m* air uile'. The inclusion of 'Dia ard árlethar' as continuation of the preceding poem in **C** is reminiscent of its presentation in **R**, as mentioned above. The scribe of **C** then started 'Guidium mac Feidelmid' as normal with an initial in the margin, the rest of the poem following suit and *cinn faoi eite* making sure that each verse starts on a new line. This poem ends on fol. 10ra8, where the *dúnad* is followed, on the same line, by a scribal note seemingly expressing doubt on the order or relationship of the texts.[61] The scribe then copied 'Finn and Mac Lesc' from fol. 10ra10 onwards,

[56] Mulchrone et al, *Catalogue*, vi, 3422; Elizabeth FitzPatrick, '*Ollamh, biatach, comharba*: lifeways of Gaelic learned families in medieval and early modern Ireland', in Liam Breatnach, Ruairí Ó hUiginn, Damian McManus and Katharine Simms (eds), *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Celtic Studies, Held in Maynooth University, 1–5 August 2011* (Dublin, 2015), 165–189, at 166.

[57] FitzPatrick, '*Ollamh*, *biatach*, *comharba*', 166.

[58] For the following description, refer to **C** fols 9r–10r, ISOS (https://www.isos.dias.ie/RIA/RIA_MS_C_iii_2.html#21) (accessed 7 November 2023).

[59] See discussion above with relation to **R**.

[60] I read 'ath' as *fáth* 'subject-matter of a composition'; *eDIL* s.v. fáth (b) (https://dil.ie/21356, accessed 25 January 2024).

[61] The note reads '*ar* .c.c. co dia domerail tig so sīs. ⁊ nī cui*m*nigim-si *ar*a cuit cindti dei'; I tentatively translate 'after 'Colum Cilli co Dia dommerail' this comes below. And I do not remember

with an initial in the margin at the start of the first prose segment and for each verse of both 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Tánic sam'. The last line of the column is filled by the words 'don logaims*ir*-so sīs do rēir Lebuir Glinne da Lacha' 'for this time and place below according to the Book of Glendalough',[62] and 'Druim Céta Céte na naem' starts on the new column (fol. 10rb), with each verse initial set in the margin as for the previous material.[63] The poem is finished in the bottom margin (three verses), with the final words in the bottom right corner of the page reading 'f.i.n.i.t. amen don amra'.

Thus, as in **R**, the layout of 'Finn and Mac Lesc' and surrounding texts in **C** suggests that our anecdote was copied by the scribe from an exemplar of the commentary on *ACC*, in which 'Finn and Mac Lesc' had already been incorporated into this corpus of texts at the end of *ACC*. The mention 'f.i.n.i.t. amen don amra' further suggests that these texts were considered part of *ACC* – 'Finn and Mac Lesc' with them. Nevertheless, 'Finn and Mac Lesc' does not occur in any other version of *ACC* as far as I am aware, and its occurrence in a different context in **L** indicates that it was not solely associated with *ACC*. The relationships between the different versions and manuscripts thus need to be teased out further.

*Manuscript relationships: **R**, **C** and* ACC

'Finn and Mac Lesc' is found in two distinct contexts, i.e. *dindshenchas* and *ACC*. In both of these it seems to be part of clusters of texts. In **L**, I have shown above that the Fenian focus of some poems at the end of Scribe A's stint is not highlighted by the scribe in any way, and so this so-called cluster must be thought of as an integral part of the rest of the *dindshenchas* section. In the context of *ACC* in **R** and **C**, 'Finn and Mac Lesc' is included as part of a cluster of texts which mark the end of *ACC*, but unlike in **L**, our anecdote appears to be unconnected to the surrounding material. Though Fenian material was often interpreted in various ways – and indeed, the poems in 'Finn and Mac Lesc' are general enough to have been understood in other contexts – there is no indication of the reason for the incorporation of the text in this place.[64]

In seven of the ten main manuscripts containing a copy of *ACC*, one or more of the poems 'Colum Cille co Dia dommerail', 'Dia ard árlethar', 'Colum caid cumachtach' or 'Guidium mac Feidelmid' are present at the end of *ACC*, and often in a similar order (see Table 2 below). The fact that 'Finn and Mac Lesc'

its definite part of it', maybe referring to the scribe not recalling how 'Finn and Mac Lesc' relates to the preceding material.

[62] My transcription and translation. Underlining indicates expansions of abbreviations requiring editorial interpretation, such as suspension strokes.

[63] Note that the poem is interrupted on 10rb15 where it seems to end with a *dúnad*, and a new poem is introduced, beginning 'Secht cét do bliadnaib brasa'. This corresponds to **R**, fol. 55rb, and the introductory sentence of this new section in **C** is the same as the introduction of the whole poem in **R**, boxed in red on fol. 55rb.

[64] For a discussion of interpretations of Fenian material in different manuscript contexts, see Martina Maher, 'The Cín Dromma Snechtai-*fíanaigecht* complex in London, British Library, MS Egerton 1782', in Sharon J. Arbuthnot, Síle Ní Mhurchú and Geraldine Parsons (eds), *The Gaelic Finn Tradition II* (Dublin, 2022), 100–13.

is only present in two of these witnesses suggests it may have been misplaced in the course of textual transmission; however this also posits a link between **R** and **C**, or a reason for the inclusion of our text in this particular cluster, though this reason seems opaque at this point. Table 2 lists the order of the texts found at the end of *ACC*.[65]

This table aims to show the parallelism in the order of the texts in all manuscripts of *ACC*. Despite this, 'Finn and Mac Lesc' is found only in **R** and **C**. *Lebor na hUidre*, G 50, Laud 615 and the Yellow Book of Lecan all omit our anecdote, so it seems there was probably a different tradition, or version of the commentary that only **R** and **C** followed, or that was added to **R** and copied into **C**. Of course, the tale might have been present in the fragmentary copies; for example, the version in the *Liber Hymnorum* ends right after *ACC* and 'Colum Cille co Dia dommerail'; thus we cannot know if this was followed by the same corpus of texts as in **R** and **C**, nor whether 'Finn and Mac Lesc' was included there.[66] In no copy of *ACC* does our tale occur inside the commentary on the *Amra* proper, as far as I am aware. Though one should note the presence of the 'nature' poem beginning 'Scél lem dúib' 'I have news for you' in the commentary on *ACC*, in which it is attributed to Find ('ut dixit Find'), it is not specified whether this refers to Finn mac Cumaill.[67] The commentary indicates that 'Scél lem dúib' was added to illustrate the use of the word *rían*, which also occurs in 'Tánic sam' (1d), but there is no indication that this poem was also included at this point in the commentary. Although Meyer edited 'Scél lem dúib' together with 'Finn and Mac Lesc' and 'Cétamon', there is thus no evidence that the poems of 'Finn and Mac Lesc' are connected to it.

Both **R** and **C** have extensive commentary, and no comparison of the different versions of the commentary on *ACC* has been published so far. As pointed out by Bisagni, the commentary was 'open to a continuous process of selection, diminution and accretion'.[68] Therefore, the line of transmission for the commentary is much more difficult to trace than that of the main text of *ACC*. Furthermore, Davies argues that glosses and commentary have not received enough scholarly attention, and that they actually testify to the learned, lively, and playful mind of glossators of the time.[69] If so, a detailed analysis of the *scholia* on *ACC* might lead to conclusions as to patterns followed by commentators, and help us understand why 'Finn and Mac Lesc'

[65] All poems are listed according to the first line. Orthography varies in the manuscripts, but I have used one version for the sake of clarity. The manuscripts not mentioned here are RIA, MS 23 P 16, *An Leabhar Breac* (only the preface and the first line of *ACC* survive), NLI MS G 466 (the copy breaks off at IX, 1, Bisagni (ed. and trans.), *Amrae Coluimb Chille*, 276–7), and BL MS Egerton 1782 (the copy breaks off at VI, 13, Bisagni (ed. and trans.), *Amrae Coluimb Chille*, 272–3).

[66] J. H. Bernard and Robert Atkinson (ed. and trans.), *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, 2 vols, Henry Bradshaw Society 13, 14 (London, 1898), i, pp. x–xi.

[67] Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 14–15, Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille', 258–9; see also Jacopo Bisagni, '*Scél lem dúib*: an emendation', *Studia Celtica* 42 (2008), 166–71.

[68] Bisagni, *Amrae Coluimb Chille*, 17.

[69] Morgan Thomas Davies, 'Protocols of reading in early Irish literature: notes on some notes to "Orgain Denna Ríg" and "Amra Coluim Cille" ', *CMCS* 32 (1996), 1–23, at 17–19.

Lebor na hUidre	Laud 615	**R**	**C**	Yellow Book of Lecan	*Liber Hymnorum*	G 50
lacuna	'Colum Cille co Dia dom-merail'	'Colum Cille co Dia dom-merail'	'Colum Cille co Dia dom-merail'	'Colum Cille co Dia dom-merail'	'Colum Cille co Dia dom-merail'	'Colum Cille co Dia dom-merail'
'Dia ard árlethar'	'Dia ard árlethar'	'Dia ard árlethar'	'Colum caid cumachtach'	'Colum caid cumachtach'	*MS breaks off*	'Fo réir Coluim cén ad-fías'[70]
'Colum caid cumachtach'	'Colum caid cumachtach'	**'Finn and Mac Lesc'**	'Dia ard árlethar'	*other texts*[71]		*other texts*[72]
other texts[73]	'Guidium mac Feidelmid'	'Colum caid cumachtach'	'Guidium mac Feidelmid'			
	other texts[74]	'Guidium mac Feidelmid'	**'Finn and Mac Lesc'**			
		other texts[75]	'Druim Ceta céte na naem'			
			'F.i.n.i.t. amen don amra'			

Table 2: Cluster of texts at the end of *ACC* in surviving manuscripts

[70] Fergus Kelly (ed. and trans.), 'A poem in praise of Columb Cille', *Ériu* 24 (1973), 1–34.

[71] Starting with *In tenga bithnua*; see John Carey (ed. and trans.), *Apocrypha Hiberniae 2, Apocalyptica 1. In tenga bithnua: The ever-new tongue*, Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum 16 (Turnhout, 2010).

[72] Starting with *Amra Senáin*; see Liam Breatnach (ed. and trans.), 'An edition of *Amra Senáin*', in Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach and Kim R. McCone (eds), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth, 1989), 7–31.

[73] Starting with *Scél Tuáin meic Cairill do Finnen Maige Bile*; see John Carey (ed. and trans.), 'Scél Tuáin meic Chairill', *Ériu* 35 (1984), 93–111.

[74] Starting with 'Cormac cain buich neóit', a poem found as part of the preface on *ACC* in **R** and the *Liber Hymnorum*; see Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille', 44–5.

[75] Starting with *Immacallam in dá thúarad*; see Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The colloquy of the two sages', *RC* 26 (1905), 4–64, 284–5.

occurs only in **R** and **C**, and in the same place in both.[76] Because it is not placed after the cluster of texts but within it, and because it occurs earlier than the words 'F.i.n.i.t. amen don amra' in **C**, I am inclined to think 'Finn and Mac Lesc' is in fact part of the commentary, even if it may originally have occupied a different place therein.[77]

Textual relationships?

The manuscript contexts require the **R** and **C** versions to be compared and contrasted with the one in **L**; indeed, **R** and **C** often agree closely together against **L**. For example, the first sentence of the text in prose is the same in **R** and in **C**, whereas only a couple of the same words ('Aithech mith', **L** §1, l. 1) are present in **L**, which has a completely different phrasing. The same goes for the sentence introducing the first poem, which is the same in **R** and **C** but does not appear in **L**, in which it is worded differently. As for 'Fuitt co bráth', there are several instances where **R** and **C** agree against **L**; for example, in 2*a*: 'Is méit muir mór cech lond' (**L**) against 'Méit muir mór cech loch lonn' (**R** and **C**). The line in all three manuscripts is hypometrical, so it is likely that both *is* and *loch* are to be taken as part of the line. In 'Fuitt co bráth' 3*c*, **R** and **C** have 'nís-tā' while **L** reads 'noc*us*-tá'. The verbal form in **L** is difficult, but understandable (see notes), whereas the line is hypometrical in **R** and **C**. In 4*c*, **R** gives 'con-gab donenn d*ar* cach leth', agreeing with **C** against **L** which has 'Ro īad corrthi for cach leth'. These variants are few, but they show a closer relationship between **R** and **C** than with **L**, suggesting that the latter is part of a different line of transmission; the absence of the second part of the tale in **L** also tends to confirm this hypothesis.

However, an important difference between the manuscripts is the addition of a stanza in the first poem as the initial quatrain in **C** (1B in the edition below), before the verse beginning 'Fuitt co bráth'; and this does not appear in **R** nor in **L**. This is also found as the first quatrain of a poem told by the old woman who hides Diarmait and Gráinne on the Hill of Howth in the text known as *Úath Beinne Étair* 'The Hiding of the Hill of Howth' (*ÚBÉ*).[78] This poem is a ruse to make them believe that the weather is too bad to go outside, in order to allow Finn to catch them, but it is ultimately unsuccessful. This text only survives in two sixteenth-century manuscripts, RIA MS 23 N 10 and BL Harleian MS

[76] I am grateful to Dr Christina Cleary for sharing her knowledge of the commentary on *ACC* and discussing the context of 'Finn and Mac Lesc' with me.

[77] It was pointed out to me that 'Tánic sam' contains the word *snéid* (1c) which also appears in *ACC* (Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille', 168–9). However, this is not proof that 'Tánic sam' was ever incorporated into the commentary of *ACC*, especially as 'Tánic sam' constitutes the second part of the 'Finn and Mac Lesc' anecdote.

[78] That the quatrain was incorporated into 'Fuitt co bráth' at a later stage of textual transmission is evident from the place-names mentioned. Magh Luirg (anglicised Moylurg), mentioned in *ÚBÉ*, is in county Roscommon, whereas 'Finn and Mac Lesc' is set in Slieve Gullion, County Armagh. Meyer points out that the mention of Magh Luirg, a place so far away from the setting of *ÚBÉ*, i.e. the Hill of Howth in Dublin, suggests that the poem does not belong to that tale either (Kuno Meyer, 'Úath Beinne Étair', *RC* 11 (1890), 125–34, at 127). The title of the text is re-evaluated in Caoimhín Breatnach, 'Explanations of three rare words in the tale known as *Úath Beinne Étair* and a re-assessment of this title', *Ériu* 70 (2020), 73–81, at 77–81.

5280. The second quatrain of this poem is also similar to the first verse of 'Fuitt co bráth':

Úath Beinne Étair[79]	**L**
Fuit co bráth!	Fúit co brát*h*!
R*us* dail i*n* doi*n*en*n* ar cāc*h*,	**ro dáil** i*n* donend *ar* cá*ch*
apon*n* cech eitt*r*ide a fān,	is á*th* cac*h* n-ettrigi n-án,
is **li*n*d** lān cech n-āt*h*.	⁊ is **li*n*d** lán cach n-át*h*.
R	**C**
Fuitt co brāth!	Fuid co brāch!
is mō i*n* donenn a*r* cāch,	**is mō** an doinend ar cāch,
is ab cach etrice án,	is ob*h* gach eitrice án,
is **loch** lān cach āth.	⁊ is **loch** lān gac*h* át*h*.

Table 3: textual correspondances in the verse beginning 'Fuitt co bráth' in **L**, **R**, **C** and *ÚBÉ*

The instances where **L** has different readings to **R** and **C** have been underlined in bold; in these cases, the same words (although not the same form for the preverb in line *b*) are in *ÚBÉ*. The corresponding passages in **R** and **C** are rendered in bold. The occurrence in line *c* in **L** of *áth* for *ab* in **R**, *obh* in **C** and *aponn* in *ÚBÉ* may be a coincidence, but is worth noting.

The similarities in this quatrain seem to link **L** and *ÚBÉ* together. Consequently, **L** and **C** appear to be more strongly connected to *ÚBÉ* than **R**; **L** by its shared readings with the first verse from *ÚBÉ*, and **C** because of the interpolated quatrain it shares with *ÚBÉ*. The links between *ÚBÉ* and **L** are quite striking, as *ÚBÉ* contains a later form of the language (see language notes below); it is tempting to suggest that the surviving versions of *ÚBÉ* were inspired by the poem in **L**. It is known that a version of the story of Diarmait and Gráinne existed long before the sixteenth century, for their elopment is mentioned in the tale-list present in **L**, and some verses sung by them are quoted in *ACC*, but no early version of the tale has survived.[80]

If **C** does have a link to *ÚBÉ*, and to **L**, points of difference between the texts of **R** and **C** could suggest that **C** is actually part of **L**'s line of transmission. However, some of these are found in the second part of the text which is missing from **L**, thus preventing any further comparison. For example, there are two occurences where **C** has a word missing compared to **R**: 'Tánic sam' 3*c* 'fi*n*d'

[79] RIA MS 23 N 10, p. 13 (my transcription). The text from this manuscript was edited by Nessa Ní Shéaghdha (ed. and trans.), *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne: The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne*, ITS 48 (Dublin, 1967), 131–7 (Appendix D). For an edition from BL MS Harley 5280, see Kuno Meyer (ed. and trans.), 'Úath Beinne Etair', *RC* 11 (1890), 125–34.

[80] Stokes, 'The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille,' 154–7, 264–5. See also Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*, pp. xiii–xiv, where she mentions 'the fourteenth-century compilation of poems by Gearóid Iarla fourth earl of Desmond (†1398), in which the author refers in almost every poem to the story of Diarmaid and Gráinne'. The evidence and scholarship on the topic are summarised in Kevin Murray, *The Early Finn Cycle* (Dublin, 2017), 95–105.

and 6*a* 'dron', but this part of the text is absent from **L**, and in both cases, the metre seems to favour the readings in **R** (see notes). Notwithstanding this suggestion, **C** and **R** thus do seem to be closer.

'Finn and Mac Lesc' is a short text, and the various links between its only three known copies are not easily explained. As we have seen, it seems that the version in **L** constitutes a different strand of the textual tradition, both because it is missing the second part of the text found in **R** and **C**, and because it often disagrees with **R** and **C**. Since these last two copies agree quite closely, only have small differences, and place the poem in the exact same manuscript context, I am inclined to think that they are part of the same line of textual transmission. However, the relationships between *ACC* and the anecdote remain to be elucidated.

Through its connections to *dindshenchas* in **L**, to *ACC* in **R** and **C**, and its intertextual links to *ÚBÉ*, 'Finn and Mac Lesc' is therefore a particularly interesting anecdote. The poems 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Tánic sam' are obviously the focus of the text, but the fact that they do not survive outside of this prosimetric context should be borne in mind in future analyses of the tale. Furthermore, it is clear from the manuscript context that the textual tradition of 'Tánic sam' is unconnected to that of 'Cétamon'.

Similarities between 'Tánic sam' and 'Cétamon'?

Before discussing the metre of 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Tánic sam', Carney and Meyer's argument regarding the similarities between these poems and 'Cétamon' need to be reassessed. It is worth noting here that while Meyer edited four poems together, Carney focussed his argument on the similarites between 'Tánic sam' and 'Cétamon', leaving out 'Fuitt co bráth' and 'Scél lem dúib'. As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, these similarities between 'Tánic sam' and 'Cétamon' are very general, namely their ascription to Finn and their focus on nature in the summer. Meyer points out some parallels between the poems, but these are too slim to posit such a close connection between them (see Table 4 below; the words mentioned in both poems are marked in bold). 'Cétamon' and 'Tánic sam' are both praising summer, and it is therefore not surprising that in describing nature, they mention cuckoos, horses or deer. Such tropes also occur in poems written in other languages such as the thirteenth-century English lyric 'Sumer is icumen in' or in Welsh poetry by Dafydd ap Gwilym.[81] Similarly, 'Fuitt co bráth', a poem about winter, contains tropes also found in other seasonal poems such as the Welsh 'Llym awel' 'Sharp is the wind'.[82]

Of the phrases mentioned by Meyer and listed in Table 4, the only direct textual parallel would seem to be between 9*c* in 'Cétamon' and 6*d* in 'Tánic

[81] 'Sumer is icumen in' can be found in Carleton Brown (ed.), *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (Oxford, 1932), 13; Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems 'Mis Mai' 'May' and 'Mis Mai a Mis Tachwedd' 'May and November' are edited and translated in Dafydd Johnston (ed. and trans.), https://dafyddapgwilym.net, poems 32 and 33 (accessed 23 January 2024).

[82] Jenny Rowland (ed. and trans.), *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: A Study and Edition of the* Englynion (Cambridge, 1990), 454–7 and 501–3.

sam', which both use the noun *bedg* 'leap' and same adjective to qualify *íasc* 'fish' or *íach* 'salmon'. However, *brecc* is a common adjective for fish and both words alliterate, so they are prone to be juxtaposed in poetry and this echo may well be a coincidence.[83]

'Cétamon'	'Tánic sam'
3*b* saigid **graig** lúath linn 'the swift herd of horses seeks the pool'	4*c* ret*h*id ***g*raig** 'a stud of horses runs'
4*a* fúabair **os**cell scéill shigin 'panic startles the heart of the deer'	3*a* foss n-**oss** ro gab tess 'heat has affected the deer's tranquility'
4*c* cuirither sál **súan** 'ocean sinks asleep'	6*c* **sūan**aid ler lonn 'the strong sea sleeps'
9*c* cuirither íasc **brecc bedc** 'the speckled fish leaps'	6*d* fo-liṅg īac*h* **brec bedc** 'a speckled salmon leaps'

Table 4: Lines cited by Meyer as 'internal evidence' that 'Cétamon' and 'Tánic sam' were composed by the same poet.[84]

I have not found other instances of direct textual parallels between both poems, besides commonplaces such as 'Tánic sam' 2*a*, 'Canaid cuy' 'A cuckoo sings' compared to 'Cétamon' 2*a* 'Gairid cái' 'A cuckoo calls', and 'Tánic sam' 1*d* 'dīa mbi rēid rón rían' 'and the seals' course is smooth' compared to 'Cétamon' 4*b* 'imrid réid rían rith' 'the smooth sea runs apace'.[85] In the latter example, the association of *réid*, *rían* and *rón* or *rith* may easily be attributed to alliteration, and *rían* 'sea' or 'course' is found elsewhere with *rith* (*ACC*), *rón* (*Immram Curaig Mail Dúin* 'The voyage of Máel Dúin's curach') and other words beginning with *r*-.[86] Carney criticised 'Tánic sam' as 'an arrangement of clichés' compared to 'Cétamon', mentioning the image of cuckoos singing and birds leaping, and the 'parenthetically awkward and poetically disconnected image of the leap of the "swift slender stag" '.[87] However, these criticisms come down to personal taste and are not evidence of any direct textual relation between the two poems.

On the basis of these apparent similarities in theme between 'Cétamon' and 'Tánic sam' and his own opinion of the poetic quality of 'Tánic sam', Carney thus suggested that the former influenced the latter not only in its subject matter but also in its metrical structure. Given that the suggested similarities are superficial and that the manuscript context of 'Tánic sam' is completely different to

[83] Indeed, *brecc* is used substantively to mean a small fish, usually understood to be a trout; *eDIL* s.v. 2 *brecc* (https://dil.ie/6621, accessed 23 January 2024). As for the phrase *do-cuirethar bedc* 'makes a bound', it is very common across the literature; see *eDIL* s.v. *do-cuirethar* I(c) (https://dil.ie/17442, accessed 23 January 2024).

[84] Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 5 and 7.

[85] 'Tánic sam' is edited below. I have quoted the lines in 'Cétamon' following Meyer; Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 2–13, but see also Carney (ed. and trans.), 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', 41–3.

[86] See references in *eDIL* s.v. *rían* (a) and (b) (https://dil.ie/35219, accessed 23 January 2024).

[87] Carney (ed. and trans.), 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', 39.

that of 'Cétamon', I think it would be worthwhile to revisit the question of its metrical structure.

METRE

'Finn and Mac Lesc' contains two poems which are meant to be read together; I will start by discussing the metre of the first of these, 'Fuitt co bráth'. This poem appears to be in the well-known *rannaigecht mór* metre, or perhaps *rannaigecht chetharchubaid gairit dialtach*.[88] There is a lot of ornamentation in the poem, though it does not follow the metrical rules perfectly. 1*a* is shortened to three syllables, as required for *rannaigecht chetharchubaid gairit dialtach*, but this is also common in early poetry according to Knott.[89] 1*d* is hypometrical in **R**, but **L** and **C** supply the missing syllable; 2*a* and 3*c* are hypometrical in **R** and **C**, but **L** supplies the missing syllable in both instances, though the interpretation of 3*c* is difficult (see notes for further discussion).

There is end-rhyme in *bd* throughout the poem, though in 4*bd* it is imperfect (Cuilt : fuit). There is *aicill* rhyme in all couplets except the first, which is to be expected due to the shortened first line (1*ab*).[90] There is *amus* (assonance) between all the end-words of 1 (brāth : cāch : án : āth); brāth in 1*a* rhymes with *bd* as well. There is *úaitne* (consonance) between the end-words of 2 (lonn : gann : li*n*n : slam*m*) and in 2*ab* (mór : gúr). Alliteration occurs in ten out of sixteen lines (62.5%).

'Tánic sam' is more complex than 'Fuitt co bráth', and does not seem to follow the same metre throughout. In the manuscripts, the poem is laid out in the usual fashion with large initials at the start of verses (discussed above) and verses of four lines, which are usually 5^1.[91] Two lines are hypometrical by one syllable: 3*a* (4^1) and 4*a* (4^1); in the case of 4*a* the line is obviously difficult to interpret and something must be missing (see notes for discussion). Two quatrains (5 and 7) have lines of 6^1. Despite this slightly eclectic syllable count, the poem is consistent in its ornamentation. There is perfect or imperfect end-rhyme between *bd* throughout (perfect in verses 1, 4 and 5). There is *aicill* rhyme in all the couplets of the quatrains with lines of 5 syllables, and in 7*ab* and *cd*.[92] In verse 5, which has lines of six syllables, there is no *aicill* rhyme but *úaitne* occurs in both *ab* (glass : doss) and *cd* (gai*m* : coin). Alliteration is omnipresent in the poem, occurring in twenty-four out of twenty-eight lines (85.7%).

[88] Eleanor Knott, *An Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry of the Period 1200–1600* (Cork, 1928), 13–5; Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin, 1961), 52 and 54.

[89] Knott, *Irish Syllabic Poetry*, 14, n. 1.

[90] 1*cd* án : lān, 2*ab* lonn : dro*n*g, 2*cd* li*n*n : fi*n*d, 3*ab* léig : rēid, 3*cd* dí*n* : fír, 4*ab* gr*i*bb : glicc, 4*cd* leth : nech.

[91] **R** uses dots to indicate the end of lines in most of the verses.

[92] 1*ab* sōer : clōen, 1*cd* snéid : rēid, 2*ab* ṁbláit*h* : sāi*m* (imperfect *aicill* rhyme; makes *amus*), 2*cd* crūaic*h* : lūait*h*, 3*ab* tess : dess, 3*cd* fonn : lonn, 4*ab* barr : drum (if refusing the scribe's emendation; see notes for discussion), 4*cd* mūad : cūan, 6*ab* dord : forbb, 6*cd* līac : īac*h*, and in 7*ab* tīr : sīl and 7*cd* daim : brai*n*.

Though this ornamentation does not fit perfectly with the metres as set out in *MV*, it is quite close to *lethrannaigecht mór* ($5^1 5^1 5^1 5^1$), and *dá trían rannaigechta móire* ($6^1 6^1 6^1 6^1$) for verses 5 and 7.[93] 'Tánic sam' does not have consonance in all words in line-final position, and does not have internal rhyme in all couplets, but it contains either *aicill* rhyme or *úaitne* instead. These metres also indicate that alliteration should be present in every line, and that is almost the case in 'Tánic sam'. That two quatrains within the poem are in a different metre is not altogether surprising as mixtures of metres occur frequently in poems attested in contemporary manuscripts such as **L**.[94] For example, Breatnach lists four *dindshenchas* poems in **L** which contain a mix of *rannaigecht* metres, and nine poems containing a mix of *rannaigecht* and *deibide* or another type of metre.[95] Moreover, the two types of *rannaigecht* used in 'Tánic sam' require the same ornamentation, so the two quatrains of 6-syllable lines do not appear out of place. That 'Tánic sam' is composed in a mixed *rannaigecht* metre is also consistent with the fact that it is only ever attested in a prosimetric context alongside 'Fuitt co bráth', also in *rannaigecht*.

Meyer described the metre of 'Tánic sam' and 'Cétamon' thus: 'the half-lines vary in length very freely, and often in the same stanza, from four to seven syllables; the rhyme-words are all monosyllabic; there is internal assonance (…); alliteration is carried through not only within the half-lines and lines (…) but also from one line into another, and from one stanza into the following (…)'.[96] Murphy then argued that 'Cétamon' was composed following *lethrannaigecht mór* and reconstructed a text for the poem to match these metrical rules exactly.[97] However, Carney disagreed, and argued that both 'Cétamon' and 'Tánic sam' were composed in a stressed metre 'consisting of couplets with monosyllabic end-rhyme. Each line has four phrases, the couplet eight, and hence is taken here as belonging to the *ochtfhoclach* ("eight-phrased"?) type'; 'apart from the final monosyllable rhyme, there is no syllable count', and 'the number of syllables may vary considerably'; 'there is a caesura after the second phrase, and the two parts of the line are usually linked by rhyme between the last word of the first part and a word in the second'.[98] In his edition, Carney lays out 'Tánic sam' following this proposed accented pattern.

An analysis of the metre of 'Cétamon' is outside the scope of the present study, but the syllable counts and metrical ornamentations listed above for 'Tánic sam' contradict Carney's and Meyer's statements for this poem. As seen

[93] Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics*, 56–7; Rudolf Thurneysen (ed.), 'Mittelirische Verslehren', in Ernst Windisch and Whitley Stokes (eds), *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, 4 vols, (Leipzig, 1891), iii, 1–182, at 81 and 83–4 (§58 and §70). See also Roisín McLaughlin (ed. and trans.), 'A critical edition of Mittelirische Verslehren III', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2007, 223–4 and 250–2 (§58 and §70).

[94] Liam Breatnach, '*Sluindfet dúib dagaisti in dána*: a Middle Irish poem on metres', in Caoimhín Breatnach and Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail (eds), *Aon don Éigse: Essays Marking Osborn Bergin's Centenary Lecture on Bardic Poetry (1912)* (Dublin, 2015), 51–90, at 55–61.

[95] Breatnach, '*Sluindfet dúib dagaisti in dána*', 58–9.

[96] Meyer, *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 17.

[97] Murphy, 'Finn's poem on May-day', 87.

[98] Carney, 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', 34–5.

above and contrary to what Carney stated, the variation in the syllable-count in 'Tánic sam' is not considerable; rather, it is consistent and the poem does not need to be emended in order to fit *lethrannaigecht mór*, with two verses in *dá trían rannaigechta móire*. Although two lines are hypometrical in the manuscripts (3*a* and 4*a*), this is also the case with 'Fuitt co bráth' (1*d*, 2*a* and 3*c*), which is clearly syllabic. 'Tánic sam' contains slight variations from the ornamentations required by the metrical tracts, but that is to be expected since the poems were composed before such metrical rules were fixed, and again 'Fuitt co bráth' contains similar variations, as pointed out above.

Furthermore, there is little evidence for early patterns of alliteration such as the ones theorised by Sproule, Hollo and de Vries. According to Sproule, 'Cétamon' has 35% complex alliteration, whereas 'Tánic sam' has only 26%, a figure that he considers within the range of complex alliteration occurring by accident or semi-consciously.[99] Only two 'possible' instances of Hollo and de Vries' paired alliteration and mirrored alliteration occur in 'Tánic sam'.[100] 'Cétamon' seems to have more, though de Vries accepts some examples are 'doubtful'.[101] As mentioned above, if 'Tánic sam' is meant to follow a pattern of *lethrannaigecht mór* and *dá trían rannaigechta móire*, then alliteration is expected in all lines and such examples of alliterative patterns may well be coincidental. On the contrary, the instances of mirrored alliteration are significantly more common in 'Cétamon', which also contains consistent linking alliteration between stanzas (*fidrad freccomail*), where 'Tánic sam' only has one instance (5*d*–6*a*).[102]

Thus, the syllabic counts mentioned above, the lack of alliteration patterns such as *fidrad freccomail* and the manuscript layout with dots marking the end of each line indicate that if 'Tánic sam' was once composed in a stressed metre, the versions which have survived were understood and written following a syllabic metre. I do not believe that there is sufficient evidence to support a reading of 'Tánic sam' following a stressed alliterative metre.

Consequently, there is also a lack of proof to support the argument that 'Cétamon' and 'Tánic sam' were composed following the same metre, by the same poet, or in imitation of one another. The ornamentation described above shows that 'Tánic sam' is nonetheless a well-constructed poem which, similarly to 'Fuitt co bráth', makes use of alliteration, repetition and anaphora in clever ways. We should thus read 'Tánic sam' together with 'Fuitt co bráth', as part of the 'Finn and Mac Lesc' anecdote – and, therefore, as it is presented in the manuscripts.

[99] David Sproule, 'Complex alliteration, full and unstressed rhyme, and the origin of *deibide*', *Ériu* 38 (1987), 183–98, at 187 and 194. Sproule does not list the examples of complex alliteration in 'Tánic sam', but de Vries lists these following Carney's edition in Ranke de Vries, 'Instances of mirrored alliteration in the earliest Irish poetry', *Australian Celtic Journal* 13 (2015), 33–95, at 65.

[100] Kaarina Hollo, 'The alliterative structure of Mael Ísu Ua Brolcháin's *A aingil, beir*', *Ériu* 41 (1990), 77–80, at 78; de Vries, 'Instances of mirrored alliteration', 33 and 65.

[101] de Vries, 'Instances of mirrored alliteration', 64.

[102] Carney, 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', 35. See also James Carney, 'Linking alliteration (*fidrad freccomail*)', *Éigse* 18/2 (1981), 251–62.

LANGUAGE

'Finn and Mac Lesc' does not contain any historical references to help with dating. As a short prosimetric text, it is also difficult to date on the basis of the language, and the prose and two poems may not have been written at the same time. As such, the linguistic features listed below and the suggested date are merely indicative.[103] Examples cited are from **R** unless otherwise stated.

Orthography and phonology

Prepositions are spelled following Old Irish usage and are not reduced nor lenited as is common in the Middle Irish period: 'Fuitt co bráth' 4*b* ī*ar* (MIr *ar*), 'Tánic sam' 5*a* for (MIr *ar*, though *for* endures), 7*b* fri (MIr *ri*/*re*/*ra*). In the prose, the prepositions are in their earlier forms as well: **R** §1 l. 4 fo (MIr *fa*), **R** §1 l. 7 for (MIr *ar*). In **R** §1 l. 9 do ī*ar*air and §3 do ī*ar*air, the proclitic vowel of the preposition is not elided.[104] The confusion of prepositions in the Middle Irish period leads to the confusion of mutations following prepositions; note 'Fuitt co bráth' 4*b* ī*ar* gleō (OIr *íar*^{N}), but **L** has ī*ar* ṅgleō).[105] The dative u-quality is retained in the o-stem *teglach* in **R** §1 l. 2 hi tegluch. The article retains final *-nd* throughout, though some other words have final *-nn*: §1 l. 4 ōnd, l. 6 Chuili*n*d, l. 6 Find, l. 9 i*n*d usci, 'Fuitt co bráth' 2*c* dond li*n*n, 2*d* fi*n*d §2 Fi*n*d, §3 i*n*d, Find, in contrast to two examples in 'Fuitt co bráth' 1*b* i*n* donenn and 3*d* snechta fi*n*n. In 'Tánic sam' 5*b* d*air*e, the syllable *-ai-* is retained (MIr *-oi-*).[106]

Some Middle Irish features include 'Tánic sam' 2*a* ṁbláit*h*, the nasalised form of the adjective *bláith* (earlier *mláith*), or it may otherwise represent an intermediate spelling between *mláith* and *bláith*.[107] Though already a feature in Old Irish, in the Middle Irish period short unstressed vowels are more often found as schwa in final position, which comes to be spelled *a*, *o* or *u* after broad consonants and *e*, *i* or *iu* after palatal consonants.[108] In this text, there are several examples of the confusion of final unstressed vowels, though these are not guaranteed by rhyme: 'Fuitt co bráth' 2*b* cuiri (io-stem, nominative singular), 4*b* im Choirthi (io-stem, accusative singular), 'Tánic sam' 5*b* d*air*e (io-stem, genitive singular), §3 do Choirthi (io-stem, dative singular). Though one notices an Old Irish accusative plural of o-stem *rann* retaining final unstressed *-u* in **R** §1 l. 3 na runnu-sa, *eDIL* notes that the *-a-* is often found as *-u-* in Middle Irish, as is the case here.[109] In 'Fuitt co bráth' 3*a* Mēit cuithi, one may treat *cuithe* (io-stem) as genitive singular with Old Irish spelling, but *méit* is normally followed by the accusative in such a construction, and *eDIL* suggests that a following

[103] See also a list of diagnostic features in Murray, *The Early Fenian Corpus*, 8–9 (#A6).

[104] Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', in *SnG* 221–334, at 236 (§3.27). This work of reference is used throughout the language section and cited as Breatnach, *SnG* with following paragraph number.

[105] Breatnach, *SnG* 4.4.

[106] Breatnach, *SnG* 3.4.

[107] Breatnach, *SnG* 3.16.

[108] Breatnach, *SnG* 3.1.

[109] *eDIL* s.v. 2 *rann*, *rand* (https://dil.ie/34805, accessed 25 January 2024).

genitive is a later development.[110] The noun *méit* is spelled alternatively with a palatal and non-palatal consonant, the latter a feature of the Middle Irish stage of the language.[111] Finally, in §3 ō sai*n* 'mac*h*, the initial unstressed vowel is elided, a common Middle Irish feature.[112]

L has fossilised nasalisation following *cach* and *etrige* in 'Fuitt co bráth' 1*c* and *d*. Such petrified nasalisation after *cach*, which originates in the neuter and/or after the accusative singular, is not uncommon in the later language.[113]

Nominal morphology: nouns, adjectives and pronouns

'Tánic sam' contains several neuter nouns with following nasalisation; 4*a* Fūa*m* ṅgæt*h* is a clear example as *fúam* is in the nominative singular. However, other examples are not diagnostic; other nouns which were originally neuter are found without the article and in positions where they cannot show following nasalisation: 'Fuitt co bráth' loch 1*d*, muir 2*a*, taul 2*c*, leth 4*c*,'Tánic sam' ag 1*c*, tīr 7*a*, sīl 7*b*; and while cēol 2*a* has following nasalisation, it is in the accusative singular.

'Tánic sam' contains two instances of the Old Irish nominative plural of masculine o/a adjectives: lūait*h* 2*d* (MIr *lúatha*), and caiss 5*d* (MIr *cassa*).[114] There are no equative constructions apart from the ones with *méit* in 'Fuitt co bráth'. The comparative form of *mór* is used in 'Fuitt co bráth' 1*b* is mō i*n* donenn, but one would expect the same form in Old or Middle Irish. There are two other comparative forms in the prose; they retain the Old Irish ending *-(i)u*, which becomes schwa in the Middle Irish period and is spelled *-e*/*-i* after palatal consonants; §3: áiniu, ēscaidiu.[115]

In 'Fuitt co bráth', an adverb is formed from an adjective with the preposition *co*, **L** 4*a* cu g*r*ibb. There are a few instances of this usage in the glosses; the usual way of forming an adjective in Old Irish is to use the dative singular of the adjective preceded by the article.[116] However, forming an adverb with *co* becomes the norm by the end of the Old Irish period.

There are no independent pronouns in the poems, and only three in the prose. All three are third singular masculine *é*. The first two are used in §1, one with the copula (l. 2) and one as object of ro c*har*t (l. 6). This last usage is attested from the eleventh century onwards.[117] The third independent pronoun is in **C** §3, but not in **R**, and is probably scribal. The word groups in this sentence are also in a different order in **C** §3: ro cengalt Fi*n*t do c*h*oird*h*e cuild lomn*acht* co matan **é**. This latter pronoun functions as direct object of the active verb and is placed at the end of the clause, as is the tendency in Middle Irish.[118]

[110] *eDIL* s.v. *méit*, *mét* III (b) (https://dil.ie/31852, accessed 28 November 2023).
[111] *eDIL* s.v. *méit*, *mét* (https://dil.ie/31852, accessed 28 November 2023).
[112] Breatnach, *SnG* 3.26 and 3.28.
[113] *eDIL* s.v. *cach*, *cech* (https://dil.ie/7528, accessed 28 November 2023).
[114] Breatnach, *SnG* 6.5.
[115] Breatnach, *SnG* 6.11.
[116] *GOI* §§379, 381.
[117] Breatnach, *SnG* 10.15.
[118] Breatnach, *SnG* 10.15. See also Anders Ahlqvist, 'On the position of pronouns in Irish', *Éigse* 16 (1976), 171–6.

No infixed pronouns are used in the poems, except perhaps in **R** and **C** in 'Fuitt co bráth' 3*c* nís-tā d*ín*, but as discussed in the notes, this line is problematic. There are three other instances in the prose. In §1, an infixed pronoun is used in 'dos-rala ⁊ Find', 'he (literally 'they') and Finn happened to be' (l. 4); this construction is attested elsewhere in Old Irish, 'where a plural concept, expressed in a plural verb or pronoun, consists of two elements, one already known and one about to be mentioned'.[119] In §3 At-berat-som, there is a petrified infixed pronoun Class B third singular neuter. In **L** §1 l. 7 at-bert, there is also a possible petrified infixed pronoun, but **R** and **C** retain *as-bert* so this may be scribal. There may also be an infixed pronoun in §3 ro cengalt, though it was certainly not understood by the scribe of **C** who adds an independent object pronoun in this clause.

There are no suffixed pronouns in either prose or poetry.

Definite article

In the prose, plural definite articles are all monosyllabic *na* (**R** §1 l. 3 and §2).[120] In the poetry, the only plural definite article is used in its monosyllable form as well ('Fuitt co bráth' 3*c*). There are no instances where a dative plural form would be expected. There are no examples of the late Middle Irish form of the definite article *an*, except in 'Fuitt co bráth' 1B*c*, but this quatrain shows a different stage of the language (see below).

Verbs

The perfective particle *ro* is retained throughout, though in the prose it seems to be used for the preterite, as expected in the Middle Irish period. There is one instance of lenition after *ro*, a common feature in Middle Irish, in §2 ro cháchai*n*, but it is isolated and may be scribal. The reduplicated preterite is retained in §2 ro cháchai*n*; this is still found in the early Middle Irish period and it gradually disappears afterwards.[121] All occurences of the augmented preterite in the prose retain the non-palatal final consonant of *gaibid* (*ro gab* §1 and §2), as well as in the poetry ('Tánic sam' 3*a ro gab*). In Middle Irish, one often finds *-gaib*, a spread of the palatal final consonant ending of the present indicative third singular conjunct into the preterite third singular conjunct, though OIr non-palatal *-gab* is also found.[122] There may be one instance of confusion between present and preterite in 'Fuitt co bráth' 4*c* con-gab (OIr present indicative *con-gaib*), but the preterite also suits this line, so I have translated it as such. §2 As-rub*ar*t also retains the non-palatal final consonant (MIr *as-rubairt* or *adubairt*).

[119] *GOI* §402. See also Aaron Griffith, 'A note on pronominal coordination in Old Irish', in Robert Nedoma and David Stifter (eds), **h2nr. Festschrift für Heiner Eichner*, *Die Sprache: Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 48 (2009), 66–70.

[120] Breatnach, *SnG* 7.6.

[121] Breatnach, *SnG* 12.55.

[122] McCone, 'The Würzburg and Milan glosses: our earliest sources of "Middle Irish" ', *Ériu* 36 (1985), 85–106 at 94 and Breatnach, *SnG* 12.45.

Most verbs in the poems are in the third singular or plural, in the present tense. There is no occurrence in the prose nor in the poetry of the later third singular conjunct ending *-enn*/*-ann*. Most compounds in 'Finn and Mac Lesc' are quite common and many did not undergo univerbation in Middle Irish. There is just one example of a compound verb treated as a simple verb, namely 'Tánic sam' 7*d* forbrit (OIr *for-berat*, from *for-beir*), with an absolute ending. There are no deponent verbs, nor do any of the verbs in the text show the spread of deponent endings to simple verbs. In 'Tánic sam', the protonic form *tánic* (1*a*, 5*c*, 7*d*) is used where a deuterotonic form would be expected, but this is a very early development.[123] In the same poem, 5*c* ro fāith is a rare verbal form, but not an archaic one.[124] One will note the use of the proper relative form of the copula in §2 (*ba*, MIr *fa*, though alongside *ba*), but not of the substantive verb in §3 buī (OIr *boíe*); this form would have fallen out of regular use quite early, however. The copula forms in this text only occur in the third singular, and there are no instances where a plural subject is used with the singular of the copula, as becomes common in the late Middle Irish period.[125] In 'Tánic sam', I interpret the recurring phrase *día mbi* (or *mbí*) as the preposition with the relative particle and the consuetudinal form of copula; though if one takes *día* as the conjunction which requires the narrative preterite,[126] then *bí* has to be taken as a late Middle Irish preterite form of the substantive verb.[127] However, considering the language of the rest of the poem, I believe this is unlikely.

The language of 'Finn and Mac Lesc' is therefore suggestive of a late Old Irish date. There are no older features such as suffixed pronouns, and too few attestations of diagnostic features such as the neuter gender or infixed pronouns used as such to indicate an earlier date. The orthographical and phonetical features listed above also indicate a small amount of modernisation on the part of the scribe(s), as is expected. There are no characteristic features of late Middle Irish in the poems, nor in the prose, but the latter seems to show confusion between preterite and perfect, and later features such as the petrified infixed pronoun and the use of object independent pronouns, whereas the poetry apparently shows retention of the neuter. Meyer suggests a date towards the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century for the poems, and is convinced that they are Old Irish.[128] Carney dates 'Tánic sam' to *c*. 800 AD, pointing out that there are no archaisms in the poem and that it is 'suggestive of the eve of the Middle Irish period' although he agrees that it is clearly Old Irish.[129] Other editors have not proposed a date, although Jackson agrees with that suggeested by Meyer. It is difficult to give a precise date on linguistic grounds for such a short text; but I would tend to agree with the general dating proposed by Meyer and Carney.

[123] *GOI* §855 (B); see also for other verbs §§837 (B), 852 (B) and Kim McCone, 'Pretonic preverbs and the absolute verbal endings in Old Irish', *Ériu* 30 (1979), 1–34 at 5–6.

[124] *GOI* §692; *eDIL* s.v. *-fáith*, *-fáid*, *-faíd* (https://dil.ie/21212, accessed 28 November).

[125] Breatnach, *SnG* 12.193–4 and 14.4.

[126] *GOI* §889.

[127] Breatnach, *SnG* 12.65.

[128] Meyer, *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 5.

[129] Carney, 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', 38–39.

As for the added verse in **C** 'Fuitt co bráth', it is particularly late and contrasts strongly with the rest of the poem. The adjective *úar* in 1B*b* is found with later prosthetic *f*, and *anocht* is a later spelling of the adverbial phrase *in-nocht*. In 1B*c*, the adjective *airrde* is the late spelling in *-e* of the comparative used for superlative; it is used with the Middle Irish form *nās* which is fixed metrically as the line would be hypermetrical with OIr *indaas*. The masculine nominative singular definite article is not *in* but the late form *an* in 1B*c*. Finally, in 1B*d*, 'nocha' is the late form of the adverb of negation *nícon* and 'roichin*n*' shows univerbation from *ro-saig*, the enclitic stem *roich-* being used with the common late Middle Irish ending *-enn*.[130] There is no doubt, therefore, that this quatrain is intrusive here, both because of its language and because it is not set in the same geographical location as 'Finn and Mac Lesc'.

EDITORIAL POLICY

As mentioned previously, there are three manuscript witnesses to 'Finn and Mac Lesc': the Book of Leinster (**L**), Rawlinson B 502 (**R**), and C iii 2 (**C**). **L** lacks the second poem and the last two prose passages, while **C** contains the rest of the anecdote but shows considerable modernisation of the orthography. **R** preserves the fullest text, containing both poems and all three prose passages, and this twelfth-century manuscript shows older orthography, like **L**. For these reasons, this edition is based on **R**.

I have followed **R** as much as possible. The aim has been to present a coherent text, and the rare incorporation of variants into the edition from the other manuscript witnesses has been explained in the notes. Differences in orthography and spelling in the other manuscript witnesses have not been included in the apparatus but are dealt with in the notes if relevant to the interpretation.

The prose passages in **R** and **C** are close in content, but **L** has significant variants. Since these only concern the first prose paragraph introducing 'Fuitt co bráth', I have decided to present a parallel-text edition for this passage only. Though not entirely satisfactory as a methology within a larger edition, there seems to be little sense in trying to conflate two short passages with such markedly different readings. The other two prose passages are only present in **R** and **C**, and there are few variants in **C**.

Some readings from **L** and **C** have been incorporated into the poetry in square brackets, other variants being included in the apparatus. Only when necessitated by metre have variants from **L** and **C** been considered and included in the main text. It is because there is no such guide to help editing the prose that a different approach has been chosen, and that it has been left as in the manuscripts. I believe that this combination of editing techniques best reflects the fluidity of this text.

C contains an interpolated quatrain as the initial verse of the first poem. I have left the additional quatrain in the edition but have marked it with square brackets indicating that it is not present in the other manuscripts; it is marked

[130] *eDIL* s.v. *ro-saig* (https://dil.ie/35557, accessed 28 November 2023).

as 1B, i.e. an alternative beginning to the poem. As this quatrain also functions as the initial verse of a poem in *Úath Beinne Étair*, some variant readings from the two manuscripts in which this is preserved have been included in the apparatus; London, British Library MS Harleian 5280 (**H**), and Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS 23 N 10 (**N**), both of the sixteenth century.[131] The variants have been added up until 2*a* (included). The following verses are very different in both poems, so alternative manuscript readings are not relevant and have not been included.

Abbreviations have been expanded. Common abbreviations such as the *ar* and *us* compendia are italicised. Expansions of less frequent abbreviations and of any abbreviation requiring editorial interpretation, such as suspension strokes, have been underlined. Lenition and nasalisation not present in the manuscripts have not been added and the orthography has not been normalised. Macrons have been inserted on long vowels when no length mark occurs in the manuscripts, and with diphthongs they are placed on the first vowel. No macrons have been placed over ligatures or in the variant readings provided in the apparatus. Punctuation and capitalisation are largely editorial.

EDITION

§1

L

Aithech mith ro buí i féi*n* F*hi*n*n* huí Baiscni .i. Mac Lesc mac Lodái*n* é-sside.
Adaig dos-rala ⁊ Find for leit*h* ōnd f*héi*n hi Sléib C*h*ulind. Ro c*har*t Find é-seo*m* for īa*r*raid usci, is and at-bert i*n*t aithec*h*:

R[132]

Mac Lesc mac Ladāi*n* aithec*h* meit*h* buī hi tegluch Fi*n*n; is ē ro gab na runnu-sa sīs.
Adaig dos-rala ⁊ Fi*n*d fo leith ōnd fēin i Coirthi Chuilt hi Sléib Chuili*n*d, coro c*har*t Find ē-seo*m* for īa*r*air usci dōib. *Con*id ann as-bert-so*m* *ar*nā tēss*ed* i*m*mach do īa*r*air i*n*d usci:

TRANSLATION

§1

L

There was a weak churl in Finn úa Baíscne's *fían*, namely Mac Lesc mac Lodáin.
One night he and Finn were separated from the *fían* in Slíab Cuilinn. Finn sent him in search of water; it is then that the churl sang:

R

Mac Lesc mac Ladáin, a weak churl, was in the household of Finn; it is he who recited the following verses.
One night he and Finn were separated from the *fían* in Coirthe Cuilt in Slíab Cuilinn, and Finn sent him in search of water for them. And then he told him that he would not go out to seek the water.

[131] **N**, p. 13.16–19; **H**, fol. 35rb32–6. I would like to thank the British Library for allowing me to consult MS Harleian 5280.

[132] **C** is identical to **R** except for modernised orthography.

[1B. Fuid fuid!
fuar ano*cht* Mag*h* l*eth*an Luirc,
airrde an sn*echt*a nās in slíab,
nocha roichin*n* fīad*h* a cuid.]

1. Fuitt co brāth!
is mō[133] i*n* donenn *ar* cāch,
is ab[134] cach etrice án,[135]
[ɣ][136] is loch[137] lān cach āth.[138]

2. [Is][139] méit[140] muir mór cech loch[141] lonn[142],
is droṅg cech cuiri gúr gann,
mēt taul[143] scēith banna dond li*n*n,
mét moltchrocann fi*n*d cech slam*m*.

[1B. Cold, cold!
wide Mag Luirg is cold tonight,
the snow is higher than the mountain,
deer cannot reach their food.]

1. Forever cold!
the storm is growing stronger,
every swift furrow is a river,
and every ford is a full lake.

2. Every raging lake is as big as a great sea,
every starved suffering troop is a huddle,
drops of the downpour are as big as the boss of a shield,
every snowflake is as big as a white wether's fleece.

[133] **R, C** is mo: **L** ro dáil, **N, H** r*us* dail
[134] **R, C** is ab: **L** is á*th*, **N, H** apon*n*
[135] **R, C** etrice án: **L** n-ettrigi n-án, **N, H** eitt*r*ide a fān
[136] **L, C, H** ɣ: **R, N** om.
[137] **R, C** loch: **L, N, H** li*n*d
[138] **R, C** cach āth: **L, N, H** cach n-á*th*
[139] **L, N, H** is: **R, C** om.
[140] **R, C, L** méit: **N, H** om.
[141] **R, C** loch: **L** om., **N** loch bis, **H** loc*h* p*h*ís
[142] **R, C, L** lonn: **N, H** lan
[143] **R, C** taul: **L** tuil

3. Mēit cuithi cach latt*r*ach[144] léig,
coirthe cach rēid, caill cach mōi*n*,
na helta [noc*us*]-tá[145] dí*n*,
snechta fi*n*n fír do-roich[146] tóin.

4. Ro īad reōd rota [cu][147] g*r*ibb,
ī*ar* gleō[148] glicc im Choirthi Cuilt;
con-gab donenn d*ar*[149] cach leth,
*con*nā abbair nech *acht* 'fuit'! .F.

§2. As-rub*ar*t Fi*n*d ba brēc dó ⁊ ro gab formalad na sín ⁊ na seón ⁊ na n-a*m*ser ⁊ ro cháchai*n* inso sís.

1. Tānic sa*m* slān sōer,
dīa mbi clōen caill cī*ar*,
li*n*gid[150] ag seṅg snéid,
dīa mbi rēid rón rían.

3. Every [...] puddle as big as a pit,
every clearing a standing stone, every bog a wood,
the flocks of birds have no shelter,
white snow truly reaches [one's] bottom.

4. Frost has sealed the bog water swiftly,
after a skilled fight around Coirthe Cuilt;
the storm has taken hold on every side,
so that no one says anything but 'cold!'

§2. Finn said that he lied, and he sang the praises of the storms and the favourable signs and the seasons and he sang this below:

1. Summer has come, healthy, free,
from which the dark wood is stooping,
a swift, slender stag leaps,
and the seals' course is smooth.

[144] **R, L** latt*r*ach: **C** lat*h*rach
[145] **L** noc*us*-tá: **R**, **C** nís-ta
[146] **R**, **C** do-roich: **L** co roic*h*
[147] **L** cu: **R**, **C** om.
[148] **R** ī*ar* gleō: **L, C** ī*ar* ṅgleō
[149] **R**, **C** con-gab donenn d*ar*: **L** ro iad corrthi for
[150] **R** li*n*gid: **C** lingi

2. Canaid cuy[151] cēol ṁbi*n*d ṁbláit*h*
dīa *m*bí sūan sāi*m* snēid,
lengait eōi*n* ciūi*n* crūaic*h*,
⁊ dai*m* lūait*h* lēit*h*.[152]

3. Foss n-oss ro gab tess,
g*āir* dess cass cūan,
tibid[153] t*r*ācht, fi*n*d[154] fonn,
dīa mbi lonn ler lūath.

4. Fūa*m* ṅgæt*h*, bāeth b*ar*r
dairi[155] duib druin[156] daill,
ret*h*id g*r*aig mæl[157] mūad,
dīa mbi[158] dī*n* cūan caill.

2. A cuckoo sings a soft melodious song,
which makes sleep swift and peaceful,
birds hop on a quiet hill
with swift grey stags.

3. Heat has affected the deer's tranquility,
the sweet cry of litters of curly-haired pups,
a white stretch, the strand smiles,
so the swift sea is strong.

4. Sound of winds, wild is the top
of the strong, shadowy black grove,
a clipped noble stud of horses runs,
for whom the harbour of hazel is a haven.

[151] **R** cuy: **C** cui
[152] **R** lēit*h*: **C** léim
[153] **R** tibid: **C** tibe
[154] **R** fi*n*d: **C** om.
[155] **R** puncta delentia below the second *i*.
[156] **R** puncta delentia below the *d*. The minims at the end of the word have been corrected from *m* to *in*.
[157] **R** lengthmark over the *æ* ligature.
[158] **R** mbi: **C** ma

5. Maidid[159] glass for cach lus,
bilec*h* doss d*air*e glaiss,
tānic sa*m* ro fāith gai*m*,
gonit[160] coin cuilinn caiss.[161]

6. Canaid[162] lon dron[163] dord,
dīa *m*bi forbb caill[164] cerb,
sūanaid ler lonn līac,
fo-liṅg īac*h* brec bedc.

7. Tibid g*r*īan d*ar*[165] cach tīr,
dedlaid[166] lim f*r*i sīl snon,[167]
garit coin dáilit daim,
forbrit brai*n*, tānic sam. T.

§3. At-berat-som t*r*ā ropo ēcen dō-so*m* techt do īa*r*air i*n*d usci ⁊ ro cengalt Find lomnoc*h*t co matai*n*[168] do Choirthi Chuilt *con*nād buī i fēi*n* Fi*n*d bad áiniu ⁊ bad ēscaidiu ō sai*n* 'mac*h*.

5. Green breaks out on every plant,
the copse of the green oakwood is bushy,
summer has come, winter has gone,
tangled hollies wound a hound.

6. A vigorous blackbird sings a song,
for whom the thorny wood is a patrimony,
the strong, grim sea sleeps,
a speckled salmon leaps.

7. The sun smiles over every land,
the elm's bark separates from [its] source(?),[169]
dogs bark, stags scatter,
ravens increase(?), summer has come.

§3. They say therefore that he had to go to seek the water, and Finn tied him naked until morning to Coirthe Cuilt, so that nobody in Finn's *fían* was more swift and more willing from then on.

[159]**R** Maidid: **C** Muid*h*e
[160]**R** gonit: **C** goinid*h*
[161]**R** caiss: **C** kis
[162]**R** Canaid: **C** Canait
[163]**R** dron: **C** om.
[164]**R** caill: **C** caille
[165]**R** d*ar*: **C** da
[166]**R** dedlaid: **C** dedlai
[167]**R** snon: **C** sno*m nó* son
[168]**C** é: **R** om.
[169]The translation of this line is from Hull, 'Four Old-Irish songs', 201.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Lines 1–3: The expression *aithech mith* also appears in a poem uttered by Fer Diad in *TBC*: 'ní thecat dá fúapairt acht mad athig mith' 'None come to attack him save cowardly churls' ('aigith meith' in the *LU* version).[170] O'Rahilly follows Windisch in reading a genitive singular of *meth* 'decay, failure', which can be inflected as an o-stem.[171] *eDIL* also notes: 'feeble (spiritless) churls? the object of Fer Diad is to belittle his opponent. The reading *mith* is supported by the beginning of poem: is mithig', and the dictionary then refers to our text 'where the sense seems similar'.[172] I follow this interpretation.[173] **L** specifies that Mac Lesc is part of Finn's *fían*, while **R** and **C** use the word *teglach* 'household', a term which is also used to refer to *fían*-members in *Áirem Muintire Finn* 'The Enumeration of Finn's Household'.[174]

1B. As already mentioned, this is also the first quatrain of a poem that the old woman who hides Diarmait and Gráinne on the Hill of Howth in *ÚBÉ* recites to make them believe that the weather is too bad to go outside, in order to allow Finn to catch them, a ruse which is ultimately unsuccessful.

1B*a*. *Fuit* is an interjection most often used to express cold.[175] The English 'brrr' seems unsatisfactory as a translation, so it has been rendered simply as 'cold'.

1B*d*. **C** has a suspension stroke over the *h* of *noch*, which is followed by an *a*. This is probably a scribal slip as it is not found in **N** nor **H**.

1*a*. For 'fuitt', see 1B*a*.

1*b*. '*ar* cāch': *cách*, 'each, everyone, all' is often used with comparatives to indicate an increase in the quality of the adjective.[176] **L** differs from **R** and **C**, using the simple verb *dáilid* in a metaphorical sense 'spreads, expands'. The line in *ÚBÉ* is closer to **L**: *rus dail in doinenn ar cach* (**N**). Both Meyer and Ní Shéaghdha have translated this line as 'the storm has spread over all'.

