Celtica 33



Edited by Barry J. Lewis and Ruairí Ó hUiginn

Celtica 33 (2021), vi + 381 pages

DOI: 10.58480/SCS-7hggt-pst2w

DIAS
Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath | Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies



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CELTICA

VOLUME XXXIII

EDITED BY

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SCHOOL OF CELTIC STUDIES
DUBLIN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES
2021

DIAS

Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath | Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

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ISSN 0069–1399
ISBN 978-1-85500-247-0

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Typeset in the School of Celtic Studies
Printed by Westside Press Ltd

PEER-REVIEW

The editors acknowledge with gratitude the contribution of those who provided confidential peer-reviews of the articles included in this volume.

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POETIC KNOWLEDGE AND CHRISTIAN EXEGESIS IN THE MONGÁN TALES: A METALANGUAGE OF MULTIPLE MEANINGS[1]

Abstract

This article examines a group of *Cín Dromma Snechtai* texts which feature the character of Mongán mac Fíachnai. Recurring attributes of his literary persona include his poetic credentials and connection to the Otherworld through his divine father Manannán as well as certain Christian allusions. It is argued that these elements constitute a metatext which can be read as a commentary on the theory of knowledge and signification which emerged from a synthesis of the methods of Christian exegesis, particularly the dichotomy between historical and spiritual sense, and the secular ideal of poetic inspiration that gives access to transcendent knowledge. The inner logic of the texts reflects the unfolding of the levels of meaning.

Mongán mac Fíachnai, the prince of Dál nAraidi, did not leave an impressive historical legacy, having died before his more politically successful father.[2] However, Mongán the literary character has left a major impression in the written record. A group of eighth-century texts consistently portrays him as an extremely powerful figure, though not in the sense of military or political prowess. Mongán's power comes from his poetic ability and apparent connections to the Otherworld. At the same time, the texts display subtle but unmistakable Christian and Christological allusions which creates a discursive dynamic between secular and ecclesiastical modes of knowledge. Mongán's otherworldly perspective can be viewed as a metatext which, to a Christian reader, illustrates the familiar methodology of biblical exegesis. The emphasis on Mongán's poetic abilities reveals that the workings of poetic inspiration are not at odds with but, in fact, mirror the exegetical method with its interplay between history and higher sense. To describe this twofold view of the

[1]This paper started as a presentation for Dr Nora White's Old Irish reading class on the Mongán tales at Maynooth University in Spring 2020. My gratitude to Dr White for encouraging me to write it up into an article and for reading an early version. I also thank Dr Daniel Watson (Aarhus) who kept his promise to be 'as mean as possible' in his feedback and, in doing so, helped define and refine my ideas in more ways than I can count. My thanks to Dr Elizabeth Boyle (Maynooth) who patiently read every iteration of this article and supported my work throughout. A special thanks to Dr Chantal Kobel (DIAS) for kindly letting me read her forthcoming work. My gratitude also extends to the anonymous reader, whose comments helped streamline my argument and provided me with further references, and to the editors of *Celtica* who guided me through the process of publishing my first article as a doctoral researcher. All errors and shortcomings remain my own.

[2]Mongán's death, and a rather unremarkable one at that, is recorded in the Annals of Ulster in an entry for the year AD 625. His father Fíachnae mac Báetáin, on the other hand, was a powerful ruler and the king of Ulster from 588 until his death in battle in 626. He might have even claimed the high kingship of Tara. For a discussion, see White (2006: 58, 62–6).

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world I introduce the term 'double perspective'. This study seeks to show that the amalgam of the pagan setting and overt Christian themes should not be viewed as counterintuitive or egregious. Rather, the fusion of these elements in the Mongán tales is a reflection of the intellectual fusion of ecclesiastical and secular learning in early medieval Ireland.

Immacallam Choluim Chille and preliminary remarks on metatextuality

We start with a rather enigmatic text called *Immacallam Choluim Chille ⁊ ind Óclaig oc Carraic Eolairg* 'The Colloquy of Colum Cille and the Youth at Carn Eolairg'. Like the four core Mongán stories, it was part of the now lost *Cín Dromma Snechtai* (= *CDS*) manuscript compiled in the eighth century or copied from an eighth-century exemplar, presumably in the monastery of Druimm Snechtai or Bangor.[3] John Carey (1995a: 82–3) argues that the *Immacallam* was not originally a part of the Mongán tradition but was artificially pulled into its orbit by means of a short addition to the title: *as-berat alaili bad é Mongán mac Fiachnai* 'some say he was Mongán mac Fiachna'.[4] James Carney (1976: 192) also suggested that the mysterious youth could be 'a manifestation of Manannán mac Lir'. Whatever the case may be, the connection to Mongán is preserved in both surviving copies of the *Immacallam* and thus appears to be a deliberate decision on the part of the compiler(s).[5] As such, it expands the canon of the Mongán tales. Therefore, I will treat the *Immacallam* on the same terms as other Mongán material as it was clearly intended to complement the overall narrative, at least in the context of *CDS*.

As the title suggests, the tale is a conversation between St Columba and a mysterious youth. It quickly becomes evident that the youth (whom, as noted, the manuscript compilers identified as Mongán) is a supernatural being whose knowledge is superior even to that of Colum Cille. The young man recounts his multiple former incarnations: a stag, a salmon, a seal, a wolf and finally a human. While literature may depict such transformations as befalling mortal humans who then act as witnesses to historical events,[6] Mongán's re-embodiments

[3]See Carey (1995a). For a brief overview of relevant scholarship, see White (2006: 35–7). Argument for the Bangor provenance is in Mac Cana (1972: 105–6) and Stifter (2017: 24–6). Séamus Mac Mathúna (1985: 421–69) has argued that many of the *CDS* texts cannot be shown to be earlier than the tenth century and suggested that *CDS* itself could have been a tenth-century manuscript. However, Liam Breatnach (1988) has contested the validity of this dating on the grounds of linguistic evidence. For a critique of Mac Mathúna, see also McCone (2000: 43–7); White (2006, 36–7).

[4]*Immacallam*, ll. 1–2. The text is edited and translated in Carey (2002: 60–1). References are to line numbers in Carey's edition. A similar strategy is used in the Yellow Book of Lecan where several *tána bó* are linked to the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* by means of additional lines inserted into the text. See Cleary (2018: 113).

[5]For diplomatic editions of the *Immacallam* copies in TCD MS H 2. 17 (1319) and TCD MS H 3. 18 (1337), see Carey (2002: 57–9). The normalised text and translation are in Carey (2002: 60–1).

[6]See, for example, the accounts of Tuán mac Cairill and Fintan mac Bóchra who live through multiple incarnations and pass on their knowledge of history. In their final human form both accept

are a corollary of his otherworldly descent, as will be seen from the texts discussed below. Mongán's youthful appearance creates a stark contrast to his sagely demeanour and abundant knowledge of the past and the Otherworld. St Columba himself, a holy man with a gift of prophecy and a trained poet,[7] bows down before the youth's wisdom as he takes on the role of a student 'to ask him about heavenly and earthly mysteries' (*dia iarfaigid na rún nemdae ⁊ talmandae*).[8] Unfortunately for the reader, the contents of this conversation are left, for the most part, undisclosed. Nevertheless, Columba's holiness in combination with his poetic credentials bridges the gap between ecclesiastical learning and *senchas* (Nagy 1988: 369–70; Johnston 2015: 421) to give him the spiritual insight required to receive Mongán's unspeakable mysteries — a privilege refused to the ordinary monks, who are also present in the story, and to the tale's audience. Moreover, Colum Cille's eagerness to learn from the otherworldly youth confirms the legitimacy of Mongán's knowledge within a Christian worldview.

I would like to propose that the *Immacallam* and other Mongán-centred texts lend themselves to a metatextual reading in which narrative dichotomies reflect the binaries of language and logic of composition such as juxtaposition of Irish and Latin, history and the spiritual sense. Elva Johnston has prepared the ground for such an argument in her incisive analysis of the *Immacallam*. She brings to light the use of code-switching in the text as a linguistic means to express the boundary between familiar and unfamiliar: the insertion of Latin as a professional code, though sparing, marks off certain information as exclusive. Latin tags are used three times to introduce characters' speech (two for *respondit iuuenis* and one for *respondit Colum Cille*) and, according to Johnston, they indicate that the conversation has moved from the level of casual comprehension into the realm of mysteries (Johnston 2015: 423). Latin as the code of the few and, more specifically, of those in whose knowledge ecclesiastical tradition puts its trust, is used similarly in *Echtrae Chonnlai*, another *CDS* text. Latin introduces statements of the otherworldly woman who appears

baptism. See editions and translations in Carey (1984); Best (1910). I thank Dr Daniel Watson for this suggestion. A brief comparison between Mongán's rebirths and those of Tuán and Fintan can be found in Watson (2020: 34–7).

[7] Prophetic and poetic gift are attributes that are firmly associated with the Columba of the literary tradition. He is said to be the author of several Latin hymns including *Altus prosator*, *Adiutor laborantium* and *Noli pater indulgere* although this attribution is likely false (on *Altus prosator*, see Carey 1998: 29; Stevenson 1999: 364–5; however, Clancy and Márkus (1995: 39–40, 69–70) are more open to Columban authorship of *Altus prosator* and *Adiutor laborantium*; on *Noli pater indulgere*, see Clancy and Márkus 1995: 81–2). However, the entire first book of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* is dedicated solely to the holy man's prophecies. Adomnán prefaces those narratives with an explanation: *ab annís iuuenilibus coepit etiam profetiae spiritu pollere, uentura praedicare, praesentibus absentia nuntiare, quia quamuis absens corpore praesens tamen spiritu longe acta peruidere poterat* 'he began from his youthful years to be strong also in the spirit of prophecy; to foretell future events; to declare absent things to those present, because although absent in the body he was present in spirit, and able to observe what took place far away' (*Vita Columbae*, 1.1 (10a)). The text is edited and translated in Anderson and Anderson (1961, here at 204–5). Joseph Nagy also points out that in Middle Irish tradition Columba is well versed in the techniques of *filidecht* and 'possesses solid credentials as a poet' (Nagy 1997: 147–8, 167).

[8] *Immacallam*, ll. 23–4.

to Connlae (*mulier respondit*, *dixit mulier*) thus underlining her wisdom and association with *ecclesia*.[9]

Beyond this, the *Immacallam*'s use of code-switching may also be an invitation for the reader to consider a different approach to interpreting the text. Johnston makes an intriguing suggestion that the fragment of the conversation captured in the *Immacallam*, namely the youth's descriptions of the otherworldly realms, seems to invite a layered interpretation along the lines of biblical exegesis with its fourfold sense: 'the historical, allegorical, typological and anagogical' (Johnston 2015: 425). While such a fourfold scheme does not, in the end, seem to fully map onto the text of the *Immacallam*,[10] I do agree that there are certain prompts in the text that dispose the readers to consider at least a twofold signification. The main interplay is between a combination of the historical/literal meaning and mystical or spiritual sense which encompasses allegory and anagogy. On the narrative level it is reflected in the swift verbal (and mental) traversal back and forth between past and present, between this world and the Otherworld that is made possible by the youth's transcendent understanding of the world. On the metatextual level, it is a commentary on and an example of the practice of reading non-biblical texts with a Christian mindset: the world of the *Immacallam* is a text which Columba, and medieval Christian scholars who produced and read the *Immacallam*, are alike in wishing to understand; Mongán's ability to see the hidden parts of that world which belong to history or to a higher reality, shows the exegetical method at work.

Exegesis, *grammatica* and Christian reading practices

Christian textual culture has its foundation in the systematic study of language under the auspices of *grammatica*, a discipline which not only covered the formal analysis of normative language but also, on a more advanced level, concerned itself with problems of interpretation. This latter branch of the curriculum was known as *enarratio* in Latin and, of course, *exegesis* in Greek (Irvine 1994: 178–86). An integral part of *enarratio* was the grammatical theory of tropes which grew out of the semiotic works of Aristotle and the Stoics and made its way into the middle ages via late antique grammars and Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Irvine 1994: 225–32). Broadly speaking, any linguistic utterance can be classified as either *verba propria* 'literal expression' or as *verba translata* 'transferred expression'. One of the most important members of the latter category is allegory. These *verba translata*, or tropes, differ from *verba propria* in that their use requires the presence of two semantic levels: expression

[9]See Hollo (2011: 121). On the Christian metaphor in *Echtrae Chonnlai*, with the mysterious woman as *ecclesia* and the blissful world of immortality as spiritual conversion, see McCone (1990: 79–83, 157–8; 2000: 100–4); Williams (2016: 49–56). *Echtrae Chonnlai* is edited and translated in McCone (2000).

[10]See the following section for a more detailed discussion of the exegetical method and its possible application to the *Immacallam.*

with its primary reference and signification that points beyond it (Irvine 1994: 247–9).

Irish scholars of the early middle ages showed an almost unprecedented interest in the study of language, and their grammatical training inevitably influenced their reading of biblical and non-biblical texts alike. Sedulius Scottus, one of the most renowned Irish intellectuals of the ninth century, clearly stated the primacy of allegory as a hermeneutic tool in his commentary on Donatus' *Ars maior*:

> Tamen ad allegoriam pro sui excellentia haec descriptio, quae aliis etiam tropis communis inuenitur, proprie refertur, quippe per allegoriam prae ceteris tropis plus et multiplicius aliud significatur quam dicitur (ed. Löfstedt 1977: 386, ll. 94–7).
>
> 'However, the description which is common to other tropes properly refers to allegory on account of its excellence: indeed, allegory, more so than other tropes, signifies something different than what is said in more varied ways' (my translation).

Similar philological considerations also lie at the heart of biblical exegesis. As Frances Young has suggested, the two traditions of exegesis which are traditionally depicted as rivals — the Antiochene school with its preference for literal/historical interpretation and the Alexandrian school as the proponents of the allegorical sense — in fact trace their methodologies to literary scholarship and differ only in their understanding of figurative language in Scripture (Young 2003). Likewise, Jerome's study of the Bible, particularly his work with the Hebrew text, is greatly indebted to the grammatical method of reading (Graves 2007: 13–75). Building on the foundation of *enarratio*, biblical exegesis shifted the balance away from the questions of normative linguistic usage and style towards problems of signification and layers of meaning. Patristic texts offer multiple variations on the idea of manifold sense of Scripture from which the common fourfold scheme eventually crystallised, comprising the historical, allegorical, moral and anagogical senses.[11]

In early medieval Ireland, the theory of exegesis developed along similar lines. One fairly representative summary of it is found in the early ninth-century *Old Irish Treatise on the Psalter*:

> Atá cetharde as toiscide isnaib salmaib .i. cétna stoir ocus stoir tánaise, síens ocus morolus. Cétna stoir fri Duíd ocus fri Solomon […]. Stoir tánaise fri Ezechiam […]. Síens fri Críst, frisin n-eclais talmandai ocus nemdai. Morolus fri cech nóib.
>
> 'There are four things that are necessary in the psalms, to wit, the first history, and the second history, the sense and the morality. The first history refers to David and to Solomon […]. The second history to Hezekiah […]. The meaning to Christ, to the earthly and

[11] One of the most influential studies of this process is Henri de Lubac's monumental *Exégèse médiévale* (1959–64; trans. 1998–2009). See also Evans (1984).

> heavenly church. The morality to every saint' (ed. and trans. Meyer 1894: 30–1, ll. 312–20).[12]

This formula reflects an exegetical tradition which arose and developed in Ireland during the eighth century, and was often applied to Psalter study, with further examples found in the introduction to the Psalter in the late-eighth-century *Reference Bible* (or *das Bibelwerk*) and the early ninth-century Milan glosses.[13] This fourfold order of signification is formally reminiscent of the more or less standard medieval schema but contains a few important differences. In the Irish version, the term *síans* (from Latin *sensus*) seems to conflate the Christological allegory and the eschatological dimension of anagogy; however, the centrepiece of the Irish schema are its two historical senses: one contemporaneous with the composition of the psalms and one referring to generations after David, not exceeding, however, the timeframe of the Old Testament.

This highlighting of the historical sense has often been interpreted as evidence that Irish exegesis developed under the influence of the Antiochene tradition.[14] R. L. Ramsay (1912: 468) considered the Irish fourfold scheme with two historical senses to be 'the final fusion of the two schools of interpretation': the Antiochene and the Alexandrian. This process, however, is difficult to see as anything other than a natural development. If we go back to the scriptural roots of allegorical interpretation, we will find that the unity of history and allegory is at the core of Christian exegetical practices. Paul's exegesis *per allegoriam* in Galatians 4:21–31 defines Christian historical consciousness by establishing a 'relationship of meaning between prefiguration and fulfilment' (Ohly 1958: 10; trans. 2005: 25). The double historical sense in the passage from the *Old Irish Treatise* likewise presupposes a certain transference of meaning, as the 'second history' (*stoir tánaise*) acknowledges the prophetic nature of certain psalms (even if within the Old Testament itself) and creates an additional, nonliteral reference which necessitates a typological, if not an allegorical, reading.[15]

There are many indications that Irish scholars were not just aware of the multiple approaches to reading the Bible but were capable of using them with

[12] I have slightly adapted the translation, replacing Meyer's 'story' (*stoir*) with 'history'. On this text, see Ó Néill (1979).

[13] For the relevant passages in the Milan glosses see Ml. 14d7–10 (*Thes* i, 13). For the *Reference Bible* (unedited) see BnF MS Lat. 11561, fol. 56va4–23. On the connections between the *Old Irish Treatise* and the *Reference Bible*, see Ó Néill (1979: 159–62). The scheme is also repeated in a late-tenth century poem on the Psalter by Airbertach mac Cosse (Ó Néill 1977: 32).

[14] See Ramsay (1912: 453–76); McNamara and Sheehy (1973: 257–9); McNamara (2000: 91–7; 225–8, 385–93 *et passim*); Ó Néill (2002: 77). However, the writings of Jerome, one of the champions of the philological method, were well known in Ireland and might have influenced the literal/historical level of Irish exegesis, as hinted at by Daniel Watson (2018: 311, n. 1183). This suggests that the focus on history in Irish texts cannot be considered a purely 'Antiochene' phenomenon.

[15] The term 'typology', as distinct from allegory, is a modern creation and it emphasises the connection between the higher meaning and the historical reference. For a recent overview of relevant scholarship and the use of the term in patristic texts, see Martens (2008).

considerable flexibility. Some Hiberno-Latin commentaries demonstrate the familiarity of Irish exegetes with the more common fourfold model,[16] although oftentimes authors would operate on no more than two hermeneutic levels, depending on the purpose of the work. Ailerán, for instance, opts for the allegorical and moral senses in his exposition of Hebrew names.[17] But more often *historia* and the syncretic *sensus*, or *stoir* and *síans* in the vernacular tradition, are the exegetes' choice, as Bernhard Bischoff and other scholars have observed.[18] The use of *sensus/síans* to refer to the mystical sense of the Bible seems to be a specifically Irish feature found in the *Old Irish Treatise*, the Milan glosses, the *Reference Bible* and *Eclogae tractatorum in Psalterium* — all Irish works that contrast history and the spiritual interpretation.[19] The most common exegetical mode, then, seems to be twofold, with one meaning relating the word to a thing in the world and another, higher meaning which connects that thing to something beyond itself. The meaningful historical reference coexists with a sublime spiritual sense, the latter being hinted at in places where the letter of the narrative departs from what could be considered to be plausible or 'realistic'.[20]

Within the Christian tradition, the dichotomy between the historical and the spiritual dimension of a narrative as an interpretative strategy was primarily intended for reading sacred scripture.[21] However, it eventually found legitimate

[16] See, for instance, the anonymous commentary on the Gospel of Luke in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 997, especially on Luke 2:24: *Quid argenti color nisi eloquentiam diuinae historiae significat? Per auri autem formam sensum triplicem spiritalem indicat idest tropologiam, anagogen, allegoriam* 'What does the colour of silver signify if not the eloquence of the divine history? Through the figure of gold, he indicates the triple spiritual sense, that is, tropology, anagogy, and allegory' (ed. Kelly 1974: 18, ll. 221–3; my translation). On this text, see also Bischoff (1966: 261–2). Another example of fourfold exegesis, with a historical, spiritual, moral and anagogical interpretation, can be found in the notes for a Pentecostal homily in the Book of Armagh (TCD MS 52, fol. 171va7–22).

[17] Edited and translated by Aidan Breen (1995).

[18] Bischoff (1966: 221). Martin McNamara (2000: 217–19) notes that in the Catena on the Psalms from Vatican, MS Pal. Lat. 68 historical sense is contrasted with the spiritual through the formulae *historialiter* and *spiritaliter*. A twofold approach, where both historical and mystical interpretation are valued, can be found in the introduction to the Psalter in the *Reference Bible* from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14276, fol. 94v–99r. The text bases the authority of spiritual and historical exegesis on Ambrose and Jerome respectively (see the edited fragment in McNamara and Sheehy 1973: 292). Another example of a consistent twofold interpretation are the glosses in the Southampton Psalter. For a discussion, see the preface to Ó Néill's edition (2012: xlviii-lv).

[19] See McNamara (2000: 95). Concerning this point, Pierre-Yves Lambert (2016: 89) suggests that the use of *síans* as a technical term for the spiritual sense might indicate that Irish scholars were reading allegorical commentaries like those of Jerome, Augustine and Ambrose even before they had access to Theodore of Mopsuestia's work. Unfortunately, he does not substantiate this statement.

[20] Isidore of Seville emphasised the importance of physical plausibility for identifying a narrative as historical: 'Histories (*historiae*) are true deeds that have happened, plausible narrations (*argumenta*) are things that, even if they have not happened, nevertheless could happen, and fables (*fabulae*) are things that have not happened and cannot happen, because they are contrary to nature' (*Etym.* 1.44.5). *Etymologiae* are edited in Lindsay (1911) and translated in Barney et al. (2006). References are to book, chapter and section numbers.

[21] But indeed, Christian allegorical exegesis had as its predecessor pagan allegoresis practised by the Stoics, often in the study of Homer, while Philo of Alexandria applied it to the Jewish Scripture. See Ramelli (2011: 336–41); Daniélou (1955: 178–91). Joseph Mazzeo puts forward the idea that Stoic and Christian allegorisation shared a common motivation with regard to morally or

use for non-biblical and even some explicitly pagan texts where it was sometimes considered the only applicable or 'ethical' interpretation (Ohly 1958: 18; Irvine 1994: 155–60; Wolff 2008: 60–1). This is important to emphasise since the subject of this study is a group of texts of exactly this category. Christianity did not pass up the opportunity to appropriate authoritative pagan texts to its own advantage: for example, the Christian readings of Virgil's 'messianic' fourth eclogue, Fulgentius' moral interpretation of the *Aeneid* or even Augustine's allegorisation of his own conversion through Virgil's epic.[22] The Irish too participated in this tradition: an early-eighth century Hiberno-Latin set of scholia on Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* known as *Scholia Bernensia* offers Christian allegorical readings of the Poet's works.[23] Although the scholia rely, for the most part, on the Late Antique commentary ascribed to a certain Iunius Philagyrius, the Irish scholiast occasionally supplies additional allegorical meanings independently (Irvine 1994: 148–55).

When it comes to vernacular literature, Irish ecclesiastics seem to be equally at home with adding a second, allegorical level of meaning to native tales while still acknowledging their historical veracity. *Echtrae Chonnlai* has been mentioned already in light of the connection between the otherworldly woman and *ecclesia*. Apart from providing a commentary on the relationship between Christianity, paganism and kingship as social institutions,[24] seeing the otherworldly woman allegorically as *ecclesia* helps fuse the central message of Christian salvation with the tale's elegant narrative so that one enhances the other (Hollo 2011: 128).

Another example of the use of allegory in a native composition is the tale 'Finn and the Man in the Tree' (mid- to late-eighth century) which, as Kaarina Hollo's analysis reveals, can be read as an allegory of the crucifixion and the Eucharist.[25] She argues that the eponymous man in the tree represents Christ on the cross administering communion consisting of a nut, an apple and water to the representatives of *tria genera animalium*: a creature of the earth (deer), a creature of the air (bird) and a creature of water (fish) (Hollo 2012: 54–7). Overt typology which casts a native character as the type of a Biblical figure is a more delicate technique (Christological typology in particular may be questionable at

dogmatically problematic texts (such as Homer or the Jewish Scripture) and a desire 'to harmonize the conflict between the authoritative, ancient poetic books with the claims of philosophical reason or rationalized revelation' (Mazzeo 1978: 8). We might add, following Ramelli (2011: 340–1), that this use of allegory was not merely apologetic, that is attempting to 'redeem' texts of doubtful value, but aimed at integrating them into the prevailing paradigm in 'a broad cultural synthesis'.

[22]For these texts respectively, see Courcelle (1957); Wolff (2008); Bennett (1988).

[23]See Herren (1999: 55–6). The text is edited in Hagen (1867). The Old Irish glosses are partly edited in *Thes.* ii, 46–8, 360–3. At the same time, Carolingian tradition of glossing Virgil did not shy away from expounding pagan mythology for its own worth, without recourse to Christian morals. See O'Sullivan (2018).

[24]On the depiction in *Echtrae Chonnlai* of the relationship between the Church and secular rulership as well as allusions to Patrick's destruction of druidry, see McCone (2000: 102–6).

[25]The text survives in one copy (TCD MS H 3. 18 (1337)) and is edited and translated in Meyer (1904a). The language of the tale displays Old Irish features, as discussed by Breatnach (1990: 139–40).

times) but it is used nonetheless: here, typological proximity between Cú Chulainn and Christ or David comes to mind,[26] or indeed an explicit link between Mongán and Christ in *Immram Brain* which will be addressed shortly.

'DOUBLE PERSPECTIVE' IN THE *IMMACALLAM* AND *IMMRAM BRAIN*

Undoubtedly, ecclesiastical education taught Irish scholars to skilfully manoeuvre between layers of historical interpretation and higher sense. It is necessary to read the *Immacallam*, where the juxtaposition of Christian and pre-Christian is not just the subtext but the text itself, with the above considerations in mind. Viewed in this light, the *Immacallam* offers a meta-commentary on the Christian method of reading — a motif reprised in *Immram Brain*.

The conversation between Columba and the young Mongán is portrayed as taking place on the shore of Lough Foyle in the north of Ireland. When Columba inquires about the lough's history the youth tells him about the times long ago, when the lough used to be solid ground. Mongán constructs a tangible link between the past and the present by recounting his former incarnations. It seems that for him different timelines are running parallel on a metahistorical plane: one when the lough was a flowery meadow and Mongán himself was a stag and a wolf, another one when it became a lake and he became a salmon and a seal. The stories of the past finally coalesce with the present when Mongán is reborn as a human.[27] He uses parallel phrases to list them all, thus creating a repeating rhythm and emphasising their parallelism: *Ro giult-sa a mbasa os; ro ṡenas a mbasa é, a mbasa rón; ro ráth a mbasa cú allaid; imma-rulod a mbasa duine* 'I have grazed it when I was a stag; I have swum it when I was a salmon, when I was a seal; I have run upon it when I was a wolf; I have gone around it when I was a human'.[28] Historically, these events must lie far apart but within the narrative they acquire a certain unity through Mongán's incarnations, and emerge as a typologically determined historical parallel reminiscent of the double historical sense of Irish exegetical tradition.

Next, Columba wants to know what lies under the sea and Mongán tells him about an otherworldly realm hidden underwater.[29] There is no lack in modern scholarship of interpretations of the Otherworld as a Christian earthly paradise with its pre-fall bliss.[30] There is, therefore, solid groundwork to view the Otherworld as a part of Irish ecclesiastical paradigm. Considered metatextually, the

[26]Ralph O'Connor (2013: 245–6) presents a measured argument in favour of the allegory of Christ's incarnation in Cú Chulainn's birth tale, balancing between Kim McCone's (1990: 197–9) and John Kelleher's (1971: 121–2) optimism for 'native' typology and sceptical views as expressed, for instance, by Tomás Ó Cathasaigh (2014: 213–14). Elizabeth Boyle (2021: 55–61) argues that a tenth-century narrative from the Yellow Book of Lecan portrays David's fight with Goliath by using the imagery of Cú Chulainn killing the eponymous hound of Culann in *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

[27]*Immacallam,* ll. 9–12.

[28]*Immacallam,* ll. 10–12.

[29]*Immacallam*, ll. 16–21.

[30]See, for example, Carney (1955: 281–7); Mac Cana (1972: 123; 1976: 95–9); Carey (1987; 1995b: 44–7); McCone (1990: 80–2).

mystery of this ethereal Otherworld coupled with its inaccessibility to regular sense-perception (an underwater environment is generally not very accommodating to humans) makes for a good representation of *sensus* or *síans* — the higher sense, the incorporeal meaning intelligible to the mind. It is perhaps not a coincidence that Columba chooses precisely this moment to lead the youth aside, away from the monks' ears, to ask him about 'the heavenly and earthly mysteries' (*rún nemdae 7 talmandae*).[31] The phrasing may remind one of the *Old Irish Treatise on the Psalter* and its definition of *síans* as referring 'to Christ, to the earthly and heavenly church' (*fri Críst, frisin n-eclais talmandai ocus nemdai* (Meyer 1894: 30, ll. 319–20)). It appears that Columba's interruption of the dialogue right when Mongán starts describing the Otherworld pinpoints the moment when the conversation transitions from history to allegory.

The analogy between the *Immacallam*'s imagery and the categories of exegesis which we have traced, while it does not equate the two, is certainly pointing towards a connection that is entirely in accord with intellectual sensibilities of the period. Moreover, it provides a certain logical structure and epistemological purpose to the narrative, which is otherwise quite enigmatic. It also reveals that there is a deeper rationale at work in Mongán's shape-shifting abilities[32] and in the mutual respect that he and St Columba display. Lastly, this perspective is not exclusive to the *Immacallam*. It is also applicable, with very similar results, to *Immram Brain,* which may suggest that the proposed metatextual reading was something of a programmatic element in these texts.

Immram Brain is yet another *CDS* text firmly connected to the four Mongán tales and to the *Immacallam*.[33] Composed in the eighth century,[34] it features Mongán only indirectly: his birth is prophesied but he does not appear in the tale as a character. The prophecy is delivered by Manannán mac Lir, Mongán's divine father himself. Manannán's verses in the *Immram* relating Mongán's birth fit well with the account given in the *Compert Mongáin*, in that in both texts Mongán's mother begets the child by Manannán while Fíachnae, Mongán's 'human father', accepts him as his son. Mongán's divine and human descent makes the parallel with Christ fairly transparent, even if its purpose is less so.[35] It is, moreover, reinforced by the deliberate juxtaposition within the poem of

[31] *Immacallam*, ll. 23–4.

[32] For a more in-depth discussion of the reincarnation motif in the Mongán tradition and its interpretation as a manifestation of non-ecclesiastical but divinely inspired natural law see Watson (2020: 52–6).

[33] See Carey (1995a: 91) where he suggests, following Carney's dating (1976: 180–1, n. 19, 192), that the *Immacallam*, being an earlier, seventh-century text, influenced *Immram Brain* and the Mongán tales. However, he has since hinted that the *Immacallam* and *Immram Brain* might be contemporary eighth-century compositions. See Carey (2002: 53, 56); White (2006: 46).

[34] For the date and arguments against Mac Mathúna's (1985: 421–69) tenth-century dating, see Breatnach (1988); McCone (2000: 43–7).

[35] Carney (1955: 282–90) regards the entire text of *Immram Brain* a sustained Christian allegory whereas Mac Cana (1972: 123–5) maintains that Christian interpretation should be limited to the verse portions. The Christological parallels are also noted by McCone (1990: 80–2) and Williams (2016: 65–8).

the birth of Christ and the birth of Mongán.[36] From this it necessarily follows that the two divine fathers are also typologically linked — a conclusion which elicited some reservations from Mark Williams (2016: 67) who noted that 'typology was not normally applied to pagan myths.' Although we have already seen that this is not exactly true for late antique and early medieval tradition in general, this particular sentiment seems to arise from ethical concerns, notably the erotic imagery associated with the native characters such as the physicality of Mongán's conception (Williams 2016: 68). However, these objections do not pose an insurmountable problem in the way of a typological reading since typology does not stipulate exact identity between the type and its referent. Manannán is not identical to the God the Father, to be sure, and neither is Mongán identical to Christ. The connection between their human and divine descent still obtains and is deliberate.

The theological reading of Manannán's verses can be further enhanced by considering the metatext. Like Mongán's description of historical and supernatural worlds in the *Immacallam*, *Immram Brain* also prompts the audience to explore a two-level interpretation. After a dramatic appearance — Bran sees 'a man in a chariot coming towards him over the sea' (*conacci a dochum in fer isin charput íarsin muir*)[37] — Manannán starts reciting the following verses:

33 Cáine amre lasin m-Bran
ina churchán tar muir nglan;
os mé im' charput di chéin,
is mag scothach immaréid.

34 A n-as muir glan
don nói broinig itá Bran,
is mag meld co n-immut scoth
dam-sa a carput dá roth.

35 Atchí Bran
lín tond tibri tar muir nglan:
atchíu cadéin i Maig Mon
scotha cennderga cen on.

36 Taitnet gabra lir i sam
sella roisc rośíri Bran,
bruindit scotha srúaim de mil,
i crích Manannáin maic Lir.

37 Lí na fairgge foratái,
geldod mora immerái,
rasert bude ocus glass,
is talam, nad écomrass.

[36] See *Immram Brain*, §§48–51. Edited and translated in Meyer (1895, here at 22–5).
[37] Ed. and trans. Meyer (1895: 16–17, §32).

33 ‘Bran deems it a marvellous beauty
In his coracle across the clear sea;
While to me in my chariot from afar,
It is a flowery plain on which he rides about.

34 What is a clear sea
For the prowed skiff in which Bran is,
That is a happy plain with profusion of flowers
To me from the chariot of two wheels.

35 Bran sees
Many smiling waves across the clear sea;
I myself see in Mag Mon
Red-headed flowers without fault.

36 Sea-horses glisten in summer —
The prospect which Bran can range over;
Flowers pour forth a stream of honey
In the land of Manannan son of Ler.

37 The sheen of the sea on which you are,
The white hue of the sea on which you row about:
Yellow and azure are spread out,
It is solid land.’[38]

These stanzas offer a continuous interplay of two perspectives: what Bran’s human eye sees as the sea to Manannán is a flowery plain. This double imagery might be inspired by Virgil’s *maris aequor* ‘the plain of the sea’ ploughed by ships which is a recurring motif in the *Aeneid.*[39] Moreover, the tale’s image of a sea-god in a chariot might itself allude to Virgil’s description of Neptune.[40] The

[38]Ed. and trans. Meyer (1895: 16–19, §§33–7). I have made several adjustments to Meyer’s edition and translation. In the original text, I have used the spelling with nasalisation for the phrase *tar muir nglan* in §33 and §35, based on the majority of variant readings provided by Meyer himself (1895: 17, 19). In §36, line 3 Meyer (1985: 19) emends *scotha* ‘flowers’ attested in four manuscripts for *srotha* ‘rivers’. This emendation breaks the observable pattern whereby the first couplet of each quatrain depicts Bran’s vision and the second couplet contrasts it with Manannán’s. Therefore, I restore the reading *scotha* (as does Mac Mathúna (1985: 39, l. 157)). I have also made minor alterations to the translation. I have substituted the obsolete ‘thou art’ and ‘thou rowest’ forms with ‘you are’ and ‘you row’, and the archaic ‘main’ (§37.1) with ‘sea’. I have also changed the translation of the last line of §37 *is talam, nad écomrass* (‘It is land, and it is not rough’ in Meyer’s version) by resolving a double negative (*nad écomrass* ‘which is not non-solid’ = ‘which is solid’) to bring out the contrast between sea and land (Mac Mathúna (1985: 52) arrives at the same translation). In addition, I have changed the translation of two difficult lines (§§35.2, 36.2) according to the suggestions made by Liam Breatnach in his review of Mac Mathúna’s edition (Breatnach 1988: 185).

[39]See for example, *Aeneid*, 2.780, 3.495; cf. 1.35, 10.197. Edited in Mynors (1969), translated in Ahl (2007). I thank Dr Elizabeth Boyle for this hint. There is evidence that the text of *Aeneid* was known and used in Ireland at least since the ninth century, along with Virgil’s other works (see Hofman 1988; Herren 1999: 50–60).

[40]*Aeneid*, 1.154–6, as proposed by Williams (2016: 62–3).

parallels, if intentional, add another — Classical — dimension to the already established synthesis of vernacular and Christian learning. Since the *Aeneid* was itself a frequent subject of allegorical readings — pagan (like the commentary by the Latin grammarian Servius) and Christian alike — there might also exist a typological relationship between Manannán and Neptune.[41]

There is an important intertextual link between *Immram Brain* and the *Immacallam* which puts them in the same historical setting, both in the modern sense and as regards the exegetical *historia*. James Carney (1976) persuasively reconstructed a missing link between Manannán's verses in the *Immram* and Mongán's account of the history of Lough Foyle in the *Immacallam*. He suggested that there existed a now lost tale tentatively called *Echtrae Brain.* In it, Bran, ill-advised by a wizard, brings about the destruction of his own kingdom which gets inundated and thus becomes Lough Foyle. It is precisely the place where St Columba has his supernatural encounter. Carney (1976: 184) suggested that *Echtrae Brain* was an earlier variant of the story told in the *Immram*, namely Bran's 'adventurous and perilous visit' to the Otherworld. Carney's argument is based in part on a second Lough Foyle colloquy, *Immacallam in Druad Brain ⁊ inna Banḟátho Febuil ós Loch Febuil* 'The Conversation of Bran's Druid and Febul's Prophetess above Loch Febuil'.[42] This text, also considered to be a part of *CDS*,[43] features a character — the prophetess — who juxtaposes dry land and water, past and present of the inundated kingdom (ed. and trans. Carey 2002: 76–7). The same contrast is also found in Mongán's speech in the *Immacallam*.

Though the counterpoint structure of Manannán's verses is virtually identical to the two *Immacallma*, there is no mention of the deluge in the *Immram*. Carey (1995a: 80) suggests that Manannán's 'omissions […] parallel those of the *Immacallma*, suggesting that it was these texts which were his sources'. I am inclined to agree with Carey that the information about the inundation is implicit in Manannán's speech — it is indeed likely, considering that the motif of the Lough Foyle deluge recurs in two other *CDS* texts. In this case, even though Bran's journey precedes the deluge, the narrative seems to artistically build on the same theme or even to prophetically allude to what is about to happen to Bran's kingdom.

The dichotomy between the sea that Bran sees and Manannán's flowery plain may be understood as a metatextual representation of the different interpretative planes of a narrative. Manannán's superior vision plays the role of *sensus* to Bran's *historia.* At the same time, this *historia* presents something of a prefiguration narrative or a 'type' for the inundation which is to occur on the level of 'second history'. Bran himself cannot recognise the significance of such prefiguration. His inability to see what Manannán sees indicates that he

[41]For a discussion of Irish 'mirroring' of Graeco-Roman gods with varying degrees of explicitness, see Clarke (2014: 137–9).

[42]The text is edited and translated in Carney (1976: 178–83) and Carey (2002: 73–7).

[43]The copy of the *Immacallam in Druad Brain* in TCD MS H 4. 22 (1363) has notes like *asin l. c. nicc* 'from the same book' and *asin l.* 'from the book' which Carney (1976: 175) takes to refer to *CDS.*

does not have access to the realm of higher meanings. However, on the intertextual level, where the disaster is a known fact, Bran's historical perspective acquires a flavour of foreshadowing.

The hierarchy of perspectives and meanings that emerges from Manannán's verses, then, is similar to Mongán's speeches in the *Immacallam*: there are two historical planes related to each other typologically and juxtaposed with a mystical meaning which is hidden from plain sight by the curtain of the Otherworld. Penetrating through it requires a certain spiritual competence. For the lack of a better term, I would like to call this motif running through the *Immram* and the *Immacallam* 'double perspective' — a narrative device whereby two realities are unfolding at the same time and can be accessed simultaneously by a supernatural character. It is hardly a coincidence that this ability belongs to Manannán and Mongán: like father, like son.

Importantly, the double perspective device appears to, in a way, break the fourth wall by reflecting on the different levels of interpretation available to a scholar, be it an ecclesiastic or a layman. Reading is a work of careful decoding and peeling back the layers of meaning. There is always a physical reference tied to history, but the exact same words can also conceal a whole other meaning which is only revealed to a reader with the necessary knowledge and spiritual insight to access it. This perspective allows us to see Bran's and Manannán's outlooks as two stages of cognition, both of which are available to a suitably trained person. The character who best represents such a person is Mongán whose mixed nature, human and divine, allows him to operate within both mindsets.

The foregoing analysis of this small group of *CDS* texts suggests that the compiler tended to select narratives that contain a Christian metaphor and double perspective. The present findings validate such a reading of the *Immacallam* and *Immram Brain* while the Christian metaphor of *Echtrae Chonnlai* agrees with the two texts in its use of Christian allegory. However, a more thorough study of other *CDS* texts is needed to develop this idea further. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that an educated ecclesiastic familiar with exegetical techniques and multi-level signification or a secular professional trained by the Church would find the interplay between the historical and the spiritual entirely natural. Indeed, the same rhetorical techniques could be and were applied in constructing new texts as were found in deconstructing old ones.

Before proceeding to the four core Mongán tales, it might be worthwhile to consider two examples from Irish literature outside the Mongán tradition which use allegory in a way that transcends the level of text and transforms into a meta-commentary on scholarly textual practices. One such testimony is the tenth-century tale *Airec Menman Uraird maic Coise* 'The Strategem of Urard mac Coise'. It tells the story of the poet Urard mac Coise who convinces the king of Tara to make a judgement in his favour by narrating a tale which is essentially a thinly veiled allegory of the injustice done to Urard himself.[44] Rather than teaching a moral lesson to the king, the metatextual discourse of

[44]This text has been edited by Mary Byrne (1908). A partial translation is available in an unpublished Master's thesis by Judith Schoen (2015). A new edition and translation are being prepared by

Airec Menman, so Erich Poppe argues, 'legitimates an allegorical — or at least a non-literal or non-historical — understanding of the events narrated' (Poppe 1999: 47). The allegory here has an interesting feature: it masquerades as an alternative historical meaning while still maintaining the typological pattern of prefiguration and fulfilment in that the tale, as a heightened repetition of history, brings a firm resolution to the ambiguity of the historical situation. Urard's 'strategem' thus offers a witty tableau of the exegetical discourse of prefiguration.

Another recurring motif in the texts considered so far is the allegorisation of otherworldly landscape. In the *Immacallam* and the *Immram* the Otherworld represents the *sensus* beyond the human *historia.* In *Echtrae Chonnlai* the Otherworld to which the woman takes Connlae is itself an allegory of an even higher reality, that is, the Christian church. This latter type of allegoresis in an undiluted form can be found in the Latin poem *Mentis in excessu* 'In ecstasy of mind', thought to have been composed by a bishop of Dublin named Patrick (d. 1084). The only surviving copy of the poem is accompanied by extensive glosses drawing out the allegorical reading, glosses which, as Elizabeth Boyle (2016: 25) suggests, were an integral part of the text and meant to be transmitted with it. The poem describes the author's mental journey 'in ecstasy of mind through pleasant places in a wide countryside' (*mentis in excessu lati loca ruris amena*).[45] Already in this opening line the glossator reveals that 'in ecstasy of mind' means 'in thought according to allegory' (*in cogitatione secundum allegoriam*) while 'the countryside' represents Scripture.[46] The rest of the poem introduces many wondrous characters and sights which are ascribed a precise allegorical significance: the poet's guide is a woman glossed as Studiousness (*Studiositas*); her three sisters are 'Intellect', 'Memory' and 'Eloquence'; they also meet seven sisters representing liberal arts and other assorted personifications.[47] There is a detailed description of a walled city glossed as *ecclesia*.[48] An important passage reveals the poem's interest in double meaning: the city's inhabitants get their nourishment from fruits (*poma*) whose rind is *historia*, while the fruit itself is *sensus spiritualis*, spiritual sense — a familiar formula indeed.[49] The poem ends with the conclusion that all these 'sights of mind' (*spectacula mentis*) are an elaborate allegory for contemplating incorporeal things.[50] Bishop Patrick's poem is an illuminating display of the allegorical mindset at work in narratives set in non-biblical environments. As Boyle points out, 'any cosmological truth-value which [such texts] might be deemed by their authors to possess is not necessarily (or not only) to be found on the literal level' (Boyle 2016: 24). A text that is not overtly Christian on the surface reveals, through an exegete's careful work, a rich Christian signification which

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[45]The poem is edited and translated in Gwynn (1955: 84–101, here at 84–5, l. 5).

[46]Ed. and trans. Gwynn (1955: 84–5, glosses on l. 5).

[47]Ed. and trans. Gwynn (1955: 84–91, ll. 8–95).

[48]Ed. and trans. Gwynn (1955: 90–3, ll. 116–25).

[49]Ed. and trans. Gwynn (1955: 90, glosses on l. 113).

[50]Ed. and trans. Gwynn (1955: 100, gloss on l. 254).

emerges with full clarity from the metatext of the glosses, or indeed which can be decoded by a reader well-versed in the relevant literary tropes.

The early Mongán tales: poetry, the Otherworld and higher sense

Unlike the *Immacallam* and *Immram Brain*, the four core Mongán tales do not appear to display any explicitly allegorical (or explicitly Christian) tendencies. The story of Mongán's birth in *Compert Mongáin* 'The Conception of Mongán' lacks the Christological dimension which it has in *Immram Brain*. Remarkably, however, all four texts have a special interest in poetry. The epistemological implications of this are not dissimilar to what we have already seen with the exegetical reading of our other texts: poetic inspiration connects physical reality with the realm of transcendent knowledge. Therefore, in this final section I will argue that exegetical and poetic modes of knowledge essentially constitute a unified epistemological paradigm.

Let us briefly recount the role of poetry in the four early tales. In the *Compert*, Mongán composes a quatrain of verse for his mother when he leaves her to find his birth father Manannán. In *Scél asa-mberar combad hé Find mac Cumaill Mongán* 'A Story from Which It Is Inferred that Mongán Was Find mac Cumaill', he enters and wins an argument with a *fili*; it is also revealed that he is, in some mysterious way, Finn mac Cumaill. In *Scél Mongáin* 'The Story of Mongán', Mongán meets a student poet and sends him on an errand to the Otherworld. Finally, in *Tucait Baile Mongáin* 'The Cause of Mongán's Frenzy', he recites his adventures in a state of ecstasy while — again — on a visit to the Otherworld.[51] We also should not forget that Manannán's speech in *Immram Brain* is set in verse.

From all of this we may infer that the Mongán of the *CDS* tradition was trained in the poetic art. This is confirmed in another tale, known as *Scéla Mongáin mac Fíachnai ocus Echdach Rígéicis* 'The Story of Mongán mac Fíachnai and Eochaid Rígéices'. In the recent edition and reappraisal of the text, Chantal Kobel (2022 (forthcoming a)) has dated it to *c*. 850–950 on linguistic grounds, which makes it somewhat younger than the eighth-century *CDS* texts. It is likely, therefore, that *Scéla* presents a later development of the Mongán cycle. In this tale, the chief poet of Ireland, called Eochaid Rígéices, proclaims that Mongán, at that time a young man, 'is the most learned youth in Ireland' (*iss ē mac dīan līa eōlus i nĒrind*).[52] Mongán's poetic skill eventually exposes Eochaid's own ignorance in a series of challenges where the chief poet is unable to provide correct *dindṡenchas* for three different places or even decipher poetic clues which Mongán gives him. In retaliation for this insult, Eochaid takes away the young man's noble status. Apart from continuing the motif of Mongán's poetic education, the premise of the tale is suspiciously similar to *Scél asa-mberar* where Mongán also gets into a quarrel with a poet and proves his superior knowledge.

[51] All four tales are edited and translated by Nora White (2006: 71–83).

[52] Ed. and trans. Kobel (2022 (forthcoming a)). The older edition is in Knott (1916).

The key element of *Scél asa-mberar*, however, is the revelation that Mongán was in fact Finn mac Cumaill, which brings to mind the reembodiments he is said to have had in the *Immacallam* and the *Immram*. This is also one of the earliest mentions of Finn in literature. In later sources, poetic training emerges as a stable part of Finn's own mythos. It is tempting to hypothesise that Mongán's and Finn's poetic connections underlie their association in *Scél asa-mberar.*

Several early texts firmly associate Finn with the poetic technique known as *imbas forosnai* 'the encircling knowledge which illuminates'. The concept is well-documented and regularly occurs in legal texts concerned with the poetic hierarchy such as *Bretha Nemed*, *Uraicecht na Ríar* or the Introduction to *Senchas Már* where it is listed among the qualifications of a *fili* (Carey 1997: 42–7). The exact nature of *imbas forosnai* is more clearly revealed in narrative literature and involves certain divinatory or prophetic abilities.[53] Finn is said to acquire or possess this ability in three early tales: 'Finn and the Man in the Tree', *Tucait Fagbála in Fessa do Ḟinn 7 Marbad Cúlduib* 'How Finn Obtained Knowledge and the Slaying of Cúldub' and *Scéla Moṡauluim 7 Maic Con 7 Luigdech* 'The Story of Moṡaulum and Mac Con and Lugaid'.

The first tale, 'Finn and the Man in the Tree' is a part of an early commentary on *Senchas Már*.[54] The Finn story glosses the term *imbas forosnai* and consists of two separate episodes. In the first one, Finn chases a certain Cúldub, a supernatural being and a thief, to a *síd.* Just as he is about to enter, a woman of the *síd* shuts the door in front of him and his finger gets caught in the doorpost. Finn puts his injured finger into his mouth and when he takes it out, 'the *imbas* illumines him' (*fortnosmen an imbas*) as he recites a rhetoric in obscure language.[55] Thus the otherworldly source of *imbas forosnai* is established — it descends upon Finn after his brief tactile contact with the *síd*. The second episode has Finn use his divinatory abilities to reveal the identity of the mysterious man in the tree, who turns out to be his former servant Derg Corra. The illuminating *imbas* thus allows Finn to see beyond the physical appearances into the hidden meaning of things. Besides that, the second episode of the tale also functions within a Christian matrix: we briefly turned to this tale earlier to consider its Christological and Eucharistic imagery (see Hollo 2012). These two thematic strands confirm that poetic clairvoyance and exegetical allegory are complementary modes of knowledge. If the former is bestowed on famous heroes and supernatural beings, the latter allows every reader to attain the same heightened level of understanding. Both, however, have their source in divine grace.

The tale *Tucait Fagbála in Fessa do Ḟinn 7 Marbad Cúlduib* 'How Finn Obtained Knowledge and the Slaying of Cúldub' is a version of the Cúldub episode from the previous text. The two texts are closely connected and belong to the

[53] For an overview, see Chadwick (1935).

[54] Hollo (2012: 50). See also n. 25 above. The text is discussed more broadly in Murray (2017: 79–82).

[55] Ed. and trans. Meyer (1904a: 346–7, §1). Attempts to translate the rhetoric have been made by Hull (1967) and Carey (1996a: 26–7). See also a discussion of the Cúldub episode in Nagy (1981: 140–1).

earliest stratum of Finn stories dating from the eighth century which makes them contemporary with the Mongán material.[56] In *Marbad Cúlduib* too, after having his thumb jammed in the door to the *síd* he gains his *fis* 'knowledge' as well as the ability to hear and understand the *síd*-folk. He then recites another cryptic incantation.[57] Kevin Murray (2017: 79–80) draws attention to the parallelism of the *roscada* in *Marbad Cúlduib* and 'Finn and the Man in the Tree'. The curious detail in *Marbad Cúlduib* is the focus on otherworldly speech and the exceptional circumstances in which Finn learns to understand it. This happens seemingly by chance, after a hot pursuit which literally leads Finn straight to the door to the Otherworld. Even though he is an unwanted presence in the *síd*, his brief contact with it lifts the veil, as it were, from his eyes. Once exposed to the existence of a higher reality, his mind opens to this secret realm and to the language in which it expresses itself. We should add that Finn's newly found ability to comprehend both the physical reality and a higher, unseen world is quite reminiscent of the double perspective motif discussed previously.

To the last tale, *Scéla Mośauluim ⁊ Maic Con ⁊ Luigdech*, Kuno Meyer gave an alternative title 'Ailill Aulom, Mac Con and Find ua Báiscne', and he dated the tale to the ninth century.[58] Máirín O'Daly pinpointed archaic linguistic features and suggested that the text might date to *c*. 700.[59] Here Finn appears only briefly to warn Lugaid Mac Con about the person sent to kill him and to track down the killer afterwards. The approach of the assassin as well as his later whereabouts are revealed to Finn through the incantations of *imbas forosnai* which, as Nora Chadwick (1935: 115) noted, enabled him to see what was concealed from his physical vision. The divinatory power of *imbas forosnai* in all three stories seems to be associated with obscure incantations — *retoiric* or *roscad*.[60] Manipulating language to arrive at hidden meanings is not limited to poetry but is a significant trait of Irish learned tradition as a

[56]Certain forms led Kuno Meyer (1910: xix) to date it to the ninth century while Vernam Hull (1941: 322–3) proposed a mid-eighth-century date. Kevin Murray (2017: 74) likewise suggests that it and 'Finn and the Man in the Tree' can both be dated to the eighth century. For a brief discussion of the text and the poetic motif in early Finn tales, see Murray (2017: 77–9; 142–3).

[57]The text is edited and translated in Hull (1941: 329–33). See also an earlier edition by Meyer (1893: 245–7). The passage described is in Hull (1941: 330, ll. 21–31).

[58]See Meyer (1910: xxi). The text is edited and translated by Kuno Meyer (1910: 28–41) and by Máirín O'Daly (1975: 74–87; the Finn episode is on pp. 84–5).

[59]O'Daly (1975: 18). This position is supported by Kevin Murray (2003: 200 n. 22; 2017: 89).

[60]On *roscad* and *retoiric*, the varieties of unrhymed accentual verse which use intentionally obscure language, in Irish literature, see Carney (1955: 299–303), Murphy (1961: 2–7), Mac Cana (1966), Hull (1967), Breatnach (1991), Corthals (1996). On the significance of intentionally obscure discourse, see Carey (1996a), Stacey (2007), Kobel (forthcoming b).

whole, especially in the grammatical curriculum.[61] Here, as in Christian exegesis, linguistic concerns specifically underlie the search for the most profound knowledge.

Finn's poetic ability and the access to supernatural knowledge that it grants has been explored by Maria Tymoczko in relation to *Cétamon* 'May Day', a poem on the coming of summer which Finn recites in the twelfth-century narrative *Macgnímrada Finn* 'The Boyhood Deeds of Finn.'[62] The poem itself is presumed to be earlier than the rest of the text and probably goes back to the ninth century.[63] Tymoczko (1983: 25 *et passim*) convincingly argues that *Cétamon* is not so much an artistic description of a summer landscape as it is a manifestation of deeper poetic knowledge that encompasses all happenings of the season and which only the mind's eye can perceive simultaneously. By composing the poem, Finn proves his *éicse* — 'mental sight, prophetic powers, learning and poetic skill' (Tymoczko 1983: 33). The poet's omnipresence and omniscience are a result of supernatural inspiration.

Another nature poem, one that brings the tidings of winter, is ascribed to Finn in the Middle Irish scholia on *Amrae Coluimb Chille* 'The Elegy of Columb Cille'.[64] The well-known poem *Scél lem dúib* is dated to the ninth or tenth century and is prefaced in six of the seven surviving copies with the words *ut dixit Finn* 'as Finn said' or a variant thereof.[65] Tymoczko's conclusions regarding the poetic clairvoyance of nature verse can similarly be applied to *Scél lem dúib*. The placement of the poem in the scholarly apparatus of *Amrae Coluimb Chille*, a text stemming from St Columba's monastic *familia*, may not be a definitive link between Colum Cille, Mongán, Finn and their common poetic background but it is at least worth noting. It suggests that at the time the scholia were compiled or copied, the author thought it significant to acknowledge Finn's (supposed) authorship and thus bring his poetic authority to bear on the Columban tradition.

[61] Irish scholars were particularly fond of the etymological method as a means to arrive at the innermost meaning of words. The *Old Irish Treatise on the Psalter* often uses *inne* 'inner sense' to start an etymological explanation (Meyer 1894: 30, 34, ll. 297–8, 420–1, 434, 446–7). On Irish etymological method in general, see Russell (1988: 16–27); Baumgarten (1990; 2004); Rekdal (2018). Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, an enigmatic Irish grammarian of the seventh century, advanced the technique known as *scinderatio fonorum* 'the scrambling of words' which could be used to create complex meanings by putting together parts of different words or to conceal the meaning of utterances in order to protect the mystical matters from those unworthy of them (Law 1989: 164–6).

[62] An edition and translation of *Macgnímrada* by Kuno Meyer were published separately: see Meyer (1882) and (1904b) respectively. A more recent translation can be found in Nagy (1985: 209–18). *Cétamon* has been edited and translated several times as a standalone poem. See Meyer (1903: 4–8); Murphy (1955; 1956: 156–9); Carney (1971: 41–3, 45–6). Additional translations can be found in Jackson (1935: 23–4); Tymoczko (1983: 23–4).

[63] This dating was proposed by Gerard Murphy (1955: 87–8). James Carney optimistically dated the poem to the sixth or seventh century (Carney 1971: 37).

[64] See the latest edition and extensive commentary by Jacopo Bisagni, with a brief discussion of the scholia (Bisagni 2019: 14–37).

[65] See Gerard Murphy's edition, translation and editorial notes in Murphy (1956: 160–1, 235–6). Jacopo Bisagni (2008) has proposed a modified reading of the first stanza based on additional manuscript witnesses.

To sum up thus far, the early Finn stories and poems attributed to him present him as the model example of *imbas forosnai*, a technique usually ascribed to the *filid*.[66] It enables him to perceive the world on two different levels: its physical, historical aspect as well as the higher reality of the Otherworld which is the source of his superior knowledge and divinatory abilities. A profound link to poetry and spiritual insight therefore appear to be a focal feature of both Finn and Mongán which is to say, in the context of *Scél asa-mberar*, of Mongán's reincarnating essence.

This approach to knowledge through poetry did not conflict with the ecclesiastical worldview, seeing as poetry often plays so crucial a role in texts studied and copied by scholars who owe their education to the Church. Contrary to Tymoczko, who concludes her argument on the character of Irish nature poetry by identifying it as a product of 'native impulses rather than Christian ones' (Tymoczko 1983, 35), I align myself with the more balanced approach offered by Joseph Nagy. He points out that, while ecclesiastics should not be given full credit for inventing nature verse, the surviving poems, including the ones put in the mouths of non-Christian characters, were most likely the work of ecclesiastical, or at any rate, Christian scholars, 'who were schooled in traditional *filidecht* but were turning the poetic art in new directions' (Nagy 1985: 31).[67]

Although dominated by the ecclesiastical paradigm, poetic modes of knowledge secured their rightful place in the intellectual landscape of early medieval Ireland.[68] There is a testimony to the fusion of the two paradigms in another eighth-century text known as *The Caldron of Poesy*. This cryptic composition is an extended metaphor for mental activity where different states of cognition are represented as cauldrons to be filled with different kinds of knowledge.[69] According to Liam Breatnach (1981: 51), the author of the text aimed to reconcile the views of the secular learned classes and the ecclesiastics on the sources of wisdom, and they did so by suggesting that the ability for learning may come both from the soul (the ecclesiastical view) and from the body, i.e. can be inherited (the secular attitude). Here the otherworldly *imbas* from the banks of the river Boyne[70] represents the highest degree of poetic mastery and is regarded as a distinct form of joy and inspiration, even if ultimately subordinate

[66]As observed by Chadwick (1935: 127). On the qualifications of the poets, see Carey (1997). Finn is given a formal poetic training in the later *Macgnímrada Finn*. There we learn that he studied poetry for seven years with a certain Finnéces whose name might cryptically allude to Finn himself in the capacity of a poet (*éices*). Finnéces is trying to catch a very special salmon in the river Boyne because the salmon is said to give omniscience to whoever eats it. Sure enough, Finn ends up being the one to do it and thus acquires the three highest poetic qualifications, including *imbas forosnai*. For this episode, see Meyer's edition (1882: 201, §§18–19) and translation (1904b: 185–6).

[67]Nagy also observes that apart from the Fenian heroes and madmen such as Suibne Geilt, there was another group of outcasts fond of nature verse — Christian hermits (Nagy 1985: 28–9). Donnchadh Ó Corráin's (1989) critical reappraisal of hermit poetry sees it as a product of the contemporary artistic tastes of the cultural élite. However, this does not negate Nagy's argument that surviving nature poetry was a product of the Christian intellectual effort.

[68]On the relationship between poetical and clerical grades, see Breatnach (1987: 81–9). On the 'creative dialogue' between the *filid* and the clerical elite, see Johnston (2013: 20–1).

[69]The text is edited and translated, with an insightful introduction, in Breatnach (1981).

[70]This location also has special significance in *Macgnímrada Finn*. See n. 66 above.

to the divine grace.[71] Interestingly, in his discussion of St Columba's prophetic power Thomas Charles-Edwards (2000: 193) concludes that Adomnán presents the saint's prophecies as 'an effectively Christian account' of *imbas forosnai*, 'no longer learned […] from the teacher of the *filidecht* but conferred by the grace of God'. Given Mongán's own poetic links and apparent omniscience, it is possible that he also possessed something akin to the supernatural *imbas*. This neatly completes the circle started with the *Immacallam* and suggests that Mongán and Colum Cille's conversation is centred around otherworldly, yet divinely sanctioned, knowledge of the physical and spiritual world.

I should once again reiterate that there is no inherent conflict between an exegetical and poetic worldview in our texts. Poets and ecclesiastics are two coexisting and often overlapping groups whose epistemological paradigms are entirely compatible. We can see it not just from the mere fact of survival of the poetic narratives in a culture where book-production was all but monopolised by the Church but also from the subtle ways in which these narratives are woven into the Christian landscape. For more evidence, we can turn back to the *CDS* texts. Regarding the overall preference for poetic themes in the *CDS* material, David Stifter notes that the manuscript tradition often attracts additional material of poetic interest that tangentially belongs to the *CDS* network (Stifter 2017: 31). One text that is of particular relevance to us here is a narrative from *Sanas Cormaic* presented as an extended gloss on the word *prull* 'greatly'. The text, known simply as *Prull*, appears, among others, in one of the most important *CDS* witnesses — RIA MS 23 N 10.[72] It tells a story of Senchán Torpeist, the *éices Érenn* 'poet of Ireland', and a hideous young man whom he allowed to join his retinue. The company travels to the Isle of Man and meets an impoverished old woman who challenges Senchán to complete a poetic stanza that she starts to recite. Senchán, dumbfounded, is saved by the young lad who completes two of the woman's challenges and, in doing so, reveals that she herself is a poetess (*banleiccerd*) and the daughter of Úa Dulsaine[73] and that her whereabouts were unknown after her father's death. Yet again, a supernatural being shows their superiority over a high-ranking but insufficiently skilled poet in a scenario that is reminiscent of *Scéla Mongáin mac Fíachnai ocus Echdach Rígéicis.*[74]

[71] Ed. and trans. Breatnach (1981: 66–9, §§11–12).

[72] Whitley Stokes based his edition of *Sanas Cormaic* on *Leabhar Breac* (Stokes 1862; the *Prull* narrative is on pp. 36–8). Kuno Meyer's printed the version of *Sanas Cormaic* found in the Yellow Book of Lecan (Meyer 1912; *Prull* is on pp. 90–4). In addition, he provides separate transcriptions of *Prull* from BL MS Harleian 5280 and RIA MS 23 N 10 (Meyer 1912: viii–xvii). Rudolf Thurneysen (1914) reconstructed the Urtext of *Prull* and provided a German translation. *Sanas Cormaic* was translated by John O'Donovan and Whitley Stokes (1868; *Prull* is on pp. 135–7). *Prull* has also been translated separately by Patrick Ford (1990: 31–4), Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha (2004: 165–7) and Paul Russell (2008: 40–3).

[73] This makes her quite literally a descendant of satire, with *dulsaine* meaning 'mockery, satire' or 'a female satirist' (*eDIL*, s.v. *dulsaine* (accessed 12 September 2021); cf. Ford 1990: 31 n. 24).

[74] Joseph Nagy also points out that in Fenian literature poetry is depicted as a skill of the marginalised figures, in contrast to the 'social' *filid* who occupy their proper place in the hierarchy and frequent royal courts. These marginal poets often prove to be more powerful than their counterparts, sourcing their knowledge directly from the Otherworld (Nagy 1985, 17–40, esp. 27–33). Mongán can also be included in this group since his extraordinary poetic abilities are not formally

Upon the company's return to Ireland, the unsightly young man transforms into a youth of 'the most noble and radiant appearance'. The story concludes with a Latin dictum which gives the whole narrative a special ecclesiastical sanction: *Dubium itaque non est quod ille poematis erat spiritus* 'And there is no doubt that he was the spirit of Poetry' (ed. Meyer 1912: 94; trans. Russell 2008: 43).[75]

We can also trace the double perspective motif in *Prull*. Here it is employed to showcase the difference between the appearance of a person and their true identity: the poetess is introduced as a wretched old woman and her noble descent is only recognised through a poetic divination; the protagonist himself disguises his true, and clearly supernatural,[76] essence with exterior repulsiveness. The woman's humble appearance conceals a great poetic gift while the splendour of Senchán's social position hides his lack of competence. The hidden truth about either character is only unveiled through the skill of another character: the poetess exposes Senchán while her own true identity is revealed by the youth. Distinguishing the corporeal and the spiritual is depicted as a fundamental function of poetry.

If we now return to the Mongán tales, we will notice that Mongán's association with Finn also presupposes the use of double perspective in a way similar to how it was applied in the *Immacallam* when the youth recounted the history of Lough Foyle. In *Scél asa-mberar*, Caílte, Finn's nephew, appears at Mongán's court to corroborate the latter's account of the Larne battle and to prove Forgoll's competing version wrong. Caílte's retelling of the historical events allows Mongán to mentally relive the past as it is revealed that he himself was there as Finn. The secrecy of the situation is again an important concern, as it was in the *Immacallam*. In that story, it was St Columba who insisted on continuing the conversation in private, out of the earshot of ordinary monks, while in *Scél asa-mberar* Mongán himself is acting cautiously: *ba hé Find danó intí Mongán acht nand-léic a forndissiu* 'Moreover, Mongán was Find except he did not allow it to be told.'[77] In both cases, the need to protect the otherworldly knowledge might arise from its privileged status and concern that it might be misinterpreted by those who lack the necessary skill. This goes as much for the young monks in the *Immacallam* as for the quarrelsome poet Forgoll in *Scél asa-mberar* who exposed his inferior competence in the capacity of a *fili*. There seems to exist a certain threshold for accessing divine mysteries and it is delineated by the level of training and competence of the person wishing to understand them.

sanctioned by his ancestry (only descendants of poetic dynasties could reach the highest poetic grades. See *Uraicecht na Ríar* (ed. and trans. Breatnach 1987: 102–5, §§3–4); cf. Stifter 2017: 30–1).

[75] Another code-switch occurs when the word *sentuinne* 'old woman' receives an encyclopaedic aside and is clarified with a verse of poetry which is introduced with a Latin tag: *ut poeta dixit* 'as the poet said'. The verse itself definitively puts the narrative in a Christian environment by mentioning Christian service (*acht nochanfognat Mac Dē* 'provided that they do not serve the son of God' (ed. Meyer 1912: 92; trans. Russell 2008: 41)).

[76] Patrick Ford also views the poetess as 'a kind of *alma mater* of poets, a personification of the feminine genius of poetry' (Ford 1990: 35). It is not clear, however, how this interpretation coexists with the presence of another such personification in the form of the youth.

[77] Ed. and trans. White (2006: 74, 81, §15).

John Carey sees a parallel between Mongán's secretiveness in *Scél asa-mberar* and a similar reluctance to tell his wife about his adventures in *Tucait Baile Mongáin.* He also suggests that the *imthechta* related by Mongán at the end (though, again, not to the reader) are in fact the accounts of his prior existences (Carey 1987: 9–10). This is a compelling interpretation although we should keep in mind that in the *Immacallam* similar information is not withheld and the ordinary monks are still able to hear about Mongán's rebirths. It appears therefore that the recounting of the rebirths on its own does not yet cross over into the territory of the unspeakable. What could be implied in the *Tucait Baile Mongáin* is a more fundamental account of how Mongán's otherworldly nature relates to the mysteries of creation. Certainly, the contents of Mongán's *baile* are coded as privileged information. Multiple contrived conditions have to be fulfilled to reveal it: seven years have to expire before Mongán can share the *baile* with his wife, but before that, they have to travel to the hill of Uisnech where they get caught in a great storm; then, miraculously, they find themselves at a banquet in an otherworldly dwelling. And only then, and after getting intoxicated, does Mongán recite his much-anticipated *baile*. Its content, however, must remain unknown since it has been deliberately left out of the narrative, in the same way as in the *Immacallam.*

Generally, the term *baile* means 'vision, frenzy, madness (originally arising out of supernatural revelations).'[78] The term is often used in titles of tales (most famously, perhaps, in *Buile Shuibhne*) but, according to Kevin Murray (2004: 12), it does not so much denote a distinct genre as describe 'stories which contain a vision or a prophecy at their core and which do not readily fit into another category'. Other notable *baili* include the late-seventh-century *Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig* 'The Vision of Conn of the Hundred Battles' and the ninth-century *Baile in Scáil* 'The Phantom's Frenzy.'[79] Both texts (*Baile Chuinn* also being a part of *CDS*) bear significant resemblance to *Tucait Baile Mongáin* in that, among other things, they feature a character reciting a prophecy prompted by divine inspiration.[80] John Carey's (1995a: 75) rendering of *baile* as 'ecstatic utterance' seems fitting and, we might add, aptly alludes to the mental journey of *Mentis in excessu*. The visionary discourse, stimulated by otherworldly inspiration and intoxication, causes the speaker to enter an uninhibited, irrational (or supra-rational) state of mind, though perhaps not as a violent disruption of mental activity but rather in the sense of becoming free from conventional patterns of thought, as if the person experiencing a *baile* is able to perceive things in a way that is inaccessible under 'normal' circumstances and transcends the mundane

[78] *eDIL* s.v. *baile* (accessed 12 September 2021).

[79] *Baile Chuinn* has been edited by Thurneysen (1912), edited and translated by Hull (1952: 146–9) and Bhreathnach and Murray (2005). *Baile in Scáil* from BL MS Harleian 5280 is edited in Meyer (1901: 457–66), from Bodl. MS Rawlinson B 512 in Thurneysen (1936). The most recent edition and translation is in Murray (2004).

[80] See Carey 1995a: 74–7; 1996b: 191–4. The lack of any narrative frame in *Baile Chuinn* makes it difficult to compare to other texts but, according to Carey, there existed a now lost introduction to it on which both *Tucait Baile Mongáin* and *Baile in Scáil* were based.

mental activity.[81] When Adomnán describes Colum Cille's prophetic gift, he says that visions came to him *sinu mentis mirabiliter laxato* '[when] the scope of his mind was miraculously enlarged' (*Vita Columbae* 1.1 (10b)). A not at all unexpected parallel to this sentiment can be found in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, so beloved by medieval Irish scholiasts.[82] One of Isidore's suggestions for the origin of the word *carmen* 'song' or 'poem' is that 'the name was given to it […] because they used to think that people who sang poems had lost their minds' (*cui datum nomen existimant […] quod qui illa canerent carere mentem existimabantur*) (*Etym.* 1.39.4). Taking into account Mongán's poetic credentials, together with the fact that the *baili* in *Baile in Scáil* and *Baile Chuinn* take the form of poems, we can speculate that Mongán's 'ecstatic utterance' was similarly versified.[83]

In *Baile in Scáil* the recital of the *baile* is performed by the god Lug. This detail, when viewed in conjunction with *Tucait Baile Mongáin*, once again reveals the intertextuality of double perspective. It is established that higher knowledge belongs to gods like Lug or Manannán. In this respect, Mongán is an ambivalent figure: he is a 'type' of Christ and an offspring of a native otherworldly being; these links sanction his access both the sublime mysteries of Christian interpretation and to the gift of poetic inspiration.[84] At the same time, his humanity grounds him in the physical world and makes him an ideal image of a learned intellectual.

A variation on the same motif is found in one final tale that remains to be discussed, simply called *Scél Mongáin*. The story is presented as just another day in the life of Mongán: he casually meets a poet apprentice, cheers him up with a quatrain of verse and sends him on an errand to the Otherworld. Unlike other stories, there is no central conflict or intrigue here. It appears to showcase yet again how poetic knowledge unlocks a whole new (conceptual) world. Curiously, *Scél Mongáin* opens with a seemingly throwaway mention of the poet Forgoll, the same person who unsuccessfully threatened Mongán in *Scél asa-mberar*. He is never mentioned in the story again. His name might purely provide continuity between the tales. However, it could also function as an additional affront to the hapless *fili*, seeing as how even a poor student is found more worthy of travelling into the Otherworld.[85] Mongán would not have chosen the

[81]This idea is similar to the metaphor for abstract thought in *Mentis in excessu* discussed above. See also Boyle (2016: 28). In her discussion of compositional and linguistic patterns of *Cétamon*, Maria Tymoczko also suggests that the language of a supernatural vision reflects its trance-like and uncontrollable nature. It is presented as a rapid disordered succession of images which 'seize the seer and can overwhelm the visionary' (Tymoczko 1983: 31–2).

[82]Irish scholars started to read and extensively use *Etymologiae* soon after the work's completion in 636. Its only surviving seventh-century copy is preserved in an Irish manuscript (now part of St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1339 a.1). See Hillgarth (1962: 182–3; 1984: 8–10), Bischoff (1961: 327–30), Herren (1980).

[83]There is a comparison to be made of such ecstatic recitals to *roscad* and *retoiric* (see n. 60 above). Three early Finn tales discussed above have him recite a rhetoric through *imbas forosnai*.

[84]Daniel Watson advances a similar argument but interprets Mongán's character as a reflection of secular leaders inspired by the Holy Spirit. See Watson (2020: 52–6).

[85]But see Gregory Toner's discussion of *Scél asa-mberar* where he suggests that the tale did not aim to doubt Forgoll's poetic credentials or undermine the authority of high-ranking poets in

young apprentice for this journey unless he was a well-qualified or at least a promising poet. A certain level of poetic skill is construed as a prerequisite for entering the Otherworld in the Mongán tales. Initially, it grants the ability to see and observe the hidden things passively, which is what the apprentice does. But the superior gift is not just to enter the space of inspiration as an observer, but to be able to create divinatory discourse within it, as demonstrated in *Tucait Baile Mongáin*; and this is what separates Mongán from the student poet. In the end, the young man succeeds at his mission and brings back with him a precious stone and a pound of gold for Mongán and a pound of silver for himself. Extending our epistemological metaphor further, these artefacts could be interpreted as a tangible representation of the treasures of knowledge obtained from the realm of higher meanings. To be sure, the greater the poet's skill, the higher the reward for his wisdom.[86] Overall, John Carey's (1987: 12) observation sums it up well: 'inspiration and poetic ability […] mediate between the worlds'.

We have seen in this section how different aspects of Irish intellectual culture converge on each other in more and less explicit ways: Christian Latinity and exegesis are not that far removed from the divinely inspired *imbas* to which St Columba himself was no stranger and which distinguished a well-trained poet like Finn or Mongán. The exegetical method and the art of poetry share a view of the world which presupposes and seeks a two-level signification. Knowledge of physical reality is fundamental and available to everyone. But right beside it, there also exists a world which is unseen to an untrained eye, or rather, an untrained mind. It is the world of deeper insight and higher meaning, the access to which is restricted. It can be gained only through mastering the arts of discourse to a degree which transcends ordinary language and is keyed to divine grace: mystical interpretation taught by the Bible and poetic inspiration.

CONCLUSION

The Otherworld is a crucial element in all texts of the Mongán tradition. When trying to reconcile this apparent native legacy with the Christian paradigm, modern scholars have often viewed it as a mysterious pre-historical paradise. While this remains a perfectly valid point of view, I would like suggest an additional interpretation: the Otherworld as a self-referential allegory for higher knowledge and its source. It is invisible to the uninitiated and only select individuals have access to it. This reading also helps explain the frequent connections between the Otherworld and poetic inspiration. Given how double perspective is available to an inspired poet and to a discerning exegete alike, it is only reasonable to assume that both phenomena spring from a common divine source which alone contains and dispenses higher knowledge.

general but rather was meant to 'expound on the dangers of confounding authority and fact' (Toner 2005: 76).

[86]This reflects the legal implications of the poetic hierarchy as described in *Uraicecht na Ríar* (ed. and trans. Breatnach 1987: 102–15, §§1–22).

If we think about the Mongán texts in the *CDS* as a purposefully edited collection, one consistent theme emerges, couched in otherworldly imagery — that of a search for meanings and mysteries, with a particular interest in the way higher meanings can be revealed through lower ones. Two main paths lead to the *sensus*: poetic inspiration and biblical hermeneutics. Inspiration creates layered discourse while exegesis uncovers layers of meaning in already existing texts, both biblical and non-biblical, and helps the reader to navigate them. Mongán's divine descent and advanced poetic skill, as much as St Columba's ecclesiastical learning and prophetic ability, are the key to the hidden realm of signification.

The texts examined here not only demonstrate praiseworthy intellectual abilities of the characters; they also betray something about their own structure in a way that provides the audience with an effective reading method. The interplay between the in-narrative motifs and techniques of narrative creation outlines a consistent, and distinctly Irish, theory of knowledge where exegetical and poetic modes of thought coexist to create complex narratives and to reveal layers of signification behind text and reality.

Abbreviations

Baile Chuinn	*Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig*
CDS	*Cín Dromma Snechtai*
Etym.	Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*
Immacallam	*Immacallam Choluim Cille ⁊ ind Óclaig oc Carraic Eolairg*
Scél asa-mberar	*Scél asa-mberar combad hé Find mac Cumaill Mongán*

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OMISSION OF THE SUBSTANTIVISING PARTICLE IN OLD IRISH

[Professor David Greene (1915–81) had a special interest in the syntax and etymology of Irish numerals, and contributed a chapter on the Celtic languages to *Indo-European Numerals* (ed. Jadranka Gvozdanović, Mouton De Gruyter, Berlin / New York 1992; repr. 2011), 497–554. In the late 1970s he was in regular attendance at a seminar on the *Triads of Ireland* which I gave at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, and — prompted by discussion at the seminar — wrote the note published here. I came across it recently during the course of my preparation of an edition of this text, which I hope to complete within a few years. After discussion with my colleagues at the Institute, I felt that it would be appropriate to submit Professor Greene's note to *Celtica*, even after such a long time-gap. No changes have been made to his text, apart from the expansion and updating of the references. *Fergus Kelly*].

THURNEYSEN states that the numerals '1' – '10' when used substantivally are preceded by the particle *a h-*, unless they are preceded by the article or another numeral, or are otherwise defined.[1] There are several objections to this formulation, one of which is the fact that it ignores Borgstrøm's convincing arguments for the view that the form of the particle before *dáu* 'two' was *a*^{L} rather than *a h-*.[2] More serious is the inclusion of *óen* 'one' in the series, and its utilisation in the only example of the omission of the particle when the numeral is otherwise defined: *oín di airchinchib Assiæ in sin* 'that (was) one of the leaders of Asia' (*Wb*. 7b11).[3] The numeral *óen* is syntactically quite different from the series '2' – '10'; when used adjectivally it forms a compound, and when used substantivally it is fully declined, and it is only in the later language that it is preceded by *a h-*. Furthermore, 'otherwise defined' is very vague: is it suggested that a partitive adjectival phrase makes the head noun definite in the same way that a definite noun in the genitive would? That this is not the case is clearly shown by old examples, cf. *a dí diib* 'two of them',[4] *a tri dib* 'three of them'.[5] Nor does a following relative clause cause omission of *a h-*: *a cethair for-thugatar in fírinni* 'there are four things which obscure the truth'.[6] For Old Irish in general we can omit 'otherwise defined' from the rule; when

[1] *GOI* 243 §386. See also Translators' Notes no. 92 (p. 679).

[2] Carl Borgstrøm, 'Scottish Gaelic as a source of information about the early history of Irish', *SGS* 5 (1942) 35–44, at 42–4.

[3] Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds and trans.), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose and Verse*, i (Cambridge 1901; repr. Dublin 1987) 541.20–21.

[4] Vernam Hull (ed. and trans.), '*Apgitir Chrábaid:* The Alphabet of Piety', *Celtica* 8 (1968) 44–89, at 60.28.

[5] Kuno Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Hibernica Minora, being a Fragment of an Old-Irish Treatise on the Psalter* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Oxford 1894) 28 §248.

[6] Hull, '*Apgitir*', 66.65.

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the numerals '2' – '10' are used substantivally, they are preceded by the article, by another member of the same series, or by the substantivising particle.

It is usually assumed that these numerals cannot be used as substantives except under the conditions stated above. There are, however, some marginal cases which would seem to contradict this. We need not consider the case of *dáu a trian*, *a trí a lleth* 'two is its third part, three is its half', since the editors tell us that there may be something written before *dáu.*[7] But the case of *is lour da preceptóir i næclis no thríi* 'enough are two teachers in a church or three' (*Wb*. 13a9)[8] is puzzling; the substantivising particle might have been dropped by the scribe, as in *a trí no* [*a*] *cethair* (*CG* 460)[9], but the lenition seems to indicate that the particle was not intended and that the lenition was caused by *no*^{L} 'or'. Kuno Meyer made no comment on the large number of cases of substantival *trí* in his text of *The Triads of Ireland*[10] nor, as far as I know, has any subsequent writer. We find *trí ná dlegat turbaidi* 'three things that are not entitled to exemption' (§156), as well as *trí as anso bís do accallaim* 'three (people) who are most difficult to talk to' (§232). Other examples are §§160, 161, 162, 170, 183, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 198, 221, 227, 228, 233, 242, 243, 245. In one case, *tri*[*ar*] *ná ditoing ná fortongar* (§159), Meyer emended to a personal substantive which, strange to say, does not occur as the first element anywhere in the text, although non-personal *tréide* is common. Even if we assume that the original Old Irish text has been corrupted and interpolated, the problem still remains of explaining how a form so totally at variance with the normal usage of the language at all periods came to be introduced and to be preserved in a large number of manuscripts and re-echoed in late glosses; cf. §211 *trí seithir sochlatad* 'three sisters of good repute', glossed *trí 'ga mbíonn clú maith.* All these examples relate to *trí*, but this may be accidental. D. A. Binchy calls my attention to the heptasyllabic line *.uii. do cumalaib cainib* (for *secht di chaínib cumalaib*?) at Egerton 88, fol. 1c,[11] where there is no way of inserting the substantivising particle without damage to the metre. It may be that these examples point to a comparatively late origin for the particle, but more investigation of archaic texts would be necessary before arriving at any conclusion.

DAVID W. GREENE

[7] Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds and trans.), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose and Verse*, ii (Cambridge 1903; repr. Dublin 1987) 31.27. For discussion of this gloss, see Bernhard Bauer, 'New and corrected MS readings of the Old Irish glosses in the Vienna Bede', *Ériu* 67 (2017), 29–48, at 32–3.

[8] *Thes.* i 581.11.

[9] D. A. Binchy (ed.), *Críth Gablach*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series XI (Dublin 1941, repr. 1979), 18.460 §32.

[10] Kuno Meyer (ed. and trans.), *The Triads of Ireland*, Todd Lecture Series XIII (Dublin 1906).

[11] *CIH* iv, 1266.18.

ÉNCHENNACH: A STUDY IN THE TERMINOLOGY OF SHAPE-CHANGING[1]

Abstract

This article proposes a new interpretation of the medieval Irish word *énchennach*, a term associated with transformation between bird-form and human form. It is argued that the word has almost always been misrepresented in the scholarship and the dictionaries. A sketch of early Irish shape-changing imagery is first offered, using a range of materials from the Old Irish to the Early Modern period, before examining the attestations of *énchennach* in light of the hypothesis that the second element of the compound is not the familiar *cenn* 'head' but the rarer *cenn* or *ceinn* meaning 'skin, surface'. Comparative evidence from Norse and Old English contributes to the argument, and a possible survival is proposed in the first element of the Modern Irish word *ceannchochall*.

Introduction

Shape-changing as an aspect of the art of pagan sorcerers and Otherworld beings is a recurring theme in medieval Irish literature, and it presents special challenges for the resources of language and imagination.[2] A classic example, probably of ninth-century date, is the moment in *Tochmarc Étaíne* — a narrative which can be seen to play throughout on questions of ambiguity between identity and appearance[3] — when Fuamnach strikes Étaín with her rod of scarlet rowan-wood (*co fleiscc caerthinn corcrai*) so that she 'made

[1]A version of this paper was presented at the Tionól of the School of Celtic Studies, DIAS, in November 2019. For subsequent help and discussion I am grateful to Jacopo Bisagni, Ruairí Ó hUiginn, Seán Ua Súilleabháin, Jürgen Uhlich, and Daniel Watson, who also shared a pre-publication copy of Watson 2020. Mikael Males and *Celtica*'s anonymous reader and editors contributed valuable corrections and improvements. The datings given to texts in parentheses in this article are offered merely as tentative indications for the sake of clarity. In passages cited from medieval texts, italicisations and other details of editorial presentation have been preserved only in displayed quotations, or in other cases where they may be relevant for the argument.

[2]For shape-changing as the special skill of Otherworldly sorcerers, key examples include Úath mac Imomain ('Fear son of Terror') at *Fled Bricrenn* §75, Henderson (1899: 96–7), whose power (*cumachta*) revolves around his endless shape-changing (see further below, and cf. Borsje (2005)), and the swineherds in *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*, whose 'pagan wisdom' (*suīthe ngentlechta*) enables them to change themselves into any kind of form (*in cech richt*), 'just like Mongán mac Fíachnai used to do/be' (*amal no bíth Mongán mac Fiachna*) (Roider 1979: 26, cf. Bondarenko 2015: 185–6). This cross-reference to the paradigmatic example of Mongán (on whom see Watson 2020 and below) is probably an example of the Middle Irish contribution to this text, glossing and contextualising its motifs.

[3]See Williams (2016: 83–9, 96–9), with Carey (2016).

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a pool of water of her', *co nderna lind n-usci di*.[4] Has the girl's nature disappeared into the water, or is there a sense in which the water still 'is' Étaín behind a deceptive appearance?[5] This issue becomes unavoidable in the reverse metamorphosis that follows immediately afterwards: the water becomes heated, boils and coagulates so that the pool becomes a maggot (*cruim*) which in turn becomes a purple fly (*cuil corcrai*),[6] and when the fly visits Midir he knows that this is Étaín herself returned.[7]

Depending on the way it is framed, the problem of the relationship between visible form and personal identity can be addressed in several ways: in terms of the relationship between surface form and essential identity, or between body and soul, or between illusion and reality. This is equally true for the most ancient and traditional mythopoeic imagination, or for complex poetic explorations like those of the Classical Latin poet Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, or for the systematic investigations of Neoplatonic philosophy, right up to the 'twelfth-century Renaissance' and beyond.[8] Any given narrative of shape-changing may correspond better to one or other of these models; it may also partake of several of them at once.

Bird-transformation in medieval Irish literature

Familiar Old Irish examples of the motif of an Otherworld being taking the form of a bird include that in *Aislinge Óengusso* (?*c*. 800), with the cyclical transformation of Cáer Ibormeith between bird-form (*i ndeilb éuin*, etc.) and human form, followed by Óengus's self-transformation so that they fly away as a pair of singing swans;[9] and the third tale of *Tochmarc Étaíne*, in which Midir, having been granted permission to embrace Étaín, carries her out through the skylight of the house (*for forles an tighi*) and the men of Ireland see them next

[4] *Tochmarc Étaíne I* §16, Bergin and Best (1938: 152–3).

[5] The same motif of the scorned wife effecting transformation with a wand of sorcery is found, for example, in the various medieval accounts of the hound-transformation of the mother of Bran and Scéolang (Carey (2002a: 38–9), noting the parallel in *Tochmarc Étaíne*; see also *Feis Tighe Chonáin* 740–5 (Joynt (1936: 22), cf. Reinhard and Hull (1936: 45–6)) and in particularly subtle form in the late medieval text *Oidheadh Chloinne Lir*. Here Aoife strikes the children 'with a wand of magical shape-changing', *do fhleisg doilbthe droigheachta,* and thus puts them into the shapes of swans, *a reachtaibh ceithre n-éaladh* (O'Curry 1863: 120). When Bodhbh Dearg finds out what Aoife has done, his vengeance is reciprocal: he asks her in what shape she would least like to be (*cá riocht in budh measa lé bheith ar bith*) and she answers 'in the shape of a demon of the air' *a riocht deamhain aéoir*, so he strikes her with his own magic wand (*do fhleisg doilbhthe droidhiochta*) to turn her into that shape, in which she remains fixed forever (O'Curry 1863: 128). See Breatnach (1999: 16–20) on the bird-transformations, with which he compares the bird-souls of *Immram Curaig Ua Corra* discussed later in the present article.

[6] *Tochmarc Étaíne* §16, Bergin and Best (1938: 152–3).

[7] *Tochmarc Étaíne* §17, Bergin and Best (1938: 154–5).

[8] For various essays in negotiating this range of paradigms for interpreting Irish narratives of shape-shifting, see for example Bondarenko (2015: 183–95); O'Connor (2016); Watson (2020); and compare the approaches to thematically similar Norse and other Germanic materials in the essays in Barreiro and Cordo Russo (2019). On earlier Classical sources for metamorphosis and its cognitive issues, see Buxton (2009).

[9] *Aislinge Óengusso* §§12–14, Meid (2017: 57–58).

as swans.[10] The same motif is recast in the later medieval period in *Oidheadh Chloinne Lir* (*c*. 1400), with the metamorphosis of the children of Lir into swans and their subsequent reverse transformation into humans at the time they are baptised.[11] This mode of shape-changing is loosely connected with the depiction of the Morrígan, the Bodb and their kin as demonic beings of the air,[12] and relates to the idea that the ability to manipulate the visible forms of living beings is central to the magical power (*cumachtae*) of the people of the Otherworld. Correspondingly, in the Ulster Cycle narratives the distortion that Cú Chulainn undergoes in his battle-fury (*ríastrad*) is related to his name or nickname *sirite*. In *Fled Bricrenn* this is also applied to the shape-changer Úath mac Imomain, in a passage attested as one of the twelfth-century H-interpolations in the Lebor na hUidre copy:[13] 'He was called the *sirite* because he used to transform himself so much into different forms'.[14]

Dualism of various kinds provides ways of making conceptual sense of a tale of transformation. As early as the (probably mid-seventh-century) *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae* of Augustinus Hibernicus, the author recalls with contempt the 'ridiculous tales of the sorcerers (*magi*), who say that their ancestors flew through the ages in the substance of birds (*in avium substantia* [...] *saecula pervolasse*)'.[15] The theological principle being argued here is that such a metamorphosis could only be a phantasm, an illusory change of appearance, because the essential nature (*substantia*) of a human being cannot be transformed into that of a bird.[16] A different species of dualism, that between spiritual and corporeal beings, informs the famous episode of the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* (*c*. 800 and later) in which the saint encounters white birds, who explain that they are survivors of the Fall of the Rebel Angels who did not join with Lucifer in that rebellion and now wander through air and earth, but when the time comes to praise God they take on these bodies that the saint sees

[10] *Tochmarc Étaíne III* §15, Bergin and Best (1938: 134–5).

[11] On the transformation motif see Breatnach (1999: 16–20), with revised texts of the key passages as originally published in O'Curry (1863).

[12] See comparative study by Egeler (2011).

[13] On the intellectual concerns of the H-interpolator(?s) see Carey (2015).

[14] *... is de at-berthe in siriti de ar a met no delbad i n-ilrechtaib* (*Fled Bricrenn* §75, Henderson 1899: 96–7). On *sirite* in relation to the *ríastrad* see further Sayers (1991).

[15] *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae* 1.18, MacGinty (1971: 23); translation, Carey (2000: 58). In his well-known discussion of this passage, Carey goes beyond the evidence, in my view, when he asserts (1999: 57, similarly 2000: 58) that the text here refers to *Irish* druids: in fact Augustinus Hibernicus says nothing about the location of these *magi*, and the word *magus* in Early Chrstian Latin from Ireland or anywhere else is applied equally to pagan sorcerers from any part of the world. It is striking, however, that the closest parallel for the *De Mirabilibus* image is from an Insular source, albeit expressed as allegory rather than metamorphosis: the famous speech of the pagan nobleman of the last pagan generation of Northumbria in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, comparing the life of man to a sparrow which flits into the king's hall on a winter's day and flies through it (*domum citissime pervolaverit*) before flying out again into the storm like a man passing out to death (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.13, Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 182–5).

[16] On the work's strategy of extending and modifying St Augustine of Hippo's principle that after the sixth day of creation God can operate only through what is already in nature, see Carey (1999: 53–8), with MacGinty (1971: 105–6). Smyth shows that the *De Mirabilibus* articulates subtle distinctions between visible appearance and inner essence (2008; cf. Smyth 1996, *passim*).

(*accipimus corpora talia qualia nunc vides*).[17] When an episode related to this appears in the Middle Irish *Immram Curaig Ua Corra* (?*c*. 1200), the articulation is again different when the travellers are told that these birds *are* the souls of holy men.[18] There are similar encounters in other *immrama*,[19] and the image ultimately derives from the story of Elijah preaching to the birds perched on the Tree of Life in Paradise, which is also evoked in the vision of Heaven in *Fís Adomnáin* (*c*. 1000),[20] and again — with Elijah's name explicitly mentioned — in *Dá Brón Flatha Nime*,[21] which was composed shortly after *Fís Adomnáin* and draws directly upon it.[22]

A choice between metamorphosis and metaphor seems sometimes to be posed by accounts of human revenants living in successive bodies through reincarnation, of which there are abundant examples from the Old Irish period onward.[23] The sequences of incarnations recounted by the youth in *Immacallam Choluim Chille ⁊ ind Óclaig* (eighth century),[24] and by Tuán in *Scél Tuáin meic Chairill* (late ninth century),[25] are closely matched in their articulation and imagery by those of Fintan in the Middle Irish poem *Colloquy Between Fintan and the Hawk of Achill*.[26] Considered in purely formal terms, the claim to have taken on different physical forms — 'I have been a hawk [...]' — cannot always be distinguished from a purely metaphorical discourse, as in the extravagant chain of assertions by Amairgen in the *Leabhar Gabhála*, in the archaising poem (*laíd*) that he utters on setting foot on the shore of Ireland.[27] Already in a text dated to the eighth century, *Immram Brain*, the foretelling of Mongán's heroic greatness and future incarnations in Manannán's prophecy[28] seems to be poised between the two modes, with some of the images demanding to be read in terms of metamorphosis and others in terms of metaphor.

Looking to later medieval explorations, this ambiguity between metaphor and metamorphosis is integral to the narrative of the penitential wanderings of Suibhne Geilt in the (probably twelfth-century) narrative *Buile Shuibhne*. When he is cursed, a series of abstract phenomena 'fill' him (*ro líon*), including 'frenzy' and 'fluttering' (*dásacht*, *foluamain*) and he goes in his frenzy 'like

[17] *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* §11.42–44 , Selmer (1989 [1959]: 24), discussed by Carey (1999: 22–3).

[18] *An enlaith atchithisi anmanna daine naemtha iat* (*Immram Curaig Ua Corra* §52, Stokes 1893: 44–5); similarly the voyagers go on to encounter souls in bird-form undergoing punishment for their sins (§57, Stokes 1893: 48–51). Both passages are cited by Breatnach (1999: 16–20).

[19] See for example *The Voyage of Máel Dúin* §§18–19, Oskamp (1970: 136–9); *The Voyaging of St Columba's Clerics*, Prose iv and verses §§ 22–33, Murray (2014: 784–7).

[20] *Fís Adomnáin* §15, edited by John Carey in McNamara et al. (2019: 62–3).

[21] *Dá Brón Flatha Nime* §2, edited John Carey in McNamara et al. (2019: 184–7).

[22] Carey in McNamara et al. (2019: 182).

[23] Because many of the texts witnessing this theme formed part of the lost compilation *Cín Dromma Snechtai*, the connections can often be understood as intertextuality within a single corpus, as argued by Watson (2020).

[24] Carey (1984).

[25] Carey (2002b: 60–1).

[26] Meyer (1907).

[27] Macalister (1938–56: 4.110–13). See the recent study by Archan (2012).