1*c*. The reading in **L** *áth* 'ford' makes little sense ('every swift furrow is a ford'); it seems likely that it is simply a scribal slip, as *áth* is found again in

[170] Cecile O'Rahilly (ed. and trans.), *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster*, ITS 49 (Dublin, 1967), 80 (l. 2913) and 218. O'Rahilly (ed. and trans.), *TBC: Recension I*, 91 (l. 3006) and 205.

[171] O'Rahilly (ed. and trans.), *Táin Bó Cúalgne from the Book of Leinster*, 323.

[172] *eDIL* s.v. *meth* (https://dil.ie/32096, accessed 10 November 2023).

[173] Meyer, *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 19, evidently understood *méth* 'fat'; *eDIL* s.v. *méth* (https://dil.ie/32097, accessed 10 November 2023).

[174] The term only appears in the version of the text found in Cork, University College, The Book of Lismore. See Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Medieval and Modern Series 5 (Oxford, 1890), xl. Other versions of this text survive in BL MSS Egerton 1782 (fol. 25rb–vb) and Harley 5280 (fol. 49r).

[175] Fergus Kelly, 'Onomatopeic interjections in Early Irish', *Celtica* 25 (2007), 107–24, at 96–7.

[176] *GOI* §377, *eDIL* s.v. *cách* (g) (https://dil.ie/7529, accessed 22 January 2024).

the following line. In **N** and **H**, the line ends with *fan* (*án* **C**). Meyer and Ní Shéaghdha took this as *fán* 'slope' (Ní Shéaghdha: 'a river is each furrow upon a slope').

2*a*. Originally a feminine noun, *méit* is used adverbially as the equivalent of the equative *méitithir* and is followed by a substantive in the accusative singular (*muir mór*).

2*b*. It is unclear if *cuiri* refers to humans or animals. I understand here that animals huddle together in winter because of cold weather.

2*c*. I take *linn* as referring to a body of water, thus most probably falling rain; this sense is attested in *In Tenga Bithnua* 'The ever-new tongue'.[177] The use of *mēt* is similar to that found in line *a* with the copula understood. Meyer translated 'When big as the face of a shield each drop of rain', probably to give a concluding sense to line *d* after *c*, but there is nothing indicating 'when' in the Irish.[178]

2*d*. The syntax is as in line *c* with *molt* refering to a wether, a castrated ram. The form *slamm* is not followed by a dependent genitive so its translation may be fluid. The context suggests it may refer to a snowflake and not to a flock of wool or a lock of hair.

This line seems to echo a set phrase found elsewhere in the literature. In the version of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* preserved in the eleventh-century *Lebor na hUidre* (RIA MS 23 E 25), during Cú Chulainn's third *ríastrad*, or distortion, it is said that 'comba métithir moltchracand cech slamsrúam thened doniged ina bél asa brágit' 'every stream of fiery flakes which came into his mouth from his throat was as wide as a ram's skin'.[179] In *Immram Curaig Úa Corra* 'The voyage of the Uí Corra', the description of a giant reads 'ba métither moltcroicinn gach slam tenedh ticeadh asa braguit' 'as big as a wether's fleece was every flake of fire that came out of his gullet'.[180] These two phrases contain the comparison found in line *d* of our poem, but they both extend it into a description of a fire-breathing warrior using similar wording (with the verb *do-icc* and noun *brága*). As in *Immram Curaig Úa Corra*, I understand 'moltchrocann' here as 'fleece', which makes the imagery better.[181]

[177] *eDIL* s.v. 1 *linn* (a) (https://dil.ie/30274, accessed 23 January 2024).

[178] Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 19.

[179] O'Rahilly (ed. and trans.), *TBC: Recension I*, 69 and 187.

[180] W. Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The voyage of the Huí Corra', *RC* 14 (1893), 22–69, at 54–5. See also A. G. van Hamel (ed.), *Immrama*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 10 (Dublin, 1941), 107. This text only survives in manuscripts dated to the fifteenth century and later, though it is probably based on an eleventh- or twelfth-century version (Hamel, *Immrama*, 93–5; see also Caoimhín Breatnach, 'The transmission and structure of *Immram curaig Ua Corra*', *Ériu* 53 (2003), 91–107, at 91–9).

[181] The term *croiccenn* is also used for the 'Golden Fleece'; see *eDIL* s.v. *croiccenn* (https://dil.ie/13073, accessed 23 January 2024).

3*a*. The use of *méit* is similar to the previous verse. The term *léig* is probably an adjective, but its meaning is unclear. It is suggested in *eDIL* that this may be the same word which is attested in 'Cétamon'.[182] Meyer translated it as 'peat' in 'Cétamon' but did not translate it in 'Fuitt co bráth'.[183] Murphy suggested the meaning 'lovely' in 'Cétamon', which was accepted by Carney for this same poem in 1971, although he had previously translated it as 'dirty' in 'Fuitt co bráth' in 1967.[184] Jackson had suggested a meaning 'black' in 1935, and pointed out it is used to describe a king in the poem 'Cú cen máthair, maith cland', also preserved in **R**.[185] This reading would suit here, but as it is hypothetical, it has not been introduced into the translation.

3*b*. This line repeats the same syntax of the previous line using *cach*; the copula is understood. The adjective *réid* is used substantively to refer to an open plain.[186] I understand this line as a metaphor for the difficulty of traversing plains and bogs in bad, freezing weather; the ground is so frozen it is like a rock, and the reeds of the bog are so frozen they are as hard as trees.[187]

3*c*. This line is problematic: *elta* can refer to flocks of birds or animals, and is taken here in the first sense, as nominative plural with the article; *dín* means 'protection, defence, shelter'. **R** and **C** read *nísta*, which can be understood as *nís-tā*, i.e. the negative conjunct particle with an infixed pronoun Class A, third plural, and the substantive verb, meaning literally 'there is not to them', i.e. 'they do not have'.[188] However, the line is hypometrical in **R** and **C**. **L** reads 'noc*us*-tá', giving the extra syllable needed for the metre; Meyer took this as *ní costá* and translated 'No shelter find the flocks of birds'.[189] He did not discuss the verbal form; he may have considered it to be a form of *con-suidi*, 'sets up, establishes', which has a verbal noun *costud* and which might be related to the poorly attested *coistide* (noun), *cosaiti* (adjective) and *costaigid* (verb). On the other hand, one can understand 'noc*us*-tá' as a later variant of *nícos-tá* 'there is not to them, they do not have', thus equating the meaning in **R** and **C** but providing the syllable count needed for the metre.[190] I have thus chosen to incorporate the **L** reading into my edition.

[182] *eDIL* s.v. 3 *léig* (https://dil.ie/29775, accessed 18 October 2023).

[183] Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 10–11 and 18–19.

[184] Murphy (ed. and trans.), 'Finn's poem on May-day', 95; Carney (ed. and trans.), 'Three Old Irish Accentual Poems', 50; J. Carney (trans.), *Medieval Irish Lyrics* (Dublin, 1967), 25.

[185] Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry*, 42, 44. 'Cú cen máthair, maith cland' can be found on fol. 80vb32, and *léic* is in l. 38; see Kuno Meyer (ed.), *Über die älteste irische Dichtung I. Rhythmische alliterierende Reimstrophen* (Berlin, 1913), 54.

[186] *eDIL* s.v. *réid* (https://dil.ie/34942, accessed 18 October 2023).

[187] There is a very similar image in the first stanza of the Welsh poem 'Llym awel' 'Sharp is the wind'; discussed by Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen* (Caerdydd, 1935), 176. The poem is translated into English in Rowland (trans.), *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, 501–3.

[188] *GOI* §777.

[189] Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 18.

[190] *GOI* §420.

3*d*. **L** reads 'co roic*h*'. This might be the third singular present indicative of *ro-saig* 'reaches, comes to', which is attested in this construction in the subjunctive *co roa* 'till (one) reaches; as far as, up to', and similar to *co ricci*, second singular present indicative of *ro-icc* with petrified preposition, translated as 'till thou reachest'.[191] It does not change the meaning of the line compared to **R** and **C**. I understand this line in the same way as the following in *TBC* (*LU*): 'ferais snechta mór forru co fernnu fer ⁊ co drochu carpat' 'heavy snow fell on them, reaching to the girdles of the men and the wheels of the chariots'.[192]

4*a*. The addition 'cu' from **L** makes sense both for the metre and for the grammatical structure of the line; the preposition *co* may be used with an adjective to form an adverb, thus giving the sense 'swiftly, quickly'.[193] Meyer, Jackson and Carney understood *róta* 'roads', taking it to be *rót* in accusative plural, but I prefer to read *rota* 'bog-water',[194] as *íadaid* can be used with water as 'dams, seals, blocks'.[195]

4*b*. I read this line as a metaphor for the frost slowly taking over the whole bog, and freezing over the whole landscape around the standing stone.

4*c*. **L** has an almost completely different line at this point: 'ro īad corrthi for cach leth', 'it has bound a stone on every side'. The line remains 7[1], and makes anaphora of *ro īad* with *a*. The unexpressed subject of *ro īad* in *c* seems to be *reōd* in *a*, and the repetition of *corrthi* obviously refers to the standing stone, Coirthe Cuilt, mentioned in *b* and in the prose introduction.

§2. I understand 'formalad' as a single word, but one may also take it as two words with *gaibid for* 'begins', thus translating the phrase 'he commenced the praise'.[196]

'Tánic sam'

1*b*. The beginning of this line, *día mbi*, recurs frequently in the poem (1*d*, 2*b*, 3*d*, 4*d*, 6*b*). Though the sense of the conjunction *día*^{N} 'when' would suit in all instances in the poem, this conjunction is followed by the preterite (or the subjunctive when it means 'if'), and the form *bi* is the consuetudinal present of the

[191] *eDIL* s.v. *ro-saig* (https://dil.ie/35557, accessed 18 October 2023), *eDIL* s.v. *ro-icc* (https://dil.ie/35459, accessed 18 October 2023).

[192] Cecile O'Rahilly (ed. and trans.), *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension I* (Dublin, 1976), 10 and 133 (ll. 310–12).

[193] *GOI* §381.

[194] *eDIL* s.v. *rota* (https://dil.ie/35581, accessed 18 October 2023).

[195] *eDIL* s.v. *íadaid* (https://dil.ie/26916, accessed 18 October 2023).

[196] *eDIL* s.v. *formolad* (https://dil.ie/23786, accessed 9 September 2024); s.v. *gaibid* (V(e)2) (https://dil.ie/25119, accessed 9 September 2024); s.v. *molad* (https://dil.ie/32490, accessed 9 September 2024).

substantive verb and the copula.[197] Thus, I take *día* as a combination of the preposition di^L or do^L and the relative particle a^N. In this line, the relative pronoun refers to the coming of summer (*di* 'in consequence of, for that reason').[198] As for the meaning of *clóen*, I understand it as meaning that the trees are bending from the weight of fruit and leaves in summer; 'aslant, bending, stooped'.[199]

1*c*. The verb is third singular absolute present indicative in **R** but **C** reads *lingi*; this loss of final *-d* in the present indicative third singular seems to be characteristic of the scribe and it occurs elsewhere in this poem.[200]

1*d*. The same phrase as 1*b* occurs here, with *rían* as subject of the sentence, and *réid* as predicate. I take *rón* as a preposed genitive plural, with *rían* required in final position to make end-rhyme with *b* (cīar : rían). Despite the lengthmark on *bí* in the manuscript, this must be the copula (consuetudinal present, third singular), so I have omitted the lengthmark. The repetition of 'dīa mbi' in this line probably still refers to the coming of summer, as the poem enumerates all the things that have come with summer; I have rendered it as 'and' here. Meyer suggests that *rón rían* is a kenning for the sea.[201] This would not be surprising as the primary meaning of *rían* is 'sea'.

2*b*. In this line, the phrase 'dīa *m*bí' may be the same construction as the previous verse with the copula, and *súan* with two following attributive adjectives. However, there is a clear length mark in the manuscript, suggesting that the phrase contains the substantive verb instead (consuetudinal present, third singular), thus taking *súan* as the subject standing between the predicate and the verb.[202] The meaning is similar in both cases; I have translated as the substantive verb to keep the length mark. I understand *día* again as the preposition and the relative particle a^N. This line can be directly linked to the preceding line: sleep would be the consequence of the soft song of the cuckoo. The adjective *snéid* has often a vague sense in poetry, and is found in the preceding verse to qualify a stag leaping (1*c*), so I have kept the same translation, 'swift', in order to maintain the repetition.[203] The letters *sn* in **R** are almost erased, though still legible, and **C** has the same reading; the erasure in **R** may have been accidental as there is also a stain in this place, and *snéid* is clearly the word intended here.[204]

[197] *GOI* §§784 and 800.
[198] *eDIL* s.v. 1 *de*, *di* (XLVa) (https://dil.ie/14787, accessed 20 October 2023).
[199] *eDIL* s.v. *cláen* (https://dil.ie/9306, accessed 23 January 2024).
[200] Hull, 'Four Old-Irish songs', 201.
[201] Meyer, *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 21 n. 1.
[202] *GOI* §774.2.
[203] *eDIL* s.v. *snéid* (https://dil.ie/38155, accessed 20 October 2023).
[204] Note that several other editors mistakenly read *réid* in **R**: Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 20, Greene and O'Connor (ed. and trans.), *A Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry*, 137, Hull, 'Four Old-Irish songs', 201. Carney reads *snéid* but emends to *séim* (Carney (ed. and trans.), 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', 51).

2*d*. This line seems to be a direct continuation of line *c*, and I follow most editors in understanding that the birds and the deer leap over hills. **C** has *léim* instead of *léith* in **R**. This is the verbal noun of *lingid*; its inclusion might be influenced by the phrase *lingid léim* 'jumps a jump', though the syntax would still be difficult to understand and it does not give good end-rhyme with *snéid*.

3*a*. I take *foss n-oss* as object antecedent to the relative *ro gab*, with following nasalisation after accusative *foss*. *Foss* refers to a state of rest as opposed to movement, so the noun *fossad* 'station, halting-place, abode' may provide a better meaning here; however it is not supported by the manuscripts and would make the line hypermetrical. I understand *foss* as 'a state of rest or quietude', and translate 'tranquility'.[205]

3*b*. The relation of this line to the preceding is unclear. I have understood *cúan* as a litter of pups and not a pack of dogs, as their cry is said to be *dess* 'agreeable', and because in the context of a poem about the coming of summer it seems more fitting to have pups that have just been born.[206] The adjective *cass* is preposed, to facilitate imperfect end-rhyme between *cúan* and *lúath*. Meyer translated as 'curly' though he had given another meaning for a word with the same spelling in *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, 'smart, nimble, active, rash, hasty, abrupt, passionate'; Jackson prefers the latter.[207] Carney notes that *cass* may be an attribute of music and takes it to qualify *gáir* rather than *cúan*. I have followed Meyer's interpretation, which is the most commonly attested meaning of the word.[208]

Alternatively, one may read *cúan* as a stretch of water, and thus take *cas* as used of sea and rivers to mean 'eddying';[209] the line would translate as 'the agreeable sound of eddying water'. As most couplets run together in sense, I have not followed this interpretation, although it is a possible alternative.

3*c*. The verb *tibid* comes to mean 'smiles, laughs' though its primary sense is 'breaks, beats', and it is often used with *tonn* and in the lexical field of sea and wind.[210] As is usual in its occurrences, it is unclear which meaning is to be understood here. *Tibid* does not seem to take direct objects, and tends to be utilised with following preposition (*fri*), but there is none here.[211] The primary meaning of *fonn* is 'land, territory', but it may also refer to an expanse of land or sea. Consequently, I understand 'fi*n*d fonn' as a phrase in apposition to *trácht* in the nominative singular, with the preposed adjective *find* allowing for *aicill* rhyme between *fonn*:*lonn*. **C** omits *find* but it is required for the metre.

[205] *eDIL* s.v. 1 *foss*, *fos* (a) (https://dil.ie/24107, accessed 23 January 2024).
[206] *eDIL* s.v. 1 *cúan* (https://dil.ie/13334, accessed 19 October 2023).
[207] Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, i:i (Halle, 1906), 323; Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry*, 43–4.
[208] *eDIL* s.v. 1 *cas* (https://dil.ie/8289, accessed 20 October 2023).
[209] *eDIL* s.v. 2 *cúan* (https://dil.ie/13335, accessed 23 January 2024); *eDIL* s.v. 1 *cas* (a).
[210] Joseph Vendryes, 'L'expression du "rire" en Celtique', *EC* 3 (1938), 38–45, at 43.
[211] *eDIL* s.v. *tibid* (https://dil.ie/40693, accessed 19 October 2023).

Carney interprets *c* and *d* as 'the strand smiles, fair land that is wont to anger the swift sea', taking 'fi*n*d fonn' as an example of enjambment. This may be justified by the occurrence of similar syntax in 4*ab*, though these lines are problematic (see below).

3*d*. I have rendered 'dīa mbi' as 'so' here which fits better in English.

4*a*. This and the following line are problematic. I have taken 'Fūa*m*' as nominative singular with following neuter nasalisation on 'ṅgæt*h*' (genitive plural). The grammatical relation between 'Fūa*m* ṅgæt*h*', 'bāeth' and 'b*a*r' is unclear, however. If the adjective *báeth* goes with *gæth*, then the expected nasalisation is absent. Alternatively, *báeth* could be taken as qualifying 'b*a*r' (nominative singular), but I see no reason why it would be preposed to the noun, unless the second part of the line is understood as a copula phrase with *báeth* as predicate. There is one less syllable in the first line of this verse (4^1) compared to the others (5^1), suggesting something may have been omitted. **C** offers no alternative readings. Because of the following line (for which see below), and as *barr* is used to mean the top part of trees, I understand 'bāeth b*a*r' as a copula phrase.

Meyer and Jackson see a prepositional phrase, translating 'in the top(s)'.[212] Carney reads the adjective *gáeth* 'wise' as an antithesis to *báeth* and sees the whole line as a copula sentence meaning literally 'the wanton top is a wise noise', a comparison of wild winds of winter and the calmer sounds it makes in the woods in the summer.[213] Indeed, the line may play on the double meaning of *gáeth* and *báeth* as 'wise' and 'foolish'. Greene and O'Connor have emended *barr* to *i mbruig*, but this is not supported by any of the manuscripts and is unwarranted.[214]

4*b*. The scribe of **R** appears to have had difficulties with this line. He wrote 'dairi duib drumdaill' but then added *puncta delentia* under the second *i* of *dairi* and under the *d* of *drum*. He also rectified the minims on this latter word, lengthening the top of the second minim of the *m* to make *in*.[215] If one incorporates these corrections, the line thus reads 'dair duib ruin daill' 'oak of gall, dark secrets'(?). Even if taking 'duib' as the substantivised form of *dub* in the genitive singular, and interpreting 'dair duib' as a phrase (otherwise unattested) for 'oak-gall', this makes little sense. Though there are lots of dot-like stains on this page of **R**, the *puncta delentia* are inked and appear deliberate. However, **C** reads 'daire duib*h* drui*n* daill', suggesting that the *puncta delentia* in **R** be disregarded but the correction of *m* to *in* be incorporated. The line remains difficult even without the *puncta delentia*. The adjective 'duib' is in the genitive

[212]Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 21; Jackson (trans.), *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry*, 25.

[213]Carney (ed. and trans.), 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', 51–2.

[214]Greene and O'Connor (ed. and trans.), *A Golden Treasury*, 138.

[215]See **R**, fol. 60ra10 (https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/ea96c258-35fa-4d52-949c-5a0ef99ce659/surfaces/d987a5f7-5a01-4a91-b337-57c92cbbe32b/, accessed 10 November 2023).

singular, as is *daire* 'oak-wood, grove' in **R**, suggesting they are dependent on 'b*arr*' in the previous line.[216] Though this is the first instance in 'Tánic sam' and 'Fuitt co bráth' of a genitive phrase linking two lines together, I follow this interpretation for lack of another, better one. As for 'druin daill' (or 'drum daill' if refusing the correction in **R**), it is unclear. Meyer and Jackson take it as a place-name, albeit unattested.[217] I follow Carney in taking *druin daill* as adjectives in the genitive singular qualifying *dairi*;[218] here *dall* 'dark' may perhaps refer to the darkness of woods in the summer when the leafage is most dense, so I translate 'shadowy'.

4*c*. I have followed Greene and O'Connor who translated *mæl* as 'clipped'. Meyer and Jackson give 'hornless' which does not really fit with horses.

4*d*. There could be a place-name in this line, Cúan Caill, literally 'Harbour of Hazel'. Meyer suggests that the mention of 'coin Coildi Cuan' 'the hounds of the wood of Cuan' in *ÚBÉ* refers to the same place, but there are no other attestations of the name as far as I am aware, so I have not followed this.[219] **C** gives *ma* for *mbi* (**R**), probably the present subjunctive of the copula.

5*a*. **C** reads 'Muid*h*e' instead of third singular present indicative of *maidid* in **R**. It is the same verb, probably still meant to be third singular.

5*b*. All editors have understood this line as a zero copula sentence, with the copula probably being omitted for reasons of metre. I follow this interpretation. I have understood 'd*air*e glaiss' as a genitive phrase dependent on *doss*. One could also understand Daire Glaiss as another place-name ('the copse of Daire Glaiss is bushy'); I have not pursued this interpretation here as the place-name is (again) unattested elsewhere.

5*d*. I take 'cuilinn caiss' as nominative plural placed after the accusative singular *coin* to facilitate end-rhyme between *glaiss* and *caiss*. The phrase *coin cuilinn* is also present in *Echtra Airt meic Cuind ocus Tochmarc Delbchaime ingine Morgain* 'The adventure of Art mac Cuinn and the wooing of Delbcháem ingen Morgáin', a text which only survives in the fifteenth-century Book of Fermoy (RIA MS 23 E 29). The text reads: 'iarsin rainic gusan f*h*idh f*h*ásaigh a rabhad*ar* na coin cuilind ⁊ na cailleacha colacha clænbrethacha' 'after that he came to the forest wild where the Coincuilind and the wicked, perverse hags were' (§22); 'an fidh dorcha *con*a conaibh cuilind' 'the dark forest with the

[216]The reading 'daire' in **C** may also be understood as genitive singular, taking into account the falling together of final unstressed vowels during the Middle Irish period.

[217]Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 21; Jackson (trans.), *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry*, 25.

[218]Carney (ed. and trans.), 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', 51–2.

[219]Ní Shéaghdha (ed.), *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*, 134; my translation.

Coincuilind' (§24).[220] Best has not translated the phrase, taking it as a personal name; he suggests a literal meaning in his notes, 'Coincuilind "dogs of holly" (?)'.[221] One may tentatively suggest that this phrase referred to a harmful animal living in the woods, but I have found no other evidence supporting this reading.[222] Though hollies are evergreen, their flowers bloom in the spring and summer and they are toxic to dogs. The line may be a reference to hunting in the summer, and hounds getting scratched in the undergrowth in the process (see 'Tánic sam' 7*c*, dáilit daim 'stags scatter').[223] Greene and O'Connor have emended *coin* to *dam*; their reasoning is unclear to me.[224] For **R** 'caiss', **C** reads 'kis'; *k* normally stands for the letters *ca* so this is the same word. Hull read 'fas' but this is incorrect.[225]

6*a*. **C** gives *Canait*, which is third plural and not the third singular form found in **R**; *lon* is nominative singular, so this must be a slip. The adjective *dron* is omitted in **C**, but it is needed for the metre and it alliterates with *dord*. I have taken it as qualifying *lon*, according to the normal word-order in Old Irish. Jackson also took it as qualifying *lon*, but all the other editors read it as a preposed adjective qualifying *dord*.

6*b*. The meaning of 'forbb' here is unclear. *eDIL* suggests that *foirb* is a byform of *orb(b)a*, 'patrimony, heritage of land, estate',[226] which has a later spelling *forbbae* attested elsewhere in **L** and **R**.[227] Meyer translates the line as 'to him the live wood is a heritage';[228] other editors have followed suit, as have I. It seems that *cerb* is an adjective of uncertain meaning, often used with *caill*.[229]

7*a*. *Tibid* could be understood as 'smiles' or as 'touches' since it is used as a personification of the sun (see also 3*c*).

7*b*. This line is problematic, and the translation given is taken from Hull.[230] If *dedlaid* is the verb 'disjoins, severs, parts', it could be either third singular present indicative as in **R** or second singular as in **C**; I have followed **R**.[231] The

[220] R. I. Best (ed. and trans.), 'The adventures of Art son of Con', *Ériu* 3 (1907), 149–72, at 166–7 (§22) and 168–9 (§24).

[221] Best, 'The adventures of Art', 172.

[222] See for example *cú cnámha* 'vermin, louse', *eDIL* s.v. 1 *cú* (e) (https://dil.ie/13291, accessed 16 August 2024).

[223] Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming: A Study Based Mainly on the Law-Texts of the 7th and 8th Centuries AD*, Early Irish Law Series 4 (Dublin, 1997), 273–5.

[224] Greene and O'Connor (ed. and trans.), *A Golden Treasury*, 138.

[225] Hull, 'Four Old-Irish songs', 201.

[226] *eDIL* s.v. *foirb* (https://dil.ie/22943, accessed 10 November 2023), *eDIL* s.v. *orb(b)a* (https://dil.ie/33941, accessed 10 November 2023).

[227] *eDIL* s.v. *forbbae* (https://dil.ie/23367, accessed 10 November 2023).

[228] Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 21.

[229] *eDIL* s.v. 2 *cerb* (https://dil.ie/8741, accessed 23 November 2023).

[230] Hull, 'Four Old-Irish songs', 201.

[231] Though note that the scribe of **C** omits the *d* ending in the present, as mentioned above and in Hull, 'Four Old-Irish songs', 201.

phrase *dedlaid fri* 'separates from' is not uncommon, but *lim* is puzzling. It is unlikely to be a prepositional pronoun, as there is no other first-person marker in the poem. Carney seems to take it as being from *lím* 'sharp-' a poorly-attested adjective used in compounds and deriving from *límaid* 'sharpens, grinds, polishes'.[232] I follow Hull who understands *lim* to be the proleptic genitive singular of *lem*, 'elm', dependent on *snom* (**C**).

The scribe of **C**, or of his exemplar, seems to have been puzzled by the end of the line since he wrote 'sno*m nó* son'.[233] The interpolation is not very helpful, however; *son* is unlikely to be the anaphoric pronoun;[234] *son* 'sound' or the adjective *son* 'happy' do not fit the context either. Jackson does not give a translation for *snon* (**R**) but he points in a note to the occurrence of *snomh* in *Buile Suibhne*, left untranslated by O'Keeffe as well.[235] There is little information about *snom* 'bark of a tree' available for us to make sense of the line.[236] Bark seems to have been used in medieval Ireland to make containers for food, to tan leather, or make dye, and possibly rope, but in all these cases the word used to describe the bark is *rúsc*.[237] It seems that the only use of *snomad* is in legal glosses, referring to the illegal removal of bark from a tree.[238] Hull understands *sīl* 'seed' to have a metaphorical sense of 'source, origin'; I have adopted his translation. The exact meaning remains obscure, and I have kept the reading in **R** since *snom* or *snob* 'bark' is so poorly attested.[239]

Meyer reads 'dedlaid lim fri sīl snon' and translates 'a parting for me from the brood of *cares'.[240] He puts a question mark in his glossary under the translation of *snon* 'care, grief'.[241] Carney edits as 'dedlai lím, fri[s]-sil snom' and translates 'the edge will cleave, it will strike the bark', reading *dedlai* as future of *dlongid* 'splits, cuts, cleaves'.[242] He takes *lim* as providing end-rhyme with *tīr* according to his presentation of the poem (*dar cach tír*/*dedlai lím*), and *fri-sil* as third singular future of *fris-slig* 'strikes against, repels (?)' with a query.[243]

[232] *eDIL* s.v. *lím* (https://dil.ie/30224, accessed 23 November 2023).

[233] Though the gloss is incorporated into the text, suggesting that the scribe copied it from an exemplar in which it may have been interlinear or marginal, there are other instances of notes in the bulk of the text in this manuscript (see discussion in the introduction above), so the possibility that the scribe of **C** is responsible for this cannot be ruled out.

[234] *GOI* §479.

[235] Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry*, 43. J. G. O'Keeffe (ed. and trans.), *Buile Suibhne: The Frenzy of Suibhne. Being the Adventures of Suibhne Geilt, a Middle Irish Romance*, Irish Texts Society 12 (London, 1913), 56 and 167–8.

[236] *eDIL* s.v. *snom* (https://dil.ie/38180, accessed 23 November 2023).

[237] Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 326, 382–4 and Fergus Kelly (ed. and trans.), 'The Old Irish Tree-List', *Celtica* 11 (1976), 107–24, at 113.

[238] Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 386.

[239] Prof. Ó hUiginn suggests to me another way of reading this line, with a verb **fris-sil* 'flows, pours' (see *silid* 'drips, weeps') used here with reference to the sap of a tree 'weeping', or dripping from the bark, in fine weather. The line would then translate 'The bark of the elm separates and weeps' (taking *dedlaid* as intransitive). Though an interesting and plausible interpretation, this verb is unattested, so I have kept Hull's translation.

[240] Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 23.

[241] Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Four Old-Irish Songs*, 26.

[242] *eDIL* s.v. *dlongid* (https://dil.ie/17061, accessed 10 November 2023).

[243] *eDIL* s.v. **fris-slig* (https://dil.ie/24386, accessed 10 November 2023).

He also prefers the reading *snom* 'bark', and sees this line as a reference to the cutting of wood in preparation for winter, although he admits he is not quite satisfied with the translation of the line.[244] Greene and O'Connor emend the end of the line to *sín sal* 'bad weather'.

7*c*. I have taken 'dáilit' as from *dáilid*, but it may also be a form of *dálaid* 'makes a tryst', which shows influence of *dáilid*.[245] However, since the mating season of deer (rut) happens in the autumn, I have preferred the metaphorical meaning from *dáilid* 'spreads out'.[246]

7*d*. Carney has emended *forbrit* to *for-berat* (<*for-beir* 'grows, increases'). I agree with that interpretation although I have not emended the text, as this changes the syllable count to 7^1. I take *forbrit* as a univerbated form, as no other reading suggests itself to me. I am aware of another instance of this form in *Cath Maige Rath*: 'forbrit tar a fabradaib', and O'Donovan takes it as third plural of *for-beir* as well.[247] Ravens usually breed quite early in the year, so this might be a way to underline that summer is here now, as the *dúnad* repeats in the second part of the line.

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[244] Carney, 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', 52.

[245] *eDIL* s.v. *dálaid* (https://dil.ie/14357, accessed 11 June 2024).

[246] *eDIL* s.v. *dáilid* I(b) (https://dil.ie/14201, accessed 11 June 2024).

[247] John O'Donovan (ed. and trans.), *The Banquet of Dun na n-Gedh and the Battle of Magh Rath* (Dublin, 1842), 186, l. 3.

ST MÁEDÓC OF FERNS AND THE FIFTY BISHOPS OF ST DAVIDS: AN ANECDOTE FROM THE BOOK OF LEINSTER[1]

Abstract

An edition, translation and discussion of a humorous anecdote from the Book of Leinster, with reference also to a shorter version preserved in the commentary to *Félire Óengusso*. The anecdote concerns a group of British bishops from St Davids who visit St Máedóc at Ferns and insist on eating meat during Lent. An ingenious scriptural justification for this breach of discipline is offered. Besides the anecdote, other traditions regarding the controversial place of meat at St Davids are also discussed here.

Coīca epscop do-deochatar dochum M'Ōedōc Ḟerna do Bretnaib Cille Muine is a short humorous anecdote preserved in a section of the Book of Leinster that contains other anecdotes about saints and clerics, some of them serious, some irreverent. Briefly, *Coīca epscop* – as it will be called from here on – tells how a group of British bishops from St Davids come to visit St Máedóc at Ferns.[2] The story takes place during Lent, and naturally the visitors are served the usual Lenten fare of bread, leeks and whey-water. Surprisingly, they refuse these and demand instead the meat of a pig and an ox. Máedóc allows this breach of discipline but the next morning he demands to know why the British bishops insisted on breaking the rules. Their leader explains that they were following Scripture: since rearing pigs and oxen requires very little labour, these can be eaten without guilt, but bread demands a huge amount of labour to produce it and therefore they would have sinned if they had eaten it without working for it first. The visitors then clear a woodland north of Ferns. Only then do they eat bread that – it is implied – was baked from corn grown on that clearing. The moral of the story is given at the end: no-one is to eat without labouring for their meal, either through physical toil or prayer.

That this story offers tongue-in-cheek humour goes almost without saying. The eating of meat during Lent was not acceptable, whatever scriptural passages were called on to suggest otherwise. The humour is in any case made clear early on: in an apparent historical aside, the text mentions a successor of Máedóc who one day came to St Davids and introduced meat into the community's vegetarian diet, for which good deed he gained great glory. In spite

[1]This article has benefited from commentary by Liam Breatnach and Ruairí Ó hUiginn and I am also grateful to the anonymous reader for numerous improvements. I retain responsibility for all errors.

[2]In Irish text I use the more accurate punctuation *M'Áedóc*, as the name is a hypocorism formed with the possessive *mo* (*m'*), but in English *Máedóc* is so well-established that I prefer to use it.

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of the ironical treatment, it is possible that the moral lesson is seriously meant and that the humour was intended as a teaching tool.[3]

In this article I edit and translate the anecdote from the Book of Leinster, drawing also on a shorter version of the same anecdote that is preserved in some witnesses to the commentary to *Félire Óengusso*. I then discuss its significance together with some other medieval sources that mention the place of meat at St Davids.

1. Edition

Manuscripts

There are five manuscripts that contain versions of the anecdote:

1. Dublin, TCD MS H. 2. 18 (1339), the Book of Leinster, p. 285, column b, ll. 6–44 [BL]

   Written around the middle of the twelfth century. Some of the text is quite faded and hard or impossible to read, especially at the ends of lines. There is a diplomatic edition in *LL* v, ll. 36874–903. Both *LL* and the older facsimile made by Seosamh Ó Longáin offer some readings where the manuscript is now illegible,[4] but some uncertainties remain. The Book of Leinster copy will be referred to from now on as BL, reserving *LL* for the printed diplomatic edition.

2. Dublin, RIA 23 P 16 (1230), Leabhar Breac, p. 80, ll. 64–73 [LB]

   Copied by Murchadh Ó Cuindlis, 1408–11.[5] The text occurs here within the commentary to *Félire Óengusso* for January 31, St Máedóc's feast-day. The anecdote begins two lines below the main text of the *Félire*, following a note on St Sebastian. It was published in Whitley Stokes's 1880 edition of the *Félire*.[6] There is a facsimile of the manuscript by Ó Longáin but the manuscript is quite legible and so it is not necessary to cite this.[7]

3. Dublin, UCD OFM A 7, fol. 8r, column b, ll. 7–25 [F]

   Written by *Rūaidhrī Hūa Luinīn* for Cathal Mac Magnusa Meguidhir who died in 1498 (*AU* s.a.).[8] A copy of *Félire Óengusso* with commentary. The

[3] On the balance between humour and teaching in other anecdotes in this part of the manuscript, see Elizabeth Boyle, 'Lay morality, clerical immorality, and pilgrimage in tenth-century Ireland: *Cethrur macclérech* and *Epscop do Gáedelaib*', *Studia Hibernica* 39 (2013), 9–48; eadem, *History and Salvation in Medieval Ireland* (London and New York, 2021), 106–7.

[4] The facsimile is reproduced in Robert Atkinson (ed.), *The Book of Leinster Sometime Called the Book of Glendalough …* (Dublin, 1880).

[5] Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe of the Leabhar Breac', *Ériu* 24 (1973), 64–79.

[6] Whitley Stokes (ed.), *On the Calendar of Oengus*, Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Irish Manuscript Series 1/1 (Dublin, 1880), xxxix–xl (text in column a, translation in column b).

[7] [Royal Irish Academy], *Leabhar Breac: The Speckled Book …* (Dublin, 1872–6).

[8] Myles Dillon, Canice Mooney and Pádraig de Brún, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Franciscan Library Killiney* (Dublin, 1969), 14–16. On the Ó Luinín learned family and their service to the Maguires of Fermanagh, see Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988),

anecdote follows a short poem on *Mag Ferna* and Máedóc, and is followed by a note on Bríg, another saint whose feast is on 31 January.

4. Oxford, Bodley Rawlinson B. 512, fol. 57r, column b, ll. 17–37 [R^2]

   A composite manuscript, the relevant part copied by Conchubhar Ó Maolchonaire, 1500.[9] This text is again in a copy of the commentary to *Félire Óengusso*, and follows the note on St Sebastian as in LB. It was published in Whitley Stokes's 1905 edition of the *Félire*.[10]

5. Dublin, NLI G10, p. 27 [C]

   Also a composite manuscript, the second part being a copy of *Félire Óengusso* and its commentary. Scribe unknown, sixteenth century.[11] The surviving text of the anecdote begins at the top of a recto, but there is a lacuna in front of it so that only about half the text survives. It is followed by Máedóc's genealogy.

For the copies in the *Félire* commentary, it seems simplest to retain Stokes's sigla: LB for Leabhar Breac, F for the UCD Franciscan manuscript, R^2 for Rawlinson B. 512, and C for NLI G10, which was in Cheltenham when Stokes saw it. All of these manuscripts are digitally reproduced on www.isos.dias.ie except for R^2, which is reproduced on https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk. All of the digital images were checked on 29 August 2023. The anecdote is not in the remaining copies of the *Félire* commentary (Stokes's R^1, L, P, B, and also B^2, that is, Brussels 5057–9).[12] I did not check C^2 (NLI G169) as this is merely a nineteenth-century transcript of C.

Transcripts of the two versions

Below are given transcripts of BL and of the oldest surviving copy of the *Félire* commentary version from LB, with variants against LB from the other witnesses. The following conventions apply. Completely illegible letters are represented by angle-brackets < >, but if the published facsimiles include letters that cannot now be read, these are offered in curly brackets { }. Standard abbreviations are expanded with italics, but suspension marks are expanded with underlining. Bold stands for coloured letters. Punctuation follows the manuscripts except that proper nouns are capitalized and word division, apostrophes and hyphenation have been imposed. Line numbers are given between square brackets at intervals of five lines.

260 and Katharine Simms, 'Charles Lynegar, the Ó Luinín family and the study of *Seanchas*', in Toby Barnard, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Katharine Simms (eds), *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning. Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan* (Aldershot, 1998), 266–83.

[9] Brian Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford College Libraries*, part 1: *Descriptions* (Dublin, 2001), 233.

[10] Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (London, 1905), 54 (text), 55 (translation).

[11] Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland*, fasc. 1: *Mss G1–G14*, Studies in Irish Manuscripts (Dublin, 1967), 60–2.

[12] I am grateful for the assistance of Dr Nike Stam with R^1 (Oxford, Bodley Rawlinson B. 505).

BL: Book of Leinster, p. 285, col. b, ll. 6–44

[285b6] **Co**ica epscop do-deoc*h*at*ar* doc*h*u*m* M'Oedoc F*h*erna do Bretnaib Cille Muine. i*n*a n-ailit*h*re do-deoc*h*at*ar*. ar ropo dalta i*n*t í M'Oedoc Ferna do Dauid Cille Muine. **O** amsir Dauid [285b10] ni rucad feoil i p*r*ai*n*tec*h* Cille Muine *co*nad ruca coma*r*ba M'Oedoc Ferna. IS do ro rat*h* < >suide dó f*r*i Dauid don c*h*oma*r*bu nod bera.[13] ⁊ anad {dano}[14] na *h*apdai*n*e Cille Muine nad c*h*omraicfet a c*h*ossa f*r*i talmai*n* céi*n* bes i mbethu. **T**ancata*r* {didiu in}d [285b15] ailithir co M'Ædoc. **R**uct*h*a i tec*h* n-oíged hi c{org}*us* erraig i*n* si*n*. **D**o-bret*h* dóib coica ba*r*gen do c*h*ruit*h*nec*h*t ⁊ luss ⁊ medgusce p*r*ai*n*ni cecha *h*aini. **C**id dia tucad so ol int epscop uasal. **D**ia t*h*omailt duib-si ol i*n* ferthigis. **B**er latt dorísi ol i*n*t epscop. [285b20] **M**o c*h*obais ni cait*h*fider mír de sund. co rraib mucc ⁊ ag and. **IS** *ed* so ol i*n* fert*h*igess. **C**et cet ol M'Édóc. **D**enta*r* dóib. do-gnither o{n.} berai*r* dóib. do-gnither ón. **B**erai*r* dóib. **IS** maith ón orse. **B**er-siu lat a n-arbor ⁊ facaib i*n* feoil. [285b25] Do-melat iarum. bít and co a*r*naba*r*ac*h*. **B**ennac*h*aid M'Oedóc dóib. maith or M'Edóc. cid a n-i drosaid ni a*r* fa*r* cursac*h*ad i*n*d f*h*éoil do t*h*omailt duib issi*n* chorg*us* ⁊ i*n*t a*r*án cen it*h*i. IN assi{*n*}d legu*n*d tucais si*n* a M'Oedóic ol i*n*t epscop. **M**ait*h* ol M'Ædóc. [285b30] ni ansa ám ol i*n*t epscop. **IN** mucc thucad dún a{reir} ass a *m*matha*r* at-ib *co n*dúaib i*n* talman. Nirbo {ecen} ia*r* si*n* *acht* a comét a*r* c*h*onaib ⁊ gataigib. IS{*s ed*} a cétna ro sæt*h*raiged f*r*isi*n* n-ag. **N**i col didiu a thomailt a*r* laiget a sæt*h*ai*r*. **IN** ba*r*gen immorro ruca{d} [285b35] i*m*mac*h*. **C**óic f*h*uropre a*r* t*r*i fic*h*tib a*r* t*r*í cétaib {f*or*}si*n*d oenba*r*gi*n* .i. in lín lá bís issin bliadain. is*s ed* a llin {f*h*u}ropra bís f*or*in ba*r*gi*n*, ⁊ do-t*h*ét a ll< > la cec*h* < >. **A** soet*h*a*r* mór-si*n* iarum da*r* t*h*'orddan-so, noc*h*o tom{el} ón corop sæt*h*a*r* mo da lam-sa do-rromiul-sa [285b40] iar sæt*h*rugud assa t*h*almain. **B**a fír són ní doid ba*r*gi*n* i nHeri. ***con***id siat ro selaig i*n* ceppaig < > Ferna Moir atúaid. ***Con***id si*n* ba*r*gen ceta-dóid i *n*Herind. ***Con***nach i*n*cha*t*h*m*i do neoc*h* ní cen s*h*æt*h*a*r* lubra *no* ernaigthi.

LB: Leabhar Breac, p. 80, ll. 64–73, with variants

[80.64] **.L.** espoc do-dechutar doc*h*um[i] M'Oedóc Ferna do Bretnaib Chille Mui*n*e. i*n*a oilithre[ii] do-dechutar. ar ba dalta [80.65] i*n*[iii] M'Oedoc Ferna do Dauid C*h*ille Mui*n*e.[iv] **O** amsir Dauid ni ruct*h*a feóil i proin*n*tech Cille Mui*n*e.[v] *conus* ruc comorba M'Oedoc Ferna[vi] is dorath ⁊ coms*h*uide do f*r*ia Dauid don c*h*omorba[vii] not bera[viii] ⁊ ana dó[ix] isin proin*n*tig .i. i*n* abdai*n*e C*h*ille Mui*n*e nat[x] cómraicfed a cossa f*r*ia lár i céin bess[xi] i *m*bethu. tancuta*r* didiu i *n*-ailit*h*re co M'Oedóc. **R**uct*h*a i teach n-óeiged i corg*us* erraig. do-breath doib .l. bai*r*gen ⁊ luss ⁊ meadgusce p*r*ai*n*de. **C**id dia tucad so[xii] ol in espuic.[xiii] dia thomeilt dúib-se ol in fert*h*igis. ber lat iterum ol in espuic.[xiv] ni cait*h*fither ní de sund[xv] co raib mucc oc*us* ag*h* and. IS ed ol in ferthigis.[xvi] **C**ead[xvii] ol M'Oedóc. berair dóib. is maith olse do-melut i*n* f*h*eoil. bít an*n* co [80.70]

[13]Facs has a length mark over this word, but *LL* does not. The digital image is not clear.
[14]Facs *dō*. Cannot be read at all now.

araba*r*ach. bendachaid[xviii] M'Oedóc dóib. **M**aith ol M'Oedóc ni furail ba*r* cursac*h*ud isi*n*[xix] feoil da t*h*omailt dúib[xx] isi*n* chorg*us* ⁊ i *n*-arán[xxi] do obad[xxii] **N**i hassin légiund tucais sin a M'Oedóc ol in espuic.[xxiii] Maith ol M'Óeóc. ni ansa ol in espuic.[xxiv] Ass a mathar at-ib[xxv] i*n* mucc ⁊ i*n* n-ag*h* tucad dunn ⁊ nocha duaid *acht* fér i*n* talman[xxvi] .u. oirbe[xxvii] a*r* t*r*i .xxib a*r* .ccc. atá[xxviii] icon bairgen ⁊[xxix] is aire[xxx] naro chaitsium.

i. **doc*h*um**: co R^2.
ii. **ina oilithre**: dia n-ailithri R^2.
iii. **i*n***: *not in FR*^{2}.
iv. and v. **Mui*n*e**: *Not in* R^2.
vi. **Ferna** *not in FR*^{2}.
vii. **is dorath ⁊ coms*h*uide do f*r*ia Dauid don c*h*omorba**: IS dorat*h* ⁊ coms*h*uide do f*r*i Dauit*h* ⁊ do*n* coma*r*ba *F*, ⁊ is dó do rat*h* ⁊ co*m*suide do Dauid frisi*n* co*m*orba R^2.
viii. **not bera**: nos berai R^2.
ix. **ana dó**: ana do *F*, anad do R^2.
x. **nat**: ⁊ nad R^2.
xi. **i céin bess**: ai*r*et no bet*h*i R^2.
xii. **so**: inn so R^2.
xiii. and xiv. **in espuic**: i*n*t epscop R^2.
xv. **ní de sund**: ni de R^2, *surviving part of C starts here*.
xvi. **IS ed ol in ferthigis**: IS *ed* ol Mæd*h*oic. Co cæt ol in fe*r*tig*h*is *F*, In*n*isid i*n* ferthaigis R^2.
xvii. **Cead**: Is cet *F*.
xviii. **bendachaid**: Ben*n*aig*h*is *F*, Ben*n*aigis R^2, ben*n*aige *C*.
xix. **isi*n* feoil**: in*n* .i. i*n* feoil R^2.
xx. **dúib**: *not in* R^2.
xxi. **i *n*-arán**: i*n*t ar*á*n R^2, aran *F*.
xxii. **do obad**: *not in* R^2, dobad*h* *F*, dobad *C*.
xxiii. and xxiv. **in espuic**: i*n*t epscop R^2, i*n*t espoc *C*.
xxv. **at-ib**: do ib*h* *F*.
xxvi. **⁊ i*n* n-ag*h* tucad dunn ⁊ nocha duaid *acht* fér i*n* talman**: ⁊ in ag*h* tucad*h* dui*n* ⁊ ni d*h*uadu*r* *acht* fer ⁊ uisqu*i* in talman *F*, ⁊ i*n*t ag*h* tuccad du*n* noc*h*a duaid *acht* fér in*n* talma*n* R^2, ⁊ int ag tucad duin*n* areir *noco* duaig. i*n* talum *C*.
xxvii. **oirbe**: uroip*r*i *F*, uroibri R^2C.
xxviiii. **atá**: *not in* R^2.
xxix. **⁊**: *not in* FR^2C.
xxx. **aire**: uime *C*.

Relationship of the manuscripts

BL is significantly longer and fuller than the version in the *Félire* commentary manuscripts. The latter all represent a single version, as can be seen from the

relatively trivial nature of the variants listed above. It is not practical to discuss the possible relations of LB, F, R^2 and C in isolation from the rest of the commentary, but it can be seen that R^2 is slightly innovative compared with the others, though in one or two places it preserves readings found in BL and lost elsewhere (see below).[15] Pádraig Ó Riain has argued that this anecdote was included in the *Félire* commentary by the original compiler of the commentary, who he believes was working in Armagh in the late twelfth century, and who, in Ó Riain's view, drew on texts closely related to the Book of Leinster for several such anecdotes. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the anecdote occurs only in one of the two branches in Ó Riain's stemma, a branch that he attributes to a reworking of the Armagh commentary done in the Midlands, perhaps at Clonmacnoise or Seirkieran.[16] The question will have to remain open here.

Both BL and the *Félire* commentary version agree almost completely until the British bishops begin to explain their behaviour to St Máedóc (l. 17, beginning *In mucc …* in the edited text below). At this point the *Félire* commentary version gives a much more concise account of the conversation, and it stops altogether before reaching the bishops' vow not to eat bread in Ireland until they have grown their own corn. Indeed, the *Félire* commentary version is so concise here that the point behind the bishops' odd behaviour is barely comprehensible. This contrasts with the coherent account in BL, which ends with the (alleged) moral of the story. For this reason, it is safe to assume that BL represents an older version, which was curtailed when it entered the *Félire* commentary. It is possible, however, that the *Félire* commentary version preserves words lost from BL in one place (*isin proinntig*, see l. 5n. below).

Title

None in the manuscripts. The text will be referred to here as '*Coīca epscop*'.

Edited text

This is a critical text, based on the Book of Leinster, but with a very few emendations and readings adopted from the *Félire* commentary version where BL cannot be read or seems to be faulty. These editorial interventions are marked with square brackets.

Coīca epscop

Coīca epscop do-deochatar dochum M'Ōedōc Ḟerna do Bretnaib Cille Muine. Ina n-ailithre do-deochatar, ar ropo dalta int í M'Ōedōc Ferna do Dauīd Cille Muine. Ō amsir Dauīd nī rucad fēoil i praintech Cille Muine conad
4 ruca comarba M'Ōedōc Ferna. Is dō ro rath [ꝛ com]suide dó fri Dauīd, don

[15] Recent discussions of the commentary manuscripts are Pádraig Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies*, Subsidia Hagiographica 86 (Brussels, 2006), 173–203 and Nike Stam, *A Typology of Code-Switching in the Commentary to the* Félire Óengusso (Utrecht, 2017), 99–153.

[16] Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints*, 182 (stemma), 192–3 (on the compiler's access to texts close to the Book of Leinster), and 200–2 (on a possible Midlands stage in transmission).

chomarbu nod bera, ⁊ anad danó 'na hapdaine Cille Muine, nād chomraicfet a chossa fri talmain céin bes i mbethu.

Tāncatar didiu ind ailithir co M'Āedōc. Ructha i tech n-oíged hi corgus erraig in sin. Do-breth dóib coīca bargen do chruithnecht ⁊ luss ⁊ medgusce prainni cecha haīni. 'Cid dīa tucad sō?', ol int epscop ūasal. 'Dīa thomailt dūibsi', ol in ferthigis. 'Ber latt dorísi', ol int epscop. 'Mo chobais, nī caithfider mír de sund co rraib mucc ⁊ ag and!' 'Is ed sō', ol in ferthigess. 'Cet, cet', ol M'Áedóc, dēntar dóib.' Do-gnīther ōn, berair dóib. 'Is maith ón', or sē. 'Ber-siu lat a n-arbor ⁊ fācaib in fēoil.' Do-melat īarum. Bít and co arnabārach.

Bennachaid M'Ōedóc dóib. 'Maith', or M'Ēdóc. 'Cid a n-ī d[o]-rosaid? Nī ar far cūrsachad ind ḟéoil do thomailt dūib issin chorgus ⁊ int arán cen ithi.' 'In assind Lēgund tucais sin, a M'Ōedóic?', ol int epscop. 'Maith', ol M'Āedóc. 'Nī ansa ám', ol int epscop. 'In mucc thucad dún arēir, ass a mmāthar at-ib co ndúaib in talman. Nīrbo ēcen īar sin acht a comét ar chonaib ⁊ gataigib. Is ed a cétna ro sāethraiged frisin n-ag. Nī col didiu a thomailt ar laiget a sāethair. In bargen immorro rucad immach, cóic ḟuropre ar trī fichtib ar trí cétaib forsind ōenbargin, .i. in lín lá bís issin blīadain, iss ed a llīn ḟuropra bís forin bargin, ⁊ do-tháet a ll[ín] la cech [n-óen]. A sōethar mór-sin īarum, dar th'orddan-so, nocho tomēl ón corop sāethar mo dā lām-sa do-rromiul-sa īar sāethrugud assa thalmain.'

Ba fír són. Ní dōid bargin i nHēri conid siat ro selaig in ceppaig [fri] Ferna Mōir atúaid. Conid sin bargen ceta-dóid i nHērind. Connach inchathmi do neoch ní cen ṡāethar lubra nō ernaigthi.

Translation

Fifty bishops of the Britons of St Davids came to Máedóc of Ferns. They came for their retirement, for that same Máedóc of Ferns had been a pupil of David of St Davids. From David's time meat was not brought into the refectory of St Davids until the successor of Máedóc of Ferns brought it. It is to him, the successor who may bring it, that was granted both a seat equal to David's, and to remain furthermore in the abbacy of St Davids, in which his feet will not touch the ground as long as he is alive.

Thus, the pilgrims came to Máedóc. Those men were taken into the guest-house during Lent. Fifty loaves of wheat and leeks and whey with water [suitable for] the main meal of every fast-day were brought for them. 'Why has this been brought?', asked the superior bishop. 'For you to eat', said the steward. 'Take it back', said the bishop. 'I vow, not a morsel of this will be eaten until there are a pig and an ox there.' 'That's how it is', said the steward. 'Alright, alright', said Máedóc, 'let it be done for them.' It is done, it is brought for them. 'That's fine', said he [the bishop]. 'Take the bread away and leave the meat.' They eat then. They remain there till the next day.

Máedóc greets them. 'Right', said Máedóc, 'what is it that you might be after? It is not in order to be reproached that you ate the meat during Lent and did not eat the bread.' 'Did you get that from Scripture, Máedóc?', asked the bishop. 'Indeed', said Máedóc. 'It's easily explained', said the bishop. 'The pig that was brought to us last night consumed the milk of its mother along

with what was due from the earth. After that, there was no need to do anything except keep it safe from dogs and thieves. The labour expended on the ox was the same. It was no sin to eat it, then, because the labour for it was so light. But as to the loaf that was brought out, there are three hundred and sixty-five stints of additional labour needed for a single loaf, that is, the number of days in the year is the number of stints of additional labour that a loaf demands, and with every one comes its number [of stints]. By your honour, I will not eat such a huge labour as that until I can eat the labour of my own hands after having toiled on its soil.'

And that transpired. He did not eat a single loaf in Ireland until they had felled the clearing north of Ferns. And that was the first loaf that he ate in Ireland. And so, nothing is to be eaten by anyone without the exertion of labour or of prayer.

Notes

1. M'Ōedōc Ḟerna: the diphthong in the name is variously spelled in BL: *oe*, *æ* and once even *e*. It is not declined except once, where the vocative *M'Ōedóic* appears (l. 16). See *GOI* §271 for the formation of ecclesiastics' names in *-óc* and their vocative forms. Even though the name does not show a distinctive genitive inflection, *Ḟerna* is still lenited after it as would be expected after a regular *o*-stem gen. sg.

1. Cille Muine: written out in full in BL here, but abbreviated after this. *Cell Muini* was the usual Irish name for St Davids: for example, *Félire Óengusso* under 1 March has '*Dauid Cille Muni*' (rhyming with *ngudi*), see Stokes, *Félire Óengusso*, 80, stanza 1, l. 4. See further Pádraig Ó Riain et al. (eds), *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames*, iv (London, 2011), s.n. *Ceall Mhuine* (2). The matching name in medieval Welsh was *Mynyw*, which unlike Ir *muine* 'thicket, briar patch' is not attested in use as a common noun.

2. int í M'Ōedōc Ferna: *LL* has *Ḟerna* but I cannot see a dot in the digital image and it is not in the facsimile. Lenition would not be expected after the nom. sg.

3–6. Ō amsir Dauīd … i mbethu: the first part of the anecdote is made initially difficult to follow through the insertion of this historical aside, whose events do not come to pass until well after the events of the anecdote proper. Since the account refers to a successor of Máedóc, it can hardly have been fulfilled in Máedóc's lifetime. Everything between these words must be taken therefore as a digression.

3. conad: MS *ɔnad*, *LL connad*. This seems to be for OIr *conid*, *co*^{N} + 3 sg. neut. class C, although *féoil* is fem. A similar confusion of gender is seen in *nod bera* below. The *Félire* commentary version has *conus* with typical MIr generalization of *-s* as an infixed pronoun of the 3 sg.

4. ruca: apparently 3 sg. pres. subj., contrasting with past *ruc* in the *Félire* commentary version, but we might expect a past indicative here as the verb in the main clause is in the past. Just possibly, therefore, this is an instance of the rare MIr preterite ending *-a*, see Kim McCone, *The Early Irish Verb*, second ed. (Maynooth, 1997), 236; *SnaG* III.12.32; cf. 3 sg. perf. *ro-da-ucai* in *Ml*. 46a19.

4. [ꝛ com]suide: the first three letters of *…suide* cannot be read at all in BL and were not transcribed in the facsimile. It is not even possible to determine how many letters were once there. *com-* would fit the space, however, and is the reading of LB, R^2 and F (C is lacking here). These also have ꝛ before *com-*, and with the eye of faith it is possible to see a trace of a long descender in the right place in BL, so I adopt ꝛ *comsuide* here. The meaning is uncertain; I have translated it as 'a seat equal to David's', implying 'equal status with David'. It might also mean 'a seat alongside David', but the arrival of the *comarba* of Máedóc seems to be envisaged long after David's lifetime. The interpretation is discussed further below, 172–5.

5. nod bera: again, class C 3 sg. neut. where in strict OIr the fem. would be used. Cf. LB and F *not bera*, where *not* is probably a variant of *nod*, while R^2 *nos berai* shows another form being generalized in the 3 sg.

The present subjunctive, rather than the past, is unexpected after *ro rath*, although the phrase *don chomarbu nod bera* is only loosely connected to the main clause, but cf. also *chomraicfet* below, which is future where conditional might be expected. It is possible that *bera* is future *béra* too, see footnote 13 above.

5. anad danó: the second word is very uncertain. It is at the end of a line and very faded. There are perhaps two letters. The facsimile reads *dō*, with what appears to be a suspension mark and not a length mark. This would stand for *danó/donó*, which gives good sense here. If the facsimile is correct, the *d* must be the straight-backed variety, which we do find several times in this text, e.g. in *bennachaid* (below). The second letter is bowl-shaped and could be *o* or the compendium ɔ. I cannot see the mark above.

The difficulty is that LB has *dó* with a length mark and not a suspension, while R^2 and F have *do*, which should also stand for *dó*, not *danó*. The reading *dó* would also give sense here, giving the agent of the verbal noun *anad*. On the other hand, it would be easy for *dō* to become *dó* in transmission. I follow the facsimile of BL here.

5. 'na hapdaine Cille Muine: *a* is proleptic, referring to *Cille Muine*. Cf. *Wb*. 28c25 *ni pi cian a masse in choirp* 'the beauty of the body is not long lasting' (lit. 'its beauty of the body'). The *h-* is written as a spiritus asper above and presumably here has a phonetic value, marking the *h-* that regularly attaches to initial vowels after the 3 sg. fem. possessive. The *Félire* commentary version (LBR^2F) lacks the possessive. Furthermore, LBR^2F all read here *isin proinntig, .i. i* n-*abdaine* (the LB spelling is cited). This specification that the *comarba*

was to remain in the refectory, and that this symbolized his taking the headship of St Davids, may be a rare instance in which the *Félire* commentary version preserves an older reading, shortened in BL. Alternatively, *isin proinntig* may be an addition in the *Félire* commentary version, made on the understanding that *comsuide* refers intially to seating arrangements in the refectory, and then secondarily to the succession to David.

5. nād chomraicfet: only R^2 supplies 7 before this clause; it is definitely not in BL, which is quite legible here. The reading without 7 is rather difficult to construe, but one possibility is a locative relative clause, for which see Liam Breatnach, 'Some remarks on the relative in Old Irish', *Ériu* 31 (1980), 1–9, and Ruairí Ó hUiginn, 'A note on relative marking in Irish', in Pamela O'Neill (ed.), *The Land Beneath the Sea: Essays in Honour of Anders Ahlqvist's Contribution to Celtic Studies in Australia*, Sydney Series in Celtic Studies 14 (Sydney, 2013), 163–9. The lenition *ch-* shows Middle Irish retreat of the nasalizing relative clause. The future tense is also peculiar where the conditional might have been expected. Both LB and R^2 have *-ed*, as if for a 3 sg. conditional (it is unlikely that this a later spelling for 3 pl. future), and this is even clearer in F, which has *-ed*h, in spite of the plural subject.

Liam Breatnach points out to me that there is evidence for a transitive verb *con-ruici* 'causes to come together', which was confused with *con-ricc*: the best example is in O'Davoren's glossary and is cited to explain a very similar phrase in *Scéla Mośauluim* in Máirín O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, ITS 50 (London, 1975), 134 n. 567: *ar is baeth nech conid fri robaeth ruici* 'for anyone who consorts with a very foolish person is foolish'; cf. Whitley Stokes (ed.), 'O'Davoren's glossary', *ACL* 2 (1904), 197–504, at §1337. If this verb were understood here, it might be possible to adopt the 3 sg. *-ed* from the *Félire* commentary versions and translate: 'who would not allow his feet to touch the ground (?i.e., go barefoot)'. The conditional tense would suit this interpretation. However, it is difficult to see how the meaning would fit the context, which is apparently a list of privileges acquired by the Ferns cleric (and perhaps his successors) rather than choices made by him. More likely this is some kind of miraculous levitation that symbolized his separation from earthly bonds.

7. didiu ind: only the final *-d* is now legible. I follow the facsimile. The *Félire* commentary versions all have *didiu i n-ailithre*, minor orthographic variants apart.

7. hi corgus: faded; *-org-* is now hard to confirm but is in the facsimile (and the *Félire* commentary version).

8. in sin: i.e. the British bishops. For the demonstrative referring to animates, see Liam Breatnach, 'The demonstrative pronouns in Old and Middle Irish', in Elliott Lash, Fangzhe Qiu and David Stifter (eds), *Morphosyntactic Variation in Medieval Celtic Languages: Corpus-Based Approaches* (Berlin, 2020), 115–41, at 131–5.

9. int epscop úasal: this seems to refer to a bishop of higher authority than the others. For the use of *úasal* in the ranking of bishops, see Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth, 1999), 162, 165. The *Félire* commentary version lacks *úasal*. Furthermore, there is apparently confusion between singular and plural among the various manuscripts. The noun itself is always abbreviated, so we have to follow the forms of the article before it. R^2 and C have *int* here and subsequently, and thus refer to one bishop, whereas LB and F have *in*, which appears to be pl. (being a MIr simplification of *ind*, see *SnaG* III.7.7); we would expect *int* before the sg. form, so it would seem that *eps-* and *esp-* must be expanded as pl. in LB and F.

11. mucc ⁊ ag: the facsimile has a length mark above *ag* but I cannot see this in BL and the word is *ag* 'ox', not *ág*.

11. 'Is ed sō', ol in ferthigess: these words might be addressed either to the British bishop or to Máedóc. The latter is more likely since the saint responds to it, but I have tried to make the translation fit either case. The *Félire* commentary version is very similar but R^2 has *innisid in ferthaigis* 'the server informs [*sc.* Máedóc]', while F attributes these words to Máedóc and has an extra phrase in which the server apparently asks for permission to serve the meat.

12. Do-gnīther: there is a definite but unexplained dot above *d*, not reproduced in the facsimile. See next note.

12. Do-gnīther ōn, berair dóib: the BL scribe accidentally repeated these words. No dot over the second *do-gnīther*. Perhaps the earlier dot draws attention to the duplication, but it does not seem to be an erasure mark.

13. a n-arbor: *DIL* does not give the metonymic meaning 'bread' but it is required here.

14. cid a n-ī d[o]-rosaid: BL *cid anidrosaid*. This is the most difficult reading in the text but at least the MS is clear. I take the second part to be a form of *do-roich* 'attain, reach, aim for', 2 pl. pres. subj., and so I emend by adding [*o*]. The non-palatal *s* is a problem as the attested forms of 3 pl. are *-toirset*, *-torset*, and likewise in the past subj. 3 sg. *-toirsed*, etc. On the other hand, the non-palatal *s* here could have spread from the attested sg. forms: 1 sg. *-torus*, 2 sg. *-torais*, 3 sg. *-tora* could have influenced the 2 pl. here. See *DIL* s.v. *do-roich*. Another possibility, suggested to me by Ruairí Ó hUiginn, is to read *do-rósaid*, 2 pl. perf. of *do-fuissim* 'creates, begets', if its meaning can be extended somewhat to 'bring about': 'what is this thing that you have brought about?'

Even if the emendation to *do-rosaid* or *do-rósaid* is wrong, some phrase meaning 'What are you up to?' seems to be required to explain the next sentence, in which Máedóc perceives that there is some meaning to the Britons' behaviour, and wishes to know what it is. In the *Félire* commentary version

the phrase *cid a n-í d[o]-rosaid* is absent altogether and the next sentence was apparently altered to give a simpler sense, see the next note.

14–15. ní ar far cūrsachad: the *Félire* commentary version is *ni furail ba*r *cursac*h*ud* (LB) 'it is necessary to reproach you for it'. This, together with the absence of the preceding words, makes Máedóc's response much less sophisticated. Instead of seeing any hidden purpose behind the bishops' odd behaviour, he merely condemns it.

15–16. In assind Lēgund: the *Félire* commentary version has the negative *nī* here; confusion between *in* and *ni* is quite understandable. It is in fact not easy to derive a requirement to abstain from meat during Lent from the bible, even though the practice was practically universal. See Carl Frayne, 'On imitating the regimen of immortality or facing the diet of mortal reality: a brief history of abstinence from flesh-eating in Christianity', *Journal of Animal Ethics* 6.2 (2016), 188–212. A case can therefore be made for both readings, *in* and *nī*. In BL, the British bishop merely questions whether Máedóc can actually find scriptural justification for his demand, whereas in the *Félire* commentary version he denies the entire idea of a scriptural basis.

17. In mucc thucad: from this point on the *Félire* commentary version starts to become drastically shorter than BL.

17. arēir: *-eir* is no longer legible in BL, and the whole phrase is lacking from the *Félire* commentary version. I follow the facsimile of BL which reads *areir*. The date at which the form *aréir* becomes current is not clear from *eDIL* s.v. *irráir*. The alleged 9th-century example in *Thes* ii, 294.12 is interpreted as *a réir* 'according to (his) will' in Rudolf Thurneysen, *Old Irish Reader* (Dublin, 1949), 99. The examples from the Middle Irish tale *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* are recorded in Leabhar Breac *c*. 1400 and so cannot be used to trace the form any earlier. If this passage in BL was already damaged in Ó Longáin's time, then perhaps the reading was *arair* vel sim., but his facsimile is our only guide.

17–18. co ndúaib in talman: *DIL* lists this example under *dú* in the sense 'appurtenances, products', deriving from the commoner use of the word to mean 'what is due'. There is no close parallel for the plural form, however, though the sg. appears in *doberar dam co tinniu dóib cona dú di chormaim* 'with its due (i.e. corresponding amount) of ale', see Whitley Stokes and Ernst Windisch (eds), *Irische Texte*, ii.2 (Leipzig, 1887), 209 [= *Táin Bó Flidais*].

The *Félire* commentary version is rather different here. By this point it seems to be abbreviating. The sentence is recast as *Ass a mathar at-ib i*n *mucc* ⁊ *i*n *n-ag*h *tucad dunn* ⁊ *nocha duaid* acht *fér i*n *talman* (LB; R^2 and C lack the second ⁊, probably correctly, while F makes both animals subject (⁊ *ni d*h*uadu*r …]. The problem is that *dúaib* and *duaid* are remarkably similar readings and it is tempting to feel that one reading must derive from the other. *Dúaib* is the

lectio difficilior, but given that the pl. lacks good parallels, it would be possible to emend the BL text to *co ndúaid fér in talman* 'until it ate the grass of the earth', thus assuming that this part of the *Félire* commentary version is closer to the original than BL, even though the sentence as a whole has been rearranged in the various witnesses. As the act of eating food produced by the earth is implied, a form of the verb *ithid* (*duaid*) would not be out of place. The misreading of *-id* as *-ib* in BL could then be put down to a slip of the eye after the previous word, *at-ib*, or else to the occasional MIr confusion of lenited *d* and *b* (Liam Breatnach, 'Lebor na hUidre: some linguistic aspects', in Ruairí Ó hUiginn (ed.), *Lebor na hUidre*, Codices Hibernenses Eximii 1 (Dublin, 2015), 53–77, at 75–6). This would fit rather better with *íar sin* in the next sentence, which seems to look back to an expression of time in this one.

18. nīrbo ēcen: barely legible beyond *r*; *-bo* can just about be seen, but for *ēcen* I rely on the facsimile. This sentence is absent from the *Félire* commentary version.

20–1. ḟuropre … ḟuropra: *DIL* defines *foropair* as 'additional or extra labour', 'supererogatory labour'. All its examples are from contexts relating to ecclesiastical discipline. The bishop says that making bread – in which he evidently includes the whole process of growing grain from ploughing to processing – is a job that occupies every day of the year: it is an unceasing labour, in other words.

20–1. forsind ōenbairgin: after this, the *Félire* commentary version hastens to an end with the phrase ⁊ *is aire naro chaitsium* (LB) 'and that is why we did not eat it'. Only BL is now available.

21. a llīn ḟuropra: only *a ll-* and *-ropra* can now be read; I follow the facsimile.

22. do-tháet a ll[ín] la cech [n-óen]: the reading is not certain here. The facsimile marks one letter missing after *all-* whereas *LL* takes it to be abbreviated and expands it as *all*us 'sweat'. I tend to agree that there is a suspension stroke rather than a missing letter or letters, but the expansion is open to doubt. Though it makes reasonable sense in the context, since sweat arises from labour, nevertheless it is odd that the word *allus* should be abbreviated so ambiguously with a simple suspension stroke, especially as the scribe uses the *-us* compendium twice elsewhere in the passage in writing *corgus*. We might expect *all-* to stand for something that a reader would find easier to expand, and *a llīn* has already occurred in the same sentence. The words *la cech* are now quite hard to read but are confirmed by the facsimile. The following word, however, is at the end of the line and was already illegible to Ó Longáin. There is room for three or four letters, perhaps. A plausible reading would be *n-óen*, which fits the context very well. If this guess is correct, then the bishop is pointing out that not only does each loaf demand 365 stints of labour, but so therefore does each of the fifty loaves that were served. That is, even if only enough wheat were sown

for a single loaf, it would still take the same length of time to be grown and processed.

22. dar th'orddan-so: Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* (Dublin, 2000), 454–5 takes this to refer to the labour as 'greater than Máedóc's dignity', and then considers that Máedóc, not the British bishop, makes the vow not to eat bread (*nocha tomēl* …) and cuts down the assart north of Ferns. However, it seems simpler to take this phrase as no more than a standard oath, for which a close parallel exists in *tar t'ortan-su* 'by thy dignity', see Whitley Stokes (ed.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick with Other Documents Relating to that Saint* (London, 1887; reprinted Wiesbaden, 1965), 246.21. The British bishop's words run on, then, and include *nocha tomēl* etc., and it is the Britons who make the assart and eat their 'first loaf in Ireland'. The subject here cannot be Máedóc, a native Irishman who must have eaten thousands of Irish loaves by this point in his life.

23. tomēl: *-el* cannot now be read; I follow the facsimile.

23–4. assa thalmain: apparently the prep. *a* + poss. masc. or neut. But what does the poss. refer to if so? The only candidate seems to be *sāethar*. The prep. *a* may be taken in the sense of 'cause of an action, by, which, because or by reason of', *DIL* II(b). The literal sense of 'out of' might work too as a description of winning produce through labour out of the earth, but we might expect *īarna sāethrugud* in that case. Perhaps *assa* could be taken as the gen. of *ás* 'growth', which seems to have an optional gen. *ása* in EModIr, though *DIL* does not record early examples. MS *thalm-* would then need to be expanded as the gen. *thalman*, which is not a problem, and lenition after *u*-stem gen. sg. forms is found in MIr, see *SnaG* III.4.4. If so: 'after labouring for the increase of the earth'.

25–6. [fri] Ferna Mōir: *fri* cannot be seen at all and is not in the facsimile. However, it is at the end of a severely faded line, there is enough room for the usual abbreviation (*f* with superscript *i*), and it is needed for sense.

On the name *Ferna Mór* for Ferns, see Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin, 1910), in the revised version by Donnchadh Ó Corráin (https://www.dias.ie/celt/celt-publications-2/onomasticon-goedelicum), s.n. 16087.

Translation of the Félire *commentary version*

Whitley Stokes gave a translation of R^2 in *Félire Óengusso*, 55. He did not initially recognize *uroibri* 'additional stints of labour', instead guessing that it might mean 'weevils'. Stokes corrected his mistake in the corrigenda to the volume, but to avoid confusion it seems best to offer here a fresh translation of the *Félire* commentary version from LB.

Fifty bishops of the Britons of St Davids came to Máedóc of Ferns. They came for their retirement, for that Máedóc of Ferns was a pupil of David of St Davids.

From David's time meat was not brought into the refectory of St Davids until the successor of Máedóc of Ferns brought it. To him, the successor who brought it, was granted[17] both a seat equal to David's, and that he should remain in the refectory, that is, in the abbacy of St Davids, in which his feet would not touch the floor as long as he might be alive.

Thus, they came on pilgrimage to Máedóc. They were taken into the guest-house during Lent. Fifty loaves and leeks and whey with water [suitable for] a main meal were brought for them. 'Why has this been brought?', asked the bishops. 'For you to eat', said the steward. 'Take it away', said the bishops. 'Nothing of this will be eaten until there may be a pig and an ox there.' 'That's how it is', said the steward. 'Alright', said Máedóc. It is brought for them. 'That's fine', said he [?the bishop]. They eat the meat. They remain there till the next day.

Máedóc greets them. 'Right', said Máedóc, 'it is necessary to reproach you for eating meat during Lent and for refusing bread.' 'You did not get that from Scripture, Máedóc', said the bishops. 'Indeed', said Máedóc. 'It's easily explained', said the bishops. 'The pig drank the milk of its mother, and the ox that was brought for us ate nothing[18] save grass of the earth. But for the loaf there are three hundred and sixty-five stints of additional labour,[19] and that is why we did not eat it.'

2. Discussion

1. St Máedóc, St David and the question of eating meat

St Máedóc of Ferns, co. Wexford, is well known from four Latin Lives and two Irish Lives. In addition, he appears in the Lives of St David from Wales. All of these sources agree that he was a pupil of St David. The date of the oldest Latin Life of Máedóc is disputed, but the oldest Life of St David, that by Rhygyfarch, can be safely dated not later than 1099, when its author died.[20] Close and repeated contacts between Ferns and St Davids are demonstrated not only by the appearance of each saint in the Lives of the other but also by the fact that the unique copy of the oldest Latin Life of St Máedóc is preserved in a Welsh manuscript of the late twelfth century.[21]

St David was famous for his extreme asceticism and it is clear that the author of the anecdote knew of this aspect of David's persona and that it is crucial to

[17] Reading *is dó do rath* with R^2.

[18] Or: 'and it ate nothing' if LB's reading 7 is retained, see note to l. 17 above.

[19] Reading *uroipri* with FR^2C.

[20] For the hagiography of Máedóc, see Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin, 2011), 432–6. Ó Riain's view that all of the saint's Lives are late, beginning only in the later 12th century, should be contrasted with Charles Doherty, 'The transmission of the cult of St Máedhog', in Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission* (Dublin, 2002), 268–83. For Rhygyfarch's Life of David, see Richard Sharpe and John Reuben Davies (ed. and trans.), 'Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David', in J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan M. Wooding (eds), *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation* (Woodbridge, 2007), 107–55.

[21] London, BL Cotton Vespasian A.xiv; for discussion, see the works by Ó Riain and Doherty cited in n. 20.

the humour both in the historical aside about St Davids and in the rest of the anecdote. Rhygyfarch's Life describes David's harsh diet and explains that he was known as *aquilentus* – the 'waterman' – because he never drank anything else. He also, needless to say, did not eat meat, nor did his monks:

> Non diuersorum fercula saporum, non esculentiores pastus apponunt, sed pane et oleribus sale conditis pasti, ardentem sitim temperato potionis genere restingunt.
>
> 'They do not serve dishes of different flavours, nor richer types of food, but feeding on bread and herbs seasoned with salt, they quench their burning thirst with a temperate kind of drink.'[22]

In our text, the responsibility for introducing meat into the refectory of St Davids is attributed to an unnamed *comarba* of Máedóc, that is, an abbot or head of the church of Ferns. This anonymous hero is said to have been awarded a seat equal to that of David, or by another interpretation, a seat alongside David (*comsuide dó fri Dauid*). This either means that he inherited David's throne as bishop of St Davids, or that he was allotted a seat next to St David in heaven – possibly both. Secondly, he remained (*anad*) at St Davids and filled the office of abbot (i.e., bishop). It seems from this phrase that the *comarba* in question arrived as a mere visitor, not as an appointee to the bishopric, but that his audacity won him the office. Thirdly, his feet did not touch the ground as long as he lived: either he was carried everywhere by his acolytes or he hovered a few inches above the ground, this miracle bearing perpetual witness to his spiritual elevation above worldly things.

The idea that St Davids was a meatless foundation until some point in the fairly recent past is found also in the writings of Gerald of Wales. Gerald, however, blames one of the later bishops of St Davids, Morgenau, for the lapse into carnivorousness, and explains that he came to a suitably sticky end as a result. The story occurs in a list of the past bishops of the see incorporated into Gerald's *Itinerarium Kambriae*:

> Morgeneu qui primus inter episcopos Meneuiae carnes comedit, et ibidem a piratis interfectus est; unde et eadem nocte quam duxit extremam apparuit cuidam episcopo in Hibernia, ostendens uulnera sua et dicens, "Quia carnes comedi, caro factus sum".
>
> 'Morgeneu, who was the first Bishop of St David's to eat meat. He was murdered by pirates in his own city. On the very night when he was killed, he showed himself in a vision to a certain bishop in Ireland, pointed to his wounds and said: "Because I ate flesh, I am become flesh." '[23]

[22] Sharpe and Davies, 'Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David', 126–7, §24.

[23] Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, ii.1, ed. in J. F. Dimock (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8.6 (London, 1868), 104; Lewis Thorpe (trans.), *Gerald of Wales: The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales* (London, 1978), 163.

A date is supplied for this event by the Welsh annals, which state that Morgenau was killed by Scandinavian raiders in 999.[24] Gerald's anecdote appears only in the third version of his *Itinerarium*, datable *c*. 1214; in the previous versions, Morgenau's name is unannotated.[25] The eating, non-eating, and transgressive eating of meat were issues on which Gerald had views, as we see from other works.[26] His story of Morgenau is much later than any possible date for the Irish anecdote, yet it is striking that it has an Irish dimension: it was to a bishop in Ireland, not Wales, that Morgenau's ghost appeared. It cannot be ruled out that some genuine historical incident lay behind both Gerald's story and the Irish anecdote, and that an abbot of Ferns had indeed at some point become bishop of St Davids. We know little of the early bishops beyond their names, preserved in the annals and in Gerald's writings. *Morgenau* is a Welsh name but it means 'cub of the sea' and would be fitting for a foreigner, a *cú glas*.[27] Alternatively, the story might refer mischievously to some controversy over the diet of the clergy at Ferns itself. The depiction of the St Davids community rapturously welcoming the chance to eat meat does rather hint that this could be a sore issue for those clergy or monks who lived under a strict rule.

Illicit eating of meat appears as a bone of contention in the period of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland as well. Pope Alexander III in 1172 accused the Irish of eating meat during Lent.[28] In Jocelin of Furness's Life of St Patrick there appears a story in which Patrick yields to temptation and conceals some meat to eat in secret when nobody can see him, but he is warned by a vision not to do so. Patrick is contrite, but the angel Victor now appears to him and instructs him to place the meat in water, at which point it turns into fish, which it was permissible to eat. A passage found only in one manuscript of the Life, but probably part of Jocelin's original composition, accuses the Irish of using this miracle as an excuse to eat meat on St Patrick's day, 17 March, which always falls within Lent: according to this passage, 'very many of the Irish' were accustomed to immerse meat in water just as Patrick did, before removing it for cooking, and to call the pieces of meat 'Patrick's fishes'.[29] Jocelin

[24]Thomas Jones (ed. and trans.), *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of Hergest Version* (Cardiff, 1955), 18–19 (s.a. 999): *Ac y dipoplet Mynyw y gan y Kenedloed, ac y llas Morgeneu esgob y gantunt* 'And Menevia [St Davids] was pillaged by the Gentiles, and bishop Morgenau was slain by them.'

[25]See Huw Pryce, 'Gerald of Wales and the Welsh past', in Georgia Henley and A. Joseph McMullen (eds), *Gerald of Wales: New Perspectives on a Medieval Writer and Critic* (Cardiff, 2018), 19–45, at 35–6.

[26]Robert Bartlett, 'Gerald of Wales and the *History of Llanthony Priory*', in Henley and McMullen, *Gerald of Wales*, 81–96, at 90–1.

[27]On this status, see Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, 6.

[28]Maurice Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia Hibernica: Medieval Papal Chancery Documents Concerning Ireland, 640–1261*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1962–5), i, no. 6.

[29]The passage is printed in John Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga* (Louvain, 1647; reprinted Dublin, 1997), p. 66 (Chapter XXIII). See also Helen Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness: Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics* (Woodbridge, 2010), 161 n. 92, on the authenticity of the passage, and Marie Therese Flanagan, 'Jocelin of Furness and the cult of St Patrick in twelfth-century Ulster, in Clare Downham (ed.), *Jocelin of Furness: Proceedings of the 2011 Conference* (Donington, 2013), 45–66, at 61.

is scathing about this belief among the *populus stultus et insipiens* 'stupid and foolish people'.

2. The anecdote proper: Qui non laborat, non manducet.
There is a close thematic link between the historical aside and the anecdote proper, namely, a humorous justification for eating meat. This time, the humour lies in the creative reinterpretation of some very well-known passages of scripture. As indicated above in the notes, the forty-day penitential fast during the season of Lent does not rest on an explicit injunction in the bible. Lent does, of course, have a scriptural parallel in Christ's fasting in the wilderness, but there was no unequivocal demand in the gospels or elsewhere for a forty-day fast preceding Easter. Attitudes to eating meat are also not clear-cut. On the one hand, eating meat could be seen as a consequence of the Fall and was only permitted by God after the Flood (compare Genesis 1.29–30 with 9.2–3). On the other hand, passages such as Acts 10.13–16 and 1 Timothy 4.4 could be read as freeing Christians from all dietary prohibitions.[30] In other words, the British bishop, in asking whether Máedóc could find scriptural justification for his complaint, put his finger on a weak spot. He, on the other hand, could cite unequivocal scriptural authority for his own behaviour. This rested on two key passages. Firstly, Genesis 3.17–19:

> Adae vero dixit: Quia audisti vocem uxoris tuae, et comedisti de ligno, ex quo praeceperam tibi ne comederes, maledicta terra in opere tuo: in laboribus comedes ex ea cunctis diebus vitae tuae.
>
> Spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi, et comedes herbam terrae.
>
> In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane, donec revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es: quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris.
>
> 'And to Adam he said: "Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat, cursed is the earth in thy work; with labour and toil shalt thou eat thereof all the days of thy life. [18] Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herbs of the earth. [19] In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return to the earth, out of which thou wast taken: for dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt return." '

And secondly, II Thessalonians 3.10:

> Nam et cum essemus apud vos, hoc denuntiabamus vobis: quoniam si quis non vult operari, nec manducet.
>
> 'For also when we were with you, this we declared to you: that, if any man will not work, neither let him eat.'

[30] On this, see further Frayne, 'On imitating the regimen', 190–1, 193–4.

It is striking that this second passage is cited almost at the beginning of Rhygyfarch's account of the rule of St David, in the simplified form *Qui enim non laborat, ait apostolus, non manducet*. There, it is followed by a graphic account of the exertions of David's monks, who did all the agricultural work themselves without the help of servants or draught animals.[31] It is tempting to think that the author of the Irish anecdote had access to a form of Rhygyfarch's text, or an older document that may lie behind Rhygyfarch's account of David's monastic rule.[32] He certainly shows David's own clerics turning this traditional scriptural justification for monastic labour to a very different purpose. Offered more or less exactly the same three ingredients of penitential fare that David's monks were required to live on (as cited above p. 173),[33] the British bishops outrageously demand rich meats instead, and proceed to justify their breach of Lenten discipline by reference to these same passages in the bible. Their argument: pasturing animals is easy work, therefore it is fine for them as newcomers to Ireland to eat meat for which they have not laboured, whereas producing and processing the grain needed to make bread is a task that essentially never ends: since they, having only just arrived in Ireland, have not yet laboured for their food, they cannot touch Irish bread.

3. The topographical story

The last part of the text provides an origin story for a field north of Ferns that used to be wooded but was converted to arable – an assart, for which the Irish term is *ceppach* (*DIL* s.v.). It does not seem possible to identify this place now, and I have found no trace of the word in local place-names.[34] The extent of the church enclosure of Ferns is still not known for certain, despite recent research,[35] but the *ceppach* should have lain beyond it, probably in one of the townlands of Ferns Demesne, Ferns Upper, Coolpuck or Rosemaryhill.

Another anecdote in which an ecclesiastic from Britain is made responsible for an assart belonging to an Irish church occurs in the commentary to *Félire Óengusso*, 11 March. Here St Constantine is described as *rí Bretan* and *rig Alban* who came to Rahan, co. Offaly as a penitent. He dug the monastic ditch of Rahan and *ro lesaig cepaigh Cusantín fri Raithin andes* 'and bettered *Cepach Cusantín* "Constantine's Plot," to the south of Rathen'.[36] By 'bettered' is presumably meant that he improved the land by clearing it of trees. The incident

[31] Sharpe and Davies, 'Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David', 126–7, §§21–2.

[32] It has been suggested that Rhygyfarch was citing a much older document, perhaps dating back to David's time. See David N. Dumville, *St David of Wales*, Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lectures, 1 (Cambridge, 2001), 12, building on a theory of John Morris.

[33] The word *olera* covers green vegetables in general but so does Ir *lus*, even though the commonest reference seems to be to leeks. See Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 255.

[34] Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, revised by Ó Corráin, no. 8858, gives this name under *Cepach Ferna Móire*, but the only evidence cited is this passage.

[35] Barry Lacey et al., 'Chasing St Aidan's monastery at Ferns', in Stephen Mandal, Michael Potterton and Denis Shane (eds), *Discovering Medieval Ferns, County Wexford* (Dublin, 2023), 199–220; see illustration 8.6. on p. 214.

[36] Stokes, *Félire Óengusso*, 92 (text), 93 (translation).

occurs also at the beginning of the undated tale *Indarba Mochuda a rRaithin*, whose earliest copy is in the mainly fifteenth-century Book of Fermoy.[37]

4. The date of the anecdote

No firm date can be extracted from the historical background of relations between Ferns and south-west Wales. Such relations are attested in the work of Rhygyfarch in the late eleventh century, and Rhygyfarch's own father Sulien is known to have spent ten years studying in Ireland earlier in that century.[38] If the Morgenau story is at all relevant, then the narrative might have been created after his death in 999. None of this is more than speculative, however. BL is a late MIr manuscript and there are MIr features in the text, such as negative particle *nocho* (l. 23) and 3 pl. pronoun *siat* (l. 25), and loss of neuter gender in *in lín* (l. 21), and the use of the sg. verb *do-breth* with pl. subject (l. 8). On the other hand, a few features look relatively early: the neuter article in *a n-arbor* (l. 13), *a llín* (ll. 21, 22, contrasting with *in lín* 21), *a sōethar* (l. 22), retention of the m. nom. pl. article in *ind ailithir* (l. 7), use of the verbal prefix *ceta-* (l. 26) and use of the demonstrative *sund* after a preposition in *de sund* (l. 11).[39] These features might push the story backwards from the time of BL and Gerald of Wales towards the eleventh-century period noted above as a possibility, but the argument is not conclusive.

Conclusion

Coīca epscop takes its place alongside other anecdotes about saints and clerics in the Book of Leinster that make serious moral points through the use of irony and humour. Behaviour that is apparently (and indeed actually) outrageous by the standards of the time is shown to conform to the demands of Scripture. The point is not, of course, to justify the behaviour itself, but to illustrate the moral teaching through a memorably far-fetched example. The anecdote shows knowledge of traditions of St Máedóc and may have been composed at Ferns. The author also drew on knowledge of the traditions of St David. *Coīca epscop* is further evidence, beyond the links attested in the hagiography of the two saints, that these two institutions carried on a relationship in the pre-Norman centuries.

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[37] Charles Plummer (ed. and trans.), *Bethada Náem nÉrenn: Lives of Irish Saints*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1922), i, 300, §2; ii, 291, §2; for discussion, see his vol. i, xxxviii–xxxix, and Constant J. Mews, 'The flight of Carthach (Mochuda) from Rahan to Lismore: lineage and identity in early medieval Ireland', *Early Medieval Europe* 21/1 (2013), 1–26.

[38] Michael Lapidge, 'The Welsh-Latin poetry of Sulien's family', *SC* 8–9 (1973–4), 68–106, at 86–7, 103 n. 118; Sarah Elizabeth Zeiser, 'Latinity, manuscripts, and the rhetoric of conquest in late-eleventh-century Wales', unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, 2012, 34–49.

[39] The prefix *ceta-* becomes 'rare in Middle Irish', see Liam Breatnach in *SnaG* 263 (III.9.2). Likewise the use of *sund*: Breatnach, 'Demonstrative pronouns', 129: 'became rare in Middle Irish'.

HEAD WOUNDS AND THE RED BOOK OF HERGEST[1]

Abstract

At the beginning of the text traditionally associated with the *Meddygon Myddfai* ('the Physicians of Myddfai') in the Red Book of Hergest (Oxford, Jesus College MS 111, *c.* 1400), there is a section concerning the disease and injury of the head and their treatment. Using my knowledge and experience of the medical principles in neurology, from practice as a consultant clinical neurologist and professor of clinical neurology, I will explore this passage as evidence of the treatment of head wounds and head injury in medieval Wales. The comparative texts in the two other medical manuscripts, London, BL Add. 14912 and Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson B. 467, will be explored in parallel and differences included in the discussion. I will outline the details of trepanation, as practised by these physicians, at that time.

Introduction

Following the Roman period and until the end of the Middle Ages, there was a general belief in Britain and Europe that most afflictions affecting the mind or nerves, for example madness, epilepsy and paralysis, could be attributed to poor attention to and care of the 'soul' in religious terms. The treatment of such conditions required strict religious measures, including prayers and charms, and sometimes the removal of a demon or spirit that was causing them. There are reports of such treatments in the archives of hospitals and sanctuaries in Britain from the twelfth century onwards.[2] However, recent social-anthropological discussion and more rigorous studies of medieval culture and religion have cast doubt on this simple medico-religious view and have expanded horizons towards a more spiritual religious concept embedded in the social and cultural beliefs of the time.

For the early medieval period, Meg Leja has considered the limitations of human intervention for the health of the body in the ninth-century Carolingian Empire.[3] Early medieval medicine had been classified as superstitious and a

[1] Acknowledgements are due to Professor Peredur Lynch, School of Welsh and Celtic Studies at Bangor University, for his learned advice on translations from Middle Welsh, and also to Professor Ann Parry Owen, Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies at Aberystwyth University, for advice on content and presentation of this article.

[2] Basil Clarke, 'St. Bartholomew's, London: a twelfth-century series', in his *Mental Disorder in Earlier Britain: Exploratory Studies* (Cardiff, 1975), 143–51.

[3] Meg Leja, *Embodying the Soul: Medicine and Religion in Carolingian Europe*, The Middle Ages Series (Pennsylvania, 2022).

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deterioration of the more rational Greco-Roman tradition. However, Leja has argued that Carolingian scholars debated the value of Hippocratic knowledge in the context of efforts to define Christian orthodoxy led by Charlemagne and his successors. From pagan origins with links to magic, medical knowledge became classified as a sacred art. The body and soul gained virtue by working together harmoniously. For the later medieval period, Carole Rawcliffe has addressed how the 'medical profession', including physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, were able to function faced with high mortality, widespread disease and continuing difficulties with public health.[4] The alternatives available to the patient ranged from 'society doctors' to wise women, quacks and hospitals for the sick and poor. The man on the street was often critical of, and sometimes hostile to, the medical theories and practices at that time.

Certainly, these concepts can be readily applied to the general population and social community in medieval times and to some extent they are likely to have influenced the medical profession. Here I have tried to strike a balance between the older, more rigid medical dogma and the more recent, more attractive view of concepts relating to medieval medicine raised by important social and cultural studies.[5]

Most medical concepts in medieval Britain and Europe were based on the theories of the four humours, following the Greek physicians Hippocrates (*c.* 460 BC–370 BC) and Galen (AD 129–216).[6] However, it is clear that when reviewing the mental and neurological conditions of mania, melancholy, epilepsy and paralysis, the role of the four humours in these conditions and their treatment was not very rational and was inconsistent.[7] It is apparent that traumatic head injury, which would frequently have been treated by procedures such as trepanation, was not considered to be a direct disturbance of the four humours. It is interesting that from archaeological studies of exhumed skeletal remains in late medieval Europe, the majority of identifiable death wounds were to the head rather than the torso, emphasizing the high frequency of traumatic head injury in medieval society.[8]

In this article I have focused on a dedicated translation of the Middle Welsh text on head wounds and head injury in the Red Book of Hergest from a predominantly linguistic and literary perspective, and have explored this in parallel with the comparative text in the two other medical manuscripts, London BL

[4]Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Stroud, 1995).

[5]Luke Demaitre, *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe* (Santa Barbara, California, 2013); Larissa Tracey and Kelly DeVries (eds), *Wounds and Wound Repair in Medieval Culture* (Leiden, 2015).

[6]Demaitre, *Medieval Medicine*, 1–34 ('Learning to heal').

[7]Demaitre, *Medieval Medicine*, 111–52 ('Head problems, from hair loss to epilepsy').

[8]Robert C. Woosnam-Savage and Kelly DeVries, 'Battle trauma in medieval warfare: wounds, weapons and armor', in Tracey and DeVries, *Wounds and Wound Repair*, 27–56; M. R. Geldof, ' "And to describe the shapes of the dead": making sense of the archaeology of armed violence', in Tracey and DeVries, *Wounds and Wound Repair*, 57–80.

Add. 14912 and Oxford Bodleian Rawlinson B. 467. I have previously presented and discussed in detail the wider archaeological findings on trepanation in medieval Britain and in particular Celtic Europe.[9]

MEDDYGON MYDDFAI

Medical practice in medieval Wales was very different to that of modern times. Fortunately a Welsh medical treatise, traditionally associated with the Physicians of Myddfai,[10] a family of doctors from near Llandovery in Carmarthenshire, has been preserved in medieval Welsh manuscripts, which provides an important window on the medical practice of these medieval physicians.[11] The treatise opens with an introductory paragraph associating the physicians with Rhys Gryg, the fourth son of the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth, who died in 1234:

> Riɔallawn uedic a'e ueibon, nyt amgen: Kadɔgaɔn a Gruffud ac Einaɔn … ɔynt a oedynt oreu a phennaf o'r medygon yn eu hamser hɔy ac yn amser Rys Gryc eu harglɔyd ac arglɔyd Dinefɔr.[12]
>
> 'The physician Rhiwallon and his sons, namely Cadwgan, Gruffudd and Einion … they were the best and foremost physicians in their time and in the time of Rhys Gryg, their lord and the lord of Dinefwr'.

It seems likely, therefore, that these physicians practised in the first half of the thirteenth-century; however, the four earliest manuscripts associated with them date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, namely London, BL Add. 14912 (14th/15th centuries); Cardiff 3.242 [= Hafod 16] (14th/15th centuries); Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson B. 467 (14th/15th centuries) [henceforth, Rawl. B. 467]; and the Red Book of Hergest (1382 × *c*. 1405) [henceforth, the Red Book].[13] Both the Red Book and BL Add. 14912 attribute the text to the Physicians of Myddfai.

Two important translations of the 'Meddygon Myddfai' were produced before the advent of modern Welsh linguistic scholarship and lexicography.

[9] Clive Hawkins, 'Trepanation in medieval Wales', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary* 58 (2022), 5–14.

[10] As Diana Luft notes in her *Medieval Welsh Medical Texts. Volume One: The Recipes* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2020) [henceforth *MWMT*], 9, 'In reality, Morfydd Owen demonstrated long ago that the way the texts have been presented in these editions is misleading: there is no single text called *Meddygon Myddfai*, except insofar as the copies of RBH have become reified as such a text'; and see further *MWMT* 45, n. 26.

[11] Morfydd E. Owen, 'The medical books of medieval Wales and the Physicians of Myddfai', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary* 31 (1995), 34–83; Morfydd E. Owen, 'The prose of the *cywydd* period', in A. O. H. Jarman and G. R. Hughes (eds), *A Guide to Welsh Literature 1282–c. 1550. Volume II*, revised by Dafydd Johnston (Cardiff, 1997), 314–50.

[12] Red Book, fol. 231r.

[13] For a comprehensive description of all four manuscripts, see Daniel Huws, *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes, c.800–c.1800* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales and The Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2022), Vol. I, 563–4 (Cardiff 3.242); 615 (BL Add. 14912); 729 (Rawl. B. 467); and 741–2 (Jesus 111).

The first is a translation into English by the physician John Pughe, also known as 'Ioan ab Hu Feddyg', in his *The Physicians of Myddvai* (1861).[14] The second is a translation into French by Pol Diverres, *Le Plus ançien texte de Meddygon Myddveu* (Paris, 1913), which generally accords better with my own interpretation of the text.[15] More recently Diana Luft published her comprehensive volume, *Medieval Welsh Medical Texts, Volume One: The Recipes*.[16] This comprises a major review of the vast number of herbal remedies for different conditions, which Luft calls 'recipes'. A major emphasis of Luft's work is the categorization of the different herbs, plants and other compounds used in medieval Welsh medicine. Luft collected the different recipes into ten 'books', mainly following the pattern of recipes in BL Add. 14912, which is also reflected in part by Rawl. B. 467, and to a lesser degree by Cardiff 3.242, but not so much by the Red Book. This pattern seems to present quite an amorphous collection of recipes, but it is thought to reflect more accurately their order in the original manuscripts, and is thought to have been written for practising physicians and added to cumulatively over time.[17]

The Red Book was chosen as the lead text in this article for translation and discussion of the material in the medical manuscripts addressing head wounds and head injury, because it was noted by Luft that the Red Book text had been the most frequently edited with word changes to improve accuracy by the established scribe, Hywel Fychan of Builth. Many of the recipes are presented in the Red Book in a more polished, more readable way, resulting in a version which was easier to understand, with some grouping of recipes to treat similar medical conditions, making the medical treatments more accessible.[18] Luft has noted that there were corrections of mistakes in the Red Book which remain uncorrected in the other two medical manuscripts, BL Add. 14912 and Rawl B. 467, addressing the same comparable subject matter. For example, in the section on the four fevers, it was written that fever originated from the head in BL Add. 14912 and Rawl. B. 467, but generally in medieval medicine, fever was thought to come from the lungs and heart. In the Red Book this was corrected to a statement that fever comes in the summer, because generally fever was thought to be more common in the heat of the summer.[19] A second example comes from the text under consideration in this article, from the section on payment to the physician for treatment of serious wounds to the head, brain and body. In the Red Book, the text on payment to the physician was corrected to refer to 'the

[14] John Pughe and Rev. J. Williams, *The Physicians of Myddvai* (Llandovery, 1861), available online at http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4987119. On John Pughe, see Idwal Lewis (1959), 'Pughe, John Ioan ab Hu Feddyg (1814–1874), physician and littérateur', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, https://biography.wales/article/s-PUGH-JOH-1814, accessed 5 December 2022.

[15] P. Diverres, *Le Plus ançien texte de Meddygon Myddveu* (Paris, 1913). On Pol Diverres, see William Llewelyn Davies (2001), 'Diverres, Pol (1880–1946), linguist, Celtic scholar, and sometime Keeper of manuscripts in the National Library of Wales', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, https://biography.wales/article/s2-DIVE-POL-1880, accessed 5 December 2022.

[16] *MWMT*.

[17] *MWMT* 11–18.

[18] *MWMT* 11–18.

[19] *MWMT* 15–16.

physician's due', in other words the payment that was due to the physician for treatment, rather than the incorrect versions referring to 'the physician's honour' seen in the other two texts, which erroneously relates to the status of the physician.[20]

In addition, there have been two previous translations of the text in the Red Book from Middle Welsh to English or French, the first by a surgeon (John Pughe) and the second by a medically trained historian and linguist (Pol Diverres), as discussed previously. Although Pughe's translation is over 150 years old and Diverres's thesis over 100 years old, as dedicated translations by medically trained professionals, there is the potential that their translations of specific medical words could help. The knowledge of the vocabulary used by past surgeons and physicians in the Victorian era or early twentieth century might shed light on points of uncertainty in translation not helped by *GPC* or the wider medieval medical literature. There have been no previous medical translations from Middle Welsh to English or French of the comparative text in BL Add. 14912 or Rawl B. 467, to allow a direct comparison. However, it could be equally argued that the possibly more rudimentary, less edited versions in BL Add. 14912 and Rawl. B. 467 could include material at times more relevant to the physicians' practice, on the assumption that these texts were the work of physicians themselves imparting knowledge to each other in a more direct, less edited form. Thus, it was of utmost importance that the comparative text in BL Add. 14912 should be explored in detail in parallel with the Red Book. This comparative text in BL Add. 14912 has been presented and annotated in detail by Luft,[21] and thus I have studied this in detail and Luft's translation has been compared to the Red Book. In addition, the comparative text of Rawl. B. 467, although very similar to BL Add. 14912, has been studied and compared to the Red Book. There were two instances in the text presented in this article where an additional phrase in BL Add. 14912 contributed to the further understanding of the text in the Red Book, and one instance where a key word in Rawl. B. 467 potentially made a major difference to our understanding. This related to the medieval physician's perception of the underlying disease process resulting from head trauma and requiring trepanation. These are discussed in detail in the section following the edition below.

THE TEXT: *CLEFYDAU'R PEN* ('HEAD WOUNDS')

The Red Book of Hergest version of the *Meddygon Myddfai* text, found on fols 231r–238v (cols 928–59), was written around the turn of the fifteenth century by the professional scribe Hywel Fychan of Builth, who contributed the manuscript's main hand.[22] Hywel Fychan was working under commission for his

[20] *MWMT* 16.

[21] *MWMT* 82–7.

[22] Oxford, Jesus College MS 111 [= RBH], can be accessed online at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/9bf187bf-f862-4453-bc4f-851f6d3948af/.

patron Hopcyn ap Tomas of Ynysforgan, near Swansea, and the Red Book is a huge compendium of a variety of prose and poetry texts in Middle Welsh.[23]

In his introduction to the text, the author of the treatise states that the physicians had their knowledge (*kywreinr6yd*) written down so as to ensure that there would not be any physician that did not have the same understanding as themselves (*rac na bei a wypei gystal ac a wydynt h6y g6edy 6y*).[24] Then, giving the principal place to the head where the five senses are located, the treatise begins with a short section discussing head wounds and their treatment.

I have divided the text into numbered sections, which are translated into modern English and then discussed below. The manuscript's original orthography has been retained, and punctuation and capital letters have been added as necessary, and words that were written together in the manuscript have been separated when necessary. I have also transliterated the original Middle Welsh into modern Welsh orthography (shown in italics).

Red Book of Hergest, fol. 231r (col. 928, l. 23–929, l. 11)

§1 Ac o'r peth pennaf a chyntaf o'r a ffurueid6ys Du6 o gorff dyn: y penn y6 h6nn6, kanys ynda6 y mae y pump synn6yr corff.

'*Ac o'r peth pennaf a chyntaf ar a ffurfeiddwys Duw o gorff dyn: y pen yw hwnnw*, *canys ynddaw y mae y pump synnwyr corff.*'

And [starting] from the principal and first thing that God formed of man's body: that is the head, because in it are the five corporeal senses.

§2 Tri lle yn y penn y megir cleuydyeu: un y6 y tonn; eil y6 y acreuan; trydyd y6 y greadur.

'Tri lle yn y pen y megir clefydiau: un yw y ton; ail yw y greuan; trydydd yw y greadur.'

Three places in the head where diseases are nurtured: one is the scalp; the second is the skull; the third is the meninges.

§3 O agori ar y penn hyt y creuan a goll6ng y g6en6yn, y g6aredir y greuan. O waet a llosceu y g6aredir y tonn.

'O agori ar y pen hyd y greuan a gollwng y gwenwyn, y gwaredir y greuan. O waed a llosgau y gwaredir y ton.'

By cutting open the head through to the skull and releasing the poison, the skull is healed. It is by means of blood and cauterizations that the scalp is healed.

[23] For a comprehensive study of the Red Book of Hergest, see Daniel Huws, *Llyfr Coch Hergest,* in Iestyn Daniel, Marged Haycock, Dafydd Johnston and Jenny Rowland (eds), *Cyfoeth y Testun: Ysgrifau ar Lenyddiaeth Gymraeg yr Oesoedd Canol* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 2003), 1–30. On Hywel Fychan as the scribe in the Red Book, see 12–18.

[24] Red Book fol. 231r.

§4 O agori ar [*ben hyd*] y greadur ac yna kymryt y deuparth o'r danhogen a'r trayan o'r violet, ac emenyn hallt ac eu maedu ygyt, a'e dodi ɔrthaɔ; a hynny a diwennɔyna y greadur o'r kyuyt llit a gɔenɔyn yndi.

'O agori ar y greadur ac yna cymryd y deuparth o'r ddanhogen a'r traean o'r fioled, ac ymenyn hallt, ac eu maeddu ynghyd, a'u dodi wrthaw, a hynny a ddiwenwyna y greadur o'r cyfyd llid a gwenwyn ynddi.'

By cutting open [the head to] the dura mater and then taking two thirds of betony and the third of violet, and salted butter and pounding them together and applying them onto it; and that will remove the poison from the dura mater if inflammation and poison arise in it.

§5 O'r pan agorer ar y tonn hyt ympenn y naɔuet dyd y byd y ɔisc ar y ascɔrn; sef y gɔneir hynny o hen gleuyt penn.

'O'r pan agorir ar y ton hyd ym mhen y nawfed dydd y bydd y wisg ar y asgwrn; sef y gwneir hynny o hen glefyd pen.'

From when the scalp is opened until the end of the ninth day, the dressing will remain on the bone; namely, this is done for longstanding disease of the head.

§6 O dyrnaɔt newyd neu urath newyd ar y penn, goreu yɔ bo kyntaf y diotter, rac dygɔydaɔ gɔaet ar y greadur a'e uerɔi yno.

'O ddyrnawd newydd neu frath newydd ar y pen, gorau yw bo cyntaf y'i dioter, rhag dygwyddaw gwaed ar y greadur, a'i ferwi yno.'

For a new blow or new wound on the head, the sooner it is removed the better, lest blood fall onto the dura mater and it congeals there.

§7 O'r pann diotter yr asc6rn y ar y greadur, kymryt y uiolet ac emenyn g6yry a'e maedu ygyt, ac ony cheffir y uiolet, kymryt g6ynn 6y a llin ac eu maedu ygyt, neu emenyn g6yry a llin ac eu dodi 6rtha6 yn y donneuher; ac yna g6neuthur eli o lysseu ac emenyn a g6er, ac eu dodi 6rtha6 yny 6o iach.

'O'r pan dioter yr asgwrn i ar y greadur, cymryd y fioled ac ymenyn gwyry a'u maeddu ynghyd, ac oni cheffir y fioled cymryd gwyn wy a llin, ac eu maeddu ynghyd, neu ymenyn gwyry a llin, ac eu dodi wrthaw yni deneuer; ac yna gwneuthur eli o lysiau ac ymenyn a gwêr, ac eu dodi wrthaw yni fo iach.'

From when the bone is removed from over the dura mater, take violet and unsalted butter and pound them together, and if violet is not obtained, take egg white and linseed and pound them together, or unsalted butter and linseed and apply them on it until it becomes a thin layer; and then make an ointment of herbs and butter and tallow, and apply them to it until it is healed.

§8 Punt yw dylyet y medic o'r g6eith h6nn6 yn y trugared heb y ymborth neu na6 ugeint a'e ymborth.

'Punt yw dylyed y meddyg o'r gwaith hwnnw yn ei drugaredd heb ei ymborth, neu naw ugaint â'i ymborth.'

The physician's due is a pound for that work in mercy, excluding food, or nine score including food.

Commentary

§2. There are three places in the head from which disease can originate: *tonn*, *acreuan* and *creadur*. *Tonn* is translated by John Pughe as 'pericranium',[25] which in modern medical terminology refers to the periosteum, the outer fibrous membrane of the bone, i.e. the outer membrane of the skull in this case, comprising vascular and connective tissue. *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* [henceforth *GPC*] lists this instance under *ton*[2] 'skin, rind, crust', &c., a meaning that is now obsolete in Modern Welsh. The text is describing the scalp and subcutaneous tissue. *Acreuan* seems to be a variant on, or a mistake for *creuan*, *GPC* 'skull, cranium'. *Creadur* refers to the meninges, and could refer to the outer covering of the brain, the dura mater; the middle layer, arachnoid mater; or the inner covering, pia mater (*GPC crefadur, creadur*[3]). It probably refers to the outer meningeal covering, dura mater, here, as Pughe suggested,[26] or to a combination of the three layers of the meninges.

[25] Pughe and Williams, *Physicians of Myddvai*, 37.
[26] Pughe and Williams, *Physicians of Myddvai*, 38.

The Irish translation of Guy de Chauliac's (*c*. 1295–1368) treatise on anatomy is of interest for comparison. *Anathomia Gydo*, translated by Cormac Mac Duinnshléibhe (fl. *c*. 1459) and completed by the middle of the fifteenth century, represents an early Modern Irish version of the first two doctrines from Guy de Chauliac's *De anathomia*, which is the opening treatise of *Inventarium sive Chirurgia Magna*. Guy de Chauliac was from southern France and studied at three of the most prestigious medical institutes in Europe – Toulouse, Montpelier and Bologna. His *Chirurgia Magna* is one of the most regarded surgical documents from the fourteenth century.[27] The anatomy of the inner membranes of the head is described. The first to be encountered are the dura mater and pia mater. It was considered that these were two venous panicles – one towards the head ('my personal interpretation is that this is referring to the dura mater') and the other towards the brain surrounding and covering it ('my personal interpretation is that this is referring to the pia mater'). It was considered that from the dura mater through the sutures of the head ('the sutures refer to joins in the skull bones'), the membrane originated that covered the skull externally, which was named the pericranium. It was from the pia mater that nourishment of the brain was distributed.[28]

§§3–4. To preserve the skull, an incision is made in the scalp extending to the cranium (*creuan*), to allow the poison or venom (*gwenwyn*) to exit. The healing of the *tonn* is promoted *O waet a llosceu* 'by means of blood and burns'. *O waet* could refer to phlebotomy, the taking of blood or bloodletting, but is more likely to refer to the blood from the wound providing clotting factors to help stop bleeding; blood can also provide white cells and antibodies to help control infection. *Llosceu* 'burns' is likely to refer to a form of cauterization by heat and burning of tissue to stop blood vessels bleeding.[29] For the use of the verb *gwaredu* (here in the present tense impersonal *g6aredir*) in the sense of 'to better, mend, cure', &c., see *GPC gwaredaf: gwaredu*.

In the BL Add. 14912 version of this text there is an additional sentence referring to the dura mater here, which is not included in the Red Book text: *O agori ar ben hyd gryadur y gwaredir y gryadur*. In Luft's edition of the text, this is translated as 'The dura mater is treated by cutting the head down to the dura mater', and it explains that 'The scribe of RBH made an eye-jump between two instances of the word *greadur* and wrongly left out the end of the passage.'[30] This makes interpretation of the Red Book text more rational, and thus *O agori ar y greadur* has been amended to *O agori ar ben hyd y greadur* and translated as 'By cutting open the head to the dura mater' by inserting the

[27]Eithne Ní Ghallchobhair (ed.), *Anathomia Gydo*, ITS 66 (2014), 1–2.

[28]Ní Ghallchobhair, *Anathomia Gydo*, 67.

[29]Cauterization was used in ancient times: in Egypt as witnessed by the 'Edwin Smith papyrus'; in Greece from the Hippocratic Corpus; and in China, advised by the 'Su Wen'. Ancient implements ranged from metal lancets to cauterizing knives, heated over fire to apply extreme temperatures to the wound, at the expense of the tissue. See Madeleine Pelner Cosman and Linda Gale Jones, 'Cauterization, medicine in Europe', in their *Handbook to Life in the Medieval World*, 3 vols (New York, 2008), ii, 497. It is likely that similar methods were used in medieval Wales.

[30]*MWMT* 85, n. ix.

missing *'ben hyd'* in square brackets in the Red Book text, as seen in BL Add. 14912. This makes the phrase more appropriate as a preface to the subsequent section referring solely to the dura mater. This comprises cutting open to the dura mater, instructions on the application of betony, violet and salted butter to it, and how this removes poison from it. It is of interest that from Luft's comprehensive review, in further notes on the Recipes, betony was thought to be good for all wounds. Betony was thought to draw bones from a wound, and violet was recommended to treat inflammation due to its cold and wet nature.[31] However, there is no evidence to support this usefulness from modern medical science.

§5. Once the application had been placed on the wound, it should be left in place for nine days. Following *asc6rn*, the BL Add. 14912 version of the text has an additional phrase which reads *ac o pen y pymhettyd y gilidd y nedir yr ascwrn hyny diotter oll*, which Luft translates as 'and from the end of the same time on the fifteenth day, the bone will be shaped until it is all removed'.[32] If this clause were to be included in the Red Book text, then the last phrase, *sef y gvneir hynny o hen gleuyd penn* ('namely, that is done for longstanding disease of the head') would make better medical sense, referring to the shaping and removal of the skull bone as late as the fifteenth day.

The author is here describing the practice of 'trepanation', which is the making of a hole in the skull, usually following head trauma, to prevent the pressure effect of blood under the skull compressing the brain. Presumably, the phrase quoted above from BL Add. 14912 suggests that the hole made in the skull as part of trepanation is revised to make sure that any bone fragments from the procedure are removed and the edges of the hole are clean, in order to prevent closure of the hole by rapid healing. This is because maintenance of an escape hole for potential development of haematoma, which may compress the brain and cause death, is vitally important to allow the release of blood through the hole. If the skull heals too rapidly and becomes sealed, the trepanation has failed.

§6. The sooner the mixture is applied to the wound the better the outcome following a blow or wound to the head, in case there should be *dyg6yda6 g6aet* (literally the 'falling of blood', sensibly translated as 'extravasated blood upon the dura mater' by Pughe)[33] and *a'e uer6i*. The verb *uer6i* here could be the lenited form of either 1. *berwi* 'boil, seethe', 'to become hot' (? through inflamation); or 2. *merwi*, a variant form of the verbal noun *marw* 'to die'.[34] Pughe translates *a'e uer6i yno* as 'that it should become concocted there' and thus it is uncertain which of the two, *berwi* or *merwi*, he is favouring by using the term 'concocted'.[35] However, it seems reasonably clear that he was referring to *berwi*

[31] *MWMT* 349, 350 3/3.
[32] *MWMT* 84–5.
[33] Pughe and Williams, *Physicians of Myddvai*, 38.
[34] See *GPC* s.v. *berwaf: berwi* and *marwaf: marw*[2]*, merwi*.
[35] Pughe and Williams, *Physicians of Myddvai*, 2, 38.

because the root of the word concoct is the latin word *coquo* meaning cook or boil, and so concoct has the meaning of cooking or boiling together. Luft favours the former, *berwi*, as shown in the corresponding phrase in BL Add. 14912, which she translates as 'in case … inflammation should occur there'.[36] It is quite possible, however, in this context, to suggest that the verb *merwi* 'to die' could give better sense: the blood has extravasated from the circulation, is no longer oxygenated, and is therefore 'dying' or 'dead', in other words it is 'congealed', 'coagulated' or 'clotted' in situ. This is also the sense understood by Pol Diverres who translates *a'e uervi yno* as 'et … s'y coagule' meaning 'clotted' (although it is unclear whether he takes *uerwi* as the lenited form of *berwi* or *merwi*).[37] Diverres also explains the reference in the next sentence to the procedure of removing the bone to expose the dura mater (*O'r pan diotter yr asc6rn y ar y greadur*) as an 'Allusion à la Trépanation'.[38] It may seem quite a jump in translation from the linguistic point of view to relate 'dying or dead' to 'coagulation or clotting', but from medical understanding the relationship between death and blood clotting is a close link. Clotting of blood is an immediate consequence of death. It is of interest that from the medieval poetry of Wirnt von Grafenberg's popular Arthurian romance, 'Wigalois' (*c*. 1210), 'bleeding' was related to 'dying' and the internal blood of the body was compared to life, whereas the shed or external blood outside the body was considered dying or dead, equating loss of blood to death.[39] This may explain the concept of extravasating blood as dying or dead. In medieval medical literature from Britain and Europe, the term 'frenesis' referred to brain infection which was thought to be caused by vapours rising from the diaphragm, causing a hot abscess in the brain membrane due to putrefied yellow bile or boiling blood. Thus, 'boiling blood' was recognized in the context of brain infection but not when referring to bleeding outside the brain, with extravasated blood.[40]

The BL Add. 14912 version of this section, as used by Luft,[41] differs slightly from the Red Book version. There the sentence corresponding to §6 reads: *dyrnawt newyd neu vrath newyd, goreu bo gyntaf y diotter rac dygwydaw gwaet ac yssic a berwi yno*, which Luft translates as 'for a fresh cut or a fresh wound, the sooner it is removed the better, in case blood and bruising and inflammation should occur there'. For *a berwi*, the manuscript reading in BL Add. 14921 is *ab erwi*, with an obvious misdivision of the elements; Rawl. B. 467, fol. 17v has *y hwerwi*, which Luft translates as 'to become inflamed', taking *hwerwi* to be a southern variant of the more usual *chwerwi*.[42] Should the initial *h-* have been dropped, as can occur, to give *werwi*, that form, perhaps written as *6erwi*, could have been confused with *uerwi* 'ferwi'. Although *GPC* does not include

[36] *MWMT* 84.
[37] Diverres, *Le Plus ançien texte de Meddygon Myddveu*, 10, 11.
[38] Diverres, *Le Plus ançien texte de Meddygon Myddveu*, 10 and 11, n. 1.
[39] Bettina Bildhauer, *Medieval Blood* (Cardiff, 2006), 68.
[40] Demaitre, *Medieval Medicine*, 133–4.
[41] *MWMT* 85.
[42] For *chwerwi* 'be inflamed', see *GPC* s.v. *chwerwaf: chwerwi*; D. Simon Evans, 'The Consonants' in *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1964), 11.

the sense 'to inflame' for *berwi*, some of the examples quoted there do suggest that the verb could be used for blood, or for parts of the body that become hot, and presumably the heat might be caused by inflammation.[43] Alternatively, 'boiling' or heat in this context could lead to or relate to 'congealed' or 'coagulated' blood rather than the need to invoke 'inflammation'. Luft gives the Red Book reading (*rac dygwydaw gwaet ar y greadur a'e uerwi yno*) as a variant of her BL Add. 14912 version, and translates it as 'in case blood should fall onto the dura mater and inflame it there'.[44] The lenited verb (*uerwi*) suggests that the preceding infixed pronoun *'e* refers to the masculine noun *gwaet* rather than to *y greadur*, which is feminine. Thus, if Luft is correct about the sense 'inflame', the Red Book phrase would appear to mean 'to inflame the blood' or 'inflamed blood' rather than 'in case the blood might fall on the dura mater and inflame it'. The concept of 'to inflame blood' or 'inflamed blood', having extravasated from the circulation and thus deoxygenated and dying or dead upon the dura mater, does not, however, readily make sense in medical context from our understanding of the known pathophysiology of blood. The alternative would be that *berwi* is acting as an intransitive verb in this sentence, which it can do, and the pronoun is acting as its subject. However, whichever is the case, in the context of trepanation, the major concern after head injury, with or without skull fracture, would be falling or extravasated blood on the dura mater which would become congealed or coagulated as a clot under the skull. This could then compress the brain beneath the intact skull, and the primary purpose of opening the skull and exposing the dura mater would be to prevent the blood clot compressing the brain and causing death. Thus, on balance, it seems that the Red Book's *uer6i* as a lenited form of *merwi* makes better sense, implying congealed or clotted blood as a result of 'blood dying' on the dura mater following deoxygenation, having extravasated from injured or ruptured blood vessels following trauma. I would interpret this section as meaning that by making a hole in the skull, exposing the dura mater and applying the mixture to the dura mater, this may prevent the possibility of haematoma (coagulated or congealed 'blood clot') developing.

§7. In this section on making a paste, *yn y donneuher* has been translated as 'becoming a thin layer', on the basis of the verb *teneuo*, but this does not explain the *'o'* or the *'nn'* of *donneuher* in the Red Book text or in BL Add. 14912. Luft has considered *tonneuher* as a verb based on the noun *ton*, meaning skin, and thus she has translated *tonneuher* as 'to form a skin'. This followed discussion with Dafydd Johnston.[45] John Pughe translated *yn y donneuher* as 'until [the

[43]Examples such as *gwaed yn berwi* tend to be figurative, referring to an emotional state; but *Mae 'nhraed i'n berwi* (section c), refer to feet that have become hot, and presumably the heat might be caused by inflamation.

[44]*MWMT* 85, n. xvii.

[45]*MWMT* 87 and 318, n. 77.

pain is] assuaged'.[46] Pol Diverres considered that *yn y donneuher* would translate as '*jusqu'à ce qu'elle se cicatrise'*,[47] which translates into English as 'until it forms a scab'.