[28] *Immram Brain* §§52–5, Mac Mathúna (1985: 42–3). See further Watson (2020).

any bird' (*amail gach n-ethaid n-aeerdha*),[29] but although what follows is full of bird-like behaviour there is no explicit statement that he has changed shape; at one point, indeed, it is unambiguously denied that he has become (as light as) a bird, when he is perched on the branch of a tree and it bends under his weight so that he falls to the ground.[30] It is impossible to visualise this scene without running the risk of seeming absurd: but is this very challenge to the imagination an aspect of the narrator's art?

It is no coincidence that exactly the same range of possibilities exists for fashioning a story of transformation into wolf or hound. The Irish examples, while relatively few, bear comparison with the rich attestations of this mythical theme in Old Norse, where a similar range of representations is found with transformations into bear as well as wolf.[31] In Norse it may be said that the transformed human being is enveloped in the animal's outer shape or skin (*hamr*), but the same term is also used to refer to a human being wearing an animal skin as a garment on his shoulders. This ambiguity is suggested, for example, by lines of pre-Christian date (*c*. 900) in the poem *Haraldskvæði*, where the wolf-skin warriors (*ulfheðnar*) and bear-skin warriors (*berserkir*)[32] howl and bellow as if they were the very beasts whose skins they wear.[33] Alternatively, the beast-form may be thought of as distinct from the human's bodily self, so that the beast roams around in the world while the man lies unconscious elsewhere: this articulation is found, for example, in Snorri Sturluson's account of Óðinn (understood as an ancient but mortal sorcerer) in *Ynglinga saga* (*c*. 1220–30), where it is explained that he used to change in shape (*skipti hǫmum*) so that his body (*búkr*) would lie as if asleep or dead while he himself was bird, beast, fish or worm.[34] In *Hrólfs saga kraka*, a probably fourteenth-century saga set in the legendary pagan past (*fornaldarsaga*), there is a comparable structure in the account of the warrior Böðvarr bjarki, in which the man himself lies asleep in his tent while he simultaneously roams around outside in the form of a bear.[35] Again, the identification between man and beast can be a matter purely of nomenclature, understood metaphorically, as in another of the *fornaldarsögur*, *Völsunga saga*: here the ancestor-figure Sigi, condemned after having

[29] *Buile Shuibhne* §11, O'Keeffe (1913: 14).

[30] *Buile Shuibhne* §18, O'Keeffe (1913: 24).

[31] Among the vast secondary literature on Norse beast-transformations, I have found the study by Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir (2007) particularly useful; cf. O'Connor (2016), Merkelbach (2019). Dale (2014) offers a thorough survey of the evidence and argues for a minimalist interpretation of *berserkr* and 'berserk fury', suggesting that the most appropriate translation of *berserkr* is simply 'champion' (summarised, 383–7). Although this is an important corrective to the often speculative and extravagant treatments in traditional scholarship, Dale perhaps draws an excessively strict distinction between the lexical meaning of the term and the imagery consistently associated with it.

[32] On the vexed question of whether the *ber-* element is etymologically 'bare' or 'bear', see Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir (2007: 281 n. 18), with the useful survey of interpretations of the question by Dale (2014: 248–50).

[33] Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir (2007: 280). For the text see R. D. Fulk's edition at Whaley (2012: 102), also available at www.skaldic.abdn.ac.uk, last accessed 20 April 2020.

[34] *Ynglinga saga* §7, Wessen (1976: p. 10.7–9).

[35] Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir (2007: 282).

murdered a neighbour's servant, is named as *vargr í véum*, 'wolf in the sanctuary'.[36] Similarly, in the more rationalised and historicising part of the account of Óðinn in *Ynglinga saga*,[37] his *berserkir* go bare-chested to battle with the fury of dogs, wolves, bears, bulls, and it is explained that this phenomenon is called by the name *berserksgangr* 'berserk behaviour' — the naming matches their mental state and behaviour, including specifically their gait and movement (*-gangr*), but there is no mention of a transformation of form.

A similar, at times overlapping, range of articulations is found in the scattering of medieval Irish texts in which humans are identified with wolves and hounds, *i richt con* or *i conrachtaib*.[38] The beast-form may be a skin or outer covering, as in the account of the werewolves of Cruachu in the twelfth-century *Acallam na Senórach*, who lay aside their *cochaill chiarleabhra* 'long dark coverings' when they return to human form;[39] or it may be understood as a phantom shape that moves around while the person is unconscious, as in the celebrated account in the late eleventh-century *Wonders of Ireland* and its derivatives.[40] Again, the terminology may be used in a way that seems purely metaphorical, as when outlawry is named as *fáelad* 'wolfing' or when an outlaw is called *cú glas* 'grey hound'.[41] Heroic poetry seems sometimes to deploy the image in a way that exploits these very ambiguities.[42] The conceptual question — how does the inner identity of the man relate to the outer form of the wolf? — is alluded to explicitly in the remarkable theological tract *Scéla na hEsérgi*,[43] probably composed in the later eleventh century, in which the author lays out the distinctions between an array of different kinds of 'resurrection', including the calling-up of phantoms and the transmigration of souls. An item in the list is *metaformatio* ('transformation'), glossed in Irish as *tarmchrutad*. This word is seen already in the Old Irish Würzburg Glosses referring to the Transfiguration of Christ,[44] but here the phenomenon that it names is exemplified by the case of werewolves

[36]Cited by Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir (2007: 283).

[37]*Ynglinga saga* §6, Wessen (1976: p. 10.3–6).

[38]I draw here on the fundamental studies, Reinhard and Hull (1936) and especially Carey (2002a). See also the exhaustive collection of examples and interpretations by Bernhardt-House (2010, especially chapters 3, 4).

[39]*Acallamh na Senórach* 7706, Stokes (1900: 215), discussed by Carey (2002: 67), and see below in this article.

[40]Gwynn (1955: 12–13), discussed by Carey (2002a: 53–4); see further Boyle (2014: 248–51).

[41]*Fáeladh* refers to werewolfism as such in the account of Laighnech Faeladh in *Cóir Anmann* (Long Version §218, Arbuthnot 2007: 2.58, 131), but must be taken figuratively at *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* 206 (Knott 1936: 7): on the latter see further Carey (2002a: 68–9), O'Connor (2013: 83), with West (1997). Beyond the scope of this article is the issue of early Indo-European and Irish wolf- and hound-imagery associated with outlawry and initiation into manhood. For Irish purposes the fundamental treatment remains McCone (1986).

[42]Carey cites from *Táin Bó Cúailnge* a poem in which Fergus prophesies the slaughter of battle, including the phrase *slúag inna ndunechon* 'the army of the man-hounds' (*TBC 1* 2420, O'Rahilly (1976: 74), discussed by Carey (2002a: 69–70), drawing in turn on Kelly (1992: 88)). The imagery here is very closely comparable to that in the Norse *Haraldskvæði* discussed earlier.

[43]Text and translation: Stokes (1904).

[44]Wb 15b6, *Thes* 1.600.

(*iar ndesmirecht na conricht*).[45] The presence of this example here shows that werewolf transformation is being treated as a serious conceptual problem. [46]

In short, transformation of the outer body, illusory change of appearance, and figured language are all possible ways of giving substance to the image of a human being becoming an animal. Against this background, I return from wolves to birds with the remarkable word *énchennach*, which, as I will argue, represents one way of specifying the relationship between inner identity and outer bird-form in a narrative of shape-changing.

ÉNCHENNACH IN EARLY IRISH SOURCES[47]

The best-known and probably the earliest attestation of this word is in the tenth- to eleventh-century saga[48] *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (hereafter *TBDD*), Recension II, in the episode of the conception of Conaire. Mess Buachalla, the foundling daughter, who is hinted to be a descendant or reincarnation of the Étaín of *Tochmarc Étaíne*,[49] has been exposed at birth, but she has been spared from death and raised secretly by the herdsmen of the king of Tara in a house with no door but only a window and a skylight (*forléas*, cf. above). The king, who is childless and has received the prophecy that a woman of unknown parentage will bear his child, is about to seize her to be his wife; but the night before that is due to happen a bird (*én*) flies in through the skylight of the building. This bird lays down (*fácaib*) his *énchendaich* on the floor of the house, and seizes her (*arda-gaib*); he tells her that she will be pregnant by him and that the son who will be born to her must not kill birds (*TBDD* 91–7). Later the boy indeed attacks birds — Otherworldly birds, whose flight draws him to the sea, where he threatens them with his sling. On the waves they lay down their *énchendcha*, and they attack him with swords and spears; one of them protects him and explains that he is Nemglan, *rí énlaithi do athar* 'the king of your father's bird-troop' (*TBDD* 145); it is forbidden to the boy to attack birds, because every bird is 'akin' or even 'related by blood' (*dír*) to him through its parentage (146–7). A key aspect of this episode is that Nemglan is the source of the prohibitions, *geissi*, that will be upon him as king (*TBDD* 168–81), just

[45] *Tidings of the Resurrection* §33 = *LL* 2702–7, Stokes 1904: 250. See Carey (2002a: 44–8).

[46] The theological affinities of *Scéla na hEsérgi* remain disputed. Carey (2002a: 44–8) treats many of its ideas and even its terminology as derived ultimately from the same sources as the seventh-century Hiberno-Latin *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*, while Elizabeth Boyle argues in contrast that the text is imbued with contemporary (i.e. eleventh- or early twelfth-century) Neoplatonic thought (Boyle 2009, 2015). Arguably there is truth in both perspectives.

[47] For clarity's sake I adopt the normalised spelling *énchennach* throughout this article, except when citing a specific passage of a text. Every attestation cited has been checked against the relevant manuscript images online: the underlying form is consistent throughout, although there are the usual trivial spelling variations and hypercorrect forms, e.g. *aencheandach* (*Dán ar chogadh na Traoi* §14.3, at NLS Adv. 72.1.19, fol. 1vb29, see Mac Eoin (1961: 32) and *oencheannaich* (*Togail na Tebe* 586, reading from NLS Adv. 72.1.8, fol. 4va30, see Calder (1922: 36).

[48] Following the dating adopted by O'Connor (2013: 20 and *passim*).

[49] On Mess Buachalla's otherworldly identity as descendant or reincarnation of Étaín, see O'Connor (2013: 53–67).

as the bird-father told his mother of the prohibition on killing birds. The king's violation of his *geissi* will of course be vital to the fulfilment of the plot.[50]

What then is an *énchennach*? The word obviously looks like a compound based on *én* + *cenn*. Formally, one would posit a compound **énchenn* 'bird-headed being',[51] with the *-ach* suffix forming an adjective which then becomes nominalised, as with (e.g.) *bolgach* 'smallpox', *gaiscedach* 'warrior'.[52] Something of this kind was assumed in the entry in the printed *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (s.v. énchendach), almost certainly written by Eleanor Knott,[53] which has survived without change into the new electronic edition.[54] This begins with the words 'bird-covering, feather mantle', keyed to an entry in the seventeenth-century compilation *O'Clery's Glossary*, which glosses our word as *cochall én*. It then gives us the two *TBDD* instances with the explanation that 'the original meaning [*sc.* in these passages] may have been something like *bird-cap*, perhaps a mask worn in totemistic ceremonies'.

The thought-process behind this is worth reconstructing. *Cochall*, being derived from the Latin *cucullus*, is indeed the normal word for a monk's cowl, which is a hooded garment, so it is *prima facie* reasonable to link it to headgear (for a revised treatment of the entry in *O'Clery's Glossary*, see below). But why the startling invocation of 'totemistic ceremonies'? This is unsupported by any evidence, and appears to be a remnant of Stokes's note at this point in his original edition of *TBDD*, where he remarked on 'the existence in Ireland of totems, and of the rule that the person to whom a totem belongs must not kill the totem-animal.'[55] Nettlau, whom Stokes cites as his authority, seems to have been the first to use the term *totemistic* in the present context; and one suspects that the lexicographer was encouraged to carry this over into the dictionary entry because of the linkage in early twentieth-century anthropological thought between the terms *totem* and *taboo*, given that both the birdman father and Nemglan (*TBDD* 168–81) speak of *geissi*, customarily translated 'taboos.'[56]

It is because of all this, and especially the imputation that the basic image is a garment in the form of a cloak or cowl that covers the head, that translators and scholars persist with terms like 'feather-hood',[57] or the more generalised 'bird-covering'.[58] In context, however, the word seems to have nothing specifically to do with head or headdress, still less with masking. Conaire's father

[50]O'Connor (2013, especially 129–52).

[51]Familiar comparanda would be such terms as *conchenn* 'doghead', *caitchenn* 'cathead', the names of monstrous peoples living on the edge of the world, on which see Clarke (2012), Bernhardt-House (2010: ch. 5).

[52]See Russell (1990: 95–7) on the 'unpredictable though understandable' shift from adjectival to nominal function in such cases.

[53]Eleanor Knott and Maud Joynt were responsible for the fascicle in question, according to Quin's explanatory note at the beginning *DIL* vol. 1. The entry in the Glossary of Knott's edition of *TBDD* is similarly 'bird-head-dress, feather hood' (Knott 1936: 121).

[54]*eDIL* s.v. *énchendach*, last consulted 23 February 2021.

[55]Stokes (1901: 20 n. 9), citing Nettlau (1891–3, at 1891: 243).

[56]On *geis* and taboo here see O'Connor (2013: 72–81), with the many publications on this theme by Sjöblom, especially Sjöblom (1996, 2000).

[57]Gantz (1981: 64).

[58]O'Connor (2013: 233); similarly Miles (2011: 75).

first flew in through the skylight, then laid down his *énchennach* before uniting sexually with a woman, so at this stage he was presumably equipped with a man's body. Nemglan and his followers appeared to Conaire to be birds, and flew like birds, but after removing their *énchendcha* they could wield human weapons, evidently in human hands. The vital clue, I suggest, is in the item in *O'Clery's Glossary* (probably copied from an earlier gloss or glossary), explaining our word as *cochall én*.[59] Although the Latin parent word of *cochall* regularly refers to a hood, the attestations of the Irish word in *eDIL* overwhelmingly refer to the enveloping garment as a whole; and the word can also refer simply to the shell of an acorn or nut,[60] a sense found as early as the glosses in the Southampton Psalter.[61] I suggest that it is this sense of *cochall* that is attested in the shapechanging narrative from *Acallam na Senórach* discussed above: the *cochaill chiarleabhra* that the werewolves lay down when they return to human form are the visible outer shapes that have made them look like wolves.[62] This in turn finds a close echo in the transformation of the children of Lir back to human form at the end of *Oidheadh Chloinne Lir*: Lairgnéan the king of Connacht seizes the birds of the altar and *do chuaidh a ttlacht cochaill dhíobh,* 'their covering [consisting in] a *cochall* came away from them', so that they are transformed back into four aged humans.[63]

So far, then, our revised assessment of the evidence is that an *énchennach* is something that endows one with the overall shape and appearance of a bird, including the ability to fly. When the *DIL* entry considers the remaining medieval attestations of *énchennach*, it says that the word seems to have been 'transferred' to mean 'wings, feathers, winged thing'. On further investigation, however, we will see that these attestations are in fact entirely consistent with the first group, with the proviso that the word becomes the *mot juste* for one specific item of 'bird-gear', the feathered guise of the Roman god Mercury when he flies through the world.

Probably the earliest example of this is in the eleventh-century poem on the Trojan War, begining *Luid Iasōn ina luing lóir*,[64] whose wording is closely matched in the corresponding passage of the Book of Leinster version of *Togail Troí*.[65] In the traditional legend Aeetes king of Colchis says that he will let Jason have the Golden Fleece only if he yokes two monstrous bulls and uses them to sow the dragon's teeth; but in these Irish texts the king's demands are more elaborated, and include his acquiring the flying-gear of Mercury:

[59]The translation 'comb of a cock' offered by the editors of the scholarly edition of O'Clery's Glossary (Müller and Miller 1879–83, at 1879/80: 412) is presumably no more than a guess.

[60]*eDIL* s.v. *cochall* (b), last consulted 16 April 2020.

[61]Mac Néill (2012: 212.4).

[62]For *cochall* in the context of shape-changing see also Ó Briain (2000: 156–71).

[63]O'Curry (1863: 150–2).

[64]Mac Eoin (1961).

[65]To the best of my knowledge, the passage is not found in any of the other versions of *Togail Troí.*

> Tabhrad claidheabh Olcāi*n* āin,
> teascas í*ar*an*n*, cloch is cnāimh,
> 'san ae*n*-cheandach Mercūir mín
> imthigheas muir is mōr-thīr. (*Dán* §14, Mac Eoin 1961: 32)
>
> 'Let them fetch the sword of noble Vulcan which cuts iron, stone, and bone, and the *énchennach* of gentle Mercury which travels on sea and dry land.' (tr. Mac Eoin, adapted)

In the prose of the Book of Leinster version of *Togail Troí*, similarly, Aeetes asks for *encennach Mercúir, cumma imthéit muir ⁊ tír*,[66] and the phrasing of the passage as a whole suggests that the author of this text is drawing directly on the poem or its immediate source.[67] In a remarkable example of generic continuity, the image is reworked several centuries later in the late medieval text *Ranna an Aeir*,[68] an account of the mythology of the constellations, where the *enceannaidh Mercuir* and the sword of Vulcan are reassigned to Perseus.[69]

The relationship between this sub-meaning and its Latin antecedents can be seen in most detail in a passage of *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, the (probably eleventh-century) Irish prose rendering of Vergil's *Aeneid*.[70] In the Latin original, Vergil describes how Mercury binds around his feet the golden sandals (*talaria*) which carry him high over sea and land on wings (*sublimem alis*, *Aeneid* 4.240, similarly 252), and takes up the rod (*caduceus*) with which he draws souls to and from the Underworld and also rules the winds and travels across the clouds (4.242–44); he then flies down from Olympus and lands in the sea like a bird, *avi similis* (4.254). In the Irish this becomes the following:[71]

> Dochuaid i*ar*sin Mercuir risi*n* te*acht*aire*acht* sin, ⁊ ro gab a ence-andaigh ui*m*e, ⁊ is cu*m*a roi*m*luaidh*edh*-se muir ⁊ tir, ⁊ gabaid a luirg n-encheandaighi i*n*a lai*m* .i. i*n*d*ar*[a] cend di f*r*i beoad ⁊ i*n* cend ele f*r*i m*ar*b*ad* [...] (*Imtheachta Aeniasa* 765–8, Calder 1911: 48)
>
> 'Thereupon Mercury went with that message, and donned his bird gear, and indifferently he would traverse sea and land, and he took his wand in his hand, the one end of it to make alive, the other to kill...' (tr. Calder)

This thing that he 'donned', or more precisely put 'around himself' (*uime*), is naturally taken as some kind of garment, a garment that enables one to fly. The peculiar phrase that follows, *luirg n-encheandaighi* (767), repays examination: the second noun is presumably a defining genitive, thus giving '*énchennach*

[66] *LL* p. 220b26–7, Stokes (1881: 7.258).
[67] Mac Eoin (1961: 24–7), cf. Miles (2011: 74).
[68] Anderson (1909). The text is tentatively dated to the sixteenth century.
[69] Noted by Miles (2011: 75 n.); cf. Mac Eoin (1961: 25 n. 19).
[70] Edition by Calder (1907); fundamental treatments by Poppe, most recently Poppe (2014).
[71] On the Irish rendering of this passage of Vergil see also Miles (2011: 75).

wand' or 'wand consisting of an *énchennach*'. The item in question is the *caduceus* of Mercury, which was always depicted as a stick with a pair of wings on the sides. Together, then, the two instances in this passage confirm that the essential meaning of the *énchennach* is that it makes one feathered or winged. Although the familar image of Mercury in ancient and Renaissance art typically has him wearing a winged helmet, this is clearly not the image here: a point that can be further corroborated by the final member of the Mercury group of attestations. In *Togail na Tebe* (*c*. 1100?), starting from cues in the source text where Mercury is described as *impiger alis* 'surging on his wings' (Statius, *Thebaid* 1.292) and as binding his winged sandals to his ankles (1.304), before heading off in flight (*aliger* 2.1),[72] the Irish author describes how Mercury first *rogob a oenchendach luim luaimnig lanalaind imi re himluad ⁊ re hetegail os talmain do*,[73] 'put around him his smooth darting full-beautiful *énchennach* in order to hover and to fly above the earth', and *then* put on his ornamented helmet (*cathbarr orecair ilbrechtnaigthi*, 587). Here, clearly, the *énchennach* is distinct from the headgear.

In final corroboration of this we can adduce two later medieval examples — so far as I know, the only other attestations of the word in existence — which refer to things *other* than Mercury's flying-gear. The first is in *Scél an Mínaduir* (?late twelfth century), where our word refers to the flying apparatus which Daedalus and Icarus make out of feathers so that they can fly away from captivity in Crete.[74] The second is in the remarkable text *Forbais Droma Damgaire*, probably thirteenth-century, about the war fought by the druid Mog Ruith to secure control of the lands around Fermoy.[75] Here Mog Ruith uses his magical arts to fly up in the air, and to enable him to do this he is given 'the hide of a hornless brown bull and *a encennach alath brec cona foluamain ethaidi*, 'his pied and dappled *énchennach* with its fluttering of a bird'.[76] Mog Ruith is, I suggest, following the example of his teacher Simon Magus (*Simon druí*),[77] whom he has invoked in a *retoiric* a little earlier in the narrative (*dogairiur Simon*, §113) and whose most notorious occult practice was the use of magical means to achieve flight.[78]

Ce(i)nn, 'SKIN, OUTER COVERING'

If the examples above have been adequately explained, the meaning of *énchennach* is clear and unproblematic: it is a form or garment that envelops the

[72] The episode of *Togail na Tebe* combines elements of both these passages, in which Statius describes two stages of the same episode of the action, separated by a long digression.

[73] *Togail na Tebe* 586–7, Calder (1922: 36–7).

[74] *Sgél in Mínaduir* 45–6, Hillers (1999: 136–9).

[75] This passage is adduced by West (1986: 2.160–2).

[76] *Forbais Droma Damgaire* §117, Sjoestedt (1926). The shorter texts about Mog Ruith are edited by Müller-Lissowski (1923).

[77] O'Brien (1962: 279).

[78] On Mog Ruith and his relationship to Simon Magus see O'Leary (2001), (2017); on the flight motif, O'Leary (2013: 1.49–52). I am grateful to John Carey for discussion of the passage cited here.

body, covered in feathers and associated with the magical or demonic power of flight. What, then, of the *-cenn-* element? One could, of course, guess that there was originally a meaningful 'head' element here, which was 'bleached away' when the compound was lexicalised; but I believe a stronger explanation is at hand.[79] Let us return to the details of the formation. One class of compounds in *–ach* is comprised of feminine *ā*-stem nouns, in each case indicating a collectivity or mass of the item named by the headword, as for example *cráebach* 'mass of branches', 'branchwood', *íascach* 'an abundance of fish'.[80] If we analyse *énchennach* as an example of this pattern,[81] a candidate for the headword presents itself in the word *ce(i)nn*, meaning *skin* or *outer covering*. Before the recent updating of *eDIL* this word had a shadowy history in the scholarship,[82] and we must first review the scanty attestations.

In the St Gall Priscian manuscript (850–1 CE), in a list of nouns formed by suffixing *-tudo* to the stem of another noun, Priscian is explaining that *testudo* (literally 'tortoise, tortoise-shell', and itself glossed here above the line as *bestia tardigrada cum longo collo* 'a slow-moving beast with a long neck'), is formed *a testa sive testu,* 'from [the word] *testa* or *testu*'. This Latin word *testa* literally means 'jug, shell, potsherd'; the key item for us is the gloss *hua cheinn* inserted above *a testa.*[83] Later on the same folio, *[tes]ta* is again glossed *ceinn* (52b26), here formally an accusative. The next example, also ninth-century, is

[79]So far as I know, the principal argument of this article has been anticipated twice before. Stokes in the Vocabulary to his original edition of *TBDD* (1901: 418) gave for *énchennach* 'birdskin [...] cf. Icel[andic] *fjadhr-hamr* winged haunch': this can now be understood in relation to the note in his earlier edition of *Togail Troí* (see below, n. 94), but the wording in the *TBDD* Vocabulary entry is obscure (haunch = thigh?) and does not actually mention the parallel in *Togail Troí*. As such, 'birdskin' must have looked like a contextual gloss, which presumably explains why Knott or others did not take it up in any subsequent publications. Separately, some eight years later Anderson in his edition of *Ranna an Aeir* (1909: 408 n. 1) cited Kuno Meyer — apparently a personal communication, as no reference is given — for the view that our word is built on *ceinn* 'skin'. As the entry for that word in Meyer's *Contributions* of 1906 was not carried forward into future dictionaries (see below), the opportunity to build on this was lost.

[80]For numerous examples of collectives formed in this way see Russell (1990: 93–5).

[81]Note, for example that the accusative *énchendaich* at *TBDD* 92 (see above) implies that the noun is an *ā*-stem.

[82]Meyer listed *ceinn* 'skin' in his *Contributions* (1906: 331), giving only the Book of Armagh example. Greene argued in opposition (1958: 45) that *cenni* 'scales' there is plural of *cenne*, a singulative derived from an *o*-stem noun *cenn* 'skin'. For the existence of *cenn* 'skin', he relied on the indirect evidence of the Brythonic cognates and the modern Scottish Gaelic compounds (discussed later in the present article). In his 1975 article, he turned to the MS St Gall 904 attestation and proposed that what was originally an *o*-stem **cenn* has here been shifted from its original declensional class to become a feminine *ā*-stem, as a way of distinguishing it from the homonymous *o*-stem *cenn* 'head'. As Greene explains (1975), the C volume of the printed *DIL* simply gave the lemma *'ceinn, cenni*' with no English translations, citing Greene (1958) for the explanation that 'this is a singulative from 1 *cenn*'; but this latter word does not appear in its place, the only *cenn* entry being the *o*-stem 'head', which is not relevant. Vendryes et al. (1987: s.v. ceinn) give a précis of Greene's two articles, but do not add to the discussion; nor does Matasović (2009: 201 s.v. **kenno*). A careful reassessment is provided by Toner et al. (2013, s.v.), and *eDIL* now (since 2018) has an entry for 2 cenn 'skin', adding the new *cenn for sallaib* example and following Greene (1975) by also listing the singulative *cenne* as a separate lexical item.

[83]Bauer-Hofman-Moran in their online database (www.stgallpriscian.ie, last consulted 20 April 2020) take a line consistent with that followed here, identifying the Irish word as 2 cenn 'skin' and translating 'from a covering'. Hofman's note, however, is ambivalent: he offers the translation

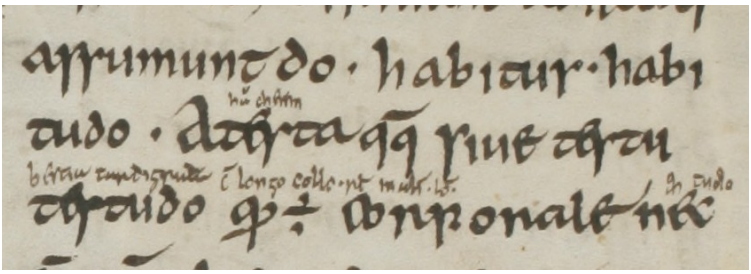


Fig. 1: MS St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 904, p. 52b, detail.
Image courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen and the e-codices project.

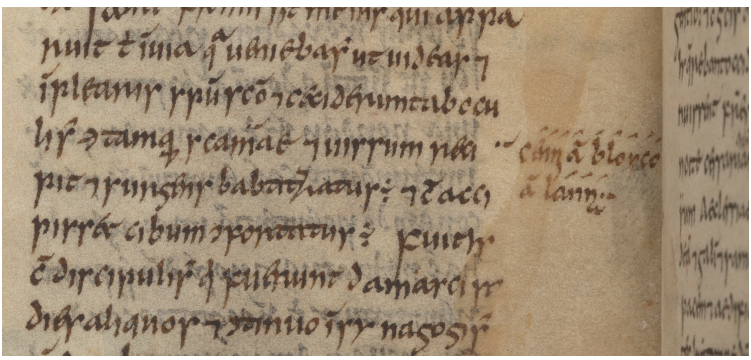


Fig. 2: MS Trinity College Dublin 52 (Book of Armagh), fol. 177vb, detail.
Image courtesy of the Library of Trinity College Dublin.

in the Book of Armagh's glossed copy of the Acts of the Apostles, the passage recounting how the blinded Saul recovered his sight and 'the scales fell from his eyes', *ceciderunt ab oculis eius tamquam scamae ut vissum recipit* (Acts 9.18).

Here *scamae* (for standard Latin *squamae*, 'scales') is glossed *cenni aut bloscc aut lanna. Bloscc* represents standard *bláesc*, a covering or integument; *lanna* is again 'plates, scales'.[84] Here, then, we have nominative plural *cenni*. That these glosses bear witness to a genuine lexical configuration is neatly corroborated by an entry in a late medieval collection of glossed Latin words, where we find Latin *testa* itself explained as Irish *blaesc*.[85] Recent scholarship has added a third attestation, in an eleventh-century satirical poem:

> Gilla Cellaig, cenn for sallaib,
> seilche co ndíb bennaib,
> finna ar gúaire cullaig allaid
> challaig Gilla Cellaig. (McLaughlin 2008: 160)

'from a head', but points out in his note that, although *testa* became the source of French *tête* 'head', it here carries its older meaning 'jug, shell' (1996: 2.256).

[84] See *Thes* 1.497.1.

[85] Stokes 1860: 8, at line 179.

> 'Gilla Cellaig, a scum on flitches of bacon,
> a snail with two horns;
> a hair on the bristles of a fat (?) wild boar
> is Gilla Cellaig.' (tr. McLaughlin)

McLaughlin identifies *cenn* here[86] as another instance of our word, extended in sense from 'skin, surface' to 'scum', perhaps 'mould'.[87] The image resonates with that of the 'hair on bristles' later in the same quatrain.

Allowing for trivial orthographic variation in the manuscripts, we may posit either an *ā*-stem *cenn*, with acc./dat. *ceinn*, or an *i*-stem *ceinn*, with the meaning 'skin, surface, covering'; it remains possible that both exist as separate lexemes, with the *i*-stem distinguished as 'plate, layer, scale'.[88] The pattern of attestations is certainly curious: the fact that the word is found twice within explanatory glosses suggests that it was a relatively familiar one when the manuscripts in question were annotated, yet subsequently it virtually disappears from attested medieval Irish. However, there is evidence for its survival in modern Scottish Gaelic, where it may be detected in such compounds as *boicionn* 'goatskin' and *laoicionn* 'calfskin'.[89]

Further, as pointed out by Greene, close cognates are abundantly attested in other Celtic languages, most prominently Welsh *cen* 'skin, hide, peel, scales of fish, scurf'.[90] The semantic match with the Old Irish materials is close: it is particularly striking that John Davies' *Dictionnarium Duplex* of 1632 equates the word with Latin *squama*, reminiscent of the Book of Armagh attestation discussed above. Another of the sub-senses given in *GPC Online*, *cen diod fethedig* 'mouldiness on the surface of beer', recalls the *cenn for sallaib* example of the Irish word, and there are also compounds with words for animal types: *hyddgen* 'deerskin', *marchgen* 'horsehide'.[91] Because the Welsh word is probably an original *o*-stem, the formal match with the Irish materials is not exact, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the Irish word or words reach back to an Insular/Common Celtic ancestor, and that one should expect to find *cenn-* compounded with words for particular types of creature.

From positing **énchenn* 'birdskin' it is only a short step to interpreting *énchennach* as a derivative of that word. It signals the idea that the Otherworld

[86] And repeated at line 6, *nocho cen for sallaib.*

[87] *Celtica*'s anonymous referee suggests that the posited extension to 'scum' or 'mould' is unnecessary and that the meaning could simply be 'skin'. In context, however, an insulting meaning seems to be required, and the image of putrefaction proposed by McLaughlin is appropriate for this. Compare, for example, the description of disgustingly poor food at *Erchoitmed Ingine Gulidi* §6 (Meyer 1894: 66–7).

[88] This last proposal is not fully pursued in the present article, as the second element of the proposed compound *én-chenn-* would necessarily be formed from the base word. The Book of Armagh example is clearly related to the others collected here, whether or not it is a separate singulative formation. The new *eDIL* entry follows Greene (1958) in accepting the singulative as a lexeme in its own right.

[89] These words are adduced by Greene (1958: 45). See now *Corpas na Gàidhlic* svv. (www.dasg.ac.uk/corpus/, last consulted 22 April 2020).

[90] See *GPC online* s.v. cen (last consulted 20 April 2020).

[91] For these and other Brythonic cognates see Jackson (1950, 76–7); Greene (1958: 45), Greene (1975: 176).

being — god, sorcerer, demon — is enveloped in the outer form or 'skin' of the creature whose form he has taken. The *énchennach* of Conaire's Otherworldly father is precisely equivalent to the grey *cochall* of the werewolf, and conceals his true identity in just the same way. It should be noted that although this noun **énchenn* is not directly attested, there is a strong possibility that it survives in a proper name. In *Tochmarc Emire* Cú Chulainn, on leaving the fort of the exotic warrior-teacher Scáthach, is confronted by a hostile Otherworldly hag (*sentonn*) called *Eis[si] Énchinne*;[92] the second part of the name seems to represent a genitive, as it were 'Eissi the Birdskinned', and perhaps refers to a lost narrative in which she took bird-form.[93]

Parallels in Old Norse and Old english

Although the conception scene in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* is the best-known example of the word *énchennach*, it is seen more often as a technical term for the flying-gear of the Roman god Mercury. This is doubly strange because in the original Latin texts (most prominently the passage of *Aeneid* 4 discussed above) the god flies by means of *talaria*, usually translated 'sandals'. How have the winged sandals of the Classical sources become the all-over feathered body that we propose here? The issue is compounded by a remarkable equivalence in the Germanic languages, which was originally noted by Stokes[94] and has been discussed recently by Miles and O'Connor.[95] This word takes in Norse the form *fjaðrhamr*, in Old English *feðerhoma* (var. *feðerhama*) 'feather-body', 'bird-shape'. The second element is the same as *-hamr* 'covering, outer form, body', noted at the start of this article in connection with wolf-transformations. Norse *fjaðrhamr* appears in the Eddic poem *Þrymskviða*, dated as early as the tenth century, where Loki borrows this thing from Freyja (here perhaps seen as close to a valkyrie) so that he can fly to the land of the giants;[96] being feathered, it makes a roaring or rustling noise (*dunði*, 5.2, 9.2) as he flies. Much later, in *Alexanders saga* (*c*. 1260) it reappears naming the flying-apparatus of a god, Sleep (*Somnus*) in one case and Betrayal (*Proditio*) in the other, responding

[92] I am grateful to Ruairí Ó hUiginn for bringing this name to my attention.

[93] Van Hamel in his edition makes potentially misleading choices here. He prints *Éis Énchend* for the nominative of the name (*Tochmarc Emire* §77, Van Hamel 1933: 56) but this is not the reading of the principal manuscripts on which his edition is based, all of which have *–chinne* or similar (see the readings from RIA MS D iv 2 (1223) and BL Harleian MS B 5280 in Van Hamel's apparatus; similarly the spelling is *Essi Enchinne* at MS Dublin, RIA MS 23 N 10 (967), p. 25.30). Van Hamel seems to have replaced the testimony of these manuscripts with the reading in *-chend* found at Bodleian MS Rawlinson B 512, fol. 118rb18, presumably on the assumption that the second element is to be taken as *o*-stem *cenn* 'head'. Against this, however, it should be noted that the name also appears in an earlier passage in the genitive (*Tochmarc Emire* §75) and here all the manuscript witnesses, including Rawlinson B 512 (fol. 118ra8), have the ending *–chinde*, *–chende* or similar, precluding the possibility of an *o*-stem. The pattern is similar when the name reappears in the later version of the tale of Cú Chulainn's stay with Sgáthach, *Foghlaim Con Culainn* §§32, 53–6 (Stokes 1908: 127–8, 136–9).

[94] Stokes (1881: iv), referring to a correspondence with Sophus Bugge.

[95] Miles (2011: 75–6), O'Connor (2013: 233).

[96] *Þrymskviða* 3.6, 5.2, 9.2, Bugge (1867: 124–5); translation, Orchard (2011: 96–7).

each time to a cue in the Latin source text saying that the god in question is feathered.[97] Twice elsewhere in pseudo-historical sagas it refers to flying-gear made by human wonder-workers.[98] The distribution — between indigenous Otherworld narratives in which a pagan divinity uses the feather-garment to fly, learned Classicising narratives of pagan flying deities, and accounts of human feats of flight — compares closely with what we observed for *énchennach*. The word *hamr* in turn has a close cognate within Old Norse in the form of *hams* 'shell of fruit, (sloughed) skin of snake', which heightens the sense of a semantic match with *énchennach*, *cochall* and the other Irish and Welsh words discussed above.[99]

However, the clinching Germanic evidence is in the attestations of this word's Old English cousin. (Given the respective manuscript dates, it is quite possible that an originally Old English word was borrowed into Norse,[100] or equally we may be looking at independent developments identical in spirit.) One of the very earliest surviving examples of Anglo-Saxon learning is the fragmentary collection of Servian commentary on Vergil known as the Spangenberg Bifolium, probably written in England in the early eighth century and then brought to Fulda, a monastery with continuing Anglo-Saxon links since its foundation.[101] Here, in one of several Old English annotations that have been inserted into the manuscript, the Vergilian word *talaria* for the winged sandals of Mercury is glossed above the line with the words *sāx. fether haman*.[102] Thus the Old-English-speaking exegete of Vergil reaches out to — or creates — a vernacular equivalent meaning 'feather-body', 'feather-covering'.

The curiosity here is that in both Irish and Germanic the same shift has taken place so that the original reference to 'winged sandals'[103] has been lost and replaced by the image of an all-body covering. Direct cross-influence between the learned communities of the two languages is a distinct possibility

[97] The *fjaðrhamr* of the sleep-god Somnus (Finnur Jónsson (1925: 70.23) is translated from the image of the god's *madidas pennas* 'damp feathers' in the source text, Walter of Châtillon's Latin poem *Alexandreis* (*Alexandreis* 4.442, Colker 1978: 111); that of Proditio (Finnur Jónsson 1925: 148.25) responds to Walter's *pennis ...venenatis* 'poisoned feathers' (*Alexandreis* 10.164–5, Colker 1978: 259).

[98] *Þiðreks saga* §131, Bertelsen (1905–11: 126.17); *Breta saga* §12, Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson (1892–6: 248).

[99] See De Vries (1962: 208), svv. I am grateful to Mikael Males for pointing out this word *hams* to me.

[100] Suggested by Ruggerini (2006).

[101] MS Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv 319 Pfarrei Spangenberg, Hr Nr. 1. The text, edited by Marshall (2000), consists of a selection of (mostly lexical) notes to portions of the *Aeneid*, which are believed to come from a text that originally covered the entire poem. This was not a copy of the vulgate Servius but a distinct though related collection, either the extended version known as Servius Auctus (Herren 1998: 91; Gneuss 2003: 304; O'Sullivan 2016: 81–2) or the lost commentary by Aelius Donatus on which Servius Auctus itself also draws (thus Stok 2019).

[102] Marshall (2000: 198, at fol. 1r29).

[103] For *talaria* in Latin as sandals, see Isidore, *Etymologies* 19.34.7; the mythographers explain that Mercury's sandals are winged and enable him to fly (Servius Auctus on *Aeneid* 1.300, vulgate Servius on *Aeneid* 4.239, see Thilo and Hagen (1881–1902: 1.111, 1.507); similarly *pennatis talaribus calciatus* 'shod with feathered *talaria*', Second Vatican Mythographer 54.9 (Kulcsár 1987: 139)).

here. Alternatively, however, we may be dealing more with parallel responses to the same stimuli in Latin learning. The shift from winged sandals to winged body might (I suggest) have been encouraged independently in both groups by Isidore's statement that Mercury *fingitur habere pennas* (*Etymologies* 8.11.46), 'he is depicted as having feathers', as if all over his body, and also (more decisively) by the fact that the adjective *talaris* need not necessarily refer to sandals at all. *Talaris* simply means 'of the heel[s]', and as an adjective or noun it can refer to a full-length garment, as in Isidore and the Late Antique glossaries:

> Talare: pecturale vel umerale quae usque ad pedes est. (*Liber Glossarum*, Goetz 1888–1923: 5.247.21)
>
> '*Talare*: A garment of the breast and shoulders that goes all the way down to the feet.'
>
> Talaris tunica dicta eo quod ad talos usque descendat et ad pedes defluat. (Isidore, *Etymologies* 19.22.7)[104]
>
> 'The *talaris* tunic is so called because it goes all the way to the heels (*tali*) and flows down to the feet.'

Isidore and Vergil were the staple fare of both Norse and Irish *literati*, and could have influenced both in similar ways.

The second Old English attestation is from perhaps 350 years later than the Spangenberg bifolium. This is in the poem *Solomon and Saturn*, describing the demons against whom the Lord's Prayer works its power,

> […] næfre hie ðæs syllice
> bleoum bregdað, æfter bancofan
> feðerhoman onfoð. (*Solomon and Saturn I* 149–51, Anlezark 2009: 78–9)
>
> '[…] [not] even if they change their hues ever so strangely, draw a feather-cloak over their bodies.' (tr. Anlezark)

Here again the word refers to the adoption by the supernatural being of the overall shape of a bird. Crucially, however, this is not an ancient mythological figure but a contemporary enemy, a demon and agent of the Devil.[105] This, I suggest, provides a useful tool for thinking back to the way Irish *énchennach* too was used for the form taken by the mysterious father of Conaire as well as by the gods of Classical pagan fable. The assumption is that the supernatural beings of the Otherworld are in some sense equated with the demons, the fallen angels, or the wonder-workers of old who used the demons' powers to give themselves the same magical arts, among which the pagan sorcerer's trick *par excellence* is that of shape-changing.[106] Since the Fall of the Rebel Angels

[104] See also Servius Auctus on *Aeneid* 9.613 (Thilo and Hagen 1881–1902: 2.362–3).

[105] Cf. Christie (2011).

[106] For this principle in the Irish materials, focussing on the idea that the Tuatha Dé are or may be seen as fallen angels, see Williams (2016: 78–83), with Carey (1999: 1–38), Borsje (2009). For overviews of the Germanic evidence, principally Norse, see e.g. Hobson (2017), Clunies Ross (2018).

was universal, potentially affecting every language and people, it makes perfect sense from the viewpoint of the medieval scholar-authors that the forms taken by these beings should be equivalent in Latin, Germanic, and Celtic languages and tale traditions. The data that we have gathered could be used to argue for direct cross-influence from Irish to English or other Germanic-language scholar-authors, but the alternative possibility remains open: that parallel responses to typologically similar motifs in their respective cultural inheritances led them to map Mercury's *talaria* onto the imagery of vernacular Otherworld narrative in such similar ways. The lore and language of demonology is by nature especially responsive to cross-language equivalences of the kind explored in this article.

Conclusion: continuity in Modern Irish?

It is natural to conclude that the disappearance of *ce(i)nn* 'skin' as an independent lexeme will have left the compound ripe to be reinterpreted as 'bird-headed' or similar, with its original meaning entirely forgotten. However, the evidence from one noted oral storyteller of the early twentieth century suggests at least a vestigial survival into our own age. The tale *Eochair mac rí in Éirinn*, recorded from Éamon a Búrc in south Conamara in 1938, includes an episode in which the hero is instructed how to get power over the daughters of the king of the distant land of Sorcha (Syria?), who have travelled from their homeland in the shape of swans to swim in a lake in Spain:

> Agus is é an áit a dtiocfaidh siad i gconaí nuair a thiocfas siad ina n-ealúchaí don Spáinn as Tír na Sorchaí, tiocfaidh chuile bhean acu agus caithfidh sí a ceannchochall féin isteach ar an mbinse. Agus is í an bhean is mó a bhfuil draíocht aici — is í an t-ainm atá uirthi All — is í an chéad bhean a thiocfas í agus a chaithfeas a ceannchochall isteach. Agus beidh sí trí ceathrúna uaire roimh na mná eile fréna chéile, ag snámh. Agus nuair a gheobhfas tú an ceannchochall, cuir idir do chraiceann agus do léine í, agus ar a bhfaca tú riamh ná a bhfeicfidh tú go brách ná scar leis an gceannchochall go dtuga sí gealltanas duit go dtabharfaidh sí go Tír na Sorchaí thú féin. (Bourke 1982: 42–4)
>
> 'And it is the place they will come to always when they come as swans to Spain from the Land of Syria, each woman of them will come and will cast her own *ceannchochall* on the bench. And it is the woman who has most magic — the name she bears is All — who will be the first to come and cast her *ceannchochall* in. And she will be three-quarters of an hour before the other women all in all, swimming. And when you get her *ceannchochall*, put it between your skin and your shirt, and for all you ever saw or will see hereafter, do not part with the *ceannchochall* until she gives you a promise that she will bring you herself to the Land of Syria.' (tr. K. O'Nolan at Bourke (1982: 43–5), adapted)

He does as instructed with All and her sisters; with the *ceannchochaill* removed each swan becomes a (human) woman, and when they are returned they can again fly in swan-form.

Although Kevin O'Nolan in the published edition gives the translation 'head-cloak', the logic of the text is clearly that the garment covers the whole body and effects a full transformation into the shape of a swan. Given that the word *cochall* is also central to the vocabulary of shape-changing in the earlier texts discussed above, it seems certain that the first element of this compound was originally not *ceann* 'head' but *ce(i)nn* 'skin'. It is impossible at this distance to guess what Éamon a Búrc himself might have taken the word's exact meaning to be, and the first element has of course become indistinguishable from *ceann* 'head'; but it seems likely that in the ultimate sources of this storyteller's repertoire it held a meaning very close to what we saw in medieval Irish *énchennach*.

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MISUNDERSTANDING OLD WELSH ORTHOGRAPHY AND INSULAR SCRIPT IN THE JESUS COLLEGE 20 GENEALOGIES

Abstract

This article investigates orthographical irregularities in the Jesus College 20 genealogies that can be argued to derive from misunderstandings of Old Welsh orthography and Insular script. The Jesus College 20 genealogies were copied into the surviving manuscript around 1400, but the text is a loose assemblage of genealogical tracts originally compiled between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. In some cases, Old Welsh versions of the same genealogical tracts also survive, which can indicate the nature of the Old Welsh spellings underlying the forms in Jesus College 20. Comparison of the spellings in the Jesus College 20 genealogies with their Old Welsh counterparts reveals that certain aspects of Old Welsh spelling were particularly vulnerable to misinterpretation by scribes of the Middle Welsh period: namely, spellings for voiceless fricatives, spellings for lenited consonants, and spellings for certain diphthongs. In addition, some misspellings in the Jesus College 20 genealogies can be best explained as mis-readings of Insular script, the predominant type of script used in Wales before *c.* 1100. Overall, the range of orthographical and palaeographical misunderstandings visible in the transmission of the genealogical corpus between the Old Welsh and Middle Welsh periods forms an instructive parallel for considering the transmission of other types of vernacular texts.

One of the primary objectives of scholars of early Welsh over the past century and a half has been to identify which poems within the voluminous corpus of poetry preserved in later medieval Welsh manuscripts were originally composed and written down during the pre-Norman period. This was one of the chief interests of Sir Ifor Williams, and others have since taken up the baton.[1] Philology, broadly defined, is the essential basis for any argument that the

[1] Williams's views about many of the earliest poems are summarised in Ifor Williams, *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*, ed. Rachel Bromwich, 2nd ed. (Cardiff, 1980). For some contributions by the following generation, see Rachel Bromwich and R. Brinley Jones (eds), *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd/Studies in Old Welsh Poetry, Cyflwynedig i Syr Idris Foster* (Cardiff, 1978); R. Geraint Gruffydd (ed.), *Bardos: Penodau ar y Traddodiad Barddol Cymreig a Cheltaidd, Cyflwynedig i J. E. Caerwyn Williams* (Cardiff, 1982); and Brynley F. Roberts (ed.), *Early Welsh Poetry: Studies in the Book of Aneirin* (Aberystwyth, 1988). For some recent approaches, see John T. Koch, *Cunedda, Cynan, Cadwallon, Cynddylan: Four Welsh Poems and Britain 383–655* (Aberystwyth, 2013); Paul Russell, '*Adɷuyn gaer yssyd*: an early Welsh poem revisited', *Celtica* 29 (2017), 6–37; Stefan Schumacher, 'An edition and analysis of Book of Aneirin B.39 (including preliminary chapters on the grammar and poetics of early Welsh poetry)', *ZCP* 64 (2017), 299–420.

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composition and writing of a poem should be dated to a time many centuries before the time of its preservation, though historical arguments of varying quality have also been employed. The philological arguments have hitherto been based mainly on matters of phonology, since far more is known about the phonology of early Welsh than about its morphology or syntax.[2] But the philological arguments for the dating of poems suspected to derive from the pre-Norman period have proved contentious, partly because of how comparatively slight the verifiable linguistic differences between Old Welsh and Middle Welsh are.[3] A recent survey of the debate surrounding the poems attributed to Aneirin and the 'historical' Taliesin has concluded that no phonological arguments have yet been identified that would serve to *prove* whether the poems were composed as early as the sixth century, even though it remains plausible, from a phonological standpoint, that many of them *could* have been.[4]

Somewhat more promising lines of enquiry have been opened by recent advances in our understanding of orthography and palaeography: in other words, the graphic elements of the written language. While these tools could not tell us when a poem was composed, they could, at least, provide valuable and datable clues about the circumstances of a poem's written transmission. Orthography and palaeography have long been components of the discussion about the dating of the *hengerdd*, but more could now be said in light of work published over the last three decades.[5] Increased understanding of the charters in the Book of Llandaf (written *c.* 1132) has facilitated progress in our knowledge of Welsh orthography in the pre-Norman period due to the recognition that the charters preserve spellings of personal names and place-names that accurately reflect the spelling habits of the seventh to eleventh centuries.[6] Many aspects of the transition between 'Old Welsh' and 'Middle Welsh' styles of orthography have also been usefully clarified (and indeed complicated) by Paul Russell.[7] Likewise,

[2]The key work on early Welsh historical phonology is of course Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain: A Chronological Survey of the Brittonic Languages, 1st to 12th Century A.D.* (Edinburgh, 1953) [hereafter *LHEB*], though a systematic reappraisal of phonological developments during the Old Welsh period on the basis of epigraphical evidence is offered in Patrick Sims-Williams, *The Celtic Inscriptions of Britain: Phonology and Chronology, c. 400–1200* (Oxford, 2003) [hereafter *CIB*]. For morphology, see Simon Rodway, *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature: Evidence from the Verbal System* (Aberystwyth, 2013).

[3]For a clear overview of linguistic developments, see David Willis, 'Old and Middle Welsh', in Martin J. Ball and Nicole Müller (eds), *The Celtic Languages*, 2nd ed. (London, 2009), 117–60.

[4]Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Dating the poems of Aneirin and Taliesin', *ZCP* 63 (2016), 163–234.

[5]A well-informed early example is John Morris-Jones, 'Taliesin', *Y Cymmrodor* 28 (1918), *passim*, at 130–9.

[6]The key study is Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The emergence of Old Welsh, Cornish and Breton orthography, 600–800: the evidence of Archaic Old Welsh', *BBCS* 38 (1991), 20–86. This work was made possible by Wendy Davies's investigation of the Llandaf charters: see especially her *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979). Sims-Williams has reviewed Davies's arguments at length in his recent book, *The Book of Llandaf as a Historical Source* (Woodbridge, 2019); see my review of Sims-Williams's book in *Morgannwg* 64 (2020), 225–9.

[7]Important elements of Russell's approach are outlined in his *An Introduction to the Celtic Languages* (Harlow, 1995), 213–19; a significant detailed study is his 'Scribal (in)competence in thirteenth-century North Wales: the orthography of the Black Book of Chirk (Peniarth MS 29)', *National Library of Wales Journal* 29 (1995–6), 129–76. Other detailed studies are referenced below.

although palaeographical arguments for dating the writing of poems to the pre-Norman period have occasionally been misapplied, a clearer understanding of the development of script in early medieval Wales has arisen in recent decades following work by David Dumville, Helen McKee and others.[8] Such work is essential for interpreting what can sometimes be presented as an undifferentiated mass of 'early' spelling features in the poetry.[9] The spellings *e* for /uɨ/ and *gu* for /w/ might both be aspects of so-called 'Old Welsh' orthography, but the first dropped out of use by the end of the eighth century while the second is still found in parts of North Wales in the mid-thirteenth century.[10]

One of the challenges with assessing the relative merits of orthographical arguments for dating the writing or copying of Welsh poems to the pre-Norman period is the dearth of texts that can be directly observed undergoing the transition between Old and Middle Welsh orthographies. A rare exception has recently been discussed by Paul Russell: *Braint Teilo*, a vernacular statement of the church of Llandaf's legal privileges, was originally written in the Book of Llandaf in the late Old Welsh orthography characteristic of that manuscript, but was later altered by a fifteenth-century hand in such a way as to make the text more understandable to readers familiar with late Middle Welsh.[11] This example is particularly instructive because it can be observed taking place within a single manuscript. The problem with the majority of the Old Welsh corpus, however, is that most Old Welsh texts have no surviving counterparts in the Middle Welsh corpus.[12] This is the case, for example, with the only

[8]Dumville warned about the misapplication of palaeographical arguments in his 'Palaeographical considerations in the dating of early Welsh verse', *BBCS* 27 (1976–8), 246–51 (reprinted in his *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot 1993), chapter V); this article was 'lightly revised and somewhat abbreviated' (Dumville, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons*, V.251) when it was translated into Welsh as 'Ystyriaethau palaeograffegol wrth ddyddio barddoniaeth Gymraeg gynnar', *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 13 (1985), 17–25. The best overview of the development of early Welsh script is Helen McKee, *The Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript Glossed in Latin, Old Welsh, and Old Irish* (Aberystwyth 2000), 1–9. See too David N. Dumville, *A Palaeographer's Review: The Insular System of Scripts in the Early Middle Ages*, 2 vols paginated as 1 (Suita, Osaka, 1999–2007), i, 122–7; Gillian Conway, 'Towards a cultural context for the eleventh-century Llanbadarn manuscripts', *Ceredigion* 13.1 (1997), 9–28; Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff and Aberystwyth, 2000), esp. chapters 1 and 7.

[9]What Ifor Williams called *olion hen destun* 'remnants of old text': Ifor Williams (ed.), *Canu Aneirin*, 2nd ed. (Cardiff, 1961), lxiii–lxvii; cf. Ifor Williams (ed.), *Canu Llywarch Hen* (Cardiff, 1935), lxxvii–lxxix. For a more constructive approach to the Old Welsh orthographical features in the poetry of the Book of Aneirin, see G. R. Isaac, '*Canu Aneirin* awdl LI', *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 2 (1993), 65–91, at 83–90.

[10]Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', 58–9; Russell, 'Scribal (in)competence', 141, 165 and 168; Paul Russell, *Welsh Law in Medieval Anglesey: British Library Harleian MS 1976 (Latin C)* (Cambridge, 2011), xxvi–xxvii.

[11]Paul Russell, '*Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* and *Braint Teilo*', *SC* 50 (2016), 41–68, at 45–57. Russell argues (pp. 57–63), *pace* Wendy Davies, that *Braint Teilo* was translated from a Latin version in the early twelfth century: cf. Wendy Davies, 'Braint Teilo', *BBCS* 26 (1974–6), 123–37 (reprinted with the same pagination in her *Welsh History in the Early Middle Ages* (Farnham, 2009), chapter III).

[12]The remains of Old Welsh are effectively summarised in Alexander Falileyev, *Llawlyfr Hen Gymraeg* (Carmarthen, 2016), 1–6. There is an earlier French edition of the latter: Alexander Falileyev, with Hildegard L. C. Tristram, *Le vieux-Gallois* (Potsdam, 2008), translated by Yves Le Berre from the original Russian version, Древневаллийский язык [*Drevnevalliskiy yazyk*]

Old Welsh poems surviving in contemporary manuscripts: the sequences of *englynion* known as the 'Juvencus three' and 'Juvencus nine', written down in the late ninth or early tenth century, and the St Padarn *englyn*, written down in the late eleventh century.[13] One wonders what, say, the Juvencus nine might have looked like had a version of them been preserved in the Red Book of Hergest (*c.* 1400).

Genealogical texts and chronicles are the only other texts that can be directly observed undergoing the transition between a pre-1200 'Old Welsh' style of orthography and the 'Middle Welsh' style of orthography found in manuscripts from *c.* 1250 onwards. Admittedly, most of the vernacular words in these texts are names, which do not necessarily behave in the same ways as other words, either in speech or on the page. Old spellings of names are more likely to become fixed, even if they do not reflect contemporary pronunciation or spelling habits.[14] A classic example is provided by the well-known dynastic founder of Gwynedd, Cunedda, whose name probably derives from **kuno-dagos* ('good-hound').[15] Curiously, all extant spellings of the dynastic founder's name, from the ninth century onwards, reproduce a form most appropriate for the sixth or seventh centuries, with the vowel quality of the first syllable intact and the composition vowel written in a reduced form (for both features, compare Gildas's *Cuneglase*);[16] there is also one instance with the final -/ɣ/ preserved, spelled *g* (*Cunedag* in the *Historia Brittonum*, written 829/30).[17] This probably occurred because Cunedda became known to myth-makers in the eighth or early ninth century by means of an earlier written (and probably Latinate) text. If this alleged dynastic founder had also been known continuously in oral tradition, it is conceivable that the archaic-looking spelling *Cuneda(g)* could still have been pronounced /kənða/ in the ninth century, with the correct sound changes applied, despite not being spelled in up-to-date Old Welsh orthography

(Moscow, 2002). See too Alexander Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh* (Tübingen, 2000), xiv–xvii.

[13]For the Juvencus englynion, see Williams, *Beginnings*, chapter 7; T. Arwyn Watkins, 'Englynion y Juvencus', in Gruffydd (ed.), *Bardos*, 29–43; Marged Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* (Llandybïe, 1994), 3–16. All twelve englynion were copied by scribe C, writing perhaps not very long after 874: McKee, *Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript*, 15–18. For the St Padarn *englyn*, see now Paul Russell, 'The *englyn* to St Padarn revisited', *CMCS* 63 (2012), 1–14. The St Padarn *englyn* is preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 199, the 'Llanbadarn Augustine' manuscript, which is conventionally dated to 1085 × 1091; for valid criticism of these precise *termini*, see Sarah Elizabeth Zeiser, 'Latinity, manuscripts, and the rhetoric of conquest in late-eleventh-century Wales', unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 2012, 162 n. 4.

[14]For discussion, see Paul Russell, 'Old Welsh *Dinacat*, *Cunedag*, *Tutagual*: fossilised phonology in Brittonic personal names', in J. H. W. Penney (ed.), *Indo-European Perspectives in Honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies* (Oxford, 2004), 447–60.

[15]For the etymology, see G. R. Isaac, 'Cunedag', *BBCS* 38 (1991), 100–1; cf. John Thomas Koch, *The Gododdin of Aneirin: Text and Context from Dark-Age North Britain* (Cardiff, 1997), cxxi–cxxii; Koch, *Cunedda*, 72–3; Sims-Williams, 'Dating the poems', 197.

[16]Michael Winterbottom (ed. and trans.), *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain and Other Works* (Chichester, 1978), 101 (32.1).

[17]*Historia Brittonum* in BL Harley 3859, edited in Edmond Faral, *La légende arthurienne: études et documents*, 3 vols (Paris, 1929), iii, 5–62 [hereafter *HB* (Harl.)], §42.

as *Cinda*.[18] But by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is clear that the revived sixth/seventh-century-type spelling *Cuneda* had been re-analysed as /kuneða/ and was being used as a personal name in its own right.[19] This process may well have begun already in the ninth century. Although this example is exceptional, it shows that the textual fates of personal names cannot necessarily be taken as representative of other words. On the other hand, most of the examples discussed below concern obscure Old Welsh names with a much lower profile than *Cuneda*. The treatment of these names by later scribes was perhaps more akin to the treatment of obscure words found in early Welsh poetry.

One of the more substantial members of the Old Welsh corpus is the Harleian genealogies (= HG), which contains hundreds of Old Welsh personal names as well as epithets and familial terms. Although the Harleian genealogies are preserved in a manuscript (BL Harley 3859) written probably in south-eastern England around 1100, the scribe has faithfully preserved the spellings of the mid-tenth-century Welsh exemplar before him.[20] Most of the contents of the Harleian genealogies are reproduced in two later, textually related genealogical collections: one uniquely witnessed in Oxford, Jesus College, 20 (the Jesus College 20 genealogies = JC), discussed below, and another redacted in Gwynedd between 1216 and *c.* 1223 and preserved in many late medieval and early modern manuscripts (the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies = LlIG).[21] Although these later genealogical collections do not draw on the Harley manuscript itself, it is clear that they draw on closely related versions of the same text. The textual relationships between these three collections are complex and multifarious, though in many instances the two later collections are closer to one another than either of them is to the Harleian genealogies.

Another early genealogical text that is relevant for the present discussion is *De situ Brecheniauc* ('Concerning the Establishment of Brycheiniog'), which

[18] A possible instance of the Old Welsh name *Cinda* < **kuno-dagos* occurs in the ninth-century Surexit Memorandum: Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, 'The Welsh marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels', *CMCS* 5 (1983), 37–66 and 7 (1984), 91–120, at ii, 109; cf. Koch, *Gododdin*, cxxi; Koch, *Cunedda*, 73. However, Sims-Williams has suggested that the second element of *Cinda* could be **tamos* instead: 'Emergence', 45 n. 3; 'Dating the poems', 182 n. 112.

[19] The new name may have been popularised by the ruling dynasty of Gwynedd, several members of which in the twelfth century were given rare names that deliberately evoked the early medieval rulers of Gwynedd: note Gruffudd ap Cynan's two grandsons Cunedda ap Cadwaladr and Cunedda ap Cadwallon. Lower down the social scale, one finds the witnesses 'Ioru(er)ht decanus filius Howeli et Cuneda frater eius' listed in a document of Maredudd ap Rhobert of Cedewain dated to 1216 × *c.* 1226: Huw Pryce (ed.), *The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1120–1283* (Cardiff, 2005), 161.

[20] *LHEB* 56. For a full study of the manuscript and text, see Ben Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy: An Introduction and Textual Study* (Woodbridge, 2020) [hereafter *MWG*], 51–79. The text is edited, with additional readings from several other witnesses, in *MWG* 333–7.

[21] *MWG* chaps 3–4. These texts are edited respectively in *MWG* 338–44 and 349–89. References to 'LlIG' refer to the latter edition rather than to any particular manuscript. This edition is based on the best manuscript witness (Cardiff, Central Library, 3.77) with some emendations taken from other witnesses. Peter Bartrum arranged the same genealogical collection (alongside later material) into four different texts, to which he attributed the names *Plant Brychan*, *Bonedd yr Arwyr*, *Achau Brenhinoedd a Thywysogion Cymru* and *Hen Lwythau Gwynedd a'r Mars*: Peter C. Bartrum (ed.), *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff, 1966) [hereafter *EWGT*], 75–120. For a table showing the correspondences between Bartrum's editions and LlIG, see *MWG* 161.

is found in BL Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, part i, written in the last third of the twelfth century in Monmouth priory.[22] Although *De situ Brecheniauc* employs Latin as its matrix language, it contains many Welsh personal names, place-names, epithets and even occasional phrases written in a form of late Old Welsh orthography reminiscent of *Braint Teilo*.[23] Yet this text (and indeed this manuscript as a whole) has generally been overlooked in published discussions of Welsh orthography.[24] For example, in a discussion of the origins of the letter *k* in Welsh orthography, Simon Rodway commented that 'if more manuscripts of the twelfth century had survived, perhaps the success of <k> in the middle of the thirteenth century would not appear so sudden'.[25] Yet Cotton Vespasian A. xiv (which is not mentioned by Rodway) dates to the late twelfth century and, partly thanks to *De situ Brecheniauc*, contains many Welsh personal names and place-names spelled using *k*.[26] As with the Harleian genealogies, part of the interest of *De situ Brecheniauc* lies in the fact that we have multiple versions of it. *De situ Brecheniauc* is a version of the 'Brychan tract', which in its fullest form includes a Latin narrative concerning the births of Brychan Brycheiniog and his son St Cynog alongside lists of Brychan's sons, daughters and wives. Some combination of these elements is found in six different versions: two full Latin versions, called *De situ Brecheniauc* (= *DSB*) and *Cognacio Brychan* (= *CB*);[27] a brief Welsh version of the narrative, called *Sarth Marthin gynt, ynawr Brycheiniawc*;[28] and three Welsh versions of the lists of sons and daughters: one preserved in the Jesus College 20 genealogies (JC 1–3), a second in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (LlIG 1), and a third in the independent tract *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i Blant* (= *LlFB*).[29] None of these six versions derives directly from any other, and some of them (especially *CB* and

[22]The manuscript has been dated to this period by Teresa Webber following a fresh reassessment of its palaeography, as reported in Ben Guy, 'The *Life* of St Dyfrig and the lost charters of Moccas (Mochros), Herefordshire', *CMCS* 75 (2018), 1–37, at 6 n. 17.

[23]For some discussion of the orthography of *De situ Brecheniauc*, see *MWG* 134–5.

[24]The manuscript was included in Meinir Lewis's unpublished thesis: 'Disgrifiad o orgraff Hen Gymraeg gan ei chymharu ag orgraff Hen Wyddeleg', unpublished MA thesis, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1961, viii.

[25]'pe bai mwy o lawysgrifau'r ddeuddegfed ganrif wedi goroesi, efallai na fyddai ffyniant <k> yng nghanol y drydedd ganrif ar ddeg yn ymddangos mor sydyn': 'Cymraeg vs. Kymraeg: dylanwad Ffrangeg ar orgraff Cymraeg Canol?', *SC* 43 (2009), 123–33, at 130.

[26]A brief inspection of Wade-Evans's index for Welsh names beginning with *C-* or *K-* that are found in texts edited from the Vespasian manuscript reveals thirty names spelled with initial *K-* (counting as a single instance a name found repeatedly in a single text, and treating the two Lives of Carannog as a single 'text' and the two Lives of Cybi likewise). These thirty names are comprised of three with initial *Ka-* (not including *Kanauc*, a variant of *Kynauc* in *DSB*), twenty-four with initial *Ke-* and three with initial *Ky-*: A. W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae: The Lives and Genealogies of the Welsh Saints*, new ed. by Scott Lloyd (Cardiff, 2013) [hereafter *VSBG*], 326–8 (for names on pp. 1–15, 24–287, 313–15 and parts of 319–20). Presumably, this encouraged readers who were used to Old French orthography (where *ce* = /se/) to pronounce initial /k/- correctly when reading texts like saints' Lives aloud. Rodway seems to dismiss the value of Latinate texts (123 n. 4), yet they may provide the answer to his question about the origin of *k* in thirteenth-century Welsh orthography.

[27]Edited respectively in *VSBG* 313–15 and 315–18.

[28]Edited for the first time, with discussion, in *MWG* 292–3.

[29]Edited respectively in *MWG* 339–40, 354–6 and 421–6.

LlFB) seem to have been produced through the conflation of two or more pre-existing versions.[30] For present purposes, they can all be treated as independent witnesses to a lost archetype.

Comparison between different versions of a text often reveals that the common archetype of the versions used a more archaic orthography than any single surviving redaction, and that this archetype's orthography was later misunderstood in a variety of different ways.[31] Consider these two phrases in versions of the Brychan tract:

1.	*DSB* 12.20	yGrugc Gors Auail
	CB 15.18	in monte Gorsauael
	LlIG 1.3.15	yGrug Gorsabawl
	LlFB 3.22	yng Kraic Orseddol
2.	*DSB* 12.21	ythr auil Ogmor
	CB 15.21	apud Teraslogur
	LlIG 1.3.16	yn Trigabaelognar

In both cases, *De situ Brecheniauc* probably reproduces the archetype most faithfully, yet it seems not to preserve the earliest orthographical features in all respects. In the first case, the phrase seems to mean 'on the hillock of the grasping swamp', an interpretation supported by a Latin gloss on the Vespasian manuscript that reads '.i. in ag[g]ere lacus caltionis [?*recte* captionis]'.[32] The first *g* in *ygrugc* would appear to represent the nasalisation of the voiceless stop /k/ in *crug* following the preposition *yn*, but copyists of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies quite reasonably assumed that it represented the nasalisation of the voiced stop /g/ in *grug* 'heather'.[33] The last element of the phrase (*Auail*) is probably the lenited form of the verbal noun *gafael* 'to hold, grasp'. The spelling in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (*Gors-abawl*) suggests that the archetype spelled the word with etymological *b* for /β/ (cf. OIr *gabál*). This spelling was understood and appropriately updated to *u* in the late twelfth-century *De situ Brecheniauc* or its exemplar, and similarly in *Cognacio Brychan*, whereas the thirteenth-century compiler of the Llywelyn

[30] *MWG* 131.

[31] This has been systematically demonstrated by Paul Russell with reference to poems in the Black Book of Carmarthen that are also preserved in other manuscripts: 'Scribal (in)consistency in thirteenth-century South Wales: the orthography of the Black Book of Carmarthen', *SC* 43 (2009), 135–74, at 161–5.

[32] For the glosses on *De situ Brecheniauc*, see Patrick K. Ford, 'Llywarch, ancestor of Welsh princes', *Speculum* 45 (1970), 442–50, at 446 n. 22 and Alderik H. Blom, 'The Welsh glosses in the *Vocabularium Cornicum*', *CMCS* 57 (2009), 23–40, at 38–9. The emendation of *caltionis* to *captionis* was suggested in J. Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg*, 2 vols (Cardiff, 1931–46), ii, 518.

[33] Their assumption was reasonable because the use of *g* here is contrary to the usual practice in Old Welsh, where the nasal mutation of initial /k/ is unmarked (and thus spelled *c*): Arwyn Watkins, 'Yr arddodiad HG. *(h)i*, *in*; CC. *y* (=yn), *yn*', *BBCS* 17 (1957), 137–58, at 145–50; T. Arwyn Watkins, 'Dulliau orgraffyddol Cymraeg Canol o ddynodi'r treiglad trwynol', *BBCS* 23 (1968), 7–13, at 7–8. On the other hand, internal /ŋh/ could occasionally be represented by *g* in Old Welsh sources, as in *Segenid* in the Book of Llandaf: Jenny Rowland, 'An early Welsh orthographic feature', *BBCS* 29 (1981), 513–20, at 515; J. Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhys, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv: Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford, 1893) [hereafter *LL*], 255.

ab Iorwerth genealogies (like later copyists) lost sight of this and copied the *b* as if it meant /b/. The same can be seen in the second example, which means 'within the fork of the (river) Ogmore'.[34] The corrupt form in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies, when re-divided as *yn Tri*-gabael-*ognar*, suggests that the archetype again spelled *gafl* 'fork' with its etymological *b* for /β/ (cf. OBr *gabl*, OIr *gabul*) and did not spell the initial lenition.[35] In *De situ Brecheniauc*, by contrast, *b* for /β/ has been correctly updated to *u*, and the lenition has been correctly spelled by the omission of the initial *g*. Other corruptions in later renditions of the second example stem from confusion about the preposition *ythr* 'between', which is otherwise attested in Welsh only among the Old Welsh glosses to Martianus Capella.[36]

The orthographical evidence offered by the Welsh chronicles is of a similar type. One chronicle survives in its mid-tenth-century form, again in Harley 3859: this is the Harleian chronicle, or A-text of *Annales Cambriae*, which uses Latin as its matrix language but contains many personal names, place-names and occasional phrases in Old Welsh. In its latest stage of development, the Harleian chronicle was redacted in the ecclesiastical community of St Davids, and its last annotated annal pertains to the year 954.[37] However, the chronicling tradition represented by the tenth-century Harleian chronicle was continued in St Davids and elsewhere up to the thirteenth century, as is now manifested in a variety of Latin and Welsh chronicles preserved in manuscripts of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[38] If the spellings of personal names and place-names in these chronicles were carefully compared with one another, and due allowance were made for the updating of the orthography during copying, these chronicles could furnish significant orthographical evidence for an otherwise sparsely attested period in the history of Welsh.[39]

The present article primarily concerns spellings found in the Jesus College 20 genealogies and asks what these spellings can tell us about the orthographical challenges faced by scribes of the Middle Welsh period who sought to copy texts written during the Old Welsh period. Jesus College 20 was written in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, probably somewhere

[34]Again, this interpretation is supported by a Latin gloss on the Vespasian manuscript, which reads '.i. bifurgatione illius fluuii' ('i.e. in the fork of that river').

[35]The nature of the corruption that led to the *-asl-* reading in *Cognacio Brychan* is uncertain. Possibly *f* for /β/ was misread as a long *s*.

[36]Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*, 98; *GPC Online* s.v. ythr. All citations of *GPC Online* were accessed and checked on 9 September 2021.

[37]For the development of the chronicle, see Ben Guy, 'The origins of the compilation of Welsh historical texts in Harley 3859', *SC* 49 (2015), 21–56 and Henry Gough-Cooper, 'How was the chronology of the earliest Welsh Latin chronicle regulated?', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 39 (2019), 134–65, which differ in some details.

[38]Chiefly, the witnesses to the complexes of texts known as *Annales Cambriae* and *Brut y Tywysogyon*. For a review of scholarly opinion on these texts, see Ben Guy, 'Historical scholars and dishonest charlatans: studying the chronicles of medieval Wales', in Ben Guy, Georgia Henley, Owain Wyn Jones and Rebecca Thomas (eds), *The Chronicles of Medieval Wales and the March: New Contexts, Studies, and Texts* (Turnhout, 2020), 69–106. See the book's appendix for a list of texts and manuscripts.

[39]I intend to pursue this in the future.

in Glamorgan or Gower.[40] The collection of genealogies in the manuscript is a loose assemblage of genealogical tracts that were originally redacted at various points during the period *c.* 850–*c.* 1250, including tracts that are otherwise reflected in the Harleian genealogies and *De situ Brecheniauc*.[41] At some point, possibly in the thirteenth century, these tracts were brought together and rearranged slightly, reaching the form in which they would be copied into the manuscript around 1400. This collection of genealogical tracts is particularly useful for present purposes because successive copyists of the tracts seem to have struggled to ascertain how to update certain aspects of Old Welsh orthography appropriately. In addition, there is occasional evidence that one or more copyist struggled to understand the Insular letter forms in the exemplar(s). Many, if not most, of these difficulties should not be attributed to the scribe of Jesus College 20 itself, since some of the same resulting errors can be found in texts sharing a common exemplar with the Jesus College 20 genealogies (especially *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, discussed below).[42] Instead, the errors indicate the struggles of the successive scribes who copied the text during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In many instances, these struggles can be understood more readily than the struggles of scribes who copied early poetry, because Old Welsh versions of the same genealogies survive elsewhere. The instructive mistakes arising from this process are addressed in turn. The discussion of orthographical features is divided into three parts: (1) spellings of voiceless fricatives; (2) spellings resulting from lenition; and (3) spellings of vowels. A further section then discusses misunderstandings of Insular letter forms. For each form discussed, comparable readings from textually related genealogies are listed below the form from Jesus College 20. Any other relevant forms that are not textually related are preceded by 'cf.'.

SPELLING VOICELESS FRICATIVES

By the Old Welsh period, the three voiceless fricatives /f, θ, χ/ had arisen through spirantization.[43] In Old Welsh orthography, it was possible to spell

[40] *MWG* 102–6. For the date, see Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 60.

[41] For a full analysis of the Jesus College 20 genealogies, see *MWG* chapter 3.

[42] For a sense of the orthography of other texts in Jesus College 20, see Ifor Williams, 'Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr', *BBCS* 2 (1923), 269–86, at 272–8; Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas*, poem 30 (also *Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr*); R. M. Jones, 'Y rhamantau Arthuriaidd', *BBCS* 15 (1952–4), 109–16, at 114–16 (*Owein*).

[43] The environments in which spirantization occurred and the debates (to 2004) surrounding the ordering of the relevant sound changes are summarised in Willis, 'Old and Middle Welsh', 129–31. The debate continues: see Patrick Sims-Williams, *Studies in Celtic Languages Before the Year 1000* (Aberystwyth, 2007), 43–58 (also the shorter version printed as Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The problem of spirantization and nasalization in Brittonic Celtic', in Alexander Lubotsky, Jos Schaeken and Jeroen Wiedenhof (eds), *Evidence and Counter-Evidence: Essays in Honour of Frederik Kortlandt*, 2 vols (2008), i, 509–25); G. R. Isaac, 'Brittonic voiceless spirants again', *JCL* 12 (2008), 17–37; Joseph F. Eska, 'Aspects of Brittonic spirantisation under Laryngeal Realism', *Celtica* 32 (2020), 1–14. I use the symbol /f/ here, though during the Old and Middle Welsh periods the sound was probably realised as [φ]: Willis, 'Old and Middle Welsh', 126.

all three voiceless fricatives with the graphs for the corresponding stops: thus *p* = /f/, *t* = /θ/, *c* = /χ/. It is plausible that this practice derived from a sixth-century orthographical tradition that predated the advent of spirantization.[44] However, since *p*, *t* and *c* were more regularly used for the voiceless stops and, in medial and final positions, for the corresponding voiced stops /b, d, g/, some other means of representing the voiceless fricatives had to be found. One method was to add an *h* to the relevant graphs for the stops: thus *ph* = /f/, *th* = /θ/, *ch* = /χ/. This type of spelling arguably arose in an early Brittonic or Irish context, though it was never consistently applied during the Old Welsh period.[45] The inconsistency was not generally a problem in the case of /f/, since the inherited Latin graph *f* could also be used to distinguish that phoneme. On the other hand, there was considerable uncertainty about how to spell /θ/ and /χ/, for which there were no inherited Latin graphs. Thus, in Old Welsh, /θ/ could be represented by various combinations of the letters *t*, *h* and *d*, and similarly /χ/ could be represented by various combinations of the letters *c*, *h* and *g*.[46] The same uncertainty is found in the various hands of the Black Book of Chirk, especially in relation to /θ/, showing that the uncertainty was not restricted to the 'Old Welsh period' up to *c.* 1200, but in fact continued, at least in north-west Wales, into the thirteenth century.[47]

In the Jesus College 20 genealogies, a high proportion of identifiable orthographical mistakes or confusions involves the spelling of dentals. The greatest challenge for copyists seems to have been presented by Old Welsh spellings with medial or final *t*, which could represent either /d/ or /θ/. In Middle Welsh orthography after *c.* 1250, medial or final /d/ could be spelled as *t* or *d* and medial or final /θ/ was usually spelled as *th*.[48] A scribe copying an early exemplar with medial or final *t* potentially for either /d/ or /θ/ would therefore need to decide whether each letter represented /d/ (in which case it would be left as *t* or changed to *d*) or /θ/ (in which case it would probably be changed to *th*). For names that were obscure or unfamiliar, incorrect decisions could sometimes be made. These are revealed especially by the examples discussed below where /d/ is spelled *th*, which was not an accepted practice in any period. Similarly, though to a lesser extent, scribes sometimes struggled to decide whether medial or final *c* represented /g/ or /χ/. In these cases, misunderstandings are revealed when *ch* is found medially or finally for letters that one would expect to represent /g/.

[44] *LHEB* 572–3; cf. Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', 27 n. 2.

[45] The origins of the *h*-spellings are considered in Anthony Harvey, 'Some significant points of early Insular Celtic orthography', in Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach and Kim McCone (eds), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth, 1989), 56–66. Harvey considers some factors that point towards a Brittonic origin for the spellings and others that point towards an Irish origin but seems marginally more inclined to favour the latter.

[46] For example, see the range of spellings found in the Old Welsh memoranda in the Lichfield Gospels: Jenkins and Owen, 'Welsh marginalia', ii, 117–20.

[47] Russell, 'Scribal (in)competence', 141–4.

[48] *GMW* 7–8.

Examples with <th> for /d/

3.	JC 3.4	Tutlith
	DSB 12.9	Tutglid
	CB 15.9	Tuglit
4.	JC 19	Tutwal Tuclith
	cf. LlIG 9.2	Tudwal Tutklut
	cf. *BGG* 8	Tutwal Tutclyt[49]

Example 3 is a name in the Brychan tract belonging to one of Brychan's daughters, though not straightforwardly: in *DSB* 12.9 and *CB* 15.9, Tudglyd is the wife of Cyngen Glodrydd, whereas in JC 3.4 *Tutlith* is, uniquely, associated with *Llys Ronwy* in Glamorgan.[50] Elsewhere in the Jesus College 20 genealogies, Cyngen's wife is called *Gutuyl* (JC 3.10), rather than Tudglyd, mirroring *Tudwyl* in LlIG 1.3.3. Given the rarity of the name, it is likely that JC 3.4's *Tutlith* of Llys Ronwy was recycled from an item about Cyngen's wife Tudglyd similar to *DSB* 12.9 and *CB* 15.9. Example 4 seems to show the same form as an epithet. Tudwal Tudglyd was the father of Rhydderch Hen (later called Rhydderch Hael), a sixth-century king of Alclud first mentioned in Adomnán's Life of St Columba.[51] However, the Tudwal in JC 19 belongs to the line of the kings of Man and bears no relation to Tudwal Tudglyd or Alclud. The epithet was added here in error because of the identity of the names.

The personal name in example 3 is probably formed from *tud* 'people' + *clyd*, possibly 'shelter, refuge' or 'praise, fame'.[52] The common exemplar of example 3 may have read *-glit*, as in *CB* 15.9, leading a later copyist of JC 3.4 to think that the final *-t* represented /θ/ rather than /d/, which was duly spelled as *th*. The same copyist may also have assumed that *-glit* did not show initial lenition, leading him to omit the *g*; alternatively, it is possible that the sequence *-tc-* (with a flat-topped *t*) was misinterpreted as *-tt-* and copied as a single letter (which may account for the similar omissions of the *t* in *CB* 15.9's *Tuglit* and JC 19's *Tuclith*). The epithet of Tudwal Tudglyd could bear the same meaning as the personal name, but another option, given the connection with Alclud, is that the epithet is comprised of *tud* 'people, tribe' + *clud* '(river) Clyde'.[53] This

[49] *BGG* = *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*, edited in *MWG* 427–8. This is a short genealogical tract concerning the legendary 'Men of the North', preserved in a manuscript dating to the first half of the fourteenth century.

[50] *Llys Ronwy* is a bardic name for Llyswyrny (Llysworney): see G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg* (Cardiff, 1948), 149 n. 19; Melville Richards, 'Gwrinydd, Gorfynydd and Llyswyrny', *BBCS* 18 (1958–60), 383–8, at 385.

[51] Called (in the ablative case) *Roderco filio Tothail qui in petra Cloithe regnauit*: Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (ed. and trans.), *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2nd ed. revised by Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (Oxford, 1991), 38 (i.15).

[52] Stefan Zimmer, 'Die altkymrischen Frauennamen. Ein erster Einblock', in Joseph F. Eska, R. Geraint Gruffydd and Nicolas Jacobs (eds), *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica: Essays in Honour of Professor D. Ellis Evans on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cardiff, 1995), 319–35, at 325–6.

[53] Rachel Bromwich, followed by Peter Bartrum, interpreted the epithet *tudglyd* as 'defender of the people', though this has been rightly criticised by Stefan Zimmer: Rachel Bromwich (ed. and trans.), *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain*, 4th ed. (Cardiff, 2014), 508;

is supported by the vowel spelling in LlIG 9.2's *-klut*.[54] As in the first example, a final *-t* in an exemplar of JC 19 was interpreted as /θ/, and spelled accordingly as *th*.

5.	JC 6/17	Tegyth
	HG 1	Tacit
	LlIG 11.1(.4)	Tagit
	HGK 1	Tagit[55]
	etc.	

Tegid < Lat. *Tacitus*. The name was probably inserted into Rhodri Mawr's patriline (as in JC 17) on the model of Cunedda's pedigree (as in JC 6).[56] HG 1, followed by the later witnesses, does not show vowel affection, probably due to the influence of the Latin spelling of Tacitus.[57] Koch attributes this spelling to 'a written pedigree from the north', but the evidence for this is lacking.[58] The form *Tacit(us)* probably derives from the same early Latinate source as the form *Cunedag(us)*, as discussed above. This source could plausibly have been written in Gwynedd, the north, or anywhere else.

6.	JC 12	Eleothen
	HG 2	Cloten
	Déisi (R)	Clotenn (gen. sg.)[59]
	Déisi (L)	Clothienn (gen. sg.)
	LlIG 38.1	Gwlyddien
	GM 3	Klodden[60]

This obscure name in the pedigree of the early medieval kings of Dyfed probably contains *clod* 'praise, fame' (like *Clotri* in the same pedigree) plus the suffix

EWGT 228; Zimmer, 'Die altkymrischen Frauennamen', 326. Zimmer, however, did not distinguish the epithet from the female personal name. For *Clut* = Clyde in Old Welsh, see David N. Dumville (ed. and trans.), *Annales Cambriae, A.D. 682–954: Texts A–C in Parallel* (Cambridge, 2002), s.aa. 871 (*arx Alt Clut*) and 945 (*Strat Clut*).

[54]Most of the earliest and best manuscripts of LlIG spell the epithet with a *u* in the second syllable. *Tutklut* is the reading of Cardiff 3.77 (John Jones, 1640, copying a medieval exemplar); others include *Tutklud* in NLW Peniarth 131, part iii (Gutun Owain, 1483 × 1489), *Tudclud* in NLW Peniarth 182 (Huw Pennant, 1509 × 1513), and *Tudclut* in NLW Peniarth 127, part i (Thomas ab Ieuan ap Deicws, 1510).

[55]D. Simon Evans (ed.), *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* (Cardiff, 1977) [hereafter *HGK*].

[56]*MWG* 116–18.

[57]*LHEB* 607.

[58]Koch, *Cunedda*, 74.

[59]The early medieval pedigree of the kings of Dyfed was incorporated into the Old Irish tale *Indarba na nDéisi* in the middle of the eighth century: see Ben Guy, 'The earliest Welsh genealogies: textual layering and the phenomenon of "pedigree growth" ', *Early Medieval Europe* 26 (2018), 462–85, at 476–85. The 'early version' of the tale, which includes the pedigree, is best represented in two manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 502, edited in Kuno Meyer, 'The expulsion of the Dessi', *Y Cymmrodor* 14 (1901), 101–35 (pedigree at 112, §11) [hereafter *Déisi* (R)] and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud 610, edited in Kuno Meyer, 'The expulsion of the Déssi', *Ériu* 3 (1907), 135–42 (pedigree at 136, ll. 34–41) [hereafter *Déisi* (L)]. The pedigrees are also edited individually in *EWGT* 4.

[60]*GM* = *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, edited in *MWG* 345–8.

-en that is also found in *Cathen*, the name of *Cloten*'s son.[61] The form *Eleothen* in JC 12 probably reflects the mistaken assumption that the medial *t* in a form like HG 2's *Cloten* represented /θ/. The name was reinterpreted in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies as Gwlyddien ('tender-born'), a name otherwise encountered in the Lleision pedigree (e.g. LlIG 32.1 and A3.6).

7.	JC 14	Riagath
	GM 4	Riagath
	HB (Harl.) §49	Briacat
	HB (Vat.) §26	Briacat[62]
	Leb. Bret. §41	Briacat[63]

The Jesus College 20 genealogies and the tract *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* preserve the only versions of the pedigree of the early medieval kings of Buellt in the Welsh vernacular genealogical corpus. In both texts, the pedigree forms part of a collection of pedigrees concerning Morgan ab Owain, king of Morgannwg (d. 974); this collection may have been originally assembled during Morgan's lifetime in the tenth century. The Jesus College 20 genealogies and *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* are independent witnesses to this collection.[64] A version of the Buellt pedigree was also incorporated into the *Historia Brittonum* in 829/30 and is now preserved in three versions: in the Harleian and Vatican recensions of *Historia Brittonum* and in its Irish translation *Lebor Bretnach*. The *Historia Brittonum*'s version of the pedigree is probably textually related to the version incorporated into the collection focused on Morgan ab Owain.[65] The name *Briacat* in the *Historia Brittonum* derives from **brīgo-katos*, with the composition vowel retained as *a* through assimilation with the vowel in the following syllable.[66] Although the form *Riagath* in JC 14 and *GM* 4 could represent the equally valid name **rīgo-katos*, the omission of the initial /b/- is more likely to have resulted from confusion arising from the homophony of *mab Bri(a)gad* and *mab Ri(a)gad*. Either way, the final *-th* shared by JC 14 and *GM* 4 probably arose from an assumption that the final *-t* in an exemplar represented /θ/ rather than /d/.

Examples with <d> for /θ/

The use of *d* for /θ/ is more complex than *th* for /d/ because it could arise in two distinct ways. On the one hand, it could result from the same process of

[61] For *Clotri*, see below, p. 84 and n. 133. Note that the *-en* suffix in *Cloden* and *Cathen* cannot be *gen* < *genos*, as seen, for instance, in MW *Arthen* < OW *Arthgen*, because the Harleian genealogies never mark the lenition of /g/ by omitting the *g*: compare [U]*rbgen* in HG 8, *Guidgen* in HG 16, *Popgen* in HG 17, *Guitgen* in HG 24, *Morgen* × 2 in HG 25, and *Arthgen* in HG 26.

[62] *HB* (Vat.) = *Historia Brittonum* (Vatican recension), edited in David N. Dumville, *Historia Brittonum 3: The 'Vatican' Recension* (Cambridge, 1985).

[63] *Leb. Bret.* = *Lebor Bretnach*, edited in A. G. Van Hamel, *Lebor Bretnach: The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum Ascribed to Nennius* (Dublin, 1932).

[64] *MWG* 142–56.

[65] *MWG* 154–6.

[66] Cf. Russell, 'Old Welsh *Dinacat*', 449–50. Compare BRIAMAIL on an early inscription (*CIB* 127); *Briauail* in the Book of Llandaf (*LL* 143, 145, 148, 149, 151 and 217); *Briauayl* in *GM* 5; and, more corruptly, *Biuael* in JC 10 (*MWG* 148–9).

misunderstanding as *th* for /d/: a scribe during the Middle Welsh period could have seen medial or final *t* in an exemplar, assumed that it represented /d/ rather than /θ/, and changed it to *d*. On the other hand, *d* was itself one of many experimental spellings for /θ/ used during the Old Welsh period.[67] For example, ModW *wrth* is spelled *gurd* in the Juvencus nine, while ModW *peth* is spelled *ped* in the Old Welsh glosses on Martianus Capella.[68] The same practice is found occasionally as late as the mid-thirteenth-century Black Book of Chirk, where Hand A similarly writes *peth* as *ped*.[69] By the time of Jesus College 20 (*c.* 1400), however, *d* for /θ/ was entirely unorthodox. It is therefore most probable that the examples below arose either because a *t* for /θ/ was misunderstood as /d/ or because a legitimate Old Welsh *d* for /θ/ was overlooked and left to stand. In some cases, the former possibility is strengthened by the existence of an Old Welsh version of the same genealogy that spells the relevant name with *t* for /θ/.

8.	JC 3.17	Talgard
	DSB 12.18	Talgarth
	CB 15.19	Talgarth
	LlIG 1.3.17	Talgarth

tâl 'end' + *garth* 'ridge'.[70] This item in the Brychan tract concerns Gwen ferch Brychan, patron saint of Talgarth in Brycheiniog. Jackson noted that the Old Welsh spelling *t* for /θ/ 'is found almost exclusively after *r*, where it is not uncommon'; this is because the *t* in OW *-rt* unambiguously represented /θ/ rather than /d/.[71] It is quite possible, then, that an exemplar of JC 3.17 spelled Talgarth as *Talgart*. On the other hand, since Talgarth is a fairly well-known place, the spelling in *-d* may at some stage have been deliberate, following the Old Welsh convention that *d* could mean /θ/. There may indeed have existed a tradition of spelling Talgarth with a final *-d*, since other examples are extant.[72] Either way, it is surprising that it was left to stand by the relevant scribe in Jesus College 20.

[67] Jenkins and Owen, 'Welsh marginalia', ii, 119; Russell, 'Scribal (in)competence', 141.

[68] Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*, 76 and 128.

[69] Russell, 'Scribal (in)competence', 137; cf. 154 (Hand H).

[70] Hywel Wyn Owen and Richard Morgan, *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales* (Llandysul, 2007), 452.

[71] *LHEB* 572; Harvey, 'Some significant points', 63; Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', 27 n. 2. T. Arwyn Watkins claimed that the OW spellings *lc*, *rc*, *rt* for /lχ, rχ, rθ/ were adopted from Old Irish, but he overlooked the point that there was no standard way to spell these voiceless fricatives in Old Welsh (and thus that spellings like *rt* do not 'deviate' from an 'expected' *rth*): 'Points of similarity between Old Welsh and Old Irish Orthography', *BBCS* 21 (1965), 135–41, at 139–40. For spirantization in the cluster *-rt-*, see Paul Russell, 'A footnote to spirantization', *CMCS* 10 (1985), 53–6.

[72] *VSBG* 26 (*Vita sancti Cadoci*, prol.); William Henry Hart, *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, 3 vols (London, 1863–67), i, 315 (no. 284); cf. Joshua Byron Smith, *Walter Map and the Matter of Britain* (Philadelphia, 2017), 212 n. 168.

9.	JC 6	Prydein
	GM 2	Prydain
	HG 1	Brithguein
	VS Cadoci §47	Brithguein[73]
	VS Carantoci II §1	Britguenin
	HGK 1	Brychwein
	LlIG 11.1	Brychwein

The etymology is uncertain; possibly *brith* 'coloured, speckled' + *gwain* 'slaughter'.[74] The name occurs in the legendary portion of the pedigree of the kings of Gwynedd, and was intended to form a rhyming pair with *Eugein* (the latter representing /eu̯i̯ein/ < Lat. *Eugenius*).[75] In the common exemplar of JC 6 and *GM* 2, the name was reinterpreted as *Prydain* 'Britain', where the *d* clearly means /d/.[76] This reinterpretation may have been aided by an exemplar with *t* for /θ/, as in *Britguenin* in the Life of St Carannog. The identical versions of the name in *HGK* 1 and LlIG 11.1, spelled *Brychwein*, occur in related versions of the pedigree;[77] in their common exemplar, *th* seems to have been misread as *ch*, and the element *brith* reinterpreted as *brych*, which bears a very similar meaning.

10.	JC 8	Caden
	JC 12	Cathen
	GM 3	Kathan
	HG 2	Cathen
	Déisi (R)	Caittienn (gen. sg.)
	Déisi (L)	Catien (gen. sg.)
	LlIG 38.1	Kathen
	cf. HG 15	Caten
	cf. JC 8	Cathen

Possibly *cath* 'cat' + *-en*, the suffix found in the name of Cathen's father Cloden (see above). The same name appears in the place-name Llangathen and the name of the surrounding commote of Catheiniog.[78] By the time that Dafydd Epynt (fl. *s.* xv^2) composed his poem for St Cathen of Llangathen, the saint had been identified as the son of the legendary Cawrdaf ap Caradog Freichfras.[79] However, it is more likely that the eponym of Llangathen, located in

[73]The Lives of Saints Cadog and Carannog incorporate genealogical matter extracted from a text very similar to the Harleian genealogies: see *MWG* 79–85. The texts are edited and translated in *VSBG* 24–141 and 142–9 respectively.

[74]*GPC Online* s.v. gwain^2.

[75]For OW *Eugein* < Lat. *Eugenius*, see *LHEB* 323–4 and 370, n. 1; cf. Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson, 'The sources for the Life of St Kentigern', in Nora K. Chadwick (ed.), *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), 273–357, at 284. For the rhyming pairs, see *MWG* 37–9.

[76]Compare *Prydain* in Beli Mawr's pedigree: *HGK* 2; LlIG 11.1; etc.

[77]*MWG* 234–5.

[78]Melville Richards, 'Early Welsh territorial suffixes', *JRSAI* 95 (1965), 205–12, at 208; Melville Richards, *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units: Medieval and Modern* (Cardiff, 1969), 126.

[79]Barry J. Lewis (ed.), *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines* (Dublin, 2015), 121–3 and 306–12. St Cathen is also called son of Cawrdaf ap Caradog Freichras in versions of *Bonedd*

Cantref Mawr in the heart of early medieval Dyfed, should be linked to the ruling dynasty of early medieval Dyfed, which favoured the name Cathen.[80] It is notable that JC 8 spells Cathen ap Cloden's name as *Caden* while spelling the name of his descendant Cathen ap Nowy more clearly as *Cathen*. In the Harleian genealogies, the names of the same two men are spelled *Cathen* (Cathen ap Cloden, HG 2) and *Caten* (Cathen ap Nowy, HG 15). Such orthographical variation in an exemplar (albeit the other way around) may account for the two variant spellings in JC 8, the form *Caden* having arisen from misunderstanding of an earlier *Caten*.