§8. The Demetian Code (Blegywryd) of the Welsh Laws states that for the treatment of three types of serious wounds, all with poor prognosis, namely 'a stroke to the head unto the brain; a stroke to the body unto the bowel; the breaking of one of the four limbs of a man's body' (*torri penn dyn hyt yr emenyd, neu vrathu dyn yn y arch hyt y keu, neu torri vn o'r petuar post corff dyn*), the court physician could claim 'one pound without victuals, or nine score pence with victuals' (*y keiff ef punt heb y vuyt, neu naw vgeint a'e ymborth*) as well as his 'bloody clothes' (*y dillat creulyt*).[48] The court physician had to treat other officers of the court for free except that he received any bloody clothes they were wearing. The exception to this was for the three deadly wounds, for which he received wages.

TREPANATION

Trepanation, in the form of making a hole in a person's skull, has been a relatively frequent practice as identified from available skulls in prehistoric times to modern day, in Britain and Europe, and similarly in relatively diverse civilizations across the world.[49] For example, in nearly all the regions of the Peruvian Andes, dating from 400 BC to the Late Horizon AD 1470–1532, it is estimated that there were signs of healing with survival following trepanation in the later period of the Inca civilization in over 70 per cent of cases.[50] It seems that in different civilizations from prehistory to post-medieval that there was frequently an association between head trauma, skull fracture and the site of trepanation.[51]

Of the trepanations in medieval Britain, Roberts and Cox reported that in the early medieval period (AD 410–1050), twenty three of the trepanations were recorded in England, the majority from East Anglia, and one was from Fife, Scotland; nineteen were male skulls, nineteen were healed, meaning that the person survived the procedure, and eighteen were performed by the scraping method.[52] This method, which was the most commonly performed method at

[46] Pughe and Williams, *Physicians of Myddvai,* 2 and 38.

[47] Diverres, *Le Plus ançien texte de Meddygon Myddveu*, 10–11.

[48] Stephen J. Williams and J. Enoch Powell, *Llyfr Blegywryd* (Caerdydd, 1961), 26. See further, Meinir Harris, 'Compensation for injury: a point of contact between early Welsh and Germanic law?', in T. G. Watkin (ed.), *The Trial of Dic Penderyn and Other Essays* (Cardiff, 2003), 39–76.

[49] Charlotte Roberts and Margaret Cox, *Health and Disease in Britain: From Prehistory to the Present Day* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Ltd., 2003), 59, 252.

[50] John W. Verano, 'Trepanation in prehistoric South America: geographic and temporal trends over 2,000 years', in R. Arnott, S. Finger and C. U. M. Smith (eds), *Trepanation: History, Discovery, Theory* (Lisse, 2003), 223–36.

[51] Hawkins, 'Trepanation in medieval Wales', 7.

[52] Charlotte Roberts and Margaret Cox, 'Health and disease in the early medieval period (*c*. 410–*c*. 1050AD)', in their *Health and Disease in Britain: From Prehistory to the Present Day* (Stroud, 2003), 164–220.

this time, involved scraping the skull down to the dura mater, the outer covering of the brain, probably with flint tools, and had a high survival rate.[53] Six further trepanations have been found from the late medieval period (AD 1050–1550), four from England and two from Dublin.[54] Four of these show evidence of healing, and thus the patients survived the procedure. In a detailed review of trepanation in Ireland, of 18 trepanations reported in the archaeological literature, all confirmed cases were described from the Historic period (from the early medieval period, beginning around AD 400, to the early modern period beginning in the first half of the sixteenth century). The most common site was the anterior part of the left parietal bone. The most common method of trepanation appeared to be the scraping method, with high rates of survival. In 12 cases, sufficient information was available to assess the extent of healing, and in 8 of these cases remodelling of skull bone was seen indicating that the individuals survived the procedure, although in at least one of these cases, it was thought that survival was only for a short period of time.[55]

Besides the scraping method, drill-type devices have also been used, although with increased risk of damaging the brain, and possibly some were made of metal, such as iron, similar to those used by Hippocrates and Galen and their followers in ancient Greece and the Roman Empire.[56] As well as head trauma, it has been suggested that trepanation was performed in medieval Europe for other conditions, particularly epilepsy, mania and melancholy.[57] The *Meddygon Myddfai*, however, only describe head trauma as an indication for trepanation.

Before the advent of CT (Computed Tomography) scanning of the head in the 1980s, trepanation, or 'burr hole' surgery, was used routinely in modern times in the United Kingdom and other Western countries following severe head injury, with or without skull fracture. The purpose was to exclude or drain an extradural haematoma as a result of injury to blood vessels with bleeding under the skull, which could cause rapid compression of the brain from the haematoma and subsequent death. With the advent of CT scanning of the head, the presence or absence of extradural haematoma could be visualised on scan, reducing the need for emergency surgery.[58]

Conclusion

The *Meddygon Myddfai* considered the head and related disorders of paramount importance, and their practice of trepanation to treat head injury was

[53] Hawkins, 'Trepanation in medieval Wales', 7–9.

[54] Roberts and Cox, 'Health and disease', 221–86.

[55] Barra O Donnabhain, 'Trepanations and pseudotrepanations: evidence of cranial surgery from prehistoric and early historic Ireland', in R. Arnott, S. Finger and C. U. M. Smith (eds), *Trepanation: History, Discovery, Theory* (Lisse, 2003), 79–94.

[56] Hawkins, 'Trepanation in medieval Wales', 7–9.

[57] Charles G. Gross, 'A hole in the head', *Neuroscientist* 5 (1999), 263–9.

[58] Hawkins, 'Trepanation in medieval Wales', 10–12.

given priority in the text associated with them in the Red Book of Hergest. Trepanation has been practised since prehistoric times in diverse populations for head trauma and skull fracture, to prevent or decompress extradural haematoma following damage to blood vessels causing haemorrhage under the skull. The technique, akin to 'burr hole' surgery in modern practice, has been described in detail in the Red Book, as it was applied in the practice of physicians in medieval Wales.

CLIVE HAWKINS

Bangor and Keele

ON THE DATE OF THE *DIALOG*: A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF THE EARLIEST ARTHURIAN POEM IN MIDDLE BRETON

Abstract

This article re-examines the date of the earliest surviving Arthurian poem in the Breton language, *An Dialog etre Arzur, Roe d'an Bretounet, ha Guynglaff* ('The Dialogue between Arthur, King of the Bretons, and Guynglaff'). Traditionally, scholars of the poem have accepted 1450 – the year copied alongside the text in its sole manuscript version – as the *Dialog*'s date of composition. Hypotheses both that parts of the poem (thought to have existed in some form prior to 1450) were assembled at some stage around the mid-fifteenth century, and that the preserved text is the product of many layers of profound scribal manipulation, have also proved influential. The present article reassesses such theories, and examines the question of the poem's date in the light of other textual, linguistic, and historical evidence. It concludes that the text was probably written in the aftermath of the French Wars of Religion, and argues for an original date of composition at some point during the last decade of the sixteenth, or first few decades of the seventeenth, century.

A manuscript date

In 1716 Dom Louis Le Pelletier copied the only now-extant manuscript version of the Middle Breton poem *An Dialog etre Azur, Roe d'an Bretounet, ha Guynglaff* ('The Dialogue between Arthur, King of the Bretons, and Guynglaff') into the second volume of his manuscript *Dictionnaire de la langue bretonne* ('Dictionary of the Breton Language').[1] As its name suggests, the *Dialog* takes the form of a dialogue between King Arthur and the Breton prophet Guynglaff – who is to be numbered among Celtic Wild Men such as the Welsh Myrddin, the Scottish Lailoken, and the Irish Suibhne.[2] The poet first presents Guynglaff – who leads a solitary, sylvan existence – before introducing *An Roe Arzur* ('The King Arthur'), who seizes the prophet and compels him to predict what will happen in Brittany before the world ends. Guynglaff agrees to expound almost anything Arthur asks, and launches

[1]This *Dictionnaire* also appeared in a printed, single-volume edition in 1752 (published in Paris by François Delaguette), which does not feature the *Dialog* poem.

[2]For further discussion of Celtic Wild Men, including Guynglaff, see Léon Fleuriot, 'Prophéties, navigations et thèmes divers', in Jean Balcou and Yves Le Gallo (eds), *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne*, 3 vols (Paris, 1987), i, 153–72.

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into his prophecies. These prophecies occupy the majority of this 247-line poem; they are interrupted only three times by Arthur repeating with very slight variation his original question. Guynglaff's vaticinations deal first with religious corruption in Brittany; second with catastrophic events in Brittany in the 1570s and 1580s; and third with the threat of an English invasion of Brittany. I return to this structure below: it is significant, I argue, in indicating the text's date.

The *Dialog* appears in Le Pelletier's *Dictionnaire* directly after another Middle Breton text, *La vie de saint Gwenolé* ('The Life of Saint Gwenolé'). Both are prefaced by a foreword (*avertissement*). Here, apart from describing the two works as *deux pièces de rimailles* ('two pieces of doggerel') which barely merited the effort he exerted in their translation, Le Pelletier advises his reader that they represent *les plus anciens que j'ai pu voir en cette langue* ('the oldest that I have been able to see in this language').[3] Here also he conveys almost all the information currently available concerning the *Dialog*'s textual history. Le Pelletier accessed the poem, he writes, via two manuscript versions of the text: the first a copy formerly belonging to Père de la Chaize, confessor to King Louis XIV from 1675 until 1709; the second a copy which he himself was sent by a prior of the regular canons at Daoulas Abbey, whom he names as M. de Plaisance. One of these – that which Le Pelletier used as his base text – bore the date 1619, which seems to represent the poem's *terminus ante quem*.[4] Regarding the *Dialog*'s original date of composition, however, Le Pelletier informs us only that the rubric *l'an de N. S. Mil quatre cens et cinquante* ('the year of O[ur] L[ord] fourteen fifty') had been written in French after the title, but that *quelque mal avisé a été assez imprudent pour effacer Mil afin de rendre cet écrit plus ancien de mille ans* ('a certain ill-advised person has been so imprudent as to erase *Mil* in order to render this work older by one thousand years'). The poem cannot date from the year 450, Le Pelletier points out, because it includes both French loanwords, which were not in use during the fifth century, and descriptions of cannon artillery, which did not appear in Europe until around the beginning of the twelfth century.[5] Thus, in his *Dictionnaire* version of the *Dialog*, Le Pelletier wrote the date 1450 between the title and the opening lines.

While many *Dialog* critics have accepted this mid-fifteenth-century date of composition with varying degrees of certainty (and sometimes with the proviso

[3]Dom Louis Le Pelletier, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Bretonne, où l'on voit son Antiquité, son Affinité avec les anciennes langues, l'Explication de plusieurs passages de l'Ecriture Sainte, et des Auteurs profanes, avec l'Etymologie de plusieurs mots des autres langues*, Bibliothèques Rennes Municipales MS 1007, pp. 1353–4. The *avertissement* is also printed in René Largillière, 'Le dialogue entre Arthur et Guinclaff', *Annales de Bretagne* 38/4 (1928), 627–74.

[4]Le Pelletier in fact copies the rubric bearing the 1619 date of his base text directly after his copy of the *Dialog*: *Ego, D[om] Y[ves] Queau, exscripsi die decima sexta Augusti, Anno Domini 1619* ('I, D[om] Y[ves] Queau, copied this out on the sixteenth of August in the year of our Lord 1619', BRM MS 1007, p. 1440). As for his other source for the poem, Le Pelletier informs us in his *avertissement* that it contained further prophecies, but that he had not copied these owing to their illegibility (BRM MS 1007, p. 1354). Le Pelletier does, however, record several variant readings from his second source throughout his copy of the text.

[5]BRM MS 1007, p. 1353.

that the poem draws on earlier material, but has been subjected to alterations at various stages both before and after this date), a few scholars have accepted that the 1450 dating is insecure.[6] Kenneth Jackson, for example, writes in his brief description of the *Dialog* that the text 'appears to be a recension of the second half of the 16th century', with the MS date seeming to be 'without foundation'.[7] Meanwhile, Norris Lacy and Geoffrey Ashe, on the basis that the prophet Guynglaff's vaticinations refer to eight precise years during the 1570s and 1580s, assert confidently that 'the extant version of the *Dialog* dates from the end of the sixteenth century or the early seventeenth'. However, they concede the possibility that the poem may be 'derived from a considerably older tradition, updated by the near-contemporary references'.[8] Lacy and Ashe provide little further evidence to support the former hypothesis of a date of composition around the turn of the seventeenth century. Indeed, no substantial study has yet tested this theory, or measured its merits against arguments for an earlier date. That is what this article undertakes to do.

I begin by interrogating arguments previously advanced in favour of the 1450 date. I then re-examine the idea – prominent in *Dialog* scholarship – that the poem in its current form is both the product of many years' worth of layers of scribal interventions, and was composed in multiple stages. My analysis indicates that these hypotheses are flawed. I then study the poem's linguistic features. These do not discount the mid-fifteenth-century hypothesis outright; nonetheless, many linguistic forms appear compatible with a date of composition towards the end of the Classical Middle Breton period – that is, the latter end of the period *c*. 1450–1600, rather than the earlier part.[9] Finally, I examine the historical record in search of information which might shed light on the dating question. I conclude that striking parallels between the *Dialog* and Breton historical events between *c*. 1560 and 1594 point to an original date of composition for the poem at some stage after 1594, and before the 1619 *terminus ante quem*.

[6]Scholars who appear to accept the 1450 date include Largillière, 'Le Dialog' (1928); J. Tourneur-Aumont, 'Le prophète Guinglaff au service du roi de France Charles VII', *Annales de Bretagne* 1 (1930), 1–17; Henry Lewis and J. R. F. Piette, *Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol (Diwygiedig)* (Cardiff, 1966); Hervé Le Bihan, *'An Dialog etre Arzur Roe d'an Bretounet ha Guynglaff' / 'Le dialogue entre Artur roi des Bretons et Guynglaff': Texte prophétique breton en vers (1450) édité et présenté avec commentaires et notes par Herve Le Bihan* (Rennes, 2013); Gwennolé Le Menn, 'La Littérature en Moyen-Breton de 1350 à 1650', *Questions d'Histoire de Bretagne: Actes du 107e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes* (Paris, 1982), 89–104, at 92; Antone Minard, '*The Dialogue between King Arthur and Gwenc'hlan*: a translation', *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 30/1 (1999), 167–79.

[7]Kenneth Jackson, *A Historical Phonology of Breton* (Dublin, 1967), xxxii.

[8]Norris J. Lacy and Geoffrey Ashe (eds), *The New Arthurian Encyclopedia* (Abingdon, 2013), 115.

[9]I use Peter Schrijver's divisions of the Middle Breton period given in 'Middle and Early Modern Breton', in E. Ternes (ed.), *Brythonic Celtic – Britannisches Keltisch: From Medieval British to Modern Breton* (Bremen, 2011), 359–429, at 360.

The 1450 argument

In affirming the 1450 date, Dom Le Pelletier seems to have started a trend which most subsequent *Dialog* scholars have followed. For René Largillière, the work's first modern editor, *il semble que cette date de 1450 soit exacte* ('it seems that this date of 1450 is correct').[10] Similarly, for J. Tourneur-Aumont, the *Dialog*'s internal evidence *permet[…] de dater l'œuvre avant le 16 juillet 1450* ('permits [us] … to date the work to before the 16th of July 1450').[11] The Welsh scholar Henry Lewis, for his part, states unequivocally that the text *perthyn … i'r cyfnod 1450* ('belongs … to the period 1450'), adding somewhat gratuitously that it is an *Ymddiddan, cân heb ddim teilyngdod llenyddol* ('a Conversation, a song without any literary merit').[12] Meanwhile the poem's most recent editor, Hervé Le Bihan, while accepting a theory of many years of layers of scribal reworkings and interpolations for the poem (on which more below), nevertheless presents the *Dialog* as a *Texte prophétique breton en vers (1450)* ('Prophetic text in verse (1450)'). In this edition, Le Bihan seems to uphold Le Pelletier's date as the moment at which the text assumed the earliest form of the (in his view) highly-reworked version in which it has been preserved.[13] Although the date in Le Pelletier's *Dictionnaire* appears to be the primary basis on which the 1450 hypothesis rests, both Largillière and Tourneur-Aumont attempt to find further evidence in its favour in the historical events of fifteenth-century Brittany, as I discuss shortly. Before this, however, some preliminary observations.

First, I note the obvious but fundamental point that the date in the *Dictionnaire* represents no cast-iron guarantee that the *Dialog* was composed in 1450. Scholars have, however, found it convenient to accept this date: the text presents few other firm indications of its dating; and since dates of composition rarely accompany manuscript witnesses to medieval texts, those which we do have might appear all the more significant. Yet there are good reasons to approach with caution – and even reject – Le Pelletier's mid-fifteenth-century date. At a most basic level, manuscript dates are notoriously unstable, prone to scribal or textual corruption, with the result that they may be altered over time. This is especially true of figures, and although the year 1450 is written in words in the *Dictionnaire*, it is possible that at some stage in the poem's transmission Roman numerals were used instead – from which confusion may have arisen as the text was copied and recopied.[14]

[10] Largillière, 'Le dialogue', 634.

[11] Tourneur-Aumont, 'Le prophète Guinglaff', 6.

[12] Lewis and Piette, *Llawlyfr*, 5. The German version of the same work, translated by Wolfgang Meid as *Handbuch des Mittelbretonischen* (Innsbruck, 1990), retains the same remark (p. 4). This view is most probably based on Largillière's opinions as expressed in 'Le dialogue', 632–3. These may derive ultimately from the aforementioned remarks of Le Pelletier's *avertissement*.

[13] Le Bihan, *'An Dialog'*.

[14] For another example of a text of Breton provenance which is accompanied by a dubious date in its sole surviving manuscript version, see *Vita Sancti Goeznovei*, ed. by André-Yves Bourgès in *Le Dossier littéraire de saint Goëznou et la controverse sur la datation de la vita sancti Goeznovei* (Morlaix, 2020).

Moreover, the language of the manuscript date prompts certain questions of its own. Le Pelletier not only copied, in French, the words, *mil quatre cent et cinquante* ('one thousand, four hundred, and fifty') in his *Dictionnaire*; he also related that it was similarly *ecrit ainsi en François* ('written thus in French') in his manuscript source – presumably only one of them, although this is not made explicit.[15] This raises the question of why a poet composing in Breton would have dated his work in French rather than Breton. It is true that other Middle Breton texts feature rubrics in a language other than Breton. The stage directions in the Breton play *Buhez Santez Nonn* ('The Life of Saint Nonn'), for example, are in Latin.[16] Yet the difference in language between the *Dialog* and the date that accompanies it might nevertheless suggest a certain distance between the two, and perhaps also one of the following possibilities. The 1450 date may have been added at some unknown stage after the poem was written – and by a scribe who may or may not have known its true date of composition. Alternatively, this date may originally have been written in figures, and only translated into French by a later scribe. We cannot know for certain whether either of these is true, but in both scenarios there is potential for scribal error or textual corruption.

Much more damaging to the 1450 hypothesis, however, is the fact that Le Pelletier tells us in his *avertissement* that his source conveyed not a straightforward *mil quatre cent et cinquante* ('one thousand, four hundred, and fifty'), but instead the words *quatre cent et cinquant* ('four hundred and fifty'), preceded by a crossed-out *mil* ('one thousand'). Le Pelletier interprets this as an ill-intentioned intervention from an unwise scribe desiring to make the poem seem one thousand years older than it actually was: composed in the year 450, and thus from the (supposedly) authentic Arthurian age. Such an Arthurian dating, however, would accord with medieval ideas of Arthur's dates popular on the continent. Whereas many medieval chroniclers of the Latin tradition harmonised their accounts of Arthur's life with the one Arthurian date provided by Geoffrey of Monmouth – that of 542, for Arthur's death – they also accessed Geoffrey's Arthurian narratives via 'universal histories' (histories of the world beginning at creation).[17] On the continent, one of the most influential of these was Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* (*c*. 1255), which placed Arthur's activity in the years of the emperor Leo – that is, *c*. 470.[18] This fifth-century Arthurian dating aligns relatively well with the 450 date of Le Pelletier's source,

[15] It seems less likely that the supposed error of the erased *mil* would have appeared in both – rather than simply one of – Le Pelletier's sources. And given that Le Pelletier seems usually to record places where his second manuscript gave variant readings, it may be conjectured that the 'error' appeared only in his base text.

[16] Yves Le Berre (ed. and trans.), '*Buez santes Nonn hac ez map Deuy': transcription et traduction ['Buez santes Nonn hac ez map Deuy': adskrivet diwar an destenn a orin ha troet e galleg]*, in Yves Le Berre, Bernard Tanguy, and Yves-Pascal Castel (eds), *Mystère breton: Vie de sainte Nonne = Buez santez Nonn* (Treflevenez, 1999), 113–94.

[17] Ad Putter, 'Latin historiography after Geoffrey of Monmouth', in Siân Echard (ed.), *The Arthur of Medieval Latin Literature: The Development and Dissemination of the Arthurian Legend in Medieval Latin*, (Cardiff, 2011), 85–108.

[18] Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, book 20, chapter 59: *Speculum quadruplex: sive, Speculum maius*, facsimile ed. (Graz, 1964) of edition published Douai, 1624, 4 vols, iii, 799–801.

and may have motivated the original creation of the *Dialog*'s dating rubric. All this would have been lost on Le Pelletier, however, since he was convinced that the Arthur intended by the *Dialog* poet was not the legendary British king, but rather one of Brittany's three dukes named Arthur.[19] Thus it was that the author of the *Dictionnaire* restored the erased *mil* in an emendation which produced the date 1450.

Assuming that Le Pelletier was correct in reading the erased word as *mil*, we have no evidence to suggest that the date's original author had not in fact intended the year 450 all along, had mistakenly begun with *mil*, and had accordingly corrected his work immediately by crossing out the *mil*. It would be a natural mistake to make for a later medieval writer more accustomed to writing second-millennium dates. If this were to have been the case – as I think probable, especially in the light of continental medieval ideas about the 'historical' Arthur's dates, mentioned above – it would mean that the 1450 date was Le Pelletier's accidental invention, and has no further relevance to the poem.

Finally, I suggest that despite previous scholarly attempts to make a case for the 1450 date based on historical arguments, mid-fifteenth-century Brittany does not provide the most plausible historical context for the *Dialog*'s composition. I tread carefully here, since the larger themes of Guynglaff's prophecies mentioned above (religious corruption, years of general disaster, and the threat of an English invasion), may be viewed as generic, common to much – and especially Welsh – vaticinatory literature until the end of the seventeenth century, such as, for example, early Welsh Myrddin poetry.[20] These themes' appearance in the *Dialog* may thus have no wider significance than that they featured among a limited range of stock prophetic literary motifs. Yet medieval (and early modern) prophecy was often written to support particular political ends, and may thus be viewed as the product of very specific political, historical, and economic circumstances.[21] Indeed, by listing precise years in the final few decades of the sixteenth century, the *Dialog* poet seems even to invite the historicisation of his work (although it is clear that the historical parallels implied do not concern the mid fifteenth century). Nonetheless, Largillière justifies his espousal of the 1450 date based on the historical record for that period:

> *notre auteur n'envisage que des guerres avec l'Angleterre; ce sont pour lui les seuls événements qui puissent se présenter; c'est là la marque de cette triste période du milieu du xve siècle, qui est celle*

[19] BRM MS 1007, p. 1353.

[20] For editions and translations of early Welsh Merlin poetry, see John K. Bollard, 'Myrddin in Early Welsh Tradition', in Peter Goodrich (ed.), *The Romance of Merlin* (New York, 1990), 13–54. For further discussion of Welsh vaticinatory literature, see Helen Fulton, *Welsh Prophecy and English Politics in the Late Middle Ages*, Sir Thomas Parry-Williams Memorial Lecture (Aberystwyth, 2008). For a broader discussion of the function of medieval prophetic literature, see Victoria Flood, *Prophecy, Politics, and Place in Medieval England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Thomas of Erceldoune* (Cambridge, 2016).

[21] See, for example, G. A. Williams, 'The bardic road to Bosworth: a Welsh view of Henry Tudor', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1986), 7–31 for discussion of Welsh prophetic poetry written to support Henry Tudor's claim to kingship during the Wars of the Roses (1455–87).

> *de la fin du règne de François Ier. Notre texte est antérieur à la mort de François II, 1488, et aux négociations qui précédèrent le mariage d'Anne de Bretagne.*[22]
>
> 'our author envisages only wars with England; these are for him the only events which could manifest themselves; it is this which is the hallmark of this sad period in the middle of the fifteenth century, which is that of the end of the reign of Francis I. Our text is earlier than the death of Francis II, 1488, and earlier than the negotiations which preceded the marriage of Anne of Brittany.'

While conflict with an English enemy is certainly envisaged in the *Dialog*, Brittany in this period still retained its independence from the French crown – in relation to which its dukes were in a position of relative strength in the year 1450. For the French King Charles VII (1403–61) needed the Bretons' military aid in his campaigns against the English. It was with the support of the Breton ducal army that Charles achieved both his reconquest of Normandy and victories over the English in Formigny (1450) and Guyenne (1453).[23] The English therefore primarily posed a threat to French, and not Breton, authority and territory around the year 1450. In the resulting conflict, Brittany was only indirectly involved. Yet the *Dialog* poet explicitly speaks of the English descending on named places in Brittany – *Perzell* (Fort de Bertheaume, l. 172), *Brest* (l. 173), *Leon* (Léon) and *Guengamp* (Guingamp, l. 174), *Treguer* (Trégor, l. 180), *Goelou* (Goëlo) and *Porz Guenn* (Le Port Blanc, l. 182), etc. – and the poem as it survives ends with the image of *an oll Saouson* ('all the English') coming *da quemeret e Breiz possession* ('to take possession in Brittany', ll. 246–7).[24] Any serious prospect of such events is thus difficult to reconcile with the mid-fifteenth-century Breton context.

Moreover, in contrast with Largillière's view, *guerres avec l'Angleterre* are not the only events the *Dialog* presents. As previously stated, religious corruption – specifically heresy – and a state of general disaster also loom large in the poem. Regarding the former, Tourneur-Aumont, favouring a mid-fifteenth-century date, argues that *les malheurs du clergé* ('the misfortunes of the clergy') prophesied by Guynglaff represent part of the fallout from the Great (Papal) Schism of 1378–1417, in which two – and for a time three – rival popes jostled for authority. As for the predicted *hoeresi* ('heresy', l. 51), he writes that this *fait penser à la Pré-Réforme, aux Hussites, contre lesquels, en 1429, se tournait l'esprit de croisade de Jeanne d'Arc et s'armait l'évêque de Winchester* ('brings to mind the Pre-reformation, the Hussites, against whom, in 1429, Joan of Arc's crusading spirit turned and the bishop of Winchester took up arms'). Meanwhile, the general catastrophe that the poem portrays – mothers' hearts *rannet* ('torn', l. 104) and *entre pep ty / An bresel criet* ('between each house / war

[22] Largillière, 'Le dialogue', 634.

[23] Joël Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des Bretons. 1: Des âges obscurs au règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 2005), 312.

[24] Unless otherwise stated, all quotations from the *Dialog* are taken from BRM MS 1007; their accompanying English translations are mine.

cried', ll. 105–6) – Tourneur-Aumont interprets as part of the fallout from the Breton War of Succession (1341–65).[25]

While such identifications are not impossible, they hardly seem probable. The dates of both the Great Schism and Joan of Arc's 1429 campaign against the Hussites align at best only awkwardly with the *Dialog*'s hypothesised mid-fifteenth-century date of composition – the former ending 33 years before 1450, and the latter occurring 21 years before 1450. Neither event seems to have had the calamitous effect on Brittany foretold by Guynglaff. The link made between the Breton War of Succession and the *Dialog*'s descriptions of calamity appears similarly dubious. Ending 85 years before the mid-fifteenth-century period in which Tourneur-Aumont believes the poem to have been composed, this conflict would scarcely have been in the living – let alone recent – memory of the *Dialog* poet hypothesised to be writing about 1450. Moreover, the idea of general catastrophe does not appear to be particularly pertinent to mid-fifteenth-century Brittany. Whereas England and France during this period were engaged in ongoing conflict with each other, Brittany seems to have enjoyed relative peace and great economic prosperity since the reign of Duke Jean V (1399–1442), who, through managing to maintain good relations with both parties in the final decades of the Hundred Years War, assured Brittany's prosperity.[26] The mid-fifteenth-century Breton dukes Francis I (r. 1442–50) and Peter II (r. 1450–7) seem to have continued to both enjoy and augment the fruits of Jean's reign. Brittany's economy continued to flourish well into the reign of Peter II, during which time the region's yearly revenue equalled that of an average European state of the period. Indeed, so secure was Brittany's position during Peter's time that the duke felt he could afford to refuse homage to the French king, and instead establish new direct relations with Castille and Portugal.[27] This backdrop hardly presents itself as a likely context in which the *Dialog* poet would have sung of *trubuyll meurbet* ('great trouble', l. 41) in Brittany.

In the light of the analysis thus far, then, the date of 1450 is implausible. Representing not the words of Le Pelletier's source itself (the writer of which seems to have intended the year 450) but rather Le Pelletier's emendation to his source, the 1450 date seems to have originated accidentally with the author of the *Dictionnaire*. Furthermore, the historical record for the mid fifteenth century presents itself as an unlikely context for the *Dialog*'s composition. I have argued that the three most prominent themes of the poem (religious corruption, years of general disaster, and the threat of an English invasion) do not align with a 1450 Breton context: Brittany in 1450 does not seem to have experienced severe religious crises; it enjoyed general economic prosperity; and it does not seem to have had particular reason to fear an English invasion. By contrast, I will argue later in this paper that all these three themes find convincing parallels in a late-sixteenth-century context. Before this, however, two hypotheses must be re-examined: (i) that there existed a *c*. mid-fifteenth-century 'original' of the poem, composed in multiple stages; (ii) that this 'original' was

[25]Tourneur-Aumont, 'Le prophète Guinglaff', 3–4.
[26]Cornette, *Histoire*, 310–12.
[27]Cornette, *Histoire*, 314.

subjected to large-scale textual corruption occurring during transmission. The text's linguistic evidence must also be explored.

THEORIES OF SCRIBAL REWORKING AND COMPOSITION IN MULTIPLE STAGES

1. The scribal reworking hypothesis

I turn now to another theory that has significantly influenced scholarly interpretations of the *Dialog*'s date, and so merits discussion here. It has been espoused notably by the eminent Breton scholars Émile Ernault (in the early twentieth century) and (more recently) Hervé Le Bihan. This theory has two central premises, the first of which is that the *Dialog* text as it is preserved has been subject to many layers of scribal interventions over time – born of scribal misunderstanding, and evinced by irregularities in the poem's metre, internal rhyme, and syllable-count per line. Meanwhile some elements are taken as interpolations. Le Bihan articulates this view thus:

> *Le texte ayant été fortement remanié dans l'unique version qui nous est parvenue, bon nombre de rimes internes ont disparu, et les vers ont été notablement modifiés: leur longueur est devenue alléatoire au gré des émendements et des ajouts, tout en ne tenant plus compte de la rime interne. Parfois certains membres de vers ont été changés de place, lorsque l'on ne voyait plus la rime interne.*[28]
>
> 'The text having been greatly reworked in the sole version which has reached us, a good number of internal rhymes have disappeared, and the lines have been notably modified: their length has become unpredictable as a result of emendations and additions, while simultaneously no longer taking account of the internal rhyme. Sometimes certain elements of the lines were changed in terms of their order, when the internal rhyme was no longer seen.'

According to this conceptual framework, the *Dialog* text was originally written according to a certain poetic practice (*versification*), and particular principles of internal rhyme (*principes de rimes internes*), that are represented in a Breton lay surviving only in a mid-fourteenth-century manuscript: one of the so-called Ivonet Omnes fragments.[29] The only other certain representatives of the Breton poetic tradition to which the Ivonet Omnes lay seems to belong date from the

[28] Le Bihan, *'An Dialog'*, 46.

[29] Le Bihan, *'An Dialog'*, 46. For the text of the Ivonet Omnes fragments, see Émile Ernault, 'Encore du breton d'Ivonet Omnes', *RC* 34 (1913), 249–52. On the basis of certain word forms, Le Bihan believes that this text was originally composed in the eleventh century, and reached its fourteenth-century form through modifications arising during scribal copying (Hervé Le Bihan, *Ar c'hrennvrezhoneg: un evezhiadennoù bennak war testenioù krennvrezhoneg abred. Kudennoù hennadiñ ha lec'hiañ*: unpublished paper presented at Aberystwyth and Kemperlé, 2017). However, I know of no evidence securely pointing to an original date of composition anterior to the fourteenth century for this lay.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – that is, from the late-Classical Middle Breton and the Late Middle Breton periods. The fact that the *Dialog* text in Le Pelletier's *Dictionnaire* does *not* reproduce this tradition's internal rhyme scheme is taken as evidence that various copyists had altered the poet's original work at various stages during textual transmission, as explained by Le Bihan in the above quotation. The poem's often irregular syllable-count per line (discussed in greater detail below), moreover, is taken as further evidence of scribal tampering. That this tampering is viewed as the product of incompetence is also made clear. Comparing the *Dialog* with the prologue to the Breton mystery play *Buhez Santez Nonn* ('The life of Saint Nonn'), Le Bihan writes:

> *le début du Dialog a subi à peu près le même traitement que le prologue de la Buez santes Nonn. Les deux textes ont subi un rajeunissement et une transcription fautive, dès lors que leurs scribes respectifs ne comprenaient plus ce qu'ils avaient devant les yeux.*[30]
>
> 'the beginning of the *Dialog* has suffered approximately the same fate as the prologue to *Buhez Santez Nonn*. The two texts have undergone modernisation and a faulty transcription, arising from the fact that their respective scribes no longer understood what they had before their eyes.'

These contentions pose certain important problems, however. First of all, it is not necessary to believe that the *Dialog* poet, thought to have been working around the mid fifteenth century, intended to write in the same tradition of poetic versification as that to which the Ivonet Omnes lai apparently belongs. Given that this tradition has just one pre-sixteenth-century example in the form of the aforementioned lai, there is little evidence to suggest its prevalence early in the Classical Middle Breton period. Meanwhile, there exist numerous Middle Breton texts which do not conform to this tradition of strict versification. One rather late example may be found in a 15-line poem headed by the rubric *Admonition dan Gvuir Christenyen, ha Catholiquet Parfet* ('Admonition to the true Christians and Perfect Catholics'), found in a book from 1625, but thought by Gwennolé Le Menn to date from the second half of the sixteenth century. Like Guynglaff's prophecies, it is largely written in octosyllabic lines; but again like Guynglaff's prophecies, not all the lines of the *Admonition* follow this consistent syllable-count. In terms of internal rhyme scheme, the *Admonition* likewise corresponds with the *Dialog* insofar as it does not always follow the pattern scholars have expected for it of *rimes internes classiques* ('classic internal rhymes').[31] The poetry in Gilles de Keranpuill's late-sixteenth-century Middle Breton Hours, whose internal

[30] Le Bihan, *'An Dialog'*, 47.

[31] Gwennolé Le Menn, 'Vers moyen-bretons écrit contre les «hérétiques» (1625)', *EC* 21 (1984), 275–83. For discussion of syllable-count and internal rhyme, see pp. 277–8. My thanks to Myrzinn Boucher-Durand for drawing this poem to my attention.

rhyme and syllable-count are relatively loose, provides another example.[32] The probable late-sixteenth-century dates of these poems may be significant: I will argue below that the *Dialog* was also composed around this time. My argument here is that while some kind of tradition of Breton strict verse certainly existed, there is no secure evidence indicating that it was so pervasive that all Middle Breton poetry conformed to it – or would have done so in hypothesised 'original' forms composed much earlier than those in which they have been preserved until present. Rather, these texts may simply lie outside of the strict-verse tradition. In the light of other evidence set forward in this article, I believe this possibility in the *Dialog*'s case to be more plausible than the theory of scribal mangling.

Regarding the *Dialog*'s metrical and other irregularities, it is not necessary to view these solely as the product of large-scale scribal reworking – indeed there is good evidence not to do so.[33] The Breton works, already cited, which do not conform to the pattern of Breton strict verse provide some justification for this view. Further support may be found in Middle Welsh – the only other Brittonic language which has a larger corpus of literature than Breton, and which may provide a possible parallel. Medieval Welsh poems of some types tend, like the *Dialog*, to vary their syllable-count per line. For example, in an analysis of the metrical organisation of Welsh pre-*Gogynfeirdd* verse, Marged Haycock highlights 'frequent deviations from the syllabic norm in early poetry'. In this light, it is feasible that similar variation in the *Dialog* could be authorial rather than the result of erroneous scribal intervention. Indeed, Haycock finds that scholars working on the assumption that early Welsh verse was written in lines of regular syllable-counts have been unable convincingly to explain such deviation from the syllabic 'norm', with the worrying result that otherwise acceptable lines of poetry have at times been emended 'in order to obtain a 'normal' line length'.[34] I will argue shortly that the *Dialog* has also, unnecessarily, received similar treatment.

The issue of sense is also significant to the question of scribal reworking for the *Dialog* text. If the poem as it has been preserved had indeed been subjected to alterations born of scribal incompetence, as Le Bihan suggests, it would be reasonable to expect it to be frequently illogical, if not incomprehensible. Yet there are only a few places in the poem where this seems to be the case

[32] Gilles de Keranpuill, *Middle Breton Hours*, ed. and trans. by Whitley Stokes (Calcutta, 1876). I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to this text.

[33] There are of course some occasions on which relatively minor miscopying seems certainly to have occurred, as may be expected whenever texts are transmitted via manuscripts. One of these appears to be at l. 49, which reads, *An douar fallaff a roy guellaff* ('The worst soil will give the best'). Here, it has been assumed that the word *ed* ('corn', 'grain') in final position has been lost: this assumption is justified both by the rhyme scheme (the surrounding lines end in *-et*), and by the presence of *ed* in very late Breton proverbs (Hervé Le Bihan, '*An Dialog etre Arzur Roe d'an Bretounet ha Guynglaff* and its Connections with Arthurian Tradition', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 29 (2009), 115–26, at 122–3). I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to this passage.

[34] Marged Haycock, 'Metrical models for the poems from the Book of Taliesin', in Brynley F. Roberts (ed.), *Early Welsh Poetry: Studies in the Book of Aneirin* (Aberystwyth, 1988), 155–77, at 157.

– and nothing beyond what is usual for any manuscript witness to a text.[35] While the *Dialog* undoubtedly contains certain riddling and puzzling elements, such features are (to a greater or lesser extent) a customary characteristic of the prophetic genre. Moreover, I will argue below that on an overarching structural level the poem's broad thematic progression seems highly logical when viewed in a late sixteenth-century context. On a more granular level, meanwhile, two examples will serve to demonstrate that logical thought underlies the *Dialog*'s structure in its detail as much as in its broader shape, and thus that the text makes best sense when left unemended.

The first of these examples concerns the following passage, quoted below as it appears in Le Pelletier's *Dictionnaire*:

> *Calz a fizio en beth muy evyt en Ilis:*
> *An-tra-se a coezo dre vicz.*
> *Huy guelo etre tut a Ilis*
> *Baeleien hep nep justiçç:*
> *Pep foll a goulenno offiçç.* (ll. 27–31)

> 'Many will trust more in the world than in the church:
> that will happen through vice.
> You will see among the people of the church
> priests without any justice:
> every fool will ask for an office.'

In the interests of regulating the metre and internal rhyme of this section, Ernault recommends both emending the word *baeleien* ('priests') to *barnerien* ('judges'), and adding the qualifying adjective *rust* ('cruel').[36] The whole line would thus read: *barnerien rust hep nep justiçç*. These alterations would have the double advantage of both bringing the syllable-count of line 30 up from 7 to 8, in accordance with the lines by which it is directly preceded and followed, and of providing an internal rhyme on the ***rust*** and ***justiçç***. These changes are accepted by Le Bihan in his most recent, 'restored', edition of the text.[37] In terms of thematic sense, however, these emendations are inferior to the manuscript reading, which is consistent with the religious ideas suggested in the surrounding lines. Although the allusion to *justiçç* recalls the legal sphere of the proposed 'judges' (*barnerien*), the passage dwells

[35] An example of one of the *Dialog*'s more obscure phrases may be found in the lines *Ma forcher eno abbaty, Da pep sort gant un flechy* ('While they are forced into their abbey, / To every sort, because of a *flechy*', ll. 118–19), which are puzzling not least because the meaning of *flechy* is unclear. In his French translation Le Pelletier leaves a blank for this word, and marks it as *inconnu* ('unknown'). Le Bihan reads it as the Breton word *floc'h* ('squire', 'page', 'horseman'), presumably taking the final *-y* as a plural marker, in addition to the internal vowel change. Yet this theory is not wholly satisfactory owing to the fact that *flechy* is preceded by the indefinite article 'un', which requires a noun in the singular. Another alternative theory is that *flechy* is a loan-word from the Middle French *flèche* ('arrow'), attested in Breton as *flech* from at least the eighteenth century. In this case the final *-y* could be explained relatively plausibly by the requirements of rhyme. Other such instances of more opaque vocabulary in the *Dialog* are, however, relatively rare.

[36] See Ernault's notes in Largillière, 'Le dialogue', 662.

[37] Le Bihan, 'Essai de restitution du texte', in *'An Dialog'*, 77–86, at 80.

predominantly on the realm of religion (which in the medieval period had an important legal jurisdiction of its own). In line 27, the poet presents the opposing ecclesiastical vs secular spheres: *en beth* ('in the world') contrasted with *en Ilis* ('in the Church'). In line 28, he writes of *vicz* ('vice'), a word whose identification with spiritual and religious failing is demonstrated by its entry in the 1499 Breton-French-Latin dictionary, *Le Catholicon*: *uicc*, g. *idem*, *pechie*, l. *uicium* ('*uicc*, m. the same as sin, pl. *uicium*').[38] In line 29, the poet informs the reader where the noun under discussion will be seen: *etre tut a Ilis* ('among the people of the church') – evidently a more natural place for priests than for judges. In this case, then, the manuscript reading makes good sense in its poetic context, and the proposed emendations are both less suitable and unnecessary.

For the second example, heavier emendation has been proposed. The relevant passage according to Le Pelletier's *Dictionnaire* reads:

> *Huy a guelo, quent an gourfenn,*
> *Hoeretiquet a drouc empenn,*
> *Na sellont pep quis dispenn*
> *An feiz a Doe, so Roy ha Penn.* (ll. 55–8)
>
> 'You will see, before the end,
> Heretics of an evil mind,
> Who will look only for ways to destroy
> The faith of God who is King and Head.'

Le Bihan prints the same lines with the incorporation of Ernault's suggested emendations, given in italics:

> Huy a guelo *gnou* quent an gour*f*enn
> Hœretiquet a drouc *credenn*.
> Na sell*h*ont *e* pep quis dispenn
> An *fez* a Doe so *guir roen glenn*,[39]

While numerous emendations are suggested for this passage, I highlight here only the substitutions of *credenn* ('faith') for *empenn* ('brain', l. 56), and *guir roen glenn* ('true king of earth') for *Roy ha Penn* ('King and Head', l. 58), since these significantly alter the sense. In fact, these emendations also obscure an effective poetic device found in the *Dictionnaire* version of the text. In the unemended poem, lines 56–7 introduce a play on the word *penn* ('head'). The *hœretiquet* ('heretics', l. 56) have an 'evil' (*drouc*, l. 56) 'mind' – which the Breton *empenn* (l. 56), literally what is 'inside the head', spells out in greater explicit detail than my English translation conveys – and they look only to *dispenn* ('destroy', l. 57) – literally to 'un-head' – God's own 'faith' (*feiz*, l. 58). The use of adnominatio on the word *penn* (in the form of the added prefixes *em-* and *dis-*) has the effect of creating a climactic build-up, culminating in its

[38] Jehan Lagadec, *Le Catholicon: Dictionnaire Breton, Français et Latin* (Tréguier, 1499), 221.
[39] Le Bihan, 'Essai de restitution', p. 80.

final occurrence, in line 58, with the reference to the ultimate *Penn* 'Head', i.e. God (*Doe*). Thus, while *penn* appears in connection with the heretics only in adulterated, variant versions of the word, it is applied to God in its pure, whole, and (the context implies) best form; and God's headship is made to seem all the more glorious by this contrast. The manuscript readings here are therefore both logical and, from a literary perspective, effective. Like the first example cited above, then, these lines present no substantial indication of scribal revisions, and so the proposed emendations appear gratuitous.

Thus far in this section I have argued that there exists insufficient evidence to support the claim that the *Dialog* text, in its present form in Le Pelletier's *Dictionnaire*, represents but a shadow of its original state, having been subjected to many layers of scribal intervention over time. The central pillars of this hypothesis – that the poem must originally have conformed to the tradition of strict Breton versification which the Ivonet Omnes lai is considered to represent, and that the *Dialog*'s metrical irregularity results from scribal error – appear unsound. Rather, on the basis of comparison with other Brittonic works – non-strict verse in both Breton and Welsh – I have contended that the *Dialog*'s irregularities in line-length and internal rhyme scheme exist by authorial acceptance. This view is itself supported by the logical sense and literary merit which, I believe, characterise the text. Instead of viewing the poem as the product of many layers over a long period of scribal error, I therefore favour the simpler explanation that the text as it is currently preserved is a relatively good witness to the *Dialog* poet's original work.

2. The two-stage composition hypothesis.

The second tenet of Ernault and Le Bihan's view is that the poem's core was written at two very different (but unspecified) points in time, with the first ten lines having been composed at an early date, and the rest written later. Under this view, it seems, the *Dialog* was put together as a whole by a 'redactor' around the year 1450. The first ten lines are considered to have endured the most acute scribal revisions. Ernault writes that they were *fort maltraité, écourté et rajeuni* ('greatly ill-treated, shortened, and modernised'), and on this basis suggests heavy and imaginative emendations, which are printed in Le Bihan's *restitution* of the text.[40] Le Bihan summarises the theory as follows:

> *Une des clés pour comprendre l'âge du texte passe par la compréhension de sa structure. Le texte présente clairement deux parties: les 10 premiers vers sont en réalité des hémistiches constituant des vers de 12 syllables, initialement organisés en quatrains; ces premiers vers présentent Guinglaff, l'homme sauvage (et peut-être aveugle), avatar de Merlin … et d'autres vers, plus courts, de 8 syllabes, qui donnent un dialogue entre le*

[40] Ernault's notes in Largillière, 'Le dialogue', 660. For Le Bihan's emended version of the text, see 'Essai de restitution', 80.

> *Roi Arthur et Guinglaff à propos de malheurs et d'événements futurs qui se situent en apparence au milieu du seizième siècle.*[41]
>
> 'One of the keys to understanding the age of the text emerges from the comprehension of its structure. The text clearly presents two parts: the first ten lines are in reality hemistichs [i.e. half lines] constituting lines of twelve syllables, initially organised into quatrains; these first lines present Guinglaff, the wild (and perhaps blind) man, avatar of Merlin … and the other lines, shorter, of eight syllables, which give a dialogue between King Arthur and Guynglaff regarding the future misfortunes and events which apparently take place in the middle of the sixteenth century.'

Now, there are no linguistic differences between the *Dialog*'s first ten lines and the rest of the poem which might suggest these two parts' difference in age. As for linguistic forms distributed throughout the text that indicate the date of the poem as a whole, these will be analysed in detail in the next section. The following brief comparison between notable linguistic features of the first ten lines and the rest of the text, however, will highlight the lack of linguistic evidence to support a theory of composition in two stages.

In their present state, the *Dialog*'s first ten lines feature no clear cases of Early Middle Breton forms. To take a few examples, line 7 has *dindan* ('under', l. 7), which is striking in featuring a dialectal nasalisation that is introduced in the Kerne (Cornouaille), Leon, Treger (KLT) areas during the Classical Middle Breton period. The older and conservative form in Middle Breton is *didan*, which Middle Breton texts from the Gwened (Vannes) region retain.[42] Indeed, *dindan* is not particular to the poem's first ten lines, appearing again in the same form in line 207. Elsewhere, forms such as *gloar* (l. 9) similarly fail to betray any sign of conservatism. The earlier form of this word is *gloer*, with the transition from *-er* to *-ar* seeming to have occurred in Breton texts of KLT provenance – which constitute the majority of the surviving Middle Breton corpus – around the mid fifteenth century (although again, Gwened literature conserves the earlier form).[43] *Gloar* does not reappear in the text. By contrast, however, Guynglaff's prophecies feature plenty of innovations, as I discuss below. Linguistic forms such as *dindan* and *gloar* thus offer no convincing indication that the *Dialog*'s first ten lines were composed at an earlier date to the rest of the text. While such lack of supporting evidence for the two-stage composition theory could be attributed to the modernising work of successive scribes, it is explained more simply, and probably more logically, by a single original date of composition for the poem as a whole.

[41] Le Bihan, *'An Dialog'*, 15.

[42] See Myrzinn Boucher-Durand, '"On pourrait les multiplier presque jusqu'au nombre des paroisses": a study of the dialects in Middle Breton', unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, 2024, K1.4, p. 155.

[43] See Boucher-Durand, '"On pourrait les muliplier"', NS2.1, pp. 102–3. Le Bihan (*'An Dialog'*, 51) argues that this is an example of a form modernised by the scribe, pronounced *gloer* despite being spelt in *-oa*; however, the internal rhyme scheme does not necessitate this interpretation.

Nevertheless, the argument in favour of the *Dialog*'s two-stage composition rests primarily not on linguistic evidence, but on differences in the syllable-count per line between the first ten lines and the rest of the work. The view expressed in the above quotation from Le Bihan, who in turn follows Ernault, regarding the poem's 'original' metrical patterns is key here: under this proposition, the *Dialog* is thought to have originally been composed of ten lines of 12 syllables each, followed by regular octosyllabic lines. The *Dialog* does not obey such consistent patterns in its *Dictionnaire* form, however. The difference in syllable-count per line between the first ten lines of the poem, as it is preserved, and a portion of Guynglaff's prophecies is demonstrated in the following tables — which also imply the extent of the emendation required in order to bring the work into conformity with the regular 12- and 8-syllable counts per line which have been claimed for it.

Syllable count per line for the first ten lines of the *Dialog*

Line number	Syllable count per line
1	6
2	8
3	6
4	6
5	6
6	5
7	8
8	9
9	10
10	5

Syllable count per line for the first ten-line run of Guynglaff's prophecies

Line number	Syllable count per line
36	8
37	7
38	9
39	7
40	8
41	8
42	7
43	8
44	8
45	8

It is evident from these tables that some metrical difference does exist between lines 1–10 and lines 36–45. While the syllable-count per line for the former group varies widely between 5 and 10, that for the latter group hovers around 8, which is itself the average syllable-count per line for Guynglaff's prophecies as a whole (although some of these lines are much longer: line 26, for example, has a total of fifteen syllables). I have already argued above that the *Dialog*'s variable syllable-count is not anomalous in a medieval Brittonic literary context, and thus is more probably the result of authorial acceptance than of scribal error. I now suggest further that the metrical discrepancy between the first ten lines of the work and Guynglaff's prophecies proper need not be interpreted as evidence of a difference in dating. It is in fact quite usual for medieval and antique texts to have prologues in a different metre to the main text. To again borrow an example from the Welsh corpus, *Canu Heledd* begins with a four-line *englyn* which, in Jenny Rowlands' words, 'seems to serve as a prelude'

to the rest of the work – which is in turn written in three-line *englynion*.[44] It seems to me far more plausible that metrical differences exist between the *Dialog*'s opening lines and the rest not because these two sections were written at different times and later glued together, but instead because the *Dialog*'s opening similarly serves as an introductory prelude to the rest of the text – which, consisting mainly of Guynglaff's prophecies, seems suited to a different metre.

It remains in this section to examine one final justification which has been posited in favour of the scribal-reworking and multiple-stage composition hypotheses discussed here. That is, that the account of Guynglaff the Wild Man, in the opening lines of the *Dialog* in their earliest and 'original' form, would have conformed to Geoffrey of Monmouth's description of Merlin in *Vita Merlini* (*VM*). Within this framework, the *Dialog*'s presentation of Guynglaff – being (it is argued) of greater antiquity than the rest of the text, but subsequently reworked almost beyond recognition by various scribes – seems to be taken as a direct inheritor of *VM*, and written in compliance with it. The *Dialog* poet, according to this understanding, appears to possess the role of mediator between Galfridian and native Breton tradition. Arguing, on the basis of comparison with *VM*, that the *Dialog*'s opening lacks a line (*un vers*), the prophet's name (*le nom du personnage*), and details of his fare (*le menu de sa pitance*), Ernault suggests emendations intended to 'restore' the text to its earliest form, *viz*. in line with *VM*.[45] These suggestions are printed in Le Bihan's *restitution.* Thus, among other alterations, line 1 – which in the *Dictionnaire* version reads *Dre Gracz Doe ez veve* ('Through God's grace he lived') – becomes in the *restitution*, *Dre grâce Doe oz beuaff vn den Guinclaff hanuet* ('By the grace of God lived a man named Guynglaff). Meanwhile, an entirely new line, reading *Grisiou, lousou, ha froez an guez, euel goezet* is inserted at line 3.

Yet since such emendations are not produced by Ernault's access to any manuscript witnesses beyond the *Dictionnaire*, but are instead chiefly the fruit of his own invention, there is no good reason to accept the 'restituted' version of the text as representing the *Dialog* in its 'original' form better than Le Pelletier's copy. While some Galfridian influence on the poem is certainly possible, especially given the enduring popularity of Geoffrey's works on the continent, the text as it stands presents no indication whatsoever of any early conformity with *VM* on the scale Ernault implies.[46] I have argued elsewhere, in fact, that the *Dialog*'s Guynglaff has in some respects more in common with the medieval Wild Men of the other Celtic vernacular literatures than with *VM*'s Merlin.[47]

[44] Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: A Study and Edition of the* Englynion (Cambridge, 1990), 572.

[45] Ernault's notes in Largillière, 'Le dialogue', 660–1.

[46] While the popularity of Geoffrey of Monmouth's other works pales in comparison with that of his *De Gestis Britonum*, *VM* nevertheless enjoyed a respectably sized medieval readership. For further discussion on the medieval readership of both texts, see Simon Meecham-Jones, 'Early reactions to Geoffrey's works', in Georgia Henley and Joshua Byron Smith (eds), *A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth* (Leiden, 2020), 181–208.

[47] Jessica Shales, '*An Dialog etre Arzur Roe d'an Bretounet ha Guynglaff*, Celtic "Wild Man" legends, and the Brittonic Arthurian tradition', unpublished paper presented at the annual conference of the International Arthurian Society, Cardiff, 2023.

Moreover, the *VM* hypothesis with regard to the Breton poem seems to be to some extent circular. The *Dialog* poet is thought to have originally followed *VM*'s presentation of Merlin in his own portrayal of Guynglaff, which helps indicate that the *Dialog*'s description of the prophet is of an early date, which is in turn reason to believe that the *Dialog* poet originally followed *VM*'s presentation of Merlin. If, however, the poem as a whole may reasonably be shown to have a single, much later, date of composition, any plausible reason for supposing that the *Dialog* poet, in his hypothesised role as early mediator between Galfridian and Breton Arthurian traditions, had originally intentionally and significantly conformed his work to *VM*, vanishes altogether.

The arguments presented thus far clear the ground for accepting just such a later date. In the first part of this article, I contended that the MS date of 1450 is largely irrelevant to the text. I have argued further in this section that there is inadequate evidence for, and good evidence against, both the theory that the poem was subjected to large-scale scribal interference, and the hypothesis that it was composed at two separate points in time. I have suggested rather that a single authorial intention underpins the whole text as it is preserved in Le Pelletier's *Dictionnaire*, which itself seems an acceptable representation of the *Dialog* poet's original work.[48] Because Guynglaff's prophecies refer to specific years at the end of the sixteenth century, it is highly unlikely that the prophecies for these same years would have been written ahead of time: practically all medieval prophecy can be shown to have been written retrospectively. Therefore, if, as my analysis so far has found, the poem features no clear scribal interventions or interpolations, the inference is that the whole work was written at some stage *after* the last date named by Guynglaff in the course of his prophecies – that is, at some stage after 1588. The case for a later date around this time is reinforced by the linguistic and historical evidence, as I will argue in the two remaining sections of this article.

THE LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

Overall the *Dialog* presents a mixture of linguistic archaisms and innovations. It is impossible conclusively to answer the dating question through examining the text's language in isolation from other factors. But the fact, to be shown presently, that the linguistic evidence presents nothing which precludes an original date of composition at some stage towards the end of the sixteenth, or at the beginning of the seventeenth, century is nevertheless significant. While the presence in the poem of innovative linguistic forms may of course be interpreted as the result of later scribal intervention, I find no positive textual evidence to support this reading. The following brief analysis suggests that both the *Dialog*'s 'modern' forms *and* its archaisms, when viewed collectively, favour an original date of composition towards the end of the Classical Middle Breton period.

[48] I note, however, that the *Dialog* may have originally contained further prophecies from Guynglaff: see note 3.

Linguistic features indicative of a date relatively early on in the Middle Breton period are discernible in the *Dialog* mainly in verbal forms. The conservative spellings *monet* ('going') and *donet* ('coming') – and not the more modern *mont* and *dont* – are used consistently throughout.[49] Yet, although relatively archaic, these forms are also widespread throughout the Middle Breton literary corpus. Moreover, verbal forms are often among the most resistant to change, and thus cannot be taken as conclusive proof of the *Dialog*'s greater antiquity: *monet* and *donet* may have been in use alongside newer forms up until the end of the Classical Middle Breton period.

Regarding non-verbal forms, the older spelling *dou* ('two') – and not the more modern *d**a**ou* – is used consistently throughout the text. While the *-a-* slowly begins to appear in Middle Breton spellings in *-ou-*, the words *dou* and *gou* are among the last of these to resist this change. Again, then, the occurrence of an older form (in this case *dou*) cannot confirm an earlier date for the poem. Since we are therefore in possession of good evidence to suggest that these particular conservative forms may all have been in use up until the end of the Classical Middle Breton period, the *Dialog*'s apparent archaisms alone cannot substantiate arguments for the text's antiquity.

Linguistic innovations in the text are more numerous. In terms of verbal features, the form *bezaff* ('being') – and not the older *bout* – is used in every instance of the word throughout the poem.[50] While it is true that *bezaff* also occurs in earlier Middle Breton works, in these cases it appears alongside *bout*. The fact that the *Dialog* has only *bezaff* would therefore seem to point to a later date of composition. Elsewhere, the form *punissa* ('punishing', l. 243) occurs once. This seems certainly to be an innovation: the form *punissaff* is expected in texts dating from earlier in the Middle Breton period.[51]

Moreover, in contrast with the case of *dou* discussed above – and perhaps also in confirmation of the idea that *dou* is not a marker of the poem's antiquity, but rather represents a conservative spelling – the *Dialog* features several examples of more modern spellings in *-**a**ou(-)*. The words *burzud**a**ou* ('miracle', l. 190) and *s**a**ouzan* ('chagrin', l. 23) feature in their sole appearances in the poem in the more modern *-a-* spelling. Elsewhere, the form *go**u**az* ('worse', l. 219), more usually spelt *goaz*, may be innovative, although the text does have a variant of the word in which the *-u-* does not feature (*goazha*, l. 113).

Most modern of all, however, are the spellings of the preposition *evit* ('for') and the past participle *quemesket* ('mixed', 'confused'). The former, *evit*, occurs six times in *-i-* (ll. 35, 61, 65, 165, 200, and 243), and once in *-y-* (l. 27). The

[49] *monet/donet* are listed as the earlier forms in Peter Schrijver, 'Middle and Early Modern Breton', in E. Ternes (ed.), *Brythonic Celtic – Britannisches Keltisch. From Medieval British to Modern Breton* (Bremen, 2011), 359–429, at 411.

[50] The introduction into Middle Breton texts of the form *bezaff* for *bout* is noted by Le Bihan, *Ar c'hrennvrezhoneg*.

[51] Cf. also the case of the standard Middle Breton form *breman/bremaff* ('now') versus its later, Early Modern, form *brema*, noted in Boucher-Durand, ' "On pourrait les muliplier" ', NS2.1.11, p. 102. I am grateful to Myrzinn Boucher-Durand for sharing with me her expertise regarding the *Dialog*'s linguistic forms over many verbal and written communications.

older form of this word – and the one which is most common in Middle Breton literature – is *eguyt*; but the later spellings in *-v-*, *evit*/*evyt*, appear regularly in many later, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century, Middle Breton texts.[52] The occurrence in the *Dialog* of the *-v-* form of this word therefore appears to be consistent with a later date for the text. Meanwhile, the latter word, *quemesket*, features a strikingly innovative-looking medial *-k-* in place of the more characteristically Middle Breton *-qu-*. The possibility cannot be discounted that innovative forms in the *Dialog* originate not with the *Dialog* poet, but rather with Le Pelletier, who may occasionally (and perhaps subconsciously) have modified some spellings in line with those to which he was most accustomed. The preposition *evit*, for instance, is used so often in the Breton literary corpus as a whole that it might have been natural for Le Pelletier to update its spelling. When viewed collectively, however, the *Dialog*'s numerous innovations appear to point away from a mid-fifteenth-century date, and towards a point in the Late Middle Breton period.

Linguistic analysis of the text therefore reveals that the occurrence of apparently archaic features cannot yield definitive answers to the dating question. It is certainly possible to attempt to explain the *Dialog*'s earlier forms through hypothesising an original date of composition falling at an early stage in the Middle Breton period. However, the text seems generally to feature only archaic forms which number among those most resistant to change – and so may well have been in use alongside more innovative features throughout the Classical Middle Breton period. The *Dialog*'s conservative spellings may thus accord equally harmoniously with an original date of composition at the end of the sixteenth century. Indeed, this last hypothesis seems the more likely given the occurrence in the poem of the archaic *dou* alongside other more modern spellings in *-aou*(-).

The text's more numerous innovative forms, meanwhile, must also be explained. Although it is possible that Le Pelletier updated the spelling of certain very common words (perhaps the preposition *evit*, which is almost ubiquitous in everyday speech, would present itself as the most likely candidate for such modernisation), the fact that older spellings still remain in the text suggest that he did not deliberately set out to modernise the work he was copying. Alternatively, it is also possible to view the *Dialog*'s more innovative forms as evidence for scribal intervention at a different stage in the poem's transmission – yet the findings of the preceding section in this article suggest that the text experienced only a minimal level of scribal interference. The presence in the *Dialog* of both archaic features probably still in use at a later date, *and* a significant number of innovative forms, may however be accounted for most simply by the theory that the poem was originally

[52] Among such texts number *Buhez Sante Barba* (which first appeared in print in 1557), *Buhez Santez Nonn* (whose sole manuscript witness is dated to the late sixteenth century; we have no secure evidence that text is earlier), *Le Mirouer de la Mort* (firmly dated to the sixteenth century), and *An Nouelou, Ancien ha Devot* (firmly dated to the early seventeenth century). For further discussion of these texts and their dates, see Ronan Calvez, 'Breton literature between the 16th and 17th centuries: the work of artisans', *Studia Celto-Slavica* 13 (2020), 59–72.

written at a time when all of these forms would still have been in current usage – i.e. later in the Middle Breton period. Evidence from the historical record, discussed below, may justify the narrowing of this date range through providing a potential a *terminus post quem* in the form of the year 1594.

A late sixteenth-century reading

In pursuit of answers to the *Dialog*'s dating question, this article has so far examined the evidence of the date copied by Le Pelletier, the poem's versification, and both its archaic and innovative linguistic forms. But it remains to consider whether any particular set of historical circumstances could be shown plausibly – or, at least, more plausibly than any other – to have given rise to the *Dialog*. It seems apposite at this stage to recall the caveat given above regarding the generic characteristics of vaticinatory literature. A significant part of the *Dialog*'s themes, or thematic elements, may be viewed as stock features of the prophetic genre – many of which in turn are apparently designed to be universally applicable to almost any context – and thus they may be interpreted as historical allusions only with caution. The fact remains, however, that no text is produced in a vacuum, or composed by writers entirely divorced from the social, political, or economic concerns of their day. It is therefore not unreasonable to ask whether the *Dialog* presents any evidence of such contemporary concerns, and to use this evidence (if it should be found) to help us situate the poem at a particular point in history. Indeed, in referring explicitly to certain events which took place in named years between 1570 and 1588 inclusive, the *Dialog* poet provides a clear starting point for such an investigation.

Assuming the prophecies' falsity, Largillière advised his reader: *Il serait puéril de chercher à interpréter ces prophéties, et encore plus de tenter de les vérifier* ('It would be puerile to seek to interpret these prophecies, and all the more so to attempt to verify them').[53] However, the ensuing analysis will show that some of the predictions made by Guynglaff for specified late sixteenth-century years – which occur at a central point in the prophecies (ll. 86–161) – align with some of the most important events on the Breton/French historical record at precisely the same time. And once it is established that these predictions allude to specific historical events in the final few decades of the sixteenth century, we can also begin to look for real parallels pre-1570, and post-1588, for the broad themes which respectively precede and follow the named years in the poem. The sixteenth-century rise of Protestantism, which was widely considered heretical by French and Breton contemporaries, and English activity in Brittany in the 1590s present themselves as convincing parallels respectively for the description of heresy with which Guynglaff begins his prophecies and the account of English destruction with which he ends them. Thus, the *Dialog*'s chronology may be mapped broadly onto the chronology of events in Brittany and France in the second half of the sixteenth century. From this it is natural

[53] Largillière, 'Le dialogue', 630.

to infer that the poet wrote with the events of this period in mind. The implications of such an inference on the dating question are clear: the *Dialog* must have been written at some stage *after* the last historical allusion discernible in Guynglaff's prophecies – that is, after some point after the middle of the final decade of the sixteenth century.

This analysis begins part-way through the poem with the first named year: 1570 (l. 67). Guynglaff's predictions for this year are matched strikingly by a significant historical event which took place at the same time. *En bloaz mil pemp-cant, triugent, ha dec* ('In the year 1570'), announces the prophet,

> *Ez vezo an peuch criet,*
> *Maz lavarer e pep kaer gouezet*
> *Ez vezo an bresel finisset.* (ll. 68–71)
>
> 'Peace will be proclaimed,
> So that in every known place it will be said
> that the war will be ended.'

The historical record obligingly presents a notable French Peace Treaty for this year. The third of the eight conflicts which together constitute the French Wars of Religion had begun in 1568 and was brought to a close in 1570 by the so-called Peace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, signed by the Catholic King Charles IX of France and prominent Huguenots Gaspard II de Coligny and Jeanne d'Albret.[54] Although none of the battles of the French Wars took place in Brittany, Bretons were enlisted as combatants in the conflict from a relatively early stage, and would also have been affected via the significant Breton diaspora in Paris. The turbulent events of the Wars therefore could not have failed to impact Brittany. It is thus feasible to read Guynglaff's allusion to peace in 1570 as a reference to the Peace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye which took place in that year.

That it is reasonable to attribute the correspondence between the peace of the poem and that of the historical year 1570 to more than mere fortuitous coincidence is supported by other parallels between Guynglaff's forecasts for particular years and real historical events for the same time. The prophet's prediction for 1572, for example, seems to be a concise – and devastatingly accurate – summary of the main event of that same year on the French historical record. *En bloaz douzec ha triuguent*, declares Guynglaff,

> *Ez vezo bresel ha meruent.* (ll. 75–6)
>
> 'There will be war and death.'

In the historical 1572, war and death is precisely what there was. On 25 August 1572 began the slaughter of Protestants by Catholic factions across France, remembered today as the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre. While the

[54]For further discussion of the Peace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, see Mack Holt, *The French Wars of Religion 1562–1629* (Cambridge, 2005), especially at 70 and 76–7.

killing spree did not take place in Brittany, it provoked widespread revulsion and fear throughout France. The total number of deaths across the country seems to have been anywhere between 5000 and 30,000. The massacre led directly to France's fourth War of Religion, in which Breton combatants fought, as mentioned above.[55]

Similarly, the period of ease proclaimed by the prophet for the year 1573 is matched in reality for this year by another lull in the hostilities of the French Wars of Religion. *En bloaz triuguent ha trizec* 'In the year [15]73', Guynglaff predicts,

> *Ez vezo an beth dipreder,*
> *En esament tout entier.* (ll. 77–8)
>
> 'The world will be without care
> Wholly at ease.'

It seems necessary here to allow some room for poetic hyperbole: the world in 1573 (or any year for that matter) could not be described as wholly *dipreder* ('without care') in the strictest sense. However, it is significant that 1573 saw the conclusion of the Peace of La Rochelle, which closed the fourth War of Religion in France, and ushered in a period of relative tranquility – at least until the next war began the following year.[56]

Guynglaff's remaining prophecies for specific years appear mostly to be about disasters of a rather generic nature, which complicates attempts to find for them historical parallels. Yet it may be significant that the seer predicts loss and wretchedness and war (*truez gant bresel*, l. 97), for the years 1587 and 1588 respectively: these dates are both embraced by the eighth and final French War of Religion, which certainly engendered the kind of hardship Guynglaff describes.

A more distinctive parallel with real events, however, seems to fall under the period described somewhat more vaguely by Guynglaff as 'before 1588'. The prophet states:

> *Ha quent pevaruguent hac eiz,*
> *…*
> *Un laerz a savo a Goelou,*
> *Hac a taulo Breiz oar he guenou.*
> *Neuse ez lazer pep autrou*
> *Gant clezeffiou dir hac armou.* (ll. 96–111)

[55]For an account of the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre in relation to Brittany, see Cornette, *Histoire*, 468. For a more general discussion of the massacre, see Holt, 'Popular disorder and religious tensions: the making of a massacre, 1570–1574', in *French Wars*, 76–98.

[56]See Holt, *French Wars*, 97.

> 'And before [15]88,
> …
> A thief will rise up in Goëlo,
> And he will throw Brittany on her face.
> At that time every lord will be killed
> With steel swords and weapons.'

It is the destructive thief (*laerz*) of Goëlo who interests me here. Although the *Dialog* leaves this character anonymous, one notorious figure from this period of Breton history appears to be a good match for Guynglaff's description. Guy Éder de La Fontenelle, born in 1572 or 1573 on the Côtes-d'Armor, where Goëlo is also situated, left Brittany to pursue his studies in Paris towards the end of the 1580s.[57] It was there in 1587 that the Canon Jean Moreau claims to have met him, and observed that *il monstroit déjà des indices de sa future vie despravée* ('he displayed already the indications of his future depraved life'). Aged fifteen to sixteen years, so Moreau continues, La Fontenelle found himself back in Brittany (having sold his schoolboy paraphernalia and used the proceeds to buy a sword and dagger), and integrated himself among those who had taken up arms on the side of the ultra-Catholic faction known as the 'Holy League', which had been established with the purpose of eradicating Protestantism. Moreau recounts that the 'Leaguers'

> *en fit estat, parce qu'il estoit de bonne maison et du pais, et, le voyant d'un esprit actif, lui obeissait volontiers. Il se fit suivre de quelques domestiques de son frère aisné, et d'autres seigneurs de la commune, et commença à piller les bourgades et à prendre prisonniers de quelque parti qu'ils fussent …*[58]
>
> 'were impressed by him, because he was of good house and of the district, and, seeing that he had an energetic spirit, obeyed him willingly. He was followed by a few servants of his elder brother, and of other lords of the commune, and began to pillage the villages and take prisoners of whatever party they were …'

La Fontenelle wrought havoc of the sort Moreau describes across Brittany, pillaging villages from Quimper in the far West, to Trégor in the North, and Vannes in the South. Moreau writes that La Fontenelle performed these antics in the year 1589, but the possibility that these events at least began to take place before 1588, and thus apparently in line with Guynglaff's admittedly ill-defined timeframe, is not excluded. Moreau gives La Fontenelle's age at the time he embarked on his pillaging as fifteen or sixteen – which, given that we do not know whether he was born in 1572 or 1573, could place the beginning of La Fontenelle's violent activity in Brittany anywhere between 1587 and 1589

[57] The likeness between the *Dialog*'s thief and La Fontenelle was also observed by Ernault in his notes in Largillière, 'Le dialogue', 667.

[58] Jean Moreau, *Mémoires du chanoine Jean Moreau sur les guerres de la Ligue en Bretagne*, ed. H. Waquet (Quimper, 1960). For further discussion of La Fontenelle's life and activity, see Jean Lorédan, *La Fontenelle seigneur de la Ligue (1572–1602)* (Paris, 1926).

inclusive. Whatever the case, it can be said that although Guynglaff leaves some vagueness around the exact year in which the thief of Goëlo began his antics, the the time implied falls around the end of the 1580s, which is also when the historical La Fontenelle began to cause trouble in Brittany. Moreover, Guynglaff's words could reasonably be applied to La Fontenelle: he was indeed a 'thief' who would in some sense 'throw Brittany on her face', inflicting destruction 'with steel swords and weapons'.

Further research may yield other historical correspondences for the more riddling of Guynglaff's predictions. The prophecy that Christmas Day will fall on a Sunday in the year 1574 (*E triuguent ha pevarzec, / Pan vezo da Sul dez Nedelec*, ll. 86–7), for example, has long caused scholarly perplexity. For in 1574 Christmas Day fell on a Saturday – a fact which led Breton critic Goulven Pennaoud to suggest that the *Dialog*'s core was written around a century before this year, with the mention of 1574 representing (he thinks) *un distresadenn bet savet moarvat gant ul lenner o vevañ war-dro 1570–1* ('an alteration that was made probably by a reader living around 1570–1').[59] While there remains no clear explanation for this prophecy other than error on the part of the *Dialog* poet, the historical events which align with Guynglaff's other vaticinations, discussed above, provide good general grounds for reading the prophecies for named years as retrospective allusions to real events. Indeed, this historical reading finds further support in the prophecies which both precede and follow the named years. These are discussed in the following analysis, which in turn reveals that the structure of Guynglaff's vaticinations in their entirety aligns with sixteenth-century Breton/French historical chronology.

It is clear that religious concerns feature most prominently in the first section of Guynglaff's prophecies (ll. 24–61, until a structural break is provided in the form of Arthur's second question to the prophet). It is also clear, after some comparative analysis, that these religious concerns align strikingly with certain sixteenth-century Breton/French Catholic perceptions of Protestantism. The first prediction Guynglaff makes is about religious depravity (ll. 27–8). In a passage already quoted in this article, the prophet informs Arthur of the deterioration, *dre vicz* ('through vice'), of ecclesiastical authority (*Calz a fizio en beth muy evyt en Ilis*, l. 27). The church, he foretells, will become corrupt: priests will be devoid of justice; fools, he seems to say, will infiltrate ecclesiastical ranks (ll. 29–31). Guynglaff expands on the kind of religious degeneration he envisages a few lines further on, predicting the rise of a noxious heresy:

> *Hac un hoeresi a puplio,*
> *Dre Cristenez, huy a guelo,*
> *Hac a tenno da muyha glachar,*
> *Quent ez finuezo an douar.* (ll. 51–4)

[59] Goulven Pennaod, 'A-zivout deizadañ « An Dialog etre Arzur ... ha Guynglaff »', *hor Yezh* 40 (1963), 23–4, at 23.

> 'And a heresy will be preached,
> Through Christianity, you will see,
> And will cause the greatest affliction,
> Before the world will end.'

The prophet does not mince his words regarding the extent of the harm this heresy will cause: the *muyha glachar* ('greatest affliction'). Heretics of evil mind, he announces further, will look for ways to destroy the faith of God, King and Head (ll. 55–8).

The clearest candidate for an affliction-inducing heresy in a sixteenth-century Breton context, preached, as Guynglaff says, 'through Christianity', is the reformed Protestant doctrine which began its ascendency in Europe in 1517 with the publication of Martin Luther's ninety-five theses. Although the Protestant Reformation took greatest hold in France in the South of the country, it did not (as has traditionally been thought) bypass Brittany. By 1560, as historian Joël Cornette has documented, reformed Calvinist and Lutheran teaching had been embraced by members of some of the oldest and most notable Breton noble families, including the clans of Rohan, Rieux, Montfort-Laval, Parthenay-Larchevêque, and Roche-Giffart. Huguenot churches sprung up especially in Nantes, where Protestantism particularly flourished in Brittany (it has been estimated that, in 1562, around 1000 of Nantes' 40–45,000-strong population were Huguenots).[60]

It was the rise of this same Protestant doctrine that led to the events of the French Wars of Religion, some of which align so well with Guynglaff's prophecies for the named years, as described above. A feature of this conflict was that each side condemned the other as heretics. Indeed, the identification of Protestants/Protestantism (or 'Huguenots'/'Huguenotism') with heretics/heresy is well documented in Breton literature after the sixteenth century. For example, a late Middle Breton confessional text from 1672 implies a link between the two phenomena through pairing the word 'heresy' with 'Huguenotism' at least twice, in its condemnations of both *scridou hæretic ha hugunod* ('heretical and Huguenot writings'), and *meuliff an hæretiquet, ha hugunodet* ('to praise/praising the heretics, and Huguenots').[61] Elsewhere, another late Middle Breton text from 1625 (a translation commissioned by Guilhelm the Priest, bishop of Querneau, of an Italian source text) implies that the words 'heretic' and 'Huguenot' are interchangeable, and thus mean more or less the same thing, in phrases such as *heretiquet (autramant hugunodet)* ('heretics (otherwise Huguenots)').[62] This implication is made explicit by Grégoire de Rostrenen in his eighteenth-century *Dictionnaire*

[60] Cornette, *Histoire*, 453. For a detailed study of Protestantism in Nantes in particular, see Roger Joxe, *Les Protestants du Comté de Nantes (XVIe—XVIIe siècle)* (Marseilles, 1982); the estimate of Protestant numbers in Nantes is given at p. 70.

[61] Euzen Gueguen, *Confessional Dastumet eves an Doctoret Catholic Apostolic ha Romain: Pé en heny è caffo pep guir Christen ha parfet Catholic, an manier, da rentaff è eneff pur ha net, ves à vicz ha pechet*, (Quimper, 1666).

[62] *Declaration abundant eves an catechism, hac an doctrin christen*, trans. into Breton by Robert Bellarmin (Querneau, 1625), 171.

françois celtique ou françois breton. Under the entries for the French *heresie* and *hérétique* respectively, Rostrenen prints '… hugunodaich … *voyez huguenotisme*' ('… Huguenotism … *see huguenotisme*') and 'hugunod … *voyez huguenotisme*' ('huguenot … *see huguenotisme*'). The French *Huguenotisme* ('Huguenotism'), meanwhile, Rostrenen defines as *la doctrine des huguenots. Hugunodaich* ('the doctrine of Huguenots, *Hudunodaich*'), adding in parentheses that *par le mot de* hugunodaich*, le peuple entend toutes sortes d'heresies: & par celui de* hugunod*, toutes sortes d'heretiques* ('by the word *hugunodaich*, the people understand all kinds of heresies, and by that of *hugunod*, all sorts of heretics').[63]

Brittany's process of 'Protestantisation' peaked in the early 1560s.[64] Meanwhile the French Wars of Religion kicked off in 1562, with intermittent conflict lasting at least until the end of the final 'War' in 1589, and ultimately until the 1598 Edict of Nantes. By beginning with a discussion of heresy and heretics (terms known to have been used to designate Protestants in Breton literature), before moving on to vaticinations about the 1570s and 1580s (the less generic of which align strikingly with the events of France's Wars of Religion, which took place in the same years), Guynglaff's prophecies thus reflect the historical pattern of Protestantism's rise in Brittany up until, and including, the 1560s, and the conflict to which this led in France more widely during the final decades of the sixteenth century.

If the prophecies of Guynglaff which precede those regarding the 1570s and 1580s may be identified with historical occurrences before 1570, the predictions which follow those for the named years equally find parallels in real historical occurrences after 1588. As the *Dialog*'s earliest predictions are marked most prominently by religious corruption, Guynglaff's final vaticinations are dominated by just one theme, although this time it is the threat posed to Brittany by the English:

> *Cals a vezo a listry*
> *Azrouaentet digoezien.* (ll. 131–2)
>
> 'Many will be the ships [Guynglaff says]
> Of foreigners, new arrivals.'

Again, he predicts,

> *En bloaz pevaruguent hac eiz,*
> *Ez deuy an Saouson e Breiz.*
> *Donet a rahint a flot meurbet …* (ll. 160–2)

[63] Grégoire de Rostrenen, *Dictionnaire françois-celtique, ou françois-breton: necessaire à tous ceux qui veulent apprendre à traduire le françois en celtique, ou en langage breton … utile pour trouver l'éthymologie de plusieurs mote français & bretons, de noms propres de villes, & de maisons* (Rennes, 1732), 492 and 502–3.

[64] Cornette, *Histoire*, 454.

> 'In the year [15]88,
> The English will come to Brittany.
> They will come from a great fleet …'

Once more, the historical record for this period presents a striking parallel. By the early 1590s, there seem to have been three principal, and rival, factions in Brittany. First, there was a so-called 'Holy League', composed (in Mack Holt's words) 'of a variety of different Catholic cohorts and loosely directed by the [highly powerful and politically influential] Guise family', whose ultimate goal was to keep a 'heretic' (i.e. the Protestant Henry of Navarre, by this time Henry IV of France) away from the French crown.[65] In Brittany, the Holy League was supported by Spanish forces, whose principal base was positioned centrally in the region, at Blavet, although they were also significantly active in the strategically important far western coastal city of Brest.[66] The second faction was made up of Catholic Bretons wary of the growing Spanish presence and influence in their region. And the third faction consisted of supporters of France's new Protestant king, Henry IV. Henry IV was in turn supported by the English forces of Elizabeth I, to whom he had appealed for military aid against his opponents. Because the Spanish presence in Brittany – and especially in Brest – was considered a major English national security threat, Elizabethan England had a strong interest in the region in the final decades of the sixteenth-century.[67] As Michael Jones writes, Elizabeth I's positive response to Henry IV's plea for assistance was *due au danger que présentait pour l'Angleterre la présence d'une puissance hostile sur un point stratégique vital, l'accès occidental de la Manche* ('due to the danger that the presence of a hostile power at a vital strategic point, western access to the English channel, posed to England'). It was on account of this that, in May 1591, the English soldier Sir John Norris disembarked at Paimpol, on Brittany's northern coast, at the head of 2400 English troops. Indeed, for the three years which followed, English troops continued to be stationed in Brittany – with reinforcements of course arriving and descending on Brittany's shores in and from ships, in line with Guynglaff's dire predictions cited above, at intervals during this time.[68] English soldiers experienced fluctuating fortunes in Brittany in the 1590s, but achieved a notable victory in 1594, when they managed to take a heroically defended Spanish fortress at Roscanvel, which commands one side of the entrance to the strategically crucial Bay of Brest. This is especially interesting in the light of Guynglaff's prophecies that:

> *Saouson e Perzell disquennet,*
> *Ha Brest, ne fazio quet* (ll. 172–3)

[65] Holt, *French Wars*, 121.

[66] Michael Jones, 'Les Anglais à Crozon à la fin du XVIe siècle', *Mémoires du Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* (1997), 11–35, at 13.

[67] For further discussion of the fear which the Spanish presence in Brittany inspired in the English, see R. B. Wernham, 'The Spanish threat to Brest and the taking of Groningen', in his *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe 1588–95* (Oxford, 1984), 514–37, especially at 528.

[68] Jones, 'Les Anglais', 14–15.

'The English will have disembarked in Perzell,
And Brest, they will not fail' (ll. 201–2)

And that the English will

… laquat sig oar an kaeriou,
Disquar questel ha thourellou.

'… lay siege to the towns,
Knocking down castles and turrets.'

Perzell (or Kastel Persel) is the Breton name for the Fort de Bertheaume, which is on the opposite side of the Bay of Brest to Roscanvel, where the English triumphed over the Spanish in 1594. A Spanish plan to establish two fortresses – one at each entry to the bay of Brest – had become publicly known at the end of January 1594, but in the event only that at Roscanvel was completed.[69] In light of all the other correspondences between the *Dialog*'s prophecies and sixteenth-century Breton events, the similarity between Guynglaff's description of the destruction, by the English, of castles and turrets in the region of Roscanvel around the same time that the English historically took the Spanish fortress at the same location seems too distinctive to be dismissed as coincidence. Rather, it appears to provide further evidence that the poem's original date of composition fell at some stage considerably after the 1450 manuscript date. If a *terminus ante quem* of 1619 is provided for the text by one of Le Pelletier's two manuscript sources, a convincing *terminus post quem* may therefore be found in the English victory at the fort of Roscanvel in 1594.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis conducted in this article suggests the following conclusions. First, that the 1450 date which accompanies the *Dialog* in the *Dictionnaire* may reasonably be taken as the result of Le Pelletier's mistaken interpretation of the rubric in his manuscript source, and thus its value for dating the text is negligible. This conclusion seems generally to be supported by the historical record, which shows mid-fifteenth-century Brittany to have been economically prosperous, and to have enjoyed relatively harmonious relations with its English and French neighbours. It does not thus appear a likely context for the composition of Guynglaff's doom-laden predictions – especially those regarding the English destruction of Brittany. By contrast, I have argued that the late sixteenth century provides a more promising historical context for such vaticinations.

Second, the dual theory of large-scale scribal reworking over time and a multiple-stage composition – which has featured prominently in *Dialog* scholarship thus far – appears unnecessarily complicated. I have argued that the poem's divergence from the strict-verse tradition to which the Ivonet Omnes lai appears to belong need not be read as the consequence of erroneous or incompetent scribal intervention. Rather, it is reasonable to believe that the *Dialog*

[69] Jones, 'Les Anglais', 15.

poet, like other composers of both Breton and Welsh verse, did not intend to write according to a pattern of strict versification. Moreover, the argument that the preserved poem has experienced significant textual corruption, caused by extensive scribal interference, appears still weaker when it is considered that the *Dialog* text generally makes good sense, both in its overarching progression and at a more granular level. The text's frequently irregular metrical patterns, meanwhile, do not represent substantial evidence in favour either of significant scribal intervention, or of the theory that the poem, as it is preserved, was composed at two separate points in time. I have suggested rather that a single authorial intention underpins the whole work. Comparison with early Welsh poetry, which in some cases features similarly irregular syllable-counts, supports this hypothesis. In this light, the text in Le Pelletier's *Dictionnaire* may be viewed as an acceptable representation of the *Dialog* poet's original work.[70]

Third, the *Dialog*'s linguistic features appear most compatible with a date of composition towards the end of the sixteenth century. It is the text's numerous linguistic innovations which indicate most saliently this later dating. Yet the *Dialog*'s smaller number of linguistic archaisms – all of which co-existed alongside more modern forms at least until 1600 – are consistent with the same conclusion.

Finally, having established a basis for viewing the poem both as the product of a single author at a single point in time, and with linguistic features indicative of a date towards the end of the Classical Middle Breton period, I have suggested on historical grounds that the text was composed at some stage between 1594 and 1619. The *Dialog*'s prophecies, I have argued, speak retrospectively, and from a Catholic perspective, of Brittany and France's sixteenth-century religious turmoil. My analysis has shown that the years Guynglaff names in the 1570s and 1580s align in some significant cases with real events of the corresponding historical years. I have argued further that the rise of a heresy, which is presented and examined in the poem before the predictions for the named years are given, aligns with the historical rise of Protestantism – equally denounced as heretical by papist parties, and which peaked in Brittany in the early 1560s – and thus also with historical chronology. Meanwhile, the English threat on which Guynglaff dwells after delivering his predictions for the last named year in the 1580s (that for 1588) corresponds with the real English military presence in Brittany in the 1590s – and thus again with the chronology of historical events. If the description of the English destruction of fortresses and towers in the vicinity of 'Kastell Perzell' is identified with the historical English victory over the Spanish in the same vicinity – as seems reasonable, given the other historical parallels identified in the prophecies – then this event provides us with the *terminus post quem* of 1594. I therefore posit some stage during the twenty-five-year period between 1594 and the 1619 date of Le Pelletier's dated manuscript source as the *Dialog*'s original date of composition.

[70]I note, however, that the *Dialog* may have originally contained further prophecies from Guynglaff: see note 3.

We cannot know precisely what motivations underpinned the *Dialog*'s composition, although it is tempting to speculate. It may be that the poet desired to attempt to make sense of the harrowing events of the religious wars which had scarred his country, arranging them in a providential schema – and thus attributing to them a divinely ordained status – through presenting them through the medium of divinely inspired prophecy.

Be this the case or not, the findings put forward in this article both illuminate our interpretation of the *Dialog*, and provide reason to re-examine the dating of other Breton texts, such as *Buhez Santez Nonn*, for which similar scribal reworking theories have traditionally been accepted.[71] They also show that Breton literature could provide a new and rare literary window onto both Breton views of France's sixteenth-century religious wars, and the nature and extent of intellectual activity in Brittany more generally.

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[71] Cf. Christian–J Guyonvarc'h, *Le Catholicon de Jehan Lagadeuc* (Rennes, 1975), lxxxiii–v.

A ÍOSA CRÍOSD CRÉAD AN TOIL: AOIR AR FHILE[1]

Abstract

This article presents an edition, translation and analysis of the poem *A Íosa Críosd créad an toil* (6 qq.), a previously unedited satire attributed to Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh. The author criticises another poet for his lack of poetic ability. Throughout the poem, reference is made to multiple trades and crafts. A discussion of the themes and literary context of this satire is also presented below.

Réamhrá

San alt seo cuirtear eagrán ar fáil den dán *A Íosa Críosd créad an toil* (6 rr.), aoir a leagtar ar Dhonnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh agus nár cuireadh eagar go fóill air. Is cosúil gur file eile atá á cháineadh ag údar an dáin seo toisc nach bhfuil an cumas céanna ag an mbeirt. I gcaitheamh an dáin, tráchtann an file ar ghairmeacha beatha éagsúla a raibh stádas difriúil ag roinnt leo i sochaí na linne. Soláthraíonn an dán eolas luachmhar ar na slite beatha seo.

File

Leagtar an dán seo ar Dhonnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh sa cheannscríbhinn sna lámhscríbhinní. Bhí beirt fhilí den ainm seo ann, duine acu a mhair sa dara nó sa tríú haois déag, an fear eile sa cheathrú nó sa chúigiú haois déag. Rugadh an chéad duine acu, Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh, i gContae na Mí *c.* 1175 agus é ina bhall de cheann de na teaghlaigh filíochta ba mhó le rá sa ré.[2] Níl mórán ar eolas againn maidir leis an bhfear eile ach amháin gur cailleadh mac leis sa bhliain 1404, sonra a chabhraíonn linn dáta a chur lena shaolré.[3] Cé go bhfuil cáil ar Dhonnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh mar gheall ar a chuid dánta cráifeacha thar aon seánra eile, aoir atá sa dán seo (más é a chum), rud a fhágann gur dán ar leith atá ann.

Agus an dán *A Íosa Críosd créad an toil* faoi chaibidil, is fiú a chur san áireamh go leagtar go leor dánta ar Dhonnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh i lámhscríbhinní éagsúla ach nach eisean a chum na dánta sin ar fad (‘More than 160 such

[1] Tiomnaím an t-alt seo i gcuimhne ar m’athair, Richard Ryan (1966–2024).

Táim an-bhuíoch den Ollamh Gordon Ó Riain a mhol dom an dán áirithe seo a chur in eagar, as dréacht den alt a léamh agus as a chuid moltaí a roinnt liom. Gabhaim buíochas freisin le heagarthóirí *Celtica* agus leis an léitheoir a cheap siad as a gcuid moltaí faoin alt seo.

[2] Breen (2009).

[3] Ibid.

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religious poems … attributed to him, some quite dubiously').[4] Is fiú an cheist a chur, áfach, faoin bhfáth a leagfaí aoir (seachas dán cráifeach) ar Dhonnchadh Mór murab eisean a chum. Tharlódh, mar sin féin, go bhfuil an dán leagtha air go hearráideach. B'fhéidir go bhfaca an scríobhaí na focail *A Íosa Críosd* i dtús an dáin agus gur ghlac sé leis, dá réir, gur dán cráifeach a bhí ann agus gurbh é sin a thug air an dán a leagan ar Ó Dálaigh. Mar sin, ní féidir a bheith iomlán cinnte gurb é Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh a chum an dán áirithe seo.[5]

Mionanailís ar an dán

Sa dán *A Íosa Críosd créad an toil*, aorann an file fear darbh ainm Eoghan.[6] Tuigtear dúinn gur file ar bheagán stádais é Eoghan agus go bhfuil sé á cháineadh ag an údar toisc nach bhfuil an cumas céanna ann is atá i bhfile an dáin. Insíonn an file go mbíonn Eoghan á leanúint agus é ag dul ó theach go teach (ar cuairt *ollaimh* is dócha): 'gē taoi im dhiaidh ō thigh go toigh' (r. 6*c*). Go hiondúil, bhíodh grád fileata níos ísle ag na filí a bhí mar chuid den lucht leanúna seo ná mar a bhí ag an *ollamh*, gné a thugann le fios gur dócha go raibh stádas níos airde ag file an dáin ná mar a bhí ag Eoghan.

Cuirtear tús leis an dán agus an file á cheistiú conas mar a fuair Eoghan onóir nuair nach bhfuil sin tuillte aige, dar leis:

> A Íosa Críosd crēad an toil
> fā bhfuarais onóir a Eóghain? (r. 1)[7]

Lena chois sin, liostaíonn an t-údar roinnt gairmeacha, cuid acu a bhí lárnach i sochaí na linne, roinnt eile a raibh níos lú tábhachta leo sa tsochaí sin. Is cur chuige éifeachtach é seo chun aird a dhíriú ar easpa cumais Eoghain agus cruthaítear codarsnacht idir na ceirdeanna éagsúla (a raibh leibhéil dhifriúla stádais ag roinnt leo sa tsochaí). Is cinnte go bhfuil masla i gceist agus an tuairim ag an bhfile go bhfuil an duine seo gan mhaith agus nach féidir leis feidhmiú ná cur leis an tsochaí ar bhealach ar bith.[8]

[4] Breen (2009).

[5] Féach, áfach, sampla eile de dhán ócáideach (ar an dreoilín) a chum an Dálach in Ó Cuív (1977). Maidir le foirm an dáin (*ógláchas* i rr. 1–5; féach an plé thíos lgh 230–1) is fiú tabhairt faoi deara, mar shampla, go bhfuil, i measc na ndánta atá leagtha ar Mhuireadhach Albanach Ó Dálaigh (deartháir le Donnchadh Mór), dán amháin *ógláchais* dar tús *Aonar dhuit a Bhriain Bhanbha* (eag. Goedheer 1938: 45–55).

[6] Tá 'file' in úsáid san alt seo de cheal eolais bhreise sa dán ar an stádas ar leith atá ag Eoghan. Tharlódh go raibh sé ina bhard chomh maith céanna.

[7] Tá deacracht ag baint leis an líne seo agus tá rogha eile luaite agam sna nótaí .i. nach bhfuil an file ag caint le hEoghan ach go bhfuil sé ag caint faoi onóir Eoghain (an stádas a bhí ag Eoghan mar bhall den aos dána). De réir an léimh seo, is cosúil gur tháinig file eile in áit Eoghan ach nach bhfuil an cumas céanna sa bhfile is a bhí sa bhfear ar tháinig sé i gcomharbacht air agus gurb é sin cúis an cháinte.

[8] Féach samplaí eile den chineál seo aortha .i. cáineadh ar cheird an duine: *Sona do cheird, a Chalbhaigh* (Greene 1968: 51–5); *Clann Meic an Bhaird* (*TD* uimh. 43).

Na Ceirdeanna

Déanann an file tagairt do sheacht bpost is fiche sa dán tríd síos agus is féidir iad a rangú go ginearálta mar seo a leanas:

a) Uaisle agus lucht léinn

ughdar (1*d*), ollamh (1*d*), breitheamh (3*c*), brughaidh (5*a*), sgríbhneóir (5*d*), léaghthóir (5*d*), liaigh (6*d*), seanchaidh (6*d*)

b) Lucht na hEaglaise

cléireach[9] (3*d*), duine diadha déarcach (4*a*)

c) Ceardaithe agus saothraithe

gabha[10] (1*c*), fear tógbhála toighe (2*a*), fear crú do chur (2*c*), fear breactha bróg (3*a*), fear déanta deagh-lámhann (3*b*), áirgheach (4*c*), fear faire (4*c*), oireamh (4*d*), aodhaire (4*d*)

d) Lucht troda

áirseoir (2*b*), fear eich (2*d*), ceithearnach (3*d*)

e) Siamsóirí

oirfideach uirsgéalach (4*b*), píobaire (5*b*), tiompánach (5*c*), cleasaighe cóir colla (6*a*)

f) Searbhónta

cócaire (6*b*).

Cuireann an file in iúl go bhfuil go leor ceirdeanna ardstádais sa tsochaí nach bhfuil sé de chumas ag Eoghan iad a chur i gcrích (m. sh. 'ceard'; 'ughdar'; 'ollamh'; 'breitheamh'; 'cléireach'; 'sgríbhneóir'; 'liaigh'; 'seanchaidh', rr. 1*c*; 1*d*; 3*c*; 3*d*; 5*d*). Thairis sin, déanann an file tagairt do phoist agus do cheirdeanna ar stádas níos ísle (catagóirí c, f thuas) mar aon le roinnt ceirdeanna siamsaíochta eile[11] agus lucht troda[12] (e agus d thuas), chun a thabhairt le tuiscint go raibh an duine seo gan mhaith ar bith sa tsochaí. Leagann na ceirdeanna seo ar fad atá luaite béim ar easpa cumais Eoghain agus ar an gcaoi nach bhfuil 'onóir' tuillte aige.

Mar aon leis na ceirdeanna, tá tagairtí don fhlaithiúlacht, nó don easpa flaithiúlachta go deimhin, thall is abhus sa dán ('ní duine diadha déarcach', r. 4*a*; 'Ní brughaidh lē mbearthaoi geall', r. 5*a*;[13] 'ní cócaire comhronna', r. 6*b*). Tá le tuiscint ón méid seo nach raibh Eoghan chun cáil a bhaint amach mar

[9]Brí eile ag an bhfocal ná 'scoláire', féach *DIL* s.v. *cléirech*.

[10]Ceardaí a bhí sa *ghabha* ach, mar a léiríonn Kelly, bhí stádas réasúnta ard aige (1988: 62).

[11]Féach sampla d'aoir eile ar shiamsóir (cláirseoir): *Ní chluinim sin a chláirseach* in Ní Mhurchú (2017).

[12]Féach plé ag Simms (1990) ar íomhánna agus mótífeanna cogaidh i bhFilíocht na Scol.

[13]Tá trácht déanta ag Kelly ar an *briugu* agus é ag tabhairt le fios go raibh sé de dhualgas ar an té seo flaithiúlacht a thaispeáint do gach uile dhuine, 'this obligation is said to be limitless' (1988: 36).

gheall ar a bheith fial ach an oiread. Téama mór le rá i bhfilíocht na scol é moladh na féile a chastar bunoscionn anseo.[14]

Débhríochas agus teachtaireacht an dáin

Tá go leor focal sa dán seo a bhfuil níos mó ná brí amháin leo; an dara ceann ag baint leis an bhfilíocht. Is ciúta é seo atá oiriúnach chun aird a tharraingt ar bhunghairm an té atá á cháineadh. An focal is suntasaí sa dán trí chéile ná 'ceard' (r. 1*c*), focal a cheanglaíonn an dán ar fad le chéile, dar liom. Cé go bhfuil an bhrí 'ceardaí' leis, ciallaíonn sé 'file' freisin (féach *DIL* s.v. *cerd*). Mar sin, is amhlaidh atá údar an dáin ag tabhairt le fios nach bhfuil sé de chumas ag Eoghan go leor post a dhéanamh agus, níos tábhachtaí fós, nach raibh cumas ann mar fhile. Feictear an débhríochas ag teacht chun cinn arís sna focail seo a leanas:

i. *onóir* (1. 'honour'; '2. 'the 'indulgence' the generality of poets expected to be shown as of right by society');[15]

ii. *ollamh* (1. máistir ar ardchaighdeán i gceird ar bith;[16] 2. file ardcháilithe (*ollamh fileadh*));

iii. *breitheamh* (1. 'breitheamh dlí'; 2. *breitheamh sgol* 'file a raibh sé mar dhualgas air obair an dalta a iniúchadh agus a mheas');[17]

iv. *léaghthóir* (1. 'reader'; 2. fear léinn).[18]

Sa chomhthéacs sin is díol mór spéise é go gcáineann an file an cumas atá in Eoghan mar fhile ach gur scríobh sé an dán seo san *ógláchas* don chuid is mó, foirm níos scaoilte agus níos éasca ná an *dán díreach.* Feictear sa rann deireanach, áfach, go mbaineann an t-údar úsáid as an *dán díreach*. D'fhéadfaí a áiteamh go ndearna sé seo chun a chumas mar fhile a léiriú i gcodarsnacht leis an té atá á aoradh aige sa dán agus go bhfuil an rann deiridh mar a bheadh buaicphointe sa cháineadh atá á dhéanamh aige ar Eoghan dá réir.[19]

Tá an dán éifeachtach mar léiriú ar thuairim an fhile go bhfuil Eoghan gan mhaith ar fad. Cruthaíonn an file íomhá de dhuine éagumasach ar easpa flaithiúlachta, gan oideachas, nach bhfuil tábhachtach sa tsochaí. Thar aon ní eile, tá an file ag cáineadh chumas fileata Eoghain agus é ag taispeáint nach bhfuil an stádas céanna acu.

[14] Breatnach (1997: 101). D'fhéadfaí a áiteamh, freisin, go bhfuil an fhlaithiúlacht á ceangal le file anseo toisc go raibh áit lárnach ag an bhflaithiúlacht sa tsochaí agus go raibh cuid de na filí i mbun tithe aíochta (Mac Cana 1974: 132). Féach aoir eile ar théama na heaspa flaithiúlachta: *Fuaras féin im maith o mhnaoi* (*TD* uimh. 37).

[15] Breatnach (1983: 39).

[16] Kelly (1988: 52).

[17] Simms (2007: 130–1).

[18] Cf. *DIL* s.v. *légthóir*, *légthóracht*.

[19] Féach an plé ar mheadaracht an dáin thíos.

Comhthéacs liteartha an dáin

Is fiú go mór aird a thabhairt ar théacsanna eile atá cosúil leis an aoir bheag seo, ní hamháin ó thaobh cur chuige de (liostaí ceirdeanna a chur san áireamh sa dán), ach maidir le hábhar an dáin chomh maith (stádas agus ceirdeanna). Ach trácht a dhéanamh ar chúpla téacs eile ó thréimsí éagsúla, is féidir comhthéacs ar leith a thabhairt don liosta agus do théamaí na haoire seo.

Is iad seo a leanas na téacsanna atá i gceist: (i) *Cath Maige Tuired* (scéal miotaseolaíochta Luath-Ghaeilge);[20] (ii) *Suidigud Tige Midchuarta* (cur síos Luath-Ghaeilge ar halla an fhéasta i dTeamhair);[21] (iii) *A fhir, ná híad dreich Temrach* (dán mar gheall ar Lug agus na ceirdeanna atá aige: dara – ceathrú haois déag);[22] (iv) *Uchán a sgíeth mo ríogh réil* (laoi fiannaíochta: 12ú haois ?);[23] (v) *Ní file, ní seanchaidh saor* (rann aoire: gan dáta).[24]

I staidéar atá déanta ag Liam Breatnach ar théacs (iii) thuas, léiríonn sé gur féidir ceangailt a aithint idir téacsanna (i), (ii) agus an dán atá faoi chaibidil aige (2023: 151).[25] Téacsanna iad seo a dhéanann plé ar stádas sa tsochaí nó ar cheirdeanna éagsúla (i bhfoirm liosta). Tá gné shonrach eile i gcoitinne ag cuid de na téacsanna seo (i, iii thuas; féach plé ar iv thíos), mar atá an phearsa Lug atá ag iarraidh cead isteach a fháil go Teamhair is é ag maíomh as an iliomad ceirdeanna atá aige. Mar shampla de na liostaí a chuireann Lug i láthair, is fiú féachaint ar r. 2 den dán *A fhir, ná híad dreich Temrach* ó eagrán Bhreatnaigh:

> Aichnid dam trēidhi fileadh,
> dā ndamat ina ndligedh:
> imas ar osnaidh, gan on,
> teilm leagdha ⁊ dīcedul.
>
> 'I am familiar with the characteristics of learned poets, amongst all that they concede as being their duties: using poetic craft to remedy grievance, a statement without fault, a stony sling, and chanting.'

Is díol mór spéise é Lug agus Eoghan (an dáin seo againne) a chur i gcomparáid lena chéile; sa rann thuas tá Lug ag tabhairt le fios go bhfuil na tréithe atá ag teastáil ag file aige féin. Go minic tugtar an t-ainm *Samildánach* nó *Ioldánach* air sa chiall 'skilled in many arts together'.[26] Mar chodarsnacht, is léir ón bplé atá déanta go dtí seo gurb é a mhalairt atá i gceist sa chur síos maslach atá déanta ar Eoghan san aoir *A Íosa Críosd créad an toil*.

Mar léiriú ar a chosúla is atá cuid de na téacsanna eile thuas leis an aoir atá in eagar anseo, is fiú súil ar leith a chaitheamh ar théacs iv agus v thuas.

[20] Eag. Gray (1982) agus leagan na Nua-Ghaeilge Moiche in eagar ag Ó Cuív (1945).

[21] Downey (2010: 8); eag. O'Donovan (1839).

[22] Eag. Breatnach (2023).

[23] Eag. Mac Neill (1908).

[24] Féach rann uimh. 157 in *Dánfhocail* (O'Rahilly 1921: 31).

[25] Luann Breatnach go bhfuil cosúlachtaí idir *A fhir, ná híad dreich Temrach* agus apalóg le Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh sa dán dar tús *Mór ar bfearg riot, a rí Saxon* (*IBP* uimh. 17; scéal atá bunaithe ar *Chath Maige Tuired* a bhaineann le Lug ag iarraidh cead isteach a fháil go Teamhair). Mar sin féin, ní bhaintear úsáid as liostaí mar ghléas stíle sa dán áirithe seo.

[26] Breatnach (2023: 151).

(iv) *Uchán a sgíeth mo ríogh réil*[27]
Sna rainn seo (rr. 4, 5), tá Oisín ag labhairt agus é ag léiriú go raibh Fionn níos fearr ná duine ar bith eile agus gur shaoi ilcheardach a bhí ann.

> Ba filidh ba fer dána,
> ba cath-mhílidh comhdhála,
> ní frith a samhla um rathaibh,
> ba láoch calma i gcrúadhchathaibh.
>
> Ba sáor ba cerdghobha glan
> ba brethemh ághmhar úrlam
> mairg do bhaoi ar chionn a fheirge
> bá saoí gacha saoír-cheirde.[28]
>
> 'He was a poet, a man of science, / a battler-hero of assemblies: / none was found like him for gifts: / he was a brave warrior in stern battles. // He was a craftsman, an excellent metal-wright, / a happy ready judge: / woe to him that met him in anger: / he was a master in every free craft.'[29]

Is fiú a lua, freisin, go bhfuil trácht ar Lug sa dán seo i rr. 10, 11 agus Oisín ag labhairt faoi stair na scéithe agus na daoine a raibh sí ina seilbh acu, gné a léiríonn ceangal eile ag na téacsanna seo le Lug.

(v) *Ní file, ní seanchaidh saor*
Rann aonair i roinnt lámhscríbhinní is é i gcló ag T. F. O'Rahilly sa chnuasach *Dánfhocail* ó ARÉ 23 B 38.[30]

> Ní file, ní seanchaidh saor,
> ní liaigh, ní breitheamh bláthchaomh,
> ní hughdar léir-cheart learg,
> muna cléircheas an chéid-cheard.[31]
>
> 'Not a poet, not a noble historian, / not a physician, not a prosperous pleasant judge, / not a very just author of fields of learning; / if scholarship is not the main work.' (liomsa an t-aistriúchán).

Léiríonn an plé seo nach é amháin go bhfuil sraith téacsanna againn a bhfuil an cur chuige céanna in úsáid iontu,[32] cuid acu gar dá chéile ó thaobh dáta de,

[27] Dán uimh. 16 *Duanaire Finn* (MacNeill 1908: 34).
[28] MacNeill (1908: 34) 5*c* cf. Murphy 1953: 35.
[29] Ibid (1908: 135).
[30] O'Rahilly (1921: 81). Tá cóipeanna eile den rann seo in ARÉ 4 A 26 agus 24 P 20, mar shamplaí. Cf. *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*. Fasc. 28, 3670; Fasc. 24, 2984.
[31] Cf. nóta an Rathiligh ar an bhfocal *learg* 'a slope/expanse; hence figuratively "fields of learning (?)" ' (1921: 108).
[32] Tá difríochtaí beaga sa chur chuige i gcuid de na téacsanna. Mar shampla, in (iii) thuas déantar plé ar cheird amháin i ngach véarsa agus ansin cuirtear síos ar an gceird trí úsáid a bhaint as tréanna (féach sampla thuas). Is faoi thionchar an téacs dlí *Bretha Nemed Toísech* a baineadh úsáid as na tréanna in téacs (iii), dar le Breatnach (2023: 158).

ach go bhfuil baint acu leis an gcinéal céanna seánra .i. daoine le ceirdeanna/gairmeacha éagsúla ar stádas ard agus íseal. Tá ceithre/cúig cheird i gcoiteann ag cuid de na téacsanna.[33] Mar sin féin, ní hamháin go bhfuil gaol láidir ag téacsanna (iii, iv, v thuas) leis an aoir *A Íosa Críosd créad an toil*, ach tá siad ceangailte lena chéile ó thaobh na gceirdeanna a luaitear iontu chomh maith.

Is léir go bhfuil feidhm dhifriúil leis na téacsanna (aoir san eagrán seo, mar shampla, agus cuid de na téacsanna eile ag plé le Lug) agus go bhfuil idir mholadh (iv) agus cháineadh (v) i gceist iontu freisin, ach, mar sin féin, is dóigh liom gur féidir an aoir bheag seo a cheangailt le téacsanna ó réanna éagsúla, cuid acu i bhfad níos luaithe.

Lámhscríbhinní agus eagrán

Ní mhaireann an dán seo ach in dhá lámhscríbhinn, an péire acu san Acadamh Ríoga: ARÉ uimh. 6 (23 I 40), 33 (*I* as seo amach), *c*. 1700, agus ARÉ uimh. 803 (3 A 17) (*A* as seo amach) ón naoú haois déag.[34] Bailiúchán d'Fhilíocht na Scol atá in *I* ach ní luaitear ainm an scríobhaí nó an áit ar scríobhadh í. Bhí an tuairim ag an Rathileach gur scríobhadh an lámhscríbhinn i lár tíre mar gheall ar chúrsaí litrithe, áfach.[35] Maidir le *A*, ábhar ilchineálach atá inti. Níl ainm luaite leis an lámhscríbhinn ach Seosamh Ó Longáin a scríobh, de réir cosúlachta.[36] Tugann an scríobhaí le fios (i nóta ag barr an leathanaigh) gur chóipeáil sé an téacs ón bhfoinse *I*; mar sin cóip spleách is ea é, gan luach neamhspleách ag baint léi dá réir.[37]

Ó thaobh na heagarthóireachta de, tá normalú déanta ar litriú na lámhscríbhinne agus cloítear leis na gnáthghnásanna eagarthóireachta:[38] tá noda scaoilte sa chló iodálach; tá *e*-ard scaoilte mar *ea* sa chló iodálach; *tt-* > *dt-* (ag tús focal); *a* > *i* (an réamhfhocal); i gcás athruithe eile, tá léamha na lámhscríbhinne ag bun an leathanaigh.

Tá leasuithe déanta i rr. 2*b*, 4*ab*, 6*cd* chun deacrachtaí téacsúla a réiteach (féach plé sna nótaí). Toisc nach féidir a bheith lánchinnte de go bhfuil dúnadh slán sa dán, b'fhéidir nach bhfuil an dán iomlán againn sa lámhscríbhinn (féach tuilleadh plé sna nótaí).

Is é meadaracht an dáin ná *deibhidhe*. *Ógláchas* atá i gceist i rr. 1–5 ach tá r. 6 scríofa sa *dán díreach*.[39] Tá comhardadh deiridh (*rinn*) slán tríd an dán, ach amháin i r. 4*ab* (áit a bhfuil an comhardadh briste). Níl comhardadh inmheánach

[33]Is iad na ceirdeanna atá i gcoiteann ag na téacsanna ná: *tiompánach, gaba, ceard, liaig, brugaid* (téacs iii); *filidh* (= *ollamh*), *sáor* (= *ceard*), (*cerd*)*ghobha*, *brethemh* (téacs iv); *file*, *seanchaidh*, *liaigh*, *breitheamh*, *ughdar* (téacs v).

[34]Cf. *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*. Fasc. 1, 40; Fasc. 20, 2519.

[35]Ibid., Fasc. 1, 38.

[36]Ibid., Fasc. 20, 2519.

[37]Níl de dhifríochtaí suntasacha idir na lámhscríbhiní ach: 1*a ch*riost *A* : críosd *I*; 1*d* ug*h*dar *A* : úg*h*d*ar I*; 2*a* tig*h*e *A* : toig*h*e *I*.

[38]Cf. *TD* I lgh xciv–xcviii.

[39]Dá réir sin, ní thagaim leis an tuairim in *ABM* (2010: 17) a thugann le fios gur *dán díreach* gan chomhardadh inmheánach atá sa dán toisc go bhfuil comhardadh briste i r. 4*ab* agus toisc gur gné de chuid aistí *ógláchais* é comhardadh inmheánach a bheith in easnamh. Féach a thuilleadh plé ar úsáid an dána dhírigh thuas.

le fáil ach i rr. 2 (caoiche) agus 6 (comhardadh slán). Tá uaim i ngach líne agus tá na focail aiceanta deiridh agus leathdheiridh ag déanamh uama lena chéile i línte *d*, gné nach bhfuil riachtanach in *ógláchas*.

Cé nach féidir dáta beacht a chur ar *A Íosa Críosd créad an toil*, de bharr na héiginnteachta faoin údar, is féidir a rá mar sin féin ag brath ar theanga an téacs, gur cumadh an aoir idir an dara agus an seachtú haois déag.[40]

An Dán

Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh

1. A Íosa Críosd crēad an toil
fā bhfuarais onóir a Eóghain?
Ní ceard thú, nī gabha glan,
nī hughdar is nī hollamh.

2. Ní fear tōgbhāla toighe,
ní háirseóir eadh mórghoile,
ní fear crū do chur go cóir,
nī fear eich i dtráth tionóil.

3. Ní fear breactha brōg sállom,
nī fear déanta deagh-lāmhann,
ní breitheamh lē mbearthaoi breath,
nī ceithearnach, nī cléireach.

Aistriúchán

1. Jesus Christ, by what will did you get honour, Eoghan? You are not a craftsman, not a pure smith, not an author and not a master (*ollamh*).

2. Not a man who builds houses, not an archer during great battle, not a man who fastens horseshoes properly, not a horse rider at time of assembly.

3. Not a man who decorates bare-heeled shoes, not a man who makes good gloves, not a judge who would give judgement, not a kerne, not a cleric.

Malairtí

2 *b* f*ea*d*h I*

[40]Tagraíonn Simms don dán áirithe seo (2004 :155) agus luann sí gur dócha gur cumadh sa 17ú haois é. Ní thugann sí aon fhianaise lena tuairim, áfach.

4. Ní duine diadha déarcach,
ní hoirfideach uirsgéalach,
nī hāirgheach, nī fear faire,
nī hoireamh, nī haodhaire.

5. Ní brughaidh lē mbearthaoi geall,
nī píobaire port gcoimhtheann,
nī tiompánach tighe móir,
ní sgríbhneóir luath, nī léaghthóir.

6. Ní cleasaighe cōir colla,
ní cócaire comhronna,
gē taoi im dhiaidh ō thigh do thoigh,
nī liaigh sibh [i]s ní seanchaidh.

A//I//

4. Not a divine charitable person, not a performer of famous stories, not a herdsman, not a watchman, not a ploughman, not a shepherd.

5. Not a hospitaller who would achieve supremacy, not a piper of strong tunes, not a tiompán-player of a large house, not a quick scribe, not a reader.

6. Not a proper contortionist, not a cook who would share his food. Although you follow me from house to house, you are not a physician and not a historian.

4 *a* f*ea*r *I*, dei*r*ceac*h I*, *b* ni hui*r*sgéulac*h I*, *d* ni haod*hair*e (scriosta le poncanna faoi) hoir*eam*/*h* ni haod*hair*e *I*
6 *c* do] go *I*, *d* s *I*

Nótaí

1*a*. *A Íosa Críosd*: Ainm Íosa á úsáid le teann frustrachais agus an file ag labhairt go mallachtach le hEoghan; cf. úsáid an fhrása *A Dhé* nó *A Mhuire* sa chiall *uch* (*AithdD.* II, 231, uimh. 10, r. 10*d* n.) agus tá sampla eile de '*A Mhuire*' mar uaillbhreas san aoir *A fhir iomtnuidh an aois téad* ón séú/seachtú haois déag (gan ainm 1909: 365): '*A Mhuire is binn an béiceach*' ('O Mary sweet is the shouting', 4*d*).

1*b*. *fā bhfuarais onóir a Eóghain?* (LS Fa *bh*fua*r*uis onói*r* a Eóg*h*ain): Tá siolla sa bhreis sa líne. Ní bheadh báthadh ceadaithe sa *dán díreach* sa chomhthéacs áirithe seo ach toisc go bhfuil an dán seo scríofa san *ógláchas* don chuid is mó, b'fhéidir go mbeadh báthadh na míre *a* in *a Eoghain* ceadaithe agus go réiteodh sé sin líon na siollaí sa líne (féach plé agus samplaí in *DF* III, lch cxiv); glactar leis an réiteach seo san eagrán. Rogha eile ná *a* a bhaint amach ón líne agus *fā bhfuarais onóir Eóghain* ('that you got Eoghan's honour') a léamh. Sa chás sin, níl an file ag caint le hEoghan in aon chor ach é ag caint faoi onóir Eoghain. Ní athraíonn teachtaireacht an dáin leis an athrú sin ach in ionad an file a bheith ag labhairt go díreach le hEoghan, bheadh duine eile i gceist agus an file ag

labhairt leis an duine seo, ag ceistiú conas go bhfuair sé an onóir agus an meas a bhí ag Eoghan, tráth. Féach lch 225 thuas.

1*c*. *ceard*: Focal débhríoch sa mhéid is gur féidir é a thuiscint mar chéardaí nó mar fhile. Féach plé ar na focail dhébhríocha sa mhionanailís thuas.

2*b*. *Ní háirseóir eadh* (LS ní háirseóir f*ead*h): Níl uaim sa líne faoi mar atá sa lámhscríbhinn. Tá *eadh* ceadaithe mar fhoirm mhalartach, áfach (féach *DIL* s.v. *2 ed*) agus réitíonn sé an uaim.

2*c*. *crū do chur* (LS cru do c*h*ur): D'fhéadfaí an frása seo a aistriú mar 'to shed blood' (féach *AithdD.* II, lch 281 s.v. *crú* agus *cró*). Cé go dtagraíonn an file do phoist mhíleata sa dán, i gcomhthéacs na gceirdeanna sa dán trí chéile glacaim le 'fastens horseshoes' anseo.

2*d*. *fear eich*: Tá sampla eile den fhrása seo in *DDána* uimh. 98 r. 32 sa dán *Gach éan mar a adhbha* le Tadhg Mór Ó hUiginn mar a bhfuil sé soiléir ón gcomhthéacs gur fear troda ar mhuin capaill atá i gceist (*fear eich sheinggil shídhe*, 32*c*). An t-aistriúchán atá ag McKenna air sin ná 'this hero of the white swift steed' (1921: 291).

3*a*. *Ní fear breactha brōg sállom* (LS Ní f*ear* breact*h*a brog sállóm): Tá Eoghan chomh holc sin ag déanamh bróg nach féidir leis droch-cheann a dhéanamh, gan trácht ar cheann deas, fiú.

4*a*. *Ní duine diadha déarcach* (LS Ní f*ear* diad*h*a dei*r*ceac*h*): Tá siolla ar lár sa líne i dtéacs na lámhscríbhinne. Tá *fear* athruithe go *duine*, focal a bhfuil an bhrí chéanna leis, chun siolla a sholáthar. Is cosúil go ndearnadh an botún .i. gan ach sé siollaí a chur sa líne, faoi thionchar na línte eile a bhfuil *fear* iontu.

4*b*. *Ní hoirfideach uirsgéalach* (LS ní hoi*r*fideac*h* ni hui*r*sgéulac*h*): Tá siolla sa bhreis sa líne i dtéacs na lámhscríbhinne. Déanaim amach go bhfuil *Ní* scríofa faoi dhó (diotagrafaíocht) trí thimpiste nó faoi thionchar na línte eile. Maidir le brí an fhocail, níl *uirsgéalach* san fhoclóir. Glacaim leis i riocht aidiachta anseo (bunaithe ar an bhfocal *uirsgéal*; féach *DIL* s.v. *airscél*). Glacaim leis gurb é is brí leis anseo dá réir ná 'of famous stories'. Ina ionad sin, d'fhéadfaí a chur i gcás gur ainmfhocal é sa chiall 'parable/apologue teller', ach sa chás sin b'fhéidir go mbeimis ag súil le *ní* a bheith roimhe.

4*ab*. *déarcach* : *uirsgéalach* (LS dei*r*ceac*h* : hui*r*sgéulac*h*): Foirm níos óige curtha isteach ag an scríobhaí (féach *DIL* s.v. *deerccach*). Déanann an malartú foirme *déarcach* comhardadh briste le *uirsgéalach*, rud atá ceadaithe san *ógláchas* (carn consan ag réiteach le consan aonair). Seo an t-aon áit sa dán a bhfuil an comhardadh briste. Dá mba mhian linn comhardadh slán a sholáthar anseo, an rogha a bheadh ann ná an *c* a bhaint amach san fhocal *déarcach* (*déarach* : *huirsgéalach*) agus *déarach* a léamh. An bhrí a bheadh

le *déarach* sa chomhthéacs ná ‘tearful’, i.e. *Ní duine diadha déarach*, ‘not a divine tearful person’. Mar sin féin, níl aon ghá le comhardadh slán in aiste ógláchais agus tá samplaí eile de na haidiachtaí *diadha déarcach* in úsáid le chéile in O’Donovan (1848–51) s.a. 1436 agus Ó Foghludha (1946: 47). Níl aon leasú eile déanta ar *déarcach* mar sin.

5*a*. *lē mbearthaoi geall* (LS le mbert*h*aoi geall): Féach McKenna (1940: 66) agus *AithdD.* II lch 302 s.v. *geall*, maidir leis an leagan cainte seo.