11.	JC 9	Adroes
	GM 1	Adroes
	HG 28	Atroys
	LlIG 35.1	Athrwys

The etymology of Athrwys is uncertain.[81] The appearance of these four forms nicely illustrates the relationships between these texts: HG 28 spells the name *Atroys*, with t for /θ/, and the name was correctly interpreted in the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies and updated to *Athrwys*; the Jesus 20 genealogies and *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, on the other hand, draw on a common exemplar that spelled the name with *-d-*, perhaps because a *t* for /θ/ (as in *Atroys*) had been misinterpreted as /d/. For the diphthong in *Adroes*, see below.

12.	JC 12	Gorddeber
	GM 3	Gyrdeber
	HG 2	Guortepir
	Déisi (R)	Gartbuir (gen. sg.?)
	Déisi (L)	Goirtiben (gen. sg.?)
	LlIG 38.1	Gwerthefyr

This name derives from Brittonic **wor-tepo-rix*; the same person is called *Vortipori* (voc. sg.) by Gildas.[82] As noted above, the Old Welsh spelling *t* for /θ/ is most commonly found immediately after *r*, as here in HG 2's *Guortepir*. Once again, the Jesus College 20 genealogies and *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* share a spelling in *-d-*, perhaps because the *t* in a form like *Guortepir* was misunderstood, whereas the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies have correctly updated it to *th*. On the other hand, the *f* for /β/ in LlIG 38.1 is an error resulting from an assumption that *b* in an exemplar represented /β/ rather than /b/.

y Saint dating to the sixteenth century and later: Barry J. Lewis (ed.), *Bonedd y Saint* (Dublin, forthcoming), no. E6. Note that a Cathen ap Cawrdaf ap Serwan is also found in HG 16.

[80] As seen in example 10 and in HG 15 (an early ninth-century member of the same dynasty). The possible connections between Cathen ap Cloden, Llangathen and Catheiniog are discussed by Egerton Phillimore *apud* Henry Owen (ed.), *The Description of Penbrokshire* [*sic*] *by George Owen of Henllys, Lord of Kemes*, 4 vols paginated as 2 (London, 1892–1936), iii, 224–5 n. 1. For the extent of early medieval Dyfed, including territory to the east of later definitions of Dyfed, see Ben Guy, 'Rheinwg: the lost kingdom of South Wales', *Peritia* 30 (2019), 97–121.

[81] Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', 52.

[82] Patrick Sims-Williams *apud* Nancy Edwards, *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales. Volume II: South-West Wales* (Cardiff, 2007), 205–6; Winterbottom, *Gildas*, 101 (31.1).

13.	JC 19	Neidaon
	HG 4	Neithon
	LlIG 20	Meythion

Cognate with OIr *Nechtan*; the phonology is uncertain, though the form *Neithon* may be Pictish.[83]

14.	JC 41	Gweidno
	HG 18	Gueinoth
	LlIG 42	Gwethyno
	cf. *LL* 144	Gueithgno, Gueithgen

Probably *gwaith* 'work, battle' + *-gno*, possibly < **gnāwi̯os* 'knowing'.[84] In HG 18, the *th* has been misplaced to the end of the word, and the *g* of *-gno* may have been omitted (if the etymology is correct), possibly because the scribe was influenced by Anglo-Saxon names in *-noth*.[85] In the past, it has sometimes been assumed that these forms represent the name *Gwyddno* (MW *Gwydneu*, *Gwydno*), which is more common; however, given especially the occurrence of *Gueithgno* in the Book of Llandaf, it is likely that the *gwaith* names are separate from *Gwyddno*.[86]

15.	JC 42	Arden
	JC 21	Arthen
	HG 26	Arthgen
	LlIG 18	Arthen

arth 'bear' + OW *-gen* < **genos* 'born'. It is striking that the name is spelled differently in JC 21 and JC 42, despite these two items otherwise reproducing the same version of the pedigree of the early medieval kings of Ceredigion with the same errors.[87] The common exemplar of JC 21 and JC 42 could conceivably have read either *Arten* or *Arden*, though perhaps the former is more likely.

16.	JC 50	Elaed
	LlIG 46.1	Elaeth

Probably *el* 'much' + *aeth* 'pain, grief'.[88] These examples are taken from the pedigree associated from Dogfeiling, which is not attested in any Old Welsh source.

[83] See discussion and references in *CIB* 179; cf. T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013), 148.

[84] For the latter element, see *LHEB* 382–3; E. P. Hamp, 'Early Welsh names, suffixes, and phonology', *Onoma* 14 (1969), 7–13, at 12; Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', 51; Peter Schrijver, *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology* (Amsterdam, 1995), 299–300.

[85] Cf. Ben Guy, 'A second witness to the Welsh material in Harley 3859', *Quaestio Insularis: Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic* 15 (2014), 72–91, at 89, and below, 84 n. 132.

[86] For example, this was assumed in *EWGT* 195, Russell, 'Scribal (in)competence', 141 and Guy, 'Second witness', 88–90. The name *Gwyddno* may appear in the Harleian genealogies in HG 5, if the *p* in *Guipno* is understood to have been miscopied from a thorn (*þ*) representing /ð/. For the *-neu* of *Gwydneu*, see Schrijver, *Studies*, 300 n. 1.

[87] For example, *Argloes* for Arthloes; see below, pp. 82–3.

[88] Meredith Cane, 'Personal names of men in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany 400–1400 AD', 2 vols, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2003, i, 19.

Examples with <ch> for /g/

17.	JC 7	Afloch
	HG 32	Abloyc

This is the eponym of the commote in Llŷn called *Aphlocyaȣn* in JC 7, which later became Gaflogion or Cafflogion by popular etymology.[89] Despite the retention of *c* for /g/ in *Aphlocyaȣn*, in *Afloch* the final *-c* for /g/ has been interpreted as *c* for /χ/ and copied as *ch*.

18.	JC 13	Prȣtech
	HG 2	Protec
	cf. *LL* 150	Protec

This name in the pedigree of the early medieval kings of Dyfed forms an alliterating pair with *Protector*. Both names seem to have been inserted into the legendary portion of the pedigree in order to lend it a more 'Roman', and less Irish, appearance.[90] However, the presence of one *Protec* in the witness list of a putatively late seventh- or early eighth-century charter in the Book of Llandaf may suggest that the name *Protec* was not simply invented after all.[91] Either way, it is likely that the *-ch* spelling in JC 13 is a misunderstanding of the earlier spelling in *-c*.

19.	JC 18	Deyrlloch
	HG 22	Dunlurc
	LlIG 19	Dehyrnllug
	LlIG 40.1	Dyrnllug
	cf. *HB* (Harl.) §35	Durnluc
	cf. JC 16	Deernlluc

This is the epithet of Cadell, eponym of the Cadelling dynasties of Powys. The spelling in HG 22 is probably an error for *Durnluc*, the form in the *Historia Brittonum*.[92] The first element is *dwrn* 'fist' or 'hilt'. This was later spelled *Dyrn-* (as shown in LlIG 40.1), showing the reduced vowel that arose regularly in pretonic position in early Old Welsh; in turn, the reduced vowel prompted the element to be reinterpreted as the lenited form of *teyrn* 'prince'. The second element, however, is ambiguous: the OW spelling *-luc* could indicate either *llug* 'light, radiance; ?shining, brilliant'; *lluch* 'brilliant, shining; lightning'; or *llwch* 'dust' or 'lake; bog; mud, dung'. Most later spellings would seem to favour *llug*, resulting in the epithet 'shining-fist' or 'shining-hilt'. If so, final *-c* for /g/ has been misunderstood as *c* for /χ/ by a copyist of JC 18. Alternatively, the original epithet might have included (or been interpreted as including) *lluch* or *llwch*, either of which could have prompted an element of the story about Cadell in the *Historia Brittonum*: if *lluch* 'lightning' were perceived in the epithet, it may have given rise to the idea that Benllli's fortress was destroyed by lightning; if

[89] Richards, 'Early Welsh territorial suffixes', 209.

[90] Guy, 'Earliest Welsh genealogies', 483–4.

[91] Charter 150b: Davies, *Llandaff Charters*, 99; Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, 150.

[92] Egerton Phillimore, 'The *Annales Cambriæ* and the Old-Welsh genealogies from *Harleian MS.* 3859', *Y Cymmrodor* 9 (1888), 141–83, at 179 n. 6.

llwch 'dust, dung' were understood, it may have encouraged the author of the *Historia Brittonum* to cite I Samuel 2.8, in reference to Cadell's elevation to the kingship of Powys: 'He raiseth up the needy from the dust, and lifteth up the poor from the dunghill...'.[93] If either of these latter options are correct, JC 18's *-lloch* may be a perfectly legitimate rendering of the final consonant.

SPELLINGS RESULTING FROM LENITION

Certain consonantal spellings in an Old Welsh system of orthography were particularly liable to be misunderstood by later scribes. Three of these cases are addressed below. Each of these spellings arose due to the effects of lenition on the spelling system. By the Old Welsh period, in leniting positions /b/ had become the bilabial fricative /β/; /m/ had become the nasalised bilabial fricative /μ/; and /g/ had become the voiced velar fricative /γ/. Since in most cases lenition was not recognised overtly in spelling during the Old Welsh period, these three fricatives /β, μ, γ/ were usually spelled *b*, *m*, *g*, just like their non-lenited counterparts. By the twelfth century, the bilabial fricatives /β, μ/ had fallen together as /β/ following the loss of the nasal element of /μ/, leading to confusion between *b* and *m* as spellings for /β/.[94] By the thirteenth century, the *b*/*m* spellings were abandoned and /β/ was spelled as *v*, *u* or *f*, thereby overtly differentiating /b/ and /m/ from their lenited equivalent /β/.[95] The voiced velar fricative /γ/ was eventually lost completely. This happened at different times in different environments between approximately the sixth and ninth centuries, though in most environments the etymological spelling with *g* was usually maintained up to the twelfth century.[96] In compounds where the first element ended with /l, r, n/ and the second element began with /γ/, the latter was vocalised as /i̯/ (e.g. *Sulien* < OW *Sulgen*).[97] Similarly, in internal position /γ/ after /l, r/ became /i̯/ (e.g. *arian* 'silver' < OW *argant*).[98] In both cases, this /i̯/ was spelled as *g* in Old Welsh orthography, although later *i* or *y* would be preferred.

The examples discussed below concern instances when Old Welsh-style spellings involving *b*, *m* and *g* with the values described above were either overlooked or misunderstood in the Old Welsh genealogical tracts that were incorporated into the Jesus College 20 genealogies.

[93] Quoted from the Douay-Rheims translation. *HB* (Harl.) §35; for *llwch*, cf. A. W. Wade-Evans, *Welsh Christian Origins* (Oxford, 1934), 89; Nikolai Tolstoy, 'Cadell and the Cadelling of Powys', *SC* 46 (2012), 59–83, at 63.

[94] Paul Russell, '*Rowynniauc*, *Rhufoniog*: the orthography and phonology of /μ/ in early Welsh', in Paul Russell (ed.), *Yr Hen Iaith: Studies in Early Welsh* (Aberystwyth, 2003), 25–47.

[95] /β/ would later become /v/ in modern Welsh: Willis, 'Old and Middle Welsh', 126.

[96] *LHEB* 469–70.

[97] *LHEB* 439.

[98] *LHEB* 466–9.

Examples with <b> for /β/ and <m> for /µ/

20.	JC 2.9	Cyblider
	DSB 11.9	Chybliuer
	CB 14.9	Kyfliuer
	LlIG 1.2.5	Kyfliver

The first element is the prefix *cyf-* < OW *com-*, but the second element is uncertain.[99] Judging by the spellings in both JC 2.9 and *DSB* 11.9, the archetype of the Brychan tract probably spelled the fricative in the prefix with *b* rather than etymological *m*, suggesting that the nasality of the original /µ/ had been lost by the time that the archetype was written.[100]

21.	JC 3.2	Hirblaut
	LlIG 1.3.2	Hirvlawt
	LlFB 3.12	Hirvlawdd

hir 'long' + *blawdd* 'terror'. In the first two instances cited, final *-t* represents -/ð/, as in the Black Book of Carmarthen.[101] This is the epithet of Iorwerth Hirflawdd, eponym of the Iorwerthion dynasties of Arwystli, Maelienydd and Elfael, as found in versions of the Brychan tract. Although Iorwerth is also mentioned in *De situ Brecheniauc*, the epithet does not occur there. In JC 3.2, the spelling *b* for /β/, representing the lenited initial consonant of the second element of the compound, has been left to stand.

22.	JC 3.3	Bramdrut
	DSB 12.17	Barmbtruch
	LlIG 1.3.4	Varyfdrwch
	cf. HG 18	Barmbtruch

barf 'beard' < Lat. *barba* + *trwch* 'cut'. This is the epithet of Gwrin Farfdrwch, an early member of the line associated with Meirionydd. The first three forms are quoted from versions of the Brychan tract, where it is said that Gwrin Farfdrwch married Brychan's daughter Marchell (or Mechyll), and the last form is quoted from a version of the Meirionydd pedigree. It is striking that *De situ Brecheniauc* spells the epithet in the same unusual way as the Harleian genealogies, implying that there may be some textual connection between the two. In both instances, the fricative in *barf* is apparently spelled *mb* where one would expect *b*, presumably due to scribal hesitation about whether *m* or *b* was the appropriate graph to use.[102] JC 3.3's *Bramdrut* may represent an attempt to rationalise a spelling like *Barmbtruch* (albeit with a less dignified outcome for Gwrin; the meaning is *bram* 'fart' + *drud* 'costly; daring; rash; furious; grievous').

[99]For discussion, see David N. Parsons, *Martyrs and Memorials: Merthyr Place-Names and the Church in Early Wales* (Aberystwyth, 2013), 64–5.

[100]Cf. *Cimliuer* (*LL* 32) alongside *Cibliuer* (*LL* 44), noted in *LHEB* 485.

[101]Cf. Russell, 'Scribal (in)consistency', 149–51.

[102]Compare this 'double' spelling of the fricative with *trefbret* in Ifor Williams (ed.), *Canu Taliesin* (Cardiff, 1960), I.2. My thanks to Patrick Sims-Williams for suggesting this comparison.

23.	JC 3.15	Beper
	CB 15.3	Pefir
	LlIG 1.3.10	Pefyr

pefr 'bright, shining', here used as the epithet of Tudwal Befr in the Brychan tract. In *DSB* 12.4, his epithet is rendered in Latin as *flaui* 'golden yellow' (gen. sg.). The etymology of *pefr* is uncertain. A possible explanation for the unusual form *Beper* in JC 3.15 is that an exemplar had spelled the fricative in *pefr* with *b*, encouraging a copyist to suppose that the epithet was *pybyr* 'lively; vigorous; fine, bright'.[103] The medial -/b/- in this word was then spelled with *p*.

24.	JC 6	Eimet
	GM 2	Ennot
	HG 1	Oumun
	VS Cadoci §47	Oumiud
	VS Carantoci II §1	Omnid
	VS Dauid §68	Omid[104]
	HGK 1	Onnet
	LlIG 11.1	Onwed

This is a name found among the early ancestors of the kings of Gwynedd. The only witness that seems to preserve the proper Old Welsh form is the Life of St Cadog, which has *Oumiud*. This is probably the name attested in Middle Welsh as *Euuyd* (Eufydd), which appears several times in the Book of Taliesin in association with characters from the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi.[105] Discussion of *Euuyd* seem to have overlooked the fact that the name occurs in its Old Welsh form in the pedigree of the kings of Gwynedd. Most of the other forms quoted above are more or less corrupt interpretations of *Oumiud*, with the exception of *Oumun* in HG 1.[106] This appears in the manuscript as *Oumú*, with what appears to be a nasal suspension mark over the *u*. HG 1's form may result from a deliberate alteration of *Oumiud* to *Oumú*, allowing the name to rhyme with *Dubun*, with which *Oumun* is paired in the pedigree.[107]

[103] *GPC Online* s.v. pybyr[2]. I owe this suggestion to Patrick Sims-Williams. There is similar confusion in spellings of Gronw's epithet in the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi, which the White Book spells as *pebyr* (for *pybyr*) and the Red Book spells as *peuyr* (understanding *pefr*): Ifor Williams (ed.), *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (Cardiff, 1930), 286 (84.19n).

[104] 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.

[105] Marged Haycock (ed. and trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, 2nd ed. (Aberystwyth, 2015), 72, note to poem 1.81.

[106] Note that the Old Welsh-style spellings in the saints' Lives use final *-d* for -/ð/, as one would expect, whereas texts probably originating in the late twelfth or thirteenth centuries (*HGK* and the common exemplar of JC and *GM*) have shifted to final *-t* for -/ð/, as in the Black Book of Carmarthen. See above, p. 78 n. 101.

[107] *MWG* 37 n. 175. See too the discussion of *Brithguein* above.

25.	JC 10	Arbeth
	GM 5	Ayrddyl
	cf. *LL* 78	Ebrdil

Jon Coe has connected this name with the adjective *afrddwl* 'sad, wretched; unfortunate'.[108] This seems plausible given that all these attestations refer to St Efrddyl, daughter of Peibio Glafrog, who receives rather 'wretched' treatment at the hands of her father in the Life of St Dyfrig.[109] Once again, the Jesus College 20 genealogies here share a common source with *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, and in this case the latter can be used to explain the corruption of the former.[110] It is clear that JC 10's form *Arbeth* is a corruption of Efrddyl's name, probably encouraged by a failure to understand that *b* in the exemplar indicated /β/.

Examples with <g> for /ɣ, i̯/

26.	JC 3.2	Urgrngen
	DSB 12.10	Aranwen
	CB 15.10	Arganwen
	LlIG 1.3.2	Arianwen
	LlFB 3.12	Rianwen

arian (OW *argant*)[111] 'silver' + *gwen* 'white'. *CB* 15.10 clearly preserves Old Welsh *g* for /i̯/ in *Argan-*. The corrupt *Urgrn-* of JC 3.2 probably preserves remnants of the same thing. The final *-gen* of JC 3.2's *Urgrngen* is likely to derive from an exemplar where initial /w/ of lenited *gwen* was spelled *gu* or *gw*. This feature was updated by spelling /w/ as *w* in all other witnesses, including *De situ Brecheniauc*.

27.	JC 3.3	Gorhynt
	DSB 12.17	Gurind
	CB 15.16	Gurgeynt
	LlIG 1.3.4	Wynnir
	LlFB 3.20	Wrgant
	cf. HG 18	Guurgint
28.	JC 7	Hyrth
	HG 32	Girt
	LlIG 47.11	Yrth

[108] Jonathan Baron Coe, 'The place-names of the Book of Llandaf', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2001, 909–10. Zimmer instead interprets the first element of *Efrddyl* as *ef(w)r* 'cow-parsnip, hogweed' < Celt. *eburo* 'yew tree', though the 'yew' meaning of Celtic *eburo* (based on the meaning of the derivative OIr *ibar* 'yew') has now been rejected by Peter Schrijver in favour of 'rowan': Zimmer, 'Die altkymrischen Frauennamen', 326–7; Peter Schrijver, 'The meaning of Celtic **eburos*', in Guillaume Oudaer, Gaël Hily and Herve Le Bihan (eds), *Mélanges en l'honneur de Pierre-Yves Lambert* (Rennes, 2015), 65–76.

[109] See Ben Guy (ed. and trans.), *Vita Sancti Dubricii* (2020), §14, published online at http://www.welshsaints.ac.uk/theedition (accessed 14 September 2021).

[110] *MWG* 148–9.

[111] Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*, 11.

Example 27 is *gŵr* 'man' + *gynt* 'tribe, people' < Lat. *gens*, *gent-* (cf. *Bleddyn*: *blaidd* 'wolf' + *gynt*).[112] That the first element is *gŵr* rather than the intensive prefix *gwor* is suggested both by the comparison with *Bleddyn* and by the spelling *Guurgint* in the Harleian genealogies, since the latter text usually spells the intensive prefix as *guor* (e.g. *Guorcein*, *Guortepir*, etc.).[113] The name *Gwrin* is known in only four contexts: Gwrin Farfdrwch was a member of the dynasty associated with early medieval Meirionydd; a certain Gwrin was a witness to the Surexit Memorandum;[114] the cantref of Gwrinydd (later Gronydd, Gorfynydd) in Glamorgan derives from the name *Gwrin*;[115] and the place-name *Llanwrin* is found on the north bank of the river Dyfi, north-east of Machynlleth.[116] Due to its relative obscurity, the name caused endless trouble for later scribes, as shown by some of the forms above. The same issue was encountered by those engaging with the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose character *Gurguint Barbtruc* had been borrowed from the Meirionydd pedigree; he became Gwrgan Farfdrwch in *Brut y Brenhinedd*, while JC 51's list of Galfridian kings rendered him as *Gornet Vrichhir*.[117] That said, the *h* in JC 3.3's *Gorhynt* may reflect a genuine attempt to spell the weakened remains of /ɣ/ at the beginning of the second element of the compound, and thus show comprehension of the OW spelling with *-g-*. Jackson estimated that /ɣ/ in this position did not fully disappear until the eleventh or twelfth century, like initial /ɣ/ in leniting position.[118] An alternative possibility is that the name had been reanalysed by a scribe as *gŵr* + *hynt* 'way, path; career, expedition', though it is difficult to imagine the semantic thinking behind such an analysis.[119]

There may be at least one other example of *h* used for weakened /ɣ/ elsewhere, but this is uncertain.[120] In the context of the Jesus College 20 genealogies, however, the interpretation may be supported by example 28. This is *gyrth* 'rough, hard; fierce; strong', the epithet of Cunedda's son Einion Yrth. The initial /g/ of the epithet was lenited, and it is possible that JC 7's *Hyrth* spells the resulting /ɣ/ with *h*, as in *Gorhynt*. Alternatively, the perception of an initial /h/- in *Hyrth* could have been prompted by the final

[112]Cf. *CIB* 181–2. Jenkins and Owen point out that the name should be spelled *Gwryn* in modern Welsh (cf. 'Bleddyn'), but since *Gwrin* has become the standard spelling in references to Gwrin Farfdrwch and the modern place-name *Llanwrin*, the latter form is retained here: Jenkins and Owen, 'Welsh marginalia', ii, 107–8.

[113]Similarly, the name is spelled *Gurgint* in Chad 2 (the Surexit Memorandum), in contrast to *Guortigirnn* (with intensive *gwor*) in Chad 5: *LL* xliii and xlvi; Jenkins and Owen, 'Welsh marginalia', i, 51 and ii, 91 and 107–8 (for Chad 2). For a translation and discussion of Chad 5, see Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, 247.

[114]See the previous footnote.

[115]Richards, 'Gwrinydd'; Philip Jenkins, 'Regions and cantrefs in early medieval Glamorgan', *CMCS* 15 (1988), 31–50, at 45.

[116]Richards, *Early Welsh Territorial and Administrative Units*, 142. Given the presence of Gwrin Farfdrwch in the Meirionydd pedigree, it seems unlikely to be a coincidence that Llanwrin is just to the south-east of the border of Meirionydd, in Cyfeiliog; compare Llangathen, discussed above.

[117]*MWG* 283.

[118]*LHEB* 438.

[119]This possibility was suggested to me by Barry Lewis.

[120]*CIB* 222–3 and 280.

nasal of the preceding name *Einyaɷn*, in the same way as has been argued for prefixed *h-* following first-person plural possessive pronouns.[121]

29.	JC 5	Gɷrgust
	JC 17	Gɷrgust
	JC 34	Gɷrguest
	HG 8	Gurgust
	LlIG 7.4	Gwrwst

As with *Gwrin* above, the spelling *Gurgust* in the Harleian genealogies probably indicates that the first element is *gŵr* 'man' rather than the intensive prefix *gwor-*. This is confirmed by the Irish cognate *Fergus*. Cane translates the second element, *gwst*, as 'valour', though *GPC* suggests, among other meanings, 'pain, torment; endurance, patience; effort, fighting; trouble, distress'.[122] The name was later reduced to *Grwst*, as in *Llanrwst*. It is likely that one or more copyists of the Jesus College 20 genealogies overlooked the fact that the initial *g* of the second element of this name represents a lenited *g*, which, by Middle Welsh standards, should be omitted (as it usually is in the Jesus College 20 genealogies, e.g. in *Idwal*, *Kadwaladyr* and *Katwallaɷn* in JC 22). The same oversight is found in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, where Grwst Ledlwm is called *Gwrgwst Letlwm*.[123]

30.	JC 12	Gɷgaɷn
	GM 3	Gwgon
	JC 8	Cadɷgaɷn
	HG 2	Catgocaun
	Déisi (R)	Catacuind (gen. sg.)
	LlIG 38.1	Cadwgawn

In the common exemplar of the Jesus College 20 genealogies and *Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, the second element of the name *Cadwgon* (*cad* 'battle' + *g(w)ogawn* 'glory') had been taken as the full name, since *Gwgon* was also a name in its own right (OW *Gu(o)caun* < **wo-kān-*).[124] This probably occurred because the source, like HG 2, did not spell the lenited initial of the second element of the compound by omitting the *g*.

31.	JC 21/42	Argloes
	HG 26	Artgloys
	LlIG 18	Arthloes
32.	JC 40	Podgen
	HG 17	Popgen
	LlIG 43	Pobien

[121]Cf. Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The spread of "sandhi *h-*" in thirteenth-century Welsh', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 108 (2010), 41–52, at 48–50.

[122]Cane, 'Personal names', i, 167; *GPC Online* s.v. gwst[1].

[123]Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans (eds), *Culhwch ac Olwen*, 2nd ed. (Cardiff, 1997), 35.993. For Grwst Ledlwm, see below, p. 85 n. 138.

[124][G]*uocaun* in HG 26, *Gucaun* in *LL* 237, 265, 268 and 276.

Example 31 is *arth* 'bear' + possibly either *gloes* 'agony' or *glwys* 'beautiful, fair, comely'.[125] The same form, including the omission of *t(h)* and the retention of *g*, is found in both JC 21 and JC 42, which repeat the same version of the pedigree of the early medieval kings of Ceredigion. Example 32 is apparently *pob* 'every, all' + OW *-gen* < **genos* 'born'.[126] In both instances, the Jesus College 20 genealogies maintain the etymological spelling of the second element without spelling the lenition by either omitting the *g* or, as seen in LlIG 43 in the second case, by altering the spelling to *i* or *y* for /i̯/ (cf. *Vryen* in JC 3.5 and *Vrien* in JC 34 < OW *Urbgen*).

SPELLING VOWELS

Another problematic area of early Welsh spelling was the front and central vowels. The underlying issue was that Welsh had more vowels than available Latin graphs to represent them: thus, in ninth-century Old Welsh, the six vowels /i, ɨ, e, ə, ʉ, u/ and the semi-vowel /i̯/ were represented by only three letters: *i*, *e* and *u*/*v* (and *u*/*v* could additionally sometimes represent /w/ and the fricatives /β/ and /µ/).[127] The pressure on the front and central vowels was eventually eased by the introduction of the letter *y*, probably borrowed from English: this letter appeared in restricted environments in the tenth century, mainly to spell the second element of the diphthongs /oɨ/ and /uɨ/.[128] The letter *y* was adopted more widely, though usually indiscriminately, from *c.* 1100, variously to spell /i, ɨ, ə/, but by *c.* 1300 it had come to be employed more systematically and exclusively to spell /ɨ, ə/, finally distinguishing them visibly from /i/.[129]

[125] In the Harleian genealogies, the spelling *oy* can represent either /oɨ/ (*Coyl* × 4, *Coyt*, *Abloyc*) or /uɨ/ (*Tancoyslt*, *Nougoy* × 2, *Loyt*, ?*Atroys* × 2). Less certain are *Amguoloyt* (cf. *an guoloet* in Williams, *Canu Aneirin*, l. 1188), *Ytigoy* (cf. the equivalent names *Idwin* in JC 39 and *Idgwin* in LlIG 44) and *Cynloyp*. For Old Welsh spellings in *oy*, see below, n. 128.

[126] Cane, 'Personal names', i, 22. For the first element, compare Pobien's son Pobddelw, spelled *Popdelgu* in HG 17.

[127] See the tables in Russell, *Introduction*, 215; Falileyev, *Llawlyfr*, 7–9. In addition, /ə/ was sometimes spelled *a*. The orthography of the Llandaf charters suggests that *u* was used in some scribal milieus for /β/ and /µ/ in the seventh and eighth centuries: Russell, '*Rowynniauc*, *Rhufoniog*', 32–8.

[128] For the introduction of *y* to Welsh orthography, see Peter Kitson, 'Old English literacy and the provenance of Welsh *y*', in Russell (ed.), *Yr Hen Iaith*, 49–65. The Harleian genealogies make use of *y* in the way that one would expect in a mid-tenth-century text, confirming the general view that their spelling was not significantly altered when they were copied in England around 1100. As in the Computus fragment (*ibid.*, 55–6; cf. T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The authenticity of the *Gododdin*: an historian's view', in Bromwich and Jones, *Astudiaethau*, 44–71, at 50–1), the use of *y* in the Harleian genealogies is almost entirely restricted to the diphthong *oy* (used in the genealogies for both /oɨ/ and /uɨ/; see above, n. 125), though it occasionally appears in *ey* for /eɨ/ (*Himeyt*, *Bleydiud*) and *ay* for /aɨ/ (*Brocmayl* × 2, *Mormayl*, *Iusay*): cf. Patrick Sims-Williams, ' "Dark" and "clear" *y* in medieval Welsh orthography: Caligula versus Teilo', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 119 (2021), 1–39, at 4–5. The only exceptions are *Ytigoy* (see n. 125 above), *Cynloyp*, *Gyl* (an error for *Coyl*, with a diphthong) and *Typipaun* for 'Tybion'. The apparent dittography in the latter may well have arisen due to a mechanical copying of an attempted spelling alteration of *ip* to *yp* or vice-versa.

[129] For the change in the use of *y* over time, see Sims-Williams, ' "Dark" and "clear" *y*'. For fluctuations in the use of *y* in the thirteenth century, see too Russell, 'Scribal (in)competence', 140–1, 164–5 and 169–70; T. M. Charles-Edwards and Paul Russell, 'The Hendregadredd manuscript and the orthography and phonology of Welsh in the early fourteenth century', *National Library*

Due to these ongoing fluctuations, it is not especially instructive to discuss the spellings of front and central vowels in isolated words and phrases in the Jesus College 20 genealogies, since they might have been altered in different directions during the transmission of the texts. This can be appreciated by considering spellings of the name of Brychan's son Clydwyn in versions of the Brychan tract. The first element of Clydwyn is probably *clyd* 'praise, fame' < Celtic **klut-* (whence ModW *clod*).[130] The pretonic vowel in *clyd-* underwent the regular changes /u/ > /ö/ in the sixth century and /ö/ > /ə/ by the ninth century.[131] The last stage is represented in the Harleian genealogies by *i*, as in *Clitauc* (HG 26),[132] and the intermediate /ö/ stage might also be represented by three spellings in the pedigree of the kings of Dyfed (HG 2): *Cloten*, *Clotri* and *Gloitguin* (the latter probably representing Clydwyn).[133] Among versions of the Brychan tract, the /ə/ in Clydwyn is represented by *y* in *De situ Brecheniauc* and *Cognacio Brychan* (*Clytguin DSB* 11.3, *Clytwyn CB* 14.3), by *e* in the best witness to the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (*Kletwyn* LlIG 1.2.2) and in the more corrupt *Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i Blant* (*Glewyn LlFB* 2.2), and by *i* in the Jesus College 20 genealogies (*Clitwin* JC 2.3). The rubricator of Jesus College 20 subsequently expuncted the *i* in *Clitwin* and wrote *y* above it instead. It is difficult to say whether the form with *i* in the Jesus College 20 genealogies originated in the Brychan tract's archetype, or whether, for instance, an original *y* was changed to *i* during transmission, perhaps at the hands of a thirteenth-century scribe employing a '*y*-shy' orthography.[134]

The remainder of this section discusses Old Welsh spellings with *e* for the diphthongs /eu̯/, /uu̯/ and, possibly, /ou̯/, which were sometimes overlooked or misunderstood by copyists of the Jesus College 20 genealogies.[135] These are more easily identified than the cases discussed above, since the relevant spellings in *e* are very unlikely to have been created after the Old Welsh period.

of Wales Journal 28 (1994), 419–62, at 421–2, 425 and 431–2; Paul Russell, 'What did medieval Welsh scribes do? The scribe of the Dingestow Court MS', *CMCS* 37 (1999), 79–96, at 88–90; Russell, 'Scribal (in)consistency', 157–60.

[130] *LHEB* 677 (for OW *Clitauc* < Brit. **klutācos*); *CIB* 147 n. 872.

[131] For the spelling of these sounds in Old Welsh, see Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', 36–47.

[132] Other examples involve textual corruptions: thus, both [C]*linog* in HG 7 and *Glitnoth* in HG 18 are probably corruptions of *Clit(g)no* (cf. *Clidno* in *LL* 279). The Anglo-Norman scribe of HG 18 may have produced the form *Glitnoth* under the influence of Anglo-Saxon names in *-noth*: compare *Gueinoth*, the preceding name in the same pedigree, discussed above, p. 75.

[133] Jackson (*LHEB* 607) thought that the *o* spelling of *Clotri* (found also in *LL* 176–8 and 184–5) represents /o/, making this name an exception to i-affection (perhaps influenced by *clod*), but Sims-Williams (*CIB* 147 n. 872) observes that it could simply represent /ö/ < /u/. If the latter, the name should be written in modern Welsh as *Clydri* (contrary to usual practice).

[134] Cf. Russell, 'Scribal '(in)competence', 169; Russell, 'What did medieval Welsh scribes do?', 92; Sims-Williams, ' "Clear" and "dark" *y*', 23.

[135] For /eu̯/, see Watkins, 'Points of similarity', 138–40; Jenkins and Owen, 'Welsh marginalia', ii, 118–19. For /uu̯/ and /ou̯/, see Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', 47–63.

33.	JC 3.6	Kyngar
	DSB 12.7	Kehingayr
	CB 15.7	Keyngair
	LlIG 1.3.11	Keyngar
	LlFB 3.8	Riangar
	cf. *LL* 207–8	Ceincair

The first element is *cain* 'fine, fair, beautiful', but the second element is uncertain.[136] In *De situ Brecheniauc*, an *h* has been used to indicate the diphthong, as is occasionally found elsewhere in Old Welsh orthography (e.g. *luhyn* for *llwyn* 'bush; copse' in *Braint Teilo*).[137] JC 3.6 confuses the name of Brychan's daughter Ceingair with the masculine name *Cyngar*. This probably arose because an exemplar spelled the diphthong in the first syllable as *e*, which was misinterpreted as /ə/.

34.	JC 5	Tepɷyll
	GM 1	Taithpwyl
	HG 10	Telpuil
	VS Cadoci	Teilpuill
	LlIG 11.1.4	Tydbwyll

tail 'dung, excrement' + *pwyll* 'deliberation, care; prudence, wisdom; nature, disposition; meaning, significance'. This may seem like an unlikely name, but it need not have been real, since it occurs in the 'prehistoric' portion of the pedigree of Coel Hen, progenitor of the Men of the North. Derogatory names and epithets were often given to legendary Northerners, probably reflecting the extent to which the 'Old North' became a literary arena for comedy and farce as much as for heroism and valour: consider, even in the Harleian genealogies, *Letlum* 'ragged one' (HG 12) and epithets like *clop* 'lame, limping' (HG 9), *bulc* 'gappy, defective' and *moilmut* 'bald-mute' (both HG 10, like *Telpuil*).[138] Such epithets proliferate in later writing about the Men of the North. Thus, Urien's grandfather emerges as Meirchion Gul 'the Lean' (LlIG 11.1.2), Clydno Eidyn's brother is called Cynfelyn Drwsgl 'the Awkward, Clumsy' (*BGG* 3), and a charming line of Dyfnwal Hen's descendants are listed as *Brwydr Ddiriaid ap Gwyddien Astrus ap Deigr ap Dyfnwal Hen* (lit. 'Evil Battle son of Gwyddien the Abstruse son of Tear-drop son of Dyfnwal the Old', LlIG 9.3.1). The obscure and unique name *Teilbwyll* was generally reinterpreted by later scribes,

[136]The spellings in JC 3.6, LlIG 1.3.11 and *LlFB* 3.8 suggest that the second element is *câr*, 'kinsman, friend', as in names like Cyngar: for this element, see Eric P. Hamp, 'On some Gaulish names in *-ant-* and Celtic verbal nouns', *Ériu* 27 (1976), 1–20, at 4–6; for relevant names, see Melville Richards, 'Gwŷr, gwragedd a gwehelyth', *THSC* (1965), 27–45, at 31. On the other hand, the earlier, and probably better, spelling in *DSB* 12.7 (supported by *CB* 15.6) suggests that the second element is something else, as in *LL* 207–8.

[137]Russell, 'Scribal (in)competence', 144–5. The same is probably seen in *Mahelgun* in *DSB* 12.9. In JC 16, an *h* is used to indicate the vowel hiatus in *Cedehern* (unless this is another example of *h* indicating weakened /ɣ/; see above, pp. 80–2). Cf. *CIB* 222–3 and 280.

[138]Note that, in the Harleian genealogies, 'Lledlwm', the grandfather of Gwrgi and Peredur, is an independent character, whereas in later texts he is merged with Grwst, great-grandfather of Urien, to create 'Grwst Ledlwm'. This is why, in later pedigrees, Lledlwm's father Cenau is inserted into Urien's pedigree as Grwst's father (e.g. JC 5).

as seen in the Jesus College 20 genealogies, where the initial *Te-* of a form like HG 10's *Telpuil* (with *e* for /ei̯/) was perhaps interpreted as hypocoristic *ty-* (as in *Tysilio*, *Teilo*, etc.).[139]

35.	JC 16	Noe
	cf. HG 2, 15	Nougoy
	cf. JC 8	Neuue
	cf. JC 12	Nennue
	cf. *GM* 3	Neyney
	cf. LlIG 38.1	Nowy

This name derives from Latin *Nōē* (Noah).[140] JC 16's *Noe* may well preserve *e* for /ui̯/, which was a common spelling until the late eighth century, when it was replaced by *ui*.[141] Both variant spellings of this name are found in the Book of Llandaf: the fabricated charter 77 spells the name of Nowy ab Arthur, a seventh-century king of Dyfed, as *Noe*, whereas tenth-century charters spell Nowy ap Gwriad's name as *Nogui* or *Nougui*.[142] Again, a fragment of an early charter apparently preserved in St Davids in the sixteenth century is said to have mentioned *Noe rex Demetiae*, the same seventh-century king, using the early spelling.[143] Alternative explanations could be offered for the spelling *Noe* in JC 16. For instance, there may have been influence from the biblical Noah, whose name continued to be spelled as *Noe* in Welsh genealogies of the thirteenth century and later.[144] But the same name is spelled elsewhere in the Jesus College 20 genealogies as *Neuue* (JC 8) and *Nennue* (JC 12, where the minims are uncertain), which seem to be attempts to update Old Welsh forms like *Nougoy* in the Harleian genealogies (*Neuwy* elsewhere in Middle Welsh).[145] If

[139]For the hypocoristic construction, see the references in D. Ellis Evans, 'A comparison of the formation of some Continental and early Insular Celtic personal names', *BBCS* 24 (1972), 415–34, at 426.

[140]Egerton Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description*, iii, 201 n. 2 and 266–7 n. 1; J. Vendryes, 'Gallois Noé, Neuwy, Nouguy', *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 43 (1946), 32–7.

[141]Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', 59.

[142]*LL* 77, 217–22 and 243–5.

[143]Egerton Phillimore *apud* Owen, *Description*, i, 246–7 n. 1 (cf. iv, 428–30); Robin Flower, 'William Salesbury, Richard Davies, and Archbishop Parker', *NLW Journal* 2 (1941–2), 7–16, at 11; Richard Davies *apud* William Salesbury, *Testament Newydd ein Arglwydd Jesu Christ* (London, 1567), b.iv verso; cf. Caroline Brett, 'John Leland, Wales, and early British history', *Welsh History Review* 15 (1990–1), 169–82, at 179–81; Sims-Williams, *Book of Llandaf*, 14–15.

[144]*HGK* 2, LlIG 11.1, MG 1 (the Mostyn genealogies, edited in *MWG* 429–30), etc. The same is found in Thomas Jones (ed.), *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec: sef Cyfieithiad Cymraeg Canol o'r "Promptuarium Bibliae"* (Cardiff, 1940), 8 and Henry Lewis and Pol Diverres (eds), *Delw y Byd: Imago Mundi* (Cardiff, 1928), 35 (A text, chapter 16, l. 12) and 36 (A text, chapter 19, l. 13); cf. Natalia I. Petrovskaia, 'La disparation du *quasi* dans les formules étymologiques des traductions galloises de l'*Imago Mundi*', in Elise Louviot (ed.), *La Formule au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 2012), 123–41, at 136–7. My thanks to Natalia Petrovskaia for assistance with the reference to *Delw y Byd*.

[145]Cf. *Nevuy* (A. O. H. Jarman (ed.), *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (Cardiff, 1982), poem 22.22 = R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Awdl fawl ddienw i Hywel ap Goronwy', in J. E. Caerwyn Williams (ed.), with Peredur I. Lynch, *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 1 (Cardiff, 1994), poem 1.22); *Nevoy* (Nerys Ann Jones and Ann Parry Owen (eds), *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr II*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 4 (Cardiff, 1995), poem 16.184); *Nefwy* (Marged

JC 16 genuinely preserves *e* for /uɨ/, it would be a rare thing indeed in the medieval Welsh genealogical corpus, which almost never preserves orthographical features that necessarily antedate the ninth century. The only other example that can tentatively be produced is *Genedaȣc*: although absent from the earliest versions (e.g. in the Harleian genealogies), the names *Iago m. Genedaȣc* are found inserted into most later versions of Cunedda's pedigree, such as JC 6 (*Iago m. Genedaȣc*), LlIG 11.1 (*Iago ap Genedawg*) and *HGK* 1 (*Yago m. Guidauc*). The earliest appearance of these names, oddly, is in the genealogical preface of the early twelfth-century Life of St Gurthiern, preserved in the Cartulary of Quimperlé, where they are *Iacob filii Genethauc*; this preface was probably constructed with the aid of the *Historia Brittonum* and a text like the Harleian genealogies.[146] Given the association of the name with Gwynedd, it is tempting to see *Genedaȣc* as containing *wēneð* < *wēniiâ̯ā* 'Gwynedd' + nominal suffix *-og*, thus preserving *e* for /uɨ/ in the first syllable.[147] Perhaps he was a Venedotian hero recorded in some early written source, only later to be drawn into Cunedda's ancestry. If so, the name would have been originally spelled with an initial *u-* or *gu-*, rather than *g-*; but if *Genedaȣc* really does represent a partially updated version of a name first written down between the sixth and eighth centuries, the initial *g-* could be explained as a mistaken attempt to update the spelling.[148]

If *e* was used for /uɨ/ in an early version of JC 16, it is possible that the final *-oe* in *Kanhaethoe*, another name in JC 16, was wrongly modernised from an earlier spelling in *-e*, since the final diphthong in this name is probably -/uɨ/ rather than -/oɨ/. That said, *oi* does occur in Old Welsh as an alternative spelling of /uɨ/ (e.g. OW *loinou* for ModW *llwynau*), and in Middle Welsh *oe* can sometimes be found as an alternative to *wy* in certain spellings (e.g. *oeth*, *wyth* 'eight').[149] One of these factors may instead lie behind the final *-oe* of *Kanhaethoe*. The same possibilities could account for the diphthong spelling in *Adroes* for *Athrwys* (JC 9, also discussed above), a name which seems to be attested in an eighth-century Llancarfan charter as *Andres*, probably with *e* for /uɨ/.[150] A further twist is offered by another form in JC 16: *Bredoe*, seemingly for *Brydw*. This name occurs in Old Welsh contexts as *Brittu* (HG 23) and

Haycock (ed. and trans.), *Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth, 2013), poem 1.1 and 1.8).

[146] *MWG* 86–90.

[147] For 'Gwynedd', see Schrijver, *Studies*, 250 and *CIB* 23; for further references, see *CIB* 191 n. 1170. Paul Russell points out to me that, if this interpretation of *Genedaȣc* is correct, the derivation must be secondary, in the sense that the nominal suffix was added to the base after /j/ > /ð/ around the fourth or early fifth centuries (*LHEB* 353–6 and 694).

[148] Compare *Gedianus* in the Book of Llandaf's version of the Life of St Samson (*LL* 19–20); this is *Guedianus* in manuscripts of the First Life of St Samson and *Widianus* in the Second Life of St Samson: Pierre Flobert (ed.), *La vie ancienne de Saint Samson de Dol* (Paris, 1997), 217 n. 48.4.

[149] For the Old Welsh spellings, see Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', 51; Paul Russell, *Reading Ovid in Medieval Wales* (Columbus, 2017), 156; for the Middle Welsh spellings, see *GMW* 4; *LHEB* 380; for further discussion, see Linus Band, 'Middle Welsh 1sg. pres. ind. *oef* "I am" and early southern Welsh orthography', *SC* 49 (2015), 183–96.

[150] *VS Cadoci* §65. Some questions concerning this name are discussed in Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', 52.

BRITU (Pillar of Eliseg).[151] In Old Breton, the same name is attested as both *Britou* and, with a final diphthong, as *Britoei*; the former may have developed from the latter in a manner comparable to Welsh *Gronw* < *Gronwy*.[152] If the same development accounts for the Old Welsh name *Brittu*, then JC 16's *Bredoe* may preserve the earlier form with the final diphthong -/uɨ/, spelled *-oe*, just as, seemingly, in *Kanhaethoe*.

36. JC 14 Gwedgad
GM 4 Gweddgat
HB (Harl.) §49 Gaidcant
HB (Vat.) §26 Guoidcant
Leb. Bret. §41 Guodicant

This is another name from the pedigree of the early kings of Buellt, an Old Welsh version of which is preserved in recensions of the *Historia Brittonum*. As ever, the Jesus College 20 genealogies and *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* share a common source, in which, in this case, OW *cant* had been misconstrued as OW *cat* 'battle', perhaps due to an overlooked nasal suspension mark.[153] The first element could be subject to various interpretations, as has been discussed by Sims-Williams in the context of the Book of Llandaf: for instance, it could be interpreted as *gwaedd* < **gwoedd* 'clamour, host', *gŵydd* 'presence, face' or 'wild', or even *gwŷdd* 'forest'.[154] If all the forms above are taken into account, a case could be made for the first element of this name being **gwoedd*, with the *Gaid-* of Harley 3859 spelling the vowel change to *gwaedd*. If so, JC 14 and *GM* 4 may preserve an early spelling with *e* for /oɨ/. A very similar range of forms (*Guednerth*, *Guoidnerth*, *Gaidnerth*) has been preserved in the early charter evidence for what appears to be a single name, but, as Sims-Williams has cautioned, the etymology of this name (as with *Guoidcant* etc.), and thus the significance of the spellings, remains fundamentally uncertain.

Misreading Insular script

During the early medieval centuries, Wales was firmly part of an Insular script province that also included Ireland, England and Brittany.[155] Perhaps the earliest extant manuscript of Welsh origin is the *Liber Commonei* (Oxford, Bodleian

[151] Cf. *CIB* 87 n. 436.

[152] *CIB* 194; cf. Rodway, *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature*, 130 and *ibid.*, n. 369; for other Old Breton examples, see Léon Fleuriot, *Le vieux Breton. Éléments d'une grammaire* (Paris, 1964), 402. The Breton forms are found respectively in A. de Courson, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon en Bretagne* (Paris, 1863), nos 9 and 147.

[153] For problems with interpreting *cant*, see D. Ellis Evans, 'Some Celtic forms in *cant*', *BBCS* 27 (1977), 235–45.

[154] Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', 52 and 60–1.

[155] For introductions to Insular script, see Julian Brown, *A Palaeographer's View*, ed. Janet Bately, Michelle P. Brown and Jane Roberts (London, 1993), esp. chapter 8 (with Dumville, *Palaeographer's Review*, i, chapter 2) and Michelle P. Brown, 'Writing in the Insular world', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume I: c. 400–1100* (Cambridge, 2011), 121–66. For the most important early Welsh manuscripts written in Insular script, see W. M. Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script* (Oxford, 1912).

Library, F. 4. 32, part iii, fols 19–36), written sometime in the first half of the ninth century, which briefly (on fol. 22r) demonstrates the Insular hierarchy of scripts in action, with an Insular Half Uncial majuscule used alongside an Insular set minuscule.[156] Two Gospel books, the Hereford Gospels (*s.* viii/ix) and the Lichfield Gospels (*s.* viii), might represent earlier examples of Welsh book production, but this remains uncertain, especially in the latter case.[157] From *c.* 850, Welsh (and Cornish) scribes followed their Irish counterparts by adopting a series of new practices, relating mostly to abbreviations, that together constitute what has been called the 'Late Celtic' variety of Insular script.[158] Late Celtic Insular minuscule is the script used in all Welsh manuscripts from *c.* 850 to *c.* 1100, aside from a single column in the Corpus Martianus Capella manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 153, part i, fol. 17r, dated *c.* 850 × *c.* 930) written in a hybrid Insular/Caroline script.[159] Although there are no features of Welsh specimens of Late Celtic minuscule that can be regarded as decisively 'Welsh', there are several characteristic tendencies that can together suggest a Welsh origin for a particular scribe or manuscript.[160] Thus, it has been plausibly suggested, solely on palaeographical grounds, that the two leaves constituting the 'Lambeth Passional' (Lambeth Palace Library, 1230) were written in Wales, perhaps in the eleventh century.[161] Similarly, a Welsh origin has been suggested on palaeographical grounds for BL Harley 5228, fol. 140 (*s.* xi, prov. Worcester) and Columbia, University of Missouri Library, Fragmenta manuscripta, F. M. 2 (*s.* ix, prov. Winchester by *s.* x^{in}).[162]

[156] See the facsimile edition: R. W. Hunt, *Saint Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury* (Amsterdam, 1961). The manuscript has also been digitised: see the catalogue entry at https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_675 (accessed 14 September 2021).

[157] Richard Gameson has argued that the Hereford Gospels were written in Wales: 'The Insular Gospel book at Hereford cathedral', *Scriptorium* 56 (2002), 48–79, at 72–4. The Lichfield Gospels were given to the church of Llandeilo Fawr early in the ninth century, but the book's origin is unknown (see Chad 1: Jenkins and Owen, 'Welsh marginalia', i, 50). Michelle Brown has expressed doubt about the possibility that the Lichfield Gospels were written in Wales, but for the most part Brown's argument is based on the highly dubious premise that the 'Hiberno-Saxon cultural orbit is not known to have embraced Wales' (p. 64): 'The Lichfield / Llandeilo Gospels reinterpreted', in Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (eds), *Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales* (New York and Basingstoke, 2008), 57–70. For other problems with Brown's argument, see Gifford Charles-Edwards and Helen McKee, 'Lost voices from Anglo-Saxon Lichfield', *Anglo-Saxon England* 37 (2008), 79–89, at 79 n. 1.

[158] Late Celtic features are summarised in Dumville, *Palaeographer's Review*, i, 125; McKee, *Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript*, 3–4; and Elizabeth Duncan, 'The Irish and their books', in Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion* (London, 2016), 214–30, at 223–4.

[159] T. A. M. Bishop, 'The Corpus Martianus Capella', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964–8), 257–75, at 263.

[160] McKee, *Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript*, 6.

[161] Dumville, 'Palaeographical considerations', 248 n. 4 and 'Ystyriaethau palaeograffegol', 21 n. 14, and at greater length Conway, 'Towards a cultural context', 12–13, both following the opinion of N. R. Ker *apud* E. G. W. Bill, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library: MSS. 1222–1860* (Oxford, 1972), 60–1.

[162] For Harley 5228 (and the related Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian 431, copied in Worcester early in the eleventh century from an Insular Celtic, and quite possibly Welsh, exemplar, and continued in the early twelfth century when it received the Welsh gloss *duglas*), see K. A. Lowe, 'Worcester and Wales: copies of the *Regula pastoralis* in the early Middle Ages', in

Generally, however, one has to rely on features like vernacular glossing in order to suggest a Welsh origin or provenance for an early medieval manuscript. For instance, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 516 was written probably in north-east Francia in the third quarter of the ninth century and was in England by the second half of the eleventh century (prov. Salisbury by *s.* xiv^{in}), but in the tenth century the Brittonic name *Guoroithon* was added in the top margin of fol. 9r in Insular script, probably by a Welsh or Cornish scribe (though not Breton, since Insular script was abandoned in Brittany in the middle of the ninth century).[163]

The early twelfth century seems to have been the decisive point in Wales when Insular script was abandoned in favour of Caroline minuscule for writing Latin manuscripts.[164] However, Daniel Huws has raised the interesting possibility that Insular script continued to be used for vernacular manuscripts in some parts of Wales for the following century and a half, perhaps accounting for why no vernacular manuscripts survive from before *c.* 1250; after this time, he posits, the increasingly unfamiliar Insular manuscripts would have been discarded in favour of newer Gothic ones.[165] Some support for this notion is found in the Book of Llandaf (written *c.* 1132), where Insular letter forms are occasionally used for writing Welsh, but not Latin.[166] Should Huws's suggestion be correct, it would have important implications for understanding the transmission of Welsh vernacular literature.

Since there are certain letter forms that look very similar in Insular script but less similar in Caroline and Gothic scripts, it is possible to argue that a copy of a text that seems to confuse those letter forms derives from an exemplar written in Insular script. This argument is familiar to students of early Welsh, though it has sometimes been misapplied due to a lack of understanding of palaeographical developments.[167] Judging by the testimony of extant manuscripts, such confusions, especially when they recur, probably indicate that a text's exemplar

E. Kwakkel (ed.), *Vernacular Manuscript Culture 1000–1500* (Leiden, 2018), 25–48; cf. David N. Dumville, *The Early Mediaeval Insular Churches and the Preservation of Roman Literature: Towards a Historical and Palaeographical Reëvaluation* (Cambridge, 2004), 11–12 (repr. and rev. in his *Palaeographer's Review*, ii, 131–70, at 142–3). For the Columbia fragment, see N. H. Webb, 'Early medieval Welsh book-production', unpublished PhD thesis, King's College London, 1988, 78–93. For further references to these two manuscripts, see Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014), 361–2 (no. 439.6) and 580 (no. 809.9).

[163]F. A. Rella, 'Continental manuscripts acquired for English centers in the tenth and early eleventh centuries: a preliminary checklist', *Anglia* 98 (1980), 107–16, at 114; Thomas N. Hall and Michael Norris, 'The Chrysostom texts in Bodley 516', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, new series, 62 (2011), 161–75, at 163; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 453–4 (no. 581). Hall and Norris compare *Guruthon filius Mabon* in *LL* charter 163b (= *Guordoi filius Mabon* in *LL* charter 164) and *Guruithon filius Elcon* in *LL* charter 174b.

[164]The earliest examples are the Book of Llandaf (NLW 17110E), the Peniarth Bede (NLW Peniarth 540) and the Llanbadarn Macrobius (BL Cotton Faustina C. i, part ii): Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, chaps 7–8; Alison Peden, 'Science and philosophy in Wales at the time of the Norman conquest: a Macrobius manuscript from Llanbadarn', *CMCS* 2 (1981), 21–45.

[165]Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 37–9.

[166]*Ibid.*, 135 and 142.

[167]Dumville, 'Palaeographical considerations'; 'Ystyriaethau palaeograffegol'. A classic statement of the argument, with reference to poems in the Book of Taliesin, is Morris-Jones, 'Taliesin', 130 and 134–9.

was written before *c.* 1100. However, if there is truth to Huws's suggestion that Insular script continued to be the primary means of writing the vernacular in parts of Wales for some time after 1100, this *terminus ante quem* for the date of an exemplar written in Insular script is less firm that it may seem. With this in mind, three confusions that can arise through misreadings of Insular script are addressed below: confusion of Insular round *d* with *o*; confusion of Insular minuscule *r* with *n*; and confusion of Insular long *s* with *p*.

Insular round d

A distinctive feature of Insular script is its general use of the uncial round-backed *d* as a minuscule letter. In Wales, during the 'Late Celtic' period of Insular script (*c.* 850–1100), there was an increasing tendency to flatten the ascender of the round-backed *d*, to the extent that the ascender was sometimes reduced to a short horizontal stroke to the top-left of the letter's body. This tendency is already apparent in the late ninth or early tenth century, as seen in the Corpus Martianus Capella, and becomes more pronounced in the late eleventh-century manuscripts of the Llanbadarn school.[168] The reduction in the prominence of the ascender rendered the round *d* liable to be confused with the letter *o*. It was Egerton Phillimore who first noticed such confusions between *d* and *o* in Harley 3859's copy of the *Historia Brittonum*, no doubt due to that text having been copied from a tenth-century Welsh exemplar that used an especially flattened *d*.[169] There is at least one comparable example in the Jesus College 20 genealogies:

37.	JC 14	Morvo
	GM 4	Merini
	HB (Harl.) §49	Moriud
	HB (Vat.) §26	Moriud
	Leb. Bret. §41	Morut

mor 'great' or 'sea' + *-udd* < OW *-iud* 'lord'. This is another example taken from the pedigree of the early kings of Buellt, which is first attested in the *Historia Brittonum*. It is likely that the final *-o* in JC 14 resulted from a misreading of a flattened Insular round *d*. *GM* 4 probably derives from an exemplar with the same misreading, though there the name has been reinterpreted as *Merini* (otherwise found as an epithet in the name *Llŷr Merini*).[170]

Insular minuscule r

The hook of the Insular minuscule letter *r* was usually continued down towards the base-line, resulting in a form that could look very similar to the letter *n*. Sometimes, the shaft of the left-hand vertical stroke descended below the base-line, thereby differentiating *r* from *n* (though causing *r* to look rather similar to

[168] See the examples in Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script*, pls 10 and 16–17.

[169] *Dinguardi* for *Dinguaroi* and *Eoguin* for *Edguin* (i.e. Edwin): Phillimore, '*Annales Cambriæ*', 146 n. 1.

[170] See *Llyma Dalm o Weheliaethau a Llwythau Cymru*, §T23.2, in *MWG* 417.

long *s*), but this descending stroke was more a matter of scribal preference than necessity.[171]

38.	JC 3.5	Drynwin
	DSB 12.14	Nyuein
	CB 15.14	Nyuen
	LlIG 1.3.5	Nefyn
	LlFB 3.13	Nevyn

Probably *nef* < **nem* 'heaven' + suffix *-ain* < **aniā̂*.[172] If so, the spellings in *Ny-* in *DSB* 12.14 and *CB* 15.14 probably resulted from the assumption that *Ne-* in an exemplar represented a schwa (as in OW *emedou* for ModW *efyddau* 'bronzes').[173] JC 3.5's strange form *Drynwin* should be compared with *Drein Dremrud* in JC 2.2, which is an error for *Rein Dremrud* (Rhain Dremrudd son of Brychan Brycheiniog). Possibly the *D-* in *Drein* was added to the name so that it alliterated better with *Dremrud*, but there may be some other reason why the same thing seems to have happened in *Drynwin*. It is much easier to explain how '*Rynwin*' could have been produced from something like *Nyuen*, the form seen in *CB* 15.14: the initial *n* could have been misread as an Insular minuscule *r*, while the *e* for /eɨ/ could have been understood as *e* for /uɨ/.

39.	JC 3.10	Kynger
	DSB 12.9	Kenken
	CB 15.9	Kyngain
	LlIG 1.3.3	Kyngen
	LlFB 3.11	Gyngen

Cyngen < **kuno-kennos*. This seems to be a more straightforward instance of an *n* being understood as an Insular minuscule *r* in an exemplar where the latter letter was expected.

Insular long s

Throughout the Middle Ages, long *s* was commonly used as an alternative form to the round *s* that is still current today. The long *s* in Insular script was distinctive because the vertical shaft of the letter dropped below the base-line as a descender; by contrast, a long *s* in Caroline minuscule (and in later Gothic scripts) usually sat on the base-line. Insular long *s* was thereby liable to be confused with *p*, especially when the bow of the *p* was not closed.

Two instances of this confusion are found in the Jesus College 20 genealogies, both in the list of the sons of Glywys Glywysing (JC 5). The names of most of these 'sons' are eponyms or representatives of cantrefs and commotes in south-east Wales. This list of sons is textually related to the similar list found

[171] Errors of this kind are discussed productively in Morris-Jones, 'Taliesin', 134–8, though he was wrong to say that 'confusion of *r* and *n* is less likely in copying from a late than from an earlier type of Insular script' (p. 135): see Dumville, 'Palaeographical considerations', 247–8; 'Ystyriaethau palaeograffegol', 18–20.

[172] Zimmer, 'Die altkymrischen Frauennamen', 328; *CIB* 62 n. 256.

[173] Russell, *Reading Ovid*, 125, 154 and 167.

in the preface of Lifris's Life of St Cadog, as preserved in Cotton Vespasian A. xiv.[174] There, two sons are rightly named as *Poul* of Penychen and *Seru*, eponym of Serwynnydd.[175] In JC 5, however, the same two sons are called *Saul* and *Perun*. While there is certainly precedent for the interchangeability of *Paul* and *Saul*, the same cannot be said for *Serw* and *Perw*(*n*).

Conclusion

The Jesus College 20 genealogies provide a good case study for investigating how aspects of Old Welsh orthography and Insular script could be misinterpreted by later scribes. The evidence provided by the Jesus College 20 genealogies is useful because most of the genealogies in which the relevant errors occur also survive in Old Welsh contexts: most especially in the Harleian genealogies, the *Historia Brittonum* and, from the end of the Old Welsh period, *De situ Brecheniauc*. Conversely, it should be noticed that none of the relevant errors has been identified in sections of the Jesus College 20 genealogies that concern later individuals: namely, the thirteenth-century sections focused on Rhys Gryg and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (JC 24–29) and, more surprisingly, the early twelfth-century sections focused on Hywel ap Goronwy (d. 1106) and his cousin Seisyll ap Llywelyn (JC 30–33). This may be because those genealogies concern individuals who were more likely to be known to later copyists, but another explanation is that the features of Old Welsh orthography and Insular script under discussion became progressively less likely to prevail in twelfth- and thirteenth-century contexts.

Misinterpretations of Old Welsh orthographical features may be summarised as follows:

- Voiceless fricatives: Old Welsh spellings of dentals were a major headache for scribes during the Middle Welsh period, especially since medial and final *t* could represent both /d/ and /θ/. Similarly, medial and final *c* was a problem because it could represent both /g/ and /χ/.
- Spellings with *b* or *m* for /β/ were occasionally overlooked or reinterpreted.
- Spellings showing an etymological *g* in lenition position were sometimes overlooked or misunderstood. There is also some evidence for experimentation with the use of *h* to represent a weakened /ɣ/.
- Spellings with *e*, which could represent the diphthongs /eɨ/, /uɨ/ and perhaps /oɨ/, could be subject to confusion.

It is not possible to provide a similar summary of misinterpretations of Insular script due to the paucity of relevant examples, but the cases discussed above

[174] *VS Cadoci*, pref. The two lists are compared in *MWG* 297–8.

[175] *Serwynnydd* is possibly the same as *Senghenydd*: see Jenkins, 'Regions and cantrefs', 36; cf. Richards, 'Early Welsh territorial suffixes', 210.

do, at least, demonstrate that later scribes sometimes struggled to read Insular exemplars.

Finally, we may observe that some of the later texts which have been compared with the Jesus College 20 genealogies, and which similarly derive genealogical material from the Old Welsh period, were markedly more successful at interpreting Old Welsh orthography and Insular script. This is especially notable in *De situ Brecheniauc* and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies. *De situ Brecheniauc* is usually the most reliable witness to the archetypal Brychan tract. This is not surprising, since it is likely that the archetype of the extant Brychan texts was compiled sometime in the period *c.* 1050–1150, not long before the manuscript of *De situ Brecheniauc* (Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, part i) was written.[176] Yet, it is clear that *De situ Brecheniauc* does not preserve the earliest spelling features in every respect by comparison with other witnesses to the Brychan tract. It seems that the orthography of *De situ Brecheniauc* was partially modernised at some point in transmission by someone conversant with Old Welsh orthography. In particular, some effort was made to spell lenition more regularly, and especially the lenition of /g/ (e.g. *DSB* 12.21 *auil* beside LlIG 1.3.16 *gabael* for lenited *gafl*; *DSB* 12.17 *Gurind* beside *CB* 15.16 *Gurgeynt*). It is not clear when this updating would have happened. The text is preserved in a manuscript written in the late twelfth century in Monmouth priory, but there is evidence that the monks of Monmouth were not entirely comfortable with Welsh.[177] A consideration of Welsh orthography throughout this manuscript would throw interesting light on twelfth-century developments.

Similarly, the examples discussed above suggest that the compiler of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies was generally more successful at interpreting Old Welsh orthography than the compiler of the Jesus College 20 genealogies. I have argued elsewhere that the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies were compiled in Gwynedd (perhaps in Aberconwy abbey) between 1216 and *c.* 1223 by either the poet Einion ap Gwalchmai or someone closely associated with him.[178] This background could account for the difference in various ways. If the compiler was Einion or an associate, that person might have possessed a deeper understanding of Welsh history and literature than a compiler who was not a poet. Alternatively, this might be a matter of time and place. As discussed above, there is reason to suspect that aspects of both Old Welsh orthography and Insular script continued to be used in some parts of Wales, perhaps especially north-west Wales, during the first half of the thirteenth century. The compiler of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies may, therefore, have been able to understand earlier sources more easily than the compiler of the Jesus College 20 genealogies, who worked in South Wales perhaps in the mid- to

[176] *MWG* 133–6.

[177] In the saints' Lives and charters that are common to the Book of Llandaf and Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, Welsh spellings are almost invariably more corrupt in the latter: Guy, '*Life* of St Dyfrig', 7–8.

[178] *MWG* 211–23.

late thirteenth century.[179] Further investigation of the orthography of the witnesses to the Brychan tract and the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies is likely to reveal more about the crucial transition between the Old Welsh and Middle Welsh styles of orthography in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. With regard to early Welsh poetry, with which this article began, the evidence of these genealogical texts suggests that the how, when and where of the written transmission of poetry could have profoundly affected the extent to which orthographical archaisms were either recognised by scribes and correctly updated, or misunderstood and left for us to ponder.[180]

Abbreviations

BGG	*Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*, edited in *MWG* 427–8.
CB	*Cognacio Brychan,* edited in *VSBG* 315–18.
CIB	Patrick Sims-Williams, *The Celtic Inscriptions of Britain: Phonology and Chronology, c. 400–1200* (Oxford, 2003).
Déisi (R)	*Indarba na nDéisi* (from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 502), edited in Kuno Meyer, 'The expulsion of the Dessi', *Y Cymmrodor* 14 (1901), 101–35.
Déisi (L)	*Indarba na nDéisi* (from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud 610), edited in Kuno Meyer, 'The expulsion of the Déssi', *Ériu* 3 (1907), 135–42.
DSB	*De situ Brecheniauc*, edited in *VSBG* 313–15.
EWGT	Peter C. Bartrum (ed.), *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff, 1966).
GM	*Gwehelyth Morgannwg*, edited in *MWG* 345–8.
HB (Harl.)	*Historia Brittonum* (in BL Harley 3859), edited in Edmond Faral, *La légende arthurienne: études et documents*, 3 vols (Paris, 1929), iii, 5–62.
HB (Vat.)	*Historia Brittonum* (Vatican recension), edited in David N. Dumville, *Historia Brittonum 3: The 'Vatican' Recension* (Cambridge, 1985).
HG	Harleian Genealogies, edited in *MWG* 333–7.
HGK	D. Simon Evans (ed.), *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* (Cardiff, 1977).
JC	The Jesus College 20 genealogies, edited in *MWG* 338–44.
Leb. Bret.	*Lebor Bretnach*, edited in A. G. Van Hamel (ed.), *Lebor Bretnach: The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum Ascribed to Nennius* (Dublin, 1932).

[179] *MWG* 110–13 and 156.

[180] I am grateful to Paul Russell and Patrick Sims-Williams for kindly commenting on earlier drafts of this article.

LHEB	Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain: A Chronological Survey of the Brittonic Languages, 1st to 12th Century A.D.* (Edinburgh, 1953).
LL	J. Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhys, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv: Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford, 1893).
LlFB	*Llyma Frychan Brycheiniog a'i Blant*, edited in *MWG* 421–6.
LlIG	The Llywelyn ab Iorwerth Genealogies, edited in *MWG* 349–89.
MWG	Ben Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy: An Introduction and Textual Study* (Woodbridge, 2020).
VS Cadoci	*Vita Sancti Cadoci*, edited in *VSBG* 24–141.
VS Carantoci II	*Vita Secunda Sancti Carantoci*, edited in *VSBG* 148–9.
VS Dauid	*Vita Sancti Dauid*, edited and translated in Richard Sharpe and John Reuben Davies, '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.
VSBG	A. W. Wade-Evans (ed. and trans.), *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae: The Lives and Genealogies of the Welsh Saints*, new ed. by Scott Lloyd (Cardiff, 2013).

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THE FIAN, THE GAMHANRADH, AND THE KINGSHIP OF CONNACHT[1]

Abstract

A short, somewhat garbled prose text in Early Modern Irish, preserved in the Book of Lecan and NLS Adv. MS 72.1.1, traces the genealogies of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh (which includes Clann Mhorna) and the Gamhanradh and associates the lineage of each kin-group with prominent figures from the Ulster Cycle. It also describes the reign of a king from each kin-group over the kingdom of Connacht and the political manoeuvrings and marriage alliances involved, as well as presenting an account of some lesser-known aspects of the feud between Clann Mhorna and Clann Bhaoiscne that animates much of the Fionn Cycle. Although some of the material in the text is present in *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*, much of the Fionn Cycle material is not, and the text remains unpublished and unedited to date. Consequently, an edition and translation, with explanatory notes and an index, are provided. The text is a product of the later medieval project to construct an ancient history of the kingdom of Connacht as a continuous political entity modelled on earlier medieval literature. As well as providing some potentially significant material on otherwise poorly documented events of the Fionn Cycle, it exemplifies how medieval Irish syncretic historical scholarship can transcend traditional literary genres and creatively re-work historical traditions.

Introduction

Recently, increasing interest has been taken in the literary and historiographical output of scholars based in later medieval Connacht and their reception of earlier Irish manuscript tradition.[2] Also discussed have been the

[1]I first examined the text presented in this article in collaboration with Christopher Yocum in the course of our work on the IrishGen database (https://github.com/cyocum/irish-gen (accessed 16 May 2020)). Extracts from it were discussed productively by participants at 'RDF Workshop: Semi-structured Data', a workshop on IrishGen run by Dr Yocum and myself at Ulidia Finn 2018, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, University of the Highlands and Islands, 13–17 June 2018. IrishGen itself was used to verify some of the genealogical information in the present article. The present article has also benefitted greatly from comments and suggestions made by Martina Maher, Kevin Murray, Nollaig Ó Muraíle, Christopher Yocum, and *Celtica*'s editors and anonymous reader, to whom I am very grateful. I take responsibility for any remaining errors.

[2]For example, Edel Bhreathnach, 'Tales of Connacht: *Cath Airtig*, *Táin Bó Flidais*, *Cath Leitreach Ruibhe*, and *Cath Cumair*', *CMCS* 45 (Summer 2003), 21–42; Ruairí Ó hUiginn, 'Adapting myth and making history', in Elizabeth Boyle and Deborah Hayden (eds), *Authorities and*

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various medieval and modern generic schemes by which sub-division and cyclification might be imposed on medieval Irish literature.[3] The short text here introduced and edited is of critical significance in relation to both subjects, in that it was compiled in later medieval Connacht and its historical narrative draws on texts from an unusually wide range of established literary genres or 'Cycles' inherited from the earlier literature.[4]

Text summary

The text has no title in either of the manuscripts in which it appears (for these, see below). It relates details of the reigns of two kings of prehistoric Connacht, Aodh Álainn mac Eachach Baiceadha from the Gamhanradh and Aodh Caomh mac Garaidh Ghlúnduibh from Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, both roughly contemporary with Cormac mac Airt.[5] These two kin-groups are part of what are elsewhere termed *Sean-Chonnachtaigh* ('ancient Connacht people'), the peoples presented in pseudo-history as the leading polities of Connacht prior to the rise of the region's historical royal dynasties. Much of our text consists of genealogy, through which the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh are both presented as being descended from the Fir Dhomhnann (elsewhere traced back to the Fir Bholg), with Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh also traced back to Clann Deadhadh (i.e. the Érainn).[6] They are more recently related via the marriage of Aodh Caomh's sister into the Gamhanradh. The text also asserts and details Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh's close kinship with Clann Mhorna, one of the two main factions within the Fian of Fionn Cycle tradition, and the kinship of both the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh with certain heroes from the Ulster Cycle.

The events alluded to in the text are disconnected and not in chronological order. The following summary is derived partly from reference to other medieval sources, of which details are given later in this introduction. Essentially, the Gamhanradh held the kingship of Connacht for some time, alternating with a royal line descended from Meadhbh, of Ulster Cycle fame. Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and their ancestors (the descendants of Ceat mac Mághach) are

Adaptations: The Reworking and Transmission of Textual Sources in Medieval Ireland (Dundalk, 2014), 1–21.

[3]Erich Poppe, *Of Cycles and Other Critical Matters: Some Issues in Medieval Irish Literary History and Criticism*, E. C. Quiggin Memorial Lectures 9 (Cambridge, 2008); Elizabeth Boyle and Deborah Hayden, 'Introduction', in Boyle and Hayden (eds), *Authorities*, xvii–xlvii, at xxxix–xl.

[4]Those of relevance to the present discussion are the Cycle of the Kings (Dan M. Wiley, 'An introduction to the early Irish king tales' in Dan M. Wiley (ed.), *Essays on the Early Irish King Tales* (Dublin, 2008), 13–67), the Finn Cycle (Joseph F. Flahive, *The Fenian Cycle in Irish and Scots-Gaelic Literature* (Cork, 2017); Kevin Murray, *The Early Finn Cycle* (Dublin, 2017)), and the Ulster Cycle (Peter J. Smith, 'Irish Literature [1]: Early Prose', in John T. Koch (ed.), *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopaedia*, 4 vols (Santa Barbara CA, 2006), iii, 993–7, at 995).

[5]Where not quoted directly from a primary source, Irish names and terminology in the introduction, translation, notes, and index have been standardised to Early Modern Irish forms (hence, for example, Aodh Álainn, not Áed Álainn).

[6]For the Érainn and Fir Bholg, see Francis J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings* (Dublin 1973, 2nd ed. 2001, repr. 2004), 8–11; for Clann Deadhadh, see Ann Dooley, *Playing the Hero: Reading the Irish Saga Táin Bó Cuailnge* (Toronto, 2006), 83; for the Gamhanradh, see Ruairí Ó hUiginn, 'The Gamhanradh', *Celtica* 27 (2013), 79–94.

implied to have supported the Gamhanradh. Eventually, Aodh Álainn, the last Gamhanradh king, is deposed and exiled by Cormac mac Airt after eloping with Cormac's daughter. Cormac is presented as having interfered illegitimately with Connacht politics by imposing one of his own relatives, Niadh Mór mac Fir Thrí, as king. Aodh Caomh of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh becomes king thereafter. He gets drawn into the vicious feud between his kinsmen, Clann Mhorna, led by Goll, and the other major kin-group within the Fian, Clann Bhaoiscne, led by Fionn mac Cumhaill. This is what allows Clann Mhorna to challenge Clann Bhaoiscne, who have hitherto had the upper hand through the backing of the king of Munster, obtained via a marriage alliance. This culminates in the famous battle of Gabhar, in which Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh participate on the side of Clann Mhorna.

While the text is ostensibly about relating people and events to each other in terms of time and genealogy, it comes across as a disjointed collection of reports and doctrines, with sudden, unmarked shifts in time and subject-matter. This introduction attempts to provide an interpretation of what it is about and the edition and translation below are accompanied by explanatory notes. An index of names (Appendix 3) is also provided for ease of reference.

Manuscripts

Our text appears in two manuscript versions:

L: RIA MS 23. P. 2 (535), The Book of Lecan, fols 176vb1–177ra29;

N: NLS Adv. MS. 72.1.1, fol. 14vb1–60.

For reasons discussed presently, I have used the **L** text as the basis for the main edition and translation, while the **N** text is presented in Appendix 1.

The Book of Lecan (hereafter, *Lec*) was written between 1397 and 1418 by Giolla Íosa Mac Fhir Bhisigh and two assistants, working throughout in close collaboration;[7] the **L** version of our text is entirely in Giolla Íosa's hand. NLS Adv. 72.1.1, fols 11–25 (sometimes known as John Beaton's Broad Book; hereafter, the Broad Book), including the **N** version, was written by one of Giolla Íosa's assistants on *Lec*, Adhamh Ó Cuirnín.[8] Ó Cuirnín produced the Broad Book *c.* 1425.[9]

In both manuscripts, our text is found among large-scale pseudo-historical compilations. **L** appears amidst the extensive genealogical collection in *Lec*. It is immediately preceded by a text detailing 'Rīgraid Connacht tar ēis Ai*eall*a ocus Meadba' ('the kings of Connacht after Oilill and Meadhbh'; hereafter, *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*).[10] The *Lec* text of *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* is currently unedited, but similar material is interspersed within the section on the Fir Bholg in Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh's (*ob*. 1671) *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*

[7] Thomas F. O'Rahilly, Kathleen Mulchrone, Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, and A. I. Pearson, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, 28 fasciculi (Dublin, 1926–70), xiii, 1551–1610, at 1551–53.

[8] Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe of John Beaton's "Broad Book" ', *Ériu* 26 (1975), 99–101.

[9] Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe', 100–1.

[10] *Lec*, fol. 176ra27–176vab61.

(hereafter, *LMG*).[11] *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* is a history of the kingship of Connacht from the time of Oilill and Meadhbh to the time of Niall Naoighiallach mac Eachach Muighmheadhóin, and the supposed establishment of Connacht's early medieval ruling kin-groups descended from his brothers (Síol Muireadhaigh, Uí Fhiachrach, and Uí Bhriúin).[12] This history largely consists of an alternation of kings aligned in some way with the main pseudo-historical royal line of Ireland (either descendants of Meadhbh — herself the daughter of a king of Ireland, Eochaidh Feidhleach — or other kings imposed by kings of Ireland) with kings from the Gamhanradh and, latterly, a king from Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh. After our text in *Lec*, the remainder of the column is filled out by a pedigree of Doilghean mac Dubhthaigh,[13] who is traced back to Bríon mac Eachach Muighmheadhóin, ancestor of the Uí Bhriúin dynasty. Interestingly, the pedigree's title describes it as a pedigree of Uí Dhearca Chéin, which is generally regarded as an Ulster kindred.[14] The scribe, still Giolla Íosa, might be assumed to have changed their mind about what they were going to transcribe, especially as material appears to have been erased, except that this kin-group's pedigree also appears with a similar title in other sources.[15] *Lec* then moves on to a more general genealogical text on the interrelationship of lineages from across Ireland.[16] All this is in the hand of Giolla Íosa Mac Fhir Bhisigh. **N**, meanwhile, follows the Broad Book's text of the short recension of *Cóir Anmann*.[17] It is followed by a currently unedited genealogical collection structured around the successive settlers of Ireland from pseudo-historical tradition.[18]

The **L** and **N** texts are, on the whole, similar. **L** contains some information that is either not in **N** or is summarized there more briefly. **N**, where it differs from **L**, rarely provides substantive information not found in **L**. Even when it does, the evidence does not generally point towards **N** being an independent witness to a separate common source also used by **L**. For instance, **N**, but not **L**, explains 'm*ei*c Fir Dā Beand' (**L** l. 62; **N** l. 57) with '.i. Benn Cnuicc Oigli acus

[11]Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies*, 5 vols (Blackrock, 2004) [hereafter, *LMG*], at §§59.5–60.4, 60.8–61.2, 61.5, 61.8, 61.9, 62.2 (?), 62.3, 62.4–6 (first line of poem only in *Lec*), 63.1, 63.5–64.2, 65.7.

[12]For which, see Byrne, *Irish Kings*, 231–2; Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000, repr. 2004), 38–40.

[13]*Lec*, fol. 177ra30–51.

[14]Margaret E. Dobbs, 'The Uí Dercco Cein', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd Series, 2 (1939) 112–19.

[15]M. A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1962) [hereafter, *CGH*], 425–6; *LMG*, §§205.1, 524.7. Dobbs ('Uí Dercco Cein', 118) cites several medieval traditions about refugees from the flooding of Lough Neagh affiliating themselves to the Uí Dhearca Chéin. These include the Crothraighe, who claimed descent from Eoghan, son of Duach, who in turn appears in the *Lec* pedigree as a grandson of Bríon. This may explain his descendants' designation as Uí Dhearca Chéin, but further investigation is beyond the scope of this study.

[16]*Lec*, fols 177rb–182rd.

[17]NLS Adv. 72.1.1, fols 13ra1–14vb60; see: Sharon J. Arbuthnot (ed. and trans.), *Cóir Anmann: A Late Middle Irish Treatise on Personal Names*, 2 vols, ITS Main Series 59 and 60 (Dublin, 2005–7), i, 3.

[18]NLS Adv. 72.1.1, fols 15r–16r; for the pseudo-historical scheme involved, see: John Carey, '*Lebor Gabála* and the legendary history of Ireland', in Helen Fulton (ed.), *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society* (Dublin, 2005), 32–48.

Benn Boirnni, ōr ba rīg sen etorro sin' (**N** ll. 57–8; 'i.e. Beann Chnuic Oighle and Beann Bhoirne, for he was king between them'). This information, however, is found near **L** in *Lec*, in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*, where it is expressed in closely comparable wording.[19] **N** adds a pedigree of Fionn mac Cumhaill at the end of the text (see Appendix 2), but this is visually set off from what precedes it by an enlarged initial and a feather symbol in the inner margin and may well have been added from another source altogether. Finally, **N**'s identification of Fear Corb as 'mac M*og*a Cuirb' (**N** l. 16; 'son of Mogh Corb'), which is not present in **L** (ll. 20–1), need not imply access to a version of our text superior to **L** in detail, as it is non-integral to our text and in line with established genealogical tradition.[20]

There is one somewhat more convincing instance of **N** possibly providing a better reading than **L**. **L**'s version of Goll's pedigree has Garadh Glúndubh as his great-great-grandfather (**L** ll. 1–2), for which **N** instead has Garadh Glúinfhionn (**N** ll. 1–2), with both versions then later naming one of Goll's uncles as Garadh Glúndubh (**L** l. 22; **N** l. 18). However, **N**'s reading (Garadh Glúinfhionn) could be the result of an emendation by **N** in response to the perceived problem of the recurring name and a comparable pedigree in *LMG* agrees with **L** by having Garadh Glúndubh in this position.[21] This is thus not sufficiently sound evidence to suggest that **N** is providing independent testimony.

N is also deficient in several ways compared to **L**. As discussed in the Notes, the account of Mághach's ancestry makes more sense in **L** (ll. 7–8) than in **N** (ll. 5–6). **N** also twice suffers textual lacunae that are not present in **L**. Its account of the death of Goll is defective, apparently due to the omission of the word 'fot' (**N** l. 13), which is present in the corresponding location in **L** (**L** l. 17). Later, **N** introduces 'Dā m*ac* Conrach Cais' ('the two sons of Conri Cas'; **N** l. 56) without explaining who they are. They are identified as Mac Céacht and Tinne in **L** (ll. 60–1).

Given the lack of distinctive testimony in **N** and its general inferiority as a text when compared to **L**, and given that **N**'s scribe is known to have had access to **L** through his work on *Lec*, it is plausible that **N** is derived from **L**.[22] It thus does not seem safe to try and reconstruct an archetype of **L** and **N**. Instead, the edition and translation below present the **L** text, which has been corrected from **N** or editorially only where it is clearly in error. The **N** text is given without translation in Appendix 1.

Date and provenance

Our text is concerned with the ancient history of Connacht and with the ongoing relevance thereto of kin-groups descended from the Fir Bholg, with a particular focus on the Gamhanradh, all of which have been identified as distinctively

[19] *Lec*, fol. 176vaa12–15; cf. *LMG*, §65.7.

[20] *CGH*, 250.

[21] *LMG*, §64.5.

[22] Other texts in the Broad Book have also been observed to be close relatives of texts in *Lec*, as well as in the Book of Ballymote; see: Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe', 99.

post-Norman interests.[23] We might therefore expect it to have been composed in Early Modern Irish sometime between *c*. 1200 and 1397×1418, when *Lec* was compiled.

Superficially, our text might appear to be somewhat earlier than this, as its orthography and some of its forms can bear more resemblance to Middle Irish. However, such archaisms are far from unusual in Early Modern texts and do not ultimately point to a date before *c.* 1200.

Early aspects of the orthography include:[24]

- Both 'e' and 'ea' appear before non-palatal consonants (e.g. 'senathair', **L** ll. 7, 23; 'cor bean', **L** l. 13; 'Senaich', **L** l. 24), with no instances of 'io' in that context (e.g. 'Find', **L** l. 13; 'ro h-indarbad', **L** l. 50);
- OIr diphthongs are still distinguished (e.g. 'Āeda Cāeim', **L** l. 35; 'Caī Caīnbrethach', **L** l. 57), with no instances of these falling together in writing into EModIr 'ao(i)';[25]
- EModIr 'ai' > 'oi' is not represented (e.g. 'aidchi', **L** l. 15; 'Cairp*ri*', **L** l. 39);[26]
- EModIr 'o' > 'a' is not represented (e.g. 'fot', **L** l. 11; 'fogla', **L** l. 17).[27]

Other early features include:

- Prepositions appear in forms for which alternatives emerged during the MIr period (e.g. 'for' **L** ll. 42, 43; 'fri', **L** l. 30);[28]
- The preverbal particle 'ro' appears frequently, although it is used interchangeably with 'do' as a past tense marker (e.g. 'is ī […] do ruc', **L** l. 4; 'is ē […] ro marb', **L** l. 20) and has apparently lost the perfective sense it had in OIr and early MIr;[29]
- There is one possible instance of an infixed pronoun ('cēithri fich*it* blī*adna* saegal Ceit cor marb Conall', **L** ll. 10–11), although this is particularly unreliable as evidence of early language.[30]

However, there are also some distinctively later forms, e.g.:

[23] Bhreathnach, 'Tales', 30–1; Ó hUiginn, 'The Gamhanradh', 86.

[24] In the linguistic overview that follows, examples are only provided from **N** if they differ meaningfully from those given from **L** in relation to the point in question.

[25] *SnaG*, 348.

[26] *SnaG*, 343.

[27] *SnaG*, 345.

[28] *eDIL*, s.v. *for*, *fri*.

[29] *SnaG*, 408–9.

[30] The sense here has to be that Conall killed Ceat, as this is what is traditionally meant to have happened (e.g. Kuno Meyer (ed. and trans.), *The Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes* (Dublin, 1906), 36–41). Nollaig Ó Muraíle (personal correspondence) has observed that Giolla Íosa Mac Fhir Bhisigh uses 'cor' elsewhere in *Lec* as if it contains an infixed pronoun (e.g. 'Ō Fēindeada a Findgid cor gabsad Uī Flandgaili īar ndīth a dūchais', *Lec*, fol. 74ra26–7; 'Ó Féinneadha in Finnghid until the Uí Fhlannghaile seized it after his loss of his patrimony'), suggesting that 'cor marb Conall'

- There is an example of EModIr k-stem inflection of an i-stem ('brāithreach', **L** l. 37);[31]
- Late MidIr addition of '-t' to palatal 'l' occurs ('i ndīgailt', **L** l. 50, although cf. 'do dīgail', **N** l. 47);[32]
- A past tense marker is used with a form that would already have been in the perfect tense in early MidIr ('do ruc', **L** l. 4, although c.f. 'ruc', **N** l. 4);[33]
- The copula is not inflected for number (e.g. 'ba h-īad', **L** ll. 36–7);[34]
- *Fa*, the past relative form of the copula in early MidIr, is used in non-relative position ('Fa trēn cland Morna', **L** l. 30, although cf. 'Ba trēn Cl*and* Morna', **N** l. 27).[35]

The text's early features are thus mostly either orthographical or could have arisen out of the simple substitution of archaisms for later forms (e.g. *ro* for *do*, *fri* for *re*), which is common in Early Modern prose. Considered alongside the instances of later language at the level of morphology, this suggests that the text was compiled in the Early Modern Irish period, which accords with the historiographical focus of its content. Its compiler was evidently familiar with at least the spelling and sound systems of the language of earlier manuscripts, as were many Early Modern compilers and authors, and seems to have consciously adopted an archaistic style. He may also have been in part re-compiling earlier materials. Indeed, evidence that our text is a lightly edited compilation from at least two sources is presented below.

The above linguistic survey shows some instances where **N** offers an earlier form compared to that in **L**. While admittedly complicating our suggestion that **N** is derived from **L**, these can be explained as corrections on the part of the scribe of **N** or an intermediary.

As for provenance, there are no indications within the text itself. In our discussion, however, texts and doctrines associated with Leacán and Clann Fhir Bhisigh, who provided historians to the Ó Dubhda rulers of Uí Fhiachrach Muaidhe,[36] will repeatedly prove to be particularly relevant for understanding our text. It thus seems reasonable to posit that it was compiled in such a milieu, hence it being available for inclusion in *Lec*.

is an example of the use of some sort of infixed pronoun but that that need not be taken as diagnostic of early language. I am very grateful to Prof. Ó Muraíle for this observation and example. In general, infixed pronouns continued to be used in literary works in Early Modern Irish: Uáitéar Mac Gearailt, 'Middle Irish archaisms in Early Modern Irish prose', *Studia Hibernica* 38 (2012), 57–116, at 86.

[31] *SnaG*, 377.

[32] *eDIL*, s.v. *dígailt*; for another example, see *eDIL*, s.v. *dedail*.

[33] *SnaG*, 409.

[34] *SnaG*, 416–17.

[35] *eDIL*, s.v. 1 *is*; *SnaG*, 417.

[36] For Clann Fhir Bhisigh, see Nollaig Ó Muraíle, *The Celebrated Antiquary: Dubhaltach mac Fhirbhisigh, c. 1600–1671*, Maynooth Monographs 6 (Maynooth, 1996), 1–56.

Related Material

As already noted, texts focused on Connacht as a kingdom that purport to provide details on its ancient history and diverse peoples are much more frequently attested in the post-Norman period. The historical Connachta, the royal lineages that vied for the kingship of Connacht during the early Middle Ages (Síol Muireadhaigh, Uí Fhiachrach, and Uí Bhriúin), were presented in medieval historiography as relatively recent offshoots of the pseudo-historical Síol nÉireamhóin line of kings of Ireland. Traced back to Niall Naoighiallach's brothers, they shared their genealogical origins with the Uí Néill dynasties, with both groups of dynasties being grouped together with the Airghialla as Dál gCuinn.[37] The Uí Néill claimed royal pre-eminence over Ireland during the early Middle Ages and their claims seem to have set the agenda for much pseudo-historical writing during this period. As a result, the idea of Connacht's ancient past appears from surviving texts to have been subsumed into legendary history associated with the kingship of Ireland.

By the twelfth century, however, the Ó Conchubhair family (from the Síol Muireadhaigh branch of Uí Bhriúin) had excluded all competing lineages from the kingship of Connacht and were becoming increasingly dominant in Irish politics more widely. In a process accelerated by the Norman invasions later in the same century, Connacht became a major centre of Gaelic political power and cultural patronage and thus of scholarly endeavour for much of the later Middle Ages. The region's ruling elites and professional learned families developed pseudo-history that projected Connacht as a political entity back into the ancient past already created by earlier historiography and literature, in many ways drawing upon and maintaining continuity with pre-existing texts and traditions but also adding much in the way of local detail as well as a new political perspective.[38]

This is the intellectual context out of which our text emerges. While its context in the Broad Book, where it follows *Cóir Anmann*, might suggest that it is being treated as a source of general lore, its context in *Lec* implies that it is being treated as part of the historiography of Connacht. For example, *Cath Airtig* and *Cath Boinde* (also known as *Ferchuitred Medba*) are found in proximity thereto in that manuscript. These are heroic narratives focused on ancient Connacht and *Sean-Chonnachtaigh*, including some of the characters and population groups mentioned in our text.[39] The immediately preceding text, *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* (see above), provides a much fuller regnal and genealogical history of the kings of Connacht and likewise again mentions many of the same characters and population groups.

[37] Byrne, *Irish Kings*, 231–2; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 36, 627–9.

[38] Bhreathnach, 'Tales', 30–4; Ó hUiginn, 'Adapting'.

[39] *Cath Airtig*: *Lec*, fols 169va47–170ra41; R. I. Best (ed. and trans.), 'The battle of Airtech', *Ériu* 8 (1916), 170–90; Bhreathnach, 'Tales', 23. *Cath Boinde*: *Lec*, fols 184rb1–185ra8; Joseph O'Neill (ed. and trans.), 'Cath Boinde', *Ériu* 2 (1905), 173–85. Further insights into the internal dynamics of *Lec* will doubtless emerge as its genealogical collections receive much-needed fuller editorial attention: Nollaig Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies: Irish History's Poor Relation?*, ITS Occasional Lecture Series 3 (London, 2016), 37.

Our text's content is also treated as pertaining to the ancient history of Connacht in *LMG*. There, passages broadly corresponding to passages from our text, although with differences in wording and detail,[40] occur within *LMG*'s account of the Fir Bholg and its assertion of their prominence in the history of Connacht. In *LMG*, these passages occur in a different order and are interspersed with other material, much of which corresponds to material from *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*.[41]

A concordance between our text and *LMG* is set out below.

LMG	**L** (ll.)	**N** (ll.)	**Summary**
§64.5	1–3	1–3	Goll's pedigree
§64.7	4–8	4–6	Mághach's descendants and ancestors
	9–18	7–13	Death of Ceat mac Mághach The feud between Clann Bhaoiscne and Clann Mhorna The death of Goll
§63.1	19–21	14–16	Aodh Caomh, last king of Connacht from Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh His killing of Fear Corb, king of Munster
§63.2	21–3	17–19	Aodh Caomh's kin-group
	23–4	20	The two sons of Seanach
§63.3	25–6	21–2	Pedigree of Donn, last leader of the Fian
§63.4	27–36	23–33	Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh's marriage alliance with the Gamhanradh kings of Connacht Clann Bhaoiscne's marriage alliance with the king of Munster
	36–41	34–8	The casualties inflicted on Clann Mhorna Intervention by Cairbre Lifeachair and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh The battle of Gabhar
§62.2	41–51	39–48	Aodh Álainn mac Eachach Baiceadha, last Gamhanradh king of Connacht His overthrow by Cormac mac Airt
	52–62	49–58	Aodh Álainn's pedigree Genealogies of Clann Fhiodhaigh, a branch of the Gamhanradh

Both Giolla Íosa and Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh thus treat our text, or material therefrom, as pertaining to the history of Connacht. What is less clear is how the material resembling that in our text came to be in *LMG* and what

[40] The resemblance between our text and *LMG*, §§63.1 and 63.2, is especially loose.

[41] See footnote 11, above.

the evidence from *LMG* tells us about our text's development. Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh cannot have used either **L** or **N**, as, when he was compiling *LMG* (1645–64), *Lec* was temporarily in London and the Broad Book had already been taken to Scotland.[42] Nollaig Ó Muraíle has shown that Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh had access to source material 'closely related' to *Lec*.[43] Unfortunately, Ó Muraíle does not specify the relationship further: Mac Fhir Bhisigh's source could be an ancestor, descendant, or collateral relation of *Lec*.

Our text's counter-intuitive ordering of material and the difficulties with reconciling the various passages on Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and Clann Mhorna (especially **L** ll. 1–3 and 21–4; see the Notes) suggest that it is a relatively unintegrated compilation from multiple sources. There is one specific clue that points to it being possibly derived, at least in part, from some sort of regnal history of Connacht. Aodh Álainn mac Eachach Baiceadha is introduced as follows:

> Ocus is ē in t-Āed Ālaind sin m*a*c Ech*ach* Baiceda ríg dēidenach na Gamanraidi for *cūic*ed Condacht. (**L** ll. 41–2)
>
> 'And that Aodh Álainn mac Eachach Baiceadha is the last king of the Gamhanradh over the province of Connacht.'

The wording ('that Aodh Álainn') implies that he has already been mentioned in our text, but this is in fact his first appearance. It is with this sentence, also, that our text, without warning, jumps back in time and moves from the reign of Cairbre Lifeachair back to that of Cormac mac Airt, his father. The ensuing account of Aodh Álainn's reign (**L** ll. 41–51), which corresponds to *LMG* §62.2, thus seems to have been excerpted from a larger text. This larger text could have been an account of the kings of Connacht more generally, not unlike *LMG*'s coverage of the Fir Bholg, which notes the role played by Fir Bholg individuals and peoples during the reign of each king of Connacht, who is sometimes from the Fir Bholg himself. However, Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh makes it clear that he drew on multiple texts in order to produce this.[44] With both our text and the relevant section of *LMG* apparently compiled from multiple sources, the relationship between our text and *LMG* is likely to be complex and best elucidated through more wide-ranging studies.