6*a*. *cleasaighe cōir colla* (LS cl*ea*saig*h*e coi*r* colla): Níl aon trácht ar an bhfrása *cleasaighe colla* in *DIL*. An bhrí litriúil ná ‘trickster of the body’; táim ag glacadh leis sa chiall ‘contortionist’ anseo.

6*b*. *cócaire comhronna* (LS cócui*r*e com*h*ron*n*a) ‘a cook who shared his food’. D’fhéadfadh ‘a cook of an equal portion’ (.i. cócaire sciliúil) nó ‘a cook of a meal’ a bheith i gceist freisin, áfach (féach *DIL* s.v. *comrann*). Cé go ndéanfadh ceachtar acu an chúis, glacaim leis sa chiall ‘not a sharing cook’ mar d’fhéadfaí a áiteamh gur mhó de mhasla é.

6*c*. *ō thigh do thoigh* (LS o t*h*ig*h* go toig*h*): Tá an tuiseal mícheart ar lorg *go* sa lámhscríbhinn; leanann an tuiseal cuspóireach é sa Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach .i. *go teach*. Mar sin, tá *go* athraithe go *do* san eagrán toisc go leanann an tuiseal tabharthach *do* agus is ionann brí don dá réamhfhocal sa chomhthéacs .i. ‘go dtí’ (*DIL* s.v. *do* A I). Ceadaítear an dá fhoirm *tigh* agus *toigh* mar thabharthach uatha in *IGT* ii §164.

6*d*. *sibh [i]s ní* (LS sib*h* sní): Tá siolla ar lár sa líne. Tá *is* curtha isteach in áit *s*. Féach *BST* 216.5 maidir le foirmeacha an chónaisc.

6*d*. *seanchaidh*: Tá amhras ann i leith an dúnaidh anseo. B’fhéidir nach bhfuil an dán iomlán againn sa lámhscríbhinn mar sin. Tharlódh go bhfuil dúnadh againn, áfach, bunaithe ar mhalairt fhoirme .i. *seancha* (*DIL* s.v. *senchae*). Cé nach bhfuil an fhoirm seo luaite sna tráchtais ghramadaí, tá corrshampla le fáil (m.sh. *Beag tairthear don tagra mbaoith*, Mhág Craith 1967–80, uimh. 39, r. 112). Tá beagán samplaí ann den dúnadh a bheith bunaithe ar fhoirmeacha malartacha. Féach Ní Dhomhnaill (1981, 61 §10.3) agus an sampla ***Do*** (*Chonnla*) / *chumhach**ta*** in Breatnach (2020, 183–4 (rr. 1*a*, 3*d*)), mar a bhfuil an fhoirm cheadaithe *chumhach**da*** le tuiscint (ibid., 184).

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Coláiste na hOllscoile, Corcaigh

BEANNACHT DUIT, A DHÁIBHÍTH ÓIG: DÁN DO DHÁIBHÍTH ÓG DE BARRA (†1604/5) AR A THEACHT IN AOIS[1]

Achoimre

Chum Domhnall (mac Taidhg) Ó Dálaigh an dán seo in 1604 nó 1605 do Dháibhíth Óg (mac Dháibhíth mhic Shéamais) de Barra (†1604/5), ag tabhairt léargais dúinn ar chodanna éagsúla dá shaol. Luann an file an t-oideachas a fuair an pátrún nuair a bhí sé óg, turas a rinne sé go Londain le hachainí a dhéanamh ar an Rí Séamas I, agus a phósadh le hEilís Puidhéar, iníon Ristird Puidhéar (4ú Barún le Puidhéar, †1607). Tá an t-eagrán thíos bunaithe ar an gcóip is luaithe de a mhaireann, i LS 23 D 4, Leabharlann Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann. Foilsíodh tras-scríbhinn den dán seo in *ABM* sa bhliain 2010 le heagarthóireacht éadrom déanta air. Tá aistriúchán Béarla ar an dán curtha ar fáil anseo, chomh maith le plé ar ghnéithe den teanga agus den mheadaracht sa réamhrá agus sna nótaí.

An File

De réir LS 23 D 4 i Leabharlann Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann, an lámhscríbhinn is luaithe ina maireann cóip den dán thíos, is é Domhnall (mac Taidhg) Ó Dálaigh a chum an dán seo. Cuirtear cúig dhán eile i leith an fhile seo. Is iad sin

- *Maith ráinig i dtreise Tadhg* (*ABM* 317), a mholann Tadhg an Fhórsa (mac Diarmada) Mac Carthaigh (†1618);
- *Dia do bheatha, a Thaidhg mheic Thaidhg* (*ABM* 167) do Thadhg an Dúna (mac Taidhg an Fhórsa) Mac Carthaigh (†1649);
- *Nocht dúinn do sheirc, a Shéamais* (*ABM* 377) do Shéamas (mac Dáibhíth) de Barra;
- *Cionnas mheasdar macámh óg* do Dháibhíth de Róiste (7ú Bíocunta de Róiste, †1635);
- *Duine deighmhisnigh Dái-bhíoth* (*DiD* 87), dán molta do Dháibhíth de Barra (5ú Bíocunta Chill na Mallach, †1617).

Cé nach bhfuil a ainm leis an dán, is dócha gurb é an file céanna seo a chum *Deacair teacht re tréan Barrach* (*ABM* 156), ós dán eile é do Dháibhíth de Barra

[1] Tá mé buíoch den Dr Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh, den Dr Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, eagarthóirí *Celtica* agus an léitheoir a cheap siad as a gcuid moltaí le barr feabhais a chur ar an alt seo. Mé féin faoi deara gach botún agus dearmad.

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agus ó tá iargcomharc do Naomh Pól ann, mar atá i ndánta eile leis an bhfile seo (féach freisin nóta 9*c* thíos). Léiríonn na dánta éagsúla seo do dhaoine de mhuintir de Barra gaol gairid pátrúnachta idir Domhnall Ó Dálaigh agus an teaghlach sin.

An pátrún agus ábhar an dáin

Cumadh an dán seo do Dháibhíth Óg (mac Dáibhíth mhic Shéamais) de Barra, mac agus oidhre Dháibhíth de Barra (5ú Bíocunta Chill na Mallach, †1617) agus Oiléan de Róiste. Tugann an dán seo léargas dúinn ar chodanna éagsúla dá shaol. Tosaíonn an dán le moladh ar áilleacht agus ar intleacht an phátrúin (rainn 1–9), tíolacthaí ó Dhia, de réir an fhile, a raibh baint acu le rath Dháibhíth Óig ag tús a shaoil.

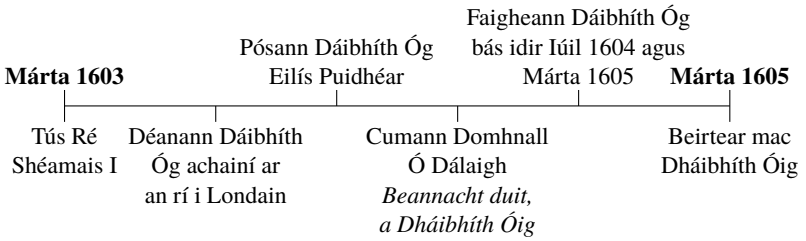
Déanann an file plé ansin ar oideachas an phátrúin, plé a thugann léargas luachmhar dúinn ar an sórt oiliúna a chuirtí ar bhaill den uasalaicme i gCúige Mumhan ag deireadh an 16ú haois. Deir an file ar dtús gur cóir buíochas a ghabháil le hathair Dháibhíth Óig as an oideachas a chur ar fáil (rainn 13–15).[2] Ansin, caithfear buíochas a ghabháil leis na fir a chuir an t-oideachas air, ag tosú le fir léannta agus le scoileanna teanga (rainn 16–17, 20). Luaitear scileanna eile a múineadh dó: marcaíocht, sealgaireacht, oirbheartaíocht, agus conas airm a bheartú (rainn 18–20). Is díol suime chomh maith é go luaitear imirt fichille mar chuid den phróiseas oiliúna taobh le scileanna trodaíochta (rann 19).

Luann an file turas a rinne Dáibhíth Óg go Londain i ndiaidh Chogadh na Naoi mBliana (1594–1603), agus go ndearna sé achainí ar an Rí Séamas I le teidil agus talamh a theaghlaigh a chosaint (rainn 21–34). Ní léir dom aon fhoinse eile a luann an turas áirithe seo, ach tá a fhios againn ón dán seo go ndearna sé an turas i ndiaidh mhí an Mhárta 1603, tús ré Shéamais I, agus nach ar Eilís I a rinne sé an achainí, mar go n-úsáidtear an focal *rí* seachas *ríoghan* sa dán: *Do* ***rígh*** *Saxan* (27*a*), *ó* ***rígh*** *laoichlíonmhar Lonnann* (30*d*). Seans gurb é an turas céanna a rinne a athair agus atá luaite in *DiD* 87.21*d*: *ar cuairt go saoirching Séamas* ‘a visit to the noble King James’, agus sin atá i gceist ag an bhfile i rann 30 thíos nuair a deir sé *Táinig tú* […] *ar aithris t’athar* […] *ó rígh laoichlíonmhar Lonnann* ‘you came from the king of London […] as your father did.’ Bhí rath ar an turas de réir an fhile (rainn 29–31) agus, nuair a tháinig sé ar ais go hÉirinn, phós sé Eilís Puidhéar (rann 32), iníon Ristird Puidhéar (4ú Barún le Puidhéar, †1607) agus Caitilín de Barra (†1610). Cuireann an file iargcomharc don Eilís seo ag deireadh an dáin (rainn 40–3). Bhí mac amháin acu, Dáibhíth de Barra (1ú hIarla Bharrach Mór, †1642), a rugadh i mí an Mhárta 1605, agus tá a fhios againn go raibh Dáibhíth Óg féin marbh faoin am sin:

[2]Leagtar béim ar an tábhacht a bhaineann le hoideachas maith a sholáthar do do mhac sa dán *Deacair teacht re tréan Barrach* chomh maith: 27 *Teagasg an airdrīogh fhoirbhfe / dá mhac tuigseach téaghairthe / craobhshlat do churaidh na tais / cumhain le saormhac Séamais* (*ABM* 156.27), ‘The noble son of James (i.e. David Barry) remembers what the perfect high-king taught to his intelligent, warm-glowing son, a branch of the warrior of the relic (?).’

> David Barry, s[on] and h[eir] ap. by 1st wife. He m[arried] Elizabeth Power, 3rd da[ughter] of Richard, 4th Lord le Power [I.], by Catherine, da[ughter] and coh. of James Fitz John, 3rd Viscount Barry abovenamed. He *decessit vita patris* in 1604 or 1604/5. (Cokayne 1910: 443)

Le heolas ón dán seo, agus ó fhoinsí eile, tugtar léargas luachmhar dúinn ar bhlianta deiridh a shaoil:



I dtreo dheireadh an dáin, filleann an file ar an téama lenar thosaigh sé, áilleacht agus intleacht an phátrúin agus na tíolacthaí a fuair sé ó Dhia (rainn 33–8). Tá béim ar an gcreideamh sna rainn seo, go háirithe línte 36*b* (*do-ní tú an eaglais d'ionnramh* 'you protect the church') agus 38*d* (*agus guidhe Dé i ndíchleith* 'and pray to God openly'), ós rud é go raibh sé de pholasaí ag na Barraigh cloí go hoscailte le creideamh na corónach ag an am sin, mar a léirítear i bhfoinsí cosúil leis na litreacha seo idir Aodh Ó Néill agus Dáibhíth de Barra (athair Dháibhíth Óig) sa bhliain 1599, thart ar cheithre bliana roimh chumadh an dáin thíos:

Aodh Ó Néill:

> *You separated your selfe from the unitie of Christs mysticall Bodie, the Catholike Church* […] *deliver them and us from the most miserable and cruell exaction and subjection, enjoy your religion, safetie of Wife and children, life lands and goods …*

Dáibhíth de Barra:

> *… by the Law of God and his true religion I am bound to hold with her Maiestie: Her Highnesse hath never restrained me for matters of religion, and as I felt her Maiesties indifferencie and clemencie within, I haue not spared to releeue poore Catholikes with duetifull succour …*
>
> (*Pacata Hibernia*, 36–39)

Tagann an dán chun deiridh le hiargcomharc do Naomh Pól agus don Mhaighdean Mhuire (rann 39) agus leis na ceithre rann d'Eilís Puidhéar. Léiríonn an friotal i dtreo dheireadh an dáin go raibh an pátrún fós beo nuair a cumadh é (m.sh. 37*d gur mhara tú an tabhartas* 'may you live to enjoy the gift', 38*b cleacht red ré a bhuidhe do bhreith* 'during your lifetime, make a habit of giving thanks'). Ní fios dúinn go díreach conas a fuair Dáibhíth Óg bás, ach is dócha gur de bharr tinnis a cailleadh é. Sa dán *Nocht dúinn do sheirc, a Shéamais*,

a chum an file céanna do dheartháir Dháibhíth Óig, Séamas de Barra, luaitear bás Dháibhíth Óig, agus go bhfuil an file ag súil leis go dtiocfaidh Séamas in ionad a dhearthár mar oidhre a n-athar:

6. A ttugus rom do rothoil
do Dháibhi, dod dhe*ar*bhrath*air* –
truag gan mh*ar*thain da ghnúis ngloin –
cúis dod ch*ar*thain, a chumthaidh.[3]

'All the great love that I gave to Dáibhíth, to your brother – it is a pity that his pure face does not survive – is a reason to cherish you, dear friend.'

13. Deana dhamh-sa, a dhearc m*ar* ghloin,
ionad Daibhi Oig íodhoin,
pór shlat do budh doilge dhamh,
mac agas oighre t'athar.

'O crystal-like eye, be for me the replacement of pure Dáibhíth Óg, the noble branch who[se death] caused me the most grief, the son and heir of your father.'

14. Ionan*n* aitreabh ór fhás tú
is Daibhi Óg f[h]uair deaghchlú;
ge mudh ionan*n* d'oighrea*cht* sibh
ionan*n* d'oirbheart is d'airrghibh.

'You came from the same house as Dáibhíth Óg who received a good reputation; though you had the same heritage, you are the same in abilities and qualities.'

Lámhscríbhinní

Tá an t-eagrán thíos bunaithe ar an gcóip is luaithe den dán, ar leathanaigh 367–74 de LS 23 D 4 i Leabharlann Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann. Níl ainm an scríobhaí againn, ach déanann catalógaí na LSe amach ó litriú focal gur Muimhneach a bhí ann (O'Rahilly 1926: 30). Is cosúil gur scríobhadh í sa dara leath den 17ú haois, agus tugtar an bhliain 1681 ar leathanach 173. Maireann cóip eile den dán i dtras-scríbhinn a rinne Eoghan Ó Comhraí de LS 23 D 4 sa 19ú haois, is í sin LS C 87b in Ollscoil Mhá Nuad. Ós rud é gur cóip í an dara leagan seo den chéad chóip, ní tharraingím uaithi d'eagarthóireacht an dáin thíos.

Polasaí eagarthóireachta

Mé féin faoi deara ceannlitriú, poncaíocht, suíomh an tsínidh fhada taobh istigh de shiolla, agus scaradh na bhfocal. Tá noda scaoilte agam i gcló iodálach,

[3]Tá na rainn seo as an dán *Nocht dúinn do sheirc, a Shéamais* i gcló in *ABM* (377) bunaithe ar an gcóip den dán in LS 23 D 4. Is liomsa an t-aistriúchán.

agus tá comharthaí séimhithe scaoilte agam mar 'h' gan cló iodálach. Úsáidim macran le síneadh fada nach bhfuil sa LS a chur ar fáil, agus tá síntí fada neamhstairiúla bainte agam os íseal (m.sh. *t'éarla* > *t'earla*, líne 4*a*; *dhruím* > *dhruim*, líne 34*c*). Tá síntí fada bainte agam os íseal den défhoghar *ia*, agus tá síntí fada curtha ar fáil agam ar an défhoghar *eó* le macran nuair is cuí. Úsáidim lúibíní cearnacha chun litreacha nach bhfuil sa LS a chur ar fáil (m.sh. *ach* > *ach*[*t*], líne 9*d*). Léiríonn líne trí litreacha i léamha botún sa LS a cheartaigh an scríobhaí é féin (m.sh. *n*ar *thārthaig*[*h*] *tú ~~a th~~ don Trīonóid*, líne 33*d*).

Déanaim normalú os íseal:

- Ar an bhforainm sealbhach *h'* > *th'* (m.sh. *h'in*n*eall* > *th'in*n*eall*, líne 1*d*), agus athraím *it*, *dot*, srl. go *id*, *dod*, srl. nuair a thosaíonn an t-ainmfhocal ina ndiaidh ar chonsan (m.sh. *dot chuaird* > *dod chuaird*, líne 26*a*).
- Ar litriú roinnt focal coitianta neamhaiceanta: *a* > *i* (= an réamhfhocal *i n-*), *as* > *is* (an chopail/an cónasc); agus athraím *cc-* > *gc-* agus *tt-* go *dt-* ag tús focal (m.sh. *a ccean*n > *i gcean*n, líne 6*a*).
- Ar ghutaí neamhaiceanta nach bhfuil fada (m.sh. *chruthuigh* > *chruthaigh*, líne 8*d*; *léigsiod* > *léigsead*, líne 23*a*), ach amháin i gcás roinnt siollaí meánacha i gcuibheas (m.sh. *cuing* : *fhoghluim*, línte 8*cd*).

Léirím gach athrú eile trí na léamha.

TEANGA AGUS MEADARACHT

Deibhí, dán díreach, meadaracht an dáin seo, agus tagann téacs na LSe leis na rialacha a bhaineann leis an meadaracht sin den chuid is mó, chomh maith leis an teanga Chlasaiceach. Déanaim tuilleadh plé ar cheisteanna a bhaineann leis an teanga agus leis an meadaracht sna nótaí.

Athruithe tosaigh

Tá séimhiú bainte agam ar lorg ainmneach uatha firinscneach i líne 5*b* (*do chēadfaidh, do chruth f*(***h***)*aoilidh*) agus tá séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam ar lorg ainmneach uatha baininscneach i líne 2*d* (*cúis m*[***h***]*ēadaighthe gach macaoimh*), 15*d* (*an fhailmghéag b*[***h***]*uadha, an B*a*rrach*). Tá dhá shéimhiú bainte agam ar lorg ginideach uatha i líne 28*c* (*trēidhe an mhuighe f*(***h***)*ódghlais f*(***h***)*in*n). Tá séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam ar lorg tabharthach uatha sna línte seo a leanas:[4]

8*c* *a dhíon críoch ag coimdhe c*[***h***]*ruidh*
13*d* *is tū id mha*[*i*]*cleanabh m*[***h***]*acaoimh.*
14*a* *Ní bhfuair aoin*[*n*]*each d'iath B*[***h***]*anbha*
19*b* *d'imirt f*[***h***]*ithcheall, d'arm, d'iomlat*

[4]Cuirim séimhiú ar fáil ar lorg tabharthach uatha i bhfianaise an tsampla le deimhniú meadarachta i línte 25*cd* den dán *Maith ráinig i dtreise Tadhg* leis an bhfile céanna (.i. *do bhuaidh a chēille go ceart* / *do uair* ***fh****éile gan fhóirneart*). Bheimis ag súil le séimhiú ar lorg focal sa tabharthach uatha sa teanga Chlasaiceach agus, de réir mar a thuigim é, is léiriú é an sampla seo gurbh é sin an polasaí a bhí ag an bhfile.

23*c* *rō cadail dod dhreich d*[***h***]*ealbhdha*
25*c* *do ghlanfhoghlaim, do ghnīomh s*[***h***]*ean,*
35*a* *Ní fhoighthe ag oighre f*[***h***]*latha*

Tá an t-ainmfhocal *aigneadh* (*DIL* s.v. 1 *aicned*) firinscneach sa tSean-Ghaeilge, agus sa teanga Chlasaiceach, cé go bhfuil sé baininscneach sa Nua-Ghaeilge (*aigne*), agus mar sin tá séimhiú ar a lorg bainte agam i líne 8*b* (*aigneadh f*(***h***)*áithghlic f*(***h***)*oghlamdha*). Tá uaim ar iarraidh i leagan na LSe mar go gcaitear le *aigneadh* mar fhocal baininscneach arís i líne 9*c*, agus *snoighthe* séimhithe ar a lorg. Tá an séimhiú sin bainte agam san eagrán le huaim a chur ar fáil, agus tá *t-* curtha agam le *aigneadh* mar ainmfhocal firinscneach a leanann an t-alt.

Níl séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam ar lorg ainmneach iolra den chineál a shéimhíonn de ghnáth sa teanga Chlasaiceach i líne 21*a* (*Laoich chródha* ***C****úirte an Bharraigh*) ná ar lorg tabharthach uatha i líne 27*a* (*Do rīgh* ***S****axan na sreabh dte*) agus na riachtanais do shléagar arna gcomhlíonadh iontu sin. Mar an gcéanna, tá séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam ar lorg ainmneach uatha firinscneach i líne 28*b* (*gníomh oirbheartach f*[***h***]*ear Saxan*) áit a bhfuil sléagar agus an séimhiú deimhnithe ag an uaim. I bhfianaise deimhniú meadarachta i líne 18*d* (*a ruire is f*[***h***]*íochmhar ain*n*searg*), tá séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam ar lorg na copaile coibhneasta san aimsir láithreach i línte 7*c* (*a ruire is c*[***h***]*irtshéimhe cuing*), 10*c* (*nā an labhra is g*[***h***]*oimheamhla gus*), agus 21*d* (*damhradh clisde is c*[***h***]*roidheamhla*).

Cuibheas breise

Tá cuibheas breise sna rainn seo a leanas nach mbeifí ag súil leis de réir na riachtanas meadarachta:

3*a*	–	3*b*	lí	3*c*	í	3*d*	lí
11*a*	ort	11*b*	–	11*c*	ort	11*d*	fholt
27*a*	–	27*b*	–	27*c*	shir, sibh	27*d*	mhir
35*a*	fhoighthe	35*b*	–	35*c*	fhoirbhthe	35*d*	foighthe

I gcás an chuibhis bhreise i rainn 3, 11, 35, tá mé á dtuiscint mar shamplaí den ghléas ornáideach *breacadh* (féach *BST* §223–4). I gcás an chuibhis bhreise i rann 27, tá mé á thuiscint mar shampla den locht mheadarachta *rudhrach* (féach *IGT* v §10).

Dúnadh

Tá dúnadh cuí againn ag deireadh rann 39, a thagann roimh an iargcomharc d'Eilís Puidhéar:

1*a* ***Beannacht*** *duit, a Dháibhíth Óig*
39*d* *dom bhreith go brugh na m****beannacht****.*

Téacs

Domhnall mac Taidhg Ī Dhál*aigh cecinit*

1. Bean*n*a*cht* duit, a Dháibhíth Óig –
fuair tú tiodhlaicthe ón Trīonóid;
díobh do chéadrath, a chneas seang,
ní feas ēagnach ar th'in*n*eall.

2. Cóir a mheas nach diombuaidh dhuit,
do-rad an t-aoinDia ordhruic
lon*n*radh géaggairthe id ghnúis saoir,
cúis m[h]ēadaighthe gach macaoimh.

3. An brio*cht* seirce is dūthchas di –
do lasadh lí mar luisne –
is í an Trīonóid ro thoirbhir
an lí bhfíoróig bhfiuchoidhmhir.

4. Do rosg athghlas, t'earla glan,
do rogha crotha is céadfadh:
feadh do ré ní dleaghair dhuit
deadhail 's a[n] Té do thiodhlaic.

Aistriúchán

1. A blessing to you, Dáibhíth Óg – you have received gifts from the Trinity; among them is the first boon you have received (?), o graceful form: criticism of your appearance is unheard of.

2. The one eminent God has given your noble countenance a glowing, branching radiance, something that exalts every youth – this can only be seen as a boon to you.

3. A colour lit up like a flame is the winsome charm which is natural to your face; it is the Trinity that bestowed the truly youthful, lively and glowing colour.

4. During your life it is not right for you to part from the One who bestowed your intensely green eye[s], your faultless hair, your excellence of appearance and senses.

Malairtí

1*a* daibhi
2*a* diombhuaidh; 2*b* orrdhuirc; 2*c* géaghairthe, tshaoir.
3*d* bhfiucaidhmhir
4*c* dhleaghthur; 4*d* deaghail

5. Beir a bhuidhe re Dia ndil,
do chēadfaidh, do chruth faoilidh,
do ghníomhradh, do mhéad meanma,
a ghéag fhíorghlan fhīneamhna.

6. Iomdha i gcean*n* do chrotha gloin
dā mheas, a mheic an Bharraigh,
ort a dhíon forraoin gach fir,
do cho[mh]maoin Ríogh an rīghthigh.

7. Gloine th'in*n*tlea*cht*[a] is t'aibche
meastar nach mō tiodhlaicthe,
a ruire is chirtshéimhe cuing,
th'iltréidhe uile is t'f[h]oghluim.

8. Foras briathar, buaidh labhra,
aigneadh fáithghlic foghlamdha,
a dhíon críoch ag coimdhe c[h]ruidh
frí[o]th ón Choimdhe ro-d chruthaig[h].

9. An dúil oirbhearta i n-aois leinbh
do ghlac tusa – toisg neimhmeirbh –
nō an [t-]aigneadh snoighthe ōn sia fíoch
nī foighthe ach[t] ō Dhia, a Dháibhíoth.

5. Give thanks to beloved God for your senses, your agreeable form, your actions, your high-spirits, o flawless vine-branch.

6. Much [was gifted] to your pure body from the favour of the King of heaven, when considered, o son of de Barra, which protected you from the aggression of every man.

7. O leader whose behaviour is most righteous and gentle, it is reckoned that there are no greater gifts than the purity of your intellect and your maturity, your many good traits and your learning.

8. You have received a firm foundation of words, virtuosity as a speaker, [and] a clever, learned mind from the Creator who made you, o protector of territories and wealth.

9. The desire for valour you conceived as a child – no small thing – and the polished mind [you have], so far from anger, could be received only from God, o Dáibhíth.

5*b* fhaoilidh
6*b* bharraidh
7*a* taipche; 7*b* thiodhlaicthe; 7*c* ceirtshéimhe; 7*d* thiltreighthe
8*b* ~~fhl~~ fháithghlic fhoghlamdha; 8*c* dion
9*c* shnoighte; 9*d* fuighthe, dhaibhí

10. Ní cuirthe a n-iongantas ort
sēimhe th'aignidh nā th'ollmha*cht*
nā an labhra is g[h]oimheamhla gus –
tarbha th'oileamhna an t-eolas.

11. Urusa a aithne ort féin,
a bhos tana, a throigh bhláithréidh,
a raibh ort d'aibghioghadh sgol,
a fholt laigleabhar lu*cht*mh*ar*.

12. Is tugtha dhuit-se, a dhreach shaor,
d'f[h]eabhas do mhúinte id mhacaomh –
drong neambo*cht* d'fheadhain iomdha –
bean*n*a*cht* d'fhear[ai]bh th'oiliomhna.

13. Tarla dhuit-se – dia do rath! –
gur thion*n*sgain Bhīocont B*arr*ach
t'aibcheaghadh m*ar* budh dú dhaoibh
is tū id mha[i]cleanabh m[h]acaoimh.

14. Ní bhfuair aoin[n]each d'iath B[h]anbha
do mhac rí[ogh] nō rodhamhna
barr oileamhna nach uair sibh
ōn sduaigh shoidhealbha shuilbhir.

10. The gentleness of your mind or your training, the speech of most virulent force: these are no surprise; this knowledge is the outcome of your education.

11. It is easy to recognise all your schooling from you, o slender hand, o soft, smooth foot, o long, thick, smooth hair.

12. O noble face, you should give a blessing to the men who educated you – a prosperous group from a numerous band – for the excellence of your education as a youth.

13. It happened for you – what good fortune! – that the Viscount de Barra undertook to have you trained as was proper for you while you were a young boy.

14. No one in Ireland, neither prince nor royal heir, received an education superior to what you received from the handsome, cheerful chief.

10*b* h'aigneadh
11*b* bhláithréig, 11*c* raibhe, daipciudh
12*c* dfeaghain; 12*d* hoileamhna
13*c* taipciudh*adh*
14*c* fu*air*

15. Neamhnár dhuit oideas t'athar
do bheith ort m*ar* ollmhach*adh*,
saor uama caillghéag is cloch,
an fhailmghéag b[h]uadha, an B*arr*ach.

16. Ortha thugais rin*n* do ruisg,
cé[i]ddream ar dtús rod theagaisg,
drong shéimh n*ar* shaoghalta cúis
do chléir chaomhanta a gcogúis.

17. Do chlea*cht* tú a thoirmeasg feirge,
oideas géarsgol nGaoidheilge
nō sgol mbras mblā[i]thbhéarladh mbin*n* –
ón fras āithghéarghlan [t]h'in*n*tin*n*.

18. Clea*cht*[t]ar dhuit 'na dheaghaidh sin
obair th'ineamhla a n-aithghin
eich do ghníomhchur, suidhe sealg,
a ruire is f[h]íochmhar ainsearg.

19. Tugais t'aire, ní leasg lat,
d'imirt f[h]ithcheall, d'*ar*m, d'iomlat –
ní ceisd dūin d'f[h]ion*n*a*cht*ain air –
d'iomarcaidh lúidh is lāmhaig[h].

15. It was no shame for you to receive your father's education as preparation, a craftsman binding wood and stone, that victorious palm-branch, the Barrach.

16. To the clergy who conserve their conscience you gave the point of your eye [i.e. you gave them your full attention], the first band to educate you, a gentle band of no worldly cause.

17. You practised restraining of anger [learnt from] instruction in insightful Irish-language schools and the great schools of the sweet and smooth [other] languages, from which your mind is [like] very sharp and pure shower.

18. You then practised the work of a kind you are well able for: putting horses into action, setting up hunts, o ferocious and ruthless leader.

19. You gave your attention, and without reluctance, to the playing of *fithcheall* games, to battle-equipment, to wielding [weapons] – to make that known is no question for me – out of an abundance of vigour and skill with weapons.

16*a* Orrtha
18*d* ain*n*searg
19*a* leat; 19*d* dio*m*arcaigh lúith

20. Ní[o]r chaith tú treall dot aimsir,
a mharcaigh mhir mhóraibhsigh,
ach[t] ag oidibh sgagtha sgol
nō id dhalta ag coigibh curadh.

21. Laoich chródha Cúirte an Bharraigh,
fuair tú t'f[h]oghlaim eatt*arr*aibh,
drong armghlan brisde bearna,
damhradh clisde is c[h]roidheamhla.

22. I measg Bh*arr*ach, a bh*arr* tais,
sgath gach foghlama fuarais,
pór glainlīo[n]mh*ar* bhur bhfuin*n* féin,
daighríoghradh n*ar* thuill toibhéim.

23. Ní[o]r léigsead lu*cht* do mhúinte,
dīorma ghlan na grianchúirte,
rō cadail dod dhreich dhealbhdha
gan bheith abaigh infheadhma.

24. Tēighe ar-ís – ní haithreach dhuit –
ar theagasg th'ath*ar* ordhraic,
a ghlōr tean*n* gnáthmhūinte glan,
i gcean*n* lánchúirte Lon*n*dan.

20. You spent all of your time with refining tutors of schools, o great, agile horseman, or as a student with preparers (?) of warriors.

21. You received your education among the valiant heroes of Barry's Court, a band of clean weapons who breach gaps, a clever and most hearty company.

22. The best of every [type of] education you received among the de Barras, o [man with] soft hair, the pure and plentiful race of your own land, great kings who have never earned reproach.

23. Those who educated you, the pure band of the sunny court, did not allow your sculpted face an excessive amount of sleep without [you] being well-prepared and ready for action.

24. O [man of] clear, strong, ever-mannerly speech, you go again to the full court of London – not to be regretted by you – following the teaching of your famous father.

21*a* bh*arr*aidh
22*d* deighrioghruidh
23*c* codail, ndealbhdha; 23*d* abaidh

25. Beir a bheanna*cht*, a bhos seang;
maith do thoisg a hiath Ēirean*n*,
do ghlanfhoghlaim, do ghnīomh s[h]ean,
do dhíon anfhorlain*n* t'aithreadh.

26. Do chuiris dod chuaird t*ar* sál
do dhīol aithne, a óig adhnár,
robhuid[h]ne dod réim is ran*n*,
ar comhairle shéimh Shaxan[n].

27. Do rīgh Saxan na sreabh dte
tárraigh tú do thaoibh th'aithne
ar shir sibh d'athchuinghidh air,
a sgathMhuimhnigh mhir mheanmaigh.

28. A gcruas rea*cht*a, a riaghail ghlan,
gníomh oirbheartach f[h]ear Saxan,
tréidhe an mhuighe fódghlais finn,
do thógbhais uile it in*n*tin*n*.

29. Tugais leat *ar* aoi th'ea*cht*ra
cosg Gall d'ing[h]reim th'oighrea*cht*a
's cosg Gaoidheal do sheilbh do shean
gērbh fheidhm d'aoinfhior a n-in*n*reamh.

25. Give thanks, o graceful hand; good is your journey from the land of Ireland, [along with] your pure learning, your mature behaviour, to protect your forefathers' ascendancy.

26. By your journey across the sea, o modest youth, you have got to know the gentle council of England, great groups for your career and partisanship.

27. From the king of England of the warm streams, as a result of who you know, you received that which you sought of him by petition, o swift, spirited, excellent Munsterman.

28. The rigorous law, the pure rule, the skilful action of the men of England, the traits of the [people of that] bright and green-sodded land, you took it all into your mind.

29. As a result of your expedition, you brought with you the prevention of the foreigners from preying upon your inheritance, and the prevention of the Gael from the property of your ancestors, though it was a feat for any man to guard against them.

25*a* tseang
26*a* ~~chu~~ chuiris; 26*c* réimh
27*b* tárraidh; 27*d* sgáthmuighnidh, mhean*m*aidh
28*c* treighe, fhódghlais fhin*n*
29*c* is; 29*d* feidm, d'aoinfhear

30. Táinig tú – ní turas lag –
ar aithris t'ath*ar* romhad,
a rosg frao[i]chbhrīoghmhar mín mall,
ō rígh lao[i]chlíonmhar Lon*n*an*n*.

31. Níor ēirig[h] doirbh nā dochar
nā diombuaidh nā deōnachadh
nā gleic nā deacra nā dí[o]th
ar th'ea*cht*ra dheit, a Dháibhí[oth].

32. Do chuiris ort 'na am féin
cuing phósda – dia do dheighchēill! –
a rún cathardha is c[h]eart breath,
ar dtea*cht* d'athardha th'aithreach.

33. Nī fhuil críoch budh cóir do chur
ar mhac tig[h]earna talmhan
go cur do c[h]lú it árchoin óig
n*ar* thārthaig[h] tú don Trīonóid.

34. Mór dtaisbéanadh dā dtig sé[a]n
do fhuair tú, a oighre Oilé[a]n,
dā dhruim budh dochuirthe sibh,
a chuing chothaighthe a chinidh.

30. O fierce, vigorous, calm and steady eye, you came from the king of London who is abundant in warriors – no weak trip – as your father did before you.

31. Neither difficulty nor misfortune nor defeat nor concession nor contention nor hardship nor loss arose from your expedition, o Dáibhíth.

32. O [man] of martial intent whose judgement is most just, in good time, you married – what good sense! – upon coming to the fatherland of your ancestors.

33. The son of a lord of the land should not be considered fully fledged (?) until you make a name for yourself – [fame] that you did not [already] receive from the Trinity – as a young war-hound.

34. You received many lessons from which comes prosperity, o heir of Oiléan, [and] because of that you will be unstoppable, o yoke who sustains his people.

30*c* min ~~mear~~ mall; 30*d* riogh
33*c* gu; aisghen; 33*d* tú ~~a th~~ don
34*d* chinigh

35. Ní fhoighthe ag oighre f[h]latha
tréidhe nā tu*ar* deaghratha,
a óig fhoirbhthe abaigh fhéil,
nach foighthe agaibh iaid-séin.

36. Bréagaidh tú an [d]tuaith *ar* do thal,
do-ní tú an eaglais d'ion*n*ramh
led ghnúis ndreachbhlāith ngeanmnaidh ngloin,
led mheanmain neamhthláith ne*ar*tmhair.

37. Gach tiodhlaicthe thārthaig[h] sibh
don aoinDia ós na huilibh,
a chara, a-nú ar *ar* no*cht*as,
gur mhara tú an tabhartas.

38. An tí dá dtárraigh thusa
na tiodhlaicthe troma-sa
clea*cht* red ré a bhuidhe do bhreith
agus guidhe Dé i ndíchleith.

39. Tuig mo pheacadh, a Phóil dil,
tuig bhós, a Bhuime an Dúilimh;
tairgidh cleith do chur *ar* mh'olc
dom b[h]reith go brug[h] na mbean*n*a*cht*.

35. One would not find an heir to a lord with traits nor prospect of great success that you do not have, o perfect, mature, noble youth.

36. You charm the people at your will, you protect the church with your pure, chaste, smooth-faced countenance and your strong, vigorous spirit.

37. May you live to enjoy every gift that you have received from the one God above all, dear friend, which I made known today.

38. During your lifetime, make a habit of giving thanks to the one who gave you these great gifts, and pray to God openly.

39. Be understanding of my sin, dear Paul, [and] understand too, o Nurse of the Creator; offer to conceal my evil in order to take me to the palace of blessings.

35*b* tréighthe; 35*c* fhoirbhfe abaidh
36*a* dho thoil; 36*c* ngean*m*naig
37*c* aniugh; 37*d* mhaire, tabh*ar*thas
38*a* di dtarraidh; 38*d* ndhíthchleith
39*b* fós; 39*c* ceilt

40. Caor aithleag[h]tha is uaisle fhrē[a]mh,
ní heagal d'Eilís Puidhē[a]r
a dearmad *ar* aoi *ar* n-an*n*sa,
an tsaoi neamhghrod neamhfhallsa.

41. Aithnid damh go ndlighthear dhi
a bheith d'f[h]ágbhálaibh uirthe
gnúis m*ar* th[e]inidh, gruaidh m*ar* g[h]rís;
buaidh an einig[h] ar Eilís.

42. A-tā ag an aicme ór fhás sin
do bh*arr* uaisle agus einig[h]
gan a cuimhne nach cōir dhūin;
ní fuighle *ar* a dōigh dīoghbhūidh.

43. Ing[h]ean Risd[e]ird rún gceiníl,
plan*n*da ad chin ó C[h]aitilín
glac is snadhma na séad nglan
méad a hanma ní hiongnadh.

40. A glowing refined metal of the most noble ancestry; because of my love for her, Eilís Puidhéar, the learned woman neither impetuous nor false, has no need to fear being left out [of my poem].

41. A face like fire, cheeks like embers, I recognise that Eilís is entitled to inherit excellence for honour.

42. The family from whom she sprang have such preeminence in nobility and honour that it is not just for me to forget her, this is not a discourse (?) on the expectation of her ruin.

43. The daughter of Risteard of friendly intentions, a plant born of Caitilín; [she has] a helping hand and bonds of pure treasures, the extent of her reputation is no wonder.

41*b* uirrthe
42*d* fhuighle
43*a* ciníl; 43*c* naomhdha [*in áit* snadhma]

Nótaí

3*d*. Maidir le *bhfiuchoidhmhir*: Más fíor gur comhfhocal é seo den ainm briathartha *fiuchadh* (*DIL* s.v. *fichud* ‘boiling, seething, fuming’, agus an bhrí scaoilte ‘glowing’ bainte agam de don aistriúchán thuas) agus den aidiacht *mear* (*DIL* s.v. *mer* ‘spirited, lively’), tagann sé salach ar na tráchtais mar chomhfhocal de bharr na chéad mhíre (féach *ABP* línte 935–9, agus nóta).

6*c*. Maidir le *a dhíon*: Tá mé á thuiscint seo mar fhoirm den bhriathar *díonaidh* (*DIL* s.v. *dínaid* ‘protects, defends’) san aimsir chaite. Má léitear *díon* mar ainmfhocal a leanann an mhír ghairmeach (‘o protector’, mar atá in 8*c*), bheadh an focal a leanann é, *forraoin*, le leasú go foirm an tuisil ghinidigh, *forraoine* (féach *IGT* ii §13), a d’fhágfadh an líne siolla rófhada.

Faightear samplaí le deimhniú meadarachta de shéimhiú agus d’easpa séimhithe ar *fear* sa ghinideach uatha ar lorg *gach* i gcorpas na filíochta Clasaicí. Féach, mar shampla, sa dán *Díol fuatha flaitheas Éireann* le hEochaidh Ó hEódhusa (Mac a’ Ghoill 2021: 156): 8*cd ’s is gnáth* ***f****oltanas gach* ***f****ir / fa ráth n-ochtsholas nUisnigh*; agus *DiD* 29.18*cd*: *ge dheach ar* ***a****ghaidh gach* ***fh****ir / ní labhair neach re naoidhin.* Sa líne seo, tá easpa séimhithe deimhnithe ag an uaim (féach freisin *BST* 218.1–8)

8*c*. Ba litriúla an t-aistriúchán ‘o protector of territories protecting wealth’ ar an líne seo.

9*c*. Féach *Deacair teacht re tréan Barrach* (*ABM* 156), 41*a*: *Ruire siothchánta ōn sia fearg* ‘A peaceful chief far from anger’. Mar a luaigh mé sa phlé ar an bhfile sa réamhrá, tá mé den tuairim gurb é an file céanna a chum an dán seo, agus seo sampla den saghas céanna friotail sa dá dhán.

11*cd*. Tá *aipciudh* na LSe leasaithe agam go *aibghiodhadh* le cuibhis inmheánach a sholáthar sa leathrann (: *laigleabhar*). Fágann an t-athrú seo an líne siolla rófhada agus, leis seo a leasú, leanaim an moladh a dhéanann eagarthóirí *ABM* (dán 68) agus *raibhe* athraithe agam go *raibh*. Cé nach gceadaítear *raibh* san aimsir chaite sa teanga Chlasaiceach, ní ritheann aon réiteach eile liom.

Is céilí cuibhis iad *aibgheaghadh* agus *laigleabhar* freisin sa dán *Maith an locht airdríogh óige* le Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh (*DiD* 105.24*cd*): *a fholt* ***laigleabhar*** *chladh gcam / an ret* ***aibgheaghadh*** *agam*

16*a*. Níl leagan na LSe *orrtha* tugtha mar fhoirm chuí den fhorainm réamhfhoclach seo in *BST* §193. Dhéanfadh *orra* nó *ortha* cúis anseo. Féach freisin nóta 21*b* thíos.

17*a*. Maidir le *a thoirmeasg*: Tá *a* á thuiscint agam mar fhorainm sealbhach a thagraíonn don fhocal firinscneach *oideas* sa chéad líne eile. D’fhéadfaí *a* a thuiscint mar an mhír ghairmeach anseo freisin agus *a thoirmeasg feirge* a aistriú mar ‘o [man who embodies] prevention of anger’.

17*c*. Maidir le *mbláithbhéarladh*: Is cinnte go raibh an bhrí 'English-language' ag baint leis an bhfocal *Béarla* (*DIL* s.v. *bélrae* I (c)) faoin chéad leath den 17ú haois taobh leis an mbunbhrí 'speech, language' (*DIL* s.v. *bélrae* I (a)). Cé nach féidir liom sampla deifnídeach ón bhfilíocht Chlasaiceach a aimsiú (seachas, b'fhéidir, sa dán *Fúbún fúibh, a shluagh Gaoidheal*, 9*c fúbún fán gcúirt gan Bhéarla* 'shame about the court without English (?)'; féach Ó Cuív 1974), léirítear seo i LSí cosúil leis an sliocht seo as LS 1301 (Annála na gCeithre Máistrí), fol. 1073v:

> *Báothghalach mac Aodha* […] *on Chnoc Fhion*n *i ccon*ntáe *an Cláir décc i mí April. F*er *eissidhe co sulbaire i*ndsce *i lLaidin i nGaoidhilcc* agus *i* ***mBérla***.
>
> 'Baothghalach, son of Aodh, […] from Knockfinn in Co. Clare died in April. He was a man fluent in Latin, in Irish and in **English**.'

Tá a fhios againn chomh maith go raibh scoileanna Béarla bunaithe i gCúige Mumhan faoin dara leath den 16ú haois, mar a léirítear i dtéacsanna cosúil leis an gcuntas seo ó Robert Payne in *A breife description of Ireland* (1589), agus go raibh meascán den Laidin agus den Bhéarla sna scoileanna sin:

> 'I sawe in a Grammer schoole in Limberick, one hundred, and threescore schollers, most of them speaking good and perfite English, for that they haue vsed to conster the **Latine** into **English**.'

Deir an file in 17*b* gur fhreastail an pátrún ar scoil Ghaeilge, agus níl aon amhras ach go bhfuair sé oideachas sna teangacha eile seo. Déanann an file tagairt sa líne seo don oideachas a fuair sé sna scoileanna teanga éagsúla.

17*d*. Tá *áithghéarghlan* aistrithe agam mar 'very sharp and pure' ar comhfhocal é le *áith* (*DIL* s.v. 1 *áith*) agus *géar* (*DIL* s.v. *gér*) seachas comhfhocal leis an bhfocal den bhrí chéanna *aithghéar* (*DIL* s.v. *aithgér* 'very sharp') nach bhfuil *a*-fada aige.

20*d*. Níl mé cinnte cad is brí le *coigibh* sa chomhthéacs seo. De réir *DIL*, duine a ullmhaíonn bia is ea an *coig* (*DIL* s.v. 1 *coic*, 'a cook') agus, as sin, b'fhéidir go bhfuil muid in ann é a léamh leis an mbrí scaoilte 'duine a ullmhaíonn nó a réitíonn rud éigin', a thiocfadh go réasúnta deas le brí an rainn ina iomláine. As sin, 'preparers' atá tugtha agam san aistriúchán. Tá an t-aon sampla eile de *coigibh* (más den bhrí chéanna é) a bhfuil teacht agam air in *LM* 91.1–2*ab*:

> Bennacht Choimdhed chumhachtaigh
> do-bheirim don Ráith,
> for an dtreibh i dtángamair
> fearaibh macaibh mnáibh.
> **Coigibh** daltaibh timthirthibh
> ríoghaibh ríoghnaibh ráth

21*b*. Níl leagan na LSe den fhorainm réamhfhoclach *eattarraibh* Clasaiceach. *Eatarra* an fhoirm a mbeifí ag súil léi, ach tá an litriú seo deimhnithe ag an

gcuibheas deiridh (*Barraigh* : *eattaraibh*). Níl teacht agam ar shampla eile den litriú seo i gcorpas na filíochta Clasaicí, ná fiú sa Ghaeilge iarChlasaiceach.

21*d*. Tá *damhradh* baininscneach sa tSean-Ghaeilge (*DIL* s.v. *damrad*), agus firinscneach sa Nua-Ghaeilge. Níl teacht agam ar shampla le deimhniú meadarachta de *damhradh* a bheith baininscneach nó firinscneach san fhilíocht Chlasaiceach agus mar sin tá leagan na LSe fágtha agam gan athrú.

24*a*. Is féidir leis an bhfocal *a-rís/ar-ís*, agus roinnt dobhriathar eile, uaim a dhéanamh le focail a thosaíonn ar ghuta nó ar *r-* (féach *BST* 212.15). Sa chás seo, tá uaim idir *ar-ís* agus *haithreach*.

24*cd*. Maidir le *glan* : *Lonndan*, féach nóta 26*cd* thíos.

26*b*. Maidir le *a óig adhnár* : bheifí ag siúl le caolú ar an aidiacht ar lorg *a óig*, ach tá an leagan *adhnár* deimhnithe ag cuibheas deiridh an leathrainn (*sál* : *adhnár*) agus, mar sin, níl aon athrú déanta agam ar leagan na LSe.

26*cd*. Is léir go raibh dhá fhoirm ag an bhfile seo de *Saxain* sa ghinideach iolra, *Saxann* (: *rann*; mar atá sa leathrann seo) agus *Saxan* (: *ghlan*; mar atá in 28*ab*). *Saxan* an fhoirm a mbeifí ag súil léi. Féach go bhfuil dhá shampla eile de seo sa dán *Duine deighmhisnigh Dái-bhíoth* leis an bhfile céanna, 3*cd*: *do ghlac fírmhisneach nach* ***fann*** */ slat do shídhshlisneach* ***Sagsan***[***n***]; 18*cd cuairt aithghearr le bhfuair a thoil* (leg. ***thal***) */ go baincheann sluaigh na* ***Sacsan***. Féach freisin go bhfuil dhá fhoirm de *Londain* sa ghinideach uatha ag an bhfile sa dán seo: 24*cd a ghlōr tea*n *gnáthmhūinte* ***glan*** */ i gceann lánchúirte* ***Lon*****n*****dan***; 30*cd a rosg frao*[*i*]*chbhrīoghmhar mīn* ~~***mear***~~ ***mall*** */ ō rígh lao*[*i*]*chlíonmhar* ***Lon*****nan****n**.

27*d*. Níor éirigh liom aon chiall a bhaint as leagan na LSe *sgathmhuighnidh* sa líne seo agus tá *sgathMhuimhnigh* curtha ar fáil agam ina áit.

28*ab*. Maidir le *ghlan* : *Saxan*, féach nóta 26*cd* thuas.

30*c*. Faightear an aidiacht *mall* le tagairt do shúile go minic san fhilíocht Chlasaiceach leis an bhrí ‘gentle, steady, slow-moving’. Féach *DIL* s.v. *mall* (d).

Maidir le *mall* : *Lonnann*, féach nóta 26*cd* thuas.

33. Níl mé cinnte faoin aistriúchán ar an rann seo, agus tá an tuiscint atá agam air ag brath ar *críoch* […] *do chur ar* a léamh mar ‘finishing, completing’ (féach *DIL* s.v. *crích* (a)) agus, ós rud é gur tagairt don phátrún féin é, ‘fully fledged’ atá tugtha agam san aistriúchán.

Tá cuibheas inmheánach ar iarraidh i leagan na LSe idir *aisghen* agus *tharthaig*, agus tá *árchoin* : *thárthaigh* curtha ar fáil agam leis seo a réiteach.

34*c*. Ba litriúla 'difficult to overthrow, impossible to defeat' mar aistriúchán ar *dochuirthe* (*DIL* s.v. *do-*, *du-*, agus *DIL* s.v. *fo-ceird*; féach freisin *DIL* s.v. 1 *cor* 15 'act of overthrowing, defeating; defeat, reverse').

35*a*. Maidir le *Ní fhoighthe*: Is aisteach séimhiú a fháil ar an mbriathar saor anseo ar lorg *ní*, ach mar go bhfuil an séimhiú ag teastáil don uaim, tá leagan na LSe fágtha agam gan athrú.

36*a*. Tá urú curtha ar fáil agam ar *tuaith* anseo (.i. *tuath* 'people' sa chuspóireach uatha le hinfhilleadh) ar lorg an ailt.

37*b*. Níl an t-iarméarla *ós* báite ar lorg *aoinDia* agus dhá ghuta fhada ag teacht le chéile (féach Ní Dhomhnaill 1975: 32)

40*b*. Tá an sloinne *Puidhéar*, de Paor/Power, ag glacadh páirte sa chuibheas deiridh (: *fhréamh*) anseo, a léiríonn litriú an tsiolla dheireanaigh, agus go raibh dhá shiolla sa sloinne. Níl teacht agam ach ar dhornán samplaí den sloinne seo san fhilíocht Chlasaiceach, agus an litriú éagsúil i gcónaí: *Cuirfead comaoin ar Cloinn Táil*, 31*ab*: *Do slioct Donnchaid*[*h*] *fos feghaidh* / ***Pueraigh*** *is Ploincedaigh* (*ABM* 138); *Deacair comhaireamh a chreach*, 61*ab*: [*Ris*]*derd* ***Paeir*** *buan a bhladh / is maith f*[*h*]*uair é re marbhadh* (*ABM* 151); *Cruth na bhfearsoin dá bféchtha* / *pearsuin mar na* ***Puiércha*** (*IGT* ii 1891).

42*d*. Ní dóigh liom gur féidir *fhuighle* na LSe a léamh mar fhoirm den bhriathar *fuighlidh* ('speaks, asserts', aimsir láithreach, dara pearsa uatha; *DIL* s.v. *fo-gella*), mar nach mbeadh ainmní soiléir ann. Mar sin tá mé á léamh mar an t-ainmfhocal *fuigheall* san uimhir iolra (féach *DIL* s.v. *fuigell* "speech, discourse").

43*cd*. Tá uaim agus cuibheas inmheánach ar iarraidh i leagan na LSe agus tá *naomhdha* athraithe agam go *snadhma*, a réitíonn an dá fhadhb sin agus a thagann go deas le brí an rainn.

Maidir le *glac is snadhma na séad nglan* '[she has] a helping hand and bonds of pure treasures': glacaim leis gur tagairt é seo don tacaíocht a fhaigheann sí óna muintir agus a tuismitheoirí atá luaite sa chéad leathrann.

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Philip Mac a' Ghoill

Ollscoil Mhá Nuad

THOU SLEAPEST MUCHE, AND DRYNKEST OFTEN, Y RRAIN BETHAV YLL DAV YNT ELYNION I'R KORFF: NOTES ON RELATIVES IN EARLY MODERN WELSH GRAMMARS

Abstract

This case study presents in its first part evidence for a remarkable resemblance in their teaching on relative clauses between *Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth*, the mid-sixteenth-century final revision of the Welsh 'bardic grammar', and two roughly contemporary grammars of Latin in English and Latin which were authorised by a royal monopoly and thus enjoyed wide circulation. In the second part, it contextualises these observations with a small-scale exploration of the place of 'relatives' in early modern Welsh grammars and of the eventual emergence of the 'relative pronoun' as a distinct category in the grammar of Welsh. It also provides further evidence of the dependence of the *Dwned*, a grammatical text associated with Gutun Owain, on Middle English grammatical tracts.[1]

1. Introduction

My macaronic title combines two parts of an example for a specific relative construction given in the Welsh *Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth* ('The Five Books of Versecraft'), transmitted in a manuscript dating to *c*. 1550 × 1578, and in the *Shorte introduction of grammar*, an English grammar of Latin first printed in 1542. It is the example for a relative clause in which the relative refers to two antecedents and is therefore put in the plural. The full Welsh and English examples are: *yr wyd ti yn kysgv llawer ac yn yved yn vynych, y rrain bethav yll dav ynt elynion i'r korff* (Williams and Jones 1934: 108) and *Thou sleapest muche, and drynkest often, whiche both thynges are naught for the body* (Shorte Introduction 1552: [51]–[2]).[2] In this case study, I will present evidence for a remarkable resemblance between *Pum Llyfr* and the *Shorte Introduction*, and the related *Brevissima Instructio*, in their teaching on relative clauses, and then contextualise these observations with a small-scale exploration of the place of 'relatives' in early modern Welsh grammars.[3] The ambiguity of the phrase

[1]I am indebted to Paul Bryant-Quinn for helpful advice, to the anonymous reader for valuable comments and observations, and to Barry Lewis for generous help with the final version. All remaining mistakes and infelicites are inevitably my own responsibility.

[2]The *Shorte Introduction* has no page-numbers, and for identification I therefore give the page of the PDF of the digital facsimile used.

[3]The influence of Lily's grammar, and specifically of the *Shorte Introduction*, on the treatment of relative concord in *Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth* has also been noted and discussed by Jacques (2024: 201–2); we both discovered these parallels independently of each other.

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'Welsh grammars' here and in my title, implying both 'grammars (written) in Welsh' and 'grammars of Welsh', is intentional and will be explained below.

2. *Y Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth*

Y Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth ('The Five Books of Versecraft') represents the final and most comprehensive stage in the development of the Welsh 'bardic grammars', a corpus of tracts describing features of the grammar of Welsh and of Welsh metrics and poetic faults (for an exception, see below), which is extant in manuscripts from around 1330 onwards, with a long and complex history of development and revision (see, for example, Matonis 1981, Jacques 2019: 164–6, 2020: 19–26, 2024: 7–17). The canon of the texts of the bardic grammars was established by Williams and Jones (1934).

Y Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth was compiled by the professional poet Simwnt Fychan (*c*. 1530–1606).[4] His own copy is preserved in Oxford, Jesus College 15, dated to before 1578 (Huws 2022: i, 738) and likely to 'a date close to 1552' (Huws 2022: ii, 157–8). *Pum Llyfr* contains grammatical sections, on letters and sounds, words (i.e., morphology), and clauses (i.e., syntax), and 'bardic' sections, which discuss the twenty-four metres, *cymeriad*, *cynghanedd*, compositional faults, figures of speech, 'how everything should be praised', and finally a section of triads. Its grammatical sections have so far attracted little scholarly interest.[5]

'Relatives' are first mentioned in the discussion of the word classes, in the section on nouns, as one of the four adjectives without comparison:

> A hevyd pob henw gwann a gymer kymheiriaid ond pedwar, nid amgen, henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor, val y mae *yr hwnn*, henw govynnedic, val y mae *pwy*, henw rrannedic dosbarthedic, val y mae *yr vn Rai*, henw annhervynedic, val y mae *pwy bynnac*. A[r] Rain ssydd a grym rrachenwav, ac er hynny, henwav ynt. (Williams and Jones 1934: 94)
>
> 'Also, every adjective takes comparison, except four, namely, a noun referring to its antecedent, as *yr hwnn*, an interrogative noun, as *pwy*, a partitive [and] distributive noun, as *yr un rhai*, an indefinite noun, as *pwy bynnac*. And these have the force of pronouns, but are nouns all the same.'

The phrasal term *henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor* literally translates as 'a noun referring to its antecedent', which will be rendered as 'relative' here.[6] As we will see later, this passage is taken from an earlier grammatical work, the *Dwned*

[4] On the background of *Pum Llyfr* and the possible involvement of Gruffudd Hiraethog, see most recently Jacques (2024: 192–200), with further references.

[5] They are, for example, not discussed in Matonis (1981) and Jacques (2020), but see now Jacques (2024: 195–203) for a discussion of their dependence on William Salesbury's works in the treatment of initial mutations, the semantic force of interjections, and the explanation of the letter <w>, and on Lily's grammar in the description of relative concord.

[6] Compare *GPC Online*, s.v. *enw*, and further below.

associated with Gutun Owain, which is traditionally considered to belong to the corpus of bardic grammars.

In the syntax, *Pum Llyfr* then introduces the notion of five patterns of agreement or concords, again following the *Dwned* (see below), the third of them being the concord of the relative with its antecedent in number, gender, and person – note that case is not mentioned:

> Y trydydd kydgordiad a vydd yRwng henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor a'i vlaenor. Hwynt a gydgordiant mewn tri pheth, nid amgen, mewn Rif, kenedl, a phersson. Pa ddelw vydd hynny? Yr vn Rif, yr vn genedl, a'r vn bersson a vydd i'r henw dygiedic ar ol i vlaenor ac a vo y'w vlaenor, val y mae yr ymadrodd hwnn, *prenn a losgwyd heddyw, yr hwnn a dorrwyd ddoe*; *de*[*r*]*wenn a losgwyd heddyw, yr honn a dorrwyd ddoe*; *da a drefnwyd heddyw, yr hynn a gad er ys blwyddyn*. (Williams and Jones 1934: 107)
>
> 'The third concord is between the relative and its antecedent. They agree in three features, namely number, gender, and person. How is this? The relative after its antecedent has same number, the same gender, and the same person as its antecedent, as in these phrases: ***prenn*** *a losgwyd heddyw,* ***yr hwnn*** *a dorrwyd ddoe* ['a tree was burnt today, which was felled yesterday']; ***de*[*r*]*wenn*** *a losgwyd heddyw,* ***yr honn*** *a dorrwyd ddoe* ['an oak was burnt today, which was felled yesterday']; ***da*** *a drefnwyd heddyw,* ***yr hynn*** *a gad er ys blwyddyn* ['property was put in order today which was obtained a year ago'].'

The antecedent *prenn* 'tree' is masculine and singular, as is the demonstrative *yr hwnn*, which here functions as an overt relative marker;[7] the antecedent *derwen* 'oak' is feminine and singular, as is *yr honn*; the antecedent *da* is a collective noun and *yr hynn* is the neuter singular referring to abstractions (see Morris-Jones 1931: 98). The unvariable relative particle proper, namely *a*, remains nameless and conceptually invisible in this analysis and is probably perceived as a 'meaningless particle', as Morris-Jones (1931: 103) assumed was early-modern grammarians' perception (see further below).