It should also be noted that a passage in part resembling our text's account of the lead-up to the battle of Gabhar (**L** ll. 31–41) appears in Geoffrey Keating's

[42] *Lec*: Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*, 193–4. The Broad Book: Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe', 99; Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Poems by Fearghal Óg Mac An Bhaird', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2 vols (1988), 776–83. The Broad Book would return briefly to Ireland *c*. 1700 in the possession of Rev. John Beaton (*ob*. 1714), where it featured in his collaboration with Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709); see John Bannerman, *The Beatons: A Medical Kindred in the Classical Gaelic Tradition* (Edinburgh, 1998, 2nd ed. 2015), 39.

[43] Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*, 194.

[44] *LMG* does not seem to be based on a source that combined passages from something resembling our text and a version of *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*, as passages from these two texts are identified as being from different versions (*sliochta*); for example, compare *LMG* §62.2 (**L** ll. 41–51) with *LMG* §§61.9–62.1 and 62.3 (*Lec*, fol. 176rb34–176va4). He may have still obtained them from the same manuscript source, but he evidently did not encounter them harmonised into a single historical narrative.

(*ob*. 1644) *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, during his account of the reign of Cairbre Lifeachair.[45] Keating, however, omits all specific references to Connacht, instead contextualising the material within the politics of the kingship of Ireland. As the continuous, long-standing existence of a unitary kingdom of Ireland is one of Keating's major themes,[46] this should probably be understood as a subsequent development of material from our text (or its source) and so it will not be treated below.

The material in our text not paralleled by passages in *LMG* focuses on Clann Mhorna, presented as close kin of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, especially on their feud with Clann Bhaoiscne, as well as on the genealogical identity of the Gamhanradh, although these subjects are also touched upon in some of the parallel passages in *LMG*. The key point of connection is Aodh Caomh mac Garaidh Ghlúnduibh, who is presented in our text as both a king of Connacht from Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and kinsman to Clann Mhorna. It is potentially significant that, in contrast, no connection is made between Aodh Caomh, king of Connacht, and Clann Mhorna in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*; there, Aodh Caomh is simply described as a son of Garadh Glúndubh, with no details on the latter's lineage.[47] There is a Clann Mhorna warrior called Aodh mac Garaidh in Fenian tradition,[48] and that tradition often associates Clann Mhorna with Connacht,[49] but I have been unable to find Aodh Caomh, king of Connacht, appearing in a Fionn Cycle context other than in our text, in the parallel passages preserved in *LMG*, and in the apparently related passage from Keating. It is therefore possible that Aodh Caomh, king of Connacht, and Aodh mac Garaidh, the member of Clann Mhorna, were originally different characters and it is even possible that their conflation is original to our text. However, this is complicated by their also being conflated in parallel passages in *LMG* that must have had another physical source, which may be a common ancestor to *LMG* and our text. Until the mass of genealogical lore preserved in late medieval manuscripts like *Lec* is more easily accessible and better understood, this kind of suggestion must remain hypothetical.

For now, it seems safe to say that the compiler of our text in its extant form drew on a variety of sources to explore (and possibly invent) interconnections

[45] David Comyn and Patrick Dineen (eds), *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, 4 vols, ITS Main Series 4, 8, 9, and 15 (London, 1902–14), ii, 354–5; Anja Gunderloch, 'The *Cath Gabhra* family of ballads: a study in textual relationships', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2 vols (1997), i, 161–2. The same material is echoed in a similar passage in Roderick O'Flaherty, *Ogygia, seu Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia* (London, 1685), 341–2 (on which, see Gunderloch, '*Cath Gabhra*', i, 165–6; Richard Sharpe (ed.), *Roderick O'Flaherty's Letters to William Molyneux, Edward Lhwyd and Samuel Molyneux 1696–1709* (Dublin, 2013), 55–63). Possibly via Keating or O'Flaherty, it also seems to underlie the passage quoted from an unspecified, apparently English-language manuscript by William H. Drummond, '[The Poems of Ossian]', *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 16 (1830), 1–161, at 137.

[46] Bernadette Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating: History, Myth and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), 105–72.

[47] *Lec*, fol. 176va8.

[48] See the Notes, on **L** l. 19.

[49] Noelle Ní Uigín, 'Goll mac Morna: laoch Connachtach na Fiannaíochta agus ceist an chúigeachais' in Mícheál Mac Craith and Pádraig Ó Héalaí (eds), *Diasa Díograise: Aistí i gCuimhne ar Mháirtín Ó Briain* (Inverin, 2009), 237–55.

between people and events from the Fionn Cycle and the pseudo-history of Connacht, as well as to connect both back to the Ulster Cycle. What ideas might have animated this enterprise? In what follows, I argue that the text is placing the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, the latter associated with Clann Mhorna, within a narrative of dissent on the part of military vassals from domination of Connacht by the kings of Ireland. This provides Connacht with both a heroic age and validation of its rulers, all of which is paralleled in the earlier literature on which it may well have been modelled.

Discussion

Our text presents the origins and fortunes of the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh (including Clann Mhorna) as deeply intertwined. When Cormac mac Airt deposes Aodh Álainn, the last Gamhanradh king of Connacht, he is described as taking the kingship from a set of kin-groups:

> don Gamanraid ocus do Chlandaib Ūmōir ocus do Chloind Cheit m*ei*c Māgach (**L** ll. 44–5)
>
> 'from the Gamhanradh, and from Clanna Úmhóir, and from Clann Cheit mheic Mhághach'.

Clann Cheit mheic Mhághach here seems to refer to, or at least include, Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, as our text traces Garadh Glúndubh's lineage back to Ceat (**L** l. 1–3).[50] How Clann Cheit can be said to have held the kingship of Connacht before the reign of Aodh Caomh (who only becomes king after Cormac's preferred candidate) is set out in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*. In its account, after the death of Meadhbh, queen of Connacht and daughter of the king of Ireland, Eochaidh Feidhleach, Sanbh mac Ceit mhic Mhághach was acclaimed as king of Connacht by an assemblage of the kingdom's peoples,[51] including all three of the peoples from whom our text says Cormac took the kingship.[52] This was in preference to Meadhbh's son, Maine Aithreamhail, who was supported by another assemblage of peoples. The result is war in Connacht. Although Sanbh is victorious and becomes king, the kingship subsequently alternates until it finally passes to Niall Naoighiallach's brothers, the ancestor figures of the septs that would rule Connacht during the early Middle Ages. For reasons that are not explained in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*, the alternation is between the line of Maine Aithreamhail and the line of Aonghas Fionn of the Gamhanradh and does not initially involve the descendants of the original pretender, Sanbh.

In our text, the king of Connacht eventually imposed by Cormac — his relative, Niadh Mór mac Fir Thrí (whose father is also known as Lughna Fear Trí) — is overthrown and killed by Aodh Álainn, the previous king from the Gamhanradh line, who is then exiled (**L** ll. 46–50). *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*

[50]The contradictions between **L** ll. 1–3 and ll. 21–4 should be borne in mind when reading them in conjunction; see Notes for details.

[51]*Lec*, fol. 176ra38–50; cf. *LMG*, §§59.5–60.1; Bhreathnach, 'Tales', 29–31.

[52]*Lec*, fol. 176ra27–37; cf. *LMG*, §§59.5–60.1.

agrees that Niadh Mór was killed and Aodh Álainn exiled.[53] There then follows the reign of Aodh Caomh mac Garaidh Ghlúnduibh. In *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* and in *LMG*, but not in our text, he is said to have killed Lughaidh, another son of Fear Trí, who had been given the kingship by Cormac after Aodh Álainn's exile.[54] This latter assertion enhances the sense already conveyed in our text that Aodh Caomh's lineage is thought of as allied with the Gamhanradh kings. His ancestry beyond his father, Garadh Glúndubh, is not set out in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*; in our text, he is a descendant of Sanbh mac Ceit (**L** l. 1–3), who is the original opponent of the line of Meadhbh in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* and whose descendants are numbered among Cormac's opponents when he imposes Niadh Mór. Alongside this royal pedigree, Aodh Caomh is also linked by marriage to the Gamhanradh line of Connacht kings. Our text notes that Fial, Aodh Caomh's sister, was the mother of Forgha mac Fearadhaigh, a king of Connacht contemporary with Art mac Cuinn Chéadchathaigh (**L** ll. 27–30). He appears in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* as one of the kingdom's Gamhanradh kings.[55]

This marriage may be imagined to have aided Aodh Caomh's claim to the kingship of Connacht, but our text's only explicit comment is that it strengthened Clann Mhorna (**L** l. 30). Indeed, as king, according to our text, Aodh Caomh takes part in the feud within the Fian on the side of his kinsmen, Clann Mhorna, against Clann Bhaoiscne (**L** ll. 32–6). Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh is also on the side of Clann Mhorna and Cairbre Lifeachair, the king of Ireland, against Clann Bhaoiscne and the forces of the king of Munster at the battle of Gabhar (**L** ll. 39–41). They are presumably led by Aodh Caomh, although this is not stated. Our text offers no comment as to whether Aodh Caomh continued or abandoned his Gamhanradh predecessors' hostility to the kings of Ireland. Our text also does not make it clear what eventually happens to him but, in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*, he is grievously wounded while fighting against the king of Munster on another occasion and is replaced as king by Coinne, yet another son of Fear Trí.[56] No subsequent kings from either the Gamhanradh or Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh are given in either text.

Overall, read in conjunction with *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*, our text presents the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh as long-standing allies in the Gamhanradh's long-running struggle to retain the kingship of Connacht against candidates either descended from or favoured by the Síol nÉireamhóin kings of Ireland. Their solidarity seems to have both a genealogical and a social basis. In terms of genealogical connections, our text presents Ceat, ancestor of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, as descended from the Domhnannaigh via Cairbre, his father (**L** ll. 9–10). The Domhnannaigh, also known as the Fir Dhomhnann or the Domhnainn, are sometimes presented in medieval historiography as the Gamhanradh's geographical neighbours, sometimes as their genealogical close

[53] *Lec*, fol. 176rb34–176va4; cf. *LMG*, §§61.9, 62.3. Confusingly, *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* refers to Aodh Álainn, as he is in our text, as Aodh Caomh (*Lec*, fol. 176rb34) but he remains identifiable via his pedigree.

[54] *Lec*, fol. 176va5–9; *LMG*, §62.2.

[55] *Lec*, fol. 176rb22–31; cf. *LMG*, §§61.5–61.7

[56] *Lec*, fol. 176va9–12; cf. *LMG*, §63.1.

relatives, and sometimes as simply identical with them.[57] Both the Gamhanradh and the Domhnannaigh are presented elsewhere as descended from the Fir Bholg.[58]

The Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh also occupy similar social roles. Both groups are identified with dedicated bands of warriors. The main metaphorical sense taken on by *gamhanradh* (literally, 'yearlings') is 'warriors'.[59] Ruairí Ó hUiginn has shown that the Gamhanradh are not a definable kin-group in pre-Norman sources; they were created as such, and given a full genealogical identity as a remnant of the Fir Bholg, in later medieval literature and historiography via the re- or misinterpretation of literary references to the *gamhanradh* ('warriors') of Iorras Domhnann.[60] Both the warriors of Iorras Domhnann and, latterly, the Gamhanradh are depicted as a formidable martial force.[61] Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, meanwhile, are presented in our text as close relatives and allies of the Clann Mhorna faction of the famous Fian, another collective of warriors.[62] Indeed, our text sometimes implies that Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and Clann Mhorna are essentially the same kin-group.[63] Finally, the genealogies of both the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh in our text include prominent characters encountered in martial contexts in Ulster Cycle literature.[64] Fraoch mac Fiodhaigh and Fear Diadh mac Damháin, who fight on the side of the Connachta in *Táin Bó Cúailnge*,[65] are both numbered among Clann Fhiodhaigh, a sept of the Gamhanradh (**L** ll. 54–62). Mághach, meanwhile, is ancestress of Clann Mhorna and mother to Ceat, who also appears in Ulster

[57]Ó hUiginn, 'The Gamhanradh', 85; Emma Nic Cárthaigh, Pádraig Ó Riain, and Kevin Murray, *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames / Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge, Fascicle 7 / Fascúl 7 [D-Drongán]* (London, 2018), s.n. Domhnainn / Domhnannaigh. In *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar agus Tóraigheacht Taise Taoibhghile* (hereafter, *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar*), Goll mac Morna is a descendant of Ceat mac Mághach, as in our text (**L** ll. 1–3), but he is also described as being of the Gamhanradh: Máire Ní Mhuirgheasa (ed.), *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar agus Tóraigheacht Taise Taoibhghile* (Dublin, 1954), ll. 6236–42.

[58]Séamas Pender, 'The Fir Domnann', *JRSAI* 3:1 (1933), 101–15, at 101–2; Ó hUiginn, 'The Gamhanradh', 80. *LMG* (§59.2) explicitly notes that the Fir Bholg's relatives include Clann Mhorna, the descendants of Mághach, and the descendants of Aonghas Feart, who is numbered among the Gamhanradh in our text (**L** ll. 52–3). In *LMG* §59.2, the Fir Bholg are referred to as Clanna Geanainn.

[59]Ó hUiginn, 'The Gamhanradh', 90; *eDIL*, s.v. *gamanrad*.

[60]Ó hUiginn, 'The Gamhanradh', 86, 90–3. Ó hUiginn focuses on interpreting the population group's name and assessing whether they existed historically; he leaves unexplored the question of why the warriors of Iorras Domhnann gained literary prominence.

[61]Bhreathnach, 'Tales', 35; Ó hUiginn, 'The Gamhanradh', 84.

[62]For the development of the idea of the Fian, see: Flahive, *Fenian Cycle,* 7–8; Murray, *Early Finn Cycle*, 57–63. As Ó hUiginn ('The Gamhanradh', 92) notes, *fian* ('warband'), like *gamhanradh*, develops gradually from a common to a proper noun.

[63]For example, when Aodh Caomh is noted as opposing Clann Bhaoiscne, it is stated 'is ac Clandaib Mor*na* do bī rīgi Condacht in tan sin' ('the kingship of Connacht was at that time with Clann Mhorna'; **L** ll. 35–6). It is not clear whether Clann Mhorna refers to the descendants of Morna Mór (**L** l. 1), father of Néamhann, or to the descendants of Morna (**L** l. 21), Néamhann's son; see the Notes.

[64]For references, see the Notes.

[65]*TBC 1*, ll. 834–57, 2570–3153; *TBC LL*, ll. 2606–3569.

Cycle texts as a Connacht warrior.[66] She is also maternal grandmother of the Ulaidh heroes, Conall Cearnach, Cú Chulainn, and the sons of Uisneach (**L** ll. 4–6).

The two kin-groups' designation as warriors also occurs elsewhere. *LU*'s probably Connacht-based scribe H, in his version of the first recension of *Táin Bó Flidais*,[67] lists three 'láechaicmi Herend' ('warrior-kindreds of Ireland'):

> in Gamanrad a Hirrus Domnand. ⁊ cland Dédad hi Temair Lóchra. ⁊ clanna Rudraige i nEmain Macha. La claind Rudraige imm̄ dibdait in da aicme aili.[68]
>
> 'the Gamhanradh of Iorras Domhnann, and Clann Deadhadh in Teamhair Luachra, and Clanna Rudhraighe in Eamhain Mhacha. By Clann Rudhraighe, indeed, were the other two kindreds wiped out.' (my translation)

In our text, Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and Clann Mhorna are traced back to Deadhadh via Mághach (**L** ll. 1–8).[69] In *Táin Bó Flidais*, as elsewhere in the literature, Clanna Rudhraighe refers to the Ulaidh of the Ulster Cycle. This means that all three of the 'warrior kindreds' listed by H appear in our text and our text makes all three out to be genealogically related.

In drawing warrior kindreds as a class into the pseudo-history of the kingship of Connacht, our text's compiler may have been trying to replicate the pseudo-history of the kingship of Ireland. Historical Uí Néill kings relied on the military services of vassal peoples like the Airghialla or Cianachta. These peoples are often depicted in pseudo-history as having, in the distant past, claimed or even briefly occupied the kingship of Ireland, only to have then been bested by their future overlords' ancestors. Their subordinate but respectable standing in the present is thus established.[70] The purpose of our text's narrative could be to establish and historicise this as a social category within the kingdom of Connacht. Our text notes that Donn mac Aodha Caoimh goes on to assume leadership of the Fian (**L** ll. 25–6),[71] apparently becoming a *féinnidh* ('warrior', 'warband member') rather than a king, like his father (although cf. **N** ll. 21–2). This is perhaps meant to be understood as his line's proper station. Indeed, in *Cath Maige Léna*, we find both Goll and Conall Crúachna of the Gamhanradh (mentioned at **L** l. 52) fighting for Conn Céadchathach.[72] Ann Dooley has

[66] Thomas O. Clancy, 'Die like a man? The Ulster Cycle death-tale anthology', *Aiste* 2 (2008), 70–93, at 80–2.

[67] *LU* ll. 1558–1641; Ó hUiginn, 'The Gamhanradh', 82.

[68] *LU* ll. 1620–2.

[69] In some traditions, Fionn and Clann Bhaoiscne are also traced back to Deadhadh: Murray, *Early Finn Cycle*, 85–6.

[70] Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 459, 512–18. The Fian of the Fionn Cycle was thought by some nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars to be a historical military unit comprised of ethnically distinct vassal peoples (Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 467–8; Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 65–6).

[71] For discussion of this character's relationship with a similar character from *Acallam na Senórach*, see the Notes.

[72] Kenneth H. Jackson (ed.), *Cath Maighe Léna*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Texts Series 9 (Dublin, 1938), ll. 877–87.

argued that *Acallam na Senórach* addresses the evolving social relationships between the king of Connacht and military vassals in the early thirteenth century,[73] while Mícheál Hoyne has argued that the relationship between lords and vassals is a key theme of *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar*.[74] The issue thus seems to have been culturally productive in a Fionn Cycle context through the later Middle Ages. Its political relevance in such a context is enhanced by the fact that both the later medieval Ó Conchubhair kings of Connacht and Clann Fhir Bhisigh's Uí Fhiachrach patrons traced their descent from the Síol nÉireamhóin kings of Ireland who eventually gain supremacy in our text over Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and the Gamhanradh.

This picture is complicated, however, by the inclusion of Clann Úmhóir in the trio of kin-groups arrayed in our text against Cormac mac Airt (**L** ll. 44–5). They are numbered in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* among the peoples that supported Sanbh against Maine Aithreamhail.[75] According to several medieval versions of *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann*, Clann Úmhóir were quite recent arrivals in Connacht. Like the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Glúnduibh, they descend from the Fir Bholg, but from a branch of the latter that had settled in the Hebrides after their expulsion from Ireland by the Tuatha Dé Danann.[76] Upon returning to Ireland, they had to agree to perform service for the king of Ireland, Cairbre Niadh Fear, in order to be allowed to settle there. This arrangement becoming unbearable, they fled to Connacht and were given land and protection by Oilill and Meadhbh.

This was part of Leacán tradition, as Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh, in *LMG*, provides an expanded version of this narrative from what he describes as a text of *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann* by his own grandfather.[77] In Mac Fhir Bhisigh's version of their story, upon arrival in Ireland, Clann Úmhóir name four guarantors who will ensure their provision of unfree service: Ceat mac Mághach, Ros mac Deadhad, Conall Cearnach, and Cú Chulainn.[78] These guarantors are eventually forced by Cairbre Niadh Fear to save their own honour by violently punishing Clann Úmhóir for breaching their conditions of settlement.

If the Gamhanradh, Clann Gharaidh Glundúibh, and Clann Úmhóir are all understood as ultimately descended from the Fir Bholg, their political alignment against Cormac mac Airt in our text could be understood as kin-based solidarity. Yet all four of Clann Úmhóir's guarantors, who eventually side with Cairbre Niadh Fear in Dubhaltach's grandfather's narrative, are, according to

[73] Ann Dooley, 'The date and purpose of *Acallam na Senórach*', *Éigse* 34 (2004), 97–125, at 105–23.

[74] Mícheál Hoyne, 'Imtheacht an Dá Nónmhar agus Tóraigheacht Taise Taoibhghile: an Early Modern Irish exemplary tale', *Ériu* 65 (2015), 1–47.

[75] *Lec*, fol. 176ra38–48; cf. *LMG*, §§59.5–60.1.

[76] R. A. S. Macalister (ed. and trans.), *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, 5 vols, ITS Main Series 34, 35, 29, 41, and 44 (Dublin, 1938–56), §§281, 291, 298. For the textual history of *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann*, see R. M. Scowcroft, 'Medieval Recensions of the Lebor Gabála' in John Carey (ed.), *Lebor Gabála Érenn: Textual History and Pseudohistory*, ITS Subsidiary Series 20 (London, 2009), 1–19.

[77] *LMG*, §§66.1–68.4. Ó Muraíle (*LMG*, i, 16) has argued that Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh drew extensively on this text when compiling *LMG*.

[78] While referred to as *cora* ('guarantors'), each is playing the role of a *naidhm* ('binding surety'), in medieval Irish legal terms: Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), 171.

our text, also related to the Gamhanradh or Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh via Mághach, Clann Deadhadh, and the Domhnannaigh (**L** ll. 1–8). Whether as a result of differences between traditions or deliberate social commentary, the picture that emerges is one of juxtaposed genealogical identities and social roles, between ties of kinship and perhaps of common political exclusion and the role of warrior kindreds within the established power structure.[79] Clann Úmhóir, meanwhile, have had warriors of an ultimately common lineage as guarantors of good behaviour, opponents, and finally allies, except that this alliance, too, is ultimately defeated by royal power.

In fact, it turns out in our text that warrior kindreds are powerless and highly dependent on their relationships with established kings. Clann Bhaoiscne can inflict bloody vengeance on Clann Mhorna due to Fionn's daughter having married the king of Munster (**L** ll. 31–6). They are only stopped when Cairbre Lifeachair and other kings intervene on Clann Mhorna's behalf (**L** ll. 39–41). Furthermore, kings do not seem to be envisaged as operating under much ethical constraint. Cormac's imposition of his relative, Niadh Mór, as king of Connacht is described as 'in ainfhīr flatha' (**L** ll. 43–4; 'the injustice of lordship'). In conceptualisations of kingship in some earlier texts, this would have spelled the end of Cormac's reign.[80] Here, his injustice is apparently without consequence for him, although it does result in the violent death of Niadh Mór. Indeed, in backing Niadh Mór, Cormac is perhaps meant to be understood as manipulating other military vassals into a kind of proxy war, as Niadh Mór's father, Lughna Fear Trí, is thought to stand in earlier sources for two other military vassal peoples, the Luighne and the Corca Fhir Thrí.[81]

Escaping military vassalhood is also presented as perilous. Aodh Álainn is deposed by Cormac after illegitimately eloping with Cormac's daughter (**L** ll. 41–6). This can be understood as an attempt on Aodh Álainn's part to gain greater political and social security. In Fionn Cycle tradition, elite marriage is a route by which a *féinnidh* could theoretically establish himself in settled society,[82] although, in practice, settled society often conspires to block this route.[83] This is very much the outcome for Aodh Álainn in our text. Aodh Caomh, meanwhile, is presented as gaining a degree of security for Clann Mhorna by becoming king, although, as *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* relates, he is not able to sustain this against other kings.[84]

[79] It should be noted that *laochaicme* does not appear as a formal legal category in medieval sources so there is no theoretical definition of their social role available.

[80] Bart Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession* (Dublin, 2000, repr. 2013), 72–81.

[81] James Carney, 'Nia son of Lugna Fer Trí', *Éigse* 2/3 (1940), 187–97; Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, *The Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt* (Dublin, 1977), 51–8; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Historical need and literary narrative', in D. Ellis Evans, John G. Griffith, and E. M. Jope (eds), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies, Oxford, 1983* (Oxford, 1986), 141–58, at 148–51, 153–5; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 468.

[82] Joseph F. Nagy, *Wisdom of the Outlaw: The Boyhood Deeds of Finn in Gaelic Narrative Tradition* (Dublin, 2010), 80–5.

[83] Nagy, *Wisdom*, 89–90.

[84] *Lec*, fol. 176va7–12; cf. *LMG*, §63.1.

Relationships between warrior kindreds and kings take on even more importance when one considers our text's portrayal of the fractious relationship within the Fian between Clann Bhaoiscne and Clann Mhorna, which seems to offer each side little in the way of an alternative to engagement with external royal politics. This is hardly distinctive to our text. Tensions and hostility, but also rapprochement, between these two factions constitute a major theme of later Fionn Cycle literature.[85] The disrupting influence of external political allegiances on the common life of the Fian can also surface; particularly resonant with our text is a poem from *Duanaire Finn* in which Goll complains that Cumhall gained an unfair advantage over him through his kinship with Conn Céadchathach.[86] In our text, however, we encounter a particularly negative outlook on intra-Fian relations, with kin-based factionalism the major driving force.

Overall, our text's account of Clann Bhaoiscne and Clann Mhorna (**L** ll. 11–18, 31–41) focuses on conflict, with no reference made to anything the two factions accomplished together as the Fian.[87] In particular, it is stated (**L** ll. 11–13) that Fionn fought the otherwise poorly documented battle of Ceann Cluidh and took hostages 'dā aindeōin do Goll' ('by force from Goll'), implying some sort of conflict between them. Our text provides only laconic information, but the position of the battle of Ceann Cluidh in the narrative implies that this is how Fionn assumed control of the Fian and pacified Clann Mhorna on behalf of Clann Bhaoiscne. This is distinctly more confrontational and less consensual than in other accounts, where Fionn proves his right to lead the Fian through repelling Ireland's common supernatural enemies.[88]

Our text's fragmentary details (**L** ll. 13–18) on the resumption of the conflict between Clann Mhorna and Clann Bhaoiscne also offer a grim counterpoint to traditions found in other texts. The resumption apparently involved the violent deaths of Cnú Dearóil and Art Óg mac Morna, the former at Teamhair Luachra. Beyond that, it is not clear what is meant to have happened. Art Óg is implied elsewhere to have been one of the killers of Fionn's father, Cumhall,[89] so lingering resentment at this on Fionn's part should perhaps be understood

[85]Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 25, 39, 50–1; Diarmuid Ó Murchadha (ed. and trans.), *Lige Guill: The Grave of Goll*, ITS Main Series 62 (London, 2009), xxv–xxviii.

[86]Eoin MacNeill and Gerard Murphy (eds and trans.), *Duanaire Finn*, 3 vols, ITS Main Series 7, 28, and 43 (London, 1908–53) [hereafter, DF], XXXV.12–19; Nagy, *Wisdom*, 80. On the tradition of Fionn Cycle lays represented by *Duanaire Finn*, see Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 32–48.

[87]For examples of their joint accomplishments elsewhere, see Whitley Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh na Senórach', in Whitley Stokes and Ernst Windisch (eds), *Irische Texte* 4:1 (Leipzig, 1900), ll. 5632–5724, 6444–6529 (Ann Dooley and Harry Roe (trans.), *Tales of the Elders of Ireland* (Oxford, 1999), 159–60, 181); Nessa Ní Shéaghdha (ed.), 'Bruighion Chéisi Coruin(n)', in Nessa Ní Shéaghdha and Máire Ní Mhuirgheasa (eds), *Trí Bruidhne* (Dublin, 1941), 3–15; Hoyne, 'Imtheacht', 14–23; *DF*, Poems XXI, XXIII, XXXII, L, LXIV, LXVII, LXVIII.

[88]Nagy, *Wisdom*, 188–91; Murray, *Early Finn Cycle*, 39–40.

[89]Nessa Ní Shéaghdha (ed. and trans.), *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*, ITS Main Series 48 (Dublin, 1967), ll. 818–58.

to have been a factor. The killing of Cnú Dearóil, Fionn's much-loved, physically diminutive musician,[90] certainly marks the incident out as horrific and a credible candidate for what terminated Fionn's relations with Clann Mhorna.

Cnú Dearóil may have been killed because of professional jealousy. Among the passages in our text not paralleled in *LMG*, which mostly concern Clann Mhorna's feud with Clann Bhaoiscne, there is a passage noting Binn and Suanán as the two sons of Seanach mac Morna (**L** ll. 23–4), without any explanation of this information's relevance. They seem to be musicians, however. In *Acallam na Senórach*, Seanach is a musician of the Fian from Clann Mhorna.[91] Furthermore, Seanach's sons in our text both have names connected to music (*binn*, 'harmonious'; *suanán*, 'lullaby'). Reading a lot into our text's laconic evidence, we might envisage that the violence began with a dispute involving Cnú Dearóil and these musicians from Clann Mhorna. After all, Cnú Dearóil had already been driven out of the Otherworld by the jealousy of his fellow musicians.[92] Music's value to society is a major theme in *Acallam na Senórach*,[93] while Cnú Dearóil has been called 'an outstanding example of success in life achieved through the help of Finn and the experience of *fénnidhecht*'.[94] In the hypothetical narrative to which our text may be alluding, however, Cnú Dearóil's potentially unifying art and the affection in which he is held produce a flashpoint for social conflagration.[95]

Indeed, our text also recalls further examples of violent death from another literary context. Recurrent genealogical linkage is made with characters from the Ulster Cycle, many of whom die violently for reasons that may have been considered questionable or risible even by the literature's medieval audience.[96] Most strikingly, by means of similar wording, the text implies a parallel between the killing of Goll's ancestor, Ceat, by Conall Cearnach and the killing of Cumhall by Goll (**L** ll. 10–12). Other than the act of killing itself and the genealogical linkage, it is not made clear what connects these killings. However, Béalchú's famous condemnation of the destructiveness of the careers of

[90] Nagy, *Wisdom*, 75, 181.

[91] Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 4057–66, 5294–9 (Dooley and Roe (trans.), *Tales*, 120, 147). For reasons of concision, only the earliest extant recension of *Acallam na Senórach* is being consulted in this study; for details on the text's varied recensions, see Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 22–31.

[92] Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 611–83 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 21–3); see Notes.

[93] Dooley and Roe (trans), *Dialogue*, xvii–xx; Joseph F. Nagy, 'Oral tradition in the *Acallam na Senórach*', in W. F. H. Nicolaisen (ed.), *Oral Tradition in the Middle Ages* (Binghamton, 1995), 77–95, at 91–3; 'Oral tradition and performance in medieval Ireland', in Karl Reichl (ed.), *Medieval Oral Literature* (Berlin, 2012), 279–93, at 283–6, 290–1; Ann Dooley, 'The European context of *Acallam na Senórach*', in Aidan Doyle and Kevin Murray (eds), *In Dialogue with the* Agallamh*: Essays in Honour of Seán Ó Coileáin* (Dublin, 2014), 60–75, at 67–70.

[94] Nagy, *Wisdom*, 75.

[95] It should of course be questioned whether it is the relatively optimistic *Acallam na Senórach* that represents the mainstream tradition and our text a dark subversion thereof. *Acallam na Senórach* has already been shown to be selective in its inclusion of pre-existing tradition, possibly for ideological reasons: Geraldine Parsons, 'Breaking the Cycle? Accounts of the death of Finn', in Sharon J. Arbuthnot and Geraldine Parsons (eds), *The Gaelic Finn Tradition* (Dublin, 2012), 81–96.

[96] Clancy, 'Die like a man?'.

both Conall and Ceat in *Aided Ceit maic Mágach* ('the death-tale of Ceat mac Mághach') might be of relevance:

> 'bid maith an Ériu festa … ó dotorchair in dá árchoin so doloitsitar an Éiriu eturra.'[97]
>
> '"henceforth Ireland will be happy, since these two slaughter-hounds have fallen, who ruined Ireland between them."'

Our text's depiction of the Fian is bleak and cynical. Its members' rivalries and grudges prove unsustainable, and both of its factions find themselves reliant on external, royal support against each other. This material seems to have been added to our text to parallel the downfall of Clann Mhorna's fellow *Sean-Chonnachtaigh* and warrior kindred, the Gamhanradh, whose last king, Aodh Álainn, is also depicted as following a *féinnidh*'s career path in a daring but doomed effort to advance himself. Ultimately, it is the royal authority of the ancestors of the Ó Conchubhair kings of Connacht and of Clann Fhir Bhisigh's Uí Fhiachrach patrons that is legitimised as the political future.

Evaluation

Our text's compiler supplemented material focused on the regnal history of Connacht, which resembles material later used in *LMG*, with additional material on the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, as well as the latter's connections with characters from the Fionn Cycle. The Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh are warrior kindreds, of a common genealogical origin, that manage to temporarily attain royal status. This proves not to be sustainable, however, as both succumb to external machinations. This echoes earlier pseudo-historical narratives about the likes of the Airghialla or the Cianachta, in which the legitimacy of the ruling line and the position of their social subordinates is proved by the latter's failure to become the former. Ó hUiginn has argued that the pseudo-history of later medieval Connacht was to a large extent formed out of the reception of the intellectual heritage of the Middle Irish period, identifying the Ulster Cycle and pseudo-history on the kingship of Ireland as particularly influential.[98] Our text further demonstrates the influence of these bodies of literature, including the reception and localisation of a particular stock narrative from earlier pseudo-history, as well as showing that Fionn Cycle traditions were also engaged with in this context.

In our text, however, the reuse of this narrative has far-reaching implications, given some of the protagonists' prominence elsewhere in the literature, which our text is particularly keen to explore in the case of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh's close relatives, Clann Mhorna. As we have seen, Clann Mhorna's Fenian existence is not just referenced but integrated thematically into our text's narrative of political manoeuvring, based on some particularly bleak interpretations of Fionn Cycle traditions. Referring to the fusion of traditions and styles

[97]Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Death-Tales*, 38–9; Clancy, 'Die like a man?', 82–3.
[98]Ó hUiginn, 'Adapting', 5–7.

in *Acallam na Senórach*, Kevin Murray has written of the Fionn Cycle's subsequent 'ability to adapt, change, and broaden its cultural relevance'.[99] Our text further evidences the Cycle's adaptability within an alternative political setting. Its integrative approach also results in a Fian much more orientated around royal politics than it is elsewhere. In this, it resembles the Ulster Cycle literature of later medieval Connacht, in which earlier pseudo-history focused on the kingship of Ireland is influential not just as background information but in terms of characters' perceived motivations and constraints.[100]

Indeed, continuity is also drawn between events of our text and the Ulster Cycle, via characters' genealogical descent and even direct parallelism.[101] Like the Ulster Cycle, in some interpretations,[102] our text can be shown to be deconstructing and problematising what is superficially heroic. It achieves this through its bringing together of an unusually eclectic range of narratives, factions, and characters from across the literature. Indeed, it may be that our text engages in the creative conflation of previously separate characters so as to create a unified history out of disparate sources and set what are seen as comparable narratives alongside each other. The equation of Aodh Caomh, king of Connacht, and Aodh mac Garaidh, of the Fionn Cycle is of particular importance. The extent to which this level of historiographical re-working is taking place in our text remains in need of further, more broadly scoped investigation, however.

In any case, it is worth noting the broad historiographical scope of the compiler's engagement with what are often considered discrete Cycles.[103] His use of the different Cycles goes beyond the framing of large-scale national history via synchronisms or genealogical scholarship, for which there are earlier examples,[104] and provides evidence that he considered what the Cycles have in common thematically. This suggests that the heroic and pseudo-historical literature of later medieval Connacht would well merit further investigation that especially considers its critical, compilatory responses to the rich and complex materials that its creators inherited.

[99] Murray, *Early Finn Cycle*, 162.

[100] Ó hUiginn, 'Adapting', 6–8.

[101] For the importance of the Ulster Cycle in later medieval Connacht, see: Ó hUiginn, 'Adapting', 6–7.

[102] Thomas O. Clancy, 'Court, king and justice in the Ulster Cycle', in Helen Fulton (ed.), *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society* (Dublin, 2005), 163–82; 'Die like a man?', 82–3. In addition, a promising study of Ulster Cycle sexual politics and violence in another later medieval Connacht text is being undertaken by Abigail Burnyeat, '#MedbToo: *Ferchuitred Medba* as alternative causa for *Táin Bó Cúailnge*', unpublished conference paper, Ulidia Finn 2018, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, University of the Highlands and Islands, 13–17 June 2018.

[103] Poppe, *Of Cycles.*

[104] Peter J. Smith, 'Early Irish historical verse: the evolution of a genre', in Proinséas Ní Chathain and Michael Richter (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Text and Transmission* (Dublin, 2002), 326–41, at 340–1; Ó Muraíle, *Irish Genealogies*, 2–8.

Edition

Editorial Method

The text below is that of **L**, with only a few corrections from **N** and a few editorial corrections at points where both texts appear to be in error. **L** has been reproduced as per the manuscript, with internal orthographical inconsistencies retained. Accents are not used in **L** so these have been supplied as macrons. Given that the orthography resembles that of Old or early Middle Irish, macrons have been supplied for vowels that would have been long during this period of the language (e.g. 'ind Fhīan', **L** l. 26, for *an Fhian*; "Āed Cāem", **L** l. 19, for *Aodh Caomh*), even when they are not typically marked as long during the Early Modern period in which the text was likely composed. Capitalisation, punctuation, and word division are also supplied. The expansion of suspension strokes is denoted by italics, as is the expansion of abbreviations that cannot be expanded with certainty; other expansions have been made silently. Words or letters supplied for clarity have been placed in square brackets, while text that is hard to read in the manuscript is in curly brackets. Conjectural readings are discussed in the notes. Paragraphing is based on the visual presentation in **L**; that is, a new paragraph begins where **L** uses an illuminated initial.

Text

[fol. 176vb] Goll m*ac* Corm*ai*c m*ei*c Nēmaind m*ei*c Morna Mōir m*ei*c Garaid Glūnduib m*ei*c Āeda D{h}ūanaich m*ei*c Āeda Chind Clāiri m*ei*c Conaill m*ei*c Sainb m*ei*c Ceit m*ei*c Māgach M*uir*isce.

Is ī 'n Māgach sin do ruc trī h-ingena do Chathbaid draī[d] de Ultaib .i. Deithtir, m*āthai*r Con Culaind; ocus Indlen*n*, m*āthai*r cloindi Uisleann[105] .i. Naīsi ocus Āindli[106] ocus Ardāin; ocus Findchāem, māthair Conaill Cearnaid.

In Māgach īsin, *ūa*[107] Degad a senathair, ocus cland dā derbrāthar Cū Raī ocus senathair Māgaich.[108]

As ī in Māg*ach* sin m*āthai*r Cheit m*ei*c Cairp*ri* Ceinddeirg m*ei*c Fhir Dā Loch do Domnandchaib ocus .u. blī*adna* dēg ocus cēithri fich*it* blī*adna* saegal Ceit cor marb Conall. Ceitri fich*it* blī*adna* acht āenmī namā fot saegail Guill in tan ro marb Cumall fēnnid, ocus āenblī*adain* dēc dā ēisi sin co cath Cind Cluid[109] ocus cor bean Find brāigdi dā aindeōin do Goll ocus .x. mblī*adna* ocus dā fich*it* ōn chath sin co brised na sīthchāna ocus cor marbad Cnū Deireōil in t-airfideach a tig Temra Lūachra cētaidchi na fogla ocus isan aidchi sin do thoit Art Ōc m*ac* Morna do lāim Find bodēin ocus f*or*ba Cl*oind*i Morna and. Deich mblī*adna* ocus cāecaīs fod na fogla cor thoit Goll 'sin [fol. 176vc] carraic do lāim Moga Smōile m*ei*c Smōil.

Rīg dēigenach cūicid Condacht ō Cloind Morna .i. Āed Cāem m*ac* Garaid Glūnduib m*ei*c Nēmaind. Ocus is ē in t-Āed Cāem sa rī Condacht ro marb Fear

[105] Uisleann] L: uilsleann
[106] Āindli] L: aidli
[107] *ūa*] L: .h.; N: im*morro*
[108] Māgaich] L: Magaich īsin; N: Māgaidi.
[109] co cath Cind Cluid] L: cacad chatha Chind Cluid; N: cogad chatha Cind Cluidh

Corp, rī Muman. Ocus is īad sin trī meic Morna Mōir .i. Morna m*a*c Nēmaind, athair Guill; ocus Garad Glūndub m*a*c Nēmaind, athair Āeda, airdrīg Condacht uili esen; ocus Doigfher m*a*c Nēmaind, senathair Senaig m*ei*c Daigri. Bind ocus Sūanān, dā m*a*c Senaich m*ei*c Morna m*ei*c Nēmaind.

Dond m*a*c Āeda m*ei*c Garaid Glū*nduib* m*ei*c Nēmaind, is ē sin rīgfhēndig dēiginach do gab ind Fhīan fa deōig.

Fīal, ingen Garaid Glū*nduib*, m*āthai*r Forco m*ei*c Feradaich. Is ē in Forco sin fa rīg Condacht ō cath Muigi Lēna co cath Muigi Mucraimi ocus i n-āenlō ro marbad Art m*a*c Cuind, rīg Ē*rend*, ocus Forco m*a*c Ferad*aich*, rīg Condacht. Fa trēn cland Morna fri sin ac m*a*c i*ngine* Gar*aid*.

Saimēr i*ngen* Fhind m*ei*c Cumaill, b*en* Cormaic Chais m*ei*c Aile*lla* Ūl*uim*, ocus is ī sin ruc Tindi ocus Conla ocus Mog Corp, rī dā *cūic*ed Muman. Ocus is trīt sin, do beith 'na ngāel, do chongaim Modh Corp dearbrāthair a m*āthar* .i. Oisīn m*a*c Find ocus Cland Baīsc*ni* tar sārug*ud* Chairpri Lif*echair*, rīg h-Ērend,[110] ocus Āeda Cāeim m*ei*c Gar*aid* Glū*nduib*, airdrīg Condacht uili, ūair is ac Clandaib Mor*na* do bī rīgi Condacht in tan sin. [fol. 177ra] Ocus ba h-īad sin easbada Guill ocus a brāithreach ar Find ocus ar clandaib Baīsc*ni* re rē chāecaīsi ar mīs ocus .uii. mblia*dna* na fodla .i. āenfhear dēc ocus sē fich*it* c*ēt*, conad airi sin do-chūadur Cl*and* Garaid Glū*nduib* ocus Cairp*ri* Lif*echair* ocus *cūic*edaich Ē*rend* arāen ris d'aithrīgad Moga Cuirb[111] ocus d'indarba Cloindi Baīsc*ni*, conad airi sin thucad cath Gabra. Ocus is ē in t-Āed Ālaind sin m*a*c Ech*ach* Baiceda rīg dēidenach na Gamanraidi for *cūic*ed Condacht. Ocus is ē ruc Sechra, i*ngen* Chor*maic*, for ēlōd. Ocus is airi sin ro imir Cor*mac* in ainfhīr flatha .i. rīgi *cūic*id Condacht do būain dē ocus don Gamanraid ocus do Chlandaib Ūmōir ocus do Chloind Cheit m*ei*c Māgach, ūair ro baī cēt bl*īadna* ar fichit i comflaith*es* Cor*maic*. Ocus tuc Cor*mac* rīgi Condacht do Nīa Mōr m*a*c Fhir Trī, in nāemad[112] m*a*c m*āthar* do Chor*mac* eisiden, ocus Lugaid m*a*c Laigdeach ocus Āengus m*a*c Luigdech m*ei*c Duib m*ei*c Fothaid m*ei*c Fiachach Suidi, conad airi sin ro marb Āed Ālaind Nīa Mōr um chend rīgi Condacht, ocus ro h-indarbad īar sin Āed co brāch la Cor*mac* i ndīgailt meic a m*āthar*. Ocus nīr gabsad in Gam*anrad* rīgi īar sin rīam.

Āed Ālaind m*a*c Ech*ach* Baiceda m*ei*c Conaill Crūach*an* m*ei*c Āengusa Feirt[113] m*ei*c Āengusa Find m*ei*c Domnaill m*ei*c Fhidaig.

Is īad clanna Fidaich ō fuilet rīgda Rātha Crūachan.

Frāech m*a*c Fidaid ocus Eō Inaga m*a*c Figaich ocus Fland Fada m*a*c Fidaich.

Ocus Caī Caīnbrethach m*a*c Fēic m*ei*c Āeda Find m*ei*c Dāiri Domnand*aich* .i. senathair Fhir Dīad m*ei*c Damāin. Gūas ocus Gusa ocus Fear De Ceird,[114] trī meic Fhir Dīad m*ei*c Damāin m*ei*c Delbraid m*ei*c Dāiri Domnandaich m*ei*c Ilair m*ei*c Figda, .i. senathair M*ei*c Cēcht[115] .i. Monod*ur* Mōr, ocus Tindi, dā m*a*c

[110]h-Ērend] L: hērind; N: ēr*end*
[111]Cuirb] L: corb; N: cuirb
[112]in nāemad] L: in aemad; N: in naemad
[113]Feirt] L: fert ; N: feirt
[114]Fear De Ceird] L: fear deichead; N: fer de cerd
[115]Cecht] L: echt; N: cecht

Conrach Cais m*ei*c Dāiri m*ei*c Fidaig m*ei*c Rain Rogloin m*ei*c Tūama Tened m*ei*c Fir Dā Beand *et reliqua*.

Translation

Goll, son of Cormac, son of Néamhann, son of Morna Mór, son of Garadh Glúndubh, son of Aodh Duanach, son of Aodh Cinn Chláire, son of Conall, son of Sanbh, son of Ceat, son of Mághach Mhuirisce.

This Mághach bore three daughters by the druid Cathbhadh, of the Ulaidh: Deithtir, mother of Cú Chulainn; Innleann, mother of the sons of Uisneach, Naoise, Áinnle, and Ardán; and Fionnchaomh, mother of Conall Cearnach.

This Mághach, Deadhadh's grandson was her grandfather and Mághach's grandfather and Cú Raoi were children of two brothers.

This Mághach, indeed, is the mother of Ceat, son of Cairbre Ceinndearg, son of Fear Dá Loch of the Domhnannaigh. 95 years was Ceat's lifespan until Conall slew him. Only one month shy of 80 was Goll's lifespan when he killed Cumhall the *féinnidh*. 11 years after that until the battle of Ceann Cluidh and until Fionn took hostages by force from Goll. 50 years from that battle until the breaking of the peace and until Cnú Dearóil the musician was killed in the house of Teamhair Luachra on the first night of the conflict. And on that night fell Art Óg mac Morna, by Fionn's own hand, along with most of Clann Mhorna. The conflict lasted 10 years and a fortnight, until Goll fell on the rock by the hand of Mogh Smóile mac Smóil.

Connacht's last king from Clann Mhorna: Aodh Caomh, son of Garadh Glúndubh, son of Néamhann. And this Aodh Caomh is the king of Connacht who killed Fear Corb, king of Munster. These are the three sons of Morna Mór: Morna, son of Néamhann, Goll's father; Garadh Glúndubh, son of Néamhann, father of Aodh [Caomh], high-king of all Connacht; and Daighre, son of Néamhann, ancestor of Seanach mac Daighre. Binn and Suanán, two sons of Seanach, son of Morna, son of Néamhann.

Donn, son of Aodh [Caomh], son of Garadh Glúndubh, son of Néamhann, he is the last warband leader who led the Fian in the end.

Fial, daughter of Garadh Glúndubh, mother of Forgha mac Fearadhaigh. That Forgha was king of Connacht from the battle of Magh Léana until the battle of Magh Mucramha, and on the same day were killed Art mac Cuinn, king of Ireland, and Forgha mac Fearadhaigh, king of Connacht. Clann Mhorna were strong at that time on account of the son of Garadh's daughter [i.e. Forgha].

Saimhéar, daughter of Fionn mac Cumhaill, was wife to Cormac Cas, son of Oilill Ólom, and it is she that bore Tinne, Connla, and Mogh Corb, king of the two provinces of Munster. And it is because they were related that Mogh Corb supported his mother's brother, Oisín mac Finn, and Clann Bhaoiscne against Cairbre Lifeachair, king of Ireland, and against Aodh Caomh mac Garaidh Ghlúnduibh, king of all the Connachta, for Clann Mhorna held the kingship of Connacht at that time. These were Goll's losses and those of his brothers at the hands of Fionn and Clann Bhaoiscne during the seven years, one month and a fortnight of the conflict: 231 men. Therefore, Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, Cairbre Lifeachair, and the kings of the provinces of Ireland went together to

overthrow Mogh Corb and expel Clann Bhaoiscne, so that on account of that arose the battle of Gabhar. And that Aodh Álainn mac Eachach Baiceadha is the last king of the Gamhanradh over the province of Connacht. He took Seachra, Cormac's daughter, by elopement. And it is on account of that that Cormac inflicted the injustice of lordship: he took the kingship of Connacht from him, and from the Gamhanradh, and from Clanna Úmhóir, and from Clann Cheit mhic Mhághach, for he had been 120 years in contemporaneous rule with Cormac. And Cormac gave the kingship of Connacht to Niadh Mór mac Fir Thrí, who was the ninth son of Cormac's own mother, and to Lughaidh mac Luighdeach, and to Aonghas, son of Lughaidh, son of Dubh, son of Fothadh, son of Fiacha Suidhe. So, for that reason, Aodh Álainn killed Niadh Mór, on account of the kingship of Connacht, and Aodh was exiled forever by Cormac after that, to avenge his mother's son. The Gamhanradh never took the kingship again thereafter.

Aodh Álainn, son of Eochaidh Baicidh, son of Conall Crúachna, son of Aonghas Feart, son of Aonghas Fionn, son of Domhnall, son of Fiodhach.

These are the offspring of Fiodhach, from whom are [descended] the kings of Ráth Cruachna.

Fraoch mac Fiodhaigh, and Éo Ionaga mac Fiodhaigh, and Flann Fada mac Fiodhaigh.

And Caoi Caoinbhreathach, son of Fiac, son of Aodh Fionn, son of Dáire Domhnannach, that is, the grandfather of Fear Diadh, son of Damhán. Guas, Gusa, and Fear De Cheird: these are the three sons of Fear Diadh, son of Damhán, son of Dealbhradh, son of Dáire Domhnannach, son of Iolar, son of Fiodhach, i.e., ancestor of Mac Céacht (i.e. Monodur Mór) and Tinne, the two sons of Conri Cas, son of Dáire, son of Fiodhach, son of Raon Roglan, son of Tuaim Teineadh, son of Fear Dá Beann *et reliqua*.

Notes

Line references in these notes refer to the edition from **L**, above.

1–3 *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar* provides a pedigree for Goll that exactly matches that with which our text opens, the only substantial differences being that Sanbh is given the epithet *Sithcheann* and that Goll is stated explicity to be of the Gamhanradh of Iorras Domhnann.[116] Other pedigrees for him are less similar, although he still tends to be traced back to Mághach. Two pedigrees in *LMG* also trace Goll back to Mághach while differing in terms of the intervening generations.[117] *Bruighion Chéisi Coruinn* includes a pedigree back to Mághach for Goll (also known in this text as Iollan).[118] It comprises names that are all the same as or similar to names in Goll's pedigree in the present text, while also omitting several and depicting Mághach as male. Goll's pedigree in *Acallam na Senórach* is radically different to all the above, although it does also ascribe him royal ancestry.[119]

[116] Ní Mhuirgheasa (ed.), *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar*, ll. 6236–42; Hoyne, 'Imtheacht', 42.
[117] *LMG*, §§64.5–6.
[118] Ní Shéaghdha (ed.), 'Bruighion Chéisi Coruin(n)', 7.
[119] Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 208–11 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 9).

As discussed in the introduction, **N** possibly provides a better reading than **L** for the fifth name in this pedigree, with **N**'s Garadh Glúinfhionn (**N** ll. 1–2) being arguably more plausible as Aodh Duanach's son than **L**'s Garadh Glúndubh, on account of a character also called Garadh Glúndubh appearing later in the text (**L** l. 22) as a son of Néamhann. However, **L**'s reading has been chosen in the edition because *LMG* has Garadh Glúndubh, not **N**'s Garadh Glúinfhionn, as a son of 'Aodh Duan' in the corresponding position in one of its pedigrees for Goll.[120]

When the text refers to Clann Mhorna and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, it is not clear whether these kin-groups' eponyms are conceived as being the characters from this pedigree in **L** and *LMG* (i.e. Morna Mór and Garadh Glúndubh) or Morna and Garadh Glúndubh, the sons of Néamhann (**L** ll. 21–2; **N** ll. 17–18). The text treats Aodh Caomh, son of Garadh Glúndubh, son of Néamhann as a member of Clann Mhorna (**L** ll. 19–20, 35–6), perhaps suggesting that Clann Mhorna's eponym is Morna Mór, as this is Aodh Caomh's only ancestor called Morna in our text (**L** l. 1).

Sanbh mac Ceit appears quite frequently in texts relating to Connacht. His relationship with Meadhbh and her offspring is either understood differently in different texts or was understood to have deteriorated over time. *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* and *Lec*'s text of the originally Middle Irish prose *Bansheanchas* note that Sanbh was Meadhbh's final lover.[121] In *Bruiden Da Choca*, he is among the band of Connachta that slays Cormac Conn Loingeas.[122] He then appears among the 'airigh chatha' ('warlords') of the Connachta in *Cath Airtig*,[123] which follows on from the events of *Bruiden Da Choca*. In both texts, he fights alongside Maine Aithreamhail, son of Meadhbh, who would subsequently become his rival for the kingship according to *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*. He is also presented as something of an insurgent in a passage elsewhere in *LMG*,[124] where he is one of the provincial kings that join the *aitheachthuatha* ('rent-paying tribes') in their attempt to overthrow the Síol nÉireamhóin kings of Ireland.[125] The placename, Magh Sainbh, relating to an area south-east of Rathcroghan (Co. Roscommon), might commemorate him as a character.[126]

Mághach's epithet ('Muirisce'), referring to Muraisc (Co. Sligo),[127] might suggest that she is being identified with Máda Muirisc, mother of Meadhbh's

[120] *LMG*, §64.5.

[121] *Lec*, fol. 176rb6–7; Margaret E. Dobbs (ed. and trans.), 'The Ban-shenchus [part 2]', *RC* 48 (1931), 163–234, at 174.

[122] Gregory Toner (ed. and trans.), *Bruiden Da Choca*, ITS Main Series 61 (London, 2007), §§23, 28.

[123] R. I. Best (ed. and trans.), 'The Battle of Airtech', *Ériu* 8 (1916), 170–90, at 176, 182, 178, 184.

[124] *LMG*, §§47.7–48.1; see also *CGH*, 190.

[125] On the concept of *aitheachthuatha*, see Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship*, 205–8.

[126] Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin, 1910), s.n. mag sainb; no. 21073 in the revised version by Donnchadh Ó Corráin (https://www.dias.ie/celt/celt-publications-2/onomasticon-goedelicum (accessed 25 October 2021)).

[127] Hogan, *Onomasticon*, s.n. muiresc (Ó Corráin, no. 22064); Byrne, *Irish Kings*, 238–9.

spouse, Oilill. However, as Bart Jaski has examined in detail,[128] medieval sources evidence a sustained difference in learned opinion as to whether these two characters can be identified with each other.

4–6 Mághach seems to have originally been the genitive form of the earlier name, Mágu.[129] Here and elsewhere in our text, however, it is used a nominative (e.g. **L** ll. 4, 7, 9).[130] 'Māgach' is used as a genitive at **L** l. 3, but 'Māgaich' is the genitive form at **L** l. 8.[131] Mághach's three daughters by Cathbhadh and their offspring are set out in the poem 'Cathbaidh mac Maoilchróich na ccath', embedded in *LMG*,[132] except that, in the poem, Innleann is replaced by Ailbhe. Conall Cearnach's descent from Mághach via Cathbhadh is attested in earlier genealogical tradition.[133] The prose *Bansheanchas* also mentions all three daughters and generally agrees with our text.[134]

7–8 Here, **L** has a significantly better reading than **N**, in that it recognises that three, not two, generations lie between Deadhadh and Mághach. In genealogical tradition, Cú Raoi is Deadhadh's grandson,[135] so the statement that Cú Raoi and Mághach's grandfather were sons of two brothers, while present in both **L** and **N**, only makes sense in **L**, as **N** also says that Deadhadh is himself Mághach's grandfather. The confusion could have been caused by the abbreviation '.h.'. This can stand for *úa* ('grandchild'), which is apparently the correct reading, or for *immorro* ('however', 'moreover'), which is what we find in **N**. Given that **L** has '.h.' at this point, **N**'s reading could have resulted from a misunderstanding of **L**. On the other hand, the corresponding passage in *LMG* presents both Cú Raoi and Mághach as grandchildren of Deadhadh via different fathers,[136] which is closer to what is implied in **N**. This could be an attempt to resolve the kind of textual confusion we encounter in **L** and **N** or it could suggest that the confusion is not merely textual and that substantively different doctrines about these characters were in circulation. *LMG* also adds that Mághach's father was called Aonghas.[137]

9 Cairbre Ceinndearg, who, in our text, is Ceat's father and Mághach's spouse, is also noted in both roles in *LMG*, in the *Lec* text of the prose *Bansheanchas*, and in the sixteenth-century genealogies physically appended

[128] Bart Jaski, 'The strange case of Ailill mac Mágach and Cét mac Mátach', in Emer Purcell, Paul MacCotter, Julianne Nyhan, and John Sheehan (eds), *Clerics, Kings, and Vikings: Essays on Medieval Ireland in Honour of Donnchadh Ó Corráin* (Dublin, 2015), 440–51.

[129] Jaski, 'Strange case'.

[130] *Mághach* is also used as a nominative in the prose *Bansheanchas* (Dobbs (ed. and trans.), 'Ban-shenchus [part 2]', 173).

[131] At **L** l. 3 (*Lec*, fol. 176vb11), there are some ink markings above 'Māgach' that may be inserting 'i' into the second syllable to give 'Māgaich', as at **L** l. 8. This is uncertain, however.

[132] *LMG*, §§64.8–65.7.

[133] Jaski, 'Strange case', 444–7.

[134] Dobbs (ed. and trans.), 'Ban-shenchus [part 2]', 173, 209.

[135] Jaski, 'Strange case', 450.

[136] *LMG*, §64.7; cf. §65.6.

[137] *LMG*, §64.5. This is perhaps Óengus mac Duibsinna, from *Aided Meidbe* (Jaski, 'Strange case', 447).

to *LL*.[138] In the prose *Bansheanchas* in the Book of Uí Mhaine (RIA MS D.ii.1 (1225)),[139] which distinguishes between Mághach, mother of Ceat, and Máta Muirisce, Cairbre Ceinndearg is still spouse to Mághach and father of Ceat.[140] Finally, *Bruighion Chéisi Coruinn* offers a complete outlier, depicting Cairbre Ceinndearg as Mághach's father.[141]

10–11 Conall's slaying of Ceat mac Mághach is narrated in detail in *Aided Ceit maic Mágaich*.[142]

11–12 Goll's slaying of Cumhall is narrated in *Fotha Catha Cnucha* and the *dinnsheanchas* of Almha and is alluded to frequently elsewhere in the Fionn Cycle.[143]

12–13 The construction, *cocad catha Cind Chluid* ('the conflict of the battle of Ceann Cluidh'), which is present in **L** and **N**, reads quite oddly. It is perhaps a corruption of *co cath Átha Cind Chluid* ('to the battle of Áth Cinn Chluidh'), which makes more sense, fits better in terms of meaning, and relates to a known place.[144] If this is taken as textual corruption, then its appearance in both **L** and **N** corroborates the argument made in the introduction for **N** being derived from **L** and at least implies that it is a close relative. On the other hand, Poems XVI and XLII in *Duanaire Finn* both mention a battle taking place at Ceann Cluidh, not Áth Cinn Chluidh.[145] I have therefore amended the text to 'co cath Cind Cluid', which fixes the syntax while locating the battle in terms attested elsewhere in Fionn Cycle tradition.

Neither our text nor either of the *Duanaire Finn* poems provides enough information for us to be sure that these references all relate to the same battle, although Poem XVI implies that it was Fionn's first battle after assuming leadership of the Fian, which fits in with our text's insinuation that this was when Fionn gained supremacy over Goll. The only other detail about the battle given in *Duanaire Finn* is that someone called Dubhthach mac Duibh was killed there. The nature of Fionn's confrontation with Goll at, or in relation to, this battle thus remains unclear.

13–16 Cnú Dearóil was a close companion of Fionn mac Cumhaill, while Art Óg mac Morna, was one of Cumhall's killers. The resumption of hostilities between Clann Bhaoiscne and Clann Mhorna does not appear to be narrated in this

[138] *LMG*, §64.5; Dobbs (ed. and trans.), 'Ban-shenchus [part 2]', 174; Robert Atkinson (ed.), *The Book of Leinster sometime called the Book of Glendalough* (Dublin, 1880), fol. 380a6–9.

[139] Dobbs (ed. and trans.), 'Ban-shenchus [part 2]', 210. Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin sees the Book of Uí Mhaine text of the prose *Bansheanchas* (her D) as generally the closest to the archetype: 'The manuscript tradition of the Banshenchas', *Ériu* 33 (1982), 109–35, at 134.

[140] Jaski ('Strange case', 447–8) has explored the implications of this distinction, especially for the identity of Oilill, spouse of Meadhbh.

[141] Ní Shéaghdha (ed.), 'Bruighion Chéisi Coruin(n)', 7.

[142] Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Death-Tales*, 36–41.

[143] For discussion and references, see Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 12–13; Murray, *Early Finn Cycle,* 39–40, 117–18.

[144] Pádraig Ó Riain, Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, and Kevin Murray, *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames / Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge, Fascicle 1 / Fascúl 1 [A-]* (London, 2003), s.n. Áth an Ghnéin.

[145] *DF*, XVI.43, XLII.110.

level of detail elsewhere, so it is not clear how they are each involved. *Duanaire Finn* Poem XLII, however, mentions that Cnú Dearóil and his wife, Bláthnaid, are buried at Teamhair Luachra,[146] which is also alluded to elsewhere as the location where hostilities resumed.[147]

16–18 Goll's last stand on the rock is the subject of several sympathetic poems in *Duanaire Finn*.[148] It is also mentioned in *Acallam na Senórach*.[149]

19–20 Slightly more information on Aodh Caomh is provided in *LMG*.[150] While he is described here and in *LMG* as being from Clann Mhorna, he is not described elsewhere in our text as being a descendant of Morna, son of Néamhann, only of Morna Mór, and the text's account of his descent from Morna Mór (**L** ll. 21–4) is itself problematic (see below). It is also not clear why the text describes him as Clann Mhorna's last king of Connacht, as no other king of Connacht descended from either Morna, son of Néamhann, or Morna Mór is attested.

Yet another question raised in relation to this character is whether he, Aodh Caomh, king of Connacht, and his father, Garadh Glúndubh, son of Néamhann, are meant to be identified with Aodh and his father, Garadh mac Morna, who feature as Clann Mhorna warriors in various Fionn Cycle narratives.[151] Their names and Clann Mhorna affiliation are the same but they otherwise have little specific in common, as discussed further in relation to Donn mac Aodha (see below).

21–4 This passage is problematic. It claims to list 'trī meic Morna Mōir' ('the three sons of Morna Mór') but each of the sons — Morna, Garadh Glúndubh, and Daighre — bears the patronymic 'mac Nēmaind' ('son of Néamhann'). Néamhann appears as a son of Morna Mór at **L** l. 1, so **L** ll. 21–4 may be at fault by skipping over a generation. If so, the error is again shared with **N**, which has essentially the same passage as **L** (**N** ll. 17–19). Other sources suggest that the issue is more complex, however. A passage in the section of *LMG* containing material paralleling our text names the three sons of Néamhann as Morna, Daighre, and Uarán,[152] while *Acallam na Senórach* distinguishes Clann Bhaoiscne, Clann Mhorna, and Clann Néamhainn as different clans within the Fian.[153] As already noted, it is not clear if the ancestor figures of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and Clann Mhorna are the two eponymous sons of Néamhann or the eponymous characters named at **L** l. 1.

Fear Corb and his father, Mogh Corb, both appear in *CGH* as kings of Ireland from Síol nÉibhir.[154]

[146] *DF*, XLII.62.
[147] *LU* ll. 3212–19.
[148] For references, see Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 39.
[149] Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 1959–2022 (Dooley and Roe (trans.), *Tales*, 60–2).
[150] *LMG*, §63.1; see also *Lec*, fol. 176va7–12.
[151] For example: E. J. Gwynn and J. H. Lloyd (eds and trans.), 'The burning of Finn's house', *Ériu* 1 (1904), 13–37; *DF*, LXVIII; Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 1362–448 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 42–5).
[152] *LMG*, §63.2.
[153] Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 6466–68 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 181).
[154] *CGH*, 188.

23–4 In *Acallam na Senórach*, Seanach is a musician within the Fian from Clann Mhorna with a similarly named son, Suanach.[155] However, Seanach in the *Acallam* is Seanach, grandson of Daighre, and, while such a person is mentioned in our text (**L** l. 23), Seanach, father of Suanán and Binn, is a son of Morna, not a descendant of Daighre. As noted already, the genealogies of Clann Mhorna in our text give the impression of being generally in some disarray.

25–6 Donn, son of Aodh, son of Garadh, son of Morna is a prominent character in *Acallam na Senórach*, where he and Caoilte mac Ronáin effect a belated reconciliation between Clann Bhaoiscne and Clann Mhorna.[156] Furthermore, with Caoilte's encouragement, he does indeed end up leading the restored Fian.[157] As has already been noted, his father, Aodh, son of Garadh, son of Morna, is a relatively well-attested Clann Mhorna character from the Fionn Cycle. Yet nowhere in the *Acallam* is he described as a king of Connacht, despite that text's interest in positive relationships between the Fian and kings. Our text appears to be conflating Aodh Caomh, king of Connacht, with Aodh mac Garaidh, the Clann Mhorna character from the Fionn Cycle.

It is also not implied in the *Acallam*, as it is in our text, that Donn will be the Fian's last *ríghfhéinnidh* ('warband leader').[158] Indeed, even **N** (ll. 21–2) arguably does not support this latter notion, stating merely that Donn was the last 'rí' ('king') to lead the Fian. *LMG*, however, agrees with **L**.[159] Also worth noting is a poem within *Acallam na Senórach* that lists 'Donn mac Morna' as the last ('in deidinach') leader of the Fian from among the kinsmen of one, Morna, son of Cairbre, several generations before the time of Goll and Fionn.[160] This Donn's kinsmen bear names like Daighre and Garadh, like the better-known Clann Mhorna. It is possible that the notion that Donn, son of Aodh Caomh, was the last leader of the Fian arose through conflation with this tradition.

References to a general association between Clann Mhorna and Connacht can be found in a range of other sources, however. Noelle Ní Uigín has argued that authors and tradition-bearers from Connacht down to the modern era have claimed Clann Mhorna as regional heroes.[161] To add two items to the evidence she discusses: *Bruighion Chéisi Coruinn* alludes to Clann Mhorna providing kings of Connacht,[162] while *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar* alludes to a connection between Goll himself and Connacht several times.[163]

27–30 Both the battle of Magh Léana and the battle of Magh Mucramha receive detailed narrative treatment in saga tradition.[164]

[155] Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 4057–66, 5294–9 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 120, 147).
[156] Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 1952–2013, 2217–36 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 60–2, 68).
[157] Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 2282–2305 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 70–1).
[158] On the position of *ríghfhéinnidh*, see Nagy, *Wisdom*, 42.
[159] *LMG*, §63.3.
[160] Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 2507–12 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 77).
[161] Ní Uigín, 'Goll mac Morna'.
[162] Ní Shéaghdha (ed.), 'Bruighion Chéisi Coruin(n)', 7.
[163] Hoyne, 'Imtheacht', 42.
[164] Wiley, 'Introduction', 58.

31–6 Fionn's daughter, Saimhéar, appears in the Book of Uí Mhaine text of the prose *Bansheanchas* as the mother of Tinne, Connla, and Mogh Corb,[165] although her spouse is not mentioned. Cormac Cas, son of Oilill Ólom and spouse to Saimhéar, according to the present text, came, in genealogical tradition, to be regarded as the eponymous ancestor of Dál gCais, via Mogh Corb.[166] As noted in the introduction, as well as appearing in *LMG*,[167] versions of this passage would prove popular with early modern historians seeking to contextualise the battle of Gabhar.[168]

36–41 We would expect *Érend* or suchlike as the genitive singular of *Éire*. However, Giolla Íosa here writes 'rīg h-Ērind' (**L** ll. 34–5; 'king of Ireland') plene, while all other instances in this text consist of "er" with a suspension stroke. The form at **L** ll. 34–5 seems to be more than a one-off slip, as he also uses *Érind* as well as *Érend* as the genitive singular elsewhere in *Lec*.[169] Nonetheless, *Érend* has been chosen as the standard form in this edition, as it is more standard generally for the period and Giolla Íosa was evidently aware of it.

The battle of Gabhar is alluded to in various prose genres but it is narrated mainly in the ballad tradition;[170] in the latter, the focus tends to be on the tragi-heroic events of the battle itself rather than on its causes. The *Annals of Ulster* note the importance of the alliance between the line of Cormac Cas and the *Fianna Éireann* while denying the involvement of named Fenian characters like Osgar mac Oisín.[171]

Our text does not make it clear if the king of Connacht was still meant to be Aodh Caomh at the time of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh's participation alongside Clann Mhorna and Cairbre Lifeachair in the battle of Gabhar. The ballads narrating the battle that I have been able to consult do not mention him.[172]

41–51 At this point, confusingly, the text jumps back in time from the reign of Cairbre Lifeachair to that of Cairbre's father, Cormac mac Airt, when Aodh Álainn mac Eachach Baiceadha, of the Gamhanradh, is king of Connacht.

Our text lists three individuals who received the kingship of Connacht from Cormac: 'Nia Mōr m*a*c [Lugna] Fhir Trī … ocus Lugaid m*a*c Laigdeach ocus Āengus m*a*c Luigdech …' (**L** ll. 46–8). This could mean that they ruled together, but, in *LMG*,[173] Niadh Mór is king initially. He is then killed by Aodh Álainn (as in our text: **L** l. 49) and Cormac then imposes his brother, Lughaidh, son of Lughna Fear Trí. A similar sequence of events, although with different characters, might be being described in our text in shorthand.

[165] Dobbs, (ed. and trans.), 'Ban-shenchus [part 2]', 210.
[166] *CGH*, 192–4.
[167] *LMG*, §63.4.
[168] Gunderloch, '*Cath Gabhra*', i, 161–2, 165–6.
[169] For *Érind*, see: *Lec*, fols 176rb50, 186vb47, 194ra2. For *Érend* and similar, see: *Lec*, fols 32va1, 239vb13.
[170] Gunderloch, '*Cath Gabhra*', i, 160–90.
[171] *AU* s.a. 4264; Gunderloch, '*Cath Gabhra*', i, 163–4.
[172] For example: Nicholas O'Kearney, *The Battle of Gabhra*, Transactions of the Ossianic Society 1 (Dublin, 1854); *DF*, Poem XXXIX; Gunderloch, '*Cath Gabhra*', ii.
[173] *LMG*, §62.2 (cf. *LMG*, §§61.9–62.1); see also Ó hUiginn, 'The Gamhanradh', 80.

As noted in our main discussion, Lughna Fear Trí has been taken as standing for the Luighne and the Corca Fhir Thrí, two important military vassal peoples for historical Uí Néill kings.[174] As for Aonghas, his ancestor, Fiacha Suidhe is elsewhere said to descend from the Déisi.[175] I have been unable to identify Lughaidh mac Luighdeach.

The intervention by Cormac mac Airt described here, including the serious charge of 'ainfhīr flatha' ('injustice of lordship'; **L** ll. 43–4), is not mentioned in the earlier literary and pseudo-historical traditions concerning Cormac.[176] Cormac's mother is named in the prose *Bansheanchas* as Éadaoin, daughter of Olc Ocha, a blacksmith.[177] There, she is the wife, not the mother (as per our text), of Lughna Fear Trí. Seachra, Cormac's daughter, is not mentioned in Dobbs' edition of the *Bansheanchas*.

52–3 Aodh Álainn's pedigree conforms to the doctrine set out in *LMG*.[178]

54–62 The genealogical materials on Clann Fhiodhaigh presented here do not conform textually to anything that appears in either *CGH* or *LMG*, although several of the individuals mentioned appear in the pedigree of Conall Crúachna in *LMG* and elsewhere therein.[179] His ancestry is traced back to Deala mac Lóich, of the Fir Bholg,[180] via Dáire Domhnannach and the Fir Dhomhnann.[181] Among those named here, Fraoch mac Fiodhaigh, Fear Diadh mac Damháin, and Mac Céacht mac Conrach Cas, all play prominent roles in earlier saga literature.[182] In *Cath Boinde*, Tinne is king of Connacht; he and Mac Céacht (as Monodur) begin a feud by killing the eponymous Fiodhach after he attempts to claim the kingship.[183]

Appendix 1: The N Text

Editorial Method

The **N** text has been edited according to the same principles as the **L** text, with a couple of differences. No corrections have been made from any other manuscript. Accents are used to mark length in a small minority of instances in **N**. These are indicated here by accents; where omitted, macrons have been supplied editorially to mark length. As with **L**, due to **N**'s early orthography,

[174] See also *LMG*, §367.2.

[175] *LMG*, §§106.5; 367.1–4; 718.9; 719.1–6; 720.1.

[176] For example, Ó Cathasaigh, *Heroic Biography*.

[177] Dobbs (ed. and trans.), 'Ban-shenchus [part 2]', 177, 213. Both names are rendered in a variety of ways across texts of the *Banshenchas*.

[178] *LMG*, §§61.9, 65.7.

[179] *LMG*, §§65.7, 482.4.

[180] Macalister (ed. and trans.), *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, §§278–9.

[181] Margaret E. Dobbs, 'The Domnaind', *JRSAI* 6:2 (Dec. 1916), 168–74, at 70–2.

[182] Fraoch: Donald Meek, '*Táin Bó Fraích* and other 'Fráech' texts: a study in thematic relationships. Part I', *CMCS* 7 (Summer, 1984), 1–37; '*Táin Bó Fraích* and other 'Fráech' texts: a study in thematic relationships. Part II', *CMCS* 8 (Winter, 1984), 65–85. Fear Diadh: Dooley, *Playing*, 166–9. Mac Céacht: Ralph O'Connor, *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel: Kingship and Narrative Artistry in a Mediaeval Irish Saga* (Oxford, 2013), 211–23.

[183] O'Neill (ed. and trans.), 'Cath Boinde', 176–9.

it has been decided to mark vowel length as is conventional for Old and Middle Irish (e.g. 'ind Fīan', **N** l. 22, for *an Fhian*; "Āed Cāem", **N** l. 14, for *Aodh Caomh*). **N** is in somewhat worse physical condition than **L** and, in one instance (**N** l. 37), the text is completely illegible.

Text

[fol. 14vb1] Goll m*a*c Corm*ai*c *mh*ic Nēmaind m*i*c Morna Mōir m*i*c Garaig Glūnfhind m*i*c Āeda Dūanaig m*i*c Āeda Chind Clāiri m*i*c Conaill m*i*c Sthainb m*i*c Ceit m*i*c Māgach.

Et is ī in Mag[ach] sin ruc trī hi*ngena* do Catb*ad* draī[d].

In Māg*ach* sin im*morro*, Degad a senath*air* acus clan*n* dā derbrāth*ar* Cū Raī acus senath*air* Māgaidi.

As ī in Māgach sin m*āthai*r Ceit m*i*c Cairpri Cennd*ei*rg acus .u. blī*adna* dēg acus ceithri fichit Ceit g*or* marb Conall. Cēitri fichit acht mad āenmī do tesbāil dib robo slān do Goll ag marbad Cumhaill acus ēnblī*adain* dēg dā ēisi si*n* cogad chatha Cind Cluidh acus gor bean Find brāigdi dā aindeōin do Goll acus .x. mblī*adna* acus dā fichet ōn cath si*n* co br*i*sid na sīdc*h*āna acus gor marbad Cnū Deireōil a tig Temra Lūacra cētaidche na fogla gor toit Goll Cloindi Morna; caicīs acus secht mblī*adna* [fot] na fogla gor toit Goll isin caraig.

Rīg dēiginach *cūig*id Connacht o Cl*and* Morna: Āed Cāem m*a*c Garaig Glūnduibh m*i*c Nēmnaind. Acus is é in t-Āed Cāem sa rī Connacht ro marb Fer Corb m*a*c M*og*a Cuirb, rī *cūig*id Muman.

Et is īat sin trī m*i*c Morna Mōir acus Morna m*a*c N*ēm*aind, ath*air* Guill, acus Garaidh Glūnduibh m*a*c N*ēm*aind, ath*air* Āeda, airdrīg Connacht uili esen, acu*s* Doigfer m*a*c N*ēm*aind, senath*air* Senaidh *mh*ic Doigri.

Bind acus Sūanān, dā m*a*c Senaig m*i*c Morna m*i*c N*ēm*aind.

Donn m*a*c Āeda m*i*c Garaig Gl*ūnduib mh*ic N*ēm*aind, is é sin rí dēiginach ro g*ab* ind Fīan fa deōig.

Fīal i*ngen* Garaig Gl*ūnduib*, m*āthai*r Fhorgo m*i*c Feradaig, acus is é in Forgo sin fa rī Connacht {a Ca}th Muigi Léna co Cath Muigi Mucruma acus a nāenlō {do} marb*ad* Art m*a*c Cuind, rī Ēr*end*, acus Forgo mac Feradaigh, rī Connacht.

Ba trēn Cl*and* Morna fri sin ac *m*ic ingine Garaid.

Saimēr ingen Fhind *mh*ic Cumaill, b*en* Corm*ai*c Cais *mh*ic O*ile*ll*a* Ōl*uim*, acus is ī sin ruc Tindle acus Connla acus M*og* Corb, rī dā cōigid Muman, acus is trīt sin do beith na nāengcāel do cundaimh M*og* Corb derbrātair a m*āthar* .i. Oissīn mac Find acus Cl*and* Baīscni tar sārachadh Cairbri Lif*echair*, rīg Ēr*end*, acus Āeda Cāeimh m*i*c Garaig Gl*ūinduib*, rī Connacht uili esen, ūair is a Cl*and*aib Morna do bī rīgi Condacht in tan sin.

Et ba h-īat si*n* esbhada Guill acus a brāit*re*ch ar Find acus ar Cl*and*aib Baisc*ni* re ré cāicīsi ar mís acus .uii. mblī*adna* na fogla .i. āenser [*leg.* āenfer] dh*ēg* acus {.ui. fichit c*ēt*} conad aire sin do-cūatar Cl*and* Garaig Glūinduib {…} Ēr*end* arāen ris d'aitrīgad*h* M*og*a Cuirb acus d'indarba Cl*oind*i Baīsc*ni* conad airi sin tucad cath Gabra.

Et is ē in t-Āed Āl*aind* sin m*a*c Ech*ach* Baicida rī dēiginach na Gamannraigi for cūigid Condacht acus is ē ruc Secra i*ngen* Cormaic for ēlōdh. Et is airi sin

ro imir Corm*ac* in anfīr flatha .i. rīgi cūigid Connacht do būain de acus don Gamannraidh acus do Cl*and*aib Umoir acus do Cl*and* Ceit m*ic* Māgach, ūair do bī cēt blīadna ar fichit a comfl*aithe*s Cormaic acus tuc Cormac rīgi Connacht do Nia Mōr m*ac* Fir Trī, in nāemad m*ac* m*āthar* do Corm*ac* eiside, acus Lug*aid* m*ac* Laigeach acus Ōengus m*ac* Luig*each* m*ic* Duib m*ic* Fothaig m*ic* Fiach*ach* Suigi, conad airi ro marb Āed Āl*aind* Nia Mōr um ceann rīgi Connacht, conad airi ro tinōil Cormac cūigedaig Ēr*end* do dīgail m*ic* a m*āthar* ar Āed. Acus ro h-indarbad Āed co brāth acus nīr gabsat in Gam*anrad* rīgi co brāth da ēisi sin.

Āed Āl*aind* m*ac* Ech*ach* Baicida m*ic* Conaill Crūachna m*ic* Ōengusa Feirt m*ic* Domnaill m*ic* Fidaig. Acus is īat cl*and*a Fidaig ō fuilet rīgraig Rātha Crūacan .i. Frāech mac Fid*aig* acus Eó Inaga m*ac* Fid*aig* acus Flan*n* Fada m*ac* Fid*aig* acus Caī Caīnbreatach m*ac* Fid*aig* [*leg*. Fēic] m*ic* Āeda Find *mic* Dāire Domnandaigh .i. senatair Fir Diadh m*ic* Damān. Gūas acus Gusa acus Fer De Cerd, trī m*ic* Fir Diadh m*ic* Damāin m*ic* Delbraid m*ic* Dāire Domnan*aigh* m*ic* Ilair m*ic* Figda .i. senath*air* M*ic* Cēcht.

Dā m*ac* Conrach Cais m*ic* Dāiri m*ic* Fidaig m*ic* Rain Roglain m*ic* Tūama Tened m*ic* Fir Dā Beand .i. Benn Cnuicc Oigli acus Benn Boirnni, ōr ba rīg sen etorro sin. Finit.

Appendix 2: Fionn's pedigree in N

Introduction

This pedigree of Fionn mac Cumhaill is appended to the **N** version of our text (NLS Adv. MS 72.1.1, fol. 14vb16–18), although slightly set off from it visually. A wide variety of pedigrees for Finn are attested elsewhere;[184] the present item adds to the variety. Few of the individuals named higher up the pedigree can be identified with characters in other sources but they tend to echo the names of legendary Leinster dynasts.[185]

Text

Find m*ac* Cumaill m*ic* Trēnmōir m*ic* Treduirn m*icc* Būain m*ic* Boga m*ic* Baīscni, o fuilet Cland Baīscni, m*ic* Shēdna Sithbaic m*ic* i*n* Filedh Ab*ra*trūaid, ut putant alii.

Translation

Fionn, son of Cumhall, son of Tréanmhór, son of Treadharn, son of Buan, son of Bug, son of Baoiscne, whence Clann Bhaoiscne, son of Séadna Siothbhac, son of An File Abhradhruadh ['the poet of the ginger eyelashes'], as others maintain.

[184]For example, *CGH*, 22, 99; Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 6550–4 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 184); *LMG*, §§435.2, 435.4. For further references, see Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 17.

[185]For example, *LL* ll. 46544–60.

APPENDIX 3: INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

Characters in the index are identified where possible by how they are identified in the text. Where it has been necessary to use identifying information (e.g. a patronymic) from other sources, this has been placed in square brackets. Differences in identification between **L** and **N** are also set out in square brackets.

An File Abhradhruadh. **N** Appendix 2
Aodh Álainn, son of Eochaidh Baicidh. **L** ll. 41, 49, 50, 52; **N** ll. 39, 46, 48, 49
Aodh Caomh, son of Garadh Glúndubh. **L** ll. 19, 20, 22, 25, 35; **N** ll. 14, 15, 18, 21, 32
Aodh Cinn Chláire, son of Conall, son of Sanbh. **L** l. 2; **N** l. 2
Aodh Duanach, son of Aodh Cinn Chláire. **L** l. 2; **N** l. 2
Aodh Fionn, son of Dáire Domhnannach. **L** l. 57; **N** l. 52
Aonghas, son of Lugaid, son of Dub. **L** l. 48; **N** l. 45
Aonghas Feart, son of Aonghas Fionn (**L**); son of Domhnall (**N**). **L** ll. 52–3; **N** l. 49
Aonghas Fionn, son of Domhnall. **L** l. 53
Áinnle, son of Uisneach. **L** l. 6
Ardán, son of Uisneach. **L** l. 6
Art, son of Conn [Céadchathach]. **L** l. 29; **N** l. 25
Art Óg, son of Morna. **L** l. 16
Baoiscne, son of Séadna Siothbhac. **N** Appendix 2
Binn, son of Seanach, son of Morna, son of Néamhann. **L** l. 23; **N** l. 20
Buan. **N** Appendix 2
Bug. **N** Appendix 2
Caoi Caoinbhreathach, son of Fíac. **L** l. 57; **N** l. 52
Cairbre Ceinndearg, son of Fear Dá Loch. **L** l. 9; **N** l. 7
Cairbre Lifeachair. **L** ll. 34, 49; **N** l. 31
Cathbhadh. **L** l. 4; **N** l. 4
Ceat, son of Mághach. **L** ll. 3, 9, 11, 45; **N** ll. 3, 7, 8, 42
Cnú Dearóil. **L** l. 14; **N** ll. 11–12
Conall, son of Sanbh. **L** l. 2; **N** l. 2
Conall Cearnach. **L** ll. 6, 11; **N** l. 8
Conall Crúachna, son of Aonghas Feart. **L** l. 52; **N** l. 49
Conn [Céadchathach]. **L** l. 29; **N** l. 25
Connla, son of Cormac Cas. **L** l. 32; **N** l. 29
Conri Cas, son of Dáire Domhnannach. **L** l. 61; **N** l. 56
Cormac [son of Art, son of Conn Céadchathach]. **L** ll. 43, 46, 47, 50; **N** ll. 40, 41, 43, 44
Cormac, son of Néamhann. **L** l. 1; **N** l. 1
Cormac Cas, son of Oilill Ólomm. **L** l. 31; **N** l. 28
Cú Chulainn, son of Deithtir. **L** l. 5
Cú Raoi. **L** l. 7; **N** ll. 5–6
Cumhall, father of Fionn. **L** ll. 12, 31; **N** ll. 9, 28; **N** Appendix 2

Daighre, son of Néamhann. **L** l. 23; **N** l. 19
Dáire Domhnannach, son of Fiodhach. **L** ll. 57, 59, 61; **N** ll. 52–3, 54, 56
Damhán, son of Dealbhradh. **L** l. 59; **N** ll. 53, 54
Dealbhradh, son of Dáire Domhnannach. **L** l. 59; **N** ll. 54
Deadhadh [son of Sin]. **L** l. 7; **N** l. 5
Deithtir, daughter of Cathbhadh. **L** l. 5
Domhnall, son of Fiodhach. **L** l. 53; **N** l. 50
Donn, son of Aodh Caomh. **L** l. 25; **N** l. 21
Dubh, son of Fothadh. **L** l. 48; **N** l. 45
Éo Ionaga, son of Fiodhach. **L** l. 55; **N** l. 51
Eochaidh Baicidh, son of Conall Crúachna. **L** ll. 42, 52; **N** ll. 39, 49
Fear Corb [**N**: son of Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas]. **L** ll. 20–1; **N** ll. 15–16
Fear Dá Beann. **L** l. 62; **N** l. 57
Fear De Cheird, son of Fear Diadh. **L** l. 58; **N** l. 53
Fear Diadh, son of Damhán. **L** ll. 58, 59; **N** ll. 53, 54
Fear Trí, son of the mother of Cormac mac Airt [also known as Lughna Fear Trí]. **L** l. 47; **N** l. 44
Fearadhach, father of Forgha. **L** ll. 27, 29; **N** ll. 23, 25
Fiac, son of Aodh Fionn. **L** l. 57
Fiacha Suidhe. **L** ll. 48–9; **N** ll. 45–6
Fiodhach, son of Raon Roglan. **L** ll. 54, 55, 56, 60, 61; **N** ll. 50, 51, 52, 55
Fial, daughter of Garadh Glúndubh. **L** ll. 27, 30; **N** ll. 23, 27
Fionn, son of Cumhall. **L** ll. 13, 16, 31, 34, 37; **N** ll. 10, 28, 31; **N** Appendix 2
Fionnchaomh, daughter of Cathbhadh. **L** l. 6
Flann Fada, son of Fiodhach. **L** l. 55; **N** l. 51
Forgha, son of Fearadhach. **L** l. 27; **N** ll. 23, 25
Fothadh, son of Fiacha Suidhe. **L** l. 58; **N** l. 45
Fraoch, son of Fiodhach. **L** l. 55; **N** l. 51
Garadh Glúndubh, son of Aodh Duanach. **L** ll. 1–2
Garadh Glúndubh, son of Néamhann. **L** ll. 19–20, 22, 25, 27, 35, 39; **N** ll. 14–15, 18, 21, 23, 32, 36
Garadh Glúinfhionn, son of Aodh Dúanach. **N** ll. 1–2
Goll, son of Cormac, son of Néamhann [= Goll, son of Morna, son of Néamhann]. **L** ll. 1, 11, 13, 17, 22, 37; **N** ll. 1, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 34
Guas, son of Fear Diad. **L** l. 58; **N** l. 53
Gusa, son of Fear Diad. **L** l. 58; **N** l. 53
Iolar, son of Fiodhach. **L** l. 59; **N** l. 54
Innleann, daughter of Cathbhadh. **L** l. 5
Lughaidh, son of Dubh. **L** l. 48; **N** l. 45
Lughaidh, son of Lughaidh, son of Dubh. **L** l. 47; **N** l. 44
Mac Céacht [= Monodur Mór], son of Conri Cas. **L** l. 60; **N** l. 55
Mághach (**L**: Mághach Mhuirisce). **L** ll. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9; **N** ll. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas. **L** ll. 32, 33, 40; **N** ll. 16, 29, 30
Mogh Smóile, son of Smól. **L** l. 18
Monodur Mór [= Mac Céacht], son of Conri Cas. **L** l. 60
Morna, son of Néamhann. **L** ll. 21, 24; **N** ll. 17, 20

Morna Mór [**L**: son of Garadh Glúndubh, son of Aodh Duanach; **N**: son of Garadh Glúinfhionn, son of Aodh Duanach]. **L** ll. 1, 21; **N** ll. 1, 17
Naoise, son of Uisneach. **L** l. 6
Néamhann, son of Morna Mór. **L** ll. 1, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24; **N** ll. 1, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20
Niadh Mór, son of Fear Trí. **L** ll. 46, 49; **N** ll. 44, 46
Oilill Ólomm. **L** l. 31; **N** l. 25
Oisín, son of Fionn. **L** l. 34; **N** l. 28
Raon Roglan, son of Tuaim Teineadh. **L** l. 61; **N** l. 56
Saimhéar, daughter of Finn. **L** l. 31; **N** l. 28
Sanbh, son of Ceat. **L** l. 3; **N** l. 2
Seachra, daughter of Cormac, son of Art. **L** l. 43; **N** l. 40
Seanach, son of Daighre. **L** l. 23; **N** l. 19
Seanach, son of Morna. **L** l. 24; **N** l. 20
Séadna Siothbhac. **N** Appendix 2
Smól, father of Mogh Smóile. **L** l. 18
Suanán, son of Seanach, son of Morna. **L** l. 24; **N** l. 20
Tinne, son of Conri Cas. **L** l. 60
Tinne (**N**: Tindle), son of Cormac Cas. **L** l. 32; **N** l. 29
Treadharn. **N** Appendix 2
Tréanmhór. **N** Appendix 2
Tuaim Teineadh, son of Fear Dá Beann. **L** l. 61; **N** ll. 56–7
Uisneach. **L** l. 5

Abbreviations

CGH	M. A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1962).
DF	Eoin MacNeill and Gerard Murphy (eds and trans.), *Duanaire Finn*, 3 vols, ITS Main Series 7, 28, and 43 (London, 1908–53)
Lec	RIA MS 23.P.2 (535), The Book of Lecan.
LMG	Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies*, 5 vols (Blackrock, 2004).

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TADHG ÚA RÍGHBHARDÁIN: SCRIBE AND ILLUMINATOR (*fl.* 1475)

Abstract

This article discusses all known manuscripts written by Tadhg Úa Ríghbhardáin, a prolific scribe and illuminator from the North-East Munster and Leinster border area who flourished during the mid-1470s. The history of these manuscripts is updated from the library catalogues where possible, and a new manuscript is added to those we can now list as being in the hand of this scribe — Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole MS 598. A list of all the texts copied by this scribe is provided and various sections of a number of them are reproduced in a discussion of his copying practices. This is followed by an analysis of the scribal and orthographical features typical of this scribe and the article concludes with a discussion of a number of spellings that may reveal aspects of the regional variety of Early Modern Irish that he spoke.

Introduction

Tadhg Úa Ríghbhardáin is the name of a scribe and illuminator who worked on and signed a number of Irish manuscripts during the late fifteenth century, three of which contain colophons written directly by him and two of which are dated to the first half of the 1470s. In this article I will show that a fourth manuscript, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole MS 598, was also written by Úa Ríghbhardáin in or after 1476, though his signature does not survive in it. In addition to sharing a great deal of scribal and illumination features, these four manuscripts also contain many of the same texts and literary themes, as well as sharing some linguistic and orthographic consistencies which set Úa Ríghbhardáin's work apart from that of other contemporary scribes who copied the same texts in other manuscripts during the late fifteenth century. In this article I will present this evidence and conclude with what can be surmised of Úa Ríghbhardáin's life and work. I will begin with an overview of the four manuscripts, adding, where possible, to the information in the various library catalogues about them.

Several transcriptions from manuscript colophons and portions from previously unedited texts are reproduced in this article, for which I have adopted a number of editorial conventions: 1) suspension strokes have been expanded in italics; 2) standard abbreviation conventions have been expanded silently where the spelling is unambiguous; 3) capitalisation and punctuation have been inserted in keeping with modern practice; 4) macrons are inserted where length marks are not found in the manuscript.

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Manuscripts

1) RIA MS 3 B 22 (1226) and RIA MS 3 B 23 (1227) (= TC)

These two manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy were once bound together and formed part of the same manuscript, which has been called the Tallaght Codex (TC) by some and for convenience of reference will also be referred to as such in this article.[1] A detailed palaeographical and codicological analysis of TC along with a discussion on the origins of the shapes of the letters found in Úa Ríghbhardáin's copy of *Aibbgitir Crábaid* is being prepared by Dr Chantal Kobel. I have written the following brief description of TC after consulting her forthcoming research.[2]

Ua Ríghbhardáin was probably the sole scribe and illuminator of TC. In fact, it is argued in this article that the changes in style of script[3] in Úa Ríghbhardáin's manuscripts are not due to a change in scribe but rather show the same scribe's dexterity in altering calligraphic style. This is common in all of Úa Righbhardáin's works and similar variations in style of script recur throughout his manuscripts. TC contains no internal date and its contents are all, broadly speaking, devotional prose works. The manuscript strikes one as being somewhat less ornate than Úa Ríghbhardáin's other surviving works. A crude measurement of this may be represented by the ratio of illuminated initials that measure five or more lines in height per page of manuscript, which is 0.1, indicating that on average one in every ten pages contains an illumination of this kind.[4] The fact that, when compared with Úa Ríghbhardáin's other works, this manuscript does not show a great deal of decoration may indicate that the scribe was either conforming to the preferences of a particular patron or perhaps that TC is one of the scribe's earlier works, written before he fully developed the artistry and skill in illumination found in his other, possibly later, works. For example, the absence in TC of zoomorphic initials, which occur in all the scribe's other works, may further support this second hypothesis. I am not aware of any other way to relate TC chronologically to the rest of Úa Ríghbhardáin's surviving manuscripts other than by making this tentative suggestion.

[1] *RIACat* 3357–60 and 3360–4 (nos 1226 and 1227). See also W. Follett, 'Religious texts in the Mac Aodhagáin Library of Lower Ormond', *Peritia* 24/25 (2013–14), 213–29, at 221–2; R. McLaughlin, 'A text on almsgiving in RIA MS B 23 and the *Leabhar Breac*', *Ériu* 62 (2012), 113–83, at 114; R. McLaughlin, 'A Latin-Irish commentary on Psalm 68.10', in Caoimhín Breatnach, Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail and Gordon Ó Riain (eds), *Lorg na Leabhar: A Festschrift for Pádraig A. Breatnach* (Dublin, 2019), 175–96, at 175; C. Ó Maonaigh (ed.), *Smaointe Beatha Chríost* (Dublin, 1944), xxxi.

[2] While preparing this article I was fortunate enough to discover that my colleague Dr Kobel had also been researching the work of Úa Ríghbhardáin. This article has been greatly improved by Dr Kobel's suggestions and her understanding of the topic. I hope that my research will also prove of help to her and I draw the reader's attention to her forthcoming article on TC. I also would like to thank Dr Kobel, as well as the anonymous peer reviewer, for their useful suggestions which greatly improved this article.

[3] For example, on pp. 33–8 of RIA MS 3 B 22.

[4] I count 22 illuminated initials measuring five or more lines over 195 pages in B.