After this general presentation of the five concords, *Pum Llyfr* adds a detailed discussion of constructions of relative clauses, which has no analogue in the *Dwned*. As I will show in this section, it has, however, intriguing parallels in contemporary grammars of Latin. The passage begins with an explanation of how an antecedent can be recognized and the resulting definition of an antecedent. The same explanation and definition are also given in what was from *c.* 1540 onwards an authoritative textbook for the elementary teaching of Latin through the medium of English endorsed by royal proclamation, namely *A Shorte introduction of grammar generally to be vsed in the kynges Maiesties dominions, for the bryngynge vp of all those that*

[7]For discussions of such 'overt relative markers', see Parina (2022), Evans (1964: 68–9), Richards (1938: 72–8, 82–4), and Morris–Jones (1931: 99–104).

entende to atteyne the knowledge of the Latine tongue – thus the titles of the editions of 1549 and 1552.[8] The juxtaposition of the two passages shows their close correspondence:[9]

Pum Llfyr (Williams and Jones 1934: 108)

> Pann vych gwedy kael yr henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor, govyn y kwestiwn, '*pwy*?' neu '*pa beth*?', a'r gair a atepo i'r kwestiwn a vydd y blaenor, val y mae *Pwy yssydd wr da*? *Yr hwnn yssydd yn kadw kyngor i henaviaid a chyfraith*. Y blaenor yn gyffredinol ydyw gair ar yssydd yn myned o vlaen y dygiedic, a'r dygiedic yn i goffhav drachefn.
>
> 'When you have found the relative, ask the question *pwy* ['who'] or *pa beth* ['what'] and the word that anwers to the question is the antecedent, as *Pwy yssydd wr da?* ['Who is a good man?']: *Yr hwnn yssydd yn kadw kynghor i henaviaid a chyfraith* ['Who follows the counsel of his elders and laws'].[10] The antecedent is generally a word which precedes the relative, and the relative calls it to mind.'

Shorte Introduction (1552: [51])

> When ye haue a relatiue aske this question *who* or *what*, *and* the worde that answereth to the questiō shalbe the antecedēt. The antecedent most cōmonly is a woord that goeth before the Relatiue, and is rehersed agayne of the relatiue.

The example given in *Pum Llyfr* finally is a paraphrase of the example from Horace given in the *Brevissima Institutio* (1552: [97]), the authorised advanced grammar of Latin through the medium of Latin intended for study after the *Shorte Introduction*,[11] which illustrates the three concords in the relative construction, namely gender, number, and person: '*vir bonus est quis Qui consulta Patrum: Qui leges iuraq; seruat*' ('Who is a good man? He who keeps the decrees of the fathers, and both human and divine laws'). Here and in the following I do not wish to imply that the *Shorte Introduction* and the *Brevissima*

[8]For a brief introduction, see Luhtala (2013b), for a detailed account, see Gwosdek (2013). The *Shorte Introduction* has been attributed to William Lily (*c.* 1468–1522) and is therefore often called 'Lily's grammar' in the literature, compare Gwosdek (2013: 83–96). The *Shorte Introduction* (1552: [49]) posits three concords for Latin. The *Shorte Introduction* and the related, advanced *Brevissima Institutio* influenced another grammar of Welsh, namely the general framework for the description of word-classes in Gruffydd Robert's Welsh grammar, published between 1567 and post-1584 in Italy, see Poppe (2020), but in the details of the analysis of relatives, Gruffydd Robert was independent, see below.

[9]Jacques (2024: 202) notes the omission of the next paragraph of the *Shorte Introduction* (1552: [51]) which gives the rule that the relative agrees with its antecedent in gender, number, and person. She suggests that this 'demonstrates that a certain level of critical thought must have gone into the adaptation of the English text. The Welsh relative (*a* or *y*) can result in ambiguity; unlike the Latin relative (*qui*, *quae*, *quod*), the Welsh relative cannot be declined to reflect person or number'. However, this rule of agreement had already been given earlier in *Pum Llyfr*, in the context of the general introduction of the five concords quoted above.

[10]The assumed underlying sentence is probably **gwr da yw'r hwnn yssydd yn kadw kynghor i henaviaid a chyfraith*.

[11]For a brief introduction, see Luhtala (2013a). The *Brevissima Institutio* has no page-numbers, and for identification I therefore give the page of the PDF of the digital facsimile used.

Insitutio are necessarily the immediate sources that Simwnt Fychan used for his revision of the bardic grammars resulting in *Pum Llyfr*. All I want to show are the conspicuous correspondences between these works. It is, however, admittedly not unlikely that he was acquainted in some form or other with the teaching of contemporary authoritative and authorised grammars of Latin, which – as Luhtala (2013a) puts it – 'dominated the teaching of Latin in England for over three hundred years'. *Pum Llyfr* and the *Shorte Introduction* then proceed in remarkably similar terms to present and analyse further specific issues arising in the construction of relative clauses. Their first case concerns the reference of the relative to a preceding statement rather than to a single word; the discussion in the *Brevissima Institutio* is less detailed, but all three versions have more or less the same example:

Pum Llyfr (Williams and Jones 1934: 108)

> Ryw amsser y dygiedic o'i vlaenor yssydd a'r rresswm kyvan yn myned o'i vlaen yn lle i vlaenor, ac a ossodir yn y neawdr genedl o'r vnic rif, val y mae *mi a ddevthvm yn amsser kymhessvr, yr hwnn yssyd orav o'r kwbl*.
>
> 'Sometimes the relative agrees with the complete statement preceding it instead of its antecedent, and is put in the neuter singular, as *mi a ddevthvm yn amsser kymhessvr,* ***yr hwnn*** *yssyd orav o'r kwbl* ['I came at the right time, what is best of all'].'

Shorte Introduction (1552: [51])

> Sōtyme a relatiue hath for his antecedēt the whole reason that goeth before hym, and then he shall be be put in the neutre gēdre *and* singular nūbre: as In tempore ueni, quod omniū rerū est primū, I came in season, whiche is the chiefe thyng of al.

Brevissima Institutio (1552: [97])

> Nec unica uox solum, sed interdum etiam oratio ponitur pro antecedente: ut Terent. *In tempore ad eam veni, quo omnium rerum est primum.*

The set of explications which then follow in *Pum Llyfr* have, with one exception, close correspondences in grammatical descriptions and examples with either the *Shorte Introduction* (thrice) or the *Brevissima Institutio* (once) or both (twice),[12] as the following comparisons show:

Williams and Jones (1934: 108)

> Namyn os yr henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor a vwrir at ddav glaws, nev vwy, yna y rroir y dygiedic o'i vlaenor yn rrif lliossawc, val y mae *yr wyd ti yn kysgv llawer ac yn yved yn vynych, y rrain bethav yll dav ynt elynion i'r korff.*[13]
>
> 'But if the relative is referred to two clauses or more, then the relative is put in the plural number, as *yr wyd ti yn kysgv llawer ac yn yved yn vynych,*

[12] For a complication arising in one of these cases, see below.

[13] Note the close translation here, specifically the correspondence *be referred* : *[b]wrir* and the adjectival use of the demonstrative in *y rrain bethav*, literally 'the which things', according to Morris-Jones (1931: 105) 'a barbarism of the translators', but compare Sims-Williams (2016: 151–2) for a less judgemental assessment. According to *GPC Online*, *claws* is attested since the fifteenth century.

y rrain bethav$_{[pl]}$ *yll dav ynt elynion i'r korff* ['you sleep much and drink frequently, which both things are enemies for the body'].'

Shorte Introduction (1552: [51]–[2])

But if the relatiue be referred to two clauses or mo, thā the relatiue shall be put in the plurall numbre: as Tu multū dormis, & sæpe potas, que ambo sunt corpori inimica, Thou sleapest muche, and drynkest often, whiche both thynges are naught for the body.

Williams and Jones (1934: 108)

Pann vo llawer o vlaenoriaid vnic a chyssylldiad kyssylldedic yrryngthynt, hwynt a vynnant henw dygiedic lliossawc wedy hwynt, val y mae *y rreol a'r penndevigaeth, y rrain y ovynnaist di*.

'When there are many singular antecedents with a copulative conjunction between them, they require a plural relative after them, as *y rreol a'r penndevigaeth,* ***y rrain***$_{[pl]}$ *y ovynnaist di* ['the rule and the pre-eminence that you claimed'].'

Shorte Introduction (1552: [52])

Many antecedentes singular, hauyng a coniunction copulatiue betwene them, wyll haue a relatiue plurall, whych relatiue shall agree with the antecedent of the moste woorthy gendre: as Imperium & dignitas quæ petijsti, The rule *and* dignitie, which thou haste required.

Williams and Jones (1934: 108)

Weithiav yr henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor, weithiav yr henw gwann, a etyb i'r tadoc, yr hwnn a ddyellir yn y meddiannol rachenw, val y mae *yr oedd bawb yn dywedvd pob dayoni, ac yn kanmawl vy ffortvn, yr hwnn oedd ym y vath vab*.

'Sometimes the relative, sometimes the adjective refers to the basic [pronoun] which is understood in the possessive pronoun, as *yr oedd bawb yn dywedvd pob dayoni, ac yn kanmawl* ***vy***$_{\mathbf{j}}$ *ffortvn,* ***yr hwnn***$_{\mathbf{j}}$ *oedd ym y vath vab* ['Everybody said every kindness and praised my fortune, who have such a son'].'

Brevissima Institutio (1552: [97])

Aliquando relatiuum, aliquando & nomen adiectiuum respondet primitiuo, quod in possessiuo intelligetur: ut Terent. *Omnes omnia bona dicere, & laudare fortunas meas, qui filium haberem tali ingenio prædítum*.

Williams and Jones (1943: 108)

Pob amsser ar ni bo nomnadio yrrwng yr henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor a'r verf, yr henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor a vydd nomnadio i'r verf i hvnan, val y mae *hapvs yw'r gwr, yr hwnn a allodd weled y ffynnon o ddayoni*, nev val hynn, *trvan yw yr hwnn yssydd yn rryveddv am arian*.

'Whenever there is no nominative between the relative and the verb, the relative is the nominative to the verb itself, as *hapvs yw'r gwr, yr hwnn a allodd weled y ffynnon o ddayoni* ['fortunate is the man who was able to see the spring of goodness'], or as *trvan yw yr hwnn yssydd yn rryveddv am arian* ['wretched is the one who extols money'].'

Shorte Introduction (1552: [52])

Whan there cōmeth no nominatiue case betwene the relatiue *and* the verbe, the relatiue shall be the nominatiue case to the verbe: as Miser est qui nummos admiratur, Wretched is that person, whiche is in loue with money.

Institutio Brevissima (1552: [97])

Quoties nullus nominatiuus interseritur inter relatiuum & uerbum, relatiuum erit uerbo nominatiuus: ut Boetius.

Felix qui potuit boni
Fontem visere lucidum.

Williams and Jones (1934: 108)

Megys ac y gall henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor vod yn nomnadio i'r verf, velly y gall ef vod yn henw kadarn i'r gwann ar yssydd ynghysswllt ac ef, nev yssydd yn dyvod yn i ol, val y mae hynn, *na char gyvoeth, yr hwnn yssydd waethaf peth yn y byd*.

'As the relative can be the nominative to the verb, thus it can be a substantive to the adjective which is connected with it or which comes after it, as *na char gyvoeth, yr hwnn yssydd waethaf peth yn y byd* ['do not love riches, which is the worst thing in the world'].'

Shorte Introduction (1552: [52])

As the relatiue may be the nominatiue case to the verbe, so it may be substātiue to the adiectiue that is ioyned with hym, or that cometh after hym: as Diuitias amare noli, quod omniū est sordidissimum, Wyll not thou loue rychesse, whyche to doo, is the moste beggarly thyng in the worlde.

Williams and Jones (1934: 108)

Os rroir nomnadio yrrwng yr henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor a'r verf, y verf nev air arall ar a ossoter yn y rresswm gyda'r verf a reola yr henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor, val y mae *i'r neb yr archassoch chwi y mi ddiolch, mi a ddiolchais*.

'If the nominative is placed between the relative and the verb, the verb or another word which is placed with the verb in the statement governs the relative, as *i'r neb yr archassoch chwi y mi ddiolch, mi a ddiolchais* ['the one who you asked me to thank, I thanked']'

Shorte Introduction (1552: [52])

But when there cometh a nominatiue case betwene the relatiue *and* the verbe, the relatiue shalbe such case as the verb will haue after hym: as Felix quem faciūt, aliena pericula cautū. Happy is he, whom other mens harmes doo make to beware.

Breuissima Institutio (1552: [97])

> At si nominatiuus relatiuo & uerbo interponatur, relatiuū regetur à uerbo, aut ab alia dictione, quæ cum uerbo in oratione locatur …

In this last passage, the examples differ from each other; a Welsh translation of the example given in the *Shorte Introduction* is inserted on the margin of the page in the Welsh manuscript: *Hapvs yw'r gwr, yr hwnn y mae perygl gwyr eraill yn i ddysgv* (Williams and Jones 1934: 108, 'happy is the man whom the peril of other men teaches'). The main example in *Pum Llyfr* parallels the one given in another grammatical context in the *Shorte Introduction* (1552: [532]):

> Yet here is to be vnderstanded *and* noted, that the relatiue is not alwais gouerned of the verb that he cōmeth before, but somtyme of thinfinitiue mode that cōmeth after the verbe: as Quibus uoluisti me gratias agere, egi, What persons thou willed me to thanke, I haue thanked.[14]

There is one item in this set of observations which has no direct parallel in either the *Shorte introduction* or the *Brevissima Institutio*. Here, the phrase *[g]ossod yrrwng dav vlaenor* 'between two antecedents' seems to refer to a possible double reference of the relative and not to its position in the sentence, and this would allow the interpretation that feminine *yr honn* could formally agree with either feminine *planed* or feminine *wybr*:

> Henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor wedy i ossod yrrwng dav vlaenor a aill gordio a phob vn yn gyffredin, val y mae *mae planed yn yr wybr, yr honn a elwir Satwrn*. (Williams and Jones 1934: 108)
>
> 'A relative placed between two antecedents can agree with both of them indiscriminately: *mae planed yn yr wybr, yr honn a elwir Satwrn* ['there is a planet in the sky which is a called Saturn']'

The *Brevissima Institutio* (1552: 97) mentions the opposite case of a relative placed between (*collocatum inter*) two preceding nouns of different gender, and this relative may constitute agreement with either the first or the second noun, depending on its gender, but this qualification is unexpressed: 'Relatiuum inter antecedentia diuersorum generum collocatum, nunc cum priori conuenit […] Nunc cum posteriore'.[15]

The final set of comments in *Pum Llyfr* concerns clauses with implied antecedents and then specific forms of relatives which may establish reference to antecedents of different gender and number. These appear to be based on the

[14] I.e., *quibus* is governed by *gratias agere*.

[15] This situation is described in Middle English *Informacio* texts (see below) in some more detail, with reference to the preferred position of a relative clause immediately following its antecedent and to the requirements of meaning: 'For to the nexte antecedent shall þe relatif be refert, butt yf the sentens ['meaning'] let, as in thys Latten: *Canis tuus occidit ouem meam quem ego occidam*. Thys relatif *quem* accordis w^{t} the furst anticedent in gendur and nott w^{t} the latter by enchosyn ['cause'] of the sentens' (Thomson 1984: 83).

observation of Welsh relative constructions, rather than on a reproduction of the teaching of grammars of Latin, and raise larger questions about tensions between Latin and Welsh models of grammar co-existing in *Pum Llyfr* – they require a more comprehensive investigation of its grammatical sections beyond the passage presented here.

In the first pattern with implied antecedents, the antecedent is said to be understood from the relative, although the former is neither written nor expressed:

> Weithiav y dyellir y blaenor wrth y dygiedic o'i vlaenor oddi allan, er nad ysgrivenner nev dywetter, val y mae *y neb a annrregassoch a ddiylch ywch*. (Williams and Jones 1934: 108)
>
> 'Sometimes the antecedent is understood from its relative, although it not written or expressed, as *y neb a annrregassoch a ddiylch ywch* ['whom you gave a present, thanks you'].'

Here, *y neb* is the relative in the analysis of *Pum Llyfr*,[16] i.e., $Ø_{\text{unexpressed antecedent}}$ *y neb*$_{\text{relative}}$ *a* …, and this establishes the status of *y neb*, and by implication of *yr hwnn* etc., as 'relatives' – the status of the element *a* is unexplicated, it remains nameless and thus conceptually invisible. The conventional modern analysis advanced by Morris-Jones (1931: 98), on the other hand, considers *y neb* to be used instead of an implied, unexpressed antecedent with *a* as the relative proper, i.e., *y neb*$_{\text{antecedent}}$ a_{relative} ….

In the second pattern, both relative and antecedent are understood from the meaning of the sentence, i.e., $Ø_{\text{unexpressed antecedent}}$ $Ø_{\text{unexpressed relative}}$ *a* …:

> Weithiav eraill y dyellir y blaenor a'r dygiedic o'i vlaenor oddi allan wrth y rresswm, val y mae *a garo Dvw a gossba*, drwy ddyall *y neb a garo Dvw a gossba*, megys y mae dihareb ymysc y Lladinwyr, "y peth yssydd y'w ddyall, nid yw ef yn eissiav". (Williams and Jones 1934: 108).[17]
>
> 'At other times the antecedent and the relative are understood from the meaning [*or* from the sentence], as *a garo Dvw a gossba* ['whom God loves he chastises'], by understanding *y neb a garo Dvw a gossba*, as there is a proverb amongst the Romans: "What can be understood is not missing." '

[16]For *y neb* as an overt relative marker corresponding to *yr hwnn*, see Morris-Jones (1931: 98) and Richards (1938: 72).

[17]Compare Morris-Jones (1931: 94): 'The relative *a* may stand without an expressed antecedent', with his example *a laddo a leddir* and his translation '[it is] who slays that shall be slain'; Richards (1938: 78) glosses the same sentence with 'lleddir [yr hwn] a laddo'. See also Rowland (n.d.: 264): 'Occasionally both the relative and antecedent are omitted in the same sentence. 1. Gwyn ei fyd a ystyria wrthy tlawd = gwyn ei fyd *ef yr hwn*, &c. […] Blessed is [he that] considereth the poor'.

As an example of a relative which may establish reference equally to masculine singular, feminine singular, or plural antecedents, *Pum Llyfr* gives *pwy*, technically an interrogative:[18]

> Ryw henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor a vydd yn gyffredin i wrw a banw, val y mae y gair hwnn, *pwy*; val hynn i'r gwrw o'r vnic rif, *moliannwn Grist, pwy a'n prynnawdd ni ar brenn kroes*; ac mal hynn i'r banw o'r vnic rif, *moliannwn Vair*, *pwy a arweddawdd yn i chroth yn prynnwr ni*; ac yn gyffredin i'r lliossawc rif hevyd yn gystal ac i'r vnic val hynn, *moliannwn yr Ebostolion*, *pwy a wnaethant pynkiav y Ffydd gatholic*. Yn y mann hwnnw y mae *pwy* yn ssevyll yn lle *y neb*. (Williams and Jones 1934: 108–9).

'A certain relative refers equally to masculine and feminine, as this word, *pwy*, like this to singular masculine, *moliannwn Grist*$_{[masc, sg]}$, *pwy*$_{[masc, sg]}$ *a'n prynnawdd ni ar brenn kroes* ['let us praise Christ, who redeemed us on the cross'], like this to singular feminine, *moliannwn Vair*$_{[fem, sg]}$, *pwy*$_{[fem, sg]}$ *a arweddawdd yn i chroth yn prynnwr ni* ['let us praise Mary, who bore in her womb our redeemer'], and equally to the plural as well as to the singular, as *moliannwn yr Ebostolion*$_{[pl]}$, *pwy*$_{[pl]}$ *a wnaethant pynkiav y Ffydd gatholic* ['let us praise the apostles, who made the articles of the Catholic faith']. In this case, *pwy* stands in for *y neb*.'

This use of *pwy* as relative is, according to *GPC Online* (s.v.), first attested in works of William Salesbury, as, for example, seen in the sentence *y dyscedic vardd pwy a gant Englynion yr eiry* ('the learned poet who composed 'englynion yr eiry').

In a final section of *Pum Llyfr*, a supplement with additional material, an alternative term for the relative is introduced in the context of a discussion of the three concords, namely 'yr atywediad a'i vlaenor', literally 'the repetition with its antecedent':[19] 'Yr atywediad a'i vlaenor a gordiant mewn Ryw, niver, a phersson, val yn y ymadrodd hwn, *doeth yw'r gwr, yr hwnn a ddywaid ychydic*' (Williams and Jones 1934: 142, 'the relative and its antecedent agree in gender, number, and person, as in this phrase: *doeth yw'r gwr, yr hwnn a ddywaid ychydic* ['the man who speaks little is wise']'): this is different from the doctrine advanced earlier in the text, which refers to five concords, but is paralleled in the *Shorte Introduction* (1552: [51]): 'The relatiue agreeth with his antecedente, in gendre, nūbre and person: as Vir sapit, qui pauca loquitur, That man is wyse that speaketh fewe thynges or wordes'. Again, case is not mentioned.

As we will see in the next section, *Pum Llyfr*'s basic terminology for the elements of a relative construction and its doctrine of the five concords are derived from the *Dwned*, but it introduces new observations probably pertaining

[18] As one of the four adjectives without comparison, *Pum Llyfr* lists *pwy* as an interrogative: 'henw govynnedic, val y mae *pwy*' (Williams and Jones 1934: 94).

[19] According to *GPC Online*, *atywediad* in this grammatical sense is attested for the first and only time here.

specifically to Latin relative constructions which it shares with contemporary grammars of Latin in English and Latin, and it complements these with some most likely original observations on Welsh constructions – in which, in the analysis of *Pum Llyfr*, the antecedent is understood from the relative or both antecedent and relative are understood from the meaning of the sentence – and on the employment of interrogative *pwy* as a relative. This raises larger and intriguing questions about the status and the degrees of the assumed and intended applicability to Welsh of *Pum Llyfr*'s grammatical descriptions.

3. *Y Dwned*

Y Dwned, repeatedly mentioned above, is traditionally considered to be a fifteenth-century revision of the bardic grammars, but this characterisation has recently been convincingly questioned by Jacques (see below). Its earliest text is transmitted in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Llanstephan 28, dated to 1455–6 and written by Gutun Owain (*fl.* 1455–*c*. 1500, see Huws 2022: i, 66). Jacques (2019: 175–6, 185–7, 2020: 192–200) makes a strong case for Gutun Owain as the likely editor of the *Dwned*, rather than a copyist. In contrast to *Pum Llyfr* and to earlier versions of the bardic grammars, the *Dwned* only contains grammatical sections on the parts of speech and on syntax, 'omitting the sections on letters, syllables and diphthongs, metres, metrical faults, praise adjectives, and the triads – meaning that it loses almost all the portions of the earlier bardic grammars that are purely 'bardic' in orientation' (Jacques 2019: 166). On the basis of comparisons of the classification of nouns and of the terminology for grammatical gender, Jacques (2019: 176–187, 2020: 196–215) argues persuasively that the *Dwned* depends heavily on the Middle English *Accedence* tract, an English adaptation of Donatus' *Ars Minor*. This proposition finds further contextual support in the fact that Gutun Owain and the scribe of one of the *Accedence* texts, *Accedence* A in Thomson's classification, belonged to the same social and intellectual circle in north-east Wales (see below). Furthermore, Jacques (2019: 187–9, 2020: 217–21) suggests that it was the *Dwned*'s purpose to teach Latin to speakers of Welsh, just as it was the *Accedence*'s purpose to teach Latin to speakers of English. In this case, the *Dwned* may probably yield only minimal information about the redactors' understanding of the morphological and syntactic system of Welsh – and its classification as a 'bardic grammar' needs to be questioned, as has already been done by Jacques (2019: 189): 'the *Dwned* in Llanstephan 28 makes use of the bardic grammars, and works within the tradition established by the bardic grammars, but is not itself a bardic grammar'. This larger issue, however, is not my concern here.[20]

As pointed out above, the characterisation in *Pum Llyfr* of *yr hwnn* etc. as one of the adjectives ('enw gwan') which do not allow comparison as well as the phrasal term *henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor* are already found in the *Dwned*, in

[20]The *Dwned* is not discussed in Jacques (2024) because of its special status, see Jacques (2024: 68).

its treatment of nominal morphology (Williams and Jones 1934: 68).[21] As in *Pum Llyfr*, some further discussion is provided in the section on the five concords in the *Dwned*'s syntax. The table below juxtaposes the definitions in the *Dwned* with the ones in *Accedence* text A, preserved in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 356B.[22] This is a manuscript written *c*. 1460–80, 'mostly in the hand of Thomas Pennant, part in his youth and part evidently later, as a teacher, probably for use at Valle Crucis abbey' (Huws 2022: i, 458).[23] Matonis (2004: 157) has located Thomas Pennant (*fl.* 1468–d. 1527), and also John Edwards of Chirk (*fl.* 1474–d. 1498), who copied a text of another Middle English grammatical tract which is reflected in the *Dwned* (see below), in the 'social and cultural orbit of Gutun Owain'. Gutun Owain addressed a poem to Thomas Pennant (Matonis 2004: 163) and may have compiled a manuscript containing historical texts for him when he became abbot of Basingwerk about 1481 (Huws 2022: ii, 43); he also composed a praise poem and an elegy for John Edwards (Matonis 2004: 165) and probably wrote a manuscript for him (Huws 2022: ii, 28). As highlighted by Jacques (2020: 196–200), this is important additional support for the proposition of influence. The following table provides additional evidence for the close textual relationship between the *Dwned* and the *Accedence* posited by her.

Dwned (Williams and Jones 1934: 86–7)	*Accedence* text A (Thomson 1984: 8)
Y gysevin a vydd rrwng nomnadio a beryf. Wynt a gydgordiant mewn dav beth, nid amgen, mewn rrif a ffferson. 'The first [concord] is between a nominative and a verb. They agree in two features, namely, in number and person.'	Þe fyrst betwene þe nominatiue case and þe verbe […] In how mony schall þe nominatyue case and þe verbe accord? In ij. Wech ij? Nowmbyr and person.
Yr ail kydgordiad a vydd rrwng henw gwann a henw kadarn, ac wynt a gydgordiant mewn tri ffeth, nid amgen, rrif a chenedl ac achos. 'The second concord is between an adjective and a substantive, and they agree in three features, namely, number, gender, and case.'	Þe secund betwene þe adiectyue and þe substantyue […] In how mony schall þe nowne adiectyue and þe substantyue acord? In iij. Wech iij? Case, gendyr and nowmbyr.

[21] So far, I have not found a parallel for the *Dwned*'s (and *Pum Llyfr*'s) category of adjectives lacking comparison.

[22] There is a second *Accendence* text, *Accendence* B, in the same manuscript; for its version of the passage on the five concords, see Thomson (1984: 15).

[23] See also Huws (2022: ii, 131) and Thomson (1979: 114–31).

Dwned (Williams and Jones 1934: 86–7)	*Accedence* text A (Thomson 1984: 8)
Y drydedd gydgordiad a vydd rrwng henw dygiedic a'i vlaenor, a['r] rrain a gydgordiant mewn tr[i] ffeth, nid amgen, Rif a chenedl and ffersson. 'The third concord is between a referring noun and its antecedent, and these agree in three features, namely number, gender, and person.'[24]	Þe iij betwene þe relatyue and þe antycedens […] In how mony schall (þe) relatyue and þe antycedens acord? In iij. Wech iij? Ge(n)dyr, nowmbyr and person.
Y pedwerydd kydgordiad a vydd rrwng henw rrannedic dosbarthetic a genedio ar i ol. Wynt a gydgordiant mewn vn peth, mewn kenedl vnic. 'The fourth concord shall be between a partitive, distributive noun and a genitive following it. They agree in one feature, in gender only.'	Þe iiij betwene þe nowne partytyue and þe genitiue case þat folus […] In how mony schall þe nowne partytiue and þe genytyue case þat folus acord? In on. Wech on? Gendyr allon.[25]
Y pvmed kydgordiad a vydd rrwng superlliaid radd a'r genedio ar i ol, ac wynt a gydgordiant mewn vn peth, mewn kenedl vnic. 'The fifth concord shall be between a superlative grade and the genitive following it, and they agree in one feature, in gender only.'	Þe v betwene þe superlatyue degre and þe genitiue case þat folus […] In how mony schall þe superlatyue degre and þe genytyue case þat folus acorde? In on. Wech on? Gendyr alon, et cetera.

The notion of five concords in the *Accedence* texts (and in the *Dwned*) appears to be untraditional.[26] Padley (1976: 51) observes that Humanist authors of grammars of Latin 'usually do little more than repeat material culled from Priscian's two final books, relaying the traditional teaching of the three concords [i.e., agreement of adjective with substantive, nominative subject with verb, and relative with antecedent] and the endless minutiae of case government inherited from medieval tradition'.[27] The paragraph on the five concords in *Accedence* text A (and also in B and other *Accedence* texts) is, according to Thomson (1984: 236), 'an English version of part of John Leylond's De concordantiis gramatice'. Leylond (d. 1428) was one of

[24] Note that both the *Dwned* and *Accedence* text A (as well as B) do not mention case as a relevant category.

[25] See Thomson (1984: 15) for *<þe noun parti>tyf and þe noun distributyf* in the description of the fourth concord in *Accedence* text B.

[26] The same five concords are also given in the so-called Long and Short Accidence, early grammars of Latin in English printed between 1495 and 1519, for which see Gwosdek (1991); for the passage on the five 'concordes of Gramer' in the Long Accidence Text A, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1495, see Gwosdek (1991: 164).

[27] For some further background to the notion of three concords, see Luhtala (2014: 62–3).

the famous Oxford grammar masters and is thought to have authored and/or revised various tracts in English and Latin on the grammar of Latin, for example the *Informacio* and possibly the *Accedence* (compare Thomson 1979: 4–12, 40–4). The relevant passage in *De concordantiis gramatice* reads:

> Quot sunt concordancie in gramatica? Dicendum quod sunt 5, quarum prima est hec, scilicet inter nominatiuum supponentem et verbum cui fit supposicio. Secunda est inter adiectiuum et suum substantiuum. Tercia est inter relatiuum et suum antecedens. Quarta est inter nomen partitiuum et genitiuum sequentem. Quinta est inter superlatiuum gradum et genitiuum sequentem. (Thomson 1979: 43)

In Thomson's view (1979: 43), 'it seems very likely that Leylond was responsible for adding such a section on concord to the English version of the *Ars Minor*', i.e., to the *Accedence* text. The definition of relative concord in the *Dwned* and the explanation and exemplification of how it functions (Williams and Jones 1934: 87) agree with the passage quoted above from *Pum Llyfr*, with a small variant in the third example which here reads: *da a dreuliwyd heddiw, yr hwn a gad yr ys blwyddyn* 'property was expended today which was obtained a year ago'.[28] The parallels between the *Dwned* and the *Accedence* text in their explanation of the third concord finally establish the phrasal term *enw dygiedig o'i flaenor* as corresponding to English *relatyue*. According to *GPC Online* (s.v. *enw*), it is first attested in the *Dwned*.[29] This Welsh term may have been inspired by the phrase 'rehersyng of thyngus sayd or spokyn beffore' (Thomson 1984: 93) in the explanation of the function of relatives in Middle English *Informacio* texts, which treat of various syntactical topics. The following quotation is taken from *Informacio* text U preserved in Peniarth 356B, the manuscript written by Thomas Pennant which also contains *Accedence* texts A and B, and from its analysis of *the wheche* in the sentence *A chirche is a place the wheche Crystyn menne bem mecull holdon to loue* (Thomson 1984: 93):[30]

> What parte of speche is 'the whech'? A nown relatyue. What hase a relatyue? An antecedent. Whereby knouus þu an antecedent? For hyt gouus beffore the relatyue and ys rehersytt of the relatyue. How

[28] On the use of *yr hwnn* with the meaning of neuter *yr hynn* in Middle Welsh, see Evans (1964: 69 N2). For the Welsh examples in the *Dwned* of the other four concords, see Williams and Jones (1934: 87); the Middle English *Accedence* texts A and B do not give examples.

[29] *dygiedig*, lit. 'brought, bringing', is derived from *dygaf* 'I bring, carry' plus the suffix *-(i)edig*, on which see Russell (1990: 76–80).

[30] See Thomson (1984: 83) for the parallel passage in *Informacio* text T, transmitted in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 423D, which was written by John Edwards in the 1480s (Huws 2022: i, 125–6, Huws 2022: ii, 28, Thomson 1979: 105–13); as mentioned above, Edwards was a member of the social and cultural circle of Gutun Owain and Thomas Pennant. Note that, in contrast to the *Accendence* texts, the *Informacio* teaches that the relative agrees with its antecedent in case, gender, and number: 'What case, what gendur, what nowumbour schall the relatyue be? Seche case, sech gendur, seche nowumbour as the antecedent schulde be yff he <stod>e þer as relatyue stoumdus and the relatyue wheyr put away' (Thomson 1984: 93).

> knouus thow a relatyue? Fo hytt makys rehersyng of thyngus sayd or spokyn beffore. (Thomson 1984: 93)

The phrase 'rehersyng of thyngus sayd or spokyn beffore' in an explanation of 'antecedent' and of relative constructions could easily have inspired the *Dwned*'s descriptive phrase *enw dygiedig o'i flaenor* 'a noun referring to its antecedent', which appropriately and creatively captures the function of a relative as explained in the *Informacio*. According to *GPC Online* (s.v.), *blaenor* in the grammatical meaning 'antecedent' is first attested in the *Dwned*.

Even if the *Dwned* is about the grammar of Latin and not about Welsh, but uses Welsh as a metalanguage for didactic purposes, it establishes a correspondence between *yr hwn* etc. and its function as an overt relative marker in Welsh, which facilitates its interpretation as a Welsh 'relative', as perhaps seen in *Pum Llyfr*.

4. Gruffydd Robert's grammar of Welsh (1567– post-1584)

The next work to be considered is roughly contemporary with *Pum Llyfr*, namely the first printed grammar of Welsh by Gruffydd Robert (*c.* 1527–98).[31] Its first booklet was published in Milan in 1567, the last of its total of six booklets was printed some time after 1584.[32] Gruffydd Robert was a Catholic exile and wrote in Welsh and with a Welsh audience in mind and with a counter-reformation and humanist educational agenda. His grammar has the form of a learned, and typically asymmetrical, dialogue, between Mo., the persona of his uncle and companion in exile Morys Clynnog, who asks, and Gr., Gruffydd Robert's persona, who explains. It combines a vast number of original observations on the structures of Welsh with a knowledge of the bardic tradition, of contemporary Italian grammaticography, and of contemporary grammars of Latin in English and Latin, as conspicuous parallels between Gruffydd Robert's grammar and the *Shorte Introduction* and the *Brevissima Institutio* in their presentation and discussion of the parts of speech and their accidents show.[33]

At the end of the first booklet, in which the discussion of orthography is set in an Italian vineyard where Gr. and Mo. shelter from the oppressive heat,[34] they are presented as returning home. After a stretch of non-technical conversation, Gr. agrees to offer some comments on syntax and first highlights the importance of mutations for Welsh syntax. Mo. then asks whether three concords are

[31] 'Robert' may be a patronym, but following modern conventions I treat it as a surname for the purpose of bibliographical references.

[32] On Gruffydd Robert see, with further references, see Bryant-Quinn (2000), Bryant-Quinn (2019), Williams and Bryant-Quinn (2019), and Price (2019: 185–9).

[33] Compare, for example, Williams and Jones (1934: lxxix–lxxx, xc), Griffith (1953–8), Hayes (1988), and Poppe (2020).

[34] For the translation of this memorable passage of non-technical dialogue in Gruffydd Robert's Grammar, see Griffith (1953–58: 11–12, 1966: 286–287); it is reproduced in part in Davies (1995: 75).

realized in Welsh as they are in other languages – a pointer to the conventional status of the three concords.[35] Gr. affirms and explains that they obtain between verb and subject, between adjective and substantive, and between the anaphoric relative (*cofhadigaụl*) and its antecedent (*blaenor*): 'vn rhūg y ferf ai henụedigaụl, araḷ rhụng yr henụ damụeiniaụl ai sylụeḍaụl, y trydyḍ rhụng y cofhadigaụl ai flaenor' (Robert 1939: 86). *Blaenor* is the term first attested in the *Dwned* and also used in *Pum Llyfr*, *cofhadigaụl* is an adjective derived from *cofiad* 'memory' used substantivally and according to *GPC Online* (s.v. *cofadigol*) first attested in Gruffydd Robert's grammar.[36] In the detailed exposition of the third concord which follows, Gr. says that the relative agrees with its antecedent in gender, number, and person: 'meụn cenedl, rhif, a pherson' (Robert 1939: 88). This is then exemplified by a first group of phrases, which in a modern analysis feature the overt relative marker *yr hwnn* etc. in collocation with the relative particle *a*, as in *mair*$_{[fem]}$ *yrhonn*$_{[fem]}$, *oeḍ fam ḍuụ* ('Mary, who was God's mother) and *o Iessu*$_{[masc]}$ *yrhụnn*$_{[masc]}$ *a ḍioḍefaist*$_{[2sg]}$ *trossom* ('o Jesus, who suffered for us') (Robert 1939: 88). Gr. then adds the important observation that the relatives may sometimes be omitted, and this establishes that Gruffydd Robert considered *yr hwnn* etc. to be the relative proper and *a* and *y* to be verbal particles: 'ag ụeithiau e ụasnaetha; a ne; y, rhagụas berf yn ḷe'r cofhadigaụl' ('and sometimes the verbal particle *a* or *y* serves instead of the relative'), as in *y pychadur a dro at ḍuụ a gaiph trugareḍ* ('the sinner who turns to God will receive mercy') (Robert 1939: 88). Gr. then continues with a set of comments on the translation of Latin relative clauses, which impressively testifies to his reflective and innovative engagement with the syntactic and idiomatic structures of Welsh:

> Mae yn ḍigon haụd i'r cymru gyfieithu; qui, ne, quem, tra font henụedigaụl ne ḍerbyniaụl i ferf. Onḍ cuius, cui, per quē, a quo syḍ anhoụssach i troi yn gymreigaiḍ, ag yn gyfattebaụl i'r ladin. Nid oes i ni ḍim yn y cyfryụ leoeḍ ond ceißio adroḍi rhessum yr ymadroḍ ladin tann gadụ priodoldeb yn hiaith ynhun. (Robert 1939: 88–9)
>
> 'It is easy enough for the Welsh to translate *qui* or *quem* when they are nominative [i.e., subject] or accusative [i.e., object] to a verb. But *cuius*, *cui*, *per quem*, *a quo* are more difficult to translate into idiomatic Welsh, and corresponding to the Latin. In such cases, we can only try to render the meaning of the Latin clause while keeping the propriety of our own language.'

[35]The term *cynghordiad* is first attested here, according to *GPC Online*, where it is analysed as a derivative from Latin *concordia* with the suffix *-iad*. The term in the *Dwned* and in *Pum Llyfr* is *kydgordiad*, see above, which is analysed in *GPC Online* as ultimately based on *cord(i)af*, a loan-word from English *cord* 'to accord'.

[36]The term *cophedigawl* which Gr. uses in the chapter on pronouns (Robert 1939: [121]) seems to mean 'anaphoric' in more general terms, since it contrasts with *dangossaụl* 'deictic'. No explicit reference is made to relatives in the chapter on pronouns.

He also supplies a series of examples to illustrate these difficulties (Robert 1939: 89), such as *Ego cuius est tibi in omnibus obedire. myfi yrhụn a ḍylụn fod yn vfyḍ yt ymhob peth*, with a genitival relative clause in Latin and a direct relative clause in Welsh; he also suggests alternative translations, for example, *Ille cui omnia seruiunt. efo y mae pob peth yn gụasnaethu iḍo, ne, y mae pob peth yn i ụasnaethu* ('he to whom / whom everything serves'), with a relative pronoun in the dative in Latin and either a prepositional or a genitival relative clause in Welsh. In his examples, the particles *a* and *y*, *y mae* in relative contexts, and the negative particle *nid* are employed, but their distribution is not commented on. He finally observes, however, that these matters do not properly pertain to syntax, but to the methodology of translating from Latin ('at y ḷụybr syḍ ir cymrụ i gyfieithu ḷadin', Robert 1939: 90).

Relatives are discussed, both literally and metaphorically, only in passing in Gruffydd Robert's grammar; his brief discussion establishes the status of *yr hwnn* etc. as the relatives proper and the marginal visibility of the relative particles as verbal particles, as well as his remarkable sensitivity for the details of the Welsh grammatical system and for its idiomatic properties. His reflections on differences between the Welsh and the Latin systems of relative syntax indicate his scepticism about a general appropriateness of a transfer of categories established for Latin.[37]

5. Siôn Dafydd Rhys: *Cambrobrytannicae Cymraecaeve linguae institutiones et rudimenta* (1592)

The next printed grammar of Welsh, *Cambrobrytannicae Cymraecaeve linguae Institutiones et Rudimenta*, was published in London in 1592 and written in Latin. Its author Siôn Dafydd Rhys (also known as John Davies of Brecon, 1534–1609?) spent fifteen years in Italy, and his grammar reflects knowledge of the first booklet of Gruffydd Robert's grammar,[38] but is different in language and in orientation, directed at a learned audience outside Wales and attempting a tabular and formal presentation of the language data. In his time in Italy, Rhys graduated as a doctor of medicine in Siena in 1562 or 1563 and published three books on linguistic matters, the syntax of Latin in Italian (1567), the pronunciation and orthography of Italian in Latin (1569), and Greek grammar, of which no copy survives. He returned to Wales in the early 1570s, was involved in the translation of religious works and possibly the Old Testament in this decade's last years, and later engaged on various literary and scholarly activities, including work on the grammar and possibly on a Welsh dictionary, besides

[37] See also his thoughts on the status of case and declension in a grammar of Welsh, Robert (1939: [98], [100]–[1]) and Poppe (1991: 270–1). Compare further recent discussions in the historiography of linguistics on 'extended grammars', i.e., 'the idea that many language descriptions, from antiquity until today, are in fact extensions of the grammatical framework of a historically dominant language' (Van Rooy 2023: 92), typically Latin in the context of the European Middle Ages and the early modern period. In this larger perspective, Robert is one of the 'ever more critical voices with regard to the crosslinguistic applicability of categories' (Van Rooy 2023: 98–9) emerging in the early modern period.

[38] See Parry (1931–2: 57) for parallels between the two grammars; Rhys himself refers to the first booklet of Gruffydd Robert's grammar in his dedicatory letter to Edward Stradling.

being a well-known physician.[39] Parry (1959) characterised the *Institutiones et Rudimenta* as 'a grammar of the Welsh language together with a lengthy and laborious discussion of Welsh prosody. […] In the section on prosody, whole passages have been taken word for word from the bardic treatises'. Rhys's treatment of relatives is similarly derivative. In the sub-section on comparison in the section on nouns, he lists the four groups of adjectives which are not compared, including the 'henw dygiedic o'i vlaenor', which he glosses as 'Yr hwnn, qui', and he observes, following *Pum Llyfr* and the *Dwned*, that the adjectives lacking comparison have the force of pronouns, but are nouns (Rhys 1592: 64). In the chapter on pronouns, Rhys employs the term 'relatiua', but uses it with a general meaning to cover pronouns with an anaphoric function, 'quibus in re aliqua, de qua antè sermo fuerat, referenda, repetendauè, vtimur' (Rhys 1592: 65, see also 66). In the syntax finally, he presents the traditional three concords or patterns of agreement, 'Dictionum inter se Consensus', and the rule that the relative agrees with its antecedent in gender, number, and person, illustrated with three examples, of *yr honn* with reference to feminine singular *gwreig*, *yr hwnn* with reference to masculine singular *drygwas*, and *yr hynn* with reference to a preceding statement:

> Tertius, quo Relatiuum (*Dygiedic*) cum Antecedente (*Blaenor*,) vel quopiam quod pro illo ponatur, genere, numero, & persona congruit: vt *Gwreig dha yw yr honn a gâr ei gwr* ['the one who loves her husband is a good wife']. *Drygwas yw yr hwnn nyd ymgais a'i arglwydh* ['the one who does not care for his lord is a bad servant']. Antecedentis locum occupat interdum & oratio: vt *Ebh a dhihaghhodh o'r carchar yn ebrwydh, yr hynn a bhú dhedwydh idhô* ['he escaped from the prison immediately, which was fortunate for him']. (Rhys 1592: 117)

His examples are different from the ones given in the *Dwned* and *Pum Llyfr*, and the first two are arguably not ideal, since the overt marker here does not stand in apposition to a proper antecedent. In the analysis suggested by Morris-Jones (1931: 98–9), *yr honn* and *yr hwnn* are used 'in place of implied antecedents', as in his example *Goyvn* ***yr hynn a*** *vynnych* ('Ask (that) that you want'), versus *kymmer* ***a*** *welych* (Morris-Jones 1931: 95, 'take what you see') with the object of the verb implied. Rhys provides no new or original insights into Welsh relative constructions.[40]

6. JOHN DAVIES'S *ANTIQUAE LINGUAE BRITANNICAE RUDIMENTA* (1621)

John Davies of Mallwyd (*c*. 1567–1644) has been described as the greatest scholar of the later Renaissance period in Wales. He was instrumental in the

[39] On Rhys see, for example, Parry (1959), Gruffydd (1931), and Davies (1981: 3–11); on Rhys's *De Italica Pronunciatione et Orthographia Libellus*, see de Clerq and Swiggers (1996), on the *Rudimenta*, see Parry (1931–3).

[40] I have not found a reference to relatives in Henry Salesbury's *Grammatica Britannica* (1593), chronologically the next grammar of Welsh.

revision of the text of the Welsh Bible for its edition of 1620 and the compiler of a monumental Welsh dictionary (1632). His grammar of the Welsh language, *Antiquae linguae Britannicae … rudimenta*, published in London in 1621, is considered a milestone in the progress of Welsh grammaticography towards descriptive adequacy: 'It would be no exaggeration to say that there are very few important differences between Davies's grammar and a good modern Welsh grammar' (Watkins 1963: 145). His approach is not only descriptive, the aspect that Watkins highlights, but also comparative and typological – constant comparisons of the structures of Welsh with the structures of Hebrew are a hallmark of his discussion.[41]

In the section on pronouns within the chapter on the word-classes, Davies (1621: 66) describes *yr hwn* etc, i.e., the overt relative markers, as pronouns denoting *relatio*, distinguishing them from the demonstratives *hwn* etc. In the sub-section on the 'pronomina relationis', he then gives a more detailed survey of the realisations and the formation of relatives and adduces Greek analogues:

> Relativum singulare conflamus ex demonstrativo *hwn*, hic, præposito articulo *yr*, ut *yr hwn*, qui; *yr hon*, quæ; *yr hyn*, quod. Vt Græci ó αύτοζ, idem, &c. Plurale, a *rhai*, præposito articulo *y*, *y rhai*, qui, quæ, quæ. *Sawl*, vel *y sawl*, et *y neb*, qui, quæ, relativa sunt omnium numerorum et generum. *yr un*, idem, eadem, idem, et pl. iidem, eædem, eadem. Est omnium numerorum et generum; simile est Gr. ó αύτοζ, ή αυτή, τό αυτό. (Davies 1621: 72)

In the section of the syntax of relatives, Davies then comments on the frequent ellipsis of the relative, i.e., of the overt marker, and of both the relative and the antecedent, as is also attested in Hebrew, for example in *yn y farn a orchymynnaist*, glossed 'In judicio (quod) præcepisti', and *Ar ol ni thyccia*, corresponding to *ar ol y peth yr hyn ni thyccia*, glossed 'Post (ea quæ) non prosunt' (Davies 1621: 172) – i.e., *yn y farn* $\emptyset_{\text{relative}}$ *a orchymynnaist* and *Ar ol* $\emptyset_{\text{antecedent}}$ $\emptyset_{\text{relative}}$ *ni thyccia*, which parallels the analyses of similar sentences in *Pum Llyfr* (see above). The ellipsis of the 'relative' results in a canonical relative construction with, in modern parlance, the relative particle; the ellipsis of the antecedent and the relative results in a headless relative clause, here with the implied antecedent depending on a preposition.[42] He also mentions a use of the locative adverb *yno* in relative constructions, comparable to Hebrew שם 'there', and seen in the translation of Genesis 2:11, *y wlad y mae yno aur*, corresponding to 'Terram Havilah ibi aurum' as his explicative Latin gloss of the Hebrew (Davies 1621: 172).[43] The translation of the Bible of 1620, *Y Bibl Cyssegr-Lan*, has *hon sydd yn amgylchu holl wlad Hafila, lle [y mae] yr aur*, the brackets

[41] For a detailed biographical survey, see Roberts (2004). For an introduction to Davies's grammar and some aspects of its reception, see Poppe (2004); on Davies's treatment of relatives, see ibid., 141–2, and on Davies's engagement with parallels between Welsh and Hebrew, see ibid., 123–5, 135–7. For a discussion of his Welsh dictionary, see Davies (2004).

[42] Compare Morris-Jones (1931: 95–6) and his parallel example *Yn ôl* ***a*** *glywais* 'According to what I have heard'.

[43] A literal translation of the Hebrew text reads: '… land of Havilah there there gold', see https://biblehub.com/text/genesis/2-11.htm.

in the translation indicating that the verb has been inserted by the translator. Davies then points to a frequent use of what he calls a pleonastic employment of relatives, 'Relatiui pleonasmus, vt apud He[b]'. His examples show that this characterises Welsh indirect prepositional and genitival relative clauses which contain anaphora referring back to the antecedent, as in: 'Cuius semen eius in eo [his explicative gloss of the Hebrew]. Gen 1.11. *yr hwn y mae ei hàd ynddo*' (Davies 1621: 172).[44] He also mentions the possible ellipsis of the relative in such constructions, as in 'Pereat dies (quo) natus sum in eo [his explicative gloss of the Hebrew]. Iob. 3.3. Deest (quo;) redundat (in eo.) *Methed y dydd i'm ganwyd ynddo*'.[45] In his analysis, the overt relative corresponding to *quo* is omitted in both Welsh and Hebrew and the relative relation is established by *in eo*, corresponding to *ynddo*. Here, and for his other examples, the relative particles proper and their distribution are not mentioned.[46]

With Davies's *Rudimenta*, *yr hwnn* etc. finally acquire the status of relative pronouns, which they did not have before, and become part of the pre-modern grammaticographical tradition, whereas the relative particles remain invisible.

7. EPILOGUE

My case-study explored the closely interlinked issues of the status of *yr hwnn* etc., of relatives, and, finally, of relative pronouns in early-modern Welsh grammars. The first section adduced evidence for significant textual parallels in their teaching on relatives between the final revision of the bardic grammars, the mid-sixteenth century *Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth*, and contemporary authoritative and authorized grammars of Latin in English and Latin, the *Shorte Introduction* and the *Brevissima Institutio*, but also for probably original observations in *Pum Llyfr* on specific Welsh relative constructions and on the employment of interrogative *pwy* as a relative. *Pum Llyfr*'s discussion importantly establish the status of the assumed relatives *y neb* (and by implication of *yr hwnn* etc.) and their categorial difference from the nameless element *a*, the relative particle proper in a modern analysis. The integration of descriptions of Latin constructions into a grammar of Welsh raises intriguing questions about their status, about their assumed applicability to Welsh, and about possible conceptual tensions between descriptive models appropriate for Welsh and Latin respectively. If answers are at all possible, these would require a large-scale analysis of the orientation of *Pum Llyfr*. In this context it is furthermore relevant that the fifteenth-century *Dwned* is a source for some elements of *Pum Llyfr*'s teaching on relatives and that the *Dwned* here depends on Middle English grammatical tracts available in

[44]The text of the 1620 Bible here reads: *y rhai [y mae] eu hàd ynddynt ar y ddaiar*. A literal translation of the Hebrew text is 'whose seed in itself on the earth', see https://biblehub.com/text/genesis/1-11.htm.

[45]The text of the 1620 Bible here reads: *Darfydded am y dydd i'm ganwyd ynddo*. A literal translation of the Hebrew text is 'the day I was born on which/it', see https://biblehub.com/text/job/3-3.htm.

[46]Davies (1621: 188–9) discusses the preverbal particles, which he calls affirmative adverbs, their use in main clauses, and their distribution in the section of the syntax of the verb, without mentioning a use in relative contexts.

north-east Wales, which is further support for Jacques's contention that the *Dwned* is a grammar of Latin written in Welsh. Even if the *Dwned* therefore did not intend to explain Welsh relative constructions, as seems likely, its translations of Latin examples established a first link between (the overt relative marker) *yr hwnn* etc. and the grammatical category of relatives. Further explorations of the teachings on relatives in early modern works which were intended as grammars of Welsh, by Gruffydd Robert, Siôn Dafydd Rhys, and John Davies, showed very different levels of engagement with relatives. They explicitly or implicitly agree on *yr hwnn* etc. as the main representative of the class of Welsh relatives and relative pronouns respectively. Gruffydd Robert presents relatives in the context of a discussion of the three concords; he is the probably most innovative and sensitive author in that he considers specific examples and practical difficulties arising for the translation of Latin relative constructions into Welsh. He critically reflects on conceptual tensions between established categories of the dominant Latin model of grammar and the descriptive requirements for Welsh. Rhys is brief and derivative and repeats the *Dwned*. Davies finally establishes *yr hwnn* etc. as relative pronouns and as a distinct category for the grammatical description of Welsh. The relative particles proper remain conceptually more or less invisible in my corpus of grammars; they are recognized only by Gruffydd Robert, who characterised them as verbal particles.[47]

Morris-Jones (1913: v) famously stated in his *Welsh Grammar* that John Davies's 'analysis of the literary language is final; he has left to his successors only the correction and amplification of detail'. In his *Welsh Syntax*, he highlighted, without naming names, that 'the [early-modern] translators, like the grammarians, regarded *yr hwn*, etc., as relatives, and considered the true relatives to be meaningless particles' (Morris-Jones 1931: 103). This is borne out by the evidence adduced in this case study. Davies's classification of *yr hwn* etc. as Welsh relatives or relative pronouns was without doubt one such detail in his grammar left for correction. However, it needs to be remembered that Morris-Jones did not abolish the category 'relative pronoun': in his *Welsh Grammar* he used the term 'relative pronoun' for what would alternatively be called the particles *a* and *y* and their variants and assigned cases to them (Morris-Jones 1913: 284), and similarly in his *Welsh Syntax*, in which 'relative pronoun' competes with 'relative' (e.g., Morris-Jones 1931: 88–9, 91). Even though the elements in the class of Welsh relative pronouns had changed, the history of the category had not come to an end.[48]

[47]The later history of the status of *yr hwnn* etc. as relatives and relative pronouns respectively and of the assessment of the relative particles, in modern parlance, requires further research. Thomas Rowland (n. d.: 52), for example, mentions, without giving sources, that '[s]ome grammarians consider *a* as a relative pronoun', but since it is in his view an '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'.

[48]Richards (1938: 66, 86) employs both 'rhagenw perthynol' and 'geiryn perthynol'; Thomas (1996: 494) prefers 'rhagenw perthynol' in his authoritative grammar of Modern Welsh. The competition of 'relative pronoun/rhagenw perthynol' with 'relative particle/geiryn perthynol' in the twentieth century would repay further study.

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Dindshenchas Érenn. Marie-Luise Theuerkauf. Cork Studies in Celtic Literatures 7. Cork Studies in Celtic Literatures, Cork, 2023. xii + 147pp. €15. ISBN 978-0-9955469-7-4.

This volume, focussed on the *dindshenchas*, sets out to provide 'an accessible overview and entry into this complex literary creation' (p. xii) and in this it certainly succeeds. Individual chapters provide introductions to the contents of the primary manuscripts that preserve *dindshenchas* collections (Chapter 1), previous scholarly work including editions and the disentangling of the recensions (Chapter 2), the dating of the different recensions, in which distinction is made between the compilations and the materials used within them (Chapter 3), a study of the methods employed in explaining the origin of names (Chapter 4), and finally a study of the relationship between the *dindshenchas* and Irish saga (Chapter 5). The emphasis throughout is on collections of *dindshenchas* material rather than individual accounts of placenames such as may be found in, for example, longer tales.

Chapter 1 points out that there is tremendous variety among the different collections. The largest group of manuscripts, including Rennes, Ballymote and Uí Mhaine, contain prosimetrical texts (pp. 10–12) while the Bodleian and Edinburgh manuscripts consist of prose usually followed by a single quatrain. None of these contain collections in verse form only, giving the lie to the distinction between metrical and prose *dindshenchas* which is based solely on the presentation in modern editions, a point rightly emphasized by the author. The one exception is to be found in the earliest manuscript, the Book of Leinster, which O'Sullivan originally noted included four different collections involving the work of four different scribes (A, U, F, T), sometimes working in collaboration (pp. 2–3). As Theuerkauf emphasizes, these collections are not described as *dindshenchas* or by its more common alternative, *Senchas Dind* (p. 2), and they frequently contain other historical (*laídshenchas*) and Fenian material (p. 4). Moreover, she justifiably casts doubt on whether the two folios at pp. 27–30, written by T, are to be considered as *dindshenchas*, except 'in a very loose sense' (p. 6). This questioning could be taken further. The section at pp. 151a1–158b described by Theuerkauf as 'U's metrical *Dindshenchas*' contains some poems that could only be loosely connected to the *dindshenchas*, such as a poem attributed to Cináed úa hArtacáin beginning '*Déccid ferta nithaig Neill*' (p. 154a). This text does indeed appear in other *dindshenchas* collections and is duly edited by Gwynn in his *Metrical Dindshenchas*, vol. 2, pp. 36–41, yet its narrative of the death of Níall Noígíallach only casually mentions *in medias res* that the name Ochan (Faughan) was derived from the lamentation raised over him (*ba de boí iar*

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mbaisse brón | Ochan mór muintire Néill, 'thence was called, after grief and beating of breasts, great Ochan of the following of Niall', ll. 35–6). A strict definition of *dindshenchas* would be helpful, although one suspects that it may not be attainable. In the formal *dindshenchas* collections, individual items are chiefly concerned with how places got their names, but there is a large body of material in which the interest lies more broadly in the history of events associated with places. Is Cináed's poem truly a *dindshenchas* text rather than a versified narrative history that mentions the origin of a placename? Many longer texts, such as *Táin Bó Cúailnge* or *Lebor Gabála*, contain multiple episodes that explain the origin of a name, but they hardly qualify as *dindshenchas* texts. Theuerkauf's approach of studying only those texts that occur in *dindshenchas* collections is a pragmatic solution, therefore, but we are sometimes left wondering where the *dindshenchas* begins and ends in the Book of Leinster.

Chapter 2 contains a description of scholarship on the *dindshenchas*, focussing mainly on editorial work and the relationship between different versions, and provides a very useful reminder of how misleading the existing editions are about the scope, sequencing, and contents of the different *dindshenchas* collections. Ó Concheanainn's analysis of the relationship between the collections is dismissed, although the author does endorse the idea that the existence of single stanzas at the end of some prose articles indicates that they are derived from a prosimetrical source (p. 38). Chapter 3 deals with various aspects of the dating of the *dindshenchas*, paying particular attention to a small number of *roscada.* Attributions to named poets from the tenth and eleventh centuries are listed (pp. 50–1), although the earliest ascription, to Máel Muru Othna (†887), appears to have been accidentally omitted here despite the fact that the poem occurs among other *dindshenchas* material in the Book of Leinster and is accepted elsewhere here (pp. 60, 104). The chapter concludes with a discussion of the collections themselves in which there is an important corrective to Gwynn's dating of the Edinburgh-Bodleian recension which he thought was based on a poem by Gilla na Náem Úa Duind (†1160) (p. 66). Theuerkauf further notes that, based on a possible reference to *Acallam na Senórach* noted by Gwynn, the *terminus post quem* of Recension C needs to be pushed into the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries (p. 66; see also Bowen 1975–6: 124).

Chapter 4 looks at the methods employed in the *dindshenchas* collections to explain the origins of the names, distinguishing three categories: 1) eponymy, in which the placename is derived from the name of a person associated with the place; 2) derivation, in which the name is derived from a noun; and 3) *bérla n-etarscartha*, which Bowen (1975–6) terms 'lexical fission' and Ó hUiginn (2007: 57) calls 'segmentation', in which Isidorean etymology is deployed to examine the constituent elements of a single word. An interesting analysis shows that eponymy is by far the most common method (78% in Recension B, p. 81). Interestingly, segmentation is more common in the prose of Recension C and is more frequently used there than in metrical *dindshenchas* (pp. 81–2). A final section in this chapter ('Etymology vs *Senchas*') takes issue with my representation of the *dindshenchas* as *senchas*

and not 'purely or even primarily an exercise in Isidorean etymology' (cited p. 83), even though the author seems to arrive at the same conclusion herself when she writes 'etymology is an integral part of the *senchas* being related' (p. 84).

The final chapter explores the relationship between the *dindshenchas* and the early literature as divided into four cycles by modern scholarship. The author problematizes the frequent assertion that stories from the Mythological Cycle constitute the most common sources, noting that some, even those concerning the Túatha Dé Danann, may derive from *Lebor Gabála* (pp. 91–2). She reinforces Thurneysen's observation that the number of items related to *Táin Bó Cúailnge* is remarkably small (p. 100), a feature that is particularly noteworthy given the prominence of placename legends in the *Táin*. The discussion of the relationship between *dindshenchas* and the Fionn Cycle (pp. 102–13) is very interesting and highlights the impact of transmission on Gwynn's selection of Fenian material for inclusion in his *Metrical Dindshenchas* and thus on our perception of what constitutes *dindshenchas*. The author highlights a bias towards Uí Néill kings among those poems associated with the Cycles of Kings and suggests, but ultimately rejects (p. 119), the possibility that a collection of *dindshenchas* was first compiled during the reign of Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill (†1022). The argument is based on a number of poems that mention Máel Sechnaill and are mostly attributed to Cúán úa Lothcháin (†1024) but consideration should also be given to Cináed úa hArtacáin (†975) whose *oeuvre* indicates a keen interest in *dindshenchas* at Tara from at least the second half of the tenth century. A clear *desideratum* for the study of *dindshenchas*, therefore, would be to investigate the outputs of these two poets in their totality as it may reveal much about the evolution of the genre.