Ua Ríghbhardáin's colophon is found at the end of his copy of *Aibbgitir Crábaid*, a text which interrupts the sequence of the Monastery of Tallaght in the manuscript:[5]

> Is fó cech ní sluindess ind lebar-sa día tuicmis hé, ⁊ a comald*adh*, Tadcc Ua Rigbard*án* qui scribsit ⁊ ni hanmfis tuc ind a. b. c. d. eidir na riaglaib acht d'ecla a faccbalae.
>
> 'Good is everything that this book relates, if we understood it, and good it is to fulfil it. Tadcc Úa Rígbardán is the one who wrote, and it is not lack of learning that placed the *Aibbgitir Crábaid* between the Rules (of Tallaght), but for fear of leaving it out.'[6]

A number of later non-scribal signatures in the margins of RIA MS 3 B 22 (1226) indicate that at least this part of TC was in the possession of the descendants of the Mac Aodhagáin and Ó Ceinnéidigh families of Lower Ormond during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[7] The pagination in pencil which runs across the two manuscripts is clearly non-scribal and may have been inserted when previously loose quires of TC were brought together in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. On the other hand, two facts support the theory that the two manuscripts were conceived as a single work, namely: 1) there is no overlap in content between the two manuscripts of TC; and 2) all the texts in them are more or less thematically homogeneous.

2) RIA MS 24 P 1 (1228) (= P)

This manuscript (henceforth P) is one of the most ornate and illuminated of Úa Ríghbhardáin's surviving works with an average of 1.2 illuminated initials measuring five lines or more on every page, more than one per page.[8] Tadhg Úa Ríghbhardáin is the sole scribe of this manuscript. Like TC, all the texts that survive in the manuscript are works of devotional prose. Two colophons survive in P, one giving the date 1473 and the second giving the name of the scribe. This is therefore Úa Ríghbhardáin's earliest datable manuscript:

> Mili bliadhan ⁊ cethri cét ⁊ trī bliadhna déc ⁊ tri fichit in t-annāl*adh* an tan-so.
>
> 'One thousand and four hundred and seventy three (1473) is the year at this time.'[9]
>
> Tadg Ūa Rīgbardān qui scribsit ⁊ cach aen léighfius tabr*adh* b*ean*dacht ar a anmain ⁊ ar anam an tí ō fúair.
>
> 'Tadhg Úa Ríghbhardáin is the one who wrote this and may everyone who reads this give a blessing on his soul and on the soul of the person from whom he got it.'[10]

[5] *RIACat* 3363 (no. 1227).
[6] RIA MS 3 B 23, p. 51a16–20. Translation is my own.
[7] *RIACat* 3357–8; Follett, 'Religious texts', 222.
[8] I count 85 illuminated initials measuring five or more lines over 72 pages.
[9] P, p. 14bz. Translation is my own.
[10] P, p. 52by–z. Translation is my own.

This manuscript appears in Muiris Ó Gormáin's 1772 catalogue of his personal collection,[11] much of which was inherited by Henry Wright after Ó Gormáin's death in 1794, who in turn sold it to Edward O'Reilly. After O'Reilly's death the manuscript was bought at auction by Robert MacAdam in 1830.[12] Little is known of how Ó Gormáin came into possession of P, or of the history of this manuscript between 1473 and 1772. The age of the manuscript was correctly calculated from Úa Ríghbhardáin's first colophon by anonymous readers in 1698 (p. 15) and 1732 (p. 14).

3) TCD MS 1303 (= Trinity)

The manuscript now known as TCD MS 1303 was rebound to its current state in 1982.[13]

It was formally divided into four manuscripts, which I list here in the order in which they have been reassembled: 1303 (H. 2. 12, no. 2); 1309 (H. 2. 12, no. 9); 1304 (H. 2. 12, no. 3); 1307 (H. 2. 12, no. 6).[14] The last of these, 1307, contains two folios that were most likely used as wrappers and which do not concern us here.[15] The first three however, 1303–1309–1304, i.e. up to fol. 34v of the new manuscript,[16] are all in the hand of Tadhg Úa Ríghbhardáin and appear to come from the same, once much larger, manuscript. For ease of reference I will refer to this as the Trinity manuscript.

The Trinity manuscript was once part of the collection of the Welsh antiquarian Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709) who collected 'about 20–30 Irish manuscripts on parchment'[17] during his travels through Ireland between 1699 and 1700.[18] An Irish ownership mark by a certain *Ruoighdhridh Ui Guidh[i]r* is found in the lower margin of fol. 18r, and another very faded signature in English, *Lauren[t] Haghy*, is found in the lower margin of fol. 11r. The northern association of these names (probably Mág Uidhir and Ó hEochaidh) may suggest that the manuscript was among those acquired by Lhuyd during

[11]Lesa Ní Mhunghaile, 'An eighteenth-century Gaelic scribe's private library: Muiris Ó Gormáin's books', *PRIA* 110C (2010), 239–76, at 269 n. 6. This catalogue is in RIA MS 23 H 23.

[12]Ní Mhunghaile, 'Muiris Ó Gormáin's books', 267. *RIACat* 3365.

[13]Trinity College Library M&ARL Online Catalogue, ref. no. IE TCD MS 1303. See https://manuscripts.catalogue.tcd.ie/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=IE+TCD+MS+1303&pos=1 (accessed 13 January 2021).

[14]T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1921), 84–6.

[15]I take this information from the conservationist's note which is attached to the inside of the back cover.

[16]Fol. 34 has been mutilated and only a slither of about a centimetre in width and a third of a folio in length survives. It is nonetheless possible to make out, I believe, that the hand is the same as that of the previous folia, i.e. that of Tadhg Úa Ríghbhardáin.

[17]From a letter dated 25 August 1700, in R. T. Gunther, *Life and Letters of Edward Lhwyd, Second Keeper of the Musaeum Ashmoleanum*, Early Science at Oxford 14 (Oxford, 1945).

[18]For a description of Lhuyd's tour see J. L. Campbell, 'The tour of Edward Lhuyd in Ireland in 1699 and 1700', *Celtica* 5 (1983), 218–28.

his journey through Ulster in the summer of 1699,[19] possibly from Eoin Ó Gnímh from whom he bought about a dozen manuscripts in Larne.[20]

That the Trinity manuscript is a collection of fragments from a larger manuscript is suggested by a number of quire markers in Úa Ríghbhardáin's hand. Marking the beginning of a new quire we find 'R' in the lower margin of fol. 1r; anticipating the following, now lost, quire after 'R' we find the catchletter 'S' in the lower margin of fol. 10v; next we find 'T' in the lower margin of 11r and finally 'X' on 29r.[21] There is an average of 0.5 illuminated initials measuring five lines or more per page, i.e. one every five pages.[22]

Two dated colophons by the scribe survive in the Trinity manuscript, indicating that the quires 'T' through to 'X' were written before and after the Annunciation of 1475, i.e. the 25th of March, the feast-day that marked the beginning of the new year at the time:

> Tadg Ua Rīgbardāin qui scribsit ⁊ cach oen léghfas tabr*adh* bennacht co paidir for a anamain ⁊ is *eadh* do bo sl*án* don tigearna an tan-so míle bliadhan ⁊ cethri cét ⁊ cethri blliadhna déc ⁊ tri fichit gusa Sanais so cugaind ⁊ an Sanais ⁊ ind eisēirghi ar óenlíth i*n* bliadhain-sin.
>
> 'Tadhg Úa Ríghbhardáin is the one who wrote and may everyone who reads (it) give a blessing and a prayer for his soul. The age of the Lord at this time is one thousand four hundred and seventy four (1474) up until the next Annunciation. The Annunciation and the Resurrection will be on the same feast in that year.'[23]
>
> Iss *eadh* do ba slán do Ísa ac scrib*adh* na sdaire so .i. mīle bliad*han* ⁊ cethri cét ⁊ cóic bliadhna décc ⁊ tri fichit cosa sanais so do cúaid tort ⁊ día na Sanaisi ⁊ aidhq*u*i na heisērgi a*r* aenlíth. Tadg Úa Rīgbardāin qui scribsit.[24]
>
> 'The age of Jesus at the time of the writing of this history was one thousand four hundred and seventy five (1475) up until the last Annunciation, and the day of Annunciation and the night of the Resurrection fall on the same feast day. Tadhg Úa Ríghbhardáin is the one who wrote.'

Easter Sunday fell on the 26th of March in 1475, the day after the Feast of the Annunciation and therefore the second day of the new year by medieval

[19]Trinity College Library M&ARL Online Catalogue, IE TCD MS 1303: https://manuscripts.catalogue.tcd.ie/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=IE+TCD+MS+1303&pos=1 (accessed 13 January 21). No manuscript with a description that clearly matches the contents of the Trinity manuscript is described by Lhuyd in his brief catalogue of Irish manuscripts, which included his personal collection, published in 1707 in his *Archaeologia Britannica*, 435–6. Campbell, 'Tour', 220–1.

[20]Campbell, 'Tour', 221.

[21]I am indebted to Dr Chantal Kobel for sharing this observation with me.

[22]I count 15 illuminated initials measuring five or more lines over 70 pages.

[23]Trinity, fol. 18va10–14. Translation is my own.

[24]Trinity, fol. 29vb24–7. Translation is my own.

Irish reckoning. This is significant because the year 1475 (beginning 25 March 1475 and ending 24 March 1476 by our reckoning today) would have had no Holy Week, since Easter fell on 14 April in 1476. This important detail, besides giving context to our scribe's two notes on this calendrical phenomenon, helps us provide a *terminus post quem* for another colophon found in what I take to be the fourth of Tadhg Úa Ríghbhardáin's manuscripts.

4) Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole MS 598 (= R)

This manuscript (henceforth R) contains no scribal signatures or dates by Úa Ríghbhardáin and the scribe has so far not been identified. The images reproduced from all aforementioned manuscripts in the next section demonstrate, I believe, that Tadhg Úa Ríghbhardáin was both the scribe and illuminator of the entire manuscript. The manuscript is divided into three sections.[25] In the first section, i.e. fols 1–74, an average of 0.5 illuminated initials measuring five lines or more occur per page. In the second section, fols 75–89, there are no illuminations of this type and many spaces for illuminated initials are left blank, especially after fol. 80r. The final section, fols 90–125, appears initially to be the most illuminated section of all of Úa Ríghbhardáin's manuscripts, since we find an average of 1.5 illuminations of five lines or more per page up until fol. 107, but after this point all the initials are incomplete. The unfinished state of the illumination in large parts of R, especially when compared to the completeness of the artistry in other manuscripts by the same scribe, may suggest that Úa Ríghbhardáin was unable to finish the manuscript.

R contains a copy of Fínghean Ó Mathghamhna's translation of the Book of John Mandeville, which was completed in 1475 in Ros Broin, West Cork, indicating that the manuscript must have been written after that. A scribal note, written in the same ink and script as the Mandeville text under which it is placed, indicates that the scribe copied that text in Cill Chréidhe, in the lands of Mac Carthaigh Múscraighe in Cork. The scribe's comment on the people with whom he was staying implies that he was not at home in this community, and that he may have travelled there for the specific purpose of copying a text from a library in Cill Chréidhe.

> Dardaeín Manndála indiú ⁊ ar comarci an fir do caithes indiú damh ⁊ a Cill Crēidhi damh ⁊ dom aithni ní gúi-trēang*ach* an muindtir gá tú.
>
> 'Today is Holy Thursday and I am under the protection of the man of whom I partook today. I am in Cill Chréidhe, and I recognize that the people with whom I am are not ones to feign the fast.'[26]

[25]Dottin also noticed this division. See G. Dottin, 'Notice du manuscrit irlandais de la Bibliothèque de Rennes', *RC* 15 (1894), 79–91, at 79.

[26]R, fol. 69r lower margin. Translation is my own.

The final part of this note has long been left untranslated[27] and it is acknowledged that the interpretation proposed here is not entirely satisfactory since it relies on *trēangach* being a spelling for *tredhnach* 'fasting, abstinent' (< Lat. *triduana*) and the first syllable to be *gú-/gó-* 'false'. The word *gúitreangach*, as it appears in the manuscript, is otherwise unattested. Nevertheless, if the interpretation is correct the scribe appears to have been commenting on the fact that he was unable to get any meal other than the Eucharist on that particular day, Holy Thursday, due to the strict observance of the Triduum fast (from Holy Thursday to Holy Saturday) among the people with whom he was staying to copy Fínghean Ó Mathghamhna's Mandeville, perhaps the Franciscans in Cill Chréidhe or the nearby residence of Cormac Láidir Mac Carthaigh Múscraighe. As discussed above, the year 1475 (beginning 25 March 1475 and ending 24 March 1476) had no Holy Week since Easter fell on 14 April 1476. Therefore, this note, written on Holy Thursday below a text that was not completed until 1475, illustrates that this part of R must have been written in or after 1476.

Ua Ríghbhardáin's description of the strict rule of the Triduum fast in Cill Chréidhe that, if the interpretation suggested above is correct, caused him to go hungry while he copied the Mandeville there fits well with the account we have of this area at the time. Indeed, Cormac Láidir Mac Carthaigh Múscraighe, who founded the Franciscan friary in Cill Chréidhe in 1465, ordered a strict observance of the Sabbath during his reign and is remembered in the annals as a deeply religious man.[28] He was killed by his brother in 1495.

A very faded note, revealing some of the later context of R, is found on the final folio of the manuscript. While studying the manuscript, Georges Dottin sent a transcription of this note to Douglas Hyde who in turn published it in *Revue Celtique* in 1895 with a translation. I have re-transcribed this note from manuscript images kindly supplied to me by Professor Pádraig Ó Macháin[29] and have, I believe, improved on some of the readings and translations published by Hyde.[30] Words and letters between square brackets indicate that the manuscript is illegible in those points.

> Beannacht Dé agus mo bheannacht-sa ar thshealbhadóiribh an leabhair-si cibé hiad féin agus go soirbhighidh Dia dóibh agus don té agana bhfuil sé ann[ois], Conchubhar Mac Clannchadha

[27] J. Abercromby, 'Two Irish 15th century versions of Sir John Mandeville's travels', *RC* 7 (1886), 66–79, 210–24, 358–68, 451, at 286 n. 22: 'Today is Maunday Thursday, and I am under the safeguard of Him Whom I partook of today, and in Cell Crede am I: and I know that the community with whom I am is not ...?'; Dottin, 'Notice', 87–8: 'C'est aujourd'hui le jeudi saint et je me mets sous la protection de celui que j'ai reçu (littéralement 'mangé') aujourd'hui, et je suis à Kilcrea et la communauté avec la-quelle je demeure... '. The final part of the colophon is not addressed by John Fleming in 'Old Irish and the spoken language', *The Academy* 36 (1889), 170–1, at 171 col. 1.

[28] *AFM* 1495.3.

[29] I am indebted to Professor Ó Macháin for providing me with high definition images of R, which he was able to see in 2019.

[30] See Douglas Hyde, 'Deux notes du manuscrit irlandais de Rennes,' *RC* 16 (1895), 420. In particular, I think Hyde's reading *don chaillín Uileg* can be confidently corrected to *Dún Chaillín mo log*.

> m[...]on*n* m*hei*c Aodha ⁊ Dūn Caillīn [mo] log ⁊ go sdiur*aidh*i Dia Uilleg Búrc agā bfuilimsi 'na loc slán ōn tsibhul-sa síos [...] *mi*llesimo quinquagesimus octagesimo sexto.
>
> 'God's blessing and my own blessing on the possessors of this book, whoever they be, and may God help them and the person who has it now, Conchubhar Mac Fhlannchadha m[...]on*n* mhic Aodha and Dunkellin is my location, and may God guide Ulick Burke, in whose place I am, safely back from this following journey [...] 1586.'

The journey referred to here, though illegible in the manuscript, is probably the return of Uilleag Búrc, third earl of Clanrickard between 1582–1601, from Dublin in 1586 after he was summoned to parliament there in 1585.[31] Conchubhar Mac Fhlannchadha was likely a member of the Síol Fhlannchadha of Tradraighe who may have been staying in Dún Caillín, seat of the Clanrickard Burkes, while he offered legal services to the earl, a common practice among his kinsmen in the sixteenth century.[32] This is the earliest datable ownership note in R and indicates that by the end of the sixteenth century, about a century after the book was written by our scribe, the manuscript was in the possession of a member of Síol Fhlannchadha of Tradraighe. Whether Úa Ríghbhardáin originally wrote R for a member of this family during the fifteenth century or whether Conchubhar Mac Fhlannchadha came by it later is difficult to ascertain.

Another two undated marginal notes in R further suggest that the manuscript was being used by members of Síol Fhlannchadha during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first is a faded note in the lower margin of fol. 52r, a part of which reads: [...] m*ēg* t*h*aid*h*g mēg flanch*adha* [...]; the second is a signature in English on fol. 18r that reads: Hugo McClanagh. Another interesting note was added on fol. 74v by a certain Éamonn Óg Ó Ceallaigh in 1599:

> *Ambitiosus honos luxus turpisque voluptas*
> *haec tria pro trino numine mundus habet*
> Misi Ēmand Óg Ó Cealluigh do scríobh an rand Laidhni-si a baile puirt an Ridiri, .i. ansa Ghleand, an seiseadh lā do mī Auguist 1599 an céad blian do cogadh Muimhneach an aigaidhi Gall ⁊ go ma leo-san ēreōchas sin mā tā toil Dia linn docum na guighi-sin do dhēnamh.
>
> '*Ambitious honour, sumptuousness and indecent pleasure,*
> *The world has these three instead of the Holy Trinity.*
> It is me Eamonn Óg Ó Ceallaigh who wrote this Latin verse, in the port town of the Knight (of Kerry), i.e. in Glin, the sixth day of August 1599, the first year of the war of the Munstermen against

[31] *AFM* 1585.8–14.

[32] Luke McInerney, 'A Mac Fhlannchadha fosterage document, *c*. 1580: notes on the Síol Fhlannchadha of Tradraighe,' *The Irish Genealogist* 13.2 (2011), 93–129, at 100–1.

> the foreigners, and may they be successful if God's help is with us to answer that prayer.'

I am aware of no other information regarding this Éamonn Óg Ó Ceallaigh that might explain how he could have crossed paths with the manuscript in Glin, Co. Limerick, in 1599. The 'war of the Munstermen' probably refers to the Earl of Essex's incursion into the lands of the Geraldines in June of 1599.[33] Interestingly, the same Uilleag Búrc mentioned in the note by Conchubhar Mac Fhlannchadha and written 13 years earlier in the same manuscript, was on the side of the Earl of Essex in this war and met with him in Limerick that year to form a strategy against the Geraldines.[34] Ó Ceallaigh's enthusiasm for the Geraldine victory in 1599 is therefore curious in the context of the manuscript's location in Uilleag Búrc's home in 1586.[35]

The later history of R — its arrival in France and how Christophe-Paule Gantron de Robien, who left the manuscript with the public library of Rennes after his death in 1756,[36] came to own the manuscript — remains to be studied and is beyond the immediate scope of this article. However, Todd's suggestion[37] that the note in the left margin of fol. 37v[38] is in the hand of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare can be easily disproven by comparing it with O'Conor's notes in the margins of the Book of Ballymote.[39]

Script types

Main script type

Close comparison of these four manuscripts shows that Úa Ríghbhardáin was able to write in a variety of scripts and would often change the shape of his letters within the same line, a practice not uncommon among his peers.[40] Nevertheless, in the interest of defining Úa Ríghbhardáin's main calligraphic style throughout his scribal career, four commonly-recurring letter shapes, which are distinctive of his hand and are all taken from a single column of each of the

[33] *AFM* 1599.31.

[34] *AFM* 1599.30.

[35] The name Ó Ceallaigh may indicate that the author of this note was from the Uí Mhaine territory of south-east Connacht and indeed the extra syllable in the spelling *aighaidhi* (OIr *agad* > ModIr *aghaidh*) may suggest that he spoke a late early-modern variety of Connacht Irish. The pronunciation represented by *aighaidhi* is most likely **əiə**, which is described by Ruairí Ó hUiginn in his chapter on 'Gaeilge Chonnacht' in *SnaG*, 555 (VII 2.32) and by Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh, *The Irish of Erris, Co. Mayo* (Dublin, 1968), 142 (§325). It was also commented upon by Ó Máille (T. Ó Máille, *Urlabhraidheacht agus Graiméar na Gaeilge* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1927), 86 (§340)).

[36] A. Vétault (et al.), *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements*, vol. 24 (Paris, 1894), 255–60.

[37] J. H. Todd, 'Some account of the Irish MS. deposited by the President De Robien in the Public Library of Rennes', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Irish MSS series* 1 (1870), 66–81, at 72; Dottin, 'Notice', 79 n. 2.

[38] The note reads: is tearc duine an Ērinn do-nī a faesid*in* mar adeir an leabar-so. 'Few people in Ireland make their confession as this book says.' Transcription and translation are my own.

[39] For an example see RIA MS 23 P 12 (Book of Ballymote), fol. 7vb.

[40] Dr Kobel has a thorough discussion of this practice in late-fifteenth century manuscripts, including TC, in her forthcoming article.

scribe's surviving manuscripts, are described below and reproduced in figure 1 (p. 144).

The combination of the following characteristics distinguishes Úa Ríghbhardáin's main hand: the first is the most-commonly occurring shape of the letter **a**, which has a distinctive rightward point at its top, as well as a small upward stroke at the bottom of the right minim; the second is the design of the letter **d**, which is characterised by a downward curve or flick at the start of the top horizontal stroke; thirdly, the horizontal stroke on top of the letter **g** ends in an upward curve to the right, and the tail of the letter is usually a closed loop; lastly, the **-us** compendium usually reaches round and above the height of the previous minim.

Another typical feature of Úa Ríghbhardáin's general style is to mark the end of the text with a distinctive, often rubricated, *FINIT*, which is sometimes accompanied by or substituted for *AMEN*. While *FINIT*s are common in Early Modern Irish manuscripts, the combination of a smaller ***t*** at the end of the *FINIT*, together with long horizontal strokes in the **F** and **N** which help fill the line, and the occasional diagonal strokes between the letters, is quite distinctive of this scribe. These characteristics are exemplified in figure 2 (p. 145).

Secondary Script Types

At a glance, all of these manuscripts give the impression of being collaborations between multiple scribes, or at least of being the work of a main scribe who was being assisted by relief scribes.[41] But closer examination and cross-comparison of all of Úa Ríghbhardáin's surviving works raise a number of questions regarding these changes in script which are not easily explained by interventions of relief scribes. For example, a change in script occurs in half a column of the copy of Mandeville in R,[42] a text which, as the above discussion of the marginal note on fol. 69r shows, Úa Ríghbhardáin copied in Cill Chréidhe. First-person singular forms are used four times in this note, giving a strong impression that the scribe journeyed and worked alone, *a Cill Crēidhi damh*, and that he alone stayed with the people there, *an muindtir gá tú*. It is difficult to reconcile the context revealed by this comment with that of a scribal school where Úa Ríghbhardáin was supervising the work of a relief or trainee scribe. Instead, explaining this change in script as the scribe's conscious choice to create a visual effect that could enhance the appearance of the page is precisely consistent with the type of scribal and artistic decisions Úa Ríghbhardáin was making when he wrote TC. These decisions are discussed in detail in a forthcoming article by Dr Chantal Kobel, in which she makes a compelling case that variations in script are used by Úa Ríghbhardáin in TC to impart a higher status to certain texts.

The implications of Kobel's observations are that, in Úa Ríghbhardáin's work at least, the visual effect of a change in script was considered to be part of

[41] Todd argued that Rennes was the work of two scribes. Todd, 'Some account', 69–70. This claim was repeated recently in Denise Maher, *Kilcrea Friary: Franciscan Heritage in County Cork* (Ballincollig, 1999), 26.

[42] R, fol. 61va. See R2 in figure 3.

a **TC** (RIA MS 3 B 22, p. 51a)



P (p. 52b)



Trinity (fol. 8va)



R (fol. 69ra)



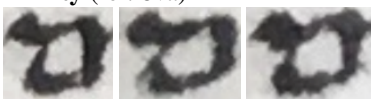
d **TC** (RIA MS 3 B 22, p. 51a)



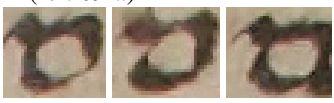
P (p. 52b)



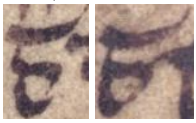
Trinity (fol. 8va)



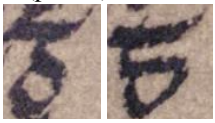
R (fol. 69ra)



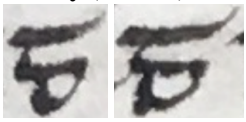
g **TC** (RIA MS 3 B 22, p. 51a)



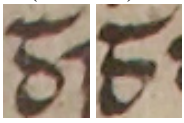
P (p. 52b)



Trinity (fol. 8va)



R (fol. 69ra)



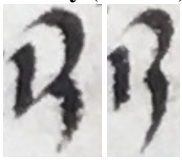
-us **TC** (RIA MS 3 B 22, p. 51a)



P (p. 52b)



Trinity (fol. 8va)



R (fol. 69ra)



Figure 1: letter types

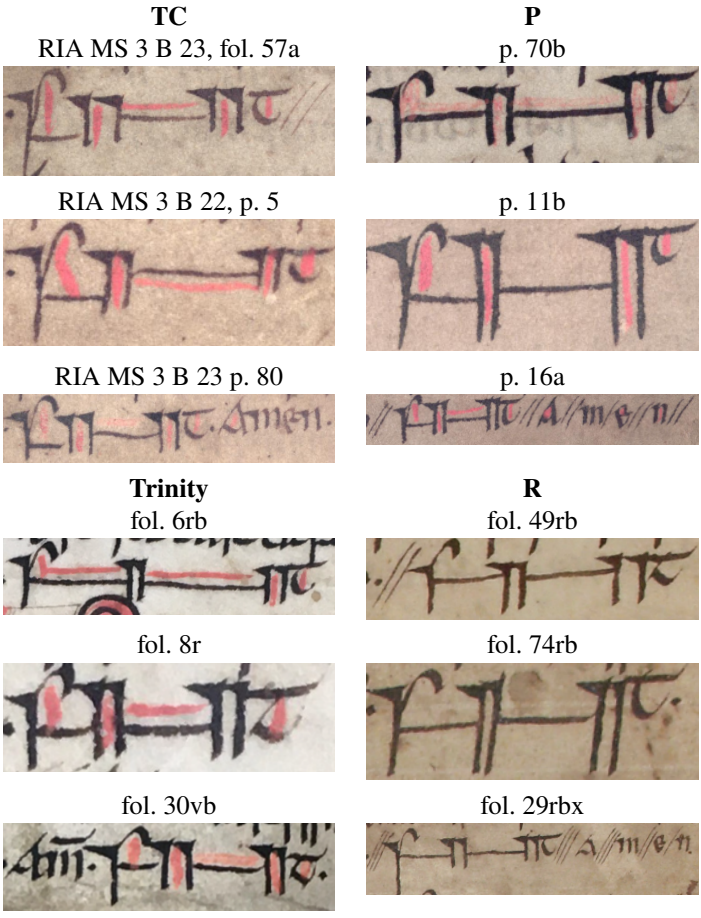


Figure 2: 'Finit' and 'Amen'

the artistry of the manuscript and that the physical aspect of a manuscript page could be enhanced not only by illumination but also by the combination of a variety of calligraphic styles. The appreciation for this style may have developed out of the esteem in which older Irish manuscripts, produced in scholastic settings or commissioned by wealthy patrons from several scribes, were held by the learned classes. Úa Ríghbhardáin's variation in styles of script throughout his work may be explained as an artificial imitation of these high-status books, which often display a panoply of different hands.[43] It is unlikely that there was ever a pretence in Úa Ríghbhardáin's work, however, of trying to

[43] See E. Duncan, 'The palaeography of H in Lebor na hUidre', in R. Ó hUiginn (ed.), *Lebor na hUidre*, Codices Hibernenses Eximii I (Dublin, 2015), 29–52; C. Eska, 'Rethinking the palaeography of H in Lebor na hUidre', *Peritia* 29 (2018), 65–79; E. Duncan, 'The Book of Ballymote: a reappraisal of the hand formerly attributed to Maghnus Ó Duibhgeannáin', in R. Ó hUiginn (ed.), *Book of Ballymote*, Codices Hibernenses Eximii II (Dublin, 2018), 273–300.

pass his manuscripts off as older than they actually were, as his comment under the Mandeville text in R, *a Cill Creidhi damh* and *an muindtir gá tú*, implies that he was the sole scribe of that text, despite the apparent change in hand only a few pages before, on fol. 61v (see figure 3).

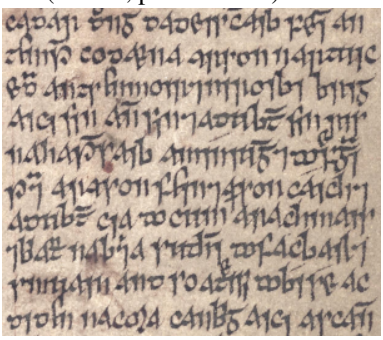
Figure 3 contains examples of Úa Ríghbhardáin's hands in all these manuscripts. The first row contains examples of his main hand; the second contains examples of what I suggest are imitations of relief scribes; the third contains examples of a change in script style that is sustained across numerous folios, which are only found in TC and R. In R, most of the third section of the manuscript is written in this style. The final row contains an example from TC of the kind of 'peculiarities' discussed by Kobel in her forthcoming article, and first considered by the editors of the text in question, *The Monastery of Tallaght*.[44]

Isolating the specific features common to all of Úa Ríghbhardáin's changes in script style and describing the techniques used to achieve the visual effect of a change in hands is a challenging task. Nevertheless, the examples given in the second row show that: a) he consistently reduces the size of the script compared to his main hand; and b) he often slants the descenders of *f*, *p*, *r*, *s* more than he usually does with his main hand. Despite the apparent subtlety of these changes, the effect achieved is visually striking. All of these styles are variations of his main hand, the most distinctive features of which, described above, can still be observed in his alternative script styles. Significantly, the abbreviation conventions remain consistent throughout the variations in script.

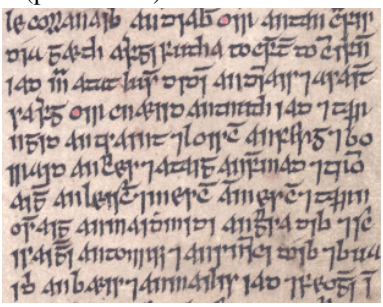
As regards the broader significance of Úa Ríghbhardáin's changes in styles of script, a connection can furthermore be made here between the artificial imitation of secondary scribes, which I have argued is found in the work of this scribe, the standing of archaic orthography in Early Modern Irish manuscripts and the increasing tendency of scribes and authors of the period to display erudition and awareness of Old Irish forms in their texts. If the regard for the Irish manuscript tradition and all that it carried with it — its variation in hands and letter shapes, its archaic orthography and linguistic forms — was such that solitary, and probably professional, scribes in the fifteenth century were fashioning new manuscripts to incorporate as much of that artistry and variation as they could possibly recognise and imitate, it is easy to understand how such a learned culture would have seen little value in the advantages offered by the development of the printing press in fifteenth-century Europe. Indeed, the variations in orthography and the use of archaic linguistic forms are as diametrically opposed to the editorial decisions favourable to the preparation of a text for print as this appreciation for variant script types is to the appeal of a standard printed typeface.

[44]E. J. Gwynn and W. J. Purton (eds and trans.), 'The monastery of Tallaght', *PRIA* 29 C (1911–12), 115–79.

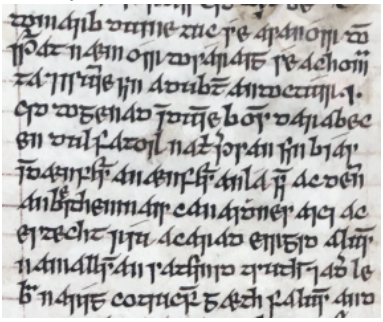
1 **TC** (3 B 22, p. 103b9–19)



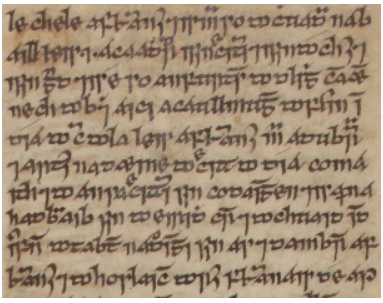
P (p. 23b8–18)



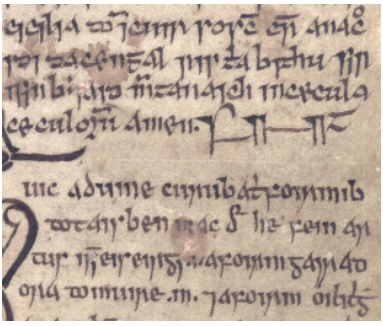
Trinity (fol. 3rb8–18)



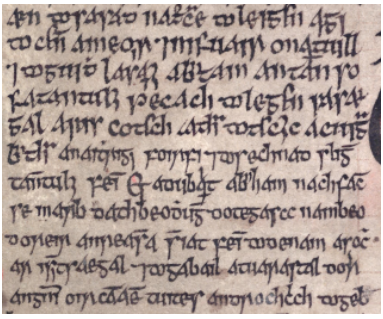
R (fol. 31rb1–10)



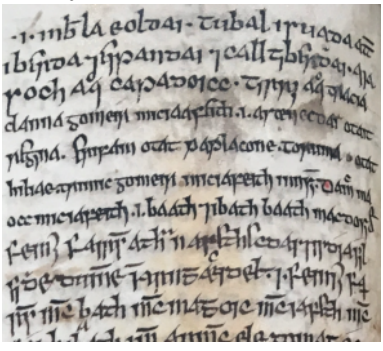
2 **TC** (3 B 22, p. 75b8–16)



P (p. 48a10–20)



Trinity (fol. 7vb1–10)



R (fol. 61va7–17)

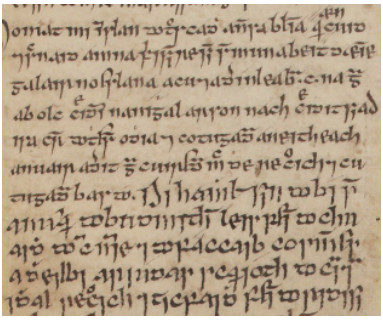
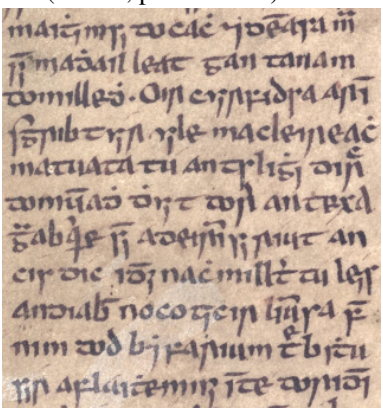
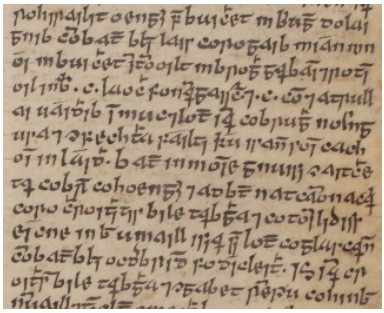


Figure 3: secondary script types

3 TC (3 B 22, p. 33a14–24)



R (fol. 113rb17–28)



4 TC (3 B 23, p. 44a3–14)

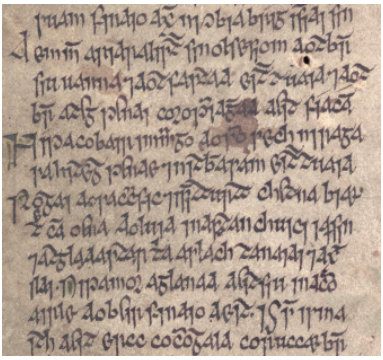


Figure 3 (cont'd): secondary script types

Illumination

The artistry found in Úa Ríghbhardáin's manuscripts is deserving of a study in and of itself, but since the unique opportunity afforded by these manuscripts to study the artwork of four closely related medieval books written by the same person is best left to someone more competent in the field of Irish manuscript illumination than this author, I will limit myself to reproducing a few images.[45] To demonstrate the consistent similarities between the illuminations found in Úa Ríghbhardáin's manuscripts, similarities which suggest, I believe, that he decorated as well as wrote his books, a number of examples are reproduced in figure 4 from all of his surviving manuscripts.

[45]For a discussion on the inspiration for Úa Ríghbhardáin's illuminations the reader is redirected to the forthcoming article by Dr Kobel.

Knotted

TC (p.1a)



P (p. 66b)



Trinity (fol. 1ra)



R (fol. 2ra)



Zoomorphic

P (p.17a)



Trinity (30vb)



R (fol. 4ra)



Figure 4: illumination

TEXTS COPIED

The following section contains a table (figure 5) of all surviving texts copied by Úa Ríghbhardáin. Re-examination of these manuscripts has revealed that several texts in TC, P and the Trinity manuscript had been either miscatalogued or omitted entirely from the library catalogues. In most cases I have been able to identify the text. These newly identified texts are accompanied by an asterisk in the table below. The texts are listed according to the order in which they appear in TC, followed by that of P, followed by that of the Trinity manuscript and finally by that of R. Numbers beside the titles in the columns for P, Trinity and R indicate the order in which the texts follow one another in those manuscripts today. The diverse titles used to label the same texts in the various manuscript catalogues are reproduced here for ease of reference, unless the text has been miscatalogued, in which case a correct title is used and the mistake in the catalogue is discussed in the footnote.

TC RIA MS 3 B 22	**P**	**Trinity**	**R**
Homily on Passion and Death of Christ p. 1a1–5b12			8) Traité de la Passion du Christ fol. 31vb16–33vb28
Homily on the Virgin Mary p. 5b13–6bz (defective)[46]	5) Homily on the Virgin Mary p. 15a1–16bz		3) Homélie sur la sainte Vierge fol. 25ra1–26b5
Homily on Mary*[47] p. 7a1–9b20 (acephalous)			2) Homélie fol. 23vb11–24vbz
Homily on Christian Government p. 9b21–11az			
Homily on the Love of God p. 11b1–12bz (defective)			5) Homélie fol. 28va23–29rb17
Homily on Loving God*[48] p. 13.1–17a25			4) Homélie fol. 26rb11–28va22
Homily on the Punishment due to Sin p. 17a26–25a22			17) Recueil de sentences sur les peines de l'enfer fol. 49rb33–52rb22
Homily on Repentance (a) p. 25a27–30vb22			14) Recueil de sentences sur la patience fol. 45ra1–47rb13
Homily on Peace of Mind p. 30b23–32bz			
Appeal to the sinner made by Our Saviour p. 33a1–38a26 (aceph.)			
Homily on Repentance (b) p. 38a27–bz (defective)	6) Homily on Repentance (b) p. 17a1–35		
Do Geinemain Muiri p. 39a1–52a18			

[46]For convenience, I use x, y, z to refer to the last lines in a column, rather than counting all the way from the top.

[47]This text is omitted in *RIACat* 3358. The chasm between p. 6 and p. 7, which causes the Homily on the Virgin Mary to be defective and the Homily on Mary to be acephalous, is not acknowledged.

[48]This text is omitted in *RIACat* 3358. This title is my own.

TC RIA MS 3 B 22	**P**	**Trinity**	**R**
Litany on Blessed Virgin p. 52a19–bz			
Smaointe Beatha Chríost (Aceph. and defect.)[49] Order of text is: 97–112, 113–114, 77–96, 55a, 75, 76, 53.	2) Smaointe Beatha Chríost p. 12a1[50]–bz		
Life of Mary p. 55b1–74bz	1) Life of Mary p. 1–11bz[51]		
RIA MS 3 B 23			
Homily on the Eight Arrows of Sin p. 1–7a25[52]			
Homily on Almsgiving[53] p. 7a26–12bz			
Treatise on the penitential commutations p. 13a1–16a24			
De Luxoria p. 16a25–28az			
Homily on the Passion p. 29a.1–b.21 (aceph.)			
Speculum Peccatoris p. 30a1–32bz (defect.)			
Monastery of Tallaght p. 33a1–47a21, p. 51a24–53bz			
Abbgitir Crábaidh p. 47a22–51a20			
Homily on poverty p. 53a1–57a23			9) Traité de la pauvreté fol. 33vb29–35rb27
Homily on Mercy p. 57a24–58bz (defect.)			15) Recueil de sentences sur la charité fol. 47rb14–48va29
Homily on Sin p. 59a1–65az			
Homily on the Ten Commandments p. 65b1–80a14		1) Homily on the Ten Commandments fol. 1ra–6rb13	
Homily beginning with the story of the priest Mathias and his resistance to idolatry p. 80a15–82bz (defect)			13) Homélie fol. 43rb1–44vb27

[49]To p. 71a1 of RIA MS 3 B 22 corresponds p. 12a1 of P, p. 75v of RIA MS 23 B 3 (written by Diarmuid Ó Conaill *c.* 1461), and line 1901 of Ó Maonaigh, *Smaointe Beatha Chríost*.

[50]Interestingly, almost exactly the same amount of text and page layout is found on RIA MS 24 P 1, p. 12 (a verso) and on RIA MS 3 B 22, p. 75 (a recto). In RIA MS 3 B 22, this continues onto the next page (p. 76, and verso of the folio of which p. 75 is the recto). It does not on RIA MS 24 P 1, due to loss of the next folio. This may indicate that Úa Ríghbhardáin was replicating the layout of the same exemplar in both copies. However, see the comparison of the 'Homily of the Virgin Mary' below for a discussion of how it may be impossible to ever determine this with certainty.

[51]This has a number of internal chasms, correctly identified in the catalogue (*RIACat* 3366).

[52]Owing to a chasm between 6–7 this could be a different homily (*RIACat* 3362). It concludes: 'al*iter* trocairi Dé uasail ro airiltnegeam uile an oentaid-sin ro ísam ro aitrebam in secula seculorum amen.'

[53]Recently edited in McLaughlin, 'Almsgiving'.

TC RIA MS 3 B 22	**P**	**Trinity**	**R**
	3) Treatise on Patience from Bonaventura*[54] p. 13a1–10 (aceph.)		16) Traité fol. 48va30–49rb32
	4) Treatise on the Resurrection of Christ*[55] p. 13a11–14bz		7) Traité de la Résurrection du Christ fol. 30va31–31vb15
	7) De Contemptu Mundi p. 17a36–52bz		1) De Contemptu Mundi fol. 1ra–22ra19
	8) Páiss Peadair ⁊ Póil p. 53a1–60b14		
	9) Páis Parrthalóin p. 60b15–66b28		
	10) Páiss Iacob p. 66b29–70b15		
	11) Páiss Andrias p. 70b16–72bz		
		2) The First Age?*[56] fol. 6rb14–8ra11	
		3) The Second Age?* fol. 8ra12–18rbz	
		4) Invencio Sanctae Crucis fol. 19ra1–19vbz (defect.)	
		5) Stair Fortibrais fol. 21ra1–29vb22 (aceph.)	
		6) Gabháltais Séarlais Mhóir (GSM-1) fol. 30ra1–33vb (aceph. and defect.)	
			6) Traité (on sacraments) fol. 29rb18–30va30
			10) Traité de la confession (a) fol. 35rb28–36va11
			11) Traité de la confession (b) fol. 36ra12–37vb19
			12) Homélie (expulsion of Lucifer) fol. 37vb20–fol. 43raz
			18) Mandeville fol. 52rb23–69vbz (defect.)
			19) In Tenga Bithnua fol. 70ra1–74rb4

[54]This text is omitted in the *RIACat* 3366, where it is considered to be part of the preceding *Smaointe Beatha Chríost*. This title is my own. Only the last ten lines survive in P but it is complete in R.

[55]This text is miscatalogued in *RIACat* 3366, where this is identified as a section of *Smaointe Beatha Chríost.*

[56]I have not been able to identify texts (2) and (3) of the Trinity manuscript. The beginning of (2) bears great resemblance to the first and second recensions of *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (R. A. Macalister (ed. and trans.), *Lebor Gabála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, 5 vols, ITS 34, 35, 39, 41 and 44 (Dublin, 1932–42)), but it begins to diverge from it after fol. 6vb4. I have not been able to identify (3). The TCD catalogue calls them both a 'A brief history of the Creation and the patriarchs, from the Old Testament' (Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, p. 84).

TC RIA MS 3 B 22	P	Trinity	R
			20) Breanndán ⁊ Bríd fol. 74rb5–z
			21) Colmán mac Luacháin fol. 75ra1–89vb15
			22) Dindshenchas fol. 90ra1–125rb

Figure 5: texts copied

This table shows that some of the same texts were copied repeatedly by Úa Ríghbhardáin during his career, a fact that suggests that he may have worked as a professional scribe and illuminator who was hired to create books for various patrons during his lifetime. It may also suggest that Úa Ríghbhardáin had easy access to a library from which he could make numerous copies of at least some of these texts. The resemblance of a number of the texts copied by Úa Ríghbhardáin to the contents of the *Leabhar Breac* (RIA MS 23 P 16) has been observed by Follett,[57] who suggested that they may have shared a common source in the library of the Mac Aodhagáin family of Lower Ormond, in north Co. Tipperary. It is also tempting, given the proposed earlier date of TC, the fact that it has such a large selection of homilies in common with Úa Ríghbhardáin's other manuscripts and the fact that it remained in the area of Lower Ormond long after the fifteenth century, to view TC as the scribe's personal collection of homilies out of which he could copy the same texts into new manuscripts for his clients. However, as is seen below, even a superficial comparison between his versions of any one of the texts shared by these manuscripts is enough to show that TC was most likely not the source of the scribe's other copies.

A detailed stemmatological analysis based on a thorough textual comparison of all the texts copied by Úa Ríghbhardáin and shared with the *Leabhar Breac* might be an excellent way to test the theory of the common source of this material. However, on account of Úa Ríghbhardáin's tendency to paraphrase greatly while copying, which is discussed below, the conclusions drawn by such a study could prove to be frustratingly vague.

Three copies of the 'Homily on the Virgin Mary'

As displayed above (figure 5), the 'Homily on the Virgin Mary' is the only text that can be compared across three of Úa Ríghbhardáin's manuscripts. The following table (figure 6) aligns the first three paragraphs of Úa Ríghbhardáin's three copies of this text, which suggests that each copy is an independent copy of the same source.

In order to facilitate the following comparison between these three copies, I have highlighted the differences between them using the following method: 1) words or blank spaces highlighted in red indicate that the copy departs from the other two in some way, either by inserting or omitting a word; 2) conversely, green is used to show where the reading is shared with a second copy against the

[57] Follett, 'Religious texts', 213–16 and 224–6; See also McLaughlin, 'Almsgiving', 113–83.

variation in the third. In this way, the presence of red in each of the following columns indicates that each copy contains unique readings against the other two, which probably maintain the readings, in green, that were found in Úa Ríghbhardáin's source.

TC p. 5b14–28	**P** p. 15a1–15	**R** fol. 25ra1–17
Utt dix*it* Bernardus in Sermone de **Beata** Maria Uirgine _____ .i.	Ut dixit Bern*ar*dus in Sermone _____ Maria Uirgine **ꝯcetera** .i.	Ut dix*it* Bernardus in S*er*mone de **Be*a*ta** M*aria* Uirgine **ꝯcetera** .i.
Adeir Bernardus _____ cid*h*bē ní maith dob āil let do ullm*hagh*adh tab*h*air fā lām*h*aib*h* M*uir*e hé **dā ullum*hughadh*** óir is fearrdi blas ca*ch* **oen** ní _____ a c*hur* as [óighth]ech na meala .i. a ng*r*āsaib*h* M*uir*e acā roib*h*e **Ísa** ana broind _____ _____.	Adeir Bernardus **naem*h*** cid*h*bé ní maith dob āil let do ullm*hugh*adh tab*h*air fā lām*h*aib*h* M*uir*e hé __ _____ ōir is f*earr*di blas ca*ch* ___ ní **t*r*uaillti** a c*hur* as ōight*h*ech na mela .i. a ng*r*āsaib*h* M*uir*e acā roib*h*i **Mac Dé** ana broinn **acā imarc*h*or dā cead fēin**.	Adeir Bernardus **n*aemh*** cid*h*bé ní maith dob áil let do ullm*hugh*adh tab*h*air fā lāmhaib*h* M*uir*e hé __ _____ ōir is ferrdi blas cach **aen** ní _____ a ch*ur* as ōig*ht*hech na meala .i. a ngr*āsaibh* Muire acā roib*h*i **Mac Dé** ana broind _____ _____.
⁊ adeir B*ernardus* _____ co roib*h*i M*uire*, d'ēis na n-aps*al* do f*h*āgb*háil* a me*i*c, acā cēsadh ana hanm*ain* mar do b*hí* sin acā c*h*ēsad*h* na c[*h*orp] ⁊ cur f*h*ācadar na haps*ail* **hé** trí aibriscacht **an du*in*e** doeanna, curab **ime** sin adeir B*ernardus* an tan guid*h*eas n*each* Muire dā **f*h*urtac*ht*** co *dteith*id legion do d*hem*naib*h* uadha __ _____ _____.	⁊ adeir B*ernardus* _____ co roib*h*i Muire, d'ēis na n-apsal do f*h*āgb*hāil* a me*i*c, 'gā cēsad*h* ana hanm*ain* mar do b*hí* sin 'gā c*h*ēsad*h* ana c*hor*p ⁊ cur f*h*āgadar na haps*ail* **hé** trí abriscacht **na n*daein*e** daenna, curab **aire** sin adeir B*ernardus* an tan guid*h*es nech Muire dā **f*h*urtacht** co *dteith*eann legeon do d*hem*naib*h* uadha **an tan-soin do g*h*rāsaib*h* Muire**.	⁊ adeir B*ernardus* **N*aemh*** co roib*h*i M*uir*e, d'ēis na n-aps*al* do f*h*ágb*háil* a me*i*c, acā céasad*h* ana han*am* mar do b*hí* sin acā c*h*ésad*h* ana c*h*orp ⁊ gur f*h*ácadar na haps*ail* **sin** trí aibriscacht **na n*daeine*** daen*n*a, gurab **uime** sin adeir B*ernardus* an tan guidheas neach Muire dā **c*habh*air** co *d*teith*eann* legion do d*h*eam*h*naib*h* uadha __ _____ _____.

TC p. 5b14–28	**P** p. 15a1–15	**R** fol. 25ra1–17
⁊ adeir Iohanneis Cr*isto*somus: na hid*h*ain nach roib*h*i ar M*h*uire an aimsir **br*eith*e a m*ei*c** co rab*h*adar uirre an aimsir a c*h*ēsta ___ ___.	⁊ adeir Ioh*ann*es C*risto*sosmus: na hidhain nach roib*h*i ar M*h*uire an aimsir **a m*ei*c do b*h*reith** co rab*h*adar uirre an aimsir a c*h*ésta **an uair fār césad*h* hé.**	⁊ adeir Ioh*ann*es C*risto*s*om*us: na hidhain nach roib*h*i ar M*h*uire an aimsir **breithi a m*ei*c** co rab*h*adar u*i*rre an aimsir a c*h*ésta ___ ___.

Figure 6: 'Homily on the Virgin Mary' comparison.

This comparison allows us to anticipate a conclusion drawn in the next section of this article which discusses Úa Ríghbhardáin's approach to word-for-word copying. In fact, though we might expect copies of a same text made by a same scribe to be almost identical, this is very often not the case in Úa Ríghbhardáin's works. This is better understood by examining his copy of *Gabháltais Séarlais Mhóir* and by comparing it with the three other copies of the same text written by other scribes during the same period, i.e. the late fifteenth century.

Features of Úa Ríghbhardáin's copy of *Gabháltais Séarlais Mhóir* (GSM-1)

Gabháltais Séarluis Mhóir (GSM-1) is one of three surviving Early Modern Irish translations of *Historia Karoli Magni*, also known as *Pseudo-Turpin*,[58] which survives in four manuscripts from the late-fifteenth century, namely: The Book of Lismore (L), written in Cairbre, Co. Cork, between 1478 and 1506 for Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach and his wife Caitilín Fitzgerald;[59] UCD Franciscan MS A 9 (F), which is dated by Grosjean to the fifteenth century;[60] BL MS Egerton 1781 (E), the part of which containing GSM-1 was written by a scribe who signs himself *fercanainm* and *mac .ccc.* and who copied at least part of the manuscript in the house of Niall Ó Siadhail in Lainn Eala, Co. Offaly, during the winter of 1484–5, but who was probably a member of the Mac Parthalóin family from Teallach nEachach, Co. Cavan;[61] and lastly,

[58] For a brief discussion of the three independent Early Modern Irish translations of *Historia Karoli Magni* or *Pseudo-Turpin*, see A. Palandri, 'The Irish adaptation of Marco Polo's *Travels*: mapping the toute to Ireland ', *Ériu* 69 (2019), 127–54, at 150–3.

[59] For a summary of past scholarship on the patrons of this manuscript see A. Palandri, 'An Marco Polo Gaeilge agus Fínghean Mac Carthaigh Riabhach', *Celtica* 31 (2019), 191–214, at 191–7.

[60] P. Grosjean, 'MS. A. 9 (Franciscan Convent, Dublin)', *Ériu* 10 (1926–8), 160–9.

[61] The signature *fercanainm* occurs on fol. 150rbz and the signature *mac .ccc.* on fol. 149vb14. The second may represent *mac Parthalóin*, who arrived in Ireland three hundred years after the flood (see Palandri, 'The Irish adaptation', 151 n. 96). *Fearganainm* is attested as a first name during the early modern period, especially during the sixteenth century (*AFM* 1532.2, 1535.6,

the Trinity manuscript, discussed above and written by our scribe, Tadhg Úa Ríghbhardáin, in 1475.

Unlike the many Old and Middle Irish texts of which we have copies from this period, some of which were made by Úa Ríghbhardáin,[62] and unlike the fifteenth-century Irish prose texts whose authors were emulating the linguistic register of earlier Irish literature,[63] GSM-1 is written in a modest and unarchaised Early Modern Irish, of the kind found in medical texts, law tracts and religious writings of the period.[64] As an Early Modern Irish text that survives in four roughly contemporary copies and that is written in this unembellished style, GSM-1 allows us to reduce both the variable of the pseudo-archaic literary register as well as the window of time between which our witnesses were written. This affords us with a rare opportunity to study and compare how contemporary scribes from the late fifteenth century varied in their approaches to an unadorned form of the written language.

While researching this article I made transcriptions of the same section of *c.* 7000 words from these four surviving copies of GSM-1.[65] In the following section I will present evidence gathered from this work that reveals Úa Ríghbhardáin's unique approach to copying and some of his orthographical conventions. I will conclude with a discussion of a number of linguistic details found in his copy of GSM-1, which I suggest are probably traces of the regional variety of Irish spoken by the scribe. In order to be able to analyse and reference this portion of text, and in the interest of reducing the clutter of hundreds of folio references in this article, these transcriptions were divided and numbered into 55 corresponding paragraphs. The table provided in Appendix I can

1541.8; also D. Ó Corráin and F. Maguire, *Irish Names* (Dublin, 1990), 97). This scribe's name may have been Fearganainm Mac Parthalóin. For more on this manuscript see R. Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1926; reprinted Dublin, 1992), 526–45.

[62]The language of the *Monastery of Tallaght*, of the *Aibbgitir Crábaid* and of the *Penitential of Commutations* is mostly Old Irish. See Gwynn and Purton, 'The monastery of Tallaght'; Vernam Hull (ed. and trans.), 'Aipgitir Chrábaid: the Alphabet of Piety', *Celtica* 8 (1968), 44–89; D. A. Binchy (ed. and trans.), 'The Old-Irish Table of Penitential Commutations', *Ériu* 19 (1962), 47–72.

[63]See D. McManus, *SnaG* 335–7 for a general discussion on this phenomenon in Early Modern Irish literature. Some examples of fifteenth-century texts of this kind are: the *Irish Marco Polo*, *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bhás* and *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomhtha*. The seventeenth-century text *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill* (see P. Walsh (ed. and trans.), *The Life of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill*, ITS 42 and 45 (Dublin, 1948 and 1957)) is probably the pinnacle of this genre. Its pseudo-archaic language has been discussed in D. McManus, 'The Language of the *Beatha*', in Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh: The Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell: Historical and Literary Contexts*, ITS Subsidiary Series 12 (London, 2002), 54–74.

[64]See for example W. Wulf, *Rosa Anglica seu Rosa Medicinae: An Early Modern Irish Translation of a Section of the Mediaeval Medical Text-Book of John of Gaddesden*, ITS 25 (London, 1929); Fergus Kelly, *The Mac Egan Legal Treatise* (Dublin, 2020); Ó Maonaigh, *Smaointe Beatha Chríost*; J. A. Geary (ed. and trans.), *An Irish Version of Innocent III's De Contemptu Mundi* (Washington DC, 1931).

[65]Due to the fragmentary state of the Trinity manuscript only the section between the the fifth and the fifteenth chapter of Hyde's edition can be used to make these comparisons (D. Hyde (ed.), *Gabháltais Shéarluis Mhóir*, ITS 20 (London, 1917), from p. 16, line 9 to p. 60, line 25). For a brief overview of the various Irish translatons of *Historia Karoli Magni* see Palandri, 'The Irish adaptation', 150–3.

be used to trace the referencing system used in the rest of this study back to the manuscript page and to Hyde's edition.

Paraphrasing

In the introduction to his edition of GSM-1 Douglas Hyde remarks on Úa Ríghbhardáin's copy that it 'contains a text that varies from the other three much more than the other three do among themselves',[66] and indeed similar observations have been made by other editors and scholars of texts copied by this scribe. For example, in his edition of the Irish translation of *De Contemptu Mundi* from five manuscripts, Geary concluded that Úa Ríghbhardáin's copy in R was 'copied with considerable independence and some expansion' and found that his version stood alone against all the other copies the most.[67] Similarly, in her edition of the copies of the 'Homily on Almsgiving' found in TC and in the *Leabhar Breac*, McLaughlin found the Irish text of the *Leabhar Breac* to be 'more verbose' than that of TC, but suggested that this is likely to reflect additions in the *Leabhar Breac* rather than omissions in TC.[68] Whereas the specific case of this last text is not re-examined in this article, a comparison between the four contemporary copies of GSM-1 confirms Hyde's remark and yields similar results to those discovered in the comparison of Úa Ríghbhardáin's three copies of the 'Homily on the Virgin Mary' above. The pattern that emerges is one of a scribe who had a habit of rewording his texts more extensively than other copyists during the same period; he was a 'content-oriented' scribe as opposed to a 'form-oriented' one.[69] However, it must be also emphasised that Úa Ríghbhardáin's copy of GSM-1 closely follows the overall structure found in all the other copies and that it contains no changes to the order of events portrayed in the story. Yet, a substantial amount of paraphrasing appears to have happened in the text copied by our scribe compared to the subtler variations seen in the other three copies.

This is exemplified in the following comparison (figure 7), in which I follow the same method of highlighting the differences between the copies as I did in figure 6 above. The only addition is that of purple to show where one of the other three copies, i.e. those not by Úa Ríghbhardáin, differs from the most commonly occurring reading.

As figure 7 demonstrates, although a degree of paraphrasing and some copying errors are present in all these contemporaneous copies, the liberties Úa Ríghbhardáin took in copying this text are immediately noticeable when his copy is compared to the other three. By comparing figure 7 to the differences highlighted in the same scribe's three copies of the 'Homily on the Virgin Mary', and by taking into account the comments made by previous editors of

[66] Hyde, *Gabháltais*, xi.

[67] Geary, *De Contemptu Mundi*, 19. Unfortunately this editor was unaware of Úa Ríghbhardáin's second copy in P.

[68] McLaughlin, 'Almsgiving', 127.

[69] For a description of this terminology see Simon Rodway, *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature: Evidence from the Verbal System* (Aberystwyth, 2013), 20 and also D. Stifter, 'The language of the poems of Blathmac', in Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *The Poems of Blathmac Son of Cú Brettan: Reassessments*, ITS Subsidiary Series 27 (London, 2015), 47–103, at 71–2.

Gabháltais Séarlais Mhóir [4](*ITS* 19, p. 18 lines 14–21)

L fol. 97vbz–98ra9	**F** p. 3b1–8	**E** fol. 21ra28–39	**Trinity** fol. 30rb4–10
⁊ nī is mō inā mar as ēidir a indisi do bhātar na sl*uaigh*-si*n* ag ingantus ar m*hét* na mírb*huile*-si*n* do rōi*n*e Dia.	⁊ ní as mō nā mar as ēd*ir* a innisin do b*hād*a*r* na sl*uaigh*-si*n* agā ingantus méd *na* merb*h*uile-sin do ri*n*ne Dia.	⁊ ní 'sa mō nā 's ēidir a innsin do b*h*ātar na sl*uaigh*-sin ag ingantas mēt na mírb*h*úile-si*n* do rinne Dia.	⁊ _____ _____ _____ do b*h*ād*a*r na sluaigh-sin ac indisin ____ na mīrb*huil*i-sin do rōi*n*e Críst.
⁊ do gerr*eadh* na gaithi-si*n* comhard re tal*amh* ⁊ do fhāsatar croinn mhōra a prēmhaibh na ngaithi-si*n* gur bho phāirc m*h*ór.	⁊ do g*h*earrad*ar* si*at* na gaet*h*a-sin gonaird re tal*mhain* ⁊ do f*h*āsadar c*r*oind m*h*ōra a prēm*haibh* na ngaetha-sin mar do b*heith* pāircc m*h*ōr ann.	⁊ do g*h*erradar siat na gaeithi-si*n* com*h*ard re tal*amh* ⁊ do f*h*āsadar croinn mhōra ann _____ _____ _____ ___ .	⁊ do g*hearr*ad*ar* na gaet*h*i-sin com*h*ard re talm*hain* ⁊ do fhāsadar croind m*h*óra as a *b*prēmhaibh _____ _____ _____ ____ .
⁊ atāit ō s*h*i*n* isin inad-si*n* gan losgad*h* gan mhill*eadh* ⁊ a ngnē fhuinnseog atāit.	⁊ atāid ō hoi*n* 'san inadh-sin g*an* m*h*illeadh g*an* loisg*eadh* ⁊ a *n*gnē fuin*n*seog atā*i*d.	⁊ atāit na croinn-sin ō s*h*i*n* annsan inadh-sin ga*n* losgadh gan g*herr*adh gan m*h*ill*eadh* ⁊ a ngnē ⁊ a *n*dath ⁊[70] a *g*cosm*hailius* fuinnseoc.	⁊ atāit ō s*h*i*n* 'san inad-sin can losc*adh* ____ ____ ____ a *g*cosm*h*ailes fui*n*dsind.
⁊ in rét ingant*ach*-so gidh do b*hí* sē 'na dhīd*h*b*hāil* dona corpuibh, do bo mhór a ghāirdiug*hadh* dona hanman*n*aibh.	⁊ i*n* rét íngant*ach*-so gē do bi sē a ndīghb*háil* do*n*a c*h*orp*aibh* do budh m*h*ōr a g*h*āirdiug*udh* do*n*a hanmannaibh.	⁊ in rēt ingnatach-so cea' do b*hī* sē a ndībhāil ⁊ a ndochar dona corp*aibh*, do budh m*h*ōr i*n* gāirdiug*udh* ⁊ *in* sub*h*alt*aibh* do*n*a hanmannaibh ē.	⁊ an raet ingantach-so cid*h* do b*hí* sé ana d*h*ochar do c*h*orpaib*h*, do bo m*h*ōr an tarb*h*a do*n*a hanmannaib*h* hé.

Figure 7: GSM-1 comparison.

other texts copied by this scribe, a pattern emerges that suggests that Úa Ríghbhardáin was not in the habit of copying his texts word for word. His changes include: 1) substituting a word with a variant form, such as *fuinneas* for *fuinseog*; 2) substituting synonyms for one another, such as *dochar* for *díghbháil*, as well as words that cover a slightly different semantic range, such as *tarbha* for *gáirdiughadh* or *Críst* for *Dia*; 3) abbreviating sentences and slightly changing their meaning while retaining the main words, such as *do bhādar na sluaigh-sin ac indisin na mirbhuile* instead of *ní as mō nā mar as ēdir a innisin do bhādar na sluaigh-sin agā ingantus méd na merbhuile-sin*;[71] 4) omitting text, such as was done with *gan mhilleadh ⁊ a ngnē*. This last practice, i.e. omitting text, can also be measured by comparing the word count of the transcribed sections. These are: L, *c*. 7120 words; F, *c*. 7190 words; E, *c*. 7770 words; and the Trinity manuscript *c*. 6300 words. The same conclusions that can be drawn from figure 7 can also be drawn from these numbers, i.e., whereas the scribes of L and F remained more or less close to their original, the scribe of E had a habit of expanding and Úa Ríghbhardáin had a habit of summarising.

Having discussed and observed how these copies of GSM-1 can be used to describe how Úa Ríghbhardáin worked, a number of remarks can now be made regarding his orthographic conventions and how they compare to those of his contemporaries.

Orthography

An orthographic consistency found in this section of Úa Ríghbhardáin's copy of GSM-1 is his uniform spelling of the simple preposition *ag* 'at' as *ac*, following the earlier Irish spelling convention whereby intervocalic or word-final unvoiced consonants represented voiced consonants. While the same spelling convention is also adopted, though not as consistently, by the scribe of F for the simple preposition, Úa Ríghbhardáin's copy stands out from all the others as being the only copy in which *c* is used consistently throughout all the inflected forms as well, as can be seen in figure 8.

These examples suggest that Úa Ríghbhardáin used specific orthographic conventions for the copying of this text that distinguished him from his peers. Since medieval Irish writers were undoubtedly aware that unvoiced consonants in place of voiced consonants was a feature of older books,[72] the implementation of this spelling convention may be understood as being part of the same aesthetic decisions that, as was argued above, may have prompted Úa Ríghbhardáin's use of alternative script types. In his study of the Irish translation of *In Contemptu Mundi*, Geary found that Úa Ríghbhardáin's copy in R was the most conservative of all the five manuscripts he analysed in its use of voiceless stops to indicate voiced stops, and found that this scribe did so in 85% of

[71] From F.

[72] See for example Míchéal Ó Cléirigh's introduction to *Foclóir nó Sanasán Nuadh* (1643), 4–5: *sgriobhthar go minic cuid dona consainibh ar son a cheile, mar ata, c, ar son, g, agas, t, ar son, d*. 'Some of the consonants are often written in place of one another, as in *c* for *g*, and *t* for *d*.'

ag (*at*)

	L	F	E	Trinity
Simple Prep.	**ag** (15 examples) [4; 8; 9; 16; 20; 27×3; 30; 31; 32; 34; 42×3;] **ac** (4 examples) [14; 22; 23; 27]	**ag** (2 examples) [27×2] **ac** (12 examples) [8; 14×2; 16; 20; 22; 23; 27; 28; 30; 41; 42]	**ag** (12 examples) [4; 8; 14; 16; 20×2; 22; 23; 27; 30; 32; 42] **ac** (3 examples) [27; 31; 41]	**ag** (0 examples) **ac** (13 examples) [4; 8; 9; 16; 20; 22; 23; 27×3; 29; 30; 42]
1sg				
2sg	[8] acat-sa; [23] acat;	[8] agad; [23] agad;	[8] agat; [23] agud;	[8] acad; [23] acat;
3sgm	[11] aigi; [20] aigi; [37] aigi; [38] –; [40] aigi; [44] aige; [46] aigi; [50] aigi; [50] aigi;	[11] aigi; [20] aigi; [37] aigi; [38] aigi; [40] aigi; [44] aigi; [46] aigi; [50] aigi; [50] aigi;	[11] agi; [20] – (ag Og.); [37] aige; [38] aige; [40] aige; [44] aige; [46] aigi; [50] aige; [50] aige;	[11] aici; [20] – (lais); [37] aici; [38] –; [40] –; [44] –; [46] aici; [50] aici; [50] aici;
3sgf				
1pl	[22] again*n*; [24] agai*n*d; [30] agai*n*n; [45] again*n*;	[22] agai*n*n; [24] agai*n*d; [30] agai*n*n; [45] again*n*;	[22] agai*n*n; [24] agai*n*n; [30] again*n*; [45] again*n*;	[22] acaind; [24] –; [30] –; [45] acai*n*di;
2pl	[23] aguibh; [23] acuibh;	[23] agaib; [23] agaibh;	[23] ag*aibh*; [23] ag*aibh*;	[23] –; [23] acaib;
3pl	[25] acu; [28] acu; [40] acu; [42] acu; [55] acu;	[25] – (do g*a*ch taeb); [28] acu; [40] aco; [42] ocu; [55] –;	[25] – (g*a*cha taebha) [28] a*qu*; [40] –; [42] –; [55] a*qu*;	[25] – (da ca*ch* taeb); [28] –; [40] –; [42] –; [55] –;
+ a (rel.)	[5] agár fhas; [11] aga mb*eth*;	[5] agar fas; [11] 'ga mb*eth*;	[5] agar fas; [11] aga *m*b*eth*;	[5] acar fas; [11] aca mbeith;

Figure 8: 'ag' comparison.

instances.[73] This supports the theory that Úa Ríghbhardáin distinguished himself throughout his career by stylising and archaising his orthography, as was suggested above.[74]

[73] Geary, *De Contemptu Mundi*, 32.

[74] See also the forthcoming article by Kobel on this topic.

His treatment of final unstressed *-e(a)ch* and *-igh* also requires comment. In the sentence in the Trinity manuscript *do dheisigh an taeisich sin hé fein*[75] the spelling *taeisich* must surely stand for *taeisech*, the spelling found only three lines earlier[76] for the same nom. sg. form. Úa Ríghbhardáin again uses this same spelling for final unstressed *-e(a)ch* in his copy of Mandeville in R, *mét anóra ⁊ tsaidhbhresa na mainistrich sin*,[77] another instance where the expected spelling is found only two lines later, *co dorus oiribir na mainisdrech*.[78] In all other plene examples of final unstressed *-e(a)ch* that I have noted by Úa Ríghbhardáin, the expected historical spelling is used. During the early modern period, a number of monosyllabic nouns had dative singular forms that were not commonly distinguished orthographically from their genitive singular forms. This is best exemplified in *IGT* II §63 'CEART [...] don chirt, méd an chirt, etc.' and §65 'FEAR, d'fir, mac fir, etc.'. The same statement is also valid for the nouns *rí* and *mí*, whose genitive and dative singular forms, g.sg. *ríogh*, d.sg. *rígh* and g.sg. *míos*, d.s. *mís*, are mostly indistinguishable in fifteenth-century orthography, i.e. *rígh* and *mís*.[79] Similarly, writing *-i-* to represent **ə** in unstressed position, where we typically find *-e(a)-* in later orthography, is often found in Early Modern Irish texts, for example *IGT* III, where we find spellings such as *cloisdina* and *cluinsina* in §3 'is fear cloisdina ⁊ claisdina ⁊ cluinsina ⁊ cloisdeachta ⁊ claisdeachta neith mé'. Although as far as I am aware, *IGT* does not discuss final unstressed *-e(a)ch* being written *-ich*, it is possible that the same orthographical convention used in *don chirt* and *cloisdina* influenced Úa Ríghbhardáin's decision to spell final **əχ** with *-ich*, instead of the more typical *-e(a)ch*. The presence of the following *-sin* in both examples, *an taeisich sin* and *na mainistrich sin*, may have also been a contributing factor in the scribe's policy, which however does not seem to have been widespread since Úa Ríghbhardáin's spellings are unique among the four copies of the GSM-1.

Also curious are the two *plene* examples of final unstressed *-igh* being written *-ich* that are found in Úa Ríghbhardáin's copy of GSM-1, namely: *dochum an eathaich*[80] and *atáit trí neiche sa chláirsich*,[81] besides the three *plene* examples of final unstressed *-igh* being spelled as expected, namely: *is annso* [*do*] *ordaigh cach duine*[82] and *sa teinig mharthanaigh*.[83] Úa Ríghbhardáin's occasional variation between these spellings distinguishes him from all the other

[75]Trinity, fol. 32rb46–7.

[76]Trinity, fol. 32rb44.

[77]W. Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The Gaelic Maundeville', *ZCP* 2 (1899), 1–63 and 226–301, at 258. R, fol. 66ra18.

[78]R, fol. 66ra21. In other copies of these texts *taeisech* and *mainistrech* are spelled with final *-e(a)ch*. See BL MS Egerton 1781, fol. 141v6 for this word in the other copy of Mandeville.

[79]B. Ó Cuív, 'A quatrain from "Liadan and Cuirithir" ', *Éigse* 5 (1945–7), 229–30, at 229 n. 1.

[80]Trinity, fol. 32va34–5.

[81]Trinity, fol. 33ra31–2.

[82]Trinity, fol. 31ra9–10. The *do* is found in all the other copies but omitted in Úa Ríghbhardáin's text.

[83]Trinity, fol. 32ra15.

scribes whose copies of GSM-1 survive.[84] That this was a characteristic of his orthographic style is further substantiated by three examples found in his copy of Mandeville, *co n-uicci an cathraich*[85] (twice) and *annsa cathraich*,[86] neither of which are found in the copy of the same text in E.[87]

This variation between final unstressed *-ich* and *-igh* is found in Old and Middle Irish manuscripts, such as Codex Sancti Pauli,[88] Rawl. B 502[89] and the Book of Leinster,[90] and Úa Ríghbhardáin may have incorporated it into his own style after encountering it in manuscripts from those periods, as he did with the many other aspects of his orthography discussed above. On the other hand, a comparison between four spellings in his copy of Mandeville in R and their corresponding spellings in the same sections in E suggests that there may be another layer to this orthographic variation, which, as far as I am aware, is not also found in manuscripts from the Old and Middle Irish period. In order to help clarify the precise meaning intended in the following passages from the Irish Mandeville, the original Middle English text from which the text was translated is supplied in the left column.

Ua Ríghbhardáin's first two examples from R in figure 9 are problematic. In the first one, *nemhchoimsigh* cannot be understood to be the archaic use[91] of the masculine plural of *coimsech*, not because archaisms are not common in texts copied by Úa Ríghbhardáin, but because it would be illogical to connect a plural predicative adjective to a singular noun that is not a collective, such as *anóir*. It must therefore either represent the singular *coimsech* 'seemly' or the quasi-synonymous *coimse* 'suitable' (from the past participle of OIr *con-midethar*), which is commonly preceded by various negative prefixes to indicate excessiveness, abundance and immensity in Medieval and Modern Irish.[92] As the comparison table shows, *coimse* is the form found in the corresponding section in E, and the phrase *is nemhchoimsi* X, 'X is excessive' or 'immense', occurs twice more in the text. It is also the meaning that best translates the Middle English *grete worschip*, i.e. 'the honour that the Saracens give to that church is immense.'

[84]For plene spellings of the gen. sg. of *eathach* in the other copies see L, fol. 101va26 (an agh*aidh* in aithig); E, fol. 25ra32 (cu*m* in fhathaigh). For *clairsigh*, all plene, see: L, fol. 102rb24; F, p. 8b15; E, fol. 25vb30.

[85]R, fol. 53ra3 and fol. 55ra22 (Stokes, 'Maundeville', 6 and 20).

[86]R, fol. 59rb23 (Stokes, 'Maundeville', 50).

[87]For the first (go n-uige in *cath*air) see E, fol. 129rbz; for the second (*co n*-uige in *cath*air) see E, fol. 131ra4; for the third (annsa cath*raigh*) see E, fol. 135vaz.

[88]For example: *Aue Muiredaich*. From Codex S. Pauli (*Thes*. 295.10). See also *GOI* §130.

[89]For example: *Erccán m. Déin a quo h-Uargalach m. Branduib m. Airnelaich m. Airdmessaig*. From Rawl. B 502, fol. 69va24. See M. A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1962), 83.

[90]There are numerous examples of final unstressed *-ich* in *LL*. An example that displays this variation is *LL* 3790–4: *Nemnach .i. firthipra fil ocon tsíd i n-airthiurdesciurt na Temrach in glassi bec theit a* ***Nemnig*** *sair is fuirri atá in muilend cetadernad do Chiarnait chumail Chormaic. Lathrach tigi Mairisen fil on tsíd fri* ***Nemnaich*** *atuaid*. See also T. F. O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present* (Dublin, 1932), 56.

[91]See L. Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', *SnaG* 332 (III 14.4). Also, *GOI* 223 (§350).

[92]*eDIL* s.v. coimse (dil.ie/10281). Compare also Modern Irish *as*, *thar chuimse* (Ó Dónaill, s.v. cuimse).

Mandeville

Middle English	R	E
I do ȝow to wite þat Sarsynes do grete worschip to þe temple *domini*.[93]	is **nemchoimsigh** an anóir do-beritt na Serristtínig don eclais sin.[94]	is **n*eamh*coimsi** in anōir do-b*her*id na Serrsitinaigh don egl*ais* sin.[95]
þat londe is in somme place so colde þat þere may no man dwelle.[96]	ní bí duine 'sa tír sin cin luirg ⁊ ní **coimsich** d'feraib an domain a fúaire an geimhr*idh*.[97]	(omitted).[98]
and þerfore he haþ many children.[99]	is **nemchoimsi** a mbídh do cl*ainn* aicci.[100]	is **n*eamh*coimsi** a mbí do cl*ainn* aige.[101]
And þat abbey is grete and faire, and þer beþ many treez of dyuerse fruytes.[102]	is **nemchoimsi** m*ét* anóra ⁊ tsaidhbresa na mainist*r*ich sin.[103]	is **n*eamh*coimsi** mét anora na mainistrech sin.[104]

Figure 9: -ich, -igh, -i.

The second example, *coimsich*, could theoretically represent *coimsech* 'seemly', through Úa Ríghbhardáin's unusual convention of occasionally using *-ich* to spell final unstressed *-e(a)ch*, ex. *taeisich* for *taise(a)ch* in the discussion above. But it could equally represent *coimsigh*, since we have seen that final unstressed *-ich* can represent *-igh* in Úa Ríghbhardáin's writings, as shown above in *dochum an eathaich* and *sa chláirsich* from GSM-1, and in *co n-uicci an cathraich* (twice) and *annsa cathraich* from Mandeville. We have also seen that *coimsigh* may itself be a spelling for *coimse*, as in the previous example *nemhchoimsigh*, and it is again this word that best conveys the sense

[93] M. Seymour (ed.), *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels* (Oxford, 2002), 33, line 24.
[94] R, fol. 58vay. Stokes, 'Maundeville', 46.
[95] E, fol. 135ra17.
[96] Seymour, *Mandeville*, 56, lines 4–5
[97] R, fol. 61ra33. Stokes, 'Maundeville', 62.
[98] The sentence should appear at E, fol. 137ra32.
[99] Seymour, *Mandeville*, 84, lines 3–4.
[100] R, fol. 65rb2. Stokes, 'Maundeville', 252.
[101] E, fol. 140va27.
[102] Seymour, *Mandeville*, 90, lines 1–3. I have amended Seymour's text according to the footnotes in his critical edition in order to best reflect a Subgroup A text from which we know the Irish version was created. For a discussion of this, see J. Seymour, 'Sir John Mandeville', in idem et al., *Authors of the Middle Ages: English Writers of the Late Middle Ages* I (Aldershot 2016), 1–64, at 47–9.
[103] R, fol. 66ra18. Stokes, 'Maundeville', 258.
[104] E, fol. 141v6.

in the original Middle English text of 'a land so cold that no man can dwell there', i.e. 'the cold of its winter is *not suitable* for the men of the world'. Unfortunately, this sentence was omitted in E.

Although this section has presented evidence suggesting that Úa Ríghbhardáin's style of orthography drew from older sources and was noticeably more archaic than that of many of his contemporaries, in order to further investigate how final unstressed *-ich* and *-igh*, as well as probably *-i*, could be interchanged in Úa Ríghbhardáin's work, it is necessary to broaden this discussion to include a consideration of how features of the scribe's regional variety of Irish may have also been contributing to his spelling conventions.

Dialect

The phonological development by which final unstressed *-(a)ich*, *-(a)igh* and *-e/-a* (henceforth **ɪ** and **ə**) came to represent the same phoneme was found in the Modern Irish dialects of Leinster, North East Munster and to some degree is still reflected in the Irish of the Déise. In these dialects, as in the rest of Munster,[105] palatal *ch* was dropped in final position and reduced to **h** in medial position.[106] But unlike the Irish of Munster, where final *-igh* was delenited to *-ig* in most cases,[107] final *-igh* became **ɪ** and *-aigh* became **ə** in the Irish of Leinster, as well as probably in North and East Tipperary.[108] Noticeably, while mostly showing the same West Munster development of deleniting final *-igh* to *-ig*,[109] the Irish of the Déise has a greater tendency to pronounce unstressed final *-igh* and *-aigh* as **ɪ** and **ə** than the more westerly dialects, [110] especially in the nominal inflection, for example *deireadh an tsamhraidh* **ən ˈtəũrə** and *ag sitrigh* **ə ˈʃɪtəʀə** in An Rinn, but **n ˈtɑurig´** and **ə ˈʃɪtᵊʀig´** in Cúil Aodha.[111] The same reduction to schwa of final unstressed *-(a)igh* is also found in North Clare and is also the rule in South Connacht.[112]

[105] And to some degree also in South Connacht, see B. Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach* (Dublin, 2007), 4 vols, i, 171–4 (§§1.114–16). See also D. Ó hÓgáin, *Duanaire Osraíoch* (Dublin, 1980), 27–8.

[106] O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present*, 209; Ua Súilleabháin in *SnaG* 487 (VI 2.22); D. Ó Sé, *Gaeilge Chorca Dhuibhne* (Dublin, 2000), 29 (§23): R. B. Breatnach, *The Irish of Ring Co. Waterford*, (Dublin, 1947), 139 (§528): N. Holmer, *The Dialects of County Clare*, Todd Lecture Series 19, pt. 1 (1965), 70 and 114.

[107] There are of course a few notable exceptions to this rule, for which see N. Williams in *SnaG* 450 (V 2.7); Ua Súilleabháin in *SnaG* 485 (VI 2.17); O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects*, 53–4.

[108] O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects*, 54.

[109] Breatnach, *The Irish of Ring*, 133 (§499).

[110] Ua Súilleabháin in *SnaG* 485 (VI 2.17).

[111] *LASID* II, pt. 1 (An Rinn) and pt. 15 (Cúil Aodha), 905 and 26. See also g.s. of *biadh*, *bídh*: **bʹí**: (An Rinn) and **bʹí**:**gʹ** (Cúil Aodha), 297b.

[112] Holmer, *Dialects*, 114 (§213): 'culaithe breaghdha éadaigh **kələhə brʹɑ**: **e**:**də**' from Finavarra. For the same development in South Connacht see Ó hUiginn in *SnaG* 555 (VII 2.33).

These phonological developments have not been accurately dated and are not described in any recognisable sense until much later.[113] The earliest evidence of which I am aware for confusion between final unstressed *-adh* and *-aidh/-aigh* in the Irish of Leinster, due to the reduction of both to schwa, is found in *Lucerna Fidelium*, from the seventeenth century.[114] On the other hand, the earliest description of which I am aware of the reduction of non-initial slender *ch* is that written by James Scurry of Kilkenny in 1820, who describes it as 'only a weak aspirate' when it is found at the end of a syllable.[115] The reduction of all these endings to schwa in the Irish of Kilkenny is observable in the writings of Seán Ó Doinn (1815–92), a school master and native of west Kilkenny who collected songs during the 1860s for John George Augustus Prim (1821–75),[116] who variously spelled the name of his county as *Cill Chainnich* and *Cill Chainne*, as well as spelling *Frannca* for nom. pl. of *Franncach*, and *beala'* for the gen. sg. form of the noun *bealach*.[117] If these dialect features had already developed by the fifteenth century in that region, they would help explain Úa Ríghbhardáin's spellings *nemhchoimsigh* and *ní coimsich* beside *nemhchoimsi* in R as well as *dochum an eathaich* and *sa chláirsich* in his copy of GSM-1 and would place the scribe within the geographical borders of such a phonological development, Leinster and North East and East Munster.

Another regional feature found in Úa Ríghbhardáin's copy of GSM-1, which would place him in the same geographical area as suggested above and distinguishes him from the scribes of the other three copies, is the form *ar* for both the 1st and 2nd pl. forms of the possessive pronoun, as displayed in figure 10:

This falling together of the possessives is found in *Lucerna Fidelium* written in the seventeenth century by an author from Offaly,[118] and it was also the situation in Kilkenny in the early eighteenth century.[119] O'Rahilly spotted the

[113] See O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects*, 53–4 and 209. Unfortunately, no sound conclusions can be reached from the many guides to reading Irish commonly found in printed books, mostly Catechisms, up until the nineteenth century, as the pronunciation of final palatal *ch*, *gh* and *dh* in Leinster or East Munster is rarely treated. For an overview of these see M. Hoyne, 'Brief rules for reading Irish found in printed books, 1571–1863', *Celtica* 31 (2019), 213–97.

[114] F. Ó Maolmhuaidh, *Lucerna Fidelium*, ed. P. Ó Súilleabháin (Dublin, 1962), xvi–xvii.

[115] *Cheithre Soleirseadha de'n Eagnuidheacht Chriostuidhe, tarraingthe o cheithre leursmuaintighthibh na siorruidheachta. Air na sgriobhadh go bunnudhasach ann Iottailis le Eoin Baptista Manni, dhe Chomhluadar Iosa, agus curtha a mBeurla Sacsanach le W. V. agus iontoighthe o Shacs-bheulra, go Gaoidheilg le Seumas O'Scoireadh. Portlairge: ar na chur a gClodh le Eoin Bull. 1820.* xvii. See also R. Sharpe and M. Hoyne, *Clóliosta: Printing in the Irish Language, 1571–1871: An Attempt at Narrative Bibliography* (Dublin, 2020), 517. O'Scurry's *Introduction to the Irish Language* is reproduced in Barra Ua Cearnaigh, *Amhail Fuaim Chogair Bhig: Teangeolas Shéamais Uí Scoireadh*, Dán agus Tallann 17 (Dingle, 2011), 234–45.

[116] Ó hÓgáin, *Duanaire*, 14.

[117] Ó hÓgáin, *Duanaire*: for 'Cainnich' see manuscript readings on p. 94 (song 2), 97 (song 5), 133 (song 31); for 'Cainne' see p. 95 (song 3), 106 (song 11); for 'Franca' see p. 123 (song 25); for 'beala' see p. 99 (song 6).

[118] Ó Maolmhuaidh, *Lucerna Fidelium*, xvi–xvii: see also N. Williams, 'The Irish language in County Offaly', in William Nolan and Timothy P. O'Neill (eds), *Offaly: History and Society* (Dublin, 1998), 543–68, at 554–5.

[119] C. Quinn, 'A specimen of Kilkenny Irish,' *Éigse* 11 (1964–6), 107–12: 110. See also *LASID* I, 158 and *SnaG* 454 (V 3.12).

Possessive Pronouns in GSM-1 (1st and 2nd pl.)

	L	F	E	Trinity
1pl	[6] ar n-airm; [21] a*r* ci*n*ed-ne; [22] a*r* ci*neadh-ne*; [22] a*r* *n*dligh*idh*-ni; [23] a*r* ndligh*idh*-ne; [23] a*r* n-a*n*man*n*a; [23] a*r* ndligh*idh*-ne; [24] a*r* ndligh*idh*-ni; [27] saca*i*rt a*r* re*acht*a-ne súd;	[6] ar n-airm; [21] ar cin*ed*-ne; [22] a*r* cin*ed*-ne; [22] ar ndl*ighi*d-n*i*; [23] a*r* ndl*ighi*d-ne; [23] a*r* n-an*m*an*n*a; [23] a*r* ndl*igeadh*-ne; [24] ar ndl*igid*-ne; [27] saga*i*rt a re*acht*ai-ne siud;	[6] ar n-airm; [21] a*r* ci*nneadh*-ne; [22] a*r* cin*eadh*-ne; [22] a*r* ndlighi-ne; [23] a*r* dlighi-ne; [23] a*r* n-a*n*man*n*; [23] a*r* ndl*igheadh*-ne; [24] a*r* ndl*ighin*-ne; [27] saga*i*rt a*r* rrs*eacht*ai*n*e sud;	[6] ar n-airm; [21] ar ci*n*edh-ne; [22] a*r* ci*n*edh-ne; [22] a*r* ndlig*id*-ne; [23] a*r* ndlig*idh*-ne; [23] a*r* n-an*m*an*n*a; [23] a*r* ndlig*idh*-ne; [24] a*r* ndligh*idh*-ne*;* [27] sacairt a*r* re*acht*ane súd;
2pl	[8] cum bhar righ-si; [22] i*n*a ba*r* ndl*ighidh*-si [23] ba*r* ndlig*idh* fei*n*; [23] bur n-a*n*ma*n*a-si; [23] na bha*r* ndligh*idh*-si; [23] bur ran*n* ⁊ bur[120] sealbh; [23] ba*r* nDia fei*n*; [24] bhar ndl*ighidh*-si; [37] b*ur* n-aib*ar*seora;	[8] cum bar righ-si; [22] na b*ur* ndl*igid*-si; [23] b*ur* ndl*igi*d fei*n*; [23] ba*r* n-an*m*an*n*-sa; [23] na b*ur* ndl*ighe*d-si; [23] b*ur* ran*n* ⁊ b*ur* sealb; [23] b*ur* nDia fei*n*; [24] b*ar* ndl*igi*d-si; [37] b*ur* n-aib*ir*seora;	[8] cum bar righ-si; [22] na b*ur* ndl*ighi-si*; [23] bur ndligh*eadh* fe*n* [23] bur n-a*n*man*n*a-sa; [23] na b*ur* dl*ighi*-si; [23] i*n* b*ur* ran*n* ⁊ i*n* b*ur* seilbh; [23] b*ur* Dia fen; [24] b*ur* ndl*ighidh*-si; [37] –;	[8] docum ar rig-si; [22] na a*r* ndlig*id*-si; [23] ar ndlig*id* fein; [23] a*r* n-an*m*an*n*a-si; [23] na a*r* ndl*ighidh*-si [23] –; [23] ar nDia fein; [24] a*r* ndlig*idhi*-si; [37] –;
	Preposition *fó*/*fá* + possessive pronoun *ar*			
1pl (poss.)	[21] fa n-a*r* ndl*ighidh* fei*n*;	[21] – (fo*m* dli*ghidh* fei*n*);	[21] fo n-*a*r ndlighi-ne fe*n*;	[21] – (fom dlig*idh*);
2pl (poss.)	[22] fa bhar cin*eadh*-si	[22] fa n-a*r* cin*edh*-si;	[22] fa n-ar cin*eadh*-si;	[22] fo a*r* cinead-si.

Figure 10: 1st and 2nd poss. pron. in GSM-1.

[120]The form *bhúr* with a length mark is found in Ó Longáin's copy but it is not in the original manuscript.

use of *ar* for *bhar* in R, but not knowing the name of the scribe and assuming it was a Cork manuscript, due to its colophon in Cill Chréidhe, extrapolated from this that 'the two pronouns were confused in Munster Irish also, before the difficulty was solved by taking over *ár* and *úr* from compound forms.'[121] Although O'Rahilly's intuition that the modern Munster Irish forms of the possessive pronouns *ár* and *úr* are borrowed from such compound forms as *do ar* > *dár* and *in bhur* > *i n-úr* is probably correct, if R was the only manuscript used to draw the conclusion that the two pronouns were confused in Munster Irish prior to this borrowing, that statement requires reassessing, because, on the contrary, these examples from GSM-1 show that the tendency in L, written in Cork at the end of the fifteenth century, is to distinguish clearly between the two. Similarly, figure 10 shows that *ar* and *bhar* were clearly distinguished by the scribe of E, who was probably from Cavan, and by the scribe of F. Interestingly, it is only in the composition forms with the preposition *fól/fá* that these last two manuscripts replace *bhar* with *ar*.

Ua Ríghbhardáin's consistency in his use of *ar* for both the first and second plural possessives is distinctive of his orthography and is consistent with the Leinster and North East Munster variety of Irish that was identified above as possibly being relevant to the interpretation of the spellings *nemhchoimsigh*, *ní coimsich* and *nemhchoimsi*. Other clues that our scribe may have spoken this variety of Irish could be found in 3rd pl. prepositional pronoun forms *indtib* beside *indtu* in the Trinity copy of GSM-1,[122] where all other three scribes wrote *innta*,[123] the form *eistib*[124] beside *astu*[125] in his copy of Mandeville in R and in the spelling *cloidhmhe*[126] for *claidheamh* in the copy of *Stair Fortibrais* from the Trinity manuscript. Noteworthy also, given his consistency in spelling intervocalic **g** with a *c* in all the inflected forms of *ag*, are his spellings *cugaind* and *cugaibh*[127] in the inflected forms of the preposition *co* 'towards' in GSM-1, where all other inflected forms of this preposition use *c* intervocalically, as with *ag*.[128] This may indicate that he considered the intervocalic *g* of these forms to be lenited, and that he was representing **x´u**:**n´** and **x´u**:**v´** with pseudo-historic

[121] O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects*, 216–17.

[122] Trinity, fol. 33rb8: ca*ch* ní atā indtib; fol. 33ra22–3: atait na p*er*sana sin uile comarthanach i*n*dtu fein. For the historical development of this feature in the Irish of Leinster see O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects*, 80; Quinn, 'A specimen of Kilkenny Irish,' 111, 'it is difficult to be sure what is indicated by the spelling *orrthamh*.' The form *indtib* is the only form in *Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin*, edited from R, and occurs four times, see K. Meyer (ed.), *Betha Colmáin maic Lúacháin*, Todd Lecture Series 17 (London, 1911), 8, 40, 44 and 76.

[123] [50] L, inta; F, unnta; E, inntu.

[124] R, fol. 69rb11: dochum dhighi dól eistib. Stokes, 'Maundeville', 284.

[125] R, fol. 53va29: co fasa*dh* ceithri gega astu. Stokes, 'Maundeville', 12.

[126] Trinity, fol. 20va4. See W. Stokes, 'The Irish version of Fierabras', *RC* 19 (1898), 14–57, 118–67, 252–91, 364–93, at 34. For the modern distribution of this form see *LASID* I, 265.

[127] Trinity, fol. 31va9 qgaind, and 31va.25, qgaib.

[128] All examples from the Trinity manuscript: 1st sg. cucam (31va33). 2nd sg. cucad (30va34; 33rb43); chucat (33va14). 3rd sg. m. cuici (31vb9; 31vb13; 31vb46; 32ra4; 32va25; 32va26). 3rd pl. qca (31vb7) qq (31vb10; 31vb35).

chughainn and *chughaibh*, instead of by analogy with *fúinn* and *fúibh*, as was and is done by many later writers of Modern Irish from the southern half.[129]

If these spellings are traces of Úa Ríghbhardáin's native phonology, they would hint at the area of North East Munster and Leinster, the same region that historical evidence also indicates was the home of this scribe.

Conclusion

Our scribe was probably a member of the Ó Righbhardáin family who were hereditary historians to the Uí Chearbhaill in Éile, a region covering the area now between north east Co. Tipperary and south west Co. Offaly.[130] During the course of his career Tadhg Úa Ríghbhardáin wrote and decorated a number of manuscripts, of which the surviving ones are all very similar in genre and style. Indeed, the fact that many of the same religious and devotional texts reappear throughout all these manuscripts suggests that he was being hired as a specialist in copying this material by a variety of patrons, probably in the capacity of a professional scribe and illuminator. Equally, the complete absence of bardic poetry, legal material and medical texts may suggest that Úa Ríghbhardáin was limited in the repertoire of texts that he could and would copy. If we combine all of his surviving manuscripts, 293 folios written in Úa Ríghbhardáin's hand survive,[131] making him one of the most prolific scribes that we can account for from this period. Among the texts that stray marginally from this scribe's core genre of devotional material we find Fínghean Ó Mathghamhna's translation of *Mandeville*, one of the three fifteenth-century Irish translations of *Historia Karoli Magni* as well as the Irish translation of the tale of Fierabras, all of which also deal heavily in religious themes albeit through the lens of ethnography, military conquest and romance respectively. In this regard, it is only his copy of the *Dindshenchas* that appears to fall outside the customary remit of this scribe.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to reconstruct a clear picture of who Úa Ríghbhardáin wrote these manuscripts for. Two of them, R and TC, appear to have been in the hands of legal families during the sixteenth century and after, the Síol Fhlannchadha and the Meic Aodhagáin respectively, but the absence of a patronage note or of any ownership note contemporary to our scribe makes it difficult to ascertain if these manuscripts were actually written for members of

[129]O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects*, 217. An excellent illustration of how the inflected forms of the prepositional pronouns tend to influence each other in Irish is found in Liam P. Ó Murchú, 'Forainmneacha réamhfhoclacha i nGaeilge Chorca Dhuibhne', in P. de Brún, S. O Coileáin and P. O Riain (eds), *Folia Gadelica: Essays Presented to R. A. Breatnach* (Cork, 1983), 160–9. See also Williams, 'The Irish language in County Offaly', 553. The forms *chúm* **hu**:**m**, *chút* **hu**:**d**, *chúinn* **hu**:**N´** and *chúibh* **hu**:**v´** also occur in the Irish of Teileann, Co. Donegal (H. Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn* (Dublin, 1959), 196).