As this book demonstrates, *dindshenchas* is a rich field and the author helpfully gathers together the existing scholarship, offers constructive insights and lays out desirable avenues of study that would advance our understanding of the genre. The whole of this highly informative volume is carefully produced and is a welcome addition to the Cork Studies in Celtic Literatures series which is providing an important outlet for such studies.

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The Life of Saint Enda, Abbot of Aran: A Translation of Vita Endei *with an Essay on Landscape and Labour in the Life*. Matthias Egeler and Susanne Ruhland. Cork Studies in Celtic Literatures 8. Cork Studies in Celtic Literatures, Cork, 2023. iii + 68 pp. €12. ISBN 978-0-9955469-4-3.

The latest volume in the productive new series, Cork Studies in Celtic Literatures, is a study of the Latin Life of St Enda of Aran, including a very useful English translation of the Life. In their preface, the authors explain that they worked jointly on the translation, whereas the introduction was the work of Egeler alone.

Like many other Irish saints' Lives, the *Vita S. Endei* lacks a known author, date or context of production, and this makes it very difficult to handle from a historicist perspective. It is extant only in the fourteenth-century Oxford collection of Hiberno-Latin hagiography, which provides at least a *terminus ante quem*, and Pádraig Ó Riain has made a case that it was composed at Clonmacnoise (*Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin, 2011), 281). Egeler is very brief on this issue, merely directing the reader to the relevant scholarship, and instead sets a quite different agenda: to read the Life 'as place-lore and folklore, with a particular focus on the connection of its storytelling to place-names and practices of labour' (pp. 2–3). The downplaying of the 'medieval literary context' is seen again in Egeler's reluctance to deal with an issue that is commonly seen as central to Irish hagiography, namely any claims made in the Life to control over economic resources and the status of Enda's churches relative to others, especially Clonmacnoise (p. 6 n. 22).

The absence of these topics, which in another publication might easily have taken up most if not all of the discussion, is not a disadvantage if something valuable is offered in their place. And Egeler does provide a different perspective and a strong argument for why that perspective is valid and valuable. His case is that the Life should be read in conjunction with the geography of Aran, and with a sensitivity to the landscape as a space in which real human beings had to survive. The argument is directed not just against textually focused readings that neglect the real geography within which medieval narratives were composed, but also against certain types of modern nature writing which, in Egeler's view, lack empathy with the perspective of premodern people who had to extract a living from the land, and which instead privilege (perhaps unconsciously) a leisured point of view and underestimate the deep, pervasive fear of hardship and hunger from which our ancestors suffered. Egeler gives us an important reminder of the sheer harshness of medieval life and is right to insist that fear is an emotion that cannot be excluded from our understanding of medieval views of landscape. I found his discussion (p. 26ff.) quite powerful, especially his evocation of the modern Irish Blasket Islands literature as a point of comparison.

One consequence of this perspective is that the discussion has to be very selective. Most of it focuses in fact on a small number of miracles that have to do with shaping the Aran landscape and facilitating food production: the provision of seed corn, the creation of a safe channel for navigation, and the opening of a

safe harbour near Enda's church. These are important events in the narrative, but they form only a small part of the Life. Many other events take place away from Aran, and though Egeler does cover some of this material in his introduction, neither this nor the notes to the translation gives much assistance wherever the hagiographer is talking about the wider world, as he is for a considerable part of the time.

This selectivity points to difficulties for the approach. The *Vita S. Endei*, being a medieval Latin hagiographical text, is not a straightforward repository for the kind of interests for which Egeler searches. Egeler is aware of this, and notes several ways in which the perspective of the hagiographer 'threaten[s] to get out of touch with the religious needs of the population' (p. 32). Nevertheless, he sees hagiography as more closely reflecting popular beliefs and showing a 'much more down-to-earth way of engaging with the land' than, for example, the fully elite *Dindshenchas* material (p. 32 n. 88), because a hagiographer would tend to draw on local cult as much as literary models. Thus, the closeness of the *Vita S. Endei* to real landscape features in Aran guarantees that it is offering us genuine island folklore rather than adaptations from other texts.

The close match between the stories in the *Vita* and visible Aran landmarks is reassuring, and Egeler provides a very useful map and set of photographs, taken by himself, that allow the reader to follow his identifications. However, while it is highly probable that the *Vita S. Endei* does reflect stories that had an oral currency on the island at the time of its composition, we do not know whether such stories emerged among the lay population of Aran or were first devised in the clerical milieu, and therefore in contact with the literary tradition that conditioned the kinds of things that saints did. Indeed, it seems impossible to disentangle the role of clerics from that of the rest of the local population in creating these stories, or to trace their inspiration. Furthermore, it is necessary to guard against making too great a distinction between the clerical 'elite' and the rest of the population by implying that these miracles relating to food supply and safety at sea would be more relevant to the population at large (p. 32). To judge from the activities of Enda in the Life, the religious too would have sailed around a great deal, and the section on Ciarán's threshing-floor (Chapter xxv) suggests that the hagiographer's view of the monastic ideal included hard agricultural labour (though Chapter xxix equally suggests that the monks were entitled to regular 'alms' from everyone else). The stories in the *Vita S. Endei* about the miraculous transport of grain and the creation of safe channels and harbours are simultaneously specific to local places on Aran and meaningful within the universal discourse of hagiography.

The miracles upon which Egeler focuses form only a small part of the text, and even there the hagiographer's perspective is problematized: he does not show 'any evidence of undestanding their significance' for the 'needs of the labouring population' (p. 32). A broader reading of the whole Life serves to situate these nature miracles in a wider theological context. The hagiographer's overwhelming focus is on the miraculous overcoming of nature by divine intervention. It need not imply tht he felt any detachment from the bodily need for survival, but the this-world consequences of the miracles are taken as read

whereas the hagiographical perspective demanded a focus on the event as miracle and as immediate spectacle, revealing divine intervention in the imperfect fallen world. *Vita S. Endei* projects a monastic, ascetic ideal, denying the value of the present world. The opening chapters set an utterly uncompromising tone: Enda's sister Fainche states quite bluntly that their father is in hell for the crime of being a secular lord, Enda is reproached even for defending himself against physical attack, while St Fainche's pupil lies down and dies rather than submit to marriage. The hagiographer has also superimposed the model of the holy monastic island on Aran, as if the island were one huge monastery rather than a secular community of farmers and fisherfolk with some clerics sharing it. As a result, the population that is Egeler's focus vanishes from the narrative (cf. Chapter xviii in particular), and it is this move that constitutes the elite occlusion of popular, i.e. lay, life that Egeler detects in places in the *vita*. What the hagiographer thinks of the lay population is left unclear. Perhaps it is implied that they became tenants of the monastic churches. As there were no less than ten of these on Aran according to the Life, it is difficult to see how anyone could have been left as an independent proprietor. But if that is the case, it is left unsaid. Indeed, it could even be understood that the whole existing population was expelled along with the pagan ruler Corbanus and his men, who are driven out when Enda arrives. Not even Corbanus' livestock was permitted to stay behind. At the very end of the Life, when Enda prophesies the future, he foretells sadly that 'lay and irreligious men' will some day supplant his monks on Aran. It seems that the hagiographer was so determined to make Aran a desert in the sea that he portrays Enda's lifetime as a complete hiatus during which no lay people lived there.

The dominance of this perspective throughout the *vita* means that tracing the interests for which Egeler is seeking requires a reading of the text against the grain, notwithstanding his argument that the *vita* drew on genuine folklore of the island (which is surely true). But such material has to be extracted from a narrative that has very different priorities. This is not an argument to reject the perspective, but rather to acknowledge its difficulties. Reading against the grain is a vital tool in the investigation of other important issues in premodern texts, such as gender, race and social inequalities. Provided that this is duly acknowledged, Egeler's call to take seriously the place of food production, labour, and fear of the natural world in hagiographical texts, and indeed other medieval genres, is salutary. It is well worth remembering that we are alive today only because countless generations of people before us mastered the skills needed to wrest a living from environments such as Aran. Egeler is right to insist that we can and should interrogate medieval texts for their response to the challenges of physical existence, even if their authors had their eye on other matters.

The translation of *Vita S. Endei*, which was done jointly by Egeler and Ruhland, is generally very accurate and reliable. There are only a few places where another view is possible or preferable, which I list below.

Ch. ii: *in ducatus popularis sublimatus honore*. This means 'elevated to the honour of the leadership of the people'. The preposition *in* goes with *honore*, and *ducatus* is a preposed genitive. There is no need to emend to *ducatum*.

Ch. vi: *retrahens manum a conatu uoluntatis proprie*. Here Enda grabs a stick to ward off marauders, even though he has taken monastic vows, and has to be reminded that his head is tonsured. I would translate, 'drawing back his hand from the attempting of his own will', not 'drawing back his hand by the effort of his own will'. It is Enda's attempt to follow his own will – *conatus uoluntatis proprie* – by fighting off the marauders that is the problem here, and not the resolution, which is patiently to accept persecution as the will of God. Moreover, if *conatus* were grammatically the instrument it should not have the preposition *a*.

Ch. viii: *qui mire est sanctitatis*. This refers to Enda, not his monastery, and should be translated 'who is …'.

Ch. xi: *Midenses* is twice translated 'Munstermen' rather than 'men of Meath'.

Ch. xix: *set nunc solo metallo eris uestitur*. 'For the masters' (dat. pl. of *erus*) is unlikely here. *eris* is probably a spelling of *heres*, i.e. the abbot or coarb of Enda. The gold- and silver-encrusted chasuble of Enda has decayed with age, but the metal parts survive, so that the coarb is now invested only in these. For parallels to this spelling, see Peter Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*, iv (München, 1998), 77.

Ch. xxxiii: *ante consummacionem seculi*. This is much more likely to mean 'before the end of the world' than 'before a century is completed', and this is confirmed by the next sentence (*postquam … de fine mundi prophetauit*). Cf. Matthew 28:20.

It is to be stressed, however, that the translation is generally excellent. The authors have provided a very useful resource which will be drawn on by all who wish to study the neglected hagiography of St Enda, and the introduction argues for a stimulatingly different way of reading medieval Irish hagiography from the ways that are currently dominant, either in Celtic studies or history.

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Tintúd–Aistriú: Papers on Translation in Irish Tradition. In eagar ag/edited by Ken Ó Donnchú. Cló Torna, University College Cork, Cork, 2022. xi + 240 pp. €15. ISBN 978-1-9996859-2-8.

In a wide-ranging and thoughtful introductory chapter entitled 'Conceptualising "translation" in the early medieval Latin/Irish linguacultural context', Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh sets the scene for the other contributions to *Tintúd–Aistriú: Papers on Translation in Irish Tradition*, edited by Ken Ó Donnchú. Stressing the value of the Latin/Irish code-mixing textual sources

which are available to us, Ó Dochartaigh explores the early interaction between the two cultures in the religious and writing spheres, based on the evidence which can be culled from a lexical-cum-semantic-field approach to the traces left by Latin in the vocabulary of Irish. Cogent examples cited are the direct loanword OIr *salm* 'psalm', from Lat. *psalmus*, and the additional transferred sense of 'translating, translation, version' given to OIr *tintúd* (verbal noun of *do-intaí*) 'act of returning, act of translating, translation, version', so that it could function as an equivalent of the Latin noun *translatio* 'a carrying across, removal, transporting, transferring', derived from *transfero* (p. 6). In this, she complements earlier studies of the Old Irish lexicon undertaken by Pierre-Yves Lambert and Damian McManus, and of the general translation process by Maria Tymoczko. However, Ó Dochartaigh persuasively argues for approaches which would transcend, not only a narrow interpretation of translation as word-for-word rendering, but also perhaps even the sense-for-sense rendering espoused by St Jerome in his Latin version of holy scripture. Instead, she embraces the consideration of wider cross-language adaptations, including the questions of genre influence, shifts and transformation. Many different aspects were in play in the Old Irish period, when the native language acquired not only the physical apparatus and tools for writing – tablets, quills, parchment and so on – but new concepts and novel ways of thinking. These ultimately served to complement and enrich the vibrant and sophisticated native traditions of learning, rather than overwhelm them.

Aspects of the fresh synergies which continued for many centuries into the Early Modern Irish period are examined in several of the subsequent chapters. One feature, specifically pertinent to religious texts, is the perennial tension between two aspects of the religious message to be promulgated: the need for comprehensibility on the one hand, and the frequent desire to clothe the divine message in an elevated language register on the other. In the latter instance, one has only to think of the cultural and literary status accorded the King James version of the Bible by English speakers, as well as the 'Jewish scholars who preferred the older, familiar Greek Septuagint translation' (p. 3) to Jerome's novel version, which, to their mind, was superfluous and unnecessary. However, as Jerome well recognised, an obscure, poorly understood message is pointless. In other words, *caint na ndaoine* sensibility, such as that of An tAthair Peadar Ua Laoghaire and his adherents, is essentially timeless, and not a phenomenon peculiar to *fin-de-siècle* Ireland.

Michael Clarke, 'Translation and creativity in the antiquity sagas: the arming of Julius Caesar in *In Cath Catharda*', draws on a corpus of five works composed between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries to examine stylistic convergences and resonances between translations from Latin and native Irish tales, in particular *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. He observes that in the antiquity sagas 'the Classical sources have been thoroughly assimilated to the imaginative modes and generic norms of indigenous Irish tradition', stressing that the 'dynamic also included room for pure imaginative creativity' (p. 25). Clarke then proceeds to explicate the intricacies of the arming-scene of Julius Caesar as set out in *In Cath Catharda*, applying the interesting concept of 'heroic vagueness' to

the tale's creative aesthetic, 'shifting back and forth between the vivid descriptions of contemporary realities and a level of fantasy determined by generic expectations rooted in earlier literature' (p. 43). This phenomenon raises the intriguing possibility of conceptual linking with the kind of magic realism to be found, for instance, in the works of several contemporary short story writers in Irish, including Daithí Ó Muirí, which in turn evokes the interplay of familiar locales, geographical remoteness and otherworldliness often encountered in traditional folktales, such as those collected by Douglas Hyde in the west of Ireland and published in *Beside the Fire* (1890). Finally, we may note the compliment paid by Clarke to the author of *In Cath Catharda*: 'When we are kept guessing as to whether to picture Caesar as a figure more resembling Conchobar Mac Nessa or an aristocratic knight of the thirteenth century, the ambiguity itself deserves to be seen as part of the author's accomplishment' (p. 43).

The linguistic analysis which is central to Uáitéar Mac Gearailt's extensive chapter, '*In Cath Catharda*: translation in transition in late Middle Irish and Early Modern Irish', opens with instances of continuity between *Togail Troí* and *In Cath Catharda*, the latter being the later work. While the overall comparative context includes 'the Irish *Aeneid*', known as *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, and the Irish *Thebaid*, *Togail na Tebe*, Mac Gearailt's paper focuses in particular on *In Cath Catharda* 'The Civil War', which is based on the epic poem *Bellum Civile* by Lucan (AD 39–65), concerning the civil war fought between Julius Caesar and his son-in-law Pompey (pp. 51–2). Mac Gearailt's close linguistic reading yields many examples of correspondences between *Togail Troí* and *In Cath Catharda*. Lexical cases cited include 'the presence of several instances of the English loanword *stiúrusmann* "helmsman" and the use of distinctive words such as *allguth* "great noise" and *(-)immarchoirthid* "ferryman", as well as phrases like *bárca bronnḟairsiunga* and *long luchtmar lánmór*' (p. 54). Basing his arguments on a thorough analysis of the verbal system, Mac Gearailt takes issue with Alf Sommerfelt's conclusion that *In Cath Catharda* was composed in the early twelfth century and advocates a later date of *c.* 1200 (p. 62). The fruits of the author's attention to detail go beyond his tracing of influences from *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and *Acallam na Senórach* on *In Cath Catharda*: they are to be seen in the distilling of lexical parallels not only from the period 1150 to 1400, but also from prose and verse works of the seventeenth century. More generally, it may be said that the study of the Irish version makes it 'clear that the notion of translating *Bellum Civile* word for word did not occur to the Irish author', who nonetheless 'appears to have been intent on conveying its atmosphere and content' (p. 85). In conclusion, Mac Gearailt states that all the evidence adduced 'points to the late twelfth century or the early thirteenth as the time when *In Cath Catharda* was written', before proceeding to provide a number of fascinating instances of later lexemes and phraseology, with the vocabulary reflecting continental developments in commerce and administration (pp. 112–13). These recall the extensive evidence provided by Henry Risk's studies of French loan-words in Irish in *Études Celtiques* 12 (1968–71) and 14 (1974).

As pointed out by Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha in one of the four contributions in Irish in *Tintúd–Aistriú*, '"Caipittil ar an mbolgaigh Fhráncaigh": tionntódh leighis ón 16ú haois', Irish medical manuscript texts belong to the period *c.* 1350 to *c.* 1700 and were, for the most part, translated from Latin originals, initially in manuscript form. However, following the invention of printing, published works came to play a significant part in the relationship between professional medical learning in Ireland and on the Continent. Nic Dhonnchadha's chapter considers Eoghan Ultach's (*fl.* 1563; *ob.* 1586) Irish abridgement of Remachus Fuchus's book on *morbus Gallicus*, the French disease, usually identified as syphilis, which was published in Paris in 1541, and dealt with the curative properties of *lignum Guayacum* or Guaiac wood, found in the West Indies. In this paper we learn that, taken together, the two extant copies of Eóghan Ultach's summary (along with a separated sheet now in RIA MS 23 O 57 (1366)) provide almost all of his original text. Both are contained in RIA MS 24 P 3 (451). Writing in 1676, the scribe, Éamonn Ó Caiside, includes a colophon, the first part of which reads: 'Ag sin caipittil ar an mbolg*aig*h Fhránc*aig*h. Et is é Fuchus is ugh*da*r léi ⁊ as é Eóg*an* Ullt*ac*h do rin*n*e tran*n*slasion as Laidin urrthe …' ('That is a chapter on the French pox. And it is Fuchus who was its author and it is Eóghan Ultach who made the translation of it from Latin.') (p. 125). Eóghan Ultach was a contemporary of the French physician Fuchus, who published seven works in Latin between 1541 and 1544. A second of these, his *Tabulae* on pharmacology was translated into Irish and Nic Dhonnchadha offers the plausible suggestion that this may also have been the work of Eóghan Ultach.

Eóghan Ultach's summary of the original Latin treatise involved a drastic reduction from sixteen chapters and some 11,000 words to a single chapter of approximately 2,000 words: whole chapters were omitted and others were severely pruned. On the other hand, Eóghan Ultach actually added material from an as yet unidentified source or sources (p. 134). Interestingly, whereas Fuchus was content to leave the choice of medicine to the professional judgement of the individual doctor, Eóghan provides four detailed prescriptions, no doubt as an aid to practitioners and students alike (p. 138). In fact, the two works have markedly different emphases. Whereas Fuchus's original Latin composition was a leisurely academic treatise which situated the disease and its treatment in an overall historical and learned context, as well as the social environment of contemporary medicine, Eóghan Ultach's focus is on practical rather than theoretical matters, anticipating, no doubt correctly, that these were most likely to be the overriding concerns of his own readers. Finally, Nic Dhonnchadha observes that Eóghan Ultach's summary is apparently the earliest text in Irish to treat of the French disease, having been composed well before *Párliament na mBan* (late seventeenth century) and the first noting of the 'French Pox' in an official document in English in Dublin in the year 1683/4 (pp. 145–6).

Another paper in Irish which discusses a text from the Early Modern Irish period is '*Sdair na Lumbardach* agus *Leabhar Mharcais*: dhá aistriúchán i Leabhar Mhéig Charthaigh Riabhaigh' by Andrea Palandri. Combining careful examination of the various quires and estimates of the length of the

translation tales contained in the manuscript known both as *The Book of Mac Carthaigh Riabhach* and *The Book of Lismore* allows the author to conclude that the scribe presented *Sdair na Lumbardach* and *Leabhar Mharcais* (the Irish title given here to *Marco Polo's Travels*) as a physical unit extending over three quires (p. 158). However, Palandri argues convincingly that there was also perceived to be a thematic connection between the two works. However, the thematic similarities – chronological continuity, north Italian pivot and anti-Islam religious bias – stand in contrast to the fundamental linguistic dissimilarities produced by the archaising register and orthography of *Leabhar Mharcais*. Furthermore, whereas *Sdair na Lumbardach* adheres fairly closely to its Latin original, *Leabhar Mharcais* departs widely from the earlier text. Palandri draws the interesting conclusion that the changes were probably made in order to highlight parallels between the circumstances of Kublai Khan and those of the scribe's patron Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, observing that the scribe may also have been the author of this Irish translation of Marco Polo (pp. 165–6).

Sdair na Lumbardach is a translation of chapter 177 of the famed Latin text *Legenda Aurea*, written by Jacobus de Voragine in the thirteenth century (p. 160). This vast collection of saints' lives was extremely popular in Europe, and was also well known in Ireland, as is clearly demonstrated by Palandri's imposing summary of the evidence for Irish translations of a number of the saints' lives (pp. 167–9): some 950 manuscript copies of the work survive from the Middle Ages. Indeed, the work was in such demand that the Latin text was printed eighty-seven times between 1470 and 1500, while sixty-nine translations were made of it into various European languages in the same period. The evidence for widespread dissemination of the *Legenda Aurea* in Irish stands in marked contrast to the fate of *Marco Polo's Travels*, as no other reference to the traveller or to *Leabhar Mharcais* is found until the nineteenth century (p. 167). Whereas, from *c.* 1475 onwards, *Leabhar Mharcais* and many other texts were transmitted into Irish from England or through the English language, Palandri demonstrates that *Sdair na Lumbardach* cannot have been based on the English translation printed by William Caxton in Belgium in 1483, as it does not repeat a misunderstanding which had found its way into the English version (p. 170).

The chapter by Takako Haruki, entitled 'Translating *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche* into Japanese', documents the painstaking care and resourcefulness of the author and his colleagues in their seven-year project to do justice to the eighteenth-century Clare poem in Japanese. The group's motivation is explained: 'We were intrigued not only by the vivid descriptions of the landscape, characters and intense drama but also by the dynamism of the vigorous yet controlled rhythm' (p. 177). The reader is informed that the modest work initially envisaged eventually expanded to become 'a large-sized book of 350 pages' (p. 178). Three main guidelines were adopted for the project. Firstly, the group wanted their readers to come into close touch 'with the spirit of vivacity, acuteness and boldness that the Merríman poem had' (p. 180). Musicality and overall rhythm were crucial to this. Secondly, they decided to leave 'space for ambiguities and different interpretations' (p. 181).

Thirdly, they resolved to employ their 'oral and literary Japanese skills to the utmost' so as 'not to disturb the original order of lines' (p. 182). To achieve their goal, we are told that the project members employed much ingenuity in maximising the three types of (non-alphabetic) Japanese writing systems. This chapter is a fascinating case-study of the seriousness and conscientious attention to detail which high-minded translators can bring to bear when confronted with the challenge of bridging a daunting cultural and temporal divide.

Also written in Irish, Ailbhe Ní Ghearbhuigh's contribution, 'Fíon Gearmánach: Torna agus filíocht na Gearmáinise', gives a multifaceted insight into the process of translation by the scholar Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, known as Torna (1874–1949), in *Fíon Gearmánach* (1930). However, most of the pieces which are gathered together in this anthology had been appearing in newspapers since 1911, so that they really represent the endeavours and outlook of a period somewhat earlier than the book's publication date. Torna's translations were prompted by an urge to repay the goodwill and benefit bestowed on Irish by scholars such as Kuno Meyer and by his perception of affinity between the poetical attributes of the two languages. Torna was a meticulous translator and he regularly sought advice from native speakers of German. For example, he consulted the German scholar, Ludwig Mühlhausen about sources and translations. It may be observed in passing that the image of a letter from Mühlhausen to Torna, written in Irish and gaelic script, and excellently reproduced here (pp. 201–2) is further evidence of Mühlhausen's fine command of Irish, which is also clear from Prof. Maxim Fomin's recent publication, *Ludwig Mühlhausen, Séamus Ó Caiside and Scéal Rí na Gréige: The Tale of 'Three Golden Children' (ATU 707) in 1937 Donegal* (2020).

Among the other interesting contextual matters which attracted Ní Ghearbhuigh's attention is the conservative, defensive attitude of many of the revivalists. On the one hand, they were worried that Irish was so fragile that it would be overwhelmed by the sheer volume of literature available in other languages, while on the other, they shared the general anxiety of the day about immoral literary content emanating from foreign parts (cf. pp. 213–14). Among the other interesting points noted by the author are the large number of reviews which Torna's *Fíon Gearmánach* attracted in newspapers and periodicals, the incipient hostility to An Gúm already evident in 1930, and the decision to publish the Irish translations without the original poems and details of provenance (cf. pp. 200, 209). While the failure to publish the original texts alongside the translations may seem somewhat odd to many readers today, one may note that, whatever about poetry anthologies, translated novels and prose works in general are rarely issued in dual-language format.

The final essay in this bilingual volume, '"Cé leis an imirt?" An t-aistriúchán agus filíocht chomhaimseartha na Gaeilge', is based on an earlier English paper by the author, Daniela Theinová, viz. '"Who owns the game?": the Gallery Press and poetry in Irish now' (2018). As Theinová discusses the practice of translation from theoretical as well as practical perspectives, it is an appropriate *dúnadh* for a work which opened with Ó Dochartaigh's

evaluation of the approaches to translation favoured by some of Ireland's earliest recorded writers. However, the code-mixing relationship between Irish and Latin at the start of the story has been succeeded by an uneasy contemporary translation relationship with English, and this dilemma is to the fore here. The author considers various ideological stances adopted by modern Irish-language poets towards the translation of their work into English. Whereas most of the earlier generations of post-Revivalist poets set their face against the practice, many of their contemporary successors welcome the prospect of reaching a wider audience. Indeed, some actually provide their own English versions as part of their creative enterprise. However, the desire of some for 'foreignising' translations, could be regarded as indicating an underlying unease, and as perhaps even embodying an actual contradiction. Creative originality in a particular language would seem to be in danger of ceding much of its relevance if the author's gaze constantly strays beyond their own primary language community and is distracted by the lure of another audience or audiences. Indeed, Theinová ascribes a new awareness of the disadvantages and the problems associated with translation to the poets Ailbhe Ní Ghearbhuigh and Aifric Mac Aodha, one which stands in contrast to the attitude prevalent when Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill's *Pharaoh's Daughter* was published in 1990. Theinová's appraisal of *The Coast Road* (2016) by Ní Ghearbhuigh and *Foreign News* (2017) by Mac Aodha leads her to state that the two poets insert new kinds of alterity in the binary connection between Irish and English, as they accept translation as part of human discourse and creativity (cf. pp. 232–3).

Published in hardback with good quality paper facilitating fine reproduction of images, and clear print throughout, the design of *Tintúd–Aistriú: Papers on Translation in Irish Tradition* is a credit to all involved in the book's production. Its chapters range widely and lively over the various periods of the Irish language. The collection analyses many of the different translation strategies and techniques which were in evidence over the centuries, and it considers leading theoretical approaches. The eight authors and their editor have significantly advanced the study of translation in Irish tradition. One hopes that they – and others – will carry their project further.

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Trawsffurfio'r Seintiau: Llawysgrif Yale o Fucheddau'r Saint. David Callander. University of Wales Press, Caerdydd [Cardiff], 2024. xvi + 294 pp. £24.99. ISBN 978-1-83772-120-7.

It is not often that an entire manuscript of medieval and early modern texts turns up of which specialists knew nothing, but, as David Callander explains in this fine new study, that is exactly what happened in 2018, when he discovered a new collection of hagiography of obvious Welsh origin. As Callander admits, the manuscript was not concealed in the crumbling stone wall of an old castle.

It was hiding in plain sight in the Beinecke Library of Yale University, USA, and Callander discovered it when an unrelated internet search brought up the relevant entry from the Beinecke catalogue. Nevertheless, up until that point it had been totally unknown to scholars in Wales. This monograph-length study provides a full account of the manuscript as well as editions of its most important new texts: a completely new medieval Latin Life of St Cybi of Holyhead, new versions of the Welsh Lives of SS Beuno and Collen, and an early modern English translation of Robert of Shrewsbury's *Vita Wenefrede*.

Chapter 1 introduces the manuscript. Yale, Beinecke Library Osborn fb229 was written in the 1620s and early 1630s. Though the script is very variable, and Callander originally believed that several hands were involved, Gruffudd Antur argued convincingly that the whole was written by a single person, Robert Davies II of Gwysaney, Flintshire, and that view is accepted in the book. Davies was a prolific copyist of Welsh genealogies, heraldry and poetry, and probably a Catholic, if not openly so, in a region of Wales where Catholic sympathies remained strong after the Reformation. The Yale manuscript appears to be his own compilation, made over time in a blank paper book, as is indicated by the changes in script and the numerous blank leaves left between the texts. The contents relate to British and Welsh saints, and include, beside the main texts listed above, a calendar, Welsh texts of *St Patrick's Purgatory* and the Legend of the Finding of the True Cross, a copy of Caradog of Llancarfan's *Vita Gildae*, the *Inventio Sancti Amphibali* and the *Vita* and *Miracula* of St Alban, selections from the *English Martyrologe* (of 1608), and at the very end some short, non-hagiographical wisdom texts in Welsh. For most of the contents of the Yale manuscript Davies's sources can be identified, some being printed texts, and others manuscript, but some are unknown. There is a likely connection with Llanstephan 117, a collection of mainly religious texts in Welsh made by Ieuan ap Wiliam ap Dafydd of Ruabon about a century earlier, from which Davies may have drawn three of the Welsh narrative texts, as well as some of the local saints in his calendar. The calendar is reproduced fully on pp. 7–10 and its entries reveal a clear interest in north Wales, particularly the north-east. Under February 3, *Llywelyn Blâs escop* is actually two entries, *Blâs escop* being St Blaise. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Robert Davies himself and some account of the later history of the manuscript: it appears to have left Gwysaney for the home of the Legh family at Lyme Park in Cheshire in the later seventeenth century, but after that its history is unclear until it reappeared in private hands at the end of the twentieth century.

Chapter 2 deals with the most important new text in the Yale manuscript, a Latin Life of St Cybi of Holyhead. Two Lives of this saint were known previously, both in the late twelfth-century Vespasian manuscript of saints' Lives from south Wales. The new Life is clearly related to these but there are substantial differences. As Callander notes, the appearance of this third Life forces a rethink of the relationship between the other two. It had been thought that *Vita II* was essentially a rewrite of a text very close to, but slightly antecedent to, *Vita I*, as I accepted in Lewis (2021: 165). I would still favour this view,

broadly speaking, because it accounts so well for the intensely close relationship between the two: they match each other sentence by sentence, phrase by phrase, and even word by word, but *Vita II* uses more recondite vocabularly (*latex* for *aqua*, and the like), and has extra padding (*qua de re*, and the like). But the *tertium comparationis* of the Yale Life shows that, in a least a few places, *Vita II* preserves wording from an older stage shared with the Yale Life, so that we are compelled to recognize that *Vita I* has made changes of its own.

Up till now, one appealing theory was that *Vita I* was an early draft of the Life of Cybi, and *Vita II* a rhetorical elaboration of it. The reason for thinking so is the peculiar style of *Vita I*. It is written in short, pungent sentences, with many conjugated verbs and few participles, and much use of *et* or *-que* to link clauses and sentences (Lewis 2021: 165), giving the strong impression that the text is an attempt to capture the essential information before much rhetorical elaboration was added. On this method of composition in two stages, see Dolbeau (1992: 61). A comparison with the Yale Life suggests, however, that *Vita I* is in fact a drastic abbreviation of an earlier text. In places, the Yale Life explains passages in *Vita I* that are so compressed as to be difficult to follow. An example occurs when Cybi leaves Ireland, driven out by the irascible Irish hermit Crubthir Fintam (*Cructurus* in Yale). Yale contains one final curse uttered by Cructurus against Cybi, namely, that he should not reach a safe port. This curse is absent from *Vita I* (and *II*), yet the saint is immediately plunged into danger at sea – a storm – and has to be rescued by God, who miraculously carves a way for Cybi's boat to land, through solid rock. Yale makes it clear that this miracle is the answer to Cructurus' curse, whereas in *Vita I* (and *II*) the storm appears unannounced and the division of the rock is described in such a summary manner that no motivation is given. Another, even clearer example is the departure of Cybi's disciple Caffo. Caffo has just miraculously carried hot coals in his garment, and in the Yale Life, Cybi takes this miracle as a sign that his disciple is ready to rule his own church, and dismisses him. In *Vita I*, by contrast, Cybi simply announces that he and Caffo 'cannot be together', giving no reason; what is more, the sentence is displaced, occuring a few lines down in the Life and in the middle of a new episode, the confrontation between Cybi and King Maelgwn. It is undoubtedly in its correct position in Yale, immediately following the episode of the coals.

Yale, then, probably shows that there was a longer and fuller ancestor behind all of the Lives, and that *Vita I* cannot any longer be taken as giving us a good view of the beginning of the tradition. That said, Yale is a seventeenth-century copy of what was undoubtedly a late medieval source, for the liturgical pieces at the end of the Life draw from a fifteenth-century sequence (p. 72). The genealogical material at the beginning of the Life may not be early either (p. 81). That means that Yale cannot be taken as a close reflection of the common ancestor either. The Yale Life is a text containing several chronological layers. As it stands, it is a series of six lessons for the saint's feast day, followed by some liturgical material. We have no idea where all this came from except that Robert Davies found it in an 'old manuscript'. Nor have we any idea whether this material was in use, say, at Holyhead in the late Middle Ages.

Callander argues that the Yale Life has a very strong focus on Cybi as a bishop, and on Holyhead as a bishop's church, which is less obvious in *Vita I* and *II* (it is not absent altogether), and that this suggests that Yale represents a derivative from the common ancestor in which this aspect was stressed (see his stemma, p. 82); the emphasis was not in the common ancestor itself because there is no clear reason why the various references to Cybi as a bishop should have been pared down in *Vita I* and *II*. This is, however, readily explicable if *Vita I* and *Vita II* derive from a drastically abbreviated summary, as now looks likely to be the case. Thus, the stage marked 'fersiwn esgobol' in the stemma on p. 82 may not need to be distinguished from the 'fersiwn gwreiddiol': the extensive references to Cybi as a bishop may well have been present from the earliest stage in the formation of the text.

The focus on episcopal status is also used by Callander to date the 'fersiwn esgobol' to the window of time between 1081 and 1092. This is defined by the serious arrival of Norman power in Gwynedd at the one end, and the appointment of a Norman bishop to Bangor at the other, marking the last point at which other churches in Gwynedd might have had any realistic chance of persuading the powers that be that they should have episcopal status. This, in Callander's view, is the likeliest period in which Holyhead might seek to promote itself as a bishop's see, and there are clear analogies in the *Vita S. Paterni* and *Vita S. David*, which belong to this very period and show other churches manoeuvring in the context of the tightening definition of authority in and over the Welsh church. The argument is not watertight by any means, but on the other hand, the Vespasian Lives are extant in a manuscript of the late twelfth century, and there are at least two stages to be posited behind them (the supposed ancestor shared with Yale and the drastic summary of that ancestor that lies immediately behind the Vespasian Lives). This makes Callander's late eleventh century date plausible. As noted above, it may not be necessary to posit an 'episcopal' version between Yale and the common ancestor of all the Lives, so the period 1081–92 may in fact have been the time at which the original Life was composed.

The chapter includes a full edition of the Yale Life, with Latin text, a full Welsh translation, and notes. There are quite a few places where the text is awkward, or even ungrammatical, suggesting that it has suffered in transmission: the smooth, even elegant quality of the Latin around these passages suggests that the problems do not go back to the composer(s). One can be cleared up here: the first sentence in §2, *Sanctus vero Kybi … ad virtutum irregularem tam direxit vestigia*, is not grammatical Latin and, after some puzzling over the manuscript image, I would read the text here as *ad virtutum incrementa direxit vestigia*.

Chapter 4 turns to texts in Welsh, *Buchedd Beuno* and *Buchedd Collen*. These are texts that are extant in other and earlier manuscripts, so the interest here is in the changes made to them. The Yale versions are shorter and simpler. *Buchedd Beuno* in particular has been very greatly shortened, and refocused. The earlier Life, which likely came from the saint's main church of Clynnog Fawr, is a complex work that drew stories about St Beuno from southern Powys, Gwent, north-east Wales and the north-west. In the Yale text, by contrast, the

opening sections of the Life, set in southern Powys, and even more so the later sections set in the north-west, are abbreviated almost to vanishing point. However, the stories connected with Gwyddelwern survive, these being local to north-east Wales. Even more prominent is the interaction between Beuno and Gwenfrewi (Winefride) of Holywell, which becomes the central issue of the Yale text. It is not surprising that St Winefride's martyrdom should come to be seen as the most important part of the hagiography of Beuno by this date, since Holywell was unquestionably the premier pilgrimage site in north Wales and one whose pilgrimage proved tenacious in the teeth of the Protestant Reformation. Callander argues that the Yale text of *Buchedd Beuno* was probably taken from Llanstephan 117, a collection of mainly religious texts assembled in or near Ruabon in the 1540s and early 1550s. The same appears to be the case for *Buchedd Collen*, where again the Yale text agrees with the Ruabon manuscript against the other copies. The Welsh Life of St Collen is a much less well-understood text than *Buchedd Beuno*, and arguably one of the strangest of Welsh hagiographical texts. In places it reads more like romance than hagiography, and its date and sources are quite unclear. As in the case of the other Life, the Yale and Llanstephan 117 texts are rather shortened and simplified ones. They illustrate an appetite for short, simple hagiography in Welsh at the end of the Middle Ages, perhaps for preaching purposes, but also for lay devotional reading (the compiler of Llanstephan 117 seems to have been a layman). The chapter concludes with very useful editions of both texts in their Yale versions.

Chapter 5 concerns a text in English, a translation of Robert of Shrewsbury's *Vita et Translatio S. Wenefredae* by Edward Morgan. Morgan was a Catholic priest, a native of Flintshire, martyred in 1642. Callander shows here that the translation is a close and accurate one, especially in comparison with the much freer version of John Falconer, published in 1635. Again, a full edition of the Yale text is given.

Finally, chapter 6 reviews a series of short wisdom texts in Welsh, again giving the Yale versions in full and comparing them with earlier versions. Here the comparison is less detailed than in the other chapters, and reasonably so, for the texts are extant in many very divergent forms and the basic research on them remains unattempted, as Callander notes.

Trawsffurfio'r Seintiau is an important contribution to the study of Welsh hagiography and the author is to be commended both for making the Yale manuscript known to Welsh specialists and for publishing its most important materials in a timely and helpful manner. As he notes in his conclusion, he writes as a medievalist whose chief interest in the manuscript is as a repository for medieval texts, but Beinecke Osborn fb229 is equally a witness to Catholic literary activity in the early modern period, and it is to be hoped that early modern specialists will in time bring their own perspectives to its study.

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Pádraig Ó Laoghaire (1870–1896): An Irish Scholar from the Béarra Peninsula. Méidhbhín Ní Úrdail. Cumann Staire Bhéarra/Beara Historical Society, 2021. ix + 445 pp. €30. ISBN 978-1-5272-7181-4.

The awakening of Irish national awareness we witness in the second half of the nineteenth century was to manifest itself in many areas of the political and cultural life of the country, not least in a renewed interest in the fortunes of the Irish language and its literature. The bleak picture the census returns of 1851 had painted highlighted the perilous state of the spoken language in the wake of the Great Famine and the revival movement that grew in response to this resulted in several initiatives being undertaken in attempt to reverse its decline. These efforts culminated in the foundation in 1893 of Conradh na Gaeilge (The Gaelic League), a body that was to exert considerable influence on the cultural and indeed on the political life of the country down until independence.

Two years after the census of 1851, Johann Caspar Zeuss published his *Grammatica Celtica*, a work that was to lay the foundations for the modern discipline of Celtic Studies. The interest shown by continental scholars in Irish and in its literature, and the emphasis laid on its importance to our understanding of Europe's linguistic and cultural history, served as no small degree of affirmation for those active in the language movement here. Scholars such as Heinrich Zimmer from Germany and his Danish student Holger Pedersen had already spent periods in the late nineteenth century on the Aran Islands learning the modern language. The Norwegian, Carl Marstrander, was to station himself on the Great Blasket Island in 1907 for the same purpose.

The establishment in 1903 of the School of Irish Learning under the guidance of Kuno Meyer and John Strachan provided a basis for the further development of Celtic Studies in Ireland. Many remarkable figures who would distinguish themselves in Irish political and cultural life were to emerge from the language movement. Both Douglas Hyde and Eoin MacNeill were founding members of Conradh na Gaeilge and others such as Pádraig Mac Piarais, Thomas MacDonagh, Éamonn Ceannt and Seán Mac Diarmada were subsequently drawn into its orbit. Several of the teachers and the students at the School of Irish Learning had been active in language circles and also were members of Conradh na Gaeilge.

But there were many others, whose names may not be so prominent now, who nevertheless made their own contribution to the revival movement and its development. One such figure was Pádraig Ó Laoghaire, who forms the subject of this book.

Ó Laoghaire was born in 1870 in the townland of Inches on West Cork's Bear Peninsula, an area in which Irish was still the dominant language at the time even though the early signs of the decline that would see it being replaced by English in the space of a few generations were by then in evidence. Although a native speaker, it is not clear what degree of formal education in the language he may have acquired at school. He clearly had been an able student for, following a period as monitor in the national school at Kilmacowen, he was appointed assistant teacher there in 1889. He was to assert that his interest in the further study of Irish was awakened when he was given a copy of *An Gaodhal*, the Irish-language newspaper which was published in Brooklyn between 1881 and 1889. Endowed with a bright and enquiring mind, Ó Laoghaire set about adding to the language he already spoke with native fluency mastery of the written idiom, a task he evidently completed in a short space of time.

By 1890, he was already corresponding with the editor of *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* about issues concerning vocabulary and usage in his own dialect, and soon gained respect as an authority on such matters. He published proverbs, songs and other material from the oral tradition of Béarra, mainly in *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* but also in a variety of other journals, and this part of his work culminated in the publication in 1895 of *Sgeuluidheacht Chúige Mumhan*, a collection of seven folktales from his native district. This was the first work of its nature to come from Munster and was received with critical acclaim, attracting favourable comments from scholars such as Eoin MacNeill and Douglas Hyde whose collections of similar material from Connacht tradition had inspired Ó Laoghaire. Like Hyde, he recorded the names of those who had provided him with the stories he collected, a practice that had not been followed by earlier collectors such as Thomas Crofton Croker or Jeremiah Curtin, who simply recorded, translated and adapted what they had got from the talented storytellers they had encountered but who were to remain anonymous.

By the time *Sgeuluidheacht Chúige Mumhan* appeared, Ó Laoghaire was married and had moved to Dublin. The circumstances of his marriage may not have been the most auspicious, for there is a suggestion that his wife-to-be, Ellen O'Neill, was already pregnant before they were wed and, in the prevailing moral climate of the time, was forced to leave her family home as a result. While this may have been a contributary factor in their move to Dublin in early 1895, a more pressing issue was that his position in the school at Kilmacowen was becoming precarious due to low enrolment. Having contemplated emigration to North America in the footsteps of some of his siblings, he eventually opted for Dublin where he took up a post as assistant teacher in a primary school in Terenure. But the happiness for which he would have wished with the fulfilment of family, career and his own research was denied him. His infant daughter, Bláthnuid, died on 16 October 1896 and Pádraig himself succumbed to the

widespread scourge of tuberculosis not a fortnight later. He was buried in a local cemetery in Castletownbere.

A life and career that had promised so much was thus cut short. Yet he left a considerable body of work and correspondence with some prominent figures in the revival and literary movements. The author, whose sympathies lie with the subject of her attention, has fully exploited this written legacy in the present study which documents Ó Laoghaire's life and work and contextualises it in the world in which he lived. Its eight chapters and epilogue cover the biographical details of his tragically short life, his emergence as a scholar and author, his interactions with Conradh na Gaeilge and with figures such as Hyde and Seosamh Laoide, a consideration of *Sgeuluidheacht Chúige Mumhan* and of his own compositions in verse. All of these are dealt with in the first 200 pages or so of the work, but there follow five appendixes, the most extensive of which presents a list of words and phrases excerpted from his written work and correspondence. The remaining ones deal with his publications (pp. 365–71), material held in the National Folklore Collection (pp. 371–80), biographical details concerning his immediate family (pp. 381–5) and those concerning the family of his wife (pp. 387–9).

From his correspondence with Douglas Hyde, to which reference is made in some of Hyde's own writings, it is clear that Hyde held Ó Laoghaire in very high regard indeed but felt that the punishing workload he had imposed upon himself took a fatal toll on his health.

One of Ó Laoghaire's more interesting associations was with the scholar and publisher Seosamh Laoide (1865–1939). Laoide had long been an admirer of his work and both advised and encouraged the young writer. A substantial body of correspondence from Ó Laoghaire to Laoide is preserved among the latter's papers now housed in the Royal Irish Academy and an examination of these letters forms the lengthy fifth chapter of the book (pp. 73–156). Much of this correspondence concerns songs and other material Ó Laoghaire had collected in Béarra and had sent to Laoide for his evaluation. Laoide apparently also sent material of his own to Béarra for Pádraig's opinion, a further sign of the regard in which he was held. Arising out of their correspondence, Laoide undertook to visit Béarra in 1893 at the behest of his young friend, but the visit did not proceed as either party may have hoped. Ó Laoghaire wished to ensure that his distinguished visitor from Dublin would have as comfortable a stay as possible, and so directed him to lodge in a hotel in Castletownbere where he and other Irish speakers would meet with him. Laoide, for his part, had evidently hoped to be out among the people, encountering the living language in its natural setting. Ó Laoghaire's regret that his friend's expectations had not been met is evident in subsequent self-deprecating correspondence where he expresses concern that Laoide may now have abandoned him and bemoans the fact that he had not brought him to his father's house while he was on his visit. He further expresses the hope that a further and more agreeable trip might be arranged.

This is a well-researched and handsomely produced volume. In shedding such focused light on its subject, the book also serves to illuminate many aspects of the Ireland in which he lived and of the people he encountered. It also is

encouraging to see that it has been published by a local history society, a society that clearly has taken pride in its Irish-language heritage and in those who helped to shape it.

Ruairí Ó hUiginn

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Douglas Hyde: Irish Ideology and International Impact. Edited by Liam Mac Mathúna and Máire Nic an Bhaird. *Éigse: A Journal of Irish Studies*, Foilseacháin/Publications 3. National University of Ireland: Dublin, 2023. 191 pp. €30. ISBN 978-0-9015109-5-2.

The collection of Lady Gregory's papers held in the New York Public Library includes what looks like a CV for Douglas Hyde, co-founder of the Gaelic League and the first President of Ireland. The document, entitled 'Some recent criticism and reviews', was compiled in advance of Hyde's highly successful tour of the United States in 1905–6 and includes a resumé of his achievements under the headings 'Honours gained by me in Trinity College and elsewhere' and 'List of works published by me'. It is odd to see someone who needs no introduction to students of Irish history or Celtic Studies having to present himself in this somewhat awkward manner. Yet it is precisely Hyde's status in the canon of modern Irish history that makes this self-evaluation so striking. It is a reminder that Hyde's biography is also an awkward construct and that our assumptions about him need to be regularly tested and revised.

The significance of the 1905–6 tour to Hyde's becoming a national and even international figure was remarked upon by its organiser, the Irish-American financial solicitor, John Quinn: 'Outside of the Irish Societies he was almost unknown here a year ago except to some Irish, who weren't numerous enough to make up a corporal's guard. Today he is almost an international figure.' Of course, the context of this assessment is important – writing to W. B. Yeats, whose 1903–4 American tour he had also organised, Quinn was vaunting his own organisational success while also commending Yeats for having generously publicised Hyde's work during his own tour. Nevertheless, it is hard not to agree with Quinn on the importance of Hyde's tour in his rise to prominence. The funds raised for the Gaelic League amounted to $64,000 and it is doubtful that its President would ever have to produce a resumé to introduce himself again. This crucial international dimension to Hyde's work is the focus of this collection of seven essays, edited by Liam Mac Mathúna and Máire Nic an Bhaird in the third volume of the occasional supplementary series produced by *Éigse*. A short description of the scope of this volume explains that the essays draw on the 'latest research on diaries, personal correspondence, memoir reflections, and newspaper reports in library and State archives'. Besides tracing 'developments in the formulation and explication of Irish revival ideology', the collection also sets out to investigate 'pivotal aspects of the revival movement's impact and influence as well as its interaction with the Irish diaspora and Celtic scholars in North America and Continental Europe'.

Feena Tóibín's 'On de-anglicising the Irish nation/Ar mi-sacsanughadh an chinidh Éireannaigh' draws extensively on Hyde's diaries to chart the development of his campaign for cultural revival which clearly overlapped with nationalist separatist politics. Elements of Hyde's unusual biography are worth mentioning here – he had no formal schooling apart from a ten-day stint in Dublin which ended in his contracting measles. His academic development was conducted at home in Frenchpark, Roscommon and was essentially 'self-led', apart from some instruction from his aunt and father. Staying at home meant that local Catholic nationalist influences such as John Lavin, a local Fenian, were particularly important and, indeed, Hyde would go on to meet and admire the 1867 leaders O'Donovan Rossa and John O'Leary. This deep familiarity with both the Irish separatist tradition and Irish rural society was undoubtedly of great benefit to Hyde when assuming the lead role in a national cultural organisation. His own nationalist proclivities are also an important corrective to the assumption that Hyde stood down as League President in 1915 simply because the organisation had been taken over by IRB elements. Commenting on this famous incident in a letter to Lady Gregory in December 1915, Hyde remarked, 'I kept them together for 22 years, but the war was too much for me! I shall tell you about it when I see you!' This briefest and most intriguing of summaries, quoted in Liam Mac Mathúna's essay, demonstrates the ongoing need for a carefully nuanced analysis of the end of Hyde's presidency of the Gaelic League.

In common with the first essay in the collection, Regina Uí Chollatáin's contribution mines the diaries of Douglas Hyde to answer the question posed in the title of her essay, 'A new Gaelic League idea? The global context'. Part of the focus of the discussion is the year Hyde spent lecturing in the University of New Brunswick in Canada (1891–2), a period which allowed him to visit New York. Uí Chollatáin gives a survey of Irish language usage in print journalism before and after the founding of the Gaelic League to show how transatlantic networks of language activism were fostered. One of those who typified such activity was the Donegal poet Pádraig Ó Beirn. One small correction to be noted here is that Ó Beirn first learned to read and write Irish at Ballynafeigh in Belfast from Fr David Mulcahy (1831–97) of Kilkeany, Co. Waterford, editor of *Beatha Naoimh Chiaráin Saighre: Life of S. Kiaran (the Elder) of Seir* (1895). This much is reported in *The Shan Van Vocht* (Nov. 1897) but, of course, Ó Beirn clearly developed his knowledge of the language in New York and is probably best known for his numerous contributions to Irish language writing in the United States, including a eulogy for General Ulysses S. Grant published by *The New York Times* in 1885.

The subject of Liam Mac Mathúna's essay is Douglas Hyde's intellectual links with John Quinn, Lady Gregory and W. B. Yeats. This contribution is a model of clarity, pursuing a clear line of enquiry which synthesises the substantial body of published biographical material for all four individuals while introducing numerous insights from various archival and privately-held sources. A particular focus is given to the dynamics of personal relationships and institutional affiliations, Gregory and Hyde's friendship being an excellent

example of how a history of mutual respect and cooperation was compromised at various intervals, most emphatically when Hyde yielded to pressure to publicly disassociate the Gaelic League from the Abbey's American tour of *The Playboy of the Western World* in 1911–12. The earnest tone of the private exchanges which followed this rift reveals the depth of the friendship which preceded it. Many other insights emerge from Mac Mathúna's essay, among which are President Theodore Roosevelt's familiarity with the heroes of the Ulster and Finn cycles, to which he had been introduced by Irish nannies.

Aoife Whelan takes the *Irish Independent* newspaper as a case-study to examine how Hyde's vision of a de-anglicised Ireland was articulated in the press. By publishing Gaelic League reports and speeches, the paper became a significant force for the dissemination of the Irish-Ireland agenda even when not agreeing with Hyde, as was the case during the campaign for compulsory Irish in the National University of Ireland. On this issue an *Independent* sub-leader sided with the views of Canon Peter O'Leary, Shan Ó Cuív, Richard Foley and others. Central to Whelan's case-study is Eoin Ó Neachtain's Irish language column for the *Independent*. This was important for myriad reasons, not least for nurturing contemporary discourse in Irish and normalising the practical use of the language. This was clearly one of the successes of the Gaelic League as its formal symbolic use of Irish gradually gave way to everyday communication. Accordingly, Ó Neachtain's column comments on how the 1908 Oireachtas was less energetic than previous years but that the use of Irish had become markedly more commonplace.

Two essays by Fiona Lyons and the collection's joint editor, Máire Nic an Bhaird, examine recently digitised archival material in the first instance and items from private collections in the second. The digitised collection of 90 postcards belonging to Hyde and a memoir mostly written in 1918–19 are the subject of Fiona Lyons' essay which is accompanied by colour reproductions of some of the postcards. The provenance of the postcards – Scotland, Germany, Hungary, United States – gives some glimpse of Hyde's international range of correspondents, but inevitably it is the transatlantic network of contacts that is most significant. Indeed, while some of the authors in this collection occasionally refer to Hyde's range of activities as being 'global', the evidence presented suggests that 'transatlantic' or 'international' is more accurate.

Máire Nic an Bhaird presents an account of sources recently made available through private sources, in particular the family of Hyde's grandson, Douglas Sealy (1929–2013). Her discussion focusses on the artistic gifts of the various generations of the descendants of Douglas Hyde and of his wife Lucy Cometina Kurtz, an Englishwoman of German lineage. We, and they, can be thankful for this critical exception to Hyde's de-anglicisation vision. Some colour reproductions of Úna Hyde's art are also given here as well as a discussion of some of her subjects which included the eccentric Lord Ashbourne whose sister, Violet Gibson, tried to assasinate Mussolini in 1926.

The final essay in the collection is also the longest, 'President Hyde, Professor Pokorny and Irish reaction to the Holocaust'. While the main concern

is with Hyde's role in the Pokorny affair, this essay includes a fascinating discussion of the interaction of key figures in relations between Ireland and Nazi Germany. The author, Brian Murphy, has also written an account of Hyde's presidency, *Forgotten Patriot: Douglas Hyde and the Foundation of the Irish Presidency* (2016). Murphy draws on this monograph and Pól Ó Dochartaigh's *Julius Pokorny, 1887–1970: Germans, Celts and Nationalism* (2004) to examine Hyde's response to Pokorny's request for help as he came under increasing threat during the Nazi's relentless pursuit of Jews and those of Jewish descent following the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 – while Pokorny was himself Catholic, his grandfather was Jewish. Using previously unpublished sources, this essay sheds a great deal of light on Hyde's failure to offer any support for the plight of someone whom he had known for many years previous to the war. There are, undoubtedly, mitigating factors to which Murphy gives appropriate consideration in his assessment of the case. The constitutional limitations of the presidency and the state's policy of neutrality, Hyde's age and failing health (he suffered a stroke in 1940), the role of the *éminence grise* within the President's office, Hyde's secretary Michael McDunphy, are all part of what was a complex set of circumstances. Nevertheless, despite Hyde's admiration for the Jewish people – he professed to having a good working knowledge of Hebrew and made various statements in praise of the Jewish people and the revival of Hebrew – Murphy's conclusion is that the President acted with indifference to Pokorny's plight.

It is fitting that the final essay in the collection should provide us with such a nuanced view of Hyde's final years of public life, bringing to a close a remarkable life-story with a profound influence on modern Irish history. Becoming the figure of international importance that emerged from the US tour of 1905–6 carried with it a burden of responsibility, particularly in Hyde's final role as first President of the Republic of Ireland. It is quite right that his record should be held up to scrutiny and while some of the essays in this collection tend towards the presentation of biographical material rather than a critical investigation of Hyde's work and legacy, the overall contribution is to a much greater understanding of one of the architects of modern Ireland.

FIONNTÁN DE BRÚN

Ollscoil Mhá Nuad

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are accepted for general use in *Celtica*, along with such universally known ones as p., ibid., etc. Any other abbreviations should be defined on first use and a list of them should be provided at the end of the article.

ABM	D. McManus and E. Ó Raghallaigh (eds), *A Bardic Miscellany: Five Hundred Bardic Poems from Manuscripts in Irish and British Libraries*, Léann na Tríonóide/Trinity Irish Studies 2 (Dublin, 2010).
ACL	Whitley Stokes and Kuno Meyer (eds), *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie*, 3 vols (Halle a.S., 1898–1907).
AFM	John O'Donovan (ed.), *Annála Ríogachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, 7 vols (Dublin, 1848–51).
AI	Seán Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Dublin, 1951).
AL	R. Atkinson, W. N. Hancock, W. M. Hennessy, T. O'Mahony and A. G. Richey (eds), *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1865–1901).
Anecdota	O. J. Bergin, R. I. Best, Kuno Meyer and J. G. O'Keeffe (eds), *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, 5 vols (Halle a.S., 1907–13).
AU	Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (eds), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)* (Dublin, 1983).
BBCS	*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*.
BL	British Library.
Br	Breton.
CIH	D. A. Binchy (ed.), *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1978).
CMCS	*Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*; from number 25 onwards *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*.
CModIr	Classical Modern Irish.
Co	Cornish.
CSANA	Celtic Studies Association of North America.
DIAS	Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
DIL	*Dictionary of the Irish Language* and *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin, 1913–76; compact edition 1983).
EC	*Études Celtiques*.
eDIL	*Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language* (www.dil.ie).
EMod	Early Modern (in combinations EModIr etc.).
GPC	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Cardiff, 1950–2002).
GPC^2	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, second ed. (Cardiff, 2003–).

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GPC Online	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, online ed. (www.geiriadur.ac.uk).
GMW	D. Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1964).
GOI	Rudolf Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin, 1946).
IEW	Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols (Bern, 1959–69).
IGT	Osborn Bergin (ed.), 'Irish Grammatical Tracts', supplements to *Ériu* 8 (1916), 9 (1921–3), 10 (1926–8), 14 (1946) and 17 (1955).
Ir	Irish.
ISOS	*Irish Script on Screen* (www.isos.dias.ie).
ITS	Irish Texts Society.
JCHAS	*Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* (1892–).
JCS	*Journal of Celtic Studies*.
JRSAI	*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*.
LEIA	*Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (Dublin and Paris, 1959–).
LL	R. I. Best, O. Bergin, M. A. O'Brien and A. O'Sullivan (eds), *The Book of Leinster*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1954–83).
LModIr	Late Modern Irish.
LU	R. I. Best and O. Bergin (eds), *Lebor na hUidre/Book of the Dun Cow* (Dublin, 1929). Where necessary, the hands of the three scribes may be distinguished as *LU*(*A*), *LU*(*M*) and *LU*(*H*).
M	Middle (in combinations MIr, MW, MBr, MCo etc.).
MD	Edward Gwynn (ed.), *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, Todd Lecture Series 8–12 (Dublin, 1903–35).
Ml.	The Milan Glosses on the Psalms, Bibl. Ambr. C. 301, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), i, 7–483.
Mod	Modern (in combinations ModIr, ModW, ModBr, ModCo etc.).
MV	Rudolf Thurneysen (ed.), 'Mittelirische Verlehren', *Irische Texte* III.1 (1891), 1–182.
NLI	National Library of Ireland.
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
NLW	National Library of Wales.
O	Old (in combinations OIr, OW, OBr, OCo etc.).
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*.
PRIA	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*.
QUB	Queen's University Belfast.
RC	*Revue Celtique*.
RIA	Royal Irish Academy.
SC	*Studia Celtica*.

Sg.	Glosses on Priscian, Codex Sangallensis no. 904, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), ii, 49–224.
SGc	Scottish Gaelic.
SGS	*Scottish Gaelic Studies*.
SnaG	Kim McCone, Damian McManus, Cathal Ó hÁinle, Nicholas Williams and Liam Breatnach (eds), *Stair na Gaeilge in Ómós do Phádraig Ó Fiannachta* (Maynooth, 1994).
TBC 1	Cecile O'Rahilly (ed.), *Táin Bó Cúalnge: Recension I* (Dublin, 1976).
TBC LL	Cecile O'Rahilly (ed.), *Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Book of Leinster* (Dublin, 1967).
TBC St.	Cecile O'Rahilly (ed.), *The Stowe Version of Táin Bó Cuailnge* (Dublin, 1961).
TCD	Trinity College Dublin.
Thes	Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975).
THSC	*Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*.
Tur.	The Turin Glosses on St Mark, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), i, 484–94.
UCD	University College Dublin.
VKG	Holger Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, 2 vols (Göttingen, 1909–13).
W	Welsh.
Wb.	Glosses on the Pauline Epistles, Codex Paulinus Wirziburgensis, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), i, 499–712.
ZCP	*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*.