[130]Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*, ed. N. Ó Muraíle, 5 vols (Dublin, 2003), i, 168 (§6.1c): 'Muint*ir* Rioghbardáin in Ēle'. R. Gillespie, 'Scribes and manuscripts in Gaelic Ireland, 1400–1700', *Studia Hibernica* 40 (2014), 9–34, at 20. See also T. Venning, 'The O'Carrolls of Offaly: their relations with the Dublin authorities in the sixteenth century' in Nolan and O'Neill, *Offaly: History and Society,* 181–205.

[131]TC, 97 folios; P, 36 folios; Trinity, 35 folios; R, 125 folios.

these families. Some of these manuscripts may have originally been commissioned by particularly pious members of the Uí Chearbhaill,[132] for whom the Uí Ríghbhardáin would have traditionally worked, or by neighbouring families such as the Uí Cheinnéidigh or the Meic Aodhagáin, whose names appear in the margins of TC.

Kobel shows that Úa Ríghbhardáin's style was distinctively antiquarian in its palaeography and illumination, and it has been argued in this article that Úa Ríghbhardáin's imitation of earlier Irish manuscripts may have even extended to the point of him imitating relief scribes, so as to create the impression of a prestigious book that had been commissioned by a wealthy patron from a group of learned scholars, such as was the case with the Book of Ballymote. In doing so, Úa Ríghbhardáin may have been responding to an appetite for books that could be seen as recovering and continuing the language and artistic culture of an idealised stage in Gaelic history. The enthusiasm for such artefacts can be well imagined during the years of the Gaelic resurgence, especially among dynastic groups, such as the Uí Chearbhaill,[133] who managed to reclaim lordship over their ancestral lands during this period after having been expelled by the successive waves of Anglo-Norman conquest and settlement.

On the other hand, while wrapped in a coating of archaic Gaelic design, most of the texts copied by Úa Ríghbhardáin are not densely packed with pseudoarchaic language and his manuscripts contain evidence of the translation and transmission of theological texts from Italy, early romances from France and travel literature from England in fifteenth-century Ireland. In many cases, although few of the texts copied by Úa Ríghbhardáin have been examined this closely, the sources used to create such translations during the fifteenth-century in Ireland can be traced back to versions and adaptations made in England,[134] and the English connections of the old Anglo-Norman families may have acted as channels through which these texts arrived in Ireland.

The recurrence of the same texts in Úa Ríghbhardáin's manuscripts may also suggest that he had access to a nearby library from which he sourced material for his clients. The resemblances of a number of the texts copied by Úa Ríghbhardáin to the contents of the *Leabhar Breac* has been observed by Follett and McLaughlin,[135] and it is possible that our scribe used the Mac Aodhagáin family library to copy at least some of his texts. Culverwell's observation that one of the marginal poems found in the Trinity manuscript also occurs in the

[132] R. Loeber, 'An architectural history of Gaelic castles and settlements, 1370–1600', in P. J. Duffy, D. Edwards and E. FitzPatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland* (Dublin, 2001), 271–314, at 301.

[133] K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, new ed. (Dublin, 2003) 15 and 197–8.

[134] S. Falconer (ed. and trans.), *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomhtha* (Dublin, 1953), xxxi; F. N. Robinson (ed. and trans.), 'The Irish Lives of Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton', *ZCP* 6 (1908), 9–180, 273–338, at 10; G. Quinn (ed. and trans.), *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules*, ITS 38 (London, 1939), xxiv. For an overview of the Irish Marco Polo, all versions of *Gabháltais Séarlais Mhóir* and the Irish translation of Mandeville see Palandri, 'The Irish adaptation'.

[135] W. Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland: Monastic Writing and Identity in the Early Middle Ages*, Studies in Celtic History 23 (Woodbridge, 2006), 102–3; Follett, 'Religious texts', 213–16 and 224–6; McLaughlin, 'Almsgiving', 113–83.

Leabhar Breac may further support this theory,[136] but unfortunately, given Úa Ríghbhardáin's tendency to paraphrase his sources while he copied, the task of identifying the precise versions of texts he used to produce these manuscripts may never yield conclusive results. On the other hand, there is also evidence that Úa Ríghbhardáin journeyed far to create copies of his texts for his clients, and the picture that emerges from the scribal colophon in R is one of a solitary scribe who had travelled to copy a text and was staying with an unfamiliar community whose strict observance of a fast was cause for a scribal comment. Such a comment would hardly seem appropriate if the client of the manuscript had been the local lord, Cormac Láidir Mac Carthaigh Múscraighe, a deeply religious man by all accounts. A similar picture transpires from Úa Ríghbhardáin's colophon in P, in which he asks the reader for a prayer for himself and for the person from whom he got the text, *ar anam an tí ō fúair*, which again indicates that he had consulted someone else's library to create that manuscript.

Certain spellings found in Úa Ríghbhardáin's texts, such as *ar* for *bhur* and perhaps the spellings *nemhchoimsigh, nemhchoimsi* and *coimsich*, would appear to be consistent with the phonology of the regional variety of Irish that emerged in North East Munster and Leinster during the late early modern and modern period, and it is likely that this region, where his probable kin group served as historians to the Uí Chearbhaill, was the scribe's home. The four manuscripts that have survived from him give us a snapshot of a prolific and probably professional scribe who flourished in this area during the 1470s, who travelled to retrieve newly-translated texts for his clients, and who specialised in, but did not entirely confine himself to, religious and devotional material.



R, fol. 6r 1

Appendix I

The following table can be used to trace the forms listed in figures 8 and 10 back to the original manuscript pages as well as Hyde's edition. The number in square brackets refers to a paragraph division made by the author in order to simplify the referencing system in the body of the article.

[136] A. B. Culverwell, 'Quatrains from H 2. 12', *Hermathena* 17 (1912), 133–6, at 135.

	L	F	E	Trinity	ITS xx
[1]	fol. 97vb2–11	p. 3a15–22	fol. 20vb24–34	fol. 30ra16–24	p. 16.9–15
[2]	97vb11–23	3a22–33	20vb34–21ra9	30ra24–36	16.16–18.2
[3]	97vb23–37	3a22–b1	21ra9–28	30ra36–b4	18.2–14
[4]	97vb37–98ra9	3b1–8	21ra28–39	30rb4–10	18.14–21
[5]	98ra9–26	3b8–22	21ra39–21rb20	30rb10–26	18.21–20.11
[6]	98ra26–98rb12	3b22–37	21rb20–21va6	30rb26–43	20.11–29
[7]	98rb12–33	3b38–4a7	21va7–35	30rb44–30va20	22.1–18
[8]	98rb33–98va15	4a7–20	21va36–21vb20	30va20–39	22.18–24.5
[9]	98va16–34	4a20–35	21vb20–22ra8	30va39–b13	24.5–22
[10]	98va35–98vb4	4a35–9	22ra9–15	30vb13–19	24.22–7
[11]	98vb4–24	4a40–4b9	22ra15–37	30vb20–37	24.28–26.18
[12]	98vb24–99ra1	4b9–19	22ra38–22rb13	30vb37–31ra1	26.18–29
[13]	99ra1–24	4b20–39	22rb13–22va3	31ra2–20	26.30–28.18
[14]	99ra24–99rb16	4b39–5a10	22va4–22vb2	31ra20–41	28.19–30.15
[15]	99rb16–21	5a10–15	22vb2–9	31ra41–7	30.15–20
[16]	99rb21–99va1	5a16–29	22vb10–31	31rb1–17	30.21–32.8
[17]	99va2–10	5a29–37	22vb32–23ra3	31rb17–23	32.8–15
[18]	99va10–17	5a38–44	23ra4–16	31rb24–31	32.16–23
[19]	99va17–25	5a44–5b5	23ra16–27	31rb31–8	32.23–34.3
[20]	99va25–35	5b5–12	23ra27–40	31rb38–47	34.4–12
[21]	99va35–99vb6	5b12–17	23ra40–23rb8	31rb47–31va5	34.13–18
[22]	99vb6–13	5b17–23	23rb8–16	31va5–11	34.19–24
[23]	99vb13–31	5b23–37	23rb16–36	31va11–27	34.25–36.8
[24]	99vb31-100ra4	5b37–42	23rb36–23va4	31va27–33	36.9–15
[25]	100ra4–19	5b42–6a10	23va4–24	31va33–46	36.16–31
[26]	100ra19–32	6a10–20	23va24–37	31va46–b10	38.1–13
[27]	100ra32–100rb15	6a21–35	23va37–23vb19	31vb11–32	38.14–30
[28]	100rb15–35	6a35–6b3	23vb19–39	31vb32–32ra2	40.1–15
[29]	100rb35-100va15	6b3–15	23vb39–24ra12	32ra2–14	40.16–28
[30]	100va16–30	6b15–25	24ra12–29	32ra14–25	40.28–42.9
[31]	100va31–100vb16	6b26–39	24ra29–24rb18	32ra26–44	42.10–44.1
[32]	100vb16–29	6b39–7a3	24rb18–35	32ra44–b4	44.1–12
[33]	100vb29–101ra9	7a3–13	24rb35–24va11	32rb4–14	44.12–25
[34]	101ra9–21	7a14–23	24va12–29	32rb15–26	44.26–46.8
[35]	101ra22–101rb1	7a23–35	24va30–24vb8	32rb26–40	46.9–20
[36]	101rb2–21	7a36–7b3	24vb8–34	32rb41–va12	46.21–48.10
[37]	101rb21–6	7b3–6	24vb34–40	32va12–14	48.10–13
[38]	101rb27–101va8	7b7–18	24vb40–25ra18	32va15–29	48.14–50.1
[39]	101va8–21	7b18–27	25ra18–30	32va30–6	50.2–11
[40]	101va21–34	7b27–36	25ra30–25rb2	32va36–43	50.11–21
[41]	101va34–101vb13	7b36–8a1	25rb2–16	32va43–b12	50.21–52.2
[42]	101vb13–30	8a1–13	25rb17–36	32vb12–24	52.2–16
[43]	101vb31–102ra4	8a13–21	25rb36–25va6	32vb24–30	52.17–25
[44]	102ra4–14	8a21–8	25va6–21	32vb30–8	52.26–54.3
[45]	102ra15–26	8a28–36	25va21–34	32vb38–33ra3	54.3–12
[46]	102ra26–102rb7	8a36–8b4	25va34–25vb15	33ra3–17	54.12–26
[47]	102rb7–20	8b4–13	25vb15–27	33ra18–28	54.26–56.5
[48]	102rb20–36	8b13–25	25vb27–26ra3	33ra29–43	56.5–17
[49]	102rb36–102va11	8b25–9	26ra3–13	33ra43–b4	56.18–25
[50]	102va11–28	8b30–40	26ra13–31	33rb4–16	56.25–58.7
[51]	102va28–102vb2	8b41–9a3	26ra31–26rb3	33rb16–23	58.7–14

	L	**F**	**E**	**Trinity**	**ITS xx**
[52]	102vb2–10	9a4–12	26rb3–18	33rb23–30	58.14–22
[53]	102vb10–27	9a12–25	26rb18–41	33rb30–43	58.22–60.7
[54]	102vb27–103ra12	9a26–44	26rb41–26va36	33rb43–va22	60.7–25
[55]	103ra12–34	9a44–9b12	26va36–26vb24	33va22–41	60.26–62.18

ABBREVIATION

RIACat T. F. O'Rahilly, K. Mulchrone, M. E. Byrne, J. H. Delargy, E. FitzPatrick, L. Duncan, W. Wulf, G. Murphy, A. I. Pearson and T. Ó Concheanainn, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1926–70).

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JOHN LELAND AND THE WELSH LANGUAGE[1]

Abstract

This paper attempts to establish the scope of John Leland's knowledge of Welsh. There is no direct evidence of his mastering the language, although the early biographers noticed Leland's command of various idioms of the British Isles alongside his deep knowledge of Latin. This study of Leland's writings, and particularly of his travel itineraries in Wales in the late 30s of the sixteenth century, makes it possible to come to certain conclusions and establish a range of sources contributing to his, as it turns out, quite limited, knowledge of the Welsh language. Nevertheless, his legacy remains extremely important not only for Welsh history and topography, but for the history of the Welsh language.

Introduction

John Leland (*c*. 1503–52), sometimes called 'the father of local English history', remains one of the greatest antiquarians of the British Isles. His *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii regis Britanniae* (1544) on the historicity of King Arthur, his biographical dictionary of British authors *De uiris illustribus* (*c*. 1535–6 and *c*. 1543–6), as well as the compendium of extracts *Antiquitates Britanniae*, are incredibly important. Leland's notes and transcripts, compiled in 1533–6 and known as his *Collectanea*, of which several editions were published in a number of volumes in the eighteenth century by Thomas Hearne, are also a treasure. His topographical notes, compiled *c*. 1538–43 — the so-called *Itinerary* of John Leland — are a most important piece of geographical description of the country and an unparalleled collection of place-names and topographical observations. The data collected by him in this work constitute a most considerable contribution to the history and topography of the realm, and provide, as John S. Lee (2010: 4) observes, 'a unique insight into Tudor England'. As is to be expected, his legacy has been the focus of scholarly attention for centuries, and the Lelandian bibliography is nowadays enormously vast, see, e.g., Shrank (2004: 65–103) or Cramsie (2015: 61–100). Leland's works, and particularly his *Itinerary*, *Assertio* and *Collectanea*, are extremely significant for Welsh studies. Although many of Leland's works related to Wales were never published or re-edited in more recent times, much has been done in the analysis of his presentation

[1]The article is part of RSF project No. 17-18-01624. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for his or her comments on the paper.

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and discussion of the historical and mythological data (Brett 1990) and his description of Wales (cf. Williams 2008). It is also practically impossible to find a piece of comprehensive research on place-names in Wales which does not consider toponymic data collected by Leland. It is also of note that Leland was the first to record a good number of Welsh place-names, and it is thus not infrequent that the list of attestations of a given toponym in modern onomastic studies opens with a quotation from his works, and some of these cases will be noted below.

The major source for this data is of course Leland's *Itinerary*, a collection of topographical notes first published by the prolific English antiquary Thomas Hearne (1678–1735) in 1710–12 (second edition 1744–45); due to the efforts of Lucy Toulmin Smith (1838–1911), we have a current edition of the text published in five volumes.[2] The third of them appeared in 1906 and is entitled *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the Years 1536–1539*. The title aptly provides the chronological frame of the antiquary's travels in Wales, and the book also contains some relevant sections of Leland's *Collectanea* (cf. Hearne 1774, henceforward *Coll.*), similarly dedicated to this part of the kingdom. The publication of this separate volume (Toulmin Smith 1906, henceforward *It.*) was fully appreciated by a Welsh reviewer of the book (Anonymous 1907: 254–5), who also admitted that 'we probably have as perfect an edition as it is possible to produce', although it still lacked a comprehensive commentary.[3] The reviewer commented on several passages himself, and since then a number of occasional notes and discussions of selected fragments of Leland's *Itinerary* in Wales have appeared. The edition of the *Itinerary* by Lucy Toulmin Smith remains indispensable, even though it lacks the *apparatus* standard in modern research and some of the remarks of J. Gwenogvryn Evans on Welsh geographical names published there are misleading. Her editorial methods, as they are stated in the preface (*It.* ix–x), are clear,[4] but nevertheless on quite a number of occasions the reader might be confused as far as the authenticity of Leland's text is concerned. For example, in the description of Breconshire we find the following passage (*It.* 109):

> Broynlles (a place wher [russhis] grouith) Castel in the midde way betwix the Hay and Breknok. It standith in the hundrede of Cantercely. [Brwyn-llyo = the Court of (the *man*) Brwyn.]

Modern scholarship on the place-name, today Bronllys, prefers to etymologize it as 'possibly "court of Brwyn": a pers. n. *Brwyn*, perhaps identical to *brwyn*, "rushes", and *llys*, "court, palace, hall" ' (Morgan and Powell 1999: 46). The

[2] At our disposal there is also a very useful modern English rendering of the *Itinerary* by John Chandler (1993), which omits the Welsh part of it, although it contains certain passages relevant for Welsh studies, as well as a very helpful introductory chapter.

[3] As John Cramsie (2015: 70) beautifully puts in, '[m]adness robbed Leland of the opportunity to leave much more than the notebooks of his travels', and thus in *It.* Toulmin Smith attempted in a way to present a full version of Leland's geographic and topographic observations.

[4] Cf. Toulmin Smith (1907: xx–xxxii); see also Chandler (1993: xxiii–xxiv) for a concise history of the various publications of Leland's *Itinerary*, and pp. xxxiii–xxxiv for a short list of corrections to the edition of Lucy Toulmin Smith, which however excludes the Welsh section.

quotation above includes both approaches, and according to the conventions accepted by the editor, *russhis* 'rushes' must have been supplied from the copy of the text made by John Stow (1524/5–1605), as the word is put in square brackets. The same interpretation is hardly applicable to the last passage of this quotation, while the word in italics should accordingly be traced to Thomas Burton's copy made in 1628. All this may be puzzling, and as John Chandler (1993: ix) admitted, the 'rather disjoined and complicated account' of Leland's travels in Wales 'requires specialist interpretation'. It has also been acknowledged by John Cramsie (2015: 70) that 'the printed editions have inevitably given Leland's journeys an unreal coherence. Like Worcestre's, Leland's *Itinerary* is a dynamic hodgepodge of experiences and remembrances'. He also adds that it is not 'a travel narrative in any traditional sense'. Thus, a new edition of the text (or, rather, texts, in view of the fact that Leland's comments in his other collections were also reproduced in the volume) remains a *desideratum*.

Leland, field-work and languages

The English antiquary travelled the realm extensively, and in his own words, generally 'there is almoste nother cape, nor bay, haven, creke or peere, river or confluence of rivers, breches, waschis, lakes, meres, fenny waters, montaynes, valleis, mores, hethes, forestes, wooddes, cities, burges, castelles, principale manor placis, monasteries, and colleges, but I have seene them, and notid yn so doing a whole worlde of thinges very memorable' (Toulmin Smith 1907: xli). This is certainly an exaggeration, and there were quite a few areas in England, Cornwall or Wales that he never visited. Objectively, there were rigid, reasonable limitations on the scope of his journey through the mid-sixteenth century landscape, which included such minute factors as taking a wrong way (cf. Hutton 1911: 95), that naturally limited the time afforded for his trips. Certainly, we cannot and should not expect a full encyclopaedic description of places that the antiquarian visited, and it has been noted that many stories relating to a number of locations were evidently not known to him, cf. North (1957: 218).

Leland obtained information that he recorded from various sources, and not only from his own observations. Apart from his personal 'field-work', which at times provides us with minute details of description taken through his own eyes, Leland was acquainted with a number of written sources, and he was at least aware of texts in Welsh (cf. Brett 1990: 171 or 177 on Leland's 'Welsh experience'). Occasionally he used written sources supplied by his informants, as his account of Anglesey places in the *Collectanea* (printed as Appendix B in *It.* 128–34) tells us. On top of that, Leland also recorded much of his information from various oral sources. In the words of May McKisack (1971: 11), 'he was a pioneer in the method of direct enquiry and first-hand observation', although both these methods had been used on British soil well before him, e.g. by Geoffrey of Monmouth (see Harris 2017: 55 *et passim*) in the twelfth century or William Worcestre (Harvey 1969) in the fifteenth. In fact, most of the early writers of topography followed (and indeed established), at least to

some extent, major methodologies which still are accepted in modern place-name research (see for that Taylor 2016: 73–5). 'Leland's ear for a good story served him well' (Cramsie 2015: 82) on many occasions, but as we might expect, some of his informants occasionally erred, and the wrong data or faulty interpretations are found sporadically in Leland's work. His uncritical use of the facts supplied by his informants is relevant also to conclusions regarding Leland's command of the language. Furthermore, John S. Lee (2010: 4) draws attention to another type of oral evidence which was used by the antiquary, that is, the 'common voice', 'what most people in the area agreed had happened in the past', to which Leland might add a sceptical note, but this is basically irrelevant to linguistics. In any event, his field-work and consultation of the written texts presuppose a certain command of languages, and there are somewhat contradictory views expressed in the literature regarding Leland's degree of knowledge of Welsh.

Leland's own contemporaries admired his command of various idioms, modern and ancient. As John Bale (1495–1563) remarked in his commentary to Leland's letter addressed to Henry VIII and entitled 'New Year's Gift', which he published in 1549, 'in thys parcell Leylande expresseth, the most excellent wyttes, the knowledge of tongues', and specifies them as *Hebrue*, *Greke* and *Latyne*.[5] In the preface to this letter Bale describes the antiquary as learned in many languages, 'Greke, Latyne, Frenche, Italian, Spanyshe, Brittyshe, Saxonyshe, Walshe, Englyshe and Scottyshe'; note the distinctiveness of *Brittyshe* and *Walshe* in this passage, and the lack of reference to Anglo-Saxon ('Saxonyshe' is ambivalent, but likely to be German here), for which see below. The knowledge of ancient languages achieved by Leland was remarkable indeed, and it has been observed by James P. Carley (1986: 2) that 'the cultivation of the three tongues (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) represents for him one of the highest goals of education'. Certainly, Leland was 'the product of a model humanist education' (Shrank 2004: 66), and accordingly a 'qualified classicist', as Carley (1986: 20) called him. Leland's proficiency in Latin may be illustrated by his own poetry in this language, and it may be remarked that the antiquarian himself believed that his Latin verses would bring him fame (Carley 1986: 1, cf. Cramsie 2015, 65).

In her valuable study May McKisack (1971: 2) refers to Leland's expertise in ancient idioms, too, and also to that 'in several modern languages', which are not, however, identified. The eighteenth century biographer of Leland, describing his residence in All Souls College, Oxford, noted that there 'he prosecuted his studies with great assiduity, and improved himself, not only with Greek and Latin Tongues, but in the Saxon and Welsch, the antient languages of his country' (Huddesford 1772: 4). Generally, antiquarian and philological zeal at Oxford at the time Leland attended it has been noted (cf. Jones 1970: 65), and leaving aside classical languages, Leland's knowledge

[5] *The laboryouse journey & serche of John Leylande for Englandes antiquitees geven of hym as a Newe Yeares gyfte to Kynge Henry the VIII* by Bale was reproduced on a number of occasions, cf. Huddesford (1772: no pagination), or Chandler (1993: 8) for this phrase. The *Newe Yeares gyfte*, without Bale's comments, is also printed in Toulmin Smith (1907: xxxvii–xliii).

of Anglo-Saxon has been evaluated in view of his treatment of the texts he copied (see, e.g., Buckalew 1978: 151 and 160, Carley 1986a: 110 and 117–18), while for that of Welsh the evidence is somewhat controversial due to the lack of direct testimony. According to Caroline Brett (1990: 177), Leland 'never mastered the Welsh language, though he was interested in it and copied a Welsh wordlist'. However, this wordlist, entitled *Ex dictionario Britannico* (*Coll*. 2–6), is in fact not Welsh-Latin, but Breton-Latin; see Swanton (1977), and cf. Shrank (2004: 71–3) for Leland's use of the notion of *Britannia*. As for Leland's *Itinerary* in Wales, Derek Williams (2008: 21–2) notes that the antiquary 'had difficulty in understanding Welsh place-names'. Therefore, there is no direct testimony for the degree of his knowledge of Welsh, although his interest in grammar-books of other languages is known — as James Carley (1986a: 111) observed, '[g]rammatical texts interested Leland and at Glastonbury he noted the grammars of Eutyches, Smaragdus and the more rare volume by Erchanbert of Freising'. There is no evidence that Leland's attention was drawn to similar compositions when he was inspecting monastic libraries in Wales, and unlike another antiquarian, William Camden (1551–1623), he was not known to practise his Welsh with his servant. In fact, there is no confirmation, direct or otherwise, coming from external sources regarding Leland's knowledge of Welsh, or him learning the idiom. Nevertheless, some of the fragments of his own legacy, and particularly of his *Itinerary* in Wales, written down in English but containing Welsh entries, provide us with certain, although limited, information regarding Leland's command of the language. Moreover, the text itself points to the interest of its author in the semantic and morphological aspects of Welsh, which he treats (although not always) in a correct way, and provides evidence for Leland's awareness of linguistic matters going beyond the lexical meaning of Welsh toponyms or of words that he surveyed. With this in mind, several layers of his work will be examined here.

Orthography

The orthography of Welsh words and place-names in Leland's narrative is the layer of his work which naturally comes to one's eyes first. Nowadays quite a few Welsh geographical names stand out to the modern reader in Leland's English text, so what can be said about this aspect in the works of the sixteenth century English antiquary? It should be observed that at the time of Leland's writings there was no commonly accepted orthographic norm of the Welsh language, and the orthographic reform of the sixteenth century had not yet achieved uniformity, see Jones (1970: 74). Medieval Welsh manuscripts did offer definite spelling consistency and regularity, but with an number of exceptions, of course, such that there might not be complete consistency in the transmission of place-name evidence in manuscripts. What about Leland's knowledge of Welsh orthographic habits, then? Lucy Toulmin Smith observed that 'the Englishman found the pronunciation and spelling of Welsh names in Tudor times pretty difficult; and though for the most part Leland's spellings agree with those of the

Valor and of the Act 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26, occasionally he is the more correct' (*It*. x); it may be recalled how, in briefly discussing the orthographic variations of place-names in early maps, F. J. North (1935: 59) noted that '[i]n many cases there would seem to have been no standard spelling'. He continued: 'Leland, for example, gives at least two forms for many of his names, and for Usk he gives seven — *Wisch*, *Wisk*, *Wiske*, *Wske*, *Wyske*, *Wysc*, and *Whisk*'. North concluded:

> Many of the variations in the Welsh place-names arose, of course, from the inability on the part of topographers who could not speak Welsh to put into writing names given to them verbally. Leland for example wrote of a river (*Glas ffrwd*) that flows into the Teifi, 'The water as I heard say is caullid *Glasse rode*'; for a similar reason he gives *Rather gowy* for Rhaiadr Gwy. This factor, which has added so much to the variability of the spellings of Welsh names, may, on occasions, throw light upon the pronunciation in vogue at a particular time.

The passage which North quotes here reads '[t]he watar, as I hard say, is caullid Glesse rode' (*It*. 56), and the same fragment was reproduced accurately in his article published ten years later.[6] This statement of North is certainly correct, and Leland's records of a number of place-names reflect phonetic rather than traditional spellings. It is also true that the antiquary used oral sources of information for his inquiries, and he regularly recorded the names of his informants in the text, cf., e.g., 'Grifin Dun Justice of Cairmardine tolde me that ther is a place about Strateflure caullyd Cregnaullin' (*It*. 56), or 'a monke of Strateflur told me that for a certenty Newport in Kemmisland is caullid Tredraith in Walsch' (*It*. 123). This oral information by default presupposes variations in pronunciation of geographical names as well as in how they were heard. The existence of orthographic variants in the toponyms used by Leland is slightly different on the whole from what F. J. North (1957: 214) called the 'inaccuracies' which crept into maps in the period, since these were mostly engraved by foreigners and can be explained by various reasons. Nevertheless, one common denominator remains — the command of the language.

Derek Williams (2008: 106–7) has already noted Leland's misunderstanding of the Welsh pronunciation of several names, and it has been remarked on a number of occasions that sometimes the evidence that Leland collected from these oral and secondary sources was incorrect or not precise (cf., e.g., Osborne 1989: 3–4, cf. also Breeze 2017 regarding written sources). Various aspects of such sources of information for modern place-name studies have been considered concisely by Simon Taylor (2016: 74–5 and *passim*), and it is important to note that Leland used phonetic spelling for many geographical names known to him from first-hand evidence. In order to make this point more clear, his modes of writing down Welsh toponymy may be compared with those of his contemporary Andrew Borde, the Englishman who recorded some Welsh in his *Fyrst*

[6] '[w]e have a good illustration of an attempt at phonetic spelling in a note made by Leland concerning a river that flows into the Teifi […], thus effectively disguising the real name, Glas-ffrwd' (North 1945: 37, cf. North 1957: 217).

Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge, completed in 1542 (Evans 2008: 93), as opposed to observations of the Welshman William Salesbury (*c*. 1520–*c*. 1584) in his *Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* published in 1547 as well as the notes by another Welshmen, Humphrey Llwyd (1527–68), made slightly later (e.g. Lhuyd 1572). For that purpose, a brief selection of consonants for which different graphemes were used in the two tongues may suffice. Before turning to that, however, a brief commentary on Leland's presentation of vowels will be appropriate. In fact, Leland's unawareness of certain Welsh convention has been regretted already by Humphrey Llwyd, who noted that 'in derivation of words our countrymen do often turn *u* into *y* (the ignorance whereof did cause much trouble to my friend Master Leland)' (Schwyzer 2011: 59; cf. Lhuyd 1572: 9a). Generally, there have been various strategies in rendering Welsh vowels from outside of the Welsh tradition in the Middle Ages and later (cf. e.g., Crawford 1982: 155–6 or Evans 2008: 101–3), and here one may note Leland's reluctance to use the grapheme <w>. It is found sporadically in his *Itinerary* (cf. *Yr hendwr*, *It*. 78), but normally Leland prefers <o> or <ou> instead, cf. *Comehere* (for Cwmhir, *It*. 52), *Comeustwith* (Cwm Ystwyth, *It*. 119), *Portdoure* (Porth Dwr, *It*. 105) or *Glindour* for Glyndŵr (*It*. 108). Leland's rendering of Welsh consonantism shows more diverse strategies.

Welsh consonantism and Leland

To start with, it may be noted that the Englishman Andrew Borde uses the graph <v> (<u>) to denote [v] in various lenited forms as in *Deu ven dicko* (for *Duw fendico*), *auedorough* to render *a fedrwch*, or *vara* which corresponds to *fara* (Evans 2008: 101–3). Leland's use of <v> for [v] is also consistent, as in 'Llan Vair a castel yn Base Venteland a ii. myles almost north from Cairguent' (*It*. 44) or *Llanvair Vadelen* (twice, *It*. 94), cf. *vaur* (lenited form of *mawr* 'big'), *vehan* (*bechan* 'little') or *velen* (*melen*) as in *It*. 121 and elsewhere in the text. Sometimes he notably uses <f> for [v], as in *Landaf*, rendered seventeen times exclusively in this spelling (*It*. 17–25), but this example is ambiguous as it may well conceal [f], as in *Llandaff*, and therefore is not reliable. It is important that to denote [f] Leland opts for a single letter *f* rather than the double *ff* which is accepted in Welsh usage. Thus, we find *Nant Franco* for Nant Ffrancon (*It*. 83), *Frode* for Ffrwd (*It*. 86), or *Fonnon* for Ffynnon (*It*. 98), and the same seems to be the practice of Andrew Borde, who uses it in *forth* for *ffordd* (Evans 2008: 102). However, for the word denoting 'valley' (W. *dyffryn*), Leland constantly uses the digraph, as in *Diffrin Risca* (for Risca and the identification of Leland's *Dyffryn Risca*, see Osborne 1989), which is frequent in the Itinerary (*It*. 13, 15, 17). In contrast, the Welshman William Salesbury (1547) categorically differentiates <f> and <ff>, while Humphrey Llwyd states that 'we use **F** always for *v* when it is a consonant, as *Llanfair* is in reading called 'Llanvair',

for **V** is always a vowel. Instead of the Latin *f* we use **PH** or **FF**'.[7] Whereas Andrew Borde renders Welsh [δ] by <d> (*deuardeck* for *deuarddeg*) or <th> (*deyth* for *dydd*), see Evans (2008: 101–2), for Leland the usual grapheme is certainly <d>, cf. *L*(*l*)*andewi* for Llanddewi (*It*. 57, 117, 118, 123, etc.), although sometimes he also opts for <th> (Llechuueth, *It*. 83). According to Humphrey Llwyd, to denote this sound 'double **DD**, as it is commonly written amongst our countrymen, or amongst the learned after this manner **DH**' (Schwyzer 2011: 51, cf. Lhuyd 1572: 2b) were used in Wales.

It is rewarding to have a look at the spellings of the sounds which do not have exact correspondences in English. Thus, to render the resonant denoted in Welsh usage by <rh>,[8] Leland uses <r> irrespective of its position, cf. *Rowse* and *Roose* for Rhôs (*It*. 64) or *Penryn*, *Penryne*, *Penrin* etc. for Penrhyn (*It*. 88–9). There are some unusual spellings as well, cf. *Rruchwin* for Rhychwyn (*It*. 80), contrast *Roughwyn* (*It*. 83), but these also find parallels in Welsh written sources, and as the editor of *Celtica* suggests, may point to the use of a written source in such cases. The substitution of <rh> by <r> is certainly expected, but at the same time we find <rh> in the personal name (Sir) *Rhese ap Thomas*, rendered in this particular spelling throughout the text (*It*. 52, 57, 60), while Andrew Borde renders the name with *r-* (*Rys*, Evans 2008: 102). Humphrey Llwyd observed that 'CH expresseth the nature of χ, called *chi* among the Grecians, and hath no affinity with the pronunciation in French or English of the same aspiration' (Schwyzer 2011: 51, cf. Lhuyd 1572, 2a), and William Salesbury (1547) stressed the fact that <ch> denoted different sounds in English and Welsh. To render this voiceless velar fricative Andrew Borde uses various strategies, as in *daw**h*** and *daw**s*** for *daw**ch***, *uedorou**gh*** for *fedrw**ch***, *thiol**ph**ah* for *ddiol**ch**a*, cf. *wheh*, *weh*, *why*, *whe* for *chwi* (Evans 2008: 92 and 102–3). He never uses the digraph <ch> to denote it, even though it is found very often in Leland's 'Itinerary', such as in *Llechwedd* (several attestations in *It*. 79, cf. also Llechuueth vcha *It*. 83, with *uchaf*). Occasionally Leland uses <gh> instead, as Castelle Gogh (*It*. 18) and Castel Cough (*It*. 125), and contrast the attestations of *Rhy**ch**wyn / Rou**gh**wyn* mentioned above.

As Geraint Evans (2008: 92) observes, for Andrew Borde the Welsh voiceless lateral fricative caused considerable problems, and he conveyed it variously with the graphemes <cl>, <kl>, <th>, and <l>. Similar substitutions are found in other sources (cf. North 1945: 34–37) to denote the sound 'sharp in the hissing', as Llwyd characterised it (Schwyzer 2011: 52). <L> and the digraph <ll> were used in the Welsh tradition to denote different sounds, and the learned Welshman William Salesbury (1547) observes this dichotomy, while Humphrey Llwyd, whose own last name begins with this sound unfamiliar in English speech, noted that '[w]e have also a peculiar letter to ourselves, which the ruder sort fashion like **LL**, but the better-learned

[7]English translation quoted from Schwyzer (2011: 52). See Lhuyd (1572: 2b) for the Latin original.

[8]Cf. Schwyzer (2011: 52 and fn. 78). William Salesbury (1547) devotes a paragraph to this traditional spelling.

write with **LH**' (Schwyzer 2011: 52; cf. Lhuyd 1572: 2b). It has been noted that Leland himself was not consistent in his spellings (cf., e.g., North 1945: 35), but his use of the digraph <ll> to denote this sound, and only rarely for <l>, is noteworthy. Thus, he records the place-name Llandovery (Welsh *Llanymddyfri*) in various guises, *Llanameueri* being the most popular spelling, which is found alongside *Llanamuery*, used twice (*It*. 112–3), as well as the well-attested *Llanandeuery* (*It*. 115 and 121–2), all with *Ll-*. Explanations of the other variations in the spelling of this toponym are available: F. J. North (1945: 35) observes that 'Llanameueri resulted from the accidental ommission [sic] of a *d* but this led Leland into making a curious mistake, for he stated that the town was named after the brook which flows through it, which brook he accordingly called Euery (=Every or Eferi) Brook. There is of course no such brook and the one that flows through Llandovery is called Bawddwr'.[9] What is remarkable, however, is that the edition of L. Toulmin Smith testifies only to a single attestation of this place-name with a single *L-* (*Lanamdeueri It*. 57), and it is not at all clear whether this was the original spelling as the sentence in which it occurs is put in brackets and is thus possibly not from Leland's original. This raises once again the plea for a new edition of the text. Provisionally, however, it may be stressed that <ll> is the customary spelling of the sound in this toponym in the original text. However, as we have seen, renderings of other names with a single *l* do still occur, cf. *Landewi Brebui* (*It*. 118). One may even speculate that the word *llan* 'enclosure, church', etc., considered by Melville Richards (1998: 128) the most important element in Welsh place-names and certainly one with a very high frequency in records, was known to Leland in this particular spelling. Generally, and besides names in *llan*, the expected digraph is found abundantly in Leland's records: *Lline* (Llŷn, *It*. 53, 80, etc.), *Llin Tyue* (*It*. 56), *Llechwed iha* (i.e. uchaf, *It*. 79), although a single *l* is used on a number of occasions, as in *Lochor* (*It*. 61).

Alternative spellings to render this Welsh sound also occur in Leland's usage, but on a smaller scale, and mainly in non-initial position, although <ll> is found there as well, cf. 'the montaine of Penllin' (*It*. 74). The interesting case is Leland's spelling of Llangollen, which appears as *Llangotlan* and *Llan Gotlan* (*It*. 90), where *llan* is spelled with <ll>, while the second — identical — sound is rendered by -<tl>-.[10] Apart from <tl> word-internally we also find -<thl>-, as in 'Commote Penthlline' (*It*. 77) or *Enisenthle* (Ynys Enlli, *It*. 81); cf. the spelling *Enthli* used by Gerald the Welshman, characterized by S. Zimmer (2003: 335) as 'an early attestation of the common E[nglish] misrepresentation of the W[elsh] voiceless lateral, a phoneme unknown in E[nglish] as in

[9] See Lee (2010: 6) for Leland's usage of the term 'town'.

[10] As the editor of *Celtica* kindly reminds me, this is presumably because <tl> /tl/ was phonologically possible in the middle of English words but not at the beginning. It would be natural for someone used to English to make this substitution accordingly in the middle of the word but not at the beginning.

most languages of the world'[11]. Non-canonical spellings are also found word-initially, and one may note the consistent usage of <kl>- to render the sound in the river-name Lleder, which Leland writes down four times as *Kledder* (River), *It*. 81–84. Some of his other examples do not offer possibilities for generalizations. Thus, the final digraph <ll> in W. *castell* 'castle' *vel sim*. (see Falileyev 2019: 90–3 for some problems of the analysis) is rendered differently: for Castell Coch, for example, he writes *Castelle Gogh* (*It*. 18), and also 'Castel Cough, in Englisch Redde Castel' (*It*. 125), cf. also *Castel Trogy* (*It*. 44) and *Trecastel* (*It*. 113). Various spellings for 'castle' are likewise used in his English text, as in 'the parte of the towne hillinge toward the castell' (*It*. 11), 'the castelle is on the este side of the toun' (*It*. 14) or 'the castel of Dinas Poys' (*It*. 23).

It is evident, therefore, that John Leland's acquaintance with Welsh traditional orthographic usage was insufficient to influence his spelling more than sporadically, and as F. J. North (1935: 43) noted long ago, 'there was so little uniformity' in his spelling of Welsh geographical names. It looks impossible to suggest that he ever studied Welsh, but nevertheless, in contrast to Andrew Borde, who was absolutely foreign to the written form of the Welsh language, some details of Leland's spelling point to the fact that he was somehow acquainted with the Welsh tradition of writing things down. Caroline Brett (1990: 171) was of the opinion that 'it is almost certain that Leland did see some historical manuscripts in Wales', and even if they were presumably in Latin, it may be expected that they contained Welsh geographical names spelled according to Welsh practice. Moreover, the antiquary himself does refer to 'Welsh sources' that he consulted, although this reference is found in the section of his *Itineraries* dedicated to Shropshire, not Wales. The passage on the names of Shrewsbury (Toulmin Smith 1908: 81–2) reads:

> The towne of Shrobbesbyri standithe on a rokky hill of stone of a sadde redd earth, and Severne so girdethe in all the towne that savinge a litle pece by ... it wer an isle. It is comonly caullyd now in Walche Moythik. Writers in Walsche caul it Penguern, *id est*, *caput Alneti*. Schrobbesbyri is the very Englyshe word truly writen, not muche dissonant from Penguern, and Salapia in Latin goith far from the Walche name.

Ralf Higden in his description of Shrewsbury names the place as *Salopia* in Latin and notes that in English it is called *Schrobbesburia*, while 'Britannice vero vocatur Penguern, quod sonat Caput abietis', see on this passage Drinkwater (1882: 42). Higden could hardly be labelled as one of the 'writers in Walsche', but Gerald the Welshman may at least be qualified thus, and in his *Itinerarium Kambriae*, used by Leland on several occasions (see below), Gerald mentions the town under the name *Slopesburia*, and adds: 'Sonat autem

[11] As the anonymous reviewer notes, '[i]t's an attempt by writers (not necessarily English) to render the sound using the conventions of Anglo-Norman spelling familiar to them', and he or she suspects 'that these writers may quite often have been Welsh-speaking'.

Penguern caput alneti'. In this passage (for it cf. also Zimmer 2003: 322), the explanation of *Penguern* is identical to that of Leland. Nevertheless, it has been admitted that Gerald's 'Welsh was not up to the required standard' (Putter 2009: 87),[12] and in any event his spelling of local geographical names was distant from practices accepted even slightly later. It will suffice to mention here in this respect that the famous *llan* is spelled by him as *lan* ('Lan enim locus ecclesiasticus sonat', see Zimmer 2003: 319 for this passage), and also in a number of place-names which he recorded; the spelling <ll> was not yet universal in Gerald's time. The works of Geoffrey of Monmouth were certainly known to and studied by Leland, and it is supposed that this famous author was familiar with Welsh orthographic usage, cf. Crawford (1982: 161).[13] However, in his *Historia* we find Welsh onomastics in a heavily Latinized context and anyway Welsh names are certainly not very common there; to list Geoffrey among 'writers in Walsche' would be an inaccuracy. Nevertheless, this piece of evidence provides support for the suggestion that John Leland was acquainted with texts written by 'writers in Walsche' of various epochs (cf. also the passage on Anglesey which he received from a local informant in a written form, as mentioned above), although the actual degree of this acquaintance with Welsh orthographic habits remains by necessity disputable.

Semantics and grammar in place-names

As we can see, observations on the antiquarian's orthography in rendering Welsh data in his text point to a certain degree of acquaintance with Welsh orthographic usage, which most likely is due to consulting various types of works by 'writers in Walsche'. In any event, it contrasts markedly with orthographic patterns used by another Englishman, Andrew Borde, who admitted that 'where I do not wryte true Welshe, I do write it that euery man may rede it and vnderstand it without any teachynge' (quoted in Cramsie 2015: 54). Obviously, Leland's acquaintance with the Welsh language becomes known to us mainly through his comments on Welsh onomastics. Although it has been observed by Cathy Shrank (2004: 89) that,

> Leland converts vernacular place names into Latin, unlike his contemporary John Major. Leland thus defamiliarizes the landscape, a use of renaming that makes additional assault on Cornish and Welsh identity. Leland is in fact erasing the history encapsulated in vernacular place names by replacing them with Latin alternatives, rendering Cornwall and Wales uniform with England, to which he has applied the same technique,

[12] On the Welsh language of Gerald, see Zimmer (2003), Putter (2009: 86–7 and 99–101), cf. Harris (2017: 27, 114–19).

[13] As the author also notes, 'only an edition of the *Historia* based on all available MSS could permit us to ascertain whether his orthography of British names changed in the course of composition' (Crawford 1982: 161).

this valuable comment is not applicable to Leland's *Itinerary*. Indeed, he recorded an incredible number of place-names in Wales, and very often provided additional remarks on their meanings. It may also be noted in parenthesis that occasionally the *Itinerary* contains commentaries of a historical nature. Thus, for Llanddewi Brefi (Cardiganshire), it is stated that 'Landewi, as sum say, caullid Breui, bycause it stondith on Breuy Brooke' (*It*. 117). This is a fairly reasonable explanation as it indeed refers to the previous name of the settlement based on the hydronym, see Wmffre (2004: 2, 509–10) for a complete discussion. Only Leland's linguistic remarks are interesting for us here, however. Neither are we concerned with his records of toponyms which are known in two or more different names in various traditions, primarily Welsh and Latin. Indeed, examples like 'Llan Egwiste, alias Vallis Crucis' (*It*. 90) referring to Valle Crucis Abbey,[14] or sentences of the type '[t]he chirche is caullid in Walsch Llan engan Brening, id est, Fanum Niniani Reguli' (*It*. 87), for Llan Engan Vrenhin (Caern.), are frequent. Similarly, Leland commonly records Welsh and English names of the same settlement, as 'Traflon [i.e. *Trallwng*], alias the Walsche Pole' (*It*. 73), 'Presteine, in Walche caullyd Llanandre' or 'Knightton, in Walche caullid Trebuclo' (*It*. 10), and these will not concern us here either.[15]

The antiquarian frequently explains vernacular names either in Latin or in English, cf. 'an hille […] caullid Penbere, i.e. caput sepulcri' (*It*. 99), and these comments are important for our estimation of his reflections on the language. For example, mentioning *Ynys y Meirch* in Caernarvonshire he also translates the second part of the nesonym using a grammatically correct and semantically exact Latin form (gen. pl.) *equorum*: 'Ther is an other islet betwixt it and the shore, caullid Inis Mirach, i.e. equorum, having good grasse' (*It*. 88). Welsh *hen* in the river-name rendered in the text as *Hene Wy* is precisely glossed by 'old' (*It*. 109), cf. also 'Grifith ap Robert [V]ehan dwellith at Tale Henbont, i.e. *veteris pontis*, in Iuionith' (*It*. 85) with the interpretation provided in Latin. In his travels in Breconshire Leland reports that he 'left on the right honde Munnith du, the Blake Montaine' (*It*. 112), thus offering English parallels to two Welsh nouns,[16] and he writes about 'Castel Cough, in Englisch Redde Castel' (*It*. 125) in Monmouthshire. Providing first attestations of a number of lake-names in Cardiganshire, he translates both the generic and the qualifying components: thus 'Llinnher, longus lacus' (*It*. 120, Mod. Llynhir, see Wmffre 2004: 2, 585) or 'Llinne duy, i. lacus niger' (*It*. 121, Llynddu, see Wmffre 2004: 2, 584), and the list may be continued. It is worth mentioning that sometimes only one component is translated, as in *It*. 119 '[t]he first river be side Tyue that I passid over was Clardue, that is to say Blak Clare, no great streame but cumming thoroug

[14]Welsh *Abaty Glyn Egwestl*; for Leland's visit there see also Williams (2008: 44–6).

[15]Leland also records (and explains) two Welsh names for Hereford in England, *Heneford* and *Treffarith* (Toulmin Smith 1908: 65–6, cf. Hutton 1911: 138).

[16]See, however, the discussion of the oronym in Morgan and Powell (1999: 40) and Owen and Morgan (2007: 34) which takes consideration only of Leland's 'Atterel Hylles … in Walsche Meneth e Cadair', *recte* 'Atterel Hylles, the wich be cawlled in Walsch Meneth e Cadair' (*It*. 104). Here we deal with the names in two languages, and the attempt to translate it into Latin is also provided, 'id est montes alti instar cathedrarum'.'

cragges', for the history of the hydronym Claerddu also in Cardiganshire see Wmffre (2004: 3, 1235).

Some other quotations deserve attention, too. Thus, Leland writes, '[t]here is northward in Credine a bay or rode very goode for shippis, and that greate, caullid Carrig Gonnyon, *Anglice* White Stonys' (*It*. 89). The place-name in question is Cerrig Gwynion (Caern.), and although Leland's spelling is peculiar, it is noteworthy that his rendering in English correctly makes use of the plural form, like in his interpretation of *Ynys y Meirch* quoted above. Sometimes Leland's spellings are confusing, of course, and the plural form of the Welsh word can only be recognized on the basis of the gloss that he provides, as in 'Guenwynmyreth, i.e. Horsis Broke' (Caern., *It*. 86), where the second component is W. *meirch* (pl.) 'horses', cf. North (1957: 178). There are also examples where we find glosses in two languages. In his description of Pembrokeshire, Leland reports, 'Ther is a litle rille betuixt the ii. Gleves a caullid Killell, i.e. Cultellus' (*It*. 63), and slightly later in the *Itinerary* he recalls again the 'litle ryveret caullid in Walsch [Kyllell, the word was supplied by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, as the editor notes] in Englisch Knife' (*It*. 63–4). A number of Leland's translations also require attention. Thus, discussing Llyngorast (Card.), he writes: 'Linnygorres, not ii. miles from Llinduy. Gorsse in Walsche, a myer in Englisch' (*It*. 121). The name contains *gores* 'wasteland', see Wmffre (2004: 2, 584), and *gores*, *gorest* 'open, uncultivated, waste, barren' (of land) is first attested according to GPC s.v. *gores*[2], *gorest* only since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The word is found in Welsh toponymy recorded even earlier, see references in Wmffre (2004: 2, 584), but this note of Leland's allows us to move the date of the first attestation of the word in its non-toponymic usage nearly two centuries earlier than the previously accepted date. In his description of Breconshire Leland mentions the 'place caullid Porthamal, i.e. Porta copiae' (*It*. 108), thus providing translations for the parts of the compound, i.e. W. *porth* 'gate, door' and *aml* 'numerous, great', cf. W. *amyl* found in Salesbury's dictionary (1547) glossed by E. *plentuouse*. As R. Morgan and R. F. P. Powell (1999: 132) suspect, this may refer 'to the large gatehouse of Great Porthamal or elliptically to the large, important house itself'. Although the authors consider here other explanations, they turn non-committal, and one may note that W. *aml* is not found in the list of place-names elements in Owen and Morgan (2007).

Some knowledge of Welsh words is revealed not only in the glosses provided but in Leland's commentaries on selected toponyms. For example, he explains a church name and the corresponding village name in the following manner: 'it is caullid Llaneinis, by cause the chirch is set betwixt the ryvers of Cluid and Cluedog as in an isle' (*It*. 94). This explanation of Llanynys in Denbighshire is not only acceptable (cf. Owen and Morgan 2007: 290), but also points to the fact that W. *ynys* 'island' was known to Leland. Commenting on Cantre'r Gwaelod, the author notes: '2. commotes of good plentiful but low grounde caullid Cantre Gwaylode, i.e. *terra demissa vel subsidens planitie*, now cleene eatin away' (*It*. 77); on legends associated with this area and attempting to explain the phenomenon see North (1957: 147–62). As Cathy Shrank

(2004: 86) observed, '[i]n the notes to his Itinerary, England and Wales are depicted as tamed and productive landscapes', and apart from its illustration of the observation this passage also explains W. *gwaelod* 'lower ground' *vel sim.*

It is hardly possible to imagine that John Leland's comments on the semantics and grammar of Welsh place-names result from his monotonous cabinet studies of available books. Rather, it is most probable that his sources for the various strata of information were different, and furthermore, his *Itineraries* testify to that. Thus, describing Leominster in Herefordshire, England (Toulmin Smith 1908: 74), Leland states:

> And it is suppoysyd of clerkis that the old name of this towne tooke beginninge of the nunes, and was caullyd in Walche Llan-llieny, idem *locus vel fanum monialium*, and not of a lyon that is writon to have apperyd to Kynge Merwalde,

and this quotation explicitly indicates the origin of the information. This passage contains not only a Latin rendering of two Welsh words, *llan* and *llieni* (plural of *lleian* 'nun') in the alleged compound, which is thus also identified as such, but also provides them in (mainly) Welsh orthography. It is also remarkable that the second component retains its radical according to Welsh grammatical rules, and is not lenited as happens to second constituents which contain other initial consonants. This accurate information on the meaning of the place-name comes from the non-identified *clerkis*, who were presumably also the source of the alongside appropriate Welsh orthography, correct morphological division and proper usage of the plural form. The fact that it is another example of folk etymology in Leland's writings should also be considered, and the sources of the information preserved in this passage may yet be traced.

PHONO-MORPHOLOGY

The most striking evidence of Leland's acquaintance with the Welsh language is, perhaps, his recognition of Welsh lenition. While 'the Greeks and Latins in the ends of their words have variations and cases, so this tongue contrarwise hath the same changing in the beginning of the words', observed Humphrey Llwyd slightly later (Schwyzer 2011: 53; cf. Lhuyd 1572: 3b), and Welsh mutations are often recorded in various guises by contemporary visitors to Wales. Thus, Andrew Borde writes down such phrases as *in hy* (for *yn nhy* 'in the house', cf. the unmutated form *ty*) or *moes imi gaws* 'give me some cheese', cf. the unlenited form *caws* 'cheese'. These were discussed by Geraint Evans (2008: 93), who comes to the conclusion that 'mutation is generally recorded in the orthography, as we would expect if a non-Welsh speaker were transcribing spoken Welsh'. For some of Borde's quotations Evans also suspects a written source, and the same approach could be applied to the study of Leland's notes, compiled several years later. What is important is that Leland's texts appear to show a certain amount of reflection by the author on this grammatical issue.

First of all, he recognises the radical form of the mutated word. Thus, for the place-name Llan Beulan in Anglesey he provides the comment, 'alias Pulan, proprium nomen' (*Coll.* 86 = *It.* 130), and although the personal name is in fact **Peulan* with a disputable pre-history (see Jones and Roberts 1996: 18), the recognition of the lenition in the toponym is correct. Similarly, for Llanfair (also Anglesey, on it see Jones, Roberts 1996: 19), he comments, 'Mair per se Maria', and importantly notes: 'sed alias Vair pro Mair sonant' (*Coll.* 85 = *It.* 129). At the same time he occasionally fails to restore the lenited form of the word, as in his discussion of *Llinyuigin Velen*, where he rightly suggests that 'Velen is yelow of the color of the mosse and corrupt gresse about hit' (*It.* 12), whereas *melen* would have been the correct radical form. Also, he equates *Llan Tegla*, *Llantegla* (Denb.) with Lat. *Fanum Teclae* (*It.* 70–1). The equation is correct, but the lenition of the second component is not indicated by the antiquary (for the place-name see Owen and Morgan 2007: 228 s.v. *Llandegla*), and on a number of occasions he puts on record both lenited and radical forms for the same name, as in *Castelle Gogh* (*It.* 18) and *Castel Cough* (*It.* 125) for Castell Coch.

What is certainly extraordinary is that Leland verbally explains the lenition expected in the second part of compounded names when commenting on the origins of the toponym Ruddlan. He writes (*It.* 93):

> Rethelan, communely caullid Rudelan, cummith of Rethe, that ys to say roone color or pale redde, and glan, that is the shore'

and to explain *-lan* he adds,

> but G when Glan is set with a worde præceding G is explodid,

that is, reduced to a zero sound, cf. Llwyd's '**G** in the first place vanisheth away', (Schwyzer 2011: 53). The etymological analysis of the place-name is correct (cf. Owen and Gruffydd 2017: 168), and it is this phono-morphological comment that requires the greatest attention. The same Welsh feature is also saliently illustrated by his equation of *Llanarmon* with *Fanum Germani* (*It.* 70): the antiquary is not alarmed by the fall of the initial *g-* in the second component due to the lenition, although the name in question is of course *Garmon*. It may be noted in parenthesis that knowledge of Welsh lenition, including the reduction of initial *g-* to a zero-sound, has been suspected for Geoffrey of Monmouth (cf. Harris 2017: 93).

In regard to the examples quoted above, the accurate equation of Latin personal names and their Welsh counterparts should be noted, cf. also 'Peder, id est, Petrus. Patarne, id est, Patarnus' (*Coll.* 91). Leland also correctly selects personal names from toponymy, as in '[t]his rok is caullid Guortheren, i.e. Vallis Vortegerni in Llene' (*It.* 87, Craig Gwrtheyrn, Caernarvonshire), or Llangyric (*fanum Cyriaci*, *It.* 122), as it is found in the copy of the text made by Thomas Burton in 1628, and correctly identifies Dewi with David (*It.* 57). Occasionally, however, he makes mistakes. Thus, Leland, who was the first to put on record the medieval name of Ewloe Castle in Flintshire as *Castel Yollo*,

continues his note on 'Hoele ... a gentilman of Flyntshir': '[h]e hath also a ruinus castelet, or pile, at a place caullid Castel Yollo. This word Yollo is the same in Walsche that Lluelen ys, and Ludovicus in Latine' (*It*. 93). This interpretation of the toponym is erroneous. It is certainly English in origin, a compound containing *ǣwell* 'stream' and *hlāw* 'mound, hill', see the complete discussion in Owen (1994: 168–70). What is noteworthy for the analysis of this passage is the equation of personal names. In the commentary to Tomlin Smith's edition of the *Itinerary* it is stated that 'Yollo or Iolo stands for Edward in Welsh' (*It*. 93 fn. b), and it is most probable that Dr Gwenogvryn Evans was responsible for that.[17] It should be pointed out that Evans's contribution to this volume was vehemently criticised by its early reviewer (Anonymous 1907: 254–5), and it may be mentioned that *Iolo* has long been viewed as the hypocoristic form of Iorwerth (cf. Morgan and Morgan 1985: 140). Moreover, in the comment on this passage in his edition of *The Description of Pembrokeshire* Henry Owen already observed: 'Lewis was of course a conventional way of translating Llywelyn, but Leland errs in mixing up Iolo, the pet form of the name Iorwerth, with Llelo, the pet form of Llywellyn. Llelo survives in Welsh place-names and as a surname in Shropshire. It is generally supposed that Ewloe Castle stands for Castell Iolo; but if that is so, it does not seem to be known who Iolo was' (quoted in Owen 1994: 173). Obviously, the correct interpretation of Ewloe Castle was not known to Leland's informant(s), but this attempt to play with personal names to explain it is worthy of attention.

Apart from Leland's recognition of Welsh mutations, one may pay attention to a passage in the *Itinerary* which touches upon another phono-morphological peculiarity of the language. Mentioning Hoele, 'a gentilman of Flyntshir' (cf. Williams 1956: 16), the antiquary notes: 'Hoele communely caullid in Englische Poele, and, as sum say, it is the name that we caull (ms. *caullid*) Hughe' (*It*. 92). The commentary to this sentence in the edition reads as 'Poele or Powel = ap Howel, *i.e*., son of Howel', and it is of course remarkable that Leland was aware of this derivation. Certainly, in modern scholarship it is commonly accepted that 'the formation *ab Howel* > *Powel*, *Powell* is obvious' (Morgan and Morgan 1985: 125), and the Englishman's awareness of the linguistic connection between Hoele and Poele is thus significant. His equation of the English name Hugh with the Welsh counterpart (Hywel), with a reference to the source not indicated directly, is also noteworthy. Substitutions of Hugh (Huw) for Howel (Hywel) are well known, particularly in North Walian records of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, but 'it is clear that Hugh did not displace Hywel in the north east to any great extent', see Morgan and Morgan (1985: 20 and 126). This reflection, therefore, correlates with the information provided in the *Itinerary*, and the historico-morphological analysis is once again perfectly correct.

An interesting comment is provided on Dyserth, Flintshire. Leland writes, 'Thisarte, or Disarte, Castelle yn Flyntshire, by the name yn Walsche is thus

[17] According to the editorial methods specified in the preface to the edition (Toulmin Smith 1906: ix), the words are not marked as those of the editor.

expoundid. Thi is *privativa particula* as *not*. Sarte is *stepe up*. Not stepe or cliuing up, that is to say playne' (*It*. 93). Here we deal with another attempt at morphological analysis of a word, as the negative particle following by the word for 'steep'. It is notable that W. *serth* 'steep' is consistently attested in this spelling, while the place-name is rendered with *-a-* regularly from its earliest record in the Domesday book, where we have *Dissard*. Although the analysis suggested in the *Itinerary* is wrong — in this and other similar names across Wales Latin *desertum* / *disertum* 'hermit's cell' is reflected[18] — this folk etymology has been attractive though with a slight modification. As Hywel Owen and Ken Gruffydd (2017: 65) observed, 'the name was perceived to consist of the intensive prefix *dy-* and *serth* 'steep' from its location below Moel Hiraddug (*Foel Diserth* 1730 PR)'; see also *loc*. *cit*. for the list of attestation on the toponym and its discussion. It is remarkable thus that the Welsh negative prefix *di-* apparently was known to Leland,[19] and one may suppose that the source of this knowledge should be traced to information about the meaning of the particular toponym received orally. The anonymous reviewer of this paper pointed to the fact that the topography of the area is indeed very steep, so a reference to the intensive rather than negative prefix would certainly be more appropriate here. Therefore, it is possible that the confusion of prefixes should be traced to the misunderstanding of information which Leland received, and 'his almost instinctive unfamiliarity with Welsh topography' has already been noted (cf. Cramsie 2015: 87).

Beyond place-names: Leland and Welsh ichthyonomy

As we have seen, Leland shows some knowledge of the semantics of Welsh words and also prefixes deduced from toponymy. He rarely allows linguistic comments outside of his discussion of place-names, but such cases nevertheless occur. Thus, at the beginning of his *Itinerary* in Wales it is stated that '[g]lade is in the Walsch a countery or a land' (*It*. 15), and it is obvious that he meant here *gwlad* (rendered in W. Salesbury's dictionary (1547) by 'a countre'). He provides the Welsh name for 'parish' (Leland's 'paroche'), that is *plouhe* (*It*. 72), cf. Salesbury's *plwyf* glossed by *a paryshe*, and this, as the anonymous reviewer of this article suggests, 'is presumably good evidence for oral information', since it shows the common loss of final /v/; the list may be continued. Interestingly, Leland was the first to record Welsh names of several fishes. Describing pools in North Wales he mentions 'redde bely fisches caullid Thorgoughe, id est, thori aut pectoris rubei' (*It*. 82) which are found there. This is the first attestation of W. *torgoch* 'id., red-bellied char, roach' (cf. *GPC* s.v.), and it is noteworthy that the antiquarian correctly explains the parts of this compound, i.e. 'belly' and 'red'. It may also be mentioned in parenthesis that, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED* s.v.), the borrowing

[18] Although the peer-reviewer of this article expressed doubts about that, see later in the paragraph.

[19] The anonymous reviewer aptly reminds me 'that Leland's observation is a century earlier than the first attestation of a grammatical analysis of this negative particle in GPC'.

torgoch is first recorded later: in 1612, John Speed's 'The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine' states that '[i]n the Pool Lin-Peris there is a kinde of fish called there Torcoch hauing a red belly, no where else seene', while Leland himself states that the fish is found in 'Linne Peris alias Nant Manach' (*It*. 82, with *Vallis monachus* inserted from a copy made by Thomas Burton in 1628).[20]

Generally, Leland shows his interest in fishing regularly in his travels, naming various species found in lakes and rivers, as in his description of *Llin Seuathan*, that is Llangorse Lake in Breconshire,[21] where he notes 'the principale fisch a great numbre of bremes', alongside others (*It*. 107). One of these passages deserves closer attention. The antiquary records, '[i]n Wy River be umbers, otherwise graylinges, yn Walsch, as I remembre, cawllid cau[gin]' (*It*. 49), and L. Toulmin Smith comments in the footnote that 'the word is at the end of a line and partly cut off'. She continues: 'Stow copied it "Caytas", Burton "Cangin" ', and opts for the reconstruction of the word as **caugin*. Later in the text Leland writes, '[i]n the lak be umbers, yn Walsche cangans, and great store of pykes, wherof many cum into Wy River' (*It*. 105) The form used here — with the English plural ending — is the earliest and the only attestation of W. *cangen* in the meaning 'grayling', according to *GPC* s.v. *cangen*. The editors of *GPC* aptly consider here also the first example from the *Itinerary* quoted above. The standard Welsh word for 'grayling', *glasgangen*, is recorded first in the eighteenth century (*GPC* s.v. *glasgangen*), and we also find *cangen las* in the same meaning in a text dated to *c*. 1700 (*GPC* s.v. *cangen*). As has been observed, the body of the fish 'is characterised by an iridescent greenish-gold sheen', and from that it received its name in English (Jenkins 1923: 245). This certainly explains the presence of *glas* 'blue, greenish-blue' in its Welsh names; compare the semantics of the stem of its English correspondence. Whether Leland's use of the word without this colour modifier is correct or wrong is difficult to judge. Most probably, the antiquary knew the meaning of W. *glas*, cf. *Glascoit* correctly glossed by Lat. *viridis silva* (*It*. 93, from the copy of Burton), or the rendering of (*Aber*) *Glaslyn* as *blew poole* (*It*. 131, supplied from Stow). Did he twice omitt the modifier in his records of the fish through error or misapprehension, or was the simplex used indeed, perhaps in colloquial speech, in his time and in the areas he visited? It is impossible to decide, but it appears reasonable to treat the existence of the W. simplex *cangen* in the meaning 'grayling' with caution. In any event, the mystery of the difficult *cau*[…] in the first quotation is indeed happily resolved in favour of *cangen* vel sim., but these passages still deserve more attention.

Leland maintains that the fish comes into the river from '[t]he Lake of Brecnok', and advises the reader to '[l]ooke more diligently for this lake apon

[20] J. T. Jenkins (1923: 237) notes that the fish is found, apart from in two lakes in Snowdonia, in Llyn Bodlyn (Merioneth.) and informs the reader that '[t]he Welsh name of Torgoch means Red belly'. For *Peris* in medieval Welsh onomastics see Lewis (2020: 143–6), and cf. Richards (1998: 137).

[21] W. Llyn Syfaddon / Llyn Syfaddan; for the name see Morgan and Powell (1999: 138) and cf. North (1957: 106–10, 116–17) for some early observations pertaining to the area.

Giraldus book cawlled Itinerarium Cambriae'. It should be remembered that the author of the *Itinerary* refers to several written sources in his text, and that Gerald of Wales, mentioned here and elsewhere,[22] is not the only authority recognized by Leland. Thus, he also refers to Ptolemy ('Cirecestre, corruptely for Churnecestre, peraventure of Ptoleme cawlled Coriminum', *It*. 101), and as is widely known, Leland makes use of various sorts of written information in his work (cf. North 1935: 42–3, Williams 1956: 17–9 *et passim*, or most recently Breeze 2017), such as is also part and parcel of any modern toponymic survey (Taylor 2016: 73–74). As for the richness of the river Wye in fish, this is certainly what we find stated in Gerald's *Itinerarium Kambriae* (I, 2): 'Egregiis vero, quas et Umbras vocant, sola thymallis Waia fecunda est'. Commenting on this passage, which he renders as 'The [river] Wye alone is alone very fruitful in excellent graylings (? L *thymallus* < Gr ?], which they also call *umbrae*', S. Zimmer (2003: 333) writes: 'This is the L fish name *umbra*, Fr *ombre* 'salmo thymallus', called so for its 'shadowy' colour'. The 'shadowy' colour of the fish as the motivation for its name may be questioned, cf. the description of various species of graylings in Jenkins (1923: 245) and the meaning 'dark' is attested for Lat. *umbra*; one may note also earlier discussions of the fish-name in this particular attestation (cf., e.g., Holmes 1936: 113). In Gerald's passage we find the Latin word for grayling in the accusative case (plural), which is nearly identical with the plural form of its corresponding English form used in the fragment of Leland's *Itinerary*. However, it is also apparent that in this passage the English antiquary was not simply reporting the piece of evidence collected by Gerald the Welshman — in fact, the richness of the Wye has been noted by many observers. Thus, as William Worcestre observed in 1476, 'et yn Wye water sunt pisces trouthes cullys loches anguille, grayllynghes bolehedes penkys et salmons boni inter tempus vocate Seynt Mary dayes' that is 'in Wye water are fishes [called] trout, culls, loaches, eel, graylings, bullheads, pinks, and good salmons in the time called St. Mary's days' (Harvey 1969: 68–9). Similar to Leland, Worcestre mentions graylings in the list by name, but does not provide their alternative name. We find it twenty years later in the *Treatise on Fysshynge wyth an Angle* (1496), which observes that '[t]he grayllynge by a nother name callyd vmbre is a delycyous fysshe to mannys mouthe' (quoted from in *OED*, s.v. *umber*[2], where this is listed as the first its attestation). And half a century afterwards the Welsh name of the fish is recorded by Leland, and it is obvious, again, that the source of this information was oral.

Conclusions

In her valuable discussion of Leland's legacy, Cathy Shrank (2004: 66) maintained that he 'brought to medieval chronicles both a fashionable humanist Latin style and a historical approach which recognized the need to understand

[22]Cf. 'The Archidiacon of Brekenok hath a house even there, and that is also fallen doune for the more part. Giraldus makith mention of this house', *It*. 109, see further references in Williams (2008: 69). As John Cramsie (2015: 83) formulated, '[a]long with Rous and Worcestre, Leland's journeys occurred in the intellectual footsteps of ethnographic writers like Gerald and Higden'.

the vernacular languages of Anglo-Saxon, Welsh, and Scots'. This recognition does not imply full implementation of such a programme, and it has been noted already that the antiquarian's command of Anglo-Saxon improved inch by inch, see Buckalew (1978: 160). For Leland's acquisition of Welsh a different scenario looks realistic. First, it is obvious, judging from the texts which he wrote, that his knowledge of this idiom was quite fragmentary and unsystematic. There is strong evidence that he consulted or was shown by his informants some passages which contained written Welsh, and this is also reflected in his consistent spellings of place-names with the component *llan*, or the representation of the initial consonant of the name Rhys by *rh-*. The main bulk of his information, however, comes from oral sources, and it is highly likely that he received it *in situ*. As for Leland's knowledge of individual Welsh words, it is most probable that it was based fundamentally on explanation of place-names and their components, while other words, such as fish terms, constitute a tiny minority of the Welsh *lexica* found in his work and certainly come from his local informants. Thus, all this shows a lack of any systematic approach and is different from the study that Leland applied to Anglo-Saxon.[23] Reflections on Welsh grammatical traits with which Leland explicitly or implicitly deals in his texts are to be traced most certainly to his informants, once again. The antiquarian does not go into such depth of etymological analysis of Welsh toponymic data as Geoffrey of Monmouth or Gerald of Wales had done before him.[24] Obviously, he had a different task, and to implement it Leland did not have to possess a solid command of Welsh. Nevertheless, the linguistic information of diverse nature, both oral and written, which Leland received while working on Welsh matters, is reflected in his *Itinerary*. The data found there provide interesting insights on linguistic reflections in the sixteenth century, and the text contains a number of early records of Welsh words not noticed before.

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[23]Commenting on Leland's copy of Ælfric's glossary, R. E. Buckalew (1978: 151) observed: '[t]he general principle of selection seems to be the usefulness of the words for learning Old English. Readily familiar words, such as *fæder*, *modor*, *sunu* and *dohtor*, are omitted, as are the masculine forms *sangere* (for *cantor*) and *rædere* (for *lector*), the feminine forms being included, however'.

[24]Cf. the following observation: 'Geoffrey's etymologies radically departed from classical precedent in their focus on the vernacular, encouraging his audience to reconsider the intellectual value of British. Unlike Isidore's etymological derivations, which were based on Latin, or, occasionally, on Greek, for Geoffrey, the evidence provided by the indigenous British language could sometimes be a more reliable indicator of the island's history than the tongues of its conquerors' (Harris 2017: 98). For Gerald of Wales as a linguist, see Zimmer (2003).

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ON GREEK AND LATIN NAMES IN EARLY MODERN IRISH SYLLABIC VERSE

Abstract

The present article offers an overview of Classical personal and place-names found in Early Modern Irish syllabic verse. The relative frequency of these names is discussed, and names are subjected to metrical analysis. Two categories of names are distinguished: those borrowed in Middle Irish or earlier, characterized by the loss of final syllables and other types of assimilation, and later borrowings, in which the Latin spelling is largely preserved. The evidence suggests that poets pronounced Latin words in a manner consistent with the evidence of later medieval Latin writing from Ireland, and that the influence of French and English pronunciation of Latin was minimal. Features of contemporary Irish pronunciation of Latin, especially the assibilation of <c> and antepenultimate or penultimate stress, are applied even to Classical names borrowed from Middle or Early Modern Irish sources. An appendix lists all of the poems discussed, and identifies the Classical content within each poem.

Introduction

As part of an ongoing research project on Classical learning in Ireland, the author has been gathering references to Classical authors, texts, personages, and sites in Irish-language literature of the period *c*. 1500–1700.[1] The current discussion represents an overview of such persons and sites that are mentioned by name in Early Modern Irish syllabic poetry. The aims of this article are threefold: firstly, it provides a reference to Classical personal and place-names that are mentioned in early modern syllabic verse, as well as in which poems. Secondly, it gives an account of the relative frequency at which various Classical persons and sites are mentioned by name within this poetic corpus. Finally, the spelling of these names and any metrical constraints provide information about the pronunciation (or pronunciations) of Greek and Latin

[1] This research was completed as part of the ongoing project 'Classical Influences and Irish Culture' (CLIC), hosted at Aarhus University and funded by the European Research Council (Horizon 2020 grant no. 818366).

The term 'Classical' is somewhat ambiguous in this context, as the literary dialect of Irish syllabic poetry of the period roughly 1200–1650 is frequently referred to as 'Classical Irish' or 'Gaeilge Chlasaiceach'. For the purposes of the present discussion, following the project's terminology, the term 'Classical' is used exclusively in reference to Greek and Latin antiquity, while the Irish-language poetry is referred to as bardic poetry or simply as Irish syllabic verse.

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names in Irish syllabic verse of the Early Modern period. Following a survey of the inflexion and phonological features of individual names, the discussion will turn to the ongoing influence of Middle Irish adaptations of Classical narratives on Early Modern Irish poetry, historical trends in the translation of Greek and Latin proper names into Irish, and the evidence these names provide for the pronunciation of Latin among Irish-speaking literati in the Early Modern period.

Methodology

Poems were initially identified through the use of Katharine Simms's Bardic Poetry Database, hosted by the School of Celtic Studies at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies and currently curated by Dr Mícheál Hoyne. All poems marked as containing the motif 774 ('Classical allusions') or a Classical apologue type (i.e. apologue classes 400–46) were selected for analysis.[2] Further poems were identified by consulting Liam Ó Caithnia's book *Apalóga na bhFilí 1200–1650* and Simms's chapter 'Foreign apologues in bardic poetry', as well as searching the indices of proper names in published collections that contained poems identified by searching the Database.[3] Once the relevant poems had been identified, the author read through each, identifying the names of any persons or sites associated with Classical tradition, and noted the spellings of the names, any alternate readings provided by the editor, and any metrical constraints upon the names. It was decided to exclude any poems in accentual metres, as well as names that occurred in the prose sections of *crosántacht* or the accentual *ceangal* of mainly syllabic poems, from the current study, as such forms were subject to different sets of metrical constraints (or none at all in the case of prose passages).

Whenever possible, published editions of the poems were consulted. For unedited poems, published transcriptions such as *A Bardic Miscellany* (hereafter *ABM*) were used. It is noted in the appendix whenever the author was unable to access a published verison of a poem and made use of the text or transcription available in the Bardic Poetry Database. Three unedited poems in syllabic metres, *Geall re flaitheas fuair mé*, *Irial codhnach chloinne hIr*, and *Truagh a Dhia an roinn do rinnis*, are identified as containing Classical allusions, but could not be consulted as no transcript was available and, on account of ongoing travel restrictions, the author was unable to visit the relevant libraries at time of writing to consult the manuscripts. A fourth unedited poem, *Maith do chuid a charbaid mhaoil*, survives in the Book of the Dean of Lismore. E.C. Quiggin's transcription of the poem was consulted and the poem

[2]bardic.celt.dias.ie (accessed between September and November 2020).

[3]Liam P. Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFilí 1200–1650* (Dublin, 1984), 123–39; Katharine Simms, 'Foreign apologues in bardic poetry', in Seán Duffy and Susan Foran (eds), *The English Isles: Cultural Transmission and Political Conflict in Britain and Ireland, 1100–1500* (Dublin, 2013), 139–50, at 148–9. The poem *A Ghearóid, déana mo dháil*, composed by Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh in the fourteenth century, was not included as, although Simms states that Ó Dálaigh 'disguises an originally classical tale as an Irish legend' (Simms, 'Foreign apologues', 142), the poem contains no Classical names.

is included in the appendix but, because of the Middle Scots-based orthography of that manuscript, the names contained in this poem were not subject to metrical analysis as the necessary editorial work was beyond the scope of the project.[4]

In total, 104 poems were consulted; with the exception of four poems composed in Scotland and six composed on the Continent by Irish poets, almost all were likely to have been composed in Ireland. Of these poems, seven could be dated to the fifteenth century or earlier, twenty-six to the sixteenth century, fifty-five to the seventeenth century, four to the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and three to the beginning of the eighteenth. A further nine poems were not dated.[5] For the sake of space, each poem has been assigned an abbreviated title; these abbreviations are expanded in an appendix where a summary of the Classical content is given for each poem. Eighty-nine unique Classical names were found which, for ease of reference, are divided into the following categories: names of divinities, names of locations, names associated with the Trojan war, names associated with Republican and Imperial Rome, and other names. The names in each category are discussed in alphabetical order, followed by a table showing the relative frequency with which these names appear. [6] Names are listed in their Latin forms; the English form of a name is also given if it is significantly different. Any attested Old and Middle Irish versions are also included in the discussion of each name.

The treatment of certain common place-names, namely Greece, Rome, Italy, Europe, Africa, and Asia, requires some comment. Information on the frequency with which these places are mentioned in connection with antiquity is included, but no attempt has been made to subject these names to metrical analysis other than noting unusual spellings that have been observed. As these names are much more broadly attested in the corpus of bardic poetry, often in reference to the contemporary world of the poet, any attempt to systematically analyse their form would have involved examining large amounts of poetry that had no real connection to Classical tradition; moveover, the form and inflection of these names are already documented in the *Dictionary of the Irish Language*.[7] References to the Greek origins of the Irish or of specific Irish families were included when encountered, but the author did not attempt to

[4]E. C. Quiggin, *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Cambridge, 1937), 68–9.

[5]Because these poems are anonymous, not addressed to identifiable persons, and deal with relatively common experiences and themes such as love and changing fortune, rather than particular historical events, it is difficult to assign specific dates. Linguistic dating is difficult because of the conservative literary dialect used in syllabic verse. In many cases, a *terminus ante quem* of the sixteenth or seventeenth century is provided by the earliest manuscript witness, but in general it is impossible to assign a date more precise than that of the later middle ages or early modern period to these poems.

[6]Roman personal names are alphabeticized according to the first *cognomen*, unless the person in question does not have a *cognomen*, or if they are better known by a form of their *nomen*; thus, Publius Ovidius Naso, commonly known as Ovid, is listed under <o>.

[7]*eDIL* s.v. Afraic, Assia, Eóraip, Gréc, grécach, Róm, rómánach.

track down all instances of phrases such as *Gaoidheal nGréag* 'of the Grecian Gaels'.[8]

Names of divinities

Apollō, -ōnis
Nominative *Apoló* in *I Sagsaibh*. The form is trisyllabic and forms internal rhyme with *mó* (37*d*), which confirms both long final <ó> and stress on the last syllable. As discussed below, final stress may indicate the influence of a French pronunciation of this name, if it is not just poetic license.[9] The Middle Irish form of this name is indeclinable *Apaill* or *Apoill* (*TTroí* l. 349 *et passim*, *Cath Catharda* ll. 3237–46 *et passim*, *Im. Aen* ll. 91–9 *et passim* and *TTebe* l. 34 *et passim*). Nominative *Apoill* is attested in Old Irish (*Sg*. 83.25).

Bacchus
Nominative *Bachus* in *Iaruim bhur mbeannocht.* The word is disyllabic, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

Calliopē, -ēs
Nominative *Calliope* in *'Thríonóid naomhtha*. The word is four syllables long, indicating hiatus, and unrhymed. There is possible alliteration with *iuil* (17*a*), which is consistent with the antepenultimate stress that one would expect from the Latin form (*Call-iope*), as well as with penultimate stress (*Calli-ope*). This is, however, inconclusive, as the poem is in an *óglachas* and not every line features metrical alliteration.

Cerēs, -eris
Nominative *Seireis* in *Mór theasda* (emended from the manuscript spelling *Ceireis*) and genitive *Séiréis* in *I Sagsaibh*. The name is disyllabic in both poems. In *I Sagsaibh* a long vowel in the final syllable is confimed by rhyme with *éis* (38*ab*). Initial <s> is confirmed by alliteration in both poems.

Clīō, -ūs
Dative *Chlío* in *'Thríonóid naomhtha*; lenition is motivated by the preceding preposition *ó*. The name is disyllabic, with hiatus between <í> and <o>, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

Cupīdō, -inis (Cupid)
Nominative *Cúip-hioda*, genitive *Cúipioda* and *Cúipeada* in *Dairt sonn*. These forms are all trisyllabic, and initial stress is indicated for the latter two forms by

[8]Many readers will no doubt recall the line 'an cnú do chnuas Ghaoidheal nGréag' 'the nut of the nut-cluster of the Grecian Gaels' from Brian Ó Ruairc's inauguration ode (*Ir. Syll. Poetry,* 23 l. 4). See also *TDall* i, lix. In many cases, such phrases seem to have the quality of a cliché rather than a deliberate invocation of Classical tradition.

[9]See p. 232. While this poem contains no other examples of Classical names where stress falls on the final syllable, the poet does refer to his patron's time in France q. 35.

the rhymes *seada* : *Cúipioda* (11*ab*) and *leaba* : *Cúipeada* (17*ab*), as well as alliteration with *chrios* (11*b*). On the other hand, the internal rhyme *Cúip-hioda* : *dioda* (9*cd*) indicates stress on the second syllable.

Alongside these trisyllabic forms, disyllabic and unrhymed *Cúipid* appears in the nominative (6*a*) followed by stressed *aobhdha*. While the final unstressed short vowel of a stressed word can be elided in contemporary accentual poetry, it is not permitted in *dán díreach*.[10] Since the poem does not contain any examples of this type of elision, it should be concluded that the poet felt at liberty to alternate not only between forms with stress on the first and second syllable, but also between disyllabic and trisyllabic forms.

Curiously, the poet also refers to Cupid as a *baindia* 'goddess' and uses feminine pronouns to refer to Cupid throughout the poem.[11] This identification of Cupid as a goddess may have resulted from conflation with Venus, a variant spelling of Latin *Cupīdō* with final *–a*, or both of these factors.[12]

Diāna

Nominative and dative *D*(*h*)*iana* in *Gabh mo shuirghe*. Both examples are trisyllabic, indicating hiatus between <i> and <a>, and unrhymed. Initial stress is confirmed by alliteration with *ndearcadh* (25*a*) and *dheóidh* (26*a*). The Middle Irish versions of this name are indeclinable *Dean* (*TTebe* l. 3852 *et passim*) and nominative *Deáne* (*TTroí* l. 483).

Euterpē, -ēs

Nominative *Euterpe* in *'Thríonóid naomhtha*. The name is trisyllabic and unrhymed. Alliteration with *easbaidh* and *eoil* (15*a*) is consistent with both initial stress and penultimate stress. This is, however, inconclusive: not only are these two words sufficient to meet the requirement for alliteration among themselves, but the poem is in *óglachas* and not every line features metrical alliteration.

Juppiter, Jovis

Genitive *Ióib* in *Seanóir cuilg*, as part of Hercules' patronymic. The name is disyllabic, and rhyme with *óig* (14*ab*, 25*ab*) indicates hiatus: *I-óib*. This hiatus is completely ahistorical, and undoubtedly was introduced for metrical purposes. The Middle Irish version of this name is indeclinable *Ioib* or *Ióib* (*TTroí* l. 207 *et passim*; *Cath Catharda* l. 421 *et passim*; *Im. Aen.* 1. 210 *et passim*; *TTebe* l. 334 *et passim*), along with nominative *Iob* (*TTebe* ll. 12, 3654), presumably through re-analysis of *Ioib* as an *o*-stem genitive. Accusative *Ioib* is attested in

[10]E.g. the first line of *An Síogaí Rómhánach*, 'Innisim fís is ní fís bréige í'. Cecile O'Rahilly (ed.), *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems* (Dublin, 1952), 17.

[11]Leading the poem's editor to remark that '[the poet's] knowledge of Classical mythology is rather weak'. Lambert McKenna (ed.), 'Poem to O Baoghill', *The Irish Monthly* 55 (1927), 190–2, at 190.

[12]For the substitution of final long or short <o> with <a> in Hiberno-Latin, see Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'The pronunciation of Latin in medieval Ireland', in Sigfrid Krämer and Michael Bernhard (eds), *Scire litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben* (München, 1988), 59–71, at 62.

Old Irish (*Sg*. 220.23). The late fifteenth-century *Stair Ercuil* has genitive and dative *Ióib* (ll. 2039, 2460) alongside *Iubiter* (ll. 9–76 *et passim*).

Mars, Martis
Nominative *Mars* in *I Sagsaibh* and *A bhláith*; genitive *Marsa* in *Mór theasda*. The latter form is confirmed by rhyme with *obar-sa* (9*cd*). The Middle Irish version of this name is indeclinable *Mairt* (*Cath Catharda* l. 719 *et passim*; *TTebe* ll. 759–62 *et passim)*.

Melpomenē, -ēs
Nominative *Melpomene* in *'Thríonóid naomthha*. The form is four syllables long, unrhymed, and does not take part in alliteration.

Minerva
Dative *Mhínerva* in *Gabh mo shuirghe*. The form is trisyllabic, unrhymed, and does not take part in alliteration; vowel length and the location of stress are therefore impossible to determine. Several Middle Irish spellings are attested: *Minerua* (*TTroí* l. 346), *Minerba* (l. 358, *Cath Cathardha* l. 4, 469, 474, 506), *Meneirb* (ll. 351, 379), *Menerbe* (ll. 1889, 1895), and *Menerba* (*Cath Catharda* ll. 467–70, *et passim*).

Polyhymnia
Nominative *Polyhymnia* in *'Thríonóid naomththa*. The form is five syllables long and unrhymed. The line contains two alliterating words beginning in <sh> followed by a vowel: 'Polyhymnia sháimh, shuairc.' If stress fell on the ante-penultimate syllable of this name and the medial <h> was pronounced, this would create a line with three stressed syllables beginning with /h/ followed by a vowel. While this is by no means *uaim* as employed in strict syllabic poetry, considering the fact that the poet was not a professional and the relatively late date of composition, this may have been a deliberate effect.

Sāturnus (Saturn)
Nominative *Saturn*, *Satornn* in *Fan ráith* and *Ní bean*; genitive *Satuirnn*, *Sadóirnn*, *Sáduirn*, *Sádairn* in *Fan ráith*, *Seanóir cuilg*, and *Mór iongabháil*. The length of the first vowel is not confirmed by rhyme. A short vowel in the second syllable and a final palatal consonant cluster in the genitive are confirmed by the rhymes *stoirm* : *Sadóirnn* (*Fan ráith* 27*ab*), *ainm* : *Sadairn* (*Mór iongabháil* 15*ab*), and *ghairbh* : *Sáduirn* (*Seanóir cuilg* 29*ab*). Genitive *Saturn* appears in *Ní bean* (28*a*), although the final non-palatal consonant cluster is not confirmed by rhyme.

The Middle Irish version of this name is *Saturn(n),* genitive *Satuirn(n)*, found in *Cath Catharda* ll. 4176, 4254; and *TTebe* l. 335 *et passim*. The genitive spelling *Sáturind* also appears at *TTroí* ll. 349, 360–1, perhaps as a mistake for *Sátuirnd*. *Sadurn*, genitive *Saduirn(n)* appears in *Stair Ercuil* l. 2 *et passim*.

Terpsichorē, -ēs
Nominative *Terpsichore* in *'Thríonóid naomhtha*. The name is four syllables long, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

Thalīa
Nominative *Talia* in *'Thríonóid naomhtha* and accusative *Talía* in *Glaine no cách*. In *'Thríonóid naomhtha*, the name is trisyllabic and unrhymed, indicating hiatus: *Tali-a*. In *Glaine no cách*, however, the name is dysllabic, and rhyme with *síar* (3*ab*) indicates final <ia> is a diphthong. Neither form participates in alliteration.

Ūrania
Nominative *Urania* in *'Thríonóid naomtha*. The name is trisyllabic, indicating that final <ia> has the value of a diphthong. It is unrhymed and does not participate in alliteration.

Venus, -eris
Nominative *Bhénus* in *Dá ghrádh* and *Uenir* in *Gabh mo shuirghe*. Both examples are disyllabic and unrhymed. *Bhénus* alliterates with *bandia* (*Dá ghrádh* 31*a*). The Middle Irish version of this name is indeclinable *Uenir* or *Uénir* (*TTroí* ll. 350 *et passim*; *Cath Catharda* ll. 1033–4; *TTebe* ll. 762 *et passim*; *Im. Aen.* ll. 295 *et passim*).

Vulcānus (Vulcan)
Accusative *Bolcán* in *Do bronnadh* and genitive *Bholcáin* in *Do roinneadh*. Vowel length and palatal final consonant in the genitive are confirmed by the rhymes *Bolcán* : *corpán* (*Do bronnadh* 4*cd*) and *láimh* : *Bholcáin* (*Do roinneadh* 34*ab*). Initial <b> is confirmed by alliteration with *mbuaidh* (*Do bronnadh* 4*c*).

The Middle Irish versions of this name are indeclinable *Ulcáin* (*TTroí* ll. 2, 46, 1009, 1012) along with *Ulcan*, genitive *Ulcain* (*TTebe* l. 759 *et passim*; *Im. Aen.* l. 1953), and genitive *Olcáin* (*Luid Iasón* 14*a*).[13] Dative *Ulcáin* is attested in Old Irish (*Sg*. 117.30). Nominative *Bolcán* is also found in the sixteenth-century Irish translation of *Visio Tnugdali* (*Aisl. Tund.* § 2).

[13] Indeclinable *Ulcáin* is likely the older of these two forms, with *Ulcan* arising from a re-analysis of genitive foms ending in a palatal consonant. For the change from <ul> to <ol>, see Breatnach, 'The pronunciation of Latin', 62.

Name	*# of poems mentioned in*	*# of times mentioned*
Saturnus	4	8
Mars	3	3
Ceres	2	2
Thalia	2	2
Venus	2	2
Vulcanus	2	2
Cupido	1	4
Diana	1	2
Jupiter	1	2
Apollo	1	1
Bacchus	1	1
Calliope	1	1
Clio	1	1
Euterpe	1	1
Melpomene	1	1
Minerva	1	1
Polyhymnia	1	1
Terpsichore	1	1
Urania	1	1

Table 1. Names of divinities.

Names of locations

Africa

Old Irish *Afraic(c)*, Modern Irish *Afraic* or *Aifric*.[14] Mentioned in *Tógaibh eadrad* as the home of Hippocrates' daughter, and in *A Thoirhealbhaigh* as the site of Pompey's exile. The former poem contains a final <g> confirmed by rhyme: dative *tSeanafraig* : *tealachbhuig* (19*cd*). The author has been unable to find any other spellings of this word with final <g>; this form may have its origins in a misunderstanding of final <c> as representing /g/, or it may simply represent poetic license.

Āsia

Middle and Early Modern Irish *Aissia.* Appears in *Mór an lucht* as a reference, *totum pro parte*, to Troy.

[14]While *An Afraic* is the form in contemporary use, Patrick Dinneen's dictionary includes both *Aifric* and *Afraic* as acceptable variants (*FGB* s.v. *Aifric*). Spellings with palatal and non-palatal <fr> are found interchangeably in the works of Geoffrey Keating: e.g. *Afraic* at *FFÉ* 136, 182; *Aif(f)ric* at *FFÉ* 178, 396, *TBB* ll. 5488, 5614.

Athēnae (Athens)

Dative *Athens* and *Athéns* in *D'Oilbhéarus*; genitive *Aitéan*, *Aitéin*, and *Aithéin* in *Malairt chrotha*, genitive plural *nAtens* in *Ní bean*. Initial stress, long <é>, and both palatal and non-palatal final <n> in *Malairt chrotha* are all confirmed by the rhymes *sgéal* : *Aitéan* (25*ab*), *féin* : *Aithéin* (27*cd*), and *séimh* : *Aitéin* (28*cd*). In *D'Oilbhéarus*, both examples are unrhymed; alliteration with other words beginning with a vowel suggests initial stress. In *Ní bean* the form *nAtens* does not participate in rhyme or alliteration.

A trisyllabic form, genitive *Aitéanuin* (perhaps from genitive plural ἀθηνῶν *athēnōn*) also appears in *Ní bean*. Vowel length, consonant quality, and initial stress are confirmed by rhyme with *fhēg[h]uin* (47*c*).

The four-syllable long adjective *Aitenenseis* (from Latin *Atheniensis* 'Athenian') appears in *Maith an sealad*. Rhyme with *leis* (65*ab*) suggests penultimate stress, as in the Latin word from which it is borrowed. The only other example in this poem of a *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme where the second word is more than one syllable longer than the first is *leis* : *Uticenseis* (62*ab*), where the second word is also derived from a Latin adjective (*Uticensis* 'Utican'), which also has penultimate stress. Alliteration between *Aitenenses* and *oirdheirc* is consistent with stress on either the first or the third syllable.

Both rhyme and spelling indicate that, at least for the two and three-syllable forms, the vowel of the second syllable was long <e>. Neither medial <t> nor <th> are confirmed by rhyme, but <t> is more frequent in spelling, and is therefore likely to have represented the actual pronunciation of the word. As word-final <ns> is extremely infrequent in Irish,[15] the spellings *At(h)ens and Athéns* may have been learned spellings on the part of scribes, and not indicative of the intended pronunciation.

Middle Irish *Athain*, genitive *Athaine* (*TTebe* ll. 1590, 4850, 4870; *DIL* s.v. Athain;) seems unlikely to have given rise to any of these forms.[16] The disyllabic spellings with final <ns> indicate familiarity with either English *Athens* or French *Athènes*; familiarity the French pronounciation of the name could also explain the forms with medial <t>, the long vowel in the second syllable, and the lack of evidence for the pronounciation of the final <s>. One might expect forms borrowed from French to have stress on the final syllable; initial stress may be due to the influence of the Middle Irish forms.

Crētē / Crēta

Genitive *Créid* in *Seanóir cuilg*; the name is monosyllabic and rhymes with *leithéid* (36*b*). Both long and short <e> are attested in the Middle Irish forms of this name: dative *Creit* (*TTroí* l. 615), genitive *Créit* (*Cath Catharda* l. 1549), genitive *Creid* (*Im. Aen.* ll. 98, 659–60, 3028).

[15]Noteworthy exceptions include the 'learned borrowing' *síans* (*eDIL* s.v. síans, séns) from Latin *sensus*, Modern Irish loan-words such as *puins* 'punch', and the present indicative relative ending *-nns* found in some dialects of Late Modern Irish.

[16]Tomás de Bhaldraithe's dictionary gives 'An Ataen' as the Irish for Athens, although the author is unaware of any examples of this spelling being used prior to the publication of that dictionary. Tomás de Bhaldraithe, *English-Irish Dictionary* (Dublin, 1959), s.v. *Athens*.

Eurōpa
Old and Modern Irish *Eóraip*. Mentioned in *Fada cóir* and *Teasda Éire* in reference to Caesar's military campaigns in Gaul. Neither poem contains the genitive form *Eóraipe* prescribed by the grammatical tracts (*IGT* II §13).

Graecī, -ōrum (Greece, Greeks)
Old Irish *Gréc*, *Grécach*; Modern Irish *Gréag*, *Gréagach*. References to Greece or the Greeks are more common than any other Classical reference in the poems surveyed. Such references are often in connection with the Trojan War, the Greek ancestry of the Gaels, or as a poetic epithet for Gaelic patrons (an association no doubt aided by the possibilities of alliteration with words such as *gaisgeadh*, *gasradh*, and *Gaoidheal*).

Helicōn, -ōnis
Dative *Helicon* in *Tabhair, a laoigh*. The name is trisyllabic, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

Ītalia
Old Irish *Etáil*, Early Modern Irish *Iodáil(l)*, *Eadáil(l)*. Mentioned in apologues drawn from Roman history in *Fada cóir*, *Rug cosnamh*, and *Síon choitcheann*.

Lesbos
Dative *Leisp* in *A Thoirdhealbhaigh*. It is monosyllabic, unrhymed, and alliterates with *loingis* (21*b*). The Middle Irish spellings *Leisp* and *Leisb* occur in the genitive and dative in *Cath Catharda* ll. 3376–84.

Macedonia
Dative *Maiseadóin* in *Easgar Gaoidhil*. It is three syllables long and unrhymed; initial stress is confirmed by alliteration with *mheadh* (8*a*). The Middle Irish nominative *Maicedóin* appears in *Scéla Alex.* ll. 125, 143; alongside the adjective *Maicedóndai* l. 24, *et passim*.

Rōma, Rōmānus (Rome, Romans)
Old Irish *Róm*, *Rómánach*, Modern Irish *Róimh*, *Rómhánach*. The majority of references to Rome in Classical Antiquity in the poems surveyed are to the events of Julius Caesar's civil war.

Thēbae (Thebes)
Dative *Téibh* and *Téib* in *Seanóir cuilg*; genitive *Théibhe* in *T'aire riot* (lenited following nominative plural *tréinfhir*), accusative *Thebes* in *D'Oilbhéarus*. Vowel length, consonant quality, and lenition of the final consonant in *Seanóir cuilg* are confirmed by the rhymes *cédchéim* : *Gréigthéib* (13*cd*) and *bhéin* : *Théibh* (29*cd*). Genitive *Théibhe* is disyllabic and alliterates with *tréinfhir*; the length of the vowel of the first is not confirmed by rhyme with *dte* (*T'aire riot*

9*ab*). *Thebes* in *D'Oilbhéarus* is disyllabic, unrhymed, and alliterates with *téid* (17*b*).

In Middle Irish, *Teib*, genitive *Teibe* has a short <e> (*TTebe* l. 2 *et passim*). Both long and short <e> are found in *Stair Ercuil* (ll. 23–6 *et passim*), which is the likely source for *Seanóir cuilg*. The spelling *Thebes*, found in *D'Oilbhéarus*, suggests familiarity with English *Thebes* or French *Thèbes*, although the poem's metre confirms that this word is two syllables long, whereas the English and French versions of the name are monosyllables. It is worth noting that the same poem also contains the spellings *Athens* and *Athéns*, which also show familiarity with English or French.

Thessalia (Thessaly)

Dative *Teasáill* in *A Thoirdhealbhaigh*, *Rug cosnamh* and *Teasda Éire*; *Teasaille* in *Teasda Éire*; genitive *Tesáille*, *Teasáille* in *Fuil Dálaigh, Rug cosnamh*, *Teasda Éire*. Both long <á> and palatal <ll> are confirmed by the rhymes *láibh* : *Teasáill* (*A Thoirdhealbhaigh* 17*ab*) and *sáille* : *Teasáille* (*Rug cosnamh* 25*cd*). The genitive plural derived adjective *tTeasálda* 'Thessalian' occurs in *Dá ghrádh*; long <á> and the non-palatal quality of the medial <ld> is confirmed by rhyme with *n-ágha* (17*cd*).[17] Initial stress is confirmed by numerous examples of alliteration.

The dative form *Teasaille* is unusual, and one would expect instead *Teasáill.* Metre confirms that this word is trisyllabic: 'don Teasaille na dtrácht glan' (*Teasda Éire* 45*a*), although vowel length in the second syllable is not confirmed by metre. The line is also unusual for the use of two definite articles in a single genitive construction.[18]

'Thessaly' in Middle Irish is *Tesail*, genitive *Tesaile* or *Tesáile* (*Cath Catharda* l. 377 *et passim*); the vowel of the second syllable is most often short <a>, and medial or final <l> is typically single.[19] The gemination of the <l> in Modern Irish, as well as the long vowel in the second syllable, may be by analogy with *Eadáill* 'Italy'. The derived adjective is *Tesalda* or *Tesálda* (*Cath Catharda* ll. 1555, 4208; *Scéla Alex.* l. 99; *TTebe* l. 2350; *TTroí* l. 592).

Thrācia (Thrace)

The feminine accusative singular adjective *dTraisigh* 'Thracian' appears in *Malairt chrotha*. It is disyllabic, rhymes with *ngil* (34*cd*) and alliterates with *ttréidshleamhnain*. Rhyme and alliteration indicate initial stress; the length of the vowel in the first syllable is not confirmed by rhyme.

[17] Medial <ld> must be understood as <ll>, i.e. a single *consan teann* rather than a consonant cluster, for the purpose of this rhyme. For perfect rhyme between <ll> and <gh> after a long vowel, see Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, 'Cathain a dhéanfaidh consan teann comhardadh slán le consan éadrom?', *Ériu* 57 (2007), 61–6.

[18] 'Tabhair fé ndeara an t-alt fé dhó anso; *do Th.* is leis a bheadh coinne agam'. Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'Marbhna Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill (†1602)', *Éigse* 15 (1973), 31–50, at 49.

[19] *eDIL* s.v. Tessail cites an Old Irish nominative, *Tessail*, as well as the spelling *Tesaill* with double <ll> from *Lebor Gabála Érenn*.

Name	*# of poems mentioned in*	*# of times mentioned*
Graeci	33	94
Troia	29	55
Roma	10	22
Thessalia	5	8
Athenae	4	8
Thebae	3	6
Italia	3	5
Europa	2	5
Africa	2	2
Asia	1	1
Crete	1	1
Helicon	1	1
Lesbos	1	1
Macedonia	1	1
Thracia	1	1

Table 2. Names of locations.

The Middle Irish spelling is *Tracíae* (*TTroí* ll. 101, 565, 605–8, 791) or *Tracia* (*TTebe* l. 1835); the derived adjective is *Tracinda* (*Cath Catharda* l. 1543) or *Tragdai* (*Scéla Alex.* l. 74, 98).

Trōia, Trōjānus (Troy, Trojans)

The spelling *Traoi* is found in all grammatical cases. Rhyme with <aoi> or <í> is confirmed by numeous examples, e.g. *Traoi* : *aonlaoi* (*Do thuit meirge* 13*cd*), *Traoi* : *mbí* (*Forais éiges* 9*ab*). Alliteration with other words beginning with <t> is frequent, especially with *toghail* 'destruction' and derived words, e.g. *Fonn Sligidh* 27*c*, *Fréamh na fíoruaisle* 30*c*, *Iad féin* 28*c*, 32*a*, *Mo thruaighe mar atáid* 16*a*, *Mór an lucht* 32*c*, *San Sbáinn* 24*b*, 29*a*, *Searc na suadh* 25*a*, and *T'aire riot* 3*c*.

Both disyllabic and trisyllabic spellings for 'Trojan' are attested: genitive plural *tTroighian*, *tTró-ian, Troi-fhian*, and *Traoi-fhian* in *Bean do lámhaigheadh*, *Fonn Sligidh*, and *Síon choitcheann*; dative plural *Trói-fhianaibh* in *Bean do lámhaigheadh*; nominative plural *Troigh[i]anaigh* in *Síon choitcheann*, genitive plural *dTroigheanach* in *Sgol gan oide*. Hiatus is frequently indicated with the use of medial <gh> or <fh>. The diphthong <ia> in the second syllable is confirmed by the rhymes *Troi-fhian* : *soi-mhiadh* (*Bean do lámhaigheadh* 41*cd*), *thriall* : *tTroighian* (*Fonn Sligidh* 29cd), *Troigh[i]anaigh* : *goirmfhialaidh* (*Síon choitcheann* 26*cd*). The vowel in the first syllable is written with and without a mark of length, but only short <o> is confirmed by rhyme with *soi-mhiaidh* (*Bean do lámhaigheadh* 41*d*). There is one instance of <aoi> in the first syllable, confirmed by rhyme with

braoin-iath (*Bean do lámhaigheadh* 43*c*); apparently a re-analysis of the ethnonym as a compound of *Traoi* 'Troy' and *fian* 'warrior band'.[20]

Old and Middle Irish *Troí* 'Troy' is indeclinable.[21] Three derived adjectives are attested: *Troíandae*, *Troíandach*, and *Troían*.[22]

NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH TROY AND THE TROJAN WAR

Achillēs, -is

A variety of uninflected disyllabic forms is attested: *Aicil*, *Aicíl*, *Aichil*, *Aichíl*, *Aicill*, *Aichill*.

Medial <ch> is more common than <c> and is confirmed by rhymes with *caithir* (*Ní tráth* 39*d*, 42*d*) and *aonmhaithidh* (*Fagus umhla* 21*c*). There is, however, one example of medial <c> confirmed by rhyme with *slaitshídh* (*Truagh cor* 7*b*) and *uaithne* with *chleitín* (7*c*). Final <il>, <ill>, and <íl> are all confirmed by rhyme, e.g. *Aichil* : *caithir* (*Ní tráth* 39*cd*, 42*cd*), *linn* : *Aicill* (*T'aire riot* 4*cd*), and *díbh* : *Aichíl* (*Easgar Gaoidhil* 10*cd*).[23] There are no metrically confirmed examples of more than one variation of this name being used in the same poem.

Another possible variant of the name appears in *Cliath mhínighthe*, where the apologue relates how the druid 'Dorbha' had a pupil named 'Aithíl', whom he prevented from entering into his patrimony until the youth had proven himself by besting all of his fellow fosterlings in combat. Both vowels are confirmed by imperfect rhyme with *dhaithmhín* (18b), *gcathaoir* (21*b*), and *macaoimh* (22*b*). James Carney was unable to identify a source for the story, but suggested that '*Aithíl* might be for *Aichíl*, a possible adaptation of the name Achilles'.[24] Ó Caithnia, on the other hand, suggested that this name might refer to Atlas.[25] Carney notes that this poem was one of six that the scribe claimed to have written down from the recitation of a blind man who had memorized them some years earlier.[26] If this is the case, the substitution of <th> for <ch> may be a

[20]The scribe of *Bean do lámhaigheadh* also writes a silent medial <fh> in forms that have short <o> in the first syllable. Michael Clarke discusses a similar etymological spelling used in the extended prologue to *Togail Troí* as well as in the twelfth-century poem *Clann ollaman uaisle Emna*. Michael Clarke, 'The extended prologue of *Togail Troí*: from Adam to the wars of Troy', *Ériu* 64 (2014), 23–106, at 97–8. See also Francis John Byrne, '*Clann Ollaman Uaisle Emna*', *Studia Hibernica* 4 (1964), 54–94, at 61.

[21]*eDIL* s.v. *Troí*

[22]*eDIL* s.v. *Troíandae, Troíandach, Troían*. The *-io* stem *Troíandae* is the earliest attested, appearing in the St. Gall glosses (*Sg*. 86.15, 105.7, 125.25) and used throughout *TTroí*. *Troíandach* is used interchangeably with *Troíanda* in *Im. Aen. Troían* is attested in the Prologue found in later versions of *Togail Troí* as well as *Clann Ollaman uaisle Emna*. *eDIL* lists this latter word as an *-ā* stem, presumably on the basis of the etymologizing suggested by Clarke. See note **20**.

[23]Thus, Tadhg Ó Donnchadha's emendation of unrhymed *Aichíl* to *Aichil* in *Beag nár sáruigheadh* 30*a* is unnecessary. *LCAB*, 262.117.

[24]*O'Reillys*, 194

[25]Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFilí*, 123.

[26]*O'Reillys*, 192

consequence of this unusual transmission. Alternately, this substitution may be due to the similarity between <c> and <t> in many Irish hands.[27]

Two trisyllabic forms of the name are attested: nominative *Aicilés* in *Adhbhar* and nominative *Aichilis* in *I Sagsaibh*. The former is unrhymed, but initial stress and vowel length is confirmed for the latter form by rhyme with *flaithinis* (22*cd*).

The Middle Irish version of this name is indeclinable *Achil* or *Achíl* (*TTroí* l. 556 *et passim*; *Luid Iasón* 43*c et passim*); the spellings *Aichíl* (*TTroí* ll. 1010–12), *Acíl* (*TTroí* l. 1629), and *Achéil* (*Luid Iasón* 84*b*) are also attested. The double final <ll> in the Modern Irish spellings may be due to the influence of the Latin form of this name.

Aenēas, -ae

Nominative *Aonghus* in *Searc na suadh*, dative *Aeneas* and genitive *Aengheas* in *Síon choitchean*.

All of these forms are disyllabic. There are no rhyming examples in *Síon choitchean*, but both forms alliterate with other words beginning in a vowel, indicating initial stress. The *aicil*-rhyme *naomhus* : *Aonghus* (*Searc na suadh* 25*cd*) confirms initial stress, vowel length and consonant quality. It would seem to indicate as well that the medial <gh> is merely cosmetic, but this is inconclusive as there are many other examples of *aicil* rhyme between a single consonant and a consonant cluster in this poem (e.g. *bhradabh* : *cabghal* 3*cd*, *ngníomhaibh* : *d'íodhnaibh* 12*cd*, *Mogha* : *foghla* 31*cd*).

The Middle Irish forms of the name are indeclinable *Áeneas* (*TTroí* l. 297 *et passim*); *Aenías* (*Luid Iasón* 33*c et passim*), or *Ænias*, genitive *Æniasa* (*Im. Aen.* l. 39 *et passim*). Modern Irish spellings with medial <gh> are no doubt due to the influence of the Irish name *Aonghus* (Old Irish *Óengus*).

Agamemnōn, -onis

Nominative *Áighmhionóin* in *Iad féin*. The name is trisyllabic, and vowel length and consonant quality in the last two syllables are confirmed by rhyme with *tionóil* (33*a*). Initial stress is confirmed by this rhyme as well as alliteration with *oirdhreic* (33*b*). The length of the vowel in the first syllable is not confirmed by rhyme. The Middle Irish forms of this name are *Agmemnnón*, genitive *Agmemnóin* (*TTroí* l. 522 *et passim*; *Luid Iasón* 37*a*, 72*b*, 95*d*) and indeclinable *Aigmenon* (*Im. Aen.* ll. 5, 50, 511, 1767). The palatal final consonant in the nominative in *Iad féin* is likely by analogy with other indeclinable Classical names that end in a palatal consonant; cf. nominative *Iasóin* in *Easgar Gaoidhil*.

Anchīsēs, -is

Genitive *Anchises* in *Searc na suadh*, genitive *Aine(a)icis* and *Ainiceis* in *Síon choitcheann*, part of Aeneas' patronymic in both poems. All three forms are trisyllabic. In *Searc na suadh* the name is unrhymed; initial stress is possibly

[27]Carney notes (*O'Reillys*, 194) that <t> and <c> are hard to distinguish in the hand of this particular scribe; is is therefore also possible that *Aichíl* is the intended reading.

indicated by alliteration in 'Mac Anchises aimsir allód' (24*a*), although *aimsir* and *allód* already meet the requirement for alliteration in the line themselves.

Two different pronunciations are confirmed by metre in *Síon choitcheann*. The rhyme *re(a)imhis* : *Aine(a)icis* (25*ab*) indicates initial stress and confirms vowel length and consonant quality. Initial stress is here further confirmed by alliteration with *Aengheas* (25*b*). Elsewhere, alliteration abetween *Ainiceis* and *nathadh* (30*a*) indicates penultimate stress.

The Middle Irish versions of this name are *Anac(h)ís* (*TTroí* ll. 993, 1761; *Luid Iasón* 71*d*) and *Anachis* (*Im. Aen.* l. 85 *et passim*).

Argō, -ūs

Genitive *Argho* in *Mór an lucht* and *Argo* in *Néll longphuirt*. Lenited <gh> in *Mór an lucht* is confirmed by the rhymes *Argho* : *tarla* (28*cd*) and *Argho* : *beannamhra* (35*ab*). Unlenited <g> is also confirmed by the rhyme *Argo* : *arda* (*Néll longphuirt* 30*cd*). All of these rhymes indicate initial stress and short vowels in both syllables. The Middle Irish form of this name is *Argai* (*TTroí* ll. 84, 607) or *Argo* (*Luid Iasón* 46*a*).

Dēmoph(o)ōn, -ontis

Nominative and vocative *D*(*h*)*emophon* in *Malairt chrotha*. The name is trisyllabic and unrhymed. The line 'Tug Demophon, prionnsa Aitéan' (25*b*) possibly indicates final stress, so that *Demophon* and *prionnsa* could satisfy the requirement for alliteration. This would be unusual, as <ph> does not alliterate with <p> in *dán direach*; the line also requires elision of the final <a> of *prionnsa*, which is not permitted either. This cannot be taken as firm evidence, however, as the previous line, 'Ar Philis aithréasad sgéal', lacks anything that might be considered alliteration.

Hector, -oris

A range of spellings is attested: *Eachtair*, *Eactoir*, *Eachtar*, and *Hector*. Initial <h> appears in only in the Latin spelling *Hector*, which represents a third of the attested forms. There are three examples of spellings with initial <h> participating in alliteration with words that begin with a vowel (*T'aire riot* 4*d*, *Ina mbláth* 19*a*, 23*d*), implying that this <h> is cosmetic. Medial <ct> and <cht> are equally common in spelling, but medial <cht> is confirmed by numerous instances of rhyme, e.g. *Eachtair* : *guais-bertaigh* (*Bean do lámhaigheadh* 44*ab*), *Eachtair* : *leantair* (*Easgar Gaoidhil* 10*cd*). There are three examples of medial <ct> participating in rhyme, *Hector* : *Hearcail* (*Do bronnadh* 8*ab*), *dheacraibh* : *Hecto[i]r*: (*Ina mbláth* 23*cd*), and *Eactoir* : *neartmhoir* (*San Sbáinn* 21*cd*); in all of these cases medial <c> must be understood as representing a lenited consonant.

A final palatal <r> is confirmed by numerous examples of rhyme, e.g. *broin* : *Eachtair* (*Bean do lámhaigheadh* 42*ab*), *leabthaibh* : *Eachtair* (*Mithidh sin* 18*cd*), *thoir* : *Eachtoir* (*Sgol gan oide* 8*ab*), etc. There are examples of spelling *Hector* rhyming with a final palatal consonant in *Ina mbláth* (19*ab*,

23*cd* and 29*cd*). In the poem *Do bronnadh*, *Hector* rhymes with *Hearcail* (8*ab*); T. F. O'Rahilly emended *Hector* to *Heachtor* and silently emended *Hearcail* to *Hearcul*, while Nicholas Williams preserved the manuscript spellings and remarked on the possible discrepancy between spelling and pronunciation.[28] There are six possible examples of non-palatal final <r> confirmed by rhyme. In four cases (*Fan ráith* 33*cd*, *Ó Dhia* 60*c*, *Rug eadrain* 3*cd*, *T'aire riot* 4*cd*), rhyme is with the passive present indicative ending *-ar*, which can easily be emended to *-air*. In the remaining two examples, *Echtar* : *neartmur* (*Do leighis Dia* 10*cd*) and *Eachtar* : *ceathrar* (*Mairg 'ga lagaid* 12*ab*), no such emendation to palatal <r> is possible. All six of these spellings with rhymed non-palatal final <r> are in the nominative.

A similar variety of spellings is encountered in Middle Irish: *Hechtoir (TTroí* l. 188 *et passim*), *Hectoir* (*TTroí* l. 802 *et passim*), or *Echtoir* (ll. 801, 985, 1011; *Luid Iasón* 53*d et passim*; *Im. Aen.* ll. 312–15, 404, 518), and nominative *Echtor* (*TTroí* l. 186). As the spelling *Echtoir* conforms to the phonotactics of Middle Irish, it is most likely to reflect the actual pronunciation; spellings with initial <h> and medial <ct> likely reflect the influence of Latin spellings of the name. Spellings with final non-palatal <r> likely represent a re-analysis of indeclinable genitive forms ending in a palatal <r> as o-stem genitives.

Herculēs, -is

The most common form of this name is indeclinable *Earcail* or *Earcoil*. Initial stress, vowel length, and consonant quality are confirmed by numerous examples of rhyme, e.g. *air : Earcail* (*Pardhas Fódla* 39*cd*, 42*cd*), *Earcail* : *dhíoghaltaigh* (*Seanóir cuilg* 31*ab*), and *Earcail* : *ghuaisbhertaigh* (*Teasda Éire* 33*ab*). There are spellings with medial <rch> (*Ní tráth* 16*a*) and a long vowel in the second syllable (*Seanóir cuilg* 14*b*), but neither of these variants is confirmed by rhyme; the latter poem in fact contains several examples of a short vowel in the second syllable confirmed by rhyme. Initial <h> appears in a handful of spellings (*Créad fá seachnainn-se* 7*a*; *Gabhaim* 5*a*; *Do bronnadh* 8*b*; *I Sagsaibh* 22*b*), none of which participate in alliteration.[29]

Non-palatal final <l> in the nominative is confirmed by the rhyme *Earcal* : *neartmhar* (*Pardhas Fódla* 52*cd*), alongside several examples of final palatal <l> confirmed by rhyme in the nominative (32*c*, 35*b*, 39*d*). Final non-palatal <ll> in the nominative occurs in *Seanóir cuilg*, confirmed by rhyme with *cenn* (26*cd*), alongside other examples of final palatal <l> confirmed by rhyme. As noted above, O'Rahilly emended *Hearcail* to *Hearcul* in order to provide rhyme with *Heachtor* (for ms. *Hector*), although this emendation seems unnecessary.

There is one example of a trisyllabic form, nominative *Hercuilis* in *I Sagsaibh*. It is unrhymed and alliterates with *ég* (22*b*), which is consistent with both

[28] *MD*, 14.29–30, p. 72; *DMDDG* 3.29–30, p. 77.

[29] The manuscript reading *Hirkil* for *Hearcail* (*Créad fá seachnainn-se* 7*a*) in the Book of the Dean of Lismore possibly indicates that the initial <h> of this name was pronounced. This is, however, inconclusive as initial <h> may also be a feature of the manuscript's Middle Scots-based orthography, since this name is usually spelled *Hercules* in Scots.

initial and final stress. The same poem contains another trisyllabic spelling, *Aichilis* (22d), with initial stress confirmed by rhyme.

The Middle Irish versions of this name are indeclinable *Ercoil/Ercail* (*TTroí* l. 24 *et passim*; *TTebe* l. 1469 *et passim*; *Luid Iasón* 8*c et passim*) or *Hercoil/Hercail* (*TTroí* l. 38 *et passim*; *TTebe* ll. 1225, 2193, 2298, 4258). As with the spelling variation observed for the name *Hector*, spellings with initial <h> likely represent the influence of the Latin spelling of the name, and spellings with a non-palatal final <l> represent a re-analysis of indeclinable genitive forms ending in palatal <l> as *o*-stem genitives.

Iāsōn, -onis

Nominative *Iasóin* in *Easgar Gaoidhil*. The form is disyllabic. Long <ó> and palatal final consonant are confirmed by rhyme with *dóigh* (10*ab*). The quality of initial <ia> as a diphthong is confirmed by alliteration with *Earcail*. The Middle Irish version of this name is *Iasón*, genitive *Iasóin* (*TTroí* ll. 1–25 *et passim*; *TTebe* l. 2166 *et passim*; *Luid Iasón* 1*a et passim*). The palatal final <n> in *Easgar Gaoidhil* is likely by analogy with other indeclinable Classical names that end in a palatal consonant; cf. nominative *Áighmhionóin* in *Iad féin*.

Lāomedōn, -ontis

Nominative *Laimheadhón* in *Mór an lucht*, genitive *Láimheadhóin* in *An tú a-rís*. Vowel length and consonant quality in the final syllable are confirmed by the rhymes *tionól* : *Laimheadhón* (*Mór an lucht* 30*cd*) and *fleadhóil* : *Láimheadhóin* (*An tú a-rís* 16*cd*). Initial stress is confirmed by these rhymes as well as alliteration with *linn* (*An tú a-rís* 16*d*) and *leó* (*Mór an lucht* 30*d*). The Middle Irish version of this name is *Lámedón*, genitive *Lámedóin* (*TTroí* l. 71 *et passim*; *Luid Iasón* 4*a et passim*).

Paris, -idis

Nominative *Paris* in *T'aire riot*. The word is disyllabic, unrhymed, and alliterates with *Prímh* (3*a*), indicating initial stress. In Middle Irish sources, this figure is generally known as *Alaxandér* (*TTroí* l. 187 *et passim*) or *Alaxándair* (*Luid Iasón* 35*a*, 67*b*), derived from the epithet and alternate name *Alexander*, used in *De Excidio Troiae Historia* and elsewhere

Pēleus, -ei/-eos

Genitive *Péil* in *Beag nár sáruigheadh* and *Ní tráth*. Both examples form part of Achilles' patronymic. Vowel length and palatal final <l> are confirmed by the rhymes *Péil : airséin* (*Beag nár sáruigheadh* 30*ab*) and *Péil : chléir* (*Ní tráth* 41*cd*). The Middle Irish form of the name is indeclinable *Péil* (*TTroí* l. 118 *et passim*).

Pēnelopē, -ēs

Nominative *Peneloipe* and *Beneloipe* in *Fonn Sligidh*. Both spellings are four syllables long and unrhymed. *Beneloipe* alliterates with *ben* (28*b*), which seems

to confirm initial <b> and stress on the first syllable. The spelling *Peneloipe* does not participate in alliteration; it is not clear whether the poet thought of the word as always beginning with a <b> or saw initial <b> as an acceptable variant. The Middle Irish spelling *Peneloipi* is attested in *Merugud Ulixis meic Leirtis*.[30]

Philoctētēs, -ēs

Nominative *Fiolóises, Filiosías*, and *Fiolosias-[s]a* (with demonstrative suffix) in *Seanóir cuilg*. The rhymes *a-ndes* : *Fiolóises* (21*ab*) and *treasa* : *Fiol-osias-[s]a* (34*ab*) indicate that final <s> is non-palatal, that the vowel of the final syllable is <ea>, and that stress fell on the penultimate syllable. Alliteration occurs with *fire* (21*b*) and *fograis* (34*b*), which indicates that the pre-tonic element of the word was also potentially stressed, at least for the purposes of metre.[31] The spelling *Filoces* appears in *Stair Ercuil* l. 231 *et passim*, corresponding with *Philotes* or *Phylotes* in the source text.

Phyllis, -idis

Nominative and dative *Philis* and genitive *Filisse* in *Malairt chrotha*. Vowel length and palatal quality are confirmed by the rhymes *Philis* : *mhilis* (23*cd*) and *sisi* : *Filisse* (41*ab*). Initial stress is confirmed by the latter rhyme, as well as alliteration with *fearacht* (41*b*).

Priamus

Nominative *Prímh* in *Fogas fortacht*, genitive *P*(*h*)*rímh* in several poems, as part of Hector or Paris' patronymic. Vowel length and consonant quality are confirmed by several rhymes, e.g. with *éisídh* (*Bean do lámhaigheadh* 39*ab*), *bhrígh* (*Fogas fortacht* 35*cd*), and *slimhín* (*T'aire riot* 3*ab*). Initial <p> is confirmed by alliteration with *prémh* (*Do leighis Dia* 10*a*), *pobal* (*Mo thruaighe mar atáid* 19*c*), and *Paris* (*T'aire riot* 3*a*). Both examples of this name in *Fan ráith* are lenited in *slégur* and lenition is confirmed by alliteration with initial <f> (32*d*, 33*a*), although it is not indicated in the manuscript transcript consulted.[32] The Middle Irish form of the name is indeclinable *Priaim* (*TTroí* l. 173 *et passim*; *Im. Aen*. l. 20 *et passim*; *Luid Iasón* 32*a et passim*).

Pyrrhus

Nominative *Piorr* in *Easgar Gaoidhil*. This name is monosyllabic and rhymes with *liom* (10*c*). The Middle Irish form of this name is indeclinable *Pirr* (*TTroí* l. 1632 *et passim*) or *Pirrus* (*TTroí* l. 791).

[30]Robert T. Meyer (ed.), *Merugud Uilix maic Leirtis* (Dublin, 1977), l. 206. For *Uilixis* vs. *Uilix*, see Barbara Hillers, 'The medieval Irish *Wandering of Ulysses* between literacy and orality', in Ralph O'Connor (ed.), *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative* (Cambridge, 2014), 83–97, at 86.

[31]'In ainmneacha ar nós (*Muire*) °*Magh-da-l***éan** [...] °*Aris-tot***uil** [...] °*Si-press***us** [...] is léir go n-aithnítear dhá shiolla aiceanta (ar gach taobh den fhleiscín) mar is féidir a dhéanamh sa sloinne dúchasach (*Mág*) (*S*)**amhr**-*a-dh***án**'. *SnaG*, 343.

[32]On *slégur* see IGT I §159; see also Eoin Mac Cárthaigh (ed.), *The Art of Bardic Poetry: A New Edition of* Irish Grammatical Tracts I (Dublin, 2014), 295–8; Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, 'Sléagar agus "genitives lenited in special circumstances" i bhFilíocht na Scol' in Caoimhín Breatnach and Meidhbhín Ní Urdáil (eds), *Aon don Éigse: Essays Marking Osborn Bergin's Centenary Lecture on Bardic Poetry (1912)* (Dublin, 2015), 239–45.

Ulyssēs, -is
Nominative and genitive *Iuiliséis*, accusative *Iuilisís* in *Fonn Sligidh*. The name is trisyllabic. Palatal final <s> as well as both <é> and <í> in the final syllable are confirmed by the rhymes *a-rís* : *Iuilisís* (30*ab*) and *éis* : *Iuiliséis* (32*cd*). These rhymes also indicate penultimate stress. Alliteration with other words beginning with a vowel (29*a*, 32*d*, 34*a*) is consistent with both initial and penultimate stress. In one line (30*b*), the name appears to alliterate with itself, suggesting that the pretonic element could be treated as stressed for the purpose of alliteration.[33]

The Middle Irish versions of the name are *Ulix* (*TTroí* l. 668 *et passim*; *Im. Aen.* l. 153, 159), or *Ulixes* (*Im. Aen.* ll. 422, 469, 1463; *Luid Iasón* 42*a*).[34] The Middle Irish forms of the name derive from the Latin spelling *Ulixēs*, while the Modern Irish forms discussed above derive from *Ulyssēs*, a variant spelling especially common in post-Classical sources. Initial <iu> for <u> and final <í> for <ē> possibly show the influence of a post-Great Vowel Shift English pronunciation of the name.[35]

Name	***# of poems mentioned in***	***# of times mentioned***
Hector	24	45
Hercules	13	30
Achilles	11–2	14–9
Priamus	8	13
Argo	2	6
Aeneas	2	4
Anchises	2	3
Peleus	2	3
Laomedon	2	2
Ulysses	1	4
Demophon	1	3
Philoctetes	1	3
Phyllis	1	3
Penelope	1	2
Agamemnon	1	1
Jason	1	1
Paris	1	1
Pyrrhus	1	1

Table 3. Names associated with Troy and the Trojan war.

[33] See note 31 above.

[34] Hillers argues that *Uilixes* is the correct Middle Irish form of the name, and that the readings *Ulix* or *Uilix* are from abbreviated spellings. Hillers, 'The medieval Irish *Wandering of Ulysses*', 86.

[35] The author is grateful to the anonymous reviewer for calling attention to this point.

Names associated with Republican and Imperial Rome

Lūcius Jūnius Brūtus

Nominative *Brútus* in *Maith an sealad*. The form is disyllabic, unrhymed, and does not take part in alliteration. The editor identified this figure as Lucius Junius Brutus, although as Ó Caithnia notes, the story told in the apologue conforms more closely to that of Marcus Curtius.[36]

Gāius Jūlius Caesar

A variety of spellings is attested: *Caesar*, *Césair*, *Céasar*, *Sésair*, *Sésáir*, *Séasar*, etc. A form of the *nomen gentile* appears in three poems: nominative *Iulius Cesair* (*Mo mhallacht* 7*a*), nominative *Iúl Sésor* (*Ní chongmhann* 8*b*), and genitive *Iuil* (*Beag nár sáruigheadh* 34*b*). Initial <s> is most frequent, and confirmed by numerous examples of alliteration, e.g. *Cóir súil* 35*d*, *Créad a-nois* 19*a*, *Dá ghrádh* 15*d*, *Fuil Dálaigh* 26*d*, *Rug cosnamh* 26*b*, etc. Initial <c> is less frequent, with only one potential example of initial <c> participating in alliteration: 'Claoidhis César, 'sé a shuim' (*Dá ghrádh* 19*a*).[37] Here, however, an emendation to initial <s> would be justified on metrical grounds, as it would allow the penultimate stressed word *sé* to participate in alliteration.[38] The vowel in the first syllable is spelled <é>, <e> or <ae>; of these, only <é> is confirmed by rhyme, e.g. *Césair* : *bhéasaibh* (*Dá ghrádh* 25*cd*), *tSésair* : *saoirbhésaibh* (*Fuil Dálaigh* 23*ab*), and *Sésair* : *ghrésuigh* (*Ní chongmhann* 8*cd*). The final syllable is most commonly spelled <air>, and examples are confirmed by rhyme in all grammatical cases, e.g. *soin* : *Caesair* (*Cóir súil* 27*ab*), *thoir* : *tShésair* (*Fuil Dálaigh* 33*ab*) and *cuir* : *tSesair* (*Fuil Dálaigh* 26*cd*). Final <áir> is less frequent but is confirmed by the rhymes *n-áigh* : *Sesáir* (*Dá ghrádh* 15*cd*) and *áir* : *Shésáir* (*Teasda Éire* 50*ab*); both of these poems also contain forms with final <air> confirmed by rhyme. Final <ar> in the nominative and accusative is also confirmed by the rhymes *cor* : *Sésar* (*Cóir súil* 35d) and *sgol* : *Sésor* (*Ní chongmhann* 8*ab*); the latter poem also contains examples of final <air> in the nominative confirmed by rhyme.

The Middle Irish form of this name is indeclinable *Césair* (*Cath Catharda* l. 68 *et passim*), and the *nomen gentile* appears as *Iúil* (*Cath Catharda* ll. 68, 223, 268, 5258) or *Iul* (*Cath Catharda* ll. 318, 325). Initial <c> is confirmed by

[36] *DERMB*, 434, cited in Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFilí*, 128. *Maith an sealad* states that 'Brútus' mounted a horse and threw himself into a pit in order to cure the troubles of his people after hearing the words of prophets or oracles ('chomhráidh na bhfáidhiodh'). According to Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita* 1.56), Brutus fell down and kissed the earth after the oracle at Delphi said that the first man present to embrace his mother would hold power over Rome. Brutus later died in battle against the Etruscan king Tarquin (2.6). Livy also relates how a massive rift opened in the Forum and, when the seers (*vates*) of Rome stated that a sacrifice of that which gave Rome its strength had to be made, Marcus Curtius mounted his horse and threw himself into the pit (7.6). Both stories involve the idea of prophetic utterance, the prosperity of Rome, and an act of falling towards the earth, so it does not seem unlikely that the poet would have confused the two. A further similarity is to be found in the fact that Livy states that Brutus fought his final battle on horseback.

[37] Discussed by Cathal Ó Háinle, 'Three apologues and *In Cath Cathardha*', *Ériu* 65 (2015), 87–126, at 112–3.

[38] Cf. 'Do shaor Séasar, is sé a shuim' (*Fada cóir* 31*a*).

alliteration in a poem attributed to Flann Mainistreach ('Octauin croda Céssar', *LL* 15981). As is the case with *Eachta(i)r* and *Earca(i)l*, the variants with final <ar> cited above likely have their origin in a re-analysis of indeclinable genitive forms ending in a palatal consonant as *o*-stem genitives.

Marcus Porcius Catō (the Elder or the Younger)

Nominative and genitive *Cáto, Cató* and *Cata*.[39] Initial stress is confirmed by alliteration with *consal* 'counsel' (*Beag mhaireas* 24*a*) as well as *airdrinn* rhyme with *dhó (Beag nár sáruigheadh* 31*cd*, *Deireadh flaithis* 35*cd*). Vowel length is not fixed by rhyme in either syllable.[40] The epithet *Uticenseis* (from Latin *Uticensis* 'Utican') is four syllables long, and rhymes with *leis* (*Maith an sealad* 62*a*), suggesting that stress falls on the penultimate syllable, as it does in the Latin word from which it is derived.[41]

Two poems, *Beag nár sáruigheadh* and *Deireadh flaithis*, refer to *comhairle Cható*. The editor of the latter poem, Eoin Mac Cárthaigh understood this as a reference to a specific wisdom text by that name.[42] Another poem, *Mairg do-ní*, cites Cato's *teagasc* 'teaching'. These are likely references to some version of *Dicta* or *Disticha Catonis*, a popular and widely known wisdom text from late antiquity, commonly attributed to Cato the Elder.[43] The poems *Beag mhaireas* and *Maith an sealad*, on the other hand, reference Cato the Younger.[44]

The Middle Irish form of this name is indeclinable *Cait* (*Cath Catharda* l. 1085 *et passim*), usually in reference to Cato the Younger. In the section of *Cath Catharda* that translates Erichtho's prophecy, Cato the Younger is identified as *Cato Iudicensis* (ll. 4244, 4566) in order to disambiguate him from his ancestor Cato the Elder, also identified as *Cait* in this section.[45]

[39]For the substitution of final long <o> with <a>, see Breatnach, 'The pronunciation of Latin', 62.

[40]Monosyllabic words ending in a long vowel may rhyme with the corresponding short vowel in *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme. *Ir. Syll. Poetry*, 18.

[41]As noted above, the only other instance of *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme where the second word is more than one syllable longer than the first is *leis* : *Aitenenseis*, which is another example of a word derived from a Latin adjective with penultimate stress. Penultimate stress may also be further indicated by alliteration: 'Cáto mór Uticenseis' (62*b*), although this would require treating *mór* as unstressed, and Latin <c> normally has the value of <s> before a front vowel in the poems surveyed (see p. 203).

[42]'… go nglacaim leis gur ag tagairt do leagan éigin den téacs eagna "Comhairle Cható" […] atá an file anseo ach, má tá, níor éirigh liom leagan a aimsiú a luann go sonrach na tréithe atá faoi chaibidil anseo'. Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, 'Gofraidh Óg Mac an Bhaird cecinit: 1. *Deireadh flaithis ag féin Gall*', *Ériu* 65 (2015), 57–86, at 84.

[43][Cato], *Dicta Catonis*, in *Minor Latin Poets, volume II*, translated by J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff, Loeb Classical Library 434 (Cambridge, MA, 1934), 585–640.

[44]Although *Beag mhaireas* refers to Cato as a *consal* 'consul', a rank which Cato the Younger never held, the poem refers to the Stoic way of life which Cato the Younger was known for. *Maith an sealad* identifies Cato the Younger by the use of the epithet *Uticensis*, and briefly recounts his death by suicide.

[45]The substitution of <u> with <iu> here is likely due to the influence of the word *iúdic* 'judge', borrowed from Latin *jūdex*.

Marcus Tullius Cicerō

Indeclinable *Tuil Sicir*, *Tuil Sigir* or *Tuilsigir*. Numerous examples of rhyme and alliteration indicate that these are two separate stressed words. Initial <t> in *Tuil* is confirmed by alliteration with *teagasg* (*Beag nár sáruigheadh* 32c), *tagra* (*Cá bhfuair* 20*a*), etc; initial <s> of *Sigir* is confirmed by alliteration with *saoi* (*Ní chongmhann* 23*b*). Medial <c> rather than <g> is confirmed by the rhyme *as-tigh* : *Sicir* (*Beag nár sáruigheadh* 32ab), as well as *uaithne* between *Sicir* and *focuil* (*Truagh cor* 10*cd*). Final palatal <r> is confirmed by the rhymes given above, as well as rhyme with *sin* (*Ní chongmhann* 25*b*) and faulty rhyme with *fhóiridhin* (*Cá bhfuair* 20*b*). Trisyllabic *Cicero* and *Ciceró* occurs in the nominative in *Mór idir* and *Tabhair, a laoigh*. In the latter poem, rhyme with *gcló* (5*c*) confirms the length of the final vowel and implies stress on the penultimate syllable, although as this poem is in an *óglachas*, a looser rhyme would be permitted.

The Middle Irish form of this name is *Tuil Cicer* (*Cath Catharda* ll. 4468–9) or *Tul Cicer* (l. 4494); both forms appear only in the nominative.

Cornēlia Metella

Nominative *Cornelia* and *Cornélia* in *Dá ghrádh*. The name is trisyllabic, indicating that final <ia> represents a diphthong. Alliteration with *aithesg* (14*b*) and rhyme with *ría* (25*a*) both indicate penultimate stress. The length of the vowel in the second syllable is not confirmed by rhyme. The spelling *Cornelia* also appears in *Cath Catharda* ll. 1159, 3375, 3380.

Marcus Licinius Crassus

Nominative *Marcas Cras* or *Marcus Crassus* in *Dá ghrádh*, *Gabh mo chomhairle* and *Turnamh dóchais*; dative *Marcas* and genitive *Marcais* in *Turnamh dóchais. Marcas* and *Cras(sus)* are two distinct stressed words, as confirmed by several examples of alliteration. The o-stem inflexion of *Marcas* in *Turnamh dóchais* is confirmed by the rhymes *mbras* : *Marcas* (11*ab*) and *tais* : *Marcais* (13*ab*), suggesting that the poet thought of this as an Irish rather than Latin word.

A possible reference to Marcus Crassus appears in *Rug eadrain*, where the poet says of his patron, the Marquess of Argyll, that he is ‘’n a Mharcus ar méd’ (7*a*). W. J. Watson translates as ‘a Marquis in degree’ although, as the poem contains several other references to Classical personages, this can also be interpreted as a form of the Roman *praenomen* Marcus. If the *méd* ‘amount, extent’ is understood as referring to his wealth, this might be another reference to Marcus Crassus.

Another Marcus is mentioned in the poem *Ní bean*, where Tomás Mac Muiris, the Earl of Desmond, is described as ‘cíochmhac Marcais an mílidh’ ‘the foster-child(?) of Marcus the soldier’ (38*d*). Since this poem mentions a number of other Roman emperors by name, this may be a reference to Marcus

Aurelius, whose reign was marked by several military conflicts.[46] Palatal final <s> in the genitive is confirmed by rhyme with *ghlantais* (38*c*).

The spelling *Marcus Crasus* appears in *Cath Catharda* l. 104 *et passim*.

Gāius Crastinus (Soldier in Julius Caesar's army)

Nominative and dative *Traisdínéis* in *Cóir súil*, with variant readings *Traisdinéis* and *Traisdéinéis* in other manuscript witnesses.[47] Long <é> and palatal <s> in the final syllable, as well as penultimate stress are confirmed by rhyme with *th'éis* (39*a*). The vowel of the second syllable is not confirmed by rhyme. Initial stress is possibly indicated by alliteration with words beginning with <t> (35*a*, 36*a*, 37*a*), although if the cluster <sd> is understood as representing a sibilant followed by a voiceless dental stop, this alliteration is consistent with penultimate stress, i.e. *Tras-tínéis*.[48]

The Middle Irish spelling of this name is *Crastinus* (*Cath Catharda* ll. 5595–7, 5611), attested only in the nominative. As Ó Háinle notes, some manuscript witnesses give the variant readings *Trastines* or *Trastineis* for this name, and are undoubtedly the source for the spelling in *Cóir súil*.[49] This substitution of <t> for <c> is undoubtedly due to the similarities between the two letters in many Irish hands.[50]

Nerō Claudius Drūsus Germanicus

Nominative *Drúsus* appears in *Maith an sealad*. The form is disyllabic, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

Jūlia (daughter of Julius Caesar, wife of Pompey)

Nominative *Iulia* in *Fuil Dálaigh*. The form is trisyllabic, unrhymed, and alliterates with *inghen* (23*a,* 33*a*). The division of syllables is likely *Iu-li-a*, although this is not metricaly confirmed. The spelling *Iulia* appears in *Cath Catharda* ll. 112, 206, 269, 1454.

Līvia Drusilla

Nominative *Liuia* in *Maith an sealad*. The name is trisyllabic and unrhymed, and initial stress is indicated by alliteration with *losain* (38*a*). The division of syllables is likely *Li-ui-a*, although this is not metricaly confirmed.

Publius Ovidius Nāsō (Ovid)

Indeclinable *Ovid* or *Ouid* in *Beag mhaireas, Beag nár sáruigheadh*, *Mór idir*, and *T'aire riot*. All of these forms are disyllabic. The rhyme *thuig* : *Ovid* (*Beag*

[46]The author is grateful to Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh for this suggestion.

[47]Ó Háinle, 'Three apologues', 109.

[48]These examples of alliteration cannot be explained in reference to the phenomenon where the pre-tonic element of a name can be considered stressed for metrical purposes, observed in n. 31. On the de-voicing of voiced stops after <s>, see *IGT* I § 30.

[49]Ó Háinle, 'Three apologues', 94.

[50]For a similar substitution, <t> for expected <c>, see the discussion of the spelling *Aithíl* above, pp. 207–8.

nár sáruigheadh 31*ab*) confirms a final palatal consonant and suggests a vocalic value for <v>, at least in this poem. As the name is disyllabic, hiatus is required: *O-uid*. The other examples are unrhymed. Nominative and genitive spellings *Óibhid* and *Óivid* appear in *Mór theasda* (written by the same poet as *Beag mhaireas*). The rhyme *Óivid* : *tionóilid* (1*ab*) confirms vowel length, consonant quality, and the value of <v> as a fricative in this poem. A nominative spelling *Ovidius* appears in *A bhean*. It is trisyllabic, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

The author is unaware of any Middle Irish versions of this name. The Early Modern Irish disyllabic spellings might derive from English *Ovid* or French *Ovide*, although the loss of final syllables is a feature of earlier Irish borrowings from Latin, as discussed below.

Gnaeus Pompēius Magnus (Pompey the Great)

Indeclinable *Poimp* or *Poimp Máighe*. Both *Poimp* and *Máighe* are distinct stressed words, as shown by several examples of rhyme and alliteration, as well as two examples of the adjective *mór* intervening between these words (*Cóir súil* 28*a*, *Fuil Dálaigh* 26*a*). The palatal quality of the final consonant cluster in *Poimp* is confirmed by the rhyme *Poimp* : *shubstaint* (*A Thoirdhealbhaigh* 23*ab*). Long <á> in *Máighe* is also confirmed by rhyme, e.g. *Mháighe* : *combáidhe* (*A Thoirdhealbhaigh* 20*ab*), *Māighe* : *luathghāire* (*Fuil Dálaigh* 26*ab*), and *Máighe* : *Tesáille* (29*ab*).

The nominative spelling *Poimp Leatha* (from *Latium*?) appears in *Ní chongmhann*. It is unrhymed, and the second element alliterates with *labhraid* (8*a*). Nominative *Puimpei* appears in *Ní bean*, where it is unrhymed, and alliterates with *préamh* (37*b*).

The Middle Irish version of this name is *Poimp* or *Poimp Maighe* (*Cath Catharda* l. 104 *et passim*). *Puimpei* likely derives from the English spelling *Pompey,* or perhaps French *Pompée*.

Publius Cornēlius Scīpiō (Āfricānus or Aemiliānus)

Nominative *Sipio* in *Ní bean.* The form is disyllabic, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

Caesar Nerva Trājānus (Trajan)

Genitive *Traian* in *Ní bean*. The form is disyllabic, indicating hiatus between <a> and <ia>, and unrhymed. Initial stress is indicated by alliteration with *tuar* (38*a*). The loss of the Latin final syllable possibly indicates familiarity with the English or French spelling *Trajan*, although medial <j> has the value of a consonant rather than vowel in those languages.

Publius Vergilius Marō (Virgil)

Nominative *Uirgil* in *Beag nár sáruigheadh* and *Is follus*; in the former poem this was emended from the manuscript spelling *Virgill*. Both forms are disyllabic and unrhymed. Alliteration with *Ovid (Beag nár sáruigheadh* 31*b*) indicates the value of initial <u> as a vowel, at least in this poem.

Despite the popularity of the poet in medieval Ireland, the author is unaware of any Old or Middle Irish forms of his name. These spellings may derive from English *Virgil* or French *Virgile*, although the loss of final syllables is a feature of earlier Irish borrowings from Latin, as discussed below.

Name	***# of poems mentioned in***	***# of times mentioned***
Caesar	15	42
Pompeius	14	32
Cato	7	7
Cicero	6	7
Ovidius	6	7
Marcus Crassus	3–4	5–6
Vergilius	2	2
Crastinus	1	5
Julia	1	3
Cornelia	1	2
Brutus	1	1
Drusus	1	1
Livia	1	1
Marcus Aurelius?	1	1
Scipio	1	1
Trajanus	1	1

Table 4. Names associated with Republican and Imperial Rome.

OTHER NAMES

Actaeōn, -onis
Nominative and dative *Acteon* in *Gabh mo shuirghe*. The name is trisyllabic, indicating hiatus between <e> and <o>, and unrhymed. Alliteration with *amhlaidh* (23*a*) is consistent with stress on the first or final syllable.

Alexander, -drī
Three forms of this name are attested in the poems surveyed. Trisyllabic *Alasdar* or *Alasdur* is declined as a masculine o-stem in *Fill th'aghaidh, Neart gach tíre*, and *Sgol gan oide*. Trisyllabic *Alasdrann* appears in the nominative in *Maith an sgéalaidhe*. The most frequently encountered form, however, is four-syllable *Alexandair*, *Alaxandair*, *Alaxanndair*, etc. Numerous examples of rhyme indicate penultimate stress, e.g. *soin* : *Alexandair* (*Easgar Gaoidhil* 8*ab*), *Al[e]xanndair* : *n-iongantaigh* (*Leis féin* 23*ab*), *Alexanndair* : *chomhardaigh* (*Ní deireadh* 27*ab*). Final palatal <r> is common in all grammatical cases and confirmed by multiple examples of rhyme, such as

those cited above. Two instances of final non-palatal <r> in the nominative are confirmed by rhyme: *Al[a]xannda(i)r* : *ardbhladh* (*Leis féin* 32*cd*) and *hur* : *Alaxandar* (*Neart gach tíre* 30*ab*). Both three and four-syllable forms frequently alliterate with words beginning in a vowel, especially the adjective *uaibhreach* 'proud' (*Fill th'aghaidh* 29*b*, 42*b*, *Maith an sgéalaidhe* 17*b*, *Neart gach tíre* 39*a*, *Ní deireadh* 24*a*, and *Sgol gan oide* 10*b*),[51] which is consistent with both initial and penultimate stress. Some poets evidently felt at liberty to use multiple versions of the name: *Neart gach tire* uses both three and four-syllable versions, and *Leis féin* includes examples of palatal and non-palatal final <r> confirmed by rhyme.

The Middle Irish version of Alexander the Great's name is indeclinable *Alaxandir* (*Scéla Alex.* 49 *et passim*). The name was borrowed with initial stress which lead to the loss of the third syllable via syncope, and the simplification of the resulting consonant cluster, creating the Gaelicized versions *Alasdar* and *Alasdair*, from which *Alasdrann* is derived.[52] All of these variants are widely attested as personal names, at times for the same person, in Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the later middle ages and early modern period, and *Alasdair* is well-attested as a personal name in Scottish Gaelic up until the present day.[53]

Aristotelēs, -is

Nominative and genitive *Aristotuil, Arisdodoil*, etc. All examples of the name are four syllables long. Rhyme indicates final palatal <l> and penultimate stress, e.g. *chuir* : *Aristotuil* (*Beag nár sáruigheadh* 34ab), *Airiostotail* : *doctair* (*Créad fá seachnainn-se* 9ab), and *ghoil* : *Arasdotuil* (*Rug eadrain* 26*ab*), etc. There is one example of final non-palatal <l> in the nominative (*Maith an sgéalaidhe* 16*a*), although this is not confirmed by rhyme.

Alliteration with *Iuil* (*Beag nár sáruigheadh* 34*b*) and *fhoghluim* (*Rug eadrain* 26*b*) indicates that the pre-tonic element of the word could be treated as stressed for the purposes of alliteration.[54] Alliteration in the line 'Arosdotal oide ar sgol' (*Maith an sgéalaidhe* 16*a*), on the other hand, indicates that only the initial styllable was stressed in this poem.[55] It is possibly significant that

[51]In his discussion of Scottish Gaelic proverbs, Alexander Nicolson noted that 'Alexander the Great is always called "Uaibhreach" in Gaelic'. Alexander Nicolson, *A Collection of Gaelic Proverbs* (Edinburgh, 1881), 165.

[52]One would expect this process to result in a palatal final <r>, as in Scottish Gaelic *Alasdair*. Nominative *Alasdar* likely results from a reanalysis of genitive and vocative *Alasdair* as an *o*-stem noun.

[53]Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Fidelma Maguire, *Gaelic Personal Names* (Dublin, 1981), 21–2. For examples of multiple variants of this name being used for the same individual, see 'Eoin, mac Alasdair, mic Eoin Mhoir Mic Domnaill' (*AU* 1465.11), 'Eoin Cluasach, mac Eoin Mic Alaxdrainn … do Clainn Domhnaill', perhaps also 'Eoin mac Alexandair' (*AU* 1465.6); 'Aluster Carrach' (*AU* 1522.2), 'Alasdrand Carrach, mac Mic Domnaill' (*AU* 1533.12); and 'Domhnall mac Somhairle Buidhe mic Alaxandair, mic Eóin Cathanaigh mic Mec Domhnaill' (*AFM* 1577.5), 'Alasdrann mac Somhairle Buidhe, mic Alastrainn, mic Eóin Chathánaigh mac Mec Domhnaill' (*AFM* 1586.6).

[54]See note 31 above.

[55]Cf. 'Aristotil 'n-arghuin ghlic' (*'Thríonóid naomhtha* 7*c*). This line is, however, inconclusive, as this poem is in an *óglachas* and therefore this may not be intended as metrically valid *uaim*.

Maith an sgéalaidhe dates to the fifteenth century, while the other poems which include this name date to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries; initial stress may be a feature of an earlier Irish pronunciation of the name.[56] The Middle Irish form of this name is *Arustotal*, genitive *Arustotail* (*Scéla Alex*. ll. 541–61).

Basiliscus (Basilisk)
Nominative *Baisilioscus* in *Aithreach damh*. The name is four syllables long. Rhyme with *chriostal* (5*c*) confirms vowel length and consonant quality in the last two syllables, as well as indicating antepenultimate stress.

Chīlō, -ōnis (of Sparta)
Dative *Chilo* in *Ní bean*. The form is disyllabic and unrhymed; lenition is motivated by the preceding dative singular noun *chích* (34*d*) with which it alliterates.

Cleobūlus (of Lindos)
Nominative *Cleobholus* in *Ní bean*. The form is trisyllabic. Initial stress, the diphthong <eo> in the first syllable, vowel length, and consonant quality are confirmed by rhyme with *eoldorus* (35*c*).

Cōdrus (king of Athens)
Nominative *Codorus* and *Codoros* in *Maith an sealad*. The name is trisyllabic, and rhymes with *solas* (67*a*). Initial stress is confirmed that rhyme, as well as by alliteration with *Cing* (67*b*).

Creōn, -ontis (king of Thebes)
Genitive *TTroighén* and *Chroidheóin* in *Seanóir cuilg*. Both forms are disyllabic. *TTroighén* must be emended to *Croighén* in order to provide alliteration with *caithghniomur* (14*d*).[57] Long <é> and a final non-palatal consonant are confirmed by rhyme with genitive plural *ttrén* (14*c*). In the following quatrain, the diphthong <eó> and a final palatal consonant are confirmed by rhyme with *seóil* (15*a*). These examples point to an *o*-stem inflexion: *Croidhéan*, genitive *Croidhéan* or *Croidheóin*.[58] The spellings *Craidon*, genitive *Craidoin* appear in *Stair Ercuil* (ll. 18–26 *et passim*), corresponding with French *Creon*.

[56]Cf. the name *Alaxandair* etc., which has penultimate stress in the poems surveyed, although the existence of triysllabic forms *Alasdar, Alasdrann*, etc. indicate a vernacular pronunciation with initial stress.

[57]Initial <TT> for initial <C> is no doubt a simply copying error, as the two letters closely resemble each other in many Irish hands. Cf. the discussion of the spellings *Aithíl* and *Traisdínéis* above, pp. 207–8, 217.

[58]'In ilsiollaigh áirithe dar críoch guta fada + consan (*-l*, *-n*, nó *-r* de ghnáth) ar nós *goibhéal*, *cuiléan* "coileán", *aonarán* srl (§35) tá ginideach (agus gairmeach) uatha gan chaolú inmhalartaithe le ginideach (agus gairmeach) uatha den ghnáthchineál'. *SnaG*, 370.

Daedalus
Nominative and dative *Déadsholus*, genitive *Déadsholais* in *Mór iongabháil*. All examples are trisyllabic. Alliteration with initial <d> is common (17*b*, 24*b*, 31*b*, 32*b*). Palatal final <s> in the genitive is confirmed by rhyme with *thurais* (17*ab*) and non-palatal final <s> in the dative by rhyme with *dhéadsholus* (28*cd*). In the latter example, the name *Daedalus* is interpreted, by paronomasia, to mean *déad-sholus* 'bright-toothed'.

Indeclinable *Dedail* appears in the Middle Irish *Sgél in Mínaduir*.[59]

Dēïanīra
Spelled *Deianira* in the nominative in *T'aire riot*. The name is trisyllabic, indicating that <eia> represents a single syllable, although it is impossible to determine the vowel as this word is unrhymed. It does not participate in alliteration.

Euclīdēs, -is (Euclid)
Nominative *Euclides* in *Is follus*. The form is trisyllabic, unrhymed, and does not take part in alliteration.

Galēnus (Galen)
Genitive *Ghailén* in *Is follus*. The name is disyllabic, and rhyme with nominative *lén* (25*c*) indicates both initial stress and a non-palatal final consonant. The spellings *Galen* and *Gailighen* appear in Early Modern Irish medical material; the latter spelling represents the hiatus found in later Latin *Galienus* or French *Galien*. [60]

Hippocratēs, -is
Nominative *Hypocratt* in *Breitheamh ceart*; genitive *Iopagraid* in *Is follus*, and *Iopagráid* in *Tógaibh eadrad*. All of these spellings are trisyllabic and unrhymed; thus vowel length and consonant quality cannot be confirmed. Both instances of this name in *Tógaibh eadrad* alliterate with *inghean* (21*a*, 37*b*), indicating initial stress, at least in this poem. The spellings *Ipocras* and *Ipocraid* appear in other Early Modern Irish sources.[61]

Narcissus
Dative and nominative *Narcissus* in *Féach orm* and *A mhac-alla*. In *Féach orm*, the name is trisyllabic. The rhyme *clos* : *Narcissus* (18*ab*) indicates penultimate

[59] Barbara Hillers (ed.), '*Sgél in Mínaduir*: Dädalus und der Minotaurus in Irland', in Erich Poppe and Hildegard Tristram (eds), *Übersetzung, Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter*, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie 4 (Münster, 1999), 131–44, at ll. 13, 46, 50.

[60] The spelling *Galen* can be found in Winifred Wullf (ed.), *Rosa Anglica seu Rosa Medicinae Johannes Anglici: An Early Modern Irish Translation of a Section of the Mediaeval Medical Text-Book of John of Gaddesden* (London, 1929), 14 *et passim*. The spelling *Gailighen* occurs pp. 4, 12. The spelling *Gailiden* is also found in Mícheál P. S. Ó Conchubhair (ed.), *An Irish Materia Medica*, interim edition, §290, via https://celt.ucc.ie//published/G600006 (accessed 16 June 2021).

[61] For *Ipocras* see Wullf, *Rosa Anglica*, 42 *et passim*; *Ipocraid* appears p. 4; cf. *Ipocraitt*, Whitley Stokes (ed.), 'The Gaelic Maundeville', *ZCP* 2 (1899), 226–300, at §33.

stress, as in the Latin version of the name. Alliteration with *neamhghnáth* (18*b*) implies that the pre-tonic element of the name was also stressed for the purpose of alliteration.[62] The name is unrhymed in *A mhac-alla*. If it is understood as trisyllabic, both lines where it appears are hypermetrical by one syllable (9*a*, 11*a*). As there are other hypermetical lines in this poem (e.g. 6*a*, 9*b*, 10*c*), it is not necessary to conclude that the poet pronounced this name as disyllabic.[63]

?Oeta
Genitive *Oeta* in *T'aire riot*, emended from the manuscript spellings *Fheta* or *Fheata*. It is disyllabic, unrhymed, and alliterates with *fhinn* (7*a*). The poem refers to this figure as the father of Deianira, Hercules' wife and unwitting murderer. Nicholas Williams notes that Oeta is the name of the mountain where Hercules died, and suggests that the poet was confused about the details of the story.[64] Alternatively, *Oeta* could be an error for *Oeneus*, Deianira's father.[65]

?Olīva
Nominative *Oilíobha* and *Oilíua* in *Créad so*. Penultimate stress, vowel length, and consonant quality are all confirmed by rhymes with *inríogha* (20*a*) and *míghníomha* (27*a*). The poem identifies this figure as the daughter of the high king of Greece. It is unclear whether the apologue actually derives from a Classical source or not,[66] but as the name is clearly derived from Latin *olīva* 'olive, olive tree' it is of relevance to the present discussion.

Orpheus
Nominative and genitive *Orpheus* in *Orpheus óg*. It is trisyllabic, indicating hiatus between <e> and <u>, and unrhymed. Alliteration with words beginning in a vowel indicates initial stress (1*a,* 2*a*, 4*a*).

Periander, -drī
Nominative *Peiriander* in *Ní bean*. The form is trisyllabic, which implies that medial <ia> represents a diphthong, although this is not confirmed by rhyme. Alliteration with *Plato* (35*a*) indicates initial stress.

Philippus (Philip II of Macedonia)
Genitive *Pilib*, *Pilip*, *Philip*, *Philib*, or *Filib*; all attested examples form part of Alexander the Great's patronymic. Palatal consonant quality and both final <p> and <b> are confirmed by rhymes with *glic* (*Ceathrar* 4*a*), *dhuit* (*Ní deireadh*

[62] See n. 31.

[63] This is, of course, a possibility: the medial syllable could have been lost because of syncope and/or haplology. This is perhaps supported by alliteration in the line 'do chaoi Narcissus náir'. Most lines in this poem lack alliteration, however, so this 'eye alliteration' may not have been intended as metrically valid *uaim*.

[64] 'Is trí mhearbhall a tháinig an t-ainm isteach anseo, déarfainn'. *DMDDG*, 78.

[65] The author is grateful to the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

[66] 'Níor fhéadas aon fhoinse a aimsiú don scéal seo. Tá nóta ag an eagarthóir áfach (ar line 6023) gur cosúil gur ag tarraingt as aistriúchán Gaeilge atá an file'. Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFilí*, 131. Cf. *LB*, 396.

26*a*), and *aitrighid* (*Ní deireadh* 35*b*). Initial <ph> and <f> are confirmed by alliteration (*Leis féin* 32*a*, *Ní deireadh* 28*a*), but initial <p> is not. There is only one example where initial <ph> or <f> appears to be the result of lenition: following dative *mac* in 'an bith iné ag mac Philip' (*Ceathrar* 4*b*). The Middle Irish form of this name is *Pilip* (*Scéla Alex.* l. 30 *et passim*), and *Pilib* begins to be used as a personal name in the later Middle Ages in Ireland.[67]

Platō, -ōnis

Nominative *Plato* in *Ní bean*; accusative *Phláto* in *Ní buan*. Both forms are disyllabic. In the former poem, *Plato* is unrhymed but alliterates with *Periander* (35*a*), indicating that both words have initial stress. In the latter poem, vowel length and initial stress are confirmed by rhyme with *dtráth-so* (6*b*). The name appears in Middle Irish as *Plait* (*Scéla Alex.* l. 547).

Ptolemaeus, Claudius (Ptolemy)

Nominative *Tolomeus* in *Is follus*. The name is four syllables long, indicating hiatus between <e> and <u>. It is unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

Solōn, -ōnis (of Athens)

Nominative *Solon* in *Ní bean.* Rhyme with *d'óradh* (34*d*) indicates initial stress, a long vowel in the first syllable, and a short vowel in the final syllable.

Nominative and dative *(H)álón* and genitive *Hálóin* appear in *D'Oilbhéarus*. As the poem refers to this figure as a *coigfhile* 'provincial poet' (13*c*) and *eighir d'Athens* 'heir to Athens' (14*a*) who wandered Greece in pursuit of learning before assuming his patrimony, it seems likely that these names are a version of the name Solon.[68] Although both vowels are consistently written with marks of length, the rhymes *ghloin* : *Hálóin* (14*ab*) and *trághadh* : *d'Halón* (25*cd*) indicate a long vowel in the first syllable but a short vowel in the second. Rhyme with *ghloin* also confirms palatal final <n> in the genitive. There are multiple examples of alliteration with words beginning with a vowel (13*b*, 14*b*, 24*a*); this, along with the spelling *d'Álón* (13*b*) suggests that initial <h> is cosmetic.

The same person is referred to as *eighear Cailearbháin* (13*b*) 'the heir of Cailearbhán'. This name is trisyllabic and initial stress is shown by rhyme with *neamhnár* (13*a*), to be read as attributive genitive *neamhnáir* qualifying *toisg* i.e. 'a blameless state'. The identity of this Cailearbhán is unknown to the author.

[67]Ó Corráin and Maguire, *Gaelic Personal Names*, 153.

[68]The Database assigns this poem to apologue class 408, 'Halón (Solon?) son of Cailearbháin, his travels in search of learning'.

Name	*# of poems mentioned in*	*# of times mentioned*
Alexander	12	27
Aristotle	7	7
Philippus	4	7
Hyppocrates	3	4
Solon	2	5
Narcissus	2	3
Plato	2	2
Daedalus	1	6
Orpheus	1	3
Actaeon	1	2
Creon	1	2
Oliva	1	2
Basiliscus	1	1
Chilo	1	1
Cleobulus	1	1
Codrus	1	1
Deianira	1	1
Euclides	1	1
Galenus	1	1
Oeta	1	1
Periander	1	1
Ptolemaeus	1	1

Table 5. Other names.

ANALYSIS

As noted above, eighty-five of the poems surveyed date to the sixteenth or seventeenth century; seventy-eight of these poems are included in the Database, representing roughly seven percent of the 1161 poems in the database that are assigned to this period. Furthermore, all of the datable poems surveyed with apologues on a Classical topic were written in this period; Classical references in the earlier poems, on the other hand, consist mainly of brief references to Greece or Troy.[69] This is not meant as a precise figure, as non-professional poems in syllabic metres are often excluded from the Database and the Database contains poems that were excluded from the present study for various reasons, but it does demonstrate an increased interest in Classical material among poets and patrons in this period, a development which Simms connects to the

[69]One notable exception is *Maith an sgéalaidhe*, a religious poem not composed for any particular patron.

English policy of sending the heirs of Irish chieftains to study at Trinity College.[70] While outside the scope of the current study, Classical references are also often to be found in contemporary accentual poetry.[71]

References to Greece (33 poems) and Troy (29 poems) are the most frequent type of Classical reference in the poems surveyed, indicating that the Trojan War loomed large in the imagination of the poets, as did belief in the Greek origin of the Gaels.[72] The most frequently referenced individuals are Achilles (11 or 12 poems), Alexander the Great (12 poems), Hector (24 poems), Hercules (13 poems), Julius Caesar (15 poems), and Pompey the Great (14 poems). All of these figures are men renowned for their strength and military prowess; this is unsurprising as most of these poems are addressed to members of a military aristocracy who would have found such comparisons flattering. These characters also feature prominently in Middle Irish adaptations of Classical and Late Antique narratives, namely *Togail Troí*, *In Cath Catharda*, and *Scéla Alexandair*. The influence of these adaptations can be further seen in verbal echoes of their titles: the phrase *an cath cathardha* appears in three poems (*Dá ghrádh* 18*b*, *Fuil Dálaigh* 30*d*, *Turnamh dóchais* 15*a*), and variations on the phrase *Traoi do thoghail* appear in no fewer than eight poems.[73]

Less frequent names, which nonetheless appear in more than one of the poems surveyed, generally appear in these same narratives (Aeneas, Marcus Crassus), are well-known intellectual or literary figures (Ovid, Virgil), or fit into both categories (Aristotle, Cicero). Certain names appear only, or primarily, as part of the patronymics of better-known characters: Alexander is the son of Philip, Hector is the son of Priam, Hercules is the son of Jupiter and grandson of Saturn. There are fifty-two names which are each only attested within a single poem of those surveyed. Several of these unique names appear in the same poem: e.g. *Maith an sealad* contains a number of vignettes drawn from

[70]Simms, 'Foreign apologues', 143. Simms further notes (pp. 146–7) an increased interest in 'apologues of miscellaneous continental origin' in secular praise poetry of the same period.

[71]A few examples will suffice. Four of the five poems edited in O'Rahilly, *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems* feature some invocation of Classical tradition: in both *Do fríth, monuar, an uain si ar Éirinn* (pp. 3–11) and *An Síogaí Rómhánach* (pp. 17–32), the poet has a vision of a woman whose beauty he likens to that of various Classical goddesses; *Aiste Dháibhí Chúndún* (35–49) includes many Classical authors and narratives in the catalogue of books that the poet has read, and *Tuireamh na hÉireann* (59–82) offers a précis of world history that draws heavily on Classical material. The accentual *Tuireamh Philip meic Aodha Uí Raghallaigh* (*O'Reillys* poem 28) refers to Pilip as the *aithghin* 'rebirth' of Ovid and Homer, and likens the Ó Raghallaigh ancestral lands to Troy after the death of Hector (cf. *Mo thruaighe mur taoi*, also written for an Ó Raghallaigh patron). In *Gabh, a Chéin, go shéimh mo theagasg uaim-sa* (*Dán na mBMionúr* poem 89), the poet argues that, despite their achievements, Hercules, Hector, Julius Caesar, and other great men of the past, could not evade death. Several poems attributed to Geoffrey Keating feature references to Classical tradition: Eoin Cathmhaolach Mac Gionna Eáin (ed.), *Dánta, Amhráin is Caointe Sheathrúin Chéitinn* (Dublin, 1900), poems iv, v, viii, xii.

[72]For the development of this belief in the earlier middle ages, see Bart Jaski, ' "We are of the Greeks in our origin": new perspectives on the Irish origin legend', *CMCS* 46 (2003), 1–53; see also Pádraic Moran, 'Greek dialectology and the Irish origin story', in Pádraic Moran and Immo Warntjes (eds), *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship; A Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín* (Turnhout, 2015), 481–512, especially 505–8.

[73]See p. 206 above.

Greek and Roman history, *Ní bean* lists various philosophers and emperors, and *'Thríonóid naomhtha* features a catalogue of the Muses.[74]

Of the seventy-three personal names found in the poems surveyed, only twenty refer to women, including Cupid, whom the poet of *Dairt sonn* identifies as a goddess.[75] Thirteen of these names belong to the muses or other goddesses; thus, only seven mortal women are mentioned by name in this corpus. With the exception of the muse Thalia (two poems) and the goddesses Ceres (two poems) and Venus (two poems), none of these women are mentioned by name in more than one poem. Deianira is mentioned by name in one poem (*T'aire riot*) and referenced obliquely in another (*Créad fá seachnainn-se*), and Helen of Troy is referenced, although not by name, in two poems (*An sgítheach tú* and *T'aire riot*).

As a general rule, when a name is attested in a Middle or Early Modern Irish adaptation of a Classical or Late Antique text (or of a later text which draws upon Classical tradition, such as *Stair Ercuil*), the poems surveyed will make use of a form of the name similar to that found in these vernacular adaptations. In some cases, this is due to the fact that poets drew directly upon such adaptations, as evidenced by apologues containing details peculiar to these Irish adaptations.[76] In other cases, a direct textual affiliation is less likely, and poets simply considered such forms to be the accepted Irish versions of certain Classical names; for example, Bonaventura Ó hEoghusa translated Latin *Caesar* as *S(h)ésair* and *Tullius* as *T(h)uil Sicir* in *Truagh cor*.[77] Where a name is not attested in these Irish adaptations, on the other hand, it typically appears in the poems surveyed in a form resembling its Latin spelling, although a small number of names, such as Ovid and Virgil, appear in forms that resemble the English or French spellings of that name. There are some exceptions to this trend; notably, the names of gods often resemble the Latin rather than Middle Irish forms of those names.[78] For a small number of names, spellings derived from Middle Irish as well as those derived from Latin or other languages are attested in the poems surveyed, although not in the same poem.

The forms used for Latin names in Middle Irish adaptations of Classical texts are, for the most part, characterized by the loss of final syllables (*Achilles* > *Aichil*), as well as other adaptations to Irish phonology and morphology, such as the loss of initial <h> (*Hercules* > *Ercoil*), <c> and <t> for initial <ch> and <th> (*Thessalia* > *Tesail*), syncope (*Agamemnon*> *Agmemnón*), and lenition of medial and final consonants.[79] Classical vowel length is treated inconsistently; in some cases, this may be due to Vulgar Latin vowel quality, in others, due to

[74]Eight of the nine muses are listed in total; only Erato, the muse of erotic and lyric poetry, is absent from the catalogue. As this poem was addressed to a priest, this omission is perhaps unsurprising.

[75]See p. 199 above.

[76]Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFilí*, 124–7, 133; Ó Háinle, 'Three apologues'.

[77]*Dán na mBMionúr*, ii, 133.

[78]The Middle Irish forms of Apollo, Diana, Mars, and Minerva are entirely absent in the poems surveyed, while both Middle Irish *Uenir* and Latinate *Bhénus* appear for Venus.

[79]See *GOI* §913–24. These Gaelicized spellings occur alongside Latin or Latinate spellings in the Middle Irish texts surveyed; e.g. *Aeneas*, *Cornelia*, *Julia*, and *Ulixes*. *Aeneas* has a *u*-stem

names being borrowed via writing rather than speech.[80] In the forms surveyed, Latin first-declension nouns, mostly place-names, are typically borrowed as *ā*-stems. Other nouns are either indeclinable with a palatal final consonant, or declined as *o*-stem nouns; as noted in passing above, examples of both inflections are often attested for the same name, and some of the poems surveyed exploit this variation. In some cases, these Middle Irish spellings plausibly represent early borrowings from Latin, e.g. *Mairt*, *Ioib* and *Uenir* from (*Dies*) *Martis, Iovis* and *Veneris*.[81] In other cases, where there is no early evidence for the borrowing of a name, it seems most likely that proper names were often Gaelicized in the process of translation; it is certainly difficult to explain the palatal final consonant in Middle Irish spellings such as *Cait* for *Catō*, *Catōnis* by anything other than analogy.[82]

By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the standard practice appears to be to maintain the Latin spelling when adopting Classical names into Irish; this is most visible in the preservation of final syllables, e.g. *Deianira*, *Orpheus*.[83] Occasionally, the poems surveyed will use a Latinate spelling of a name when a Middle Irish spelling is available. In poems such as *Adhbhar* and *I Sagsaibh,* this seems to be part of a self-conscious display of the poet's learning, although the use of such Latinate spellings may also be motivated by metrical considerations. As there are no examples of a poem using both the Latin and Middle Irish spellings of the same name, the use of a Latin spelling may also reflect a lack of familiarity with Middle Irish vernacular adaptations of Classical narrative, especially when the poet in question was not a professional.

An analysis of some specific features of these Latinate names now follows:

Stress

As a general rule, Latin penultimate or antepenultimate stress is preserved in the poems surveyed, and there are several examples of non-initial penultimate stress confirmed by rhyme, e.g. *Baisil-ioscus*, *Corn-elia*, and *Iuil-iséis* or *Iuil-isís*. Penultimate non-initial stress appears in some words that appear Latinate but are borrowed from Irish sources: *Alax-anndair* or *Alex-anndair*, *Aris-totuil*, *Fiol-óises* (for *Philoctetes*), and *Trais-dínéis* (for *Crastinus*). In a small number of names, original penultimate stress has shifted to the initial

inflexion in *Im. Aen.*, perhaps by analogy with the Irish name *Óengus.* Note also that Latin final <ōn> is not lost in any of the examples surveyed.

[80] Damian McManus, 'A chronology of the Latin loan-words in Early Irish', *Ériu* 34 (1983), 21–71, at 67–9 (§81–4).

[81] Cf. Modern Welsh *Dydd Iau, Dydd Gwener*. Note that *Dies Saturni* leads to *Sathairn* with medial /θ/, whereas the Middle and Early Modern spellings surveyed have medial /d/. This implies that *Saturnus* was borrowed into Irish both before and after the lenition of medial <t> to /θ/ (McManus, 'A chronology', 23 (§8)), presumably with a slightly different semantic field associated with each borrowing.

[82] An early example of such analogy is the gloss 'ishé Apoill i*n*sin' (*Sg*. 83.25) for *Apollo*. See also *GOI* §925.

[83] In addition to names from the poems surveyed here, one may also note spellings such as *Megera* for *Megara* and *Teseus* for *Theseus* in *Stair Ercuil*; *Polyphémus*, *Briareus*, *Argus*, etc. in *Tuireamh na hÉireann* (O'Rahilly, *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems*, 50–82); and the names of of Greek and Latin authors *passim* in *TBB*.

and antepenultimate syllable, e.g. *Cleobholus*, *Diana*, and *Peiriander*. Two names show variation between initial and penultimate stress, both confirmed by metre, within the same poem: *Aineicis* or *Ai-niceis* in *Síon choiteann,* and *Cúipioda* or *Cúip-hioda* in *Dairt sonn*. There is one metrically confirmed example where stress has shifted forward to the final syllable, *Apo-ló* (*I Sagsaibh* 37*c*).

The pretonic element of certain names with penultimate stress may be treated as stressed for the purpose of alliteration (*Aris-totuil, Fiol-óises* and *Nar-cissus*), implying that Latinate names were pronounced with secondary stress on the first syllable. The variable stress noted above no doubt has its origins in this phenomenon.

Vowel length

Vowels are generally long in open stressed syllables in the poems surveyed, regardless of the historical quantity of the vowel. Historic vowel length is preserved in *Brútus*, *Clío*, *Corn-élia* and *Drúsus*, and confirmed by rhyme in *Apo-ló* and *Oilíua*; ahistoric long vowels appear in stressed syllables in *Bhénus*, *Cúipioda*, and perhaps *Mínerva*, and are confirmed by rhyme in *Pláto* and *Solon* (: *óradh*). While there are some examples of short vowels in open stressed syllables in the poems surveyed, e.g. *Codorus* (for *Cōdrus*), *Iulia*, and *Liuia*, none of these are confirmed by rhyme. Long <ó> in the stressed syllables of *Óivid* and *Fil-óiseas*, confirmed by rhyme in the former case, appears to be an extension of this pattern.

In unstressed syllables, vowels are generally short, again regardless of historical quantity: e.g. *Cúipioda*, *Cleobholus* and *Pláto*, all confirmed by rhyme. There are, however, a small number of examples of historical long vowels preserved in final unstressed syllables: rhymed *Iuiliséis* / *Iuilisís* and *Séiréis*, and unrhymed *Aicilés* and *Cató*.

Hiatus

Hiatus between vowels is often preserved in the poems surveyed, e.g. trisyllabic *Acteon*, *Diana*, *Iulius*, and *Orpheus*, four-syllable *Tolomeus*. When hiatus is not maintained, it often results in a diphthong, e.g. *Cornelia* (rhyming with *ria*) or *Cleobholus* (rhyming with *eoldorus*), although in the case of unrhymed *Ovidius* and *Sipio*, the <i> seems to have been interpreted as a glide vowel. The presence or absence of hiatus appears to be motivated by the exigencies of metre: it is difficult to explain hiatus in *I-óib* in historical terms, and <ia> represents both a diphthong and two vowels in hiatus in different names in *'Thríonóid naomtha*.

Hiatus is generally not indicated, although spellings such as *tTroighian*, *Troi-fhian*, and *dTroigheanach* for 'Trojan' have been discussed above, pp. 206–7. Medial <dh> and <gh> are also used to indicate hiatus in *Seanóir cuilg* with the spellings *[C]roidhén* / *Croigheóin* for 'Creon', presumably derived from the spelling *Craidon* found in *Stair Ercuil*.

Semivowels <j> and <v>

Latin <j> is consistently spelled as <i> in the poems surveyed, suggesting that it had the value of a vowel. This is supported by alliteration between *Iulia* and *inghen* in *Fuil Dálaigh*, between *Iúl* and *aosta* in *Ní chongmhann*, and between *Iasóin* and *Earcail* in *Easgar Gaoidhil*, as well as hiatus in *I-óib* in *Seanóir cuilg*. Although not confirmed by rhyme, the digraph <ia> likely has the value of a diphthong in *Tra-ian*.

Latin <v> is written variously as <bh>, <u> or <v>; the spelling <bh> implies that it has the value of a fricative. This is further supported by alliteration between *Bhénus* and *bandia*, and by rhyme with 'light' consonants for *Óivid* and *Oilíua*. The spellings *Bolcán* and genitive *Bholcáin* no doubt result in the reanalysis of an initial fricative as lenited <b>. There is evidence for a vocalic <v> in one poem, however: in *Beag nár sáruigheadh*, *Ovid* rhymes with *thuig* and alliterates with *Virgill* (emended by the editor to *Uirgil*).

Diphthongs <ae> <oe> and <eu>

Classical Latin <ae> becomes long <é> in the stressed syllables of *Sésair, Césair,* and *Déadsholus*, where the length of the vowel is confirmed by rhyme. Short <e> appears in the unstressed syllable of unrhymed *Acteon*, as well as in *Tolomeus*. Occasionally, the same diphthong is spelled <ae> or <ao>, as in *Caesar*, *Aen(gh)eas* and *Aonghus* (for *Aeneas*).

The diphthong <oe> appears in a single name, *Oeta*, which is spelled *Fheta* or *Fheata* in the manuscripts. The length of this vowel is not confirmed by rhyme.

The diphthong <eu> becomes <eó> in the older borrowing *Eóraip*. It is spelled <eu> in the names *Euterpe* and *Euclides*, but the pronunciation of this diphthong is not confirmed by rhyme.

<c> before a front vowel

Latin <c> and <sc> have the value of <s> before front vowels, as indicated by the spellings *Seireis* and *Séiréis* for 'Ceres' (confirmed by alliteration) and *Sipio* for 'Scipio'. The same pattern is observed for spellings derived from Middle Irish versions of Latin words: thus *Maiseadóin* for Middle Irish *Maicedóin, dTraisigh* from *Tracíae*, *Séasair* for *Césair*, and *Tuil Sicir* for *Tuil Cicer*. Similarly, *Fiolóises* in *Seanóir cuilg* corresponds with *Filoces* in *Stair Ercuil*.

Latin <h>

As <h> is not recognized as an independent letter in bardic poetry, it is not surprising that there is little evidence for it in the poems surveyed. Initial <h> is normally not present in the Gaelicized spellings of *Hector*, *Hercules*, and *Hippocrates*. When a spelling of a name with initial <h> participates in alliteration, it is always with a word that begins with a vowel or lenited <fh> followed by

a vowel. These two facts imply that initial <h> was mute, although it is possible spellings with initial <h> were treated as permanently mutated, as *Bhénus* appears to be.[84]

Digraphs <ch> <ph> and <th>

Initial <ch> only appears in the name *Chilo*, which occurs in an environment where one would expect lenition. Medial <ch> is typically preserved, although it is lost in spellings such as *Aicilés* and *Ainiceis*. Radical initial <ph> is either preserved or represented as <f>: *Fiolóises*, *Filib* or *Philip*, *Philis* and *Filisse* in the same poem. Medial <ph> is preserved in *Demophon* and *Orpheus*. Radical initial <th> is lost in *Talía*, as well as in the spellings *Téibh, Teasáill* and *dTraisigh* derived from Middle Irish. It is preserved in the spelling *Thebes*, found in the poem *D'Oilbhéarus*, and alliterates with *téid*. Medial <th> is preserved in the unrhymed spellings *Athens* and *Athéns*, also from *D'Oilbhéarus*, and becomes <t> in other poems.

Other changes

Occasionally, <t> appears where <c> is expected: *Aithíl* for *Aichíl*, *Traisdínéis* for *Crastinus*, and the manuscript spelling *TTroighén* for *Croighén*. Consonant clusters are simplified in the spellings *Bachus* for *Bacchus* and *Tolomeus* for *Ptolomeus*; and double <ll> is reduced to <l> in *Apoló* and *Philis*; <i> is found for <y> in the latter example. Glide vowels appear occasionally, e.g. *Seireis*, *Peiriander*, *Iuliséis*, and *Traisdínéis*; and as noted above, Latin <i> is occasionally interpreted as a glide vowel as in disyllabic *Sipio*. Short vowels in unstressed syllables are occasionally substituted for other vowels of the same quantity, e.g. *Cata* for *Cato*, *Marcas* for *Marcus*, *Cleobholus* for *Cleobulus*, and *Codorus* or *Codoros* for *Codrus*; an ahistoric syllable has been added to the latter name. The value of Latin medial consonants is normally preserved, but medial <b> is lenited in *Cleobholus.*

CONCLUSION

As noted above, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors writing in Irish typically preserved the Latin spellings of the Classical names that they borrowed; this is in contrast with earlier borrowings such as *Aichíl* which are often much more dramatically assimiliated. The preservation of Latin spellings may represent a deliberate stylistic choice, foregrounding the exotic nature of the material or the poet's broad learning; alternatively, it may simply reflect the fact that patrons were likely to be already familiar with the Latin forms of these names.

Although certain names are subject to some variation, the treatment of Latin names in the poems surveyed points to a consistent system of Latin pronunciation. Classical Latin accentuation is preserved for the most part, and hiatus can be maintained or lost depending on the demands of metre. The vowel quantity is

[84] As noted above (p. 200), the name *Polyhymnia* provides possible evidence for the pronunciation of <h> at the beginning of a tonic syllable.

that of Vulgar rather than Classical Latin: vowels in stressed open syllables are long, all other vowels are short regardless of historical quantity.[85] Unstressed short vowels are indistinct, as in Early Modern Irish. Other features of Vulgar Latin seen in the poems surveyed include the reduction of the diphthongs <ae> and <oe> to <e>, and the value of <v> as a fricative.[86] Initial and medial <c> or <sc> is becomes <s> before a front vowel.[87] All of these features are consistent with the orthographic evidence of later medieval Latin from Ireland.[88]

On the other hand, many of the features of other contemporary pronunciations of Latin are seemingly absent in the poems surveyed. There is no evidence for the pronounciation of Latin <j> as a consonant, a feature of English, French, and other Romance pronunciations, in the poems surveyed. The assibiliation of <c> is a feature of English and French Latin, but it is also a feature of later medieval Irish Latin as noted above. English speakers of Latin during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shortened the vowel of a stressed open antepenultimate syllable and lengthened many final unstressed open vowels; there is no evidence for, and indeed some evidence against, these developments in the poems, e.g. long antepenultimate in *Cúipioda*, and final unstressed short open vowel in *Pláto* (: *tráth-so*).[89] There is, however, some evidence for preserving or lengthening unstressed vowels before a final <s>, which is a development also seen in English Latin: rhymed *Iulisís* / *Iuiliséis* and *Séiréis*, and ahistoric lengthening in *Traisdínéis*.[90] English speakers of Latin also pronounced Latin long vowels with their post-Vowel Shift values; with the possible exception of the name *Iuilisís* / *Iuiliséis*, there is no evidence for English vowel quality in these poems. Final stress and lengthening of final vowels is a distinctive feature of later Medieval and early Modern French Latin pronunciation, and evidence for this is only found in one name, *Apo-ló*.[91] While an interest in Classical tradition on the part of the poets may have been sparked by the Anglophone educations that their patrons received, or by contact with Continentally-educated clergy, these influences are not reflected in their pronunciation of Latin.

In discussing the Latin of later medieval Gaelic scholars, Breatnach states that 'Latin in Ireland in the Later Middle Ages was pronounced […] largely as if it were Irish', with the notable exception that Irish word-initial stress did

[85]C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston, 1907), 767 (§176). Vulgar Latin vowel quantity in early Irish loan-words from Latin is discussed at McManus, 'A chronology', 68 (§83).

[86]Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, 88–9 (§209–10), 90 (§215), 135–6 (§322).

[87]This represents a more advanced development of the palatalisation (and later affrication) of <c> before a front vowel found in Vulgar Latin (Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, 111 (§260)). This pronounciation begins to appear in French and English pronunciation of Latin from the thirteenth century onward, reflecting phonological developments in the French language; see Harold Copeman, *Singing in Latin or Pronunciation Explor'd* (Oxford, 1990), 116, 163.

[88]Breatnach, 'The pronunciation of Latin'.

[89]Copeman, *Singing in Latin*, 21–2, 121–9, 292–5.

[90]In all of the examples mentioned, final <éis> rhymes with the word *éis*; lengthening of this vowel may therefore be motivated by metrical concerns. Cf. the spellings *Sésair* and *Sésáir*, discussed above, p. 214.

[91]Copeman, *Singing in Latin*, 145. The spellings *Apo-ló* and *Séiréis*, with metrically confirmed long vowels in final syllables, both appear in the same poem, *I Sagsaibh*.

not replace Latin accentuation.[92] The same appears to be true regarding Latin names in the poems surveyed. Occasionally, spellings will include features not typically permitted by Early Modern Irish phonotactics: radical initial <h> in *Hector*, *Hercuilis*, etc.; medial <ct> in *Acteon* and *Hector*, initial radical <th> in *Thebes*, and final <ns> in *Athéns*. As discussed in passing above, there are no examples of such features confirmed by rhyme, and some metrical evidence that indicates that such spellings did *not* reflect the intended pronunciation. It seems most likely, therefore, that these represent 'learned spellings', which indicate the scribe's familiarity with Latin but not the intended pronunciation; thus, a scribe may have written *Hector* but said *Eachta*(*i*)*r*.

Two features of this Irish pronunciation of Latin, non-initial stress and the assibilation of <c> before a front vowel, are also found in names not borrowed directly from Latin in the poems surveyed, such as *Fiol-óiseas* (from *Stair Ercuil*), *Trais-dínéis* with ahistoric penultimate stress (from *Cath Catharda*), and *Tuil Sicer* from Middle Irish *Tuil Cicer*. This indicates that poets recognized such names as Latin names, and that they therefore were subject to the rules of Latin pronunciation as they understood them, regardless of where the poet may have come across any given name. The extension of these features of Latin pronunciation to Middle and Early Modern Irish forms of Latin names also suggests that poets encountered such names primarily via the written word rather than speech: as noted above, initial <c> in *Céssar* is confirmed by alliteration in at least one Middle Irish source, and the name *Alasda(i)r* suggests that *Alexandair* was borrowed with initial stress despite having penultimate stress in the poems surveyed. Forms with ahistoric accent or vowel length, or substitutions such as *Traisdínéis* for *Crastinus* and perhaps *Aithíl* for *Aichíl*, can be easily explained by written transmission.

The primary focus of this discussion has been on the Classical names themselves, the orthographic and metrical evidence for their pronunciation, and what information this evidence provides for the pronunciation of Latin among bardic poets in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This survey of Classical names has the additional benefit of suggesting which narratives, and perhaps specific texts, were available to bardic poets and which exerted a hold on their imaginations, although such questions of sources and reception cannot be adequately treated in a discussion of this length. As can be seen in the appendix, a number of relevant poems still require basic editorial work. It is the author's hope that this appendix, as a sort of *Index nominum* to the corpus of syllabic poetry, will help facilitate further work on questions of multilingualism and Classical reception in Early Modern Gaelic Ireland.

APPENDIX: THE POEMS

The complete title of each poem is given in this appendix, as well as a summary of that poem's Classical content. Titles are given in the normalized spelling used in the Bardic Poetry Database in order to facilitate searches. If a poem is

[92] Breatnach, 'The pronunciation of Latin', 71.

not included in the Database, the spelling used in the most recent edition is followed. Further information on editions, manuscripts, authorship, etc., has only been reproduced here when that information was not available in the Database at the time of writing.

A bhláith = *A bhláith na muadh, a phlúr Phluincéd.*
Not included in the database. Four quatrains in *séadna*, accompanied by a Latin translation in elegiac couplets, included in Froinsias Ó Maolmhuaidh's *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica* (1677); cf. *Glaine no cách*. Later published as *Dán na mBMionúr* poem 42. The addressee of the poem is likened to Mars (q. 4).

A bhean = *A bhean na gcíoch gcorrsholas.*
Twenty-eight quatrains in an *óglachas* of *ae freislighe*. An edition of the complete poem was published by T. F. O'Rahilly in 1913, and an abbreviated version as *DG* poem 32.[93] The abbreviated version appears in the database. The middle section of the poem, absent in *DG*, provides a catalogue of famous men who were deceived by women, including Alexander (q. 18) and Ovid (q. 17).

A mhac-alla = *A mhac-alla dheas.*
Not included in the database. Twelve quatrains in an *óglachas* of *leathrannaíocht mhór* attributed to Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh (fl. 1630), edited by O'Rahilly as *DG* poem 19. At least twenty-two manuscript witnesses survive.[94] The poem, which takes the form of a dialogue between the love-sick poet and his echo, alludes to the myth of Narcissus (qq. 9, 11).

A Thoirdhealbhaigh = *A Thoirdhealbhaigh, turn th'aigneadh* (*ABM* poem 25).
The apologue of this poem (qq. 15–26), which was edited and translated by Cathal Ó Háinle, recounts Pompey's defeat at Thessaly, and his flight to Lesbos and later Africa.[95]

Adhbhar = *Adhbhar beadhghtha bás déise.*
The subjects of the elegy are compared favourably to a range of historical, Biblical, and Classical persons, including Achilles (q. 15), Cato (q. 17), and Hector (q. 15).

Aithreach damh = *Aithreach damh mo dhíochoisge.*
The destructive power of love is likened to the gaze of the basilisk (q. 5).

[93]T. F. O'Rahilly, 'A bhean na gcíoch gcórrsholus', *Gadelica: A Journal of Modern Irish Studies* 1 (1913), 239–43.

[94]For the manuscript sources, see Síle Ní Mhurchú, 'Observations on the manuscript sources for the *Dánta Grá*', *Celtica* 29 (2017), 199–250, at 240.

[95]Ó Háinle, 'Three apologues', 116–23.

An sgítheach tú = *An sgítheach tú, a mhacaoimh mná?*
The woman to whom the poem is addressed is likened obliquely to Helen, whose beauty caused war between Greece and Troy (q. 7).

An tú a-rís = *An tú a-rís, a Ráith Teamhrach?*
The patron's house is likened to Troy during the time of Laomedon (q. 16).

A-nocht = *A-nocht is uaigneach Éire.*
Two poems are known by this title, identified in the Database as the 'short' and 'long' versions. Both versions liken the state of Ireland after the Flight of the Earls to that of Troy after the death of her heroes (q. 10 short, q. 17 long).

A-nois tánaig = *A-nois tánaig Aodh Eanghach.*
The subject of the poem is said to possess *anóir cinn Grég* 'the honour of the chief of Greece' (q. 31).

Aonta déise = *Aonta déise ag díon Laighean* (*ABM* poem 51).
A wedding poem; the bridegroom is referred to as *orrlar fuind Greg* 'the support of the land of Greece' (q. 38).

Beag mhaireas = *Beag mhaireas do mhacraidh Ghaoidheal* (*ABM* poem 61).
The poet alludes to the Greek origin of the Irish (qq. 3, 5), references Cato's Stoic philosophy (q. 24), and paraphrases Ovid's advice to the lovesick man (qq. 27–8).

Beag nár sáruigheadh = *Beag nár sáruigheadh Síol Néill.*
The subject of the poem is likened to a number of Classical figures in terms of his martial prowess and education, including Achilles, son of Peleus (q. 30), Aristotle (q. 34), Caesar? (q. 34), Cato (q. 31), Cicero (q. 32), Ovid (q. 31), and Virgil (q. 31).

Bean do lámhaigheadh = *Bean do lámhaigheadh Leith Cuinn.*
The apologue (34–44) relates the destruction of Troy by the Greeks following the death of Hector, son of Priam.

Breitheamh ceart = *Breitheamh ceart cothrom an t-éag* (*ABM* poem 72).
A meditation on death, in which the poet lists a number of great men of the past who have now perished, including Alexander (qq. 6, 12), and Hippocrates (q. 8).

Cá bhfuair = *Cá bhfuair an tEineach iosdadh.*
Not included in the database. Twenty-five quatrains in loose *deibhidhe*, anonymous, written for Aodh mac Toirdhealbhaigh Ó Raghallaigh in the later seventeenth century; edited as *O'Reillys* poem 27. The poet refers to Aodh as

a *fear tagra mar Thuill Sigir* 'an advocate like Cicero' (q. 20) in reference to his patronage of the art of poetry.

Ceathrar = *Ceathrar do bhí ar uaigh an fhir.*
Four philosophers stand by the grave of Alexander the Great, son of Philip, king of Greece, and make pronouncements on the inevitability of death and vanity of earthly concerns. Cf. *Fill th'aghaidh.*

Cionnas do ghéabhainn = *Cionnas do ghéabhainn grádh Filib.*
The poet references the Greek origin of the Gaels (q. 26).

Cliath mhínighthe = *Cliath mhínighthe ar maicne ríogh.*
The apologue of the poem (qq. 18–23) relates the youthful training of Aithíl, perhaps another name for Achilles.

Cóir súil = *Cóir súil re seasamh Gaoidheal* (*ABM* poem 110).
The apologue (qq. 26–39), edited and translated by Ó Háinle, relates how the soldier Gaius Crastinus' spear-cast started the decisive battle between the forces of Caesar and Pompey.[96]

Créad a-nois = *Créad a-nois fuirgheas Éamonn.*
The poem contains four brief apologues arguing that the aggressor in a conflict is never the victor; the conflicts between Caesar and Pompey (qq. 17–20) and between the Greeks and the Trojans (qq. 21–4) form the subject of two of these apologues.

Créad fá seachnainn-se = *Cread fá seachnainn-sa suirghe.*
As is the case with other poems only preserved in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, no transcription is included in the Database. William Gillies published a transcription, edition in normalized Gaelic orthography, and translation in 2008.[97] The poet renounces love, and lists individuals from Biblical, Classical and Gaelic tradition who were brought to ruin by women, including Aristotle (q. 9) and Hercules (q. 7).

Créacht gan leigheas = *Créacht gan leigheas lot Cruachan* (*ABM* poem 120).
The subject of the poem is likened to Achilles (q. 14).

Créad so = *Créad so ag buaidhreadh ban nGaoidheal.*
The poem's apologue (qq. 17–33) relates how 'Oliva', the daughter of the king of Greece, incurred the jealousy of other noblewomen who conspired to poison her at a feast. Oliva was spared, while those who wished her harm drank the poison and died.

[96]Ó Háinle, 'Three apologues', 103–15.
[97]William Gillies, 'Créad fa seachnainn-se suirghe?', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 24 (2008), 214–53.

Dá ghrádh = *Dá ghrádh tréigfead Maol Mórdha.*
The apologue (qq. 14–25) relates how, after Pompey's defeat at Thessaly, Cornelia reflected upon the misfortune that also befell her former husband, Marcus Crassus, and declared that, since she brought misfortune to those whom she loves, it would have been better for Pompey if she had married Caesar. The poet later states that Venus has inflamed him with love for his patron (q. 31).

Dairt sonn = *Dairt sonn dá seoladh go Tadhg.*
The poet's affection for his patron is expressed using the image of Cupid's arrows (qq. 6, 9, 11, 17). Cupid is referred to as a *bandia* 'goddess' and with feminine pronouns throughout.

Deireadh flaithis = *Deireadh flaithis ag féin Gall.*
The poem was recently edited and translated by Eoin Mac Cárthaigh.[98] The poet mentions 'comhairle Cható' (q. 35) which may be, as Mac Cárthaigh suggested, a reference to a specific wisdom text of that name.

Do bronnadh = *Do bronnadh damh cara cuilg.*
Not included in the database. Ten quatrains in *rannaíocht mhór* with a single quatrain of *ceangal*, attributed to Muiris mac Dháibhí Duibh mac Gearailt (*c*. 1585–1630), edited as *MD* poem 14 and *DMDDG* poem 3. The poet claims that the sword he was given as a gift was forged in Vulcan's smithy (q. 4), and was formerly owned by Hector and Hercules (q. 8).

Do leighis Dia = *Do leighis Dia, derbtha an mhíorbhail* (*ABM* poem 188).
The subject of the poem is likened to Hector, son of Priam (q. 10).

D'Oilbhéarus = *D'Oilbhéarus, is beatha a bhhás* (*ABM* poem 143).
This poem is anonymous in the Database, although Pádraig Ó Macháin has suggested that it was composed by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird.[99] Parts of this poem were previously published by Cuthbert McGrath.[100] The apologue (qq. 13–25) recounts the peregrinations of the Athenian lawmaker Solon and his sojourn in Thebes.

Do roinneadh = *Do roinneadh ríghe Chonnacht.*
The poet references the Greek origin of the Irish (q. 24), and claims that his patron's weapons were forged in Vulcan's smithy (q. 34).

[98]Mac Cárthaigh, 'Gofraidh Óg Mac an Bhaird cecinit'.

[99]Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Poems by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird', *Celtica* 24 (2003), 252–63, at 255–6.

[100]Cuidbeirt Mac Craith, 'Oilbhearus Hosé, máistir sgoile an Athar Aodha Mhac an Bhaird, O.F.M.' in T. O'Donnel (ed), *Franciscan Donegal: A Souvenir of the Dedication of the Franciscan Church* (Ros Nuala, 1952), 109–12.

Do thuit meirge = *Do thuit meirge catha Cuinn.*
An elegy; the devastation that Ireland will suffer after the death of subject is likened to the fate of Troy (q. 13).

Easgar Gaoidhil = *Easgar Gaoidhil éag aoinfhir*
An elegy, the subject is likened to several heroes from Classical tradition: Achilles (q.10), Alexander (q. 8), Hector (q. 10), Hercules (q. 10), Jason (q. 10), and Pyrrhus (q. 10).

Fada cóir = *Fada cóir Fódhla ar Albain.*
The apologue (qq. 18–31) recounts how Caesar, while on campaign in Europe, saw a vision of a personified Rome who begged him to return to Italy in order to liberate her.

Fada is leanta = *Fada is leanta lorg Uilliam* (*ABM* poem 222).
The subject of the poem is likened to Hector (q. 6).

Fada re a Choimhéd = *Fada re a Choimhéd clú Roisdeard.*
The subject of the poem is likened to Hercules (q. 37), and his fame is said to extend as far as Greece (q. 7).

Fan ráith = *Fan ráith imrid aicme Ír* (*ABM* poem 234).
The poem contains two brief apologues, one on the god Saturn (qq. 27–9), and one on the fall of Troy after the death of Hector, son of Priam (qq. 30–3).

Féach orm = *Féach orm, a inghean Eoghain.*
The poet recounts the story of Narcissus falling in love with his reflection (q. 18).

Fearann cloidhimh = *Fearann cloidhimh críoch Bhanbha.*
The poet references the Greek origin of the Irish (qq. 10–12).

Fill th'aghaidh = *Fill th'aghaidh uainn, a Éire* (*ABM* poem 236).
The apologue (qq. 27–42), which has been edited by both Eleanor Knott and Pádraig Ó Macháin, relates the sayings of four sages at the grave of Alexander the Great.[101] Cf. *Ceathrar*.

Fogas fortacht = *Fogas fortacht don tír thuaidh.*
The poem allludes to the Greek origins of the Irish (qq. 2, 19), and the apologue (qq. 32–7) recounts how Priam rebuilt the city of Troy.

[101] *Ir. Syll. Poetry*, 37–9; Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Irish and Scottish traditions concerning *Ceathrar do Bhí ar Uaigh an Fhir*', *Éigse* 30 (1997), 7–17, at 9–12.

Fogas umhla = *Fogas umhla d'ainm gaisgidh.*
The subject of the poem is compared to various heroes from the Ulster cycle and Classical tradition, including Achilles (q. 21), Hector (q. 21), and Hercules (q. 13).

Folamh Éire = *Folamh Éire d'easbaidh Bhriain* (*ABM* poem 246).
The subject of the poem is likened to Hector of Troy (q. 18).

Fonn Sligidh = *Fuigheall formuid fonn Sligidh* (*ABM* poem 255).
The poem's apologue (qq. 27–37) recounts Ulysses' homecoming and reunion with his wife, Penelope, after the Trojan war.

Forais éiges = *Forais éiges Innsi Gall.*
The warriors in the subject of the poem's retinue are likened to those at Troy (q. 9).

Fréamh na fíoruaisle = *Fréamh na fíoruaisle fuil Chéin.*
The weapons of the poem's subject are likened to those that captured Troy (q. 30).

Fuil Dálaigh = *Fuigheal formaid fuil Dálaigh.*
The poem's apologue (qq. 21–33) relates how war between Caesar and Pompey only broke out after the death of Julia, Caesar's daughter and Pompey's wife.

Gabh mo chomhairle = *Gabh mo chomhairle, a chara.*
Not included in the database. Nine quatrains in loose *rannaíocht bheag*, anonymous, and edited as *MD* poem 28. The poet refers to Marcus Crassus' death through being force-fed molten gold (q. 5).

Gabh mo shuirghe = *Gabh mo shuirghe, a ua Émainn.*
The poet compares himself to Venus (q. 20) and Minerva (q. 21), and the apologue recounts the myth of Actaeon and Diana (qq. 23–8).

Gabhaim = *Gabhaim mo dheich rainn san rian* (*ABM* poem 262).
The poem was edited by Pádraig Mac an Bhaird as part of an MA thesis at UCD in 1998, although this was not available to the author at time of writing. The subject of the poem is likened to Achilles (q. 4) and Hector (q. 5).

Geall ó Ulltaibh = *Geall ó Ulltaibh ag éinfhear.*
The subject of the poem is likened to Hector (q. 5).

Glaine no cách = *Glaine no cách thú mur thriath.*
Not included in the database. Five quatrains in *deibhidhe*, accompanied by a Latin translation in elegiac couplets, included in Froinsias Ó Maolmhuaidh's *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica* (1677); cf. *A bhláith*. Later published as *Dán na mBMionúr* poem 43. The poet asks the muse Thalia (q. 3) for advice in how to decline the foreign surname of the poem's subject.

I Sagsaibh = *I Sagsaibh loitear Leath Cuinn.*
An elegy, the poet compares his deceased patron to the heroes Achilles, Hector, and Hercules (q. 22), and to the deities Apollo and Mars (q. 37), and states that Ceres is in mourning over his death (q. 38).

Iad féin = *Iad féin a chinneas ar Chlainn Néill.*
The apologue (qq. 32–8) relates the fall of Troy, and how the Greeks under Agamemnon could not have prevailed if the Trojans were not betrayed by one of their own.

Iaruim bhur mbeannocht = *Iaruim bhur mbeannocht gan fheirg.*
Not included in the database. Fifteen quatrains in an *óglachas* on *rannaíocht bheag* and a quatrain of *ceangal*, written by a Séamus mac Cuarta in the early eighteenth century, edited as *Dán na mBMionúr* poem 76. The poet praises his addressee's virtue by claiming that Bachus never succeeded in tempting him (q. 12).

Ina mbláth = *Ina mbláth leagthar cineadh Chaoimh* (*ABM* poem 278).
The poem's apologue (qq. 16–29) relates how Hector, son of Priam, and defender of Troy, made a compact with the 'spirit of valour'.

Ionmhain teach = *Ionmhain teach ré dtugas cúl.*
The subject's house is likened to Troy in its prime (q. 9), and the poet alludes to the Greek origin of the Irish (q. 17).

Is follus = *Is follus, a mhic Dáire.*
A poem written as part of the contention triggered by Tadhg mac Dáire mac Bruaideadha. The poet, a Franciscan, asserts that the Church endorses the study of many pagan authors, namely Aristotle (q. 22), Euclid (q. 27), Galen (q. 25), Hippocrates (q. 25), Ptolemy (q. 26), and Virgil (q. 28).

Leis féin = *Leis féin moltar Mág Uidhir.*
The apologue (qq. 20–32) relates how Alexander, son of Philip, and king of Greece, forbade people to address panegyrics to him while he lived.

Lios Gréine = *Lios Gréine is Eamhain d'Ultaibh.*
The poet likens the patron's house to Troy in its prime (q. 7).

Mairg do-ní = *Mairg do-ní deimhin dá dhóigh.*
The poet alludes to Cato's wisdom (q. 4), perhaps in reference to a specific wisdom text, as in *Deireadh flaithis*.

Mairg 'ga laigid = *Mairg 'ga laigid a lámha.*
The poet lists a number of figures from Classical and Biblical tradition who are now dead, including Achilles (q. 12), Hector (q. 12), Hercules (q. 12), and Pompey (q. 11).

Maith an sealad = *Maith an sealad fuair Eire.*
A series of brief apologues relate the deaths of Brutus (qq. 63–4), Cato (q. 62), Codrus (qq. 65–7), and Drusus Germanicus (qq. 38–40). The text from the Database was used, as the published edition was unavailable at the time of writing.

Maith an sgéalaidhe = *Maith an sgéalaidhe an Sgriobtúir.*
The poet comments on the vanity of secular concerns, noting that Aristotle is in Hell despite his learning (q. 16), and that Alexander the Great now rules only his burial plot (q. 17).

Maith do chuid = *Maith do chuid a Charbaid Mhaoil (Ma di chwddi[t] a charbit well).*
As is the case with other poems only preserved in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, no transcription is included in the Database, and the transcript in Quiggin's *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* was consulted.[102] The poet likens his addressee to *mak re Greyg* 'the son of the king of Greece' and to Hector (q. 7).

Malairt chrotha = *Malairt chrotha ar chrích Luighne.*
The apologue (qq. 25–37) relates the story of Demophon, prince of Athens, and Phyllis of Thrace.

Mithidh sin = *Mithidh sin, a mhaca Mílidh* (*ABM* poem 338).
The poet alludes to the Greek origin of the Irish (qq. 10, 20) and compares his patron to Hector (q. 18).

Mo mhallacht = *Mo mhallacht ort, a shaoghail* (*ABM* poem 342).
An edition and translation of this poem was published by Mac Cárthaigh in 2013.[103] The poet discusses the vanity of worldly things, referencing a number of figures from Biblical and Classical tradition who are now dead, including Alexander (q. 6) and Caesar (q. 7).

[102]Quiggin, *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, 68–9.
[103]Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, '"Mo mhallacht ort, a shaoghail" (c. 1655): dán is a sheachadadh', *Ériu* 63 (2013), 41–77.

Mo thruaighe mar atáid = *Mo thruaighe mar atáid Gaoidhil.*
The poet likens the state of the Irish after the plantation of Ulster to that of the Trojans after the sack of Troy (q. 16), and bemoans the fact that they do not have the likes of Hector, son of Priam, to defend them (q. 19).

Mo thruaighe mur taoi = *Mo thruaighe mur taoi, a Thulach.*
An elegy, the subject's former territory is likened to Troy after the death of Hector (q. 21).

Mór an lucht = *Mór an lucht arthraigh Éire.*
The poet likens the sea-voyage of several Ulster aristocrats to the continent with the voyage of Noah's Ark, and that of the Argo when Troy was sacked during Laomedon's reign (qq. 27–35).

Mór idir = *Mór idir na hAimsearaibh.*
A social satire, the poet references Ovid's account of the four ages of man (q. 2), and Cicero's *De Amicitia* (q. 8).

Mór iongabháil = *Mór iongabháil anma ríogh.*
The apologue (qq. 14–42) tells a version of the story of Daedalus' escape from imprisonment on wings of his own devising. Daedalus is referred to as the son of Saturn.

Mór theasda = *Mór theasda dh'Obair Óivid.*
The poet claims that Ovid's account of the four declining ages of man failed to account for the renewal that the world would enjoy under James I (qq. 1–2), that the Furies are calmed (qq. 7–8), and that Ceres has pacified Mars (q. 9).

Neart gach tíre = *Neart gach tíre ar Thír Chonaill.*
The apologue (qq. 29–40) relates how the horse of Alexander, son of Philip, allowed no man to ride it after the death of its master.

Néll longphuirt = *Néll longphuirt ós Loch Eachach.*
The subject of the poem's house is likened to the Argo on account of its craftsmanship (q. 30).

Ní ar aois = *Ní ar aois meadhaighthear mac ríogh.*
The poet claims that recounting stories of his patron's accomplishments are as pleasant as recounting tales of the Trojan war (q. 13).

Ní bean = *Ní bean aonothruis Éire* (*ABM* poem 358).
The poet describes the influence of Saturn (q. 28–30), and connects the subject of the elegy to Athens (qq. 44, 47) and several historical figures known for their military skill and philosophical accomplishment: Caesar (q. 37), Chilo (q. 34),

Cleobolus (q. 35), Marcus Aurelius? (q. 38), Periander (q. 35), Plato (q. 35), Pompey (q. 37), Scipio (q. 38), Solon (q. 34), and Trajan (q. 38).

Ní buan = *Ní buan bláth i gcionn bliadhna.*
Not included in the database. Seven quatrains in *rannaíocht bheag* written by an Ó hIfearnáin poet, and edited as *MD* poem 63. The poet compares his year of suffering after his son's death to *bliadhain mar Phlató* 'a year according to Plato' (q. 6); perhaps in reference to the world-year of *Timaeus* 39d.

Ní chongmhann = *Ní chongmhann inbhe acht oirbhert.*
The poem includes a brief apologue (q. 8) on how Caesar prevailed over Pompey despite being younger, and attributes a statement on the dangers of power to Cicero (qq. 23–5).

Ní deireadh = *Ní deireadh d'anbhuain Éireann. Críoch Gaoidheal…*
An apologue (qq. 24–36) relates the conquest of Greece by Alexander, son of Philip. The text from the Database was used, as the published edition was unavailable at the time of writing.

Ní tráth = *Ní tráth aithreachais d'fhuil Chonaill.*
An elegy, the poet refers to the subject as the heir of Hercules (q. 16), likens Ulster to Rome after the death of Pompey (q. 38) or Greece after the death of Achilles, son of Peleus, (q. 39), and includes a brief apologue (qq. 40–2) stating that nobody wounded by Achilles ever recovered.

Ó Dhia = *Ó Dhia dealbhthar gach oige.*
The subject of the poem is likened to Hector (q. 60). The text from the Database was used, as the published edition was unavailable at the time of writing.

Orpheus óg = *Orpheus óg ainm Eoghain.*
The subject of the poem is repeatedly likened to Orpheus (qq. 1, 2, 4).

Pardhas Fódla = *Pardhas Fódla Fir Mhanach.*
The apologue (qq. 27–52) recounts the prophecied birth of Hercules in Greece.

Rug cosnamh = *Rug cosnamh ar chrích Midhe* (*ABM* poem 408).
The apologue (qq. 22–31), which was edited and translated by Ó Háinle, recounts Caesar's defeat of Pompey at Thessaly.[104]

Rug eadrain = *Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban.*
The subject of the poem is likened to several figures from Gaelic and classical tradition, including Aristotle (q. 26), Caesar (q. 4), Cato (q. 4), Hector (q. 3), Marcus Crassus? (q. 7), and Pompey (q. 4).

[104] Ó Háinle, 'Three apologues', 97–102.

San Sbáinn = *San Sbáinn do toirneadh Teamhair.*
The apologue (qq. 21–9) recounts how the Greeks could not sack Troy until the death of Hector, son of Priam.

Searc na suadh = *Searc na suadh an chrobhaing chumhra.*
Not included in the database. Forty quatrains in *séadna* followed by thirteen in *amhrán*, written by Dáibhí Ó Bruadair in 1682 after the trial and acquittal of several Catholic gentlemen accused of participation in the Popish plot, and edited by John Mac Erlean.[105] A brief apologue (qq. 24–5) relates the wanderings of Aeneas after the fall of Troy.

Seanóir cuilg = *Seanóir cuilg cairt an Bhúrcaigh* (*ABM* poem 423).
The apologue (qq. 13–36) relates Hercules, son of Jupiter and foster-son of Creon, fought a dragon on *Oilen na gCáorach cCorcra* 'the island of purple sheep' at the request of Philoctetes. The poet also alludes to the Greek origin of the Irish (q. 41). An edition of the apologue was published in *Ir. Syll. Poetry*, 62–6.

Sgol gan oide = *Sgol gan oide an t-ord gaisgidh* (*ABM* poem 425).
Edited and translated by Pádraig Ó Macháin in 2010.[106] The poet likens Ireland after the death of the subject of the elegy to Troy after the death of Hector (q. 8), Rome after that of Pompey (q. 9), or the world after that of Alexander (q. 10).

Síon choitcheann = *Síon choitcheann cumhadh Ghaoidheal* (*ABM* poem 428).
The poem's apologue (qq. 25–34) recounts the wanderings of Aeneas from Troy to Italy.

Tabhair, a laoigh = *Tabhair, a laoigh luinn leachta.*
Not included in the database. Twelve quatrains in an *óglachas* on *deibhidhe*, written by a Pádruig Mac Gillionndoin for Father Féidhlim Ó hAnluain in the early eighteenth century; cf. *'Thríonóid naomhtha*. Edited as *Dán na mBMionúr* poem 77. Ó hAnluain is said to have received his education at Mount Helicon (q. 4) and is likened to Cicero (q. 5).

Táinig críoch = *Táinig críoch ar olc nÉireann* (*ABM* poem 451).
Ireland after the death of the subject of this elegy is likened to Troy after the death of her defenders (q. 7).

T'aire riot = *T'aire riot a ógáin fhinn.*
Not included in the database. 24 quatrains in *deibhidhe*, attributed to Muiris mac Dáibhí Dhuibh Mac Gearailt (*c*. 1585–1630), and edited as *DMDDG* poem 5. The poet recounts a number of figures from Classical history who

[105] John C. Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair / The Poems of David Ó Bruadair Part II* (London, 1913), 264–88.
[106] Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'An Elegy for Seaán Óg Ó Dochartaigh', *Celtica* 26 (2010), 89–110.

were brought to ruin by women: Paris, Hector and Achilles by Helen of Troy (qq. 3–4); Ovid by a daughter of Caesar (q. 6); and Hercules by Deianira (q. 7).

Tairnig aoibhneas = *Tairnig aoibhneas Chlann gColla* (*ABM* poem 454).
The apologue (qq. 26–41) recounts a war between the Germans and the Greeks.

Tánag adhaigh = *Tánag adhaigh go hEas gCaoille.*
The poet alludes to the Greek origin of the Irish (q. 7).

Teasda Éire = *Teasda Éire san Easbáinn.*
The poem contains apologues on the deaths of Hercules (qq. 32–5) and of Caesar after his defeat of Pompey at Thessaly (qq. 39–52).

'Thríonóid naomhtha = *'Thríonóid naomhtha, dhlíghis uainn.*
Not included in the database. Twenty-five quatrains in an *óglachas* on *deibhidhe* with a single quatrain of *ceangal*, written by a Brian Óg Mac Cana for Father Féidhlim Ó hAnluain in the early eighteenth century; cf. *Tabhair, a laoigh*. Edited as *Dán na mBMionúr* poem 78. Ó hAnluain is likened to Aristotle (q. 7), and is said to have received various gifts from the muses Clio, Melpomene, Thalia, Euterpe, Terpsichore, Calliope, Urania, and Polyhymnia (qq. 12–19).

Tógaibh eadrad = *Tógaibh eadrad is Éire.*
The apologue (qq. 19–40) relates how Hippocrates' daughter was transformed into a dragon and remained in that state until her prophecied saviour came.

Tomhus mhúir = *Tomhus mhúir Chruachna i gCluain Fraoich.*
The subject of the poem's house is likened to Troy (q. 13).

Truagh cor = *Truagh cor chloinne hÁdhaimh.*
A free translation by Bonabheantúra Ó hEoghusa of *Cur mundus militat*, a Latin poem commonly attributed to Saint Bernard. The poem lists a number of figures from Biblical and Classical tradition who are no longer living, including Achilles (q. 7), Alexander (q. 9), Aristotle (q. 10), Caesar (q. 9), Cicero (q. 10), Hector (q. 7), and Hercules (q. 7).

Tuar ríghe = *Tuar ríghe rath tighearna.*
The subject of the poem is likened to Hector (q. 33).

Turnamh dóchais = *Turnamh dóchais díoth muirne.*
The apologue (qq. 10–20) relates how war broke out between Caesar and Pompey following the death of Marcus Crassus.

Abbreviations

Ab urbe condita	Livy, *History of Rome*, translated by B. O. Foster (bks 1–20), J. C. Yardley (bks 21–7, 31–40), Frank Gardner Moore (bks 28–30), Evan T. Sage (bks 40–2), Alfred C. Schleslinger (bks 40–5). 14 vols, Loeb Classical Library 114, 133, 172, 191, 233, 355, 367, 381, 295, 301, 313, 332, 396, 404 (Cambridge, MA, 1919–59).
Aisl. Tund.	V. H. Friedel and Kuno Meyer (eds), *Aisling Tundail* (Paris, 1907).
Cath Catharda	Whitley Stokes (ed), *In Cath Catharda: The Civil War of the Romans,* Irische Texte IV.2 (1909).
Dán na mBMionúr	Cuthbert Mac Craith (ed), *Dán na mBráthair Mionúr*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1967, 1980).
DG	Tomás Ó Rathile, *Dánta Grádha* (Cork 1926).
DMDDG	Nicholas Williams (ed.), *Dánta Mhuiris mhic Dháibhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1971).
FFÉ	David Comyn and Patrick S. Dinneen (ed.), *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Seathrún Céitinn D.D.*, 4 vols, ITS 4, 8, 9, 15 (London, 1902–14).
FGB	Patrick S. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla: An Irish-English Dictionary* (London, 1904).
Im. Aen.	George Calder (ed.), *Imtheachta Æniasa*, ITS 6 (London 1907).
Ir. Syll. Poetry	Eleanor Knott, *An Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry of the Period 1200–1600* (Dublin 1957).
Luid Iasón	Gearóid S. Mac Eoin (ed.), 'Dán ar chogadh na Traoi', *Studia Hibernica* 1 (1961), 19–55.
MD	Thomas F. O'Rahilly (ed.), *Measgra Dánta* (Dublin and Cork, 1927).
O'Reillys	James Carney (ed.), *Poems on the O'Reillys* (Dublin, 1950).
Scéla Alex.	Kuno Meyer (ed.), *Die Gedichte von Phillip und Alexander von Macedonien aus dem Lebar Brecc, mit deutscher Uebersetzung und mit Excerpten aus dem Book of Ballymote*, Irische Texte II.II (1887), 1–108.
Stair Ercuil	Gordon Quin (ed.), *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules* (London, 1939).
TBB	Osborn Bergin (ed.), *Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis*: *Séathrún Céitinn do Sgríobh* (Dublin, 1931).

TDall	Eleanor Knott, *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591)*, 2 vols, ITS 22, 23 (London 1922, 1926).
Timaeus	Plato, *Timaeus, Critias, Cleitophon, Menexenus, Epistles*, translated by R. G. Bury, Loeb Classical Library 234 (Cambridge, MA, 1929), 1–254.
TTebe	George Calder (ed), *Togail na Tebe* (Cambridge, 1922).
TTroí	Whitley Stokes and Ernst Windisch (eds), *Togail Troí*, Irische Texte II.1 (1884), 3–62.

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A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY IRISH COLLECTION OF REMEDIES FOR AILMENTS OF THE MALE REPRODUCTIVE ORGANS[1]

Abstract

This article presents an edition, translation and discussion of an Irish collection of cures for ailments of the male reproductive organs. The collection, now preserved in RIA MS 23 N 29 (467), originally formed part of a much larger medical treatise found in RIA MS 24 B 3 (445), a composite codex written primarily by the North Connacht physician Conla Mac an Leagha in the early sixteenth century. While most of the therapeutic remedies examined here simply call for different herbal and animal ingredients, the text also includes verbal incantations and other instructions that might be described as ritualistic in nature, some of which are of interest for their wider literary resonances. This material is significant not only for the insight that it provides into the transmission of late antique medical learning in premodern Ireland, but also for our understanding of the relationship between medical remedy collections compiled in various medieval vernaculars.

The subject of male sexual dysfunction has to date received considerable attention in studies of medieval European society, due in no small part to its significance in a legal context. The inability or otherwise of a man to produce offspring played an important role in determining the legitimacy of claims to succession and inheritance, and impotence was recognised in both Roman and ecclesiastical law as an acceptable ground for seeking divorce.[2] The close association between impotence and magic in the European Middle Ages has likewise been explored in depth through a range of legal, theological and medical works.[3] Engagement on the part of medieval Irish scholars with these wider intellectual currents has not gone unnoticed: for example, Jacqueline Borsje has examined the evidence for 'love magic' in Irish hagiographical, penitential and legal texts, where verbal charms or material objects are sometimes portrayed as effective aphrodisiacs, even if the extant sources reflect conflicting views regarding the acceptability of employing such methods for the purpose

[1]The research for this article has been facilitated by a Laureate Award from the Irish Research Council for the project *Medieval Irish Medicine in its North-western European Context* (MIMNEC; Grant Agreement no. IRCLA/2017/57). I am grateful to Siobhán Barrett, Elizabeth Boyle, David Stifter, an anonymous reader and the editors of this journal for offering many insightful comments and important corrections on various aspects of this work. Any errors or shortcomings that remain are solely attributable to me.

[2]James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, 1987), 115 and 144.

[3]See especially Catherine Rider, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2006).

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of arousing desire.[4] Particular attention has been paid to the surviving Irish law-texts, which underscore the extent to which impotence was considered a highly public matter, applicable to 'the legal world of contracts, obligations and ultimately, theoretical social order'.[5] Thus Brónagh Ní Chonaill has noted the stipulation given in the Old Irish law-text on sick-maintenance, *Bretha Crólige*, that compensation would be owed to a woman if her husband was physically incapacitated through injury and therefore rendered unable to engage in sexual intercourse — a rule which provides testimony, as Ní Chonaill argues, 'to the importance of a person's right to procreate, if so desired.'[6] A similar view is evidenced in a fragmentary Old Irish law-text dealing with various legal disputes that might arise in a marriage, where it is stated that if a husband deceives his wife by deliberately entering into a marriage knowing that he is impotent, she may obtain a divorce, with forfeiture of the bride-price.[7]

The influence of medical learning on such legal doctrine is often manifest. For example, Fergus Kelly has drawn attention to sections of the aforementioned text on marriage disputes that relate specifically to medical and gynaecological matters, including the procedures to be adopted if a wife or husband becomes ill before or after marriage; the legal issues that arise if a wife suffers from a condition called *lecc diíce* (lit. 'an incurable stone'); and the consequences of intercourse during menstruation, which in the Middle Ages was widely believed to cause male sterility.[8] A similarly striking example of the confluence of legal and medical learning in an Irish context is found in a section of *Bretha Éitgid* concerned with bodily injuries, where brief mention is made of wounds affecting the male reproductive organs. There it is specified that full injury payment was due for removal of the left testicle, since it was an organ of particular importance for procreation. This stipulation, which may reflect an increasing concern with the legal implications of castration in the Middle Ages, would appear to be an inversion of the view expressed in many contemporary medical sources — themselves ultimately drawing on classical medical doctrine — according to which the 'warm right testicle' was considered to be the origin of the male sex, while the colder left one gave rise to females.[9]

[4] Jacqueline Borsje, 'Rules and legislation on love charms in early medieval Ireland', *Peritia* 21 (2010), 172–90; eadem, 'Love magic in medieval Irish penitentials, law and literature: a dynamic perspective', *Studia Neophilologica* 84 (2012), 6–23; and eadem, 'The power of words: sacred and forbidden love magic in medieval Ireland', in A. Berlis, A-M. Korte and K. Biezeveld (eds), *Everyday Life and the Sacred: Re/configuring Gender Studies in Religion*, Studies in Theology and Religion 23 (Leiden, 2017), 218–48.

[5] Brónagh Ní Chonaill, 'Impotence, disclosure and outcome: some medieval Irish legal comment', online at https://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/scottishstudies/earticles/LegalConcern.pdf, 1 (accessed 21 July 2021).

[6] Ní Chonaill, 'Impotence, disclosure and outcome', 3; for an edition of the law-text in question, see D. A. Binchy, 'Bretha Crólige', *Ériu* 12 (1938), 1–77.

[7] Fergus Kelly, *Marriage Disputes: A Fragmentary Old Irish Law-text* (Dublin, 2015), 5.

[8] Kelly, *Marriage Disputes*, 10–12.

[9] Ní Chonaill, 'Impotence, disclosure and outcome', 17–18. The passage in question and the topic of castration more broadly are also discussed by Charlene Eska, ' "Imbrued in their owne bloud": castration in early Welsh and Irish sources', in Larissa Tracy (ed.), *Castration and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), 149–73, at 167–9.

New evidence from an Irish medical treatise

This contribution seeks to add some further evidence to these wider discussions of sexual dysfunction in premodern Ireland by bringing to light a previously unpublished collection of remedies for ailments of the male reproductive organs. The collection forms part of a much larger Irish medical treatise that was written in the early sixteenth century and consists of over 920 herbal remedies, charms and prayers for various bodily afflictions, broadly arranged in the text following the head-to-toe order typical of medical manuals throughout the classical and medieval periods. The treatise in question might thus be classified as a *receptarium* or 'receptary', a very popular genre of medieval medical text that lists remedies culled from various sources, but usually omits any substantial discussion of diagnosis or other aspects of medical theory.[10] In addition to the many interesting features found in its chapter on cures for the male reproductive organs, the Irish *receptarium* considered here is a significant survival due to the fact that it is a unique example, in an Irish medical context, of a prosimetrical work: to date, some 43 separate didactic medical poems, mostly versified remedies, have been identified in its contents.[11] The compilation clearly draws on a wide range of different sources, including many works by authors of the classical and late antique periods, but it is especially noteworthy for its numerous allusions to aspects of the wider early Irish literary tradition. One salient example of this is the fact that, although the majority of cures in the collection are transmitted anonymously, several remedies or passages of medical doctrine are attributed to members of the Tuatha Dé: most frequently the healer-figure Dían Cécht, but also his children, Míach and Airmed.[12]

The main scribe of this remedy book was Conla Mac an Leagha (*fl.* 1496–1512), who is known from extant manuscript sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to have belonged to the hereditary family of medical practitioners of that name active primarily in the region of North Connacht during the late-medieval period. References in the surviving Irish manuscripts to members of the Mac an Leagha family and the written works they produced were first documented by Paul Walsh, who noted that Conla appears to have

[10]Klaus-Dietrich Fischer, 'Dr Monk's medical digest', *Social History of Medicine* 13/2 (2000), 239–51, at 242.

[11]This figure, as well as that given for the total number of remedies included in the text, are based on a draft transcription of the full treatise that was completed for the MIMNEC project by Dr Siobhán Barrett, for whose input I am very grateful. The prosimetrical content of the treatise was first identified by Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha, 'Early Modern Irish medical writings', *Scéala Scoil an Léinn Cheiltigh/Newsletter of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies* 4 (1990), 35–9, at 36. For editions of six of the poems in the text, see Deborah Hayden, 'Three versified medical recipes invoking Dían Cécht', in Anders Ahlqvist and Pamela O'Neill (eds), *Fír fesso: A Festschrift for Neil McLeod*, Sydney Series in Celtic Studies 17 (Sydney, 2018), 107–23; eadem, 'Attribution and authority in a medieval Irish medical compendium', *Studia Hibernica* 45 (2019), 19–51, at 32–4; eadem, 'A versified cure for headache and some lexicographical notes,' *Keltische Forschungen* 8 (2019), 7–22; and eadem, 'Medieval Irish medical verse in the nineteenth century: some evidence from material culture', *Irish Historical Studies* 45, no. 168 (2021), 1–19.

[12]This topic is treated more thoroughly in Hayden, 'Attribution and authority'. For discussion of another allusion to Irish literary tradition in the text, see Siobhán Barrett, 'Varia I. The king of Dál nAraidi's salve', in *Ériu* 69 (2019), 171–8.

been the brother of Máel Eachlainn Mac an Leagha, an *ollamh* in medicine to the Mac Donnchaidh lords based in Ballymote and Tirerrill, Co. Sligo.[13] Conla himself is known to have been a practising physician in the service of the Mac Diarmada family in the nearby lordship of Magh Luirg, located in what are now the baronies of Boyle and Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon. He appears to have moved around several different locations in that area while writing, apparently for his own use, both the material examined here and the other contents of the manuscript to which it originally belonged, namely RIA MS 24 B 3 (445).[14] A recent codicological study of this manuscript has demonstrated that some of its leaves became separated from their original codex at an unknown point in its transmission, with the result that the 32 vellum leaves comprising the majority of the *receptarium* are still found in their original location (RIA MS 24 B 3 [445], pp. 33–[90], 90a, 90b and 91–3), while a further 8 paper leaves are now bound up as part of a second, composite codex, namely RIA MS 23 N 29 (467), fols 1–4 and 6–9.[15]

The chapter of the *receptarium* published here is found in the latter of these two codices, on fols. 8v–9v of RIA MS 23 N 29, and can be dated to 1509 on the basis of a scribal colophon.[16] Much like the rest of the treatise, the content of this chapter is very practical in nature in so far as it consists exclusively of remedies written in the terse syntactical pattern typical of medical receipts in many different languages, succinctly characterised as 'for x, take y and do z with it'.[17] Such recipes nearly always include elements such as an indication (i.e. a list of complaints and disorders for which the remedy is deemed efficacious), the composition (an enumeration of the ingredients and their proportions or quantities), and instructions for preparation and administration. They also commonly conclude with some kind of 'efficacy phrase', or stock formula that asserts the value

[13]Paul Walsh, 'An Irish medical family — Mac an Leagha', in Colm Ó Lochlainn (ed.), *Irish Men of Learning* (Dublin, 1947), 206–18, at 210.

[14]Walsh, 'An Irish medical family', 214; Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha, 'An Irish medical treatise on vellum and paper from the 16th century', in Pádraig Ó Macháin (ed.), *Paper and the Paper Manuscript: A Context for the Transmission of Gaelic Literature* (Cork, 2019), 111–25, at 113.

[15]Nic Dhonnchadha, 'An Irish medical treatise', 111. The author notes (p. 116) that fol. 5 of RIA MS 23 N 29 does not form part of the prosimetrum text, but 'is in Conla Mac an Leagha's hand and is similar in texture and dimensions to the eight prosimetrum leaves with which it is bound'. The folio contains the earliest extant copy of Tadhg an Ghadhraigh Mac Aodhagáin's poem on the Shannon, *Bérad breth na himrisna* (see Brian Ó Cuív, 'The poetic contention about the River Shannon', *Ériu* 19 (1962), 89–110), followed by a short prose account concerning the murder of Mág Raghnaill, 'chief of his name'; the taking of Leitrim castle; and the capture of Mág Raghnaill's 'celebrated ship'. The latter text has recently been edited and translated by Mícheál Hoyne, 'The assassination of Mág Raghnaill and the capture of his ship in 1502', *Studia Hibernica* 46 (2020), 53–66. I am grateful to Dr Hoyne for sharing a copy of his article with me in advance of publication.

[16]Nic Dhonnchadha, 'An Irish medical treatise', 115–16; cf. Walsh, 'An Irish medical family', 215–17.

[17]See e.g. Debby Banham, 'Dun, Oxa and Pliny the great physician: attribution and authority in Old English medical texts', *Social History of Medicine* 24/1 (2011), 57–73, at 58, and also Ruth Carroll, 'Middle English recipes: vernacularisation of a text-type', in Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta (eds), *Medical and Scientific Writing in Late Medieval English* (Cambridge, 2004), 179, citing eadem, 'The Middle English recipe as a text-type', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 100 (1999), 27–42.

of the treatment.[18] In many *receptaria*, some or all of these elements are simplified or even omitted; this is also frequently the case in our Irish text, where the instructions for preparation are often extremely vague and do not detail any specific quantities or measurements with regard to the ingredients to be used. Presumably information regarding dosage would have been known to experienced practitioners, who would in many cases have compiled such collections of cures to serve as reference manuals for their everyday work.[19]

Given the early sixteenth-century date of the sole extant manuscript witness for Conla Mac an Leagha's remedy collection, one might naturally compare the contents of his chapter on ailments of the male reproductive organs with discussions of similar subject-matter found in many widely circulated *practicae*, or therapeutic manuals, that were composed in Latin during the late-medieval period. It has been observed that the authors of such works, which were commonly translated into various European vernaculars (including Irish), were 'generally university teachers of medicine and they often claimed to be writing for their students, but *practicae* also found a readership among other well educated men who had not necessarily been to university'.[20] Medical conditions associated with the male reproductive organs were a common point of discussion in such texts. Thus Luke Demaitre has shown that the manuals written by figures such as the Salernitan physicians Gariopontus (*fl.* 1035–50) and Platearius (d. 1161), the English physician Gilbertus Anglicus (*c.* 1180–1250), the French doctor Bernard of Gordon (*fl.* 1270–1330), and the Italian friar Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98) discuss the definition, cause and cures for ailments ranging from 'satyriasis' and 'priapism' (defined as a lasting erection of the penis with or without libido, respectively), to incontinence, hernia, 'gonorhea' (the latter explained as 'a repeated, copious, and uncontrolled emission of sperm') and 'aproximeron' ('impotence' or an 'inability to perform a sexual act').[21]

There are significant differences between these sources and the chapter on ailments of the male reproductive organs in Conla Mac an Leagha's *receptarium*, however, not least of which is the general lack of theoretical content accompanying the remedies in the latter work, such as any discussion of symptoms or diagnosis. While the opening line of the Irish text suggests that the chapter will deal with multiple afflictions (*gallra*) of the 'male member' (*ball ferrda*), the cures that are subsequently listed by the scribe — or at least the vocabulary used to explain their purpose — is far more limited in scope than what is found in the Latin *practicae*. Thus 9 of the 20 remedies in Conla Mac an

[18]On the components of medicinal receipts, see Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1990), 2–3 and 16–24, and Jerry Stannard, 'Rezeptliteratur as Fachliteratur', in William Eamon (ed.), *Studies on Medieval 'Fachliteratur'*, (Brussels, 1982), 59–73.

[19]A similar observation is made by Stannard, 'Rezeptliteratur', 62.

[20]Catherine Rider, 'Men and infertility in late medieval English medicine', *Social History of Medicine* 29/2: 245–66, at 250–1.

[21]Luke Demaitre, *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe* (Santa Barbara, CA, 2013), 303–13 (where the terminology for diseases of the male reproductive organs used by these Latin authors is summarised in a table on p. 304).

Leagha's chapter are simply said to be for *leme* (defined in *eDIL*, s.v. *leime*, as 'weakness' or 'impotence'), while a further three are stated to be for *lemad.*[22] The latter term is defined in *eDIL*, s.v., as the 'act of rendering impotent (by means of spells)' on the basis of three citations, one of which is a charm that is also attested in our text with the heading *ar leme* (§20).[23] While one attestation of the word *lemad* in our text involves a verbal incantation (§16), the other two remedies that contain this word in their headings do not, and it is unclear whether the term was in some cases considered synonymous with *leme*. From a modern pathological perspective, of course, it is difficult to know precisely what ailment was meant in either case, but presumably reference is being made to some kind of inability to perform a sexual act.

Other remedies in the collection, while apparently intended to treat ailments other than impotence, are equally ambiguous as regards their precise purpose. For example, the cure in §6 simply begins *leiges an boill ferda* ('a cure for the male member'), while two others (§§14 and 15) are succinctly described as being for one or more 'lumps' (*cnū* and *cnocc* respectively) in the testicles.[24] In one case (§13) the term *tumaig magrall* ('hernia of the testicles') is explained simply as a type of *at uirged* ('swelling of the testicles'). A more expansive definition of the affliction known as *tumtuigi* (lit. 'dipping') can be found in a chapter from the Irish translation of John of Gaddesden's *Rosa Anglica*, although none of the cures suggested there correspond to the remedy prescribed in our text:

> Herrnia adhon is edh is irrnia and .i. tumtuigi; & is eslainti sin ina mbrisind in sicne (&) le n-abur sifacc, no ina leathnuidter no ina sinter he: & ar a són sin tuitid na inne i sparan na n-uirgid; no attaid siad isin fordrond maille teinnes, & bacuid siubal do nech. Et tuic co fuilid moran do gneithib arin eslainti so .i. gne o gaothmairecht, & gne o uisgiamlacht, & gne doniter o lennuibh, & gne doniter o feoil, & gne ele doniter o cuislennuibh, & gne ele ona h-hindibh […]
>
> 'Hernia i.e. Dipping (?): Hernia is a disease in which that part of the peritoneum called siphac breaks, or is stretched, and widened, and because of this, the intestines fall into the scrotum, or swell in the groin with pain, and prevent a man from walking. Note that there are many varieties of this disease; a form caused by flatulence, another caused by wateriness, one produced from humours,

[22] §§16, 18 and 19. The latter two begin with the heading *ar lemad*, while the first begins *ar īc lemta* ('for healing of *lemad*').

[23] On this passage, see further the discussion below, pp. 258–60 and 275–6. For the dictionary definitions of *leime* and *lemad*, see *eDIL*: dil.ie/29794 (*leime*) and dil.ie/29874 (*lemad*). These and all following references to entries in *eDIL* were checked on 30 June 2021.

[24] For discussion of these terms, see below, pp. 273–4.

> and one from flesh, another from varicose veins, and another from the entrails [....]'[25]

The advice offered in §4 to prevent impotence (*leme*) by avoiding horse-riding no doubt had fairly practical origins: one might compare, for example, the warning given in the *Rosa Anglica* that impostumes of the testicles might be caused by this particular activity.[26]

At least two of the cures in our text (§§10 and 11) are evidently intended not to prevent impotence, but to curb libido.[27] The first of these begins *eōlus do dīcur toile ō macaib ecluisi 7 ō dainib arcēna* ('a prescription for getting rid of desire from clerics and other people'), while the second is stated to be *ar aislingib collaidhi* ('for [protection from] visions of carnal things'). The explicit reference to clerics in the former suggests that these remedies may have been considered to be of particular use to members of Irish ecclesiastical communities, whose avowed chastity to God would have naturally resulted in attempts to maintain abstinence in sexual matters. A similar preoccupation is evidenced in late-medieval Latin medical commentary, where the ailment referred to as 'satyriasis' is specifically associated with the forbidden desire for coitus amongst clerics. One Latin writer even devoted a distinct chapter of his medical treatise to the subject of 'extinguishing libido and removing the wish to have sex', where he referred specifically to the needs of individuals 'in various monasteries and religious places'.[28] Such teaching can be situated within the wider context of theological discussions concerning chastity and the repression of sexual desire found in sources across early medieval Europe, including Irish penitential texts that detail methods of counteracting the temptations of fleshly lust and stipulate penances for clerics of various ranks who transgress their vows of celibacy.[29]

Sources and parallels

Much of the medical material found in Conla Mac an Leagha's collection of remedies for ailments of the male reproductive organs can ultimately be traced to Latin sources of the late antique period. This is evident, for example, from the predominance in this chapter of references to animal parts, including those

[25] Winifred Wulff (ed. and trans.), *Rosa Anglica seu Rosa Medicinae Johannes Anglici: An Early Modern Irish Translation of a Section of the Mediaeval Medical Text-book of John of Gaddesden*, ITS 25 (London, 1929), 236–7.

[26] Wulff, *Rosa Anglica*, 214–15.

[27] The remedy in §12 purports to give the same cure as is found in the two preceding sections, but does not state its purpose explicitly, and calls for an ingredient (the 'testicle of a stag') that appears to be prescribed as an aphrodisiac in §7. It is possible that §§10 and 11 are interpolations. For further discussion of §11, see below, pp. 260–1.

[28] Demaitre, *Art of Healing,* 309–10.

[29] On the wider European context for theological approaches to subjects such as chastity, abstinence and clerical celibacy, see e.g. Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others*, 3rd ed. (New York, 2017), 36–78. For examples from the Irish penitential tradition, see E. J. Gwynn (ed. and trans.), 'An Irish penitential', *Ériu* 7 (1913), 121–95, at 139–46, and Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 5 (Dublin, 1963), 258–77.

derived from the boar, cock, goat, stag, badger, wolf and spider. The use of animal organs or excrement for internal and external application in a medical context, commonly designated *Dreckapotheke* (lit. 'dirt therapy'), is a feature of many ancient medical traditions, including the works of widely known authors such as Galen, Dioscorides and Pliny the Elder: the *Historia naturalis* of the latter has been described as 'the starting-point for the diffusion of medico-magical lore to the Middle Ages in the West by way of Sextus Placitus's *Liber medicinae ex animalibus* and Arab writers'.[30]

The influence of Pliny's work in particular can be identified in various sections of Conla Mac an Leagha's *receptarium*, and the chapter edited below forms no exception to this.[31] For example, the very first two cures listed (§§2 and 3) recommend that fennel be boiled in either wine or whey (*medg*) and then drunk in order to heal impotence (*leme*). This teaching may ultimately derive from the following observation by Pliny:

> Geniturae abundantiam quoquo modo haustum facit, verendis amicissimum, sive ad fovendum radice cum vino decocta sive contritum in oleo inlitum.
>
> 'In whatever way [the fennel plant] is taken it creates an abundance of seed, being very soothing to the privates, whether the root be boiled down with wine for a fomentation, or the plant be pounded up and applied in oil.'[32]

Many cures from sources such as the first-century *Historia naturalis* and the fourth-century *Liber medicinae ex animalibus* reflect belief in the so-called 'Doctrine of Signatures' or 'sympathetic magic', which was premised upon the axiom *similia similibus curantur* ('like is cured by like'). This theory held that perceived likenesses (or 'sympathies') between the qualities or visible properties of particular natural substances (plants, animal parts or minerals) and a symptom or abnormal condition of the human body meant that a given substance might, under the appropriate circumstances, be employed to effect magical therapy on that part of the body.[33] In our Irish text, this concept is evidently what underlies the relatively frequent advice to use animal testicles to combat impotence — the idea evidently being that an ailment affecting

[30] Francis B. Brévart, 'Between medicine, magic, and religion: wonder drugs in German medico-pharmaceutical treatises of the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries', *Speculum* 83/1 (2008), 1–57, at 42. For a general survey of medieval and modern *Dreckapotheke*, see Loren C. MacKinney, 'Animal substances in materia medica: a study in the persistence of the primitive', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 1/1 (1946), 149–70.

[31] For examples drawn from other chapters of the remedy book, see James Carney and Maura Carney, 'A collection of Irish charms', *Saga och Sed: Kungliga Gustav Adolfs Akademiens Årsbok* (1960), 144–52, at 147–8, and Deborah Hayden, 'Téacs leighis ó thuaisceart Chonnacht: comhthéacs, foinsí agus struchtúr', in Eoghan Ó Raghallaigh (ed.), *Comóradh an Leathchéid: Téamaí agus Tionscadail Taighde*, Léachtaí Cholm Cille 50 (Maynooth, 2020), 60–84.

[32] W. H. S. Jones (ed. and trans.), *Pliny: Natural History Books 28–32,* Loeb Classical Library 418 (Cambridge, MA, 1963), 150–3 (XX.96).

[33] Jerry Stannard, 'Medicinal plants and folk remedies in Pliny', *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences* 4/1 (1982), 3–23, at 14; Brévart, 'Between medicine, magic, and religion', 45–6.

the testicles of a man might be cured by consuming the corresponding part of a particularly fertile animal. Thus §4 calls for the testicle of a boar, §5 for that of a cock, §§7 and 12 for that of a stag; in all cases, the practitioner is instructed to either burn or boil the testicles and to then serve them to the patient in a drink (usually of wine). Nearly identical remedies can be found in both the original Latin text of Sextus Placitus's *Liber medicinae ex animalibus* and in its later Old English translation, e.g. the suggestion there that the dried testicles of a stag might be drunk in order to arouse coitus (*cerui testiculos siccos, aliquam partem potam, concubitum excitat*).[34]

Similar parallels exist for other cures in our text. The instruction in §14 to mix the brain of a wild boar (*incind tuirc allaid*) with honey and apply this to the testicles to cure a swelling of some kind (*cnú*, lit. 'nut') is reminiscent of a cure *ad carbunculos in ueretro* ('for carbuncles in the private parts') that occurs in the work of Sextus Placitus.[35] Two further recipes (§§6 and 17, in fact simply variants of a single cure) call for the dung of a goat, which is to be combined with 'sediment' or 'dregs' (*descad*) and the inner bark of a holly tree (*etursnam cuilind*) to form a poultice that is then applied to thighs. Animal excrement is a commonly cited ingredient in both late antique and medieval medical sources, and indeed a short Irish tract on the medicinal uses of dung from various animals, much of which is based on information contained in the second book of Avicenna's widely circulated *Canon of Medicine*, has recently been brought to light from a separate manuscript.[36] None of the remedies in that source, however, is prescribed specifically for ailments of the male reproductive organs. A closer comparandum for the advice given in §§6 and 17 of our text is the section on the uses of medicinal ingredients derived from goats (*Medicina de hirco et capra*) in the *Liber medicinae ex animalibus*, which similarly recommends applying a salve made of goat's dung either to the thighs in order to relieve pain in that part of the body (*ad femorum dolores*), or to heal a carbuncle that has appeared in the 'private parts' (*ad carbunculum, qui in ueretro nascitur*).[37]

As the existence of an Old English translation of Sextus Placitus's work clearly demonstrates, medical learning of the late antique period continued to circulate widely in the Middle Ages through the medium of various vernaculars. Thus the advice given in our text to use the dung of a goat to cure genital swelling also occurs in a French manuscript dating to the first half of the thirteenth century, where it forms part of a collection of medical receipts similarly arranged in topical order.[38] The instruction in §10, which suggests that one

[34]E. Howald & H. E. Sigerist (eds), *Antonii Musae De herba Vettonica liber, Pseudoapulei Herbarius, Anonymi De taxone liber, Sexti Placiti Liber medicinae ex animalibus*, Corpus Medicorum Latinorum IV (Leipzig and Berlin, 1927), 237; cf. Hubert Jan de Vriend (ed.), *The Old English Herbarium and Medicina de Quadrupedibus*, Early English Text Society Original Series 286 (Oxford, 1984), 242–3 (no. 13).

[35]Howald and Sigerist, *Sexti Placiti Liber medicinae ex animalibus*, 258; de Vriend, *Old English Herbarium*, 260–1.

[36]Ranke de Vries, 'A short tract on medicinal uses for animal dung', *North American Journal of Celtic Studies* 3/2 (2019), 111–36.

[37]Howald and Sigerist, *Sexti Placiti Liber medicinae ex animalibus*, 254 and 256.

[38]de Vriend, *Old English Herbarium*, 258–9 (§19); Tony Hunt, 'The beginnings of medical instruction in medieval France', *Romania* 131, no. 523/524 (3/4) (2013), 409–51, at 443 (§121): *Pour*

might ward off excessive desire by preparing a drink from the seed of nettle (*ros nenta*) mixed with pepper, is very close in content to a cure found in a medieval Welsh medical text that was probably first compiled around the thirteenth century, but has been argued to draw on much earlier material.[39] The Welsh version contains no specific reference to clerics, however; rather, it is embedded in a passage on the virtues of the nettle-plant, and indicates that the cure in question is applicable to both men and women (*gwr neu wraig*):

> […] cais had y ddynhaden a bwrw ynghyd a phupur, a thymhera nhwy a gwin neu fêl, a dyro i yfed, ag er gwyllted fo corph gwr neu wraig ai hyfo, ef a fydd cyn ddofed a'r dofa oll.
>
> '[…] take the seed of the nettle, mix with pepper, and temper with wine or honey. Let it be given as a potion, and however untamed the body may be, it will completely subdue it.'[40]

The question of the extent to which the remedies in Conla Mac an Leagha's *receptarium* might have either derived from Latin texts, or rather made their way into Irish via other vernacular intermediaries, is one that demands further research. It is probable, however, that this process of transmission began long before the composition of the extant sixteenth-century manuscript witness of our text, whose scribe may have had a number of earlier, but now lost, manuscript exemplars to hand when compiling his collection.

Healing charms and other ritual remedies

Links between the content of Conla Mac an Leagha's remedy book and vernacular literature of the early medieval period also emerge from an analysis of the numerous cures in the text that involve verbal incantations or other ritual practices. Previous research has demonstrated, for example, that some of the blood-staunching charms in Conla's collection of remedies for nose ailments bear comparison to material found in the Old English medical tracts compiled between the ninth and twelfth centuries.[41] Three of the cures in the chapter edited below (§§9, 16 and 20) feature oral elements, while those in §§8 and 11 incorporate other kinds of ritualistic practices. A number of these point more or less directly to a connection between male desire and sexual capacity on the one hand and the magical or curative effects of water on the other.[42] All of

oster l'enfleure du membre ou du fondement: Prenez fiens de bouc, triblez aveuc miel, si le metez sur le mal.

[39] Morfydd E. Owen, 'Meddygon Myddfai: a preliminary survey of some medieval medical writing in Welsh', *SC* 10/11 (1975–6), 210–33, at 221 and 228.

[40] John Williams (ab Ithel) (ed.) and John Pughe (trans.), *The physicians of Myddfai: Meddygon Myddfai* (Llandovery, 1861), 265 (text) and 443 (trans., slightly altered).

[41] See e.g. David Stifter, 'A charm for staunching blood', *Celtica* 25 (2007), 251–4, and Deborah Hayden, 'Old English in the Irish charms', *Speculum* 97/2 (forthcoming April 2022).

[42] For a more detailed treatment of this theme, see Deborah Hayden, 'From the "king of the waters" to curative manuscripts: water and medicine in medieval Irish textual culture', in M. Cesario, H. Magennis and E. Ramazzina (eds), *An Interdisciplinary Study of the Elements: Earth, Water, Fire, Air*, 4 vols (forthcoming 2021–2).

them have resonances in early Irish texts from other literary genres, including narrative, penitential and hagiographical works.

In §9, the practitioner is instructed to recite an incantation beginning with the words *tonn tonn tuinde, fonn fonn fuinde* seven times over water (*a n-uis*ci, glossed as *fīrt*hi*p*rait 'a pure source'). While the rhetorical features of this incantation resemble patterns found in charms from other linguistic traditions, the meaning of at least some of its lexical elements — in particular *tonn* and *fonn* — are not inconsequential 'gibberish' in this context; the first can mean 'wave, outpouring, sea, abundance', while the second can mean 'desire, fondness, pleasure'.[43] It is not unusual for charm incantations to invoke references to bodies of water, natural physical rhythms and flowing liquids on the principal of sympathetic correspondence (such imagery is common, for example, in blood-staunching charms), and the use of the word *tonn* here may therefore constitute an allusion to the expulsion of semen that is a typical result of sexual activity.[44] The association between water and desire evoked in the incantation itself is also inherent in the ritual instructions that immediately follow it, where it is specified that the enchanted liquid should be placed in a yew-wood vessel and shaken over the individual afflicted with impotence (*leme*) morning and night for a period of nine days. This remedy bears a striking similarity to an episode from the Old Irish *Life of Brigit*, in which the eponymous saint is visited by a man seeking help to prevent his wife from leaving him. The man asks for a spell or charm (*epaid*) for this purpose, whereupon Brigit blesses some water that the man then sprinkles over his wife, immediately causing her to love him passionately. Jacqueline Borsje has suggested that the saint's action of sprinkling water on the woman might be interpreted as 'an exorcism of the woman herself', intended to heal her and restore her feelings of love for the man by purifying an interfering substance or presence, and thus ridding it of 'magic' or demonic disruption.[45] The Christian context of the cure is less explicit in the version from our medical text (where, moreover, the enchanted water is presumably to be sprinkled over an afflicted man rather than a woman), but the ultimate intended effect of the cure — that of restoring proper sexual relations — is the same in both cases.

The charm in §20 has been the subject of some previous discussion on the basis of a separate version of it found in a blank space on col. 672c of Dublin, Trinity College MS H 3. 17 (1336), a sixteenth-century composite codex that otherwise consists mainly of legal material. That copy, which includes a line

[43] See *eDIL,* s.vv. 1 *tonn* (dil.ie/41386) and 2 *fonn* (dil.ie/23253). The rhetorical and semantic features of the incantation are discussed further in Deborah Hayden, 'The context and obscure language of medical charms in a sixteenth-century Irish remedy book: four case studies', in Chantal Kobel (ed.), *Obscuritas in Medieval Irish and Welsh Literature* (Dublin, forthcoming).

[44] For examples of comparable imagery in the context of blood-staunching charms, see e.g. Rebecca Fisher, 'The Anglo-Saxon charms: texts in context,' *Approaching Methodologies* 4 (2012), 108–26, esp. 111–16, as well as the discussion in Hayden, 'Old English in the Irish charms' (forthcoming).

[45] Jacqueline Borsje, 'Celtic spells and counterspells', in Katja Ritari and Alexandra Bergholm (eds), *Understanding Celtic Religion: Revisiting the Pagan Past* (University of Wales Press, 2015), 9–50, at 30–1. The episode is also discussed in Borsje, 'Love magic', 7; for the text, see Donncha Ó hAodha (ed. and trans.), *Bethu Brigte* (Dublin, 1978), 32.

of alliterative 'gibberish' language not found in our version, was first edited by R. I. Best, who only offered a partial translation of the charm and noted that 'the text seems corrupt and the true rendering is very doubtful'.[46] Analyses and translations of the H 3. 17 copy of the charm were subsequently offered by John Carey and Jacqueline Borsje; the former sought to situate it within a literary context, while the latter read the text in relation to late antique and medieval binding spells.[47] Carey suggested that the charm may be 'of relatively early date', and argued that the meaning of its heading (*eólas do lemad fhir*) was ambiguous, allowing for translation into English either as 'a charm for rendering a man impotent' or as 'a charm for [healing] a man's impotence'. While the directions for its use (which include the words 'let the cross of God be made over the man's thighs') suggested to him the latter interpretation, he nonetheless acknowledged that 'the jingling lines at the heart of the charm itself clearly have a hostile magic as their intention'. Borsje leaned more firmly towards interpreting the text as a spell for causing impotence and suggested that it might be understood in relation to *lorica* prayers that could be used by monks to exorcise feelings of lust.

Carey's edition and translation of the first part of this passage, which emends the Irish slightly,[48] are reproduced here as follows:

> Fo-rriug (*MS* fo*n*riug) do lūth,
> fo-rriug (*MS* .ii.) do lāth,
> f[o-rriug] do nert,
> f[o-rriug] do thrācht,
> f[o-rrig] b[en] drūth
> dam tuli i n-āth.
>
> 'I bind your vigour,
> I bind your passion,
> I bind your strength,
> I bind your force.
> A wanton woman binds
> a 'stag of flood' (*dam tuli*) in a ford.'[49]

Carey argued that this charm was reminiscent of early Irish literary accounts in which 'sexually active or demanding women, associated or identified with the waters of rivers or the sea, pose a threat to men in general and to the heroic warrior in particular'.[50] Drawing attention to the phrase *dam tuli* 'stag/ox of flood'

[46] Best, 'Some Irish charms', *Ériu* 16 (1952), 27–32, at 32. Best did not acknowledge the fact that another copy of this charm is preserved in Conla Mac an Leagha's *receptarium*, although he did make reference to a charm for safe childbirth included in the collection of remedies for gynaecological ailments from this text (p. 77 of RIA MS 24 B 3). It may be the case that Best was simply unaware that the paper leaves preserved in RIA MS 23 N 29, on which the impotence charm is written, in fact formed part of the larger *receptarium* in the 24 B 3 manuscript.

[47] John Carey, 'The encounter at the ford: warriors, water, and women', *Éigse* 34 (2004), 10–24; Borsje, 'Celtic spells and counterspells', 31–7.

[48] For a discussion of this emendation, see the textual commentary below, pp. 275–6.

[49] Carey, 'Encounter at the ford', 19.

[50] Ibid.

— which appears in other sources as *dam dílenn* or *dam díli*, and designates 'a creature notable for its size, strength and ferocity', and by extension 'a warrior' — he connected the incantation to a narrative scene from the death-tale of the Ulster Cycle figure Fergus mac Róich, in which the eponymous hero, while exhibiting his strength in the lough in Mag nAí, was approached in the water by a desirous Medb. The latter's husband Ailill urged his brother Lugaid to cast a spear at the trysting couple, and Fergus was dealt a deadly blow. Carey suggested that the allusion to this narrative in the H 3. 17 impotence charm, whereby Medb might be interpreted as the 'wanton woman' (*b*en *drūth*) who binds or overpowers a formidable male (the *dam tuli*) in a ford, indicated that the charm might have been used 'both to render a man sexually incapable and to deprive a fighter of the power of movement.'[51]

The exorcistic function of water in matters pertaining to carnal lust is also evidenced in other remedies from our text. For example, it is specified in §11 that a man might ward off 'carnal visions' (*aislingi coll*aidh*i*) by 'bathing his feet in a well morning and evening without speaking' (*būalad a cos a tibraid maiden ⁊ fescur gen labrad*). The use of the phrase *aislingi collaidhi* here calls to mind an anecdote from the Old Irish ecclesiastical document known as the 'Monastery of Tallaght', which details how the Clonmacnoise anchorite Laisrén, described as 'quite naked and free from sin, with nothing on his conscience', but also 'infirm with disease' (*imnocht imdilmain cen ní for a cubus…hi luibri galair*) is taken home by a clerical student who puts a cloak under him. That night Laisrén sees a 'carnal vision' (*aislingi coildnidi*) for the first time in his life. As he subsequently performs a penitential vigil, an angel visits him and explains that this sinful vision resulted from the fact that the cloak he slept upon had not been washed since it was used by a wedded couple: 'for any cloak that is taken from a lustful couple, a demon accompanies it so long as it is not washed' (*ar nach brat berair do áos étraich conamteit demmun airet nat negar ⁊ cetera*).[52]

Ritualistic actions are a common feature of medieval medical recipes; although their precise rationale is usually left unstated, they were clearly thought to enhance or reinforce the curative virtues of a medicament.[53] For example, the specification in §11 of our text that the washing of one's feet should be carried out in silence is echoed in several remedies from Old English medical sources, which include instructions such as to 'bid an immaculate person silently fetch half a jar of running water against the current', 'take the left ear and pierce it in

[51]Ibid., 20. For further discussion of this charm, the term *dam tuli*, and the figure of Fergus mac Róich as a paragon of male fertility, see Phillip A. Bernhardt-House, 'The Old Irish impotence spell: the *dam díli*, Fergus, fertility, and the mythic background of an Irish incantation', *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic* 4 (2007), 304–24, and Bernhard Maier, 'Beasts from the deep: the water-bull in Celtic, Germanic and Balto-Slavonic traditions', *ZCP* 51 (1999), 4–16.

[52]Edward J. Gwynn and W. J. Purton, 'The Monastery of Tallaght', *PRIA* 29 (1911/12), 115–79, at 155. The phrase also occurs in the Irish translation of John of Gaddesden's *Rosa Anglica* in reference to the causes of imposthumes of the testicles: see Wulff, *Rosa Anglica*, 214–215. I am grateful to Dr Sharon Arbuthnot for drawing my attention to this latter example.

[53]Stannard, 'Rezeptliteratur', 67. For a broader study of such rituals, see Armand Delatte, *Herbarius: Recherches sur le cérémonial usité chez les anciens pour la cueillette des simples et des plantes magiques* (Brussels, 1961).

silence', and write something 'in silence and silently put the words on the left breast'.[54] In many cases the rituals that form part of medical remedies are identical to, or resonant of, liturgical practices. This may well be the case with regard to the remedy in §11, since the practice of foot-washing is widely evidenced in other medieval sources as a symbol for the healing of physical and spiritual ailments. This is clear from the early Irish vocabulary itself, where the term *osaic* or *fosaic* (derived from Latin *obsequium*) could have the specific sense of 'a service; in religious lit[erature] washing of the feet (of the poor, strangers) as a ceremonial or religious duty […] later as an act of hospitality'.[55] A. T. Lucas has argued that 'The custom [of foot-washing] among clerics may have been looked upon by those practising it as a pious imitation of Christ washing the feet of his apostles, having the symbolic overtone which personified Christ by the stranger guest.'[56] In her analysis of the medieval depictions of Christ the Physician (*Christus medicus*), the Divine Healer of mankind's spiritual diseases, Carole Rawcliffe has similarly drawn attention to the topos of washing the feet or ulcerated bodies of lepers that is widely attested in sermons, homilies and hagiography from other medieval literary traditions.[57] It is thus probable that the remedy for 'carnal visions' in §11 similarly reflects an understanding that washing the feet, in so far as it symbolised the piety and chastity of Christ, might help to free an individual from the kind of sinful visions deemed undesirable amongst clerics. Further evidence in favour of this interpretation is found in another passage from the aforementioned text known as the 'Monastery of Tallaght', where the cleric Colccu is said to have claimed that *indhí notegtis isna husciu is do traothad* ⁊ *damnad hi tole* ⁊ *ind accobur fognid leó nó is tormuch saothair da*no *cena* ('those who used to stand in water did so for the purpose of crushing and subduing their desires and longings: or else simply as an additional labour of piety').[58]

§8 of our text offers the similarly ritualistic, but also considerably more dramatic, advice that one might cure impotence by writing the name of the afflicted man on a stick of elm (*lemán*) and beating him with it. There may be an element of sympathetic magic, or at least of medieval etymological association, underlying these instructions, for the name of the object intended to effect the cure (*lemán* 'elm') bears a formal similarity to the adjective *lem* 'weak, impotent', of which the name of the affliction to be treated (*leme* 'impotence') is an abstract.[59] Consideration of the wider context of medieval medical and literary source-material concerning love magic may point, however, to a deeper ritual significance for the cure in question. For example, Richard Kieckhefer has drawn attention to an aphrodisiac in a fifteenth-century English manuscript, where it is stated that a woman might be aroused to sexual desire if a man writes

[54]Godfrid Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (The Hague, 1948), 94–5.

[55]*eDIL*, s.v. *osaic* (dil.ie/34052).

[56]Lucas, 'Washing and bathing', 87.

[57]Carole Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2006), 142–4; see also the discussion in Hayden, ' "King of the waters" ' (forthcoming).

[58]Gwynn and Purton, 'Monastery of Tallaght', 161. The editors suggest (pp. 173–4) that the Colccu in question is 'probably Colcu úa Duinechda, d. 789, author of the *Scúap Crábaid*'.

[59]This has also been suggested by Nic Dhonnchadha, 'An Irish medical treatise', 118.

the obscure words '*pax* + *pix* + *abyra* + *syth* + *samasic*' on a hazel stick, and then hits her on the head with it three times before immediately kissing her.[60] A similar Gaelic charm, which forms part of a miscellany of literary and medical material compiled by the Beaton physicians of Mull, likewise states that if a man writes certain letters on a rod (*slat*) and beats a woman with it, she will be inspired to love him.[61]

The rationale underlying such a violent approach to arousing sexual desire (or, as the problem is framed in our text, to curing impotence) is not explicitly elaborated on in any of these examples. A few further clues can be gleaned, however, from an examination of other medieval sources concerning 'lovesickness', a condition that was understood in both the classical period and the Middle Ages as a pathological illness that could be treated by medical means.[62] The transmission of this teaching in an Irish context is evidenced by a vernacular adaptation of a fragment from the section on diseases of the head (*De passionibus capitis*) in Bernard of Gordon's fourteenth-century *practica,* known as the *Lilium medicinae*. The Irish text begins by describing lovesickness as follows:

> De Amore Hereos Adon don gradh re nabar hereos ⁊ is inann hereos asin Greig ⁊ generosus asin Laidin ⁊ is inann generosus asin Laidin ⁊ uasal isin Gaedilg, oir is gnath*ach* tiaghaid na baruin ⁊ na daine uaisli annsa neaslainti so tri acfuind ⁊ a ninnmasa […] oir sanntaighi an meidi sin i innus co creidinn gurab i bean is fearr foirm ⁊ fighair ⁊ bésa ⁊ geanmnaigeacht isin domun hi, oir do truaillid an brigh inntsamlaightach co mor aige ona smuaintigib melangcoilica innus gur treig a deghoibrighthi ⁊ a trocaire co huilidhi acht smuaintighthi na mna amain ⁊ bidh amail duine cuthaigh do reir Ouidius, noch adeir; Omnis amans cecus, non est Amor arbiter ecus .i. ni breitheamh comthrom in gradh ⁊ in neach aga mbi bidh dall.
>
> 'De Amore Hereos i.e. concerning the love that is called hereos; for *hereos* in Greek is the same as *generosus* in Latin and *generosus* in Latin is the same as *noble* in Gaelic, for the barons and the nobility are wont to fall into this disease through their wealth and their riches […] For so greatly does [the man afflicted with this disease] desire [the woman] that he thinks she is the woman of the best form and figure, habits, and chastity in the world, for the power of comparison is so destroyed in him through his melancholy thoughts, that he forsakes his good actions and his mercy entirely and only

[60]Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), 83. The passage is found on fol. 33v of Bodleian Library MS Wood empt. 18, a late-fifteenth-century codex written in English that includes several 'love potions' among a collection of charms and recipes beginning on fol. 30.

[61]Edinburgh, NLS Advocates MS 72. 1. 2 ('Gaelic II'), fol. 33r8–9. For a more detailed discussion of the transmission and variant versions of this remedy, see Hayden, 'The context and obscure language of medical charms' (forthcoming).

[62]Mary F. Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The* Viaticum *and its Commentaries* (Philadelphia, 1990), 7.

> (retains) thoughts of the woman alone, and becomes like a madman, according to Ovid, who says: *Omnis amans caecus, non est Amor arbiter aequus*, i.e. love is not a just judge and he who has it is blind.'[63]

Following a description of the signs of this disease (e.g. lack of desire for food and drink, little sleep and wasting of the body), the Irish adapter sets out several methods for curing the affliction, depending on whether the patient is considered 'rational' or 'irrational'. In the latter circumstance, the following is advised:

> […] bointer a edach de ⁊ gabthar air do sgiuirsighib co ger no co ndergadh a croicinn ⁊ no co ngabad crith a baill ⁊ dentur bagar uilc is mo na sin air dfagbail dho. […] Et muna leighester é ona neichib so adubrumar curthar cailleach midealba ina fiagnaise maille re drochcruth ⁊ re drochedach ⁊ tabradh le edach ara mbia fuil idir a gluinib ⁊ abradh na briatra so re fer an gradha .i. is olc an ben tsuirghi ut ata agatsa, oir ata si meascamail brenalach ⁊ ata epilepsia uirri […] ⁊ muna labra se re, tairngedh an tedach ara fuil an fuil asa gaba[i]l ⁊ buaileadh he ina edan ⁊ abradh ris do guth mor: is mar so ata do ben tsuirghisi. Et muna leighester uada sin é ni duine ata ann acht diabal corpurda ⁊ ni leighester é co brath.
>
> '[…] let his clothes be taken off him, and let him be beaten with scourges sorely till his skin redden, and trembling seize his limbs, and let him be threatened that he will get worse evils. […] And if he is not cured by what we have said let an unsightly hag be sent into his presence, of evil appearance and with wretched garments, and put a cloth on which is blood between her knees and let her say these words to the man of love: That is a bad love-lady you have, for she is bibulous, stinking, and she has epilepsy, […] and unless he speak to her, pull the cloth on which is the blood from her[64] and strike it in his face, and say to him in a loud voice: This is your love-lady. And if he be not cured by this he is not a man but a devil incarnate, and he will not be cured for all eternity.'[65]

The medical notion of 'wasting sickness' caused by unrequited love, as is attested in this excerpt from an Irish medical text, is also apparent in a number of early Irish literary tales that similarly recount, albeit in narrative form, the course of the affliction in terms of its *causa* (e.g. contemplation of the physical beauty of a lady through a vision); *signa* (e.g. the lover ceases to eat, sleep, or

[63] Winifred Wulff (ed. and trans.), 'De amore hereos', *Ériu* 11 (1932), 174–81, at 177–80.

[64] The phrase *asa gaba*[*i*]*l* may well merit a less modest translation than that offered by Wulff, who shows some hesitation about its meaning in a glossary entry that explains the noun as either *gabhal* 'the fork of the body' or *gabhail* 'holding, grasp'. Most likely it is the former; the positioning of a bloody cloth between the woman's thighs may symbolise the common association between menstruation and sterility in the Middle Ages.

[65] Wulff, 'De amore hereos', 178–81.

drink); and *cura* (e.g. the lover recovers by removal of the spell or by union with the beloved).[66] The particular motif of beating the afflicted individual, however, is perhaps most conspicuously paralleled in the tenth- or eleventh-century Irish narrative *Serglige Con Culainn*.[67] There the titular warrior, having failed to shoot down a pair of birds for his wife, dreams that he is approached by two mysterious women who horsewhip him until he is on the brink of death. The remainder of the tale as it has come down to us recounts how Cú Chulainn then lies sick in bed for a year, during which time he is approached by an emissary from the Otherworld who informs him that he is desired by the Otherworldly woman Fand — a figure whose name, though defined in the text itself as meaning 'tear', might also be interpreted, not inconsequentially, as meaning 'weak' or 'helpless'.[68] The intervention of this Otherworldly woman naturally arouses the jealousy of Cú Chulainn's wife, who shames him for lying in bed impotently for the love of a woman.

In her analysis of this narrative, Mary Wack compares the 'beating episode' at the beginning of *Serglige Con Culainn* to a story from Odo of Cluny's (d. 944) *Collationes*, in which a certain Hukbert of Sens, 'given to the sin of luxury', is one night pursued by phantasmic women; upon taking refuge in a church, their queen orders them to seize and whip him.[69] As Gregory Toner has shown, moreover, the attack on Cú Chulainn is reminiscent of other examples of physical assaults recorded in ecclesiastical lore, including eschatological texts that depict angels wielding scourges and rods as they attack sinners.[70] Both scholars view female agency as being key to the interpretation of the assault depicted in the opening section of *Serglige Con Culainn*. Thus Wack argues that the Otherworldly women who approach the warrior 'may be seen as doubles for [Cú Chulainn's] wife: they punish him as he fears or imagines she would, should she give vent to her wrath', while Toner suggests that

> 'The *serglige* which in other warriors is a manifestation of the strength and depth of their love for their lover is here transformed into something quite different. Cú Chulainn suffers the same symptoms of other love-struck men but he does not appear to be in love. The *serglige* does not emanate from within himself, therefore, but

[66]Sarah Michie, 'The lover's malady in early Irish romance', *Speculum* 12/3 (1937), 304–13, at 308.

[67]Myles Dillon (ed.), *Serglige Con Culainn*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 14 (Dublin, 1953).

[68]The citations given in *eDIL*, s.v. fand 'tear' (dil.ie/21291) derive in the main from the passage in *Serglige Con Culainn* where Fand's name is explained on the basis of that of her father, Áed Abrat, itself analysed in the text as 'fire of eyelash'. The meaning 'tear' associated with 'Fand' may therefore simply be a consequence of this definition, although the text explains that she was so called as a result of her purity and beauty (Gregory Toner, 'Desire and divorce in *Serglige Con Culainn*', *Ériu* 66 (2016), 135–66, at 146 n. 18). Word-final *-nd* and *-nn* are common orthographic variants in medieval Irish texts; for the well-attested meaning of the adjective *fann* as 'weak, helpless, lacking strength or power', see *eDIL*, s.v. 2 fann (dil.ie/21294).

[69]Wack, *Lovesickness*, 28–9, paraphrasing the account from Odo of Cluny in Monica Blöcker, 'Frauenzauber — Zauberfrauen', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 76 (1982), 1–39, at 14–15.

[70]Toner, 'Desire and divorce', 139–41.

> is depicted as being imposed on him from the outside. His turmoil and torpidity are the result of a beating delivered by his would-be lover. The tale, therefore, seems to deliver a stark warning about love, and more particularly the love of women. Love is an assault upon men that is intended to deprive them of their vitality and to imprison them within the bonds of female lust. Women are not docile beauties who capture men's hearts with their charm or their guile, but active agents who can violently ensnare even the most powerful of men and rob them of their masculine vigour.'[71]

This interpretation recalls the depiction of Medb in Fergus mac Róich's death-tale as a 'wanton woman' who ensnares and threatens the masculinity of the heroic warrior as he bathes in a lake, an account which, as we have seen, is in turn reflected in the charm incantation of which a copy is found in §20 of our medical text. According to Toner's analysis, however, the beating would seem be the cause of Cú Chulainn's lethargy, whereas in the examples from the medical tradition cited here, the act of striking the man is clearly understood as a remedy for this lethargy: it is seemingly intended to return the patient to a state where he is capable of experiencing physical desire for another. The underlying rationale for the remedy in §8 of our text, and of its parallels in other manuscripts, may thus instead have been that of exorcising a demonic force from the afflicted individual. In this sense, the ritualistic act of beating the patient may have served a similar purificatory purpose as that of water in several other cures from the same collection.

Numerous ambiguities, both linguistic and contextual, remain to be deciphered through further analysis of the herbal remedies, charms and ritualistic cures preserved in Conla Mac an Leagha's *receptarium*. The foregoing discussion has sought to make progress in this direction by focusing on an analysis of the remedies included in just one relatively short chapter of this collection. It is argued, however, that even this small corpus of material serves to highlight the value of examining the intersections between premodern Irish medical writing and other aspects of medieval Irish literary culture.

Text and editorial method

The following edition is based on a single witness, RIA MS 23 N 29, fols 8v30–9v8.[72] In the presentation of the text below, expansions are indicated by italics, missing letters are supplied in square brackets, and length-marks, where not found in the manuscript, are marked using a macron over vowels. Word-division and punctuation are editorial, and textual or semantic ambiguities are discussed in the notes.

[71] Toner, 'Desire and divorce', 146.

[72] The manuscript can be viewed on the *Irish Script on Screen* website (www.isos.dias.ie) (accessed 30 June 2021).

TEXT	TRANSLATION
1. Is iat gallra in boill ferrda roc[…]e lem […]lemd[a] gilla cailti ō nac*h* gei*n* cland ⁊ tumaig*h*e magrall.	These are diseases of the male member: […] caused by a castrator, as a result of which offspring do not issue, and rupture of the testicles.
2. Ar leme .i. lus na croi*ch*e do bruit*h* a*r* fīn ⁊ a ōl ⁊ īc*aid*.	For impotence, i.e. boil fennel in wine and drink it, and it heals.
3. Eōlus a*r* si[n] .i. i*n* luib c*ét*na do bruit*h* a*r* medg ⁊ a ōl ⁊ īc*aid* gal*ar* na slī*asta* ⁊ a leme īa*r* naomaide.	A prescription for that, i.e. boil the same herb in whey and drink it and it heals an ailment of the thighs and his impotence after nine days.
4. Ar leme .i. uirge cull*aig* do losc*ad* ⁊ a lūaith d'ōl ar fī*n* ⁊ gan feōil muicci do f*r*omad ⁊ gan dul a*r* ech.	For impotence, i.e. burn a boar's testicle and drink its ashes in wine, and do not taste pig's meat, and do not go on a horse.
5. Ar leme fōs .i. uirge coilig do bruit*h* a*r* fī*n* ⁊ a ōl.	Also for impotence, i.e. boil a cock's testicle in wine and drink it.
6. Leiges an boill ferda .i. cac gabar ⁊ desc*ad* ⁊ eursnam cuili*n*d; donīter cerī*n* de ⁊ c*urtur* ui*m*e ōn t*r*āt go a*r* aile ⁊ bent*ur* de a*r* na bā*r*ac*h* ⁊ téid gu fīruisc*i*, ⁊ bīd g*ur*ob let*h*ma*r*b an*n* ⁊ c*urtur* ai*r* arīs i*n* cerī*n* c*ét*na ⁊ dēnta*r* ma*r* sin fā sec*h* gurub sl*án*.	A cure for the male member, i.e. goat's dung and dregs and the inner bark of a holly-tree; a poultice is made from it, and it is put around it until the same time the next day, and it is taken off the next day, and he[73] goes to fresh water, and let him be there until he is exhausted, and the same poultice is put on it again, and that is done alternately until he be healthy.
7. A*r* leme: nī d'uirgib doi*m* all*aid* do bruit tre fīn ⁊ a ōl.	For impotence: boil one of the testicles of a stag in wine and drink it.
8. Ar i*n* c*ét*na .i. ain*m* an fir do scrīb*ad* t*r*e ogam a c*r*and lemāi*n* ⁊ i*n* fer do būal*ad* de.	For the same, i.e. write the name of the man in Ogam on a stick of elm and beat the man with it.

[73] i.e. the afflicted person.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
9. Obaid a*r* leme an*n* so: 'ton*n* ton*n* tui*n*de. Fon*n* fon*n* fui*n*de. G*r*īan. G*r*īan uime. Sceo teo leo tim tinde terad rínde fit fit fiat funde' a cantai*n* a n-uis*ci* fo 7 .i. fīrt*hi*p*raid*, ⁊ a cur a soitec ib*h*ai*r* ⁊ a c*r*ath*ad* a*r* i*n* dui*n*e a*r* a *m*bī in doc*h*nāc*h* maiden ⁊ fescur gu c*enn naomaid*e.	A charm for impotence here: recite '*tonn tonn tuinde. Fonn fonn fuinde. Grían grían uime. Sceo teo leo tim tim tinde terad rinde. Fit fit fiat funde*' seven times over water, i.e. a pure source, and put it in a yew-wood vessel and shake it on the person upon whom there is misfortune morning and night for nine days.
10. Eōl*us* do dīcur toile ō m*a*caib ecluisi ⁊ ō dai*n*ib a*r*cena .i. ros nenta ⁊ salan*n* ⁊ pibur do br*ui*t a*r* medg ⁊ a ōl.	A prescription for warding off desire from clerics and from other people, i.e. boil nettle seed and salt and pepper in whey and drink it.
11. Ar aisli*n*gib coll*aidh*i .i. būal*ad* a cos a tibraid maiden ⁊ fescur gen labrad ⁊ brec*h*tān do ceram forro.	For carnal visions, i.e. bathing his feet in a well morning and evening without speaking, and put a plaster of (?) on them.
12. Urge daim all*aid* do t*h*ab*air*t a*r* dig don dui*n*e ⁊ dob*eir* a l*eigus* co*m*lī*n* dó.	Give the testicle of a stag in a drink to the person, and it gives him the same cure.
13. Ar at uirged re n-ab*ur* tumaig magrall .i. duilleba*r* scīach do c*h*ocna*m* ⁊ gel*án uige*[74] tr*ī*t ⁊ a sūath*ad* ⁊ a c*ur* a*r* sc*r*ait lī*n* im na h*uir*gib, ⁊ fuil do lēgen a haigtib a lurgan ⁊ snāiti do cur ta*r*sna fuit*h*ib a*r* in leta*r* tana ⁊ sl*án*aigidh sin an tum*aig*i, ⁊ mad i sēi*n* raib an*n*, as h*éic*en ligen uirre, ⁊ mi*n*a raib lind a fog*us* inti, curtur losa guir uirre.	For a swelling of the testicles that is called *tumaigh maghrall* ('hernia of the testicles'), i.e. chew the leafage of a whitethorn and [stir] the white of an egg through it and mix them and put it on a linen rag around the testicles and let blood from the surfaces of his shins, and put a thread across the bases [of the testicles] on the thin skin and that heals the hernia, and if [the hernia] is there, it is necessary to release it, and if liquid is not near it, herbs [to treat] inflammation are to be put on it.
14. Cerī*n* a*r* cnū bīs a n-urgib .i. inci*n*d tui*r*c all*aid* ⁊ mil do c*ur* umpu.	A poultice for a carbuncle (lit. 'nut') that is in the testicles, i.e. put the brain of a wild boar and honey around them.
15. Inci*n*d mīl m*aige* a*r*na b*er*b*ad* do c*ur* fo c*noc*a*ib* na n-u*irged* ⁊ na *m*ba*l*l a*rcen*a ⁊ t*ér*n*a*id.	Put the boiled brain of a hare under lumps of the testicles and the limbs as well, and they vanish.

[74] MS *yg* with a suspension mark over the letters.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
16. Ar īc lemta .i. g*ur*bad būadach bādac*h* borrfadach g*ur*bat c*r*āeb caī*n* cum*acht*ach g*ur*bad lon*n* dīan dīumasac*h* g*ur*bad find follān faīl*id* g*ur*bad glan garta gáir*echt*ach g*ur*bad t*r*om trēn torr*acht*ac*h* guro genadur do bāig ⁊ do coba*r* f*r*i g*ac* mnaī bid āil duit. .N. Can fo ix. fo*r* abru eolairc ⁊ cogna dai*m* all*aid* ⁊ u*isce* fūtib ⁊ c*urtur* psal*ann* a*r* in u*isce* a*r*na gabāil so i*n*d, ⁊ ibed [⁊][75] dob*erar* tai*r*is.	For healing impotence, i.e. May you be victorious, resolute, swollen May you be a fair, powerful branch May you be fierce, swift, proud May you be bright, robust, joyful May you be pure, radiant, merry May you be mighty, strong, perfect So that they[76] can be conceived out of affection and desire for every woman who is pleasing to you. [Name]. Recite [this] nine times on the brow of an *eolarc* (?) and [take] the antlers of a stag and [put] water under them, and put salt in the water having chanted this [charm] into it, and let him drink it, [and] he will recover.
17. A*r* leme .i. cac[77] gaba*r* ⁊ desc*ad* ⁊ edursnam cuil*inn*; do*n*īt*er* cerī*n* dīb ⁊ a c*ur* uime ōn t*r*āt go a*r* *aile*,[78] ⁊ ben de īa*r*a bā*r**ach* ⁊ t*éit* cu*m* [fí]rtib*rat* ⁊ bīd inte gu mbī let*h*marb ⁊ cuir in c*eir*īn ai*r* arīs ⁊ b*id* sl*án*.	For impotence, i.e. dung of a goat and dregs and the inner bark of a holly tree; make a poultice from them, and put it around it until the same time the next day, and take it off him on the next day, and he goes to a spring, and let him be in it until he is exhausted, and put the poultice on him again, and he will recover.
18. [Ar] lemad .i. cull*ach* bruicc nō metlec con all*aid*, crūaidigter *co n*dēnan*n* men dīb ⁊ doberar ar u*isci* fīrtibrat ⁊ ibed ⁊ doberar taris.	[For] impotence, i.e. badger fat or wolf dung, they are hardened until they are turned into a fine powder, and it is put in water from a spring, and let him drink it, and he will recover.
19. [A]r lemad: damān all*aid* ⁊ copōg ⁊ samlemā*n* ⁊ a tūa*r*gain na t*r*iūr ⁊ a c*ur* ar dā leis in duine ⁊ bid sl*án*.	For impotence: a spider and a dock-leaf and a summer elm, and grind those three things, and put them on the person's two thighs, and he will be healthy.

[75]The left-hand side of the manuscript page is damaged here, but only one letter (possibly the Tironian note for 'agus') appears to have been obscured.

[76]Presumably the subject of the verb here is 'children, offspring'.

[77]MS *cacac*, with points of deletion under the final two letters.

[78]MS *íí*.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
20. Ar leme: can so ar ind meōir ⁊ cros dīb ta*r* a dā leis .i.	For impotence: recite this on the tip of the finger, and [make] a cross of them[79] over his loins, i.e.
forraig do lūt	She binds your vigour,
f*orraig* do lāt*h*	She binds your passion,
f*orraig* do nert	She binds your strength,
f*orraig* do t*r*āc*h*t	She binds your force,
am*al* forig ben druag*h* dam tuile i n-āth ⁊ c*eter*a.	As a wanton woman overcomes a 'stag of flood' in a ford (etc.).

TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

§1: *Is iat … magrall.* The opening two lines of the chapter, found at the bottom of fol. 8v in RIA MS 23 N 29, contain a quatrain of verse that appears to be intended to introduce the ailments for which the following cures are deemed efficacious. While most other examples of metrical material in the *receptarium* are versified remedies, single stanzas of verse are also occasionally used in the text to provide a kind of opening 'summary' of the contents of a given section. For example, the chapters on ailments of the skin, eyes, mouth, teeth, neck and lungs all begin with such passages. These other quatrains are typically written in rhyming couplets (*debhidhe* metre) with seven syllables per line, as in the following example from the chapter on lung ailments:

> [D]o gallraib na scamān is laburta sīsanai:
>
> Glasloch brēnloc*h* findloc*h* ān
> is do gallraib na sca*m*ān.
> Tirmloc*h*, d*er*gloc, nī saor sin,
> mar aon risin cosa*cht*aig.
>
> 'Of afflictions of the lungs, it is discussed here below:
>
> Green *loch*, fetid *loch*, fair clear *loch*
> are among the afflictions of the lungs.
> Dry *loch*, red *loch*, those are not noble,
> along with the cough.'[80]

The reading of the opening stanza in the chapter on ailments of the male reproductive organs is less certain on account of damage to the manuscript page and an ambiguous scribal abbreviation that together render the second line of

[79] i.e. the fingers? See the textual note on this section below, p. 276.

[80] RIA MS 24 B 3, p. 59.34–7; translation cited from Deborah Hayden, 'The lexicon of pulmonary ailment in some medieval Irish medical texts', *ZCP* 66 (2019), 105–29, at 117. For further examples of such stanzas, see RIA MS 24 B 3, pp. 36.13–14 (skin); 48.14–15 (eyes); 55.31–3 (mouth); 56.17–19 (teeth); and 58.24–6 (neck).

the quatrain difficult to interpret. However, it can be established from lines *a*, *c* and *d* that this example similarly consists of heptasyllabic lines in *deibhidhe* metre, where the final words of lines *c* and *d* give *rinn-airdrinn* rhyme (*cland* : *magrall*).

***roc*[…]*e lem*.** The second line of the stanza begins with the letters *roce* with a mark of suspension over the *c* and *e*, followed by the letters *lem*, which are written as a separate word. They mark the start of a change in script style, as the preceding words in the chapter (*Is iat gallra in boill ferrda*), which are here taken to constitute the first line of the stanza, are written in larger, rubricated letters. This palaeographic feature, as well as comparison with the contents of similar 'summarising' stanzas found at the opening of other chapters in the *receptarium*, point to the possibility that this line contains the beginning of a list of types of ailments pertaining to the male reproductive organs for which the remedies in the chapter are considered to be useful cures. Given that three of the seven syllables in the second line are provided by the partially illegible form […]*lemd*[*a*] (on which see the following note), and a fourth syllable is provided by the second word *lem*, the abbreviated form *roc*[…]*e* must consist of three syllables in total. If *lem* is the adjective meaning 'weak, impotent', then this three-syllable word would presumably be the noun that it modifies, possibly one containing the intensfying prefix *ro-* to denote an 'excess' of some condition. I am uncertain, however, as to what the intended expansion is in this case, and have found no comparable examples of this abbreviation elsewhere in the treatise.

[…]*lemd*[*a*]. Both the beginning and the end of this word are illegible, the former due to an apparent erasure in the manuscript, and the latter on account of damage to the edge of the manuscript page. The letters *lemd* are clearly visible, and appear to have been preceded by two or three further letters, while one more letter, possibly an *a*, is partially visible following the *d* in *lemd-*. The word is taken here to conclude the second line of a stanza of verse. Reading the ending as *-da* would provide perfect rhyme with *ferrda* in the preceding line, and the illegible letters at the beginning of the word would provide the third syllable necessary for *rinn-airdrinn* rhyme between lines a and b of the stanza. If […]*lemd*[*a*] is the correct reading, it could be interpreted as a further adjectival formation based on *lem* 'weak, impotent'.

***gilla cailte*.** The second word here is probably the genitive singular of the form given in *eDIL* s.v. *collud* (dil.ie/10521), a verbal noun of *coillid* 'damages, violates, destroys', later 'loses' (see *eDIL*, s.v. 1 coillid, dil.ie/10126).[81] Under the participial form *coillte* the dictionary gives the example *daoine coillte* meaning 'eunuchs' from the New Testament translation of 1602. Given the wider contents of our text, it is probable that a reference to 'castration' is likewise intended here, but I have tentatively taken *gilla cailti* to refer to the person who performs the operation rather than the person who has been subjected to it

[81] On the semantics of this term, see David Greene, 'Modern Irish *cailleann* and *coilleann*', *ZCP* 37 (2009), 5–9.

on the basis of other examples where the noun *gilla* is followed by 'a defining gen[itive] of the work allotted or the service performed', e.g. *gilla con* 'a kennel attendant' or *gilla cupáin* 'cup-bearers' (see *eDIL* s.v. *gilla*, dil.ie/25843).

***tumaigh*e.** On this noun, see *eDIL* s.v. *tumtuide* 'hernia, rupture' (dil.ie/42469), which tentatively connects the latter form with the verb given in *eDIL* s.v. tummaid, tu(i)mmid 'dips, plunges, immerses' (dil.ie/42467). Presumably the word reflects the nature of a hernia as a condition characterised by the abnormal protrusion of a part of an organ through an aperture, natural or accidental, in the walls of its containing cavity. The trisyllabic form is required here for the metre; however see also the note on §13 below.

§2: *ar leme*. In the majority of the 20 remedies in our text, the heading consists of the preposition *ar* followed by a noun denoting the ailment to be cured. I have translated this preposition as 'for' throughout, in an effort to maintain the succinct style of the original text; however in most cases the intended sense was clearly that of 'for guarding against' or 'for protecting against' (see *eDIL*, s.v. 1 ar, dil.ie/3902).

§3: *eōlus*. I have translated this term as 'prescription', a meaning which is given in the *eDIL* entry for the word (dil.ie/20161) under section (g) 'secret knowledge, a prescription, spell, charm' based on scholarly commentary concerning early translations of the Old Irish law-texts.[82] The two remedies in which the word is used in our text (here and in §10) do not involve incantations or ritual actions of any kind, however, and consequently the meanings 'secret knowledge, spell, charm' seem less applicable in this context.

naomaide. Contrary to the definition given in *eDIL* s.v. 2 nómad (dil.ie/33296), Liam Breatnach has demonstrated that this word can only refer to a period of nine days.[83] This particular length of time is a common feature of the ritualistic instructions for the administration of medical remedies found in other vernacular traditions, such as Welsh and Old English.

§5: *uirge coilig*. I have taken *coilig* to be the genitive singular form of the word given in *eDIL*, s.v. 2 cailech 'cock, the male of various birds' (dil.ie/7723), and thus distinct from the word in the preceding remedy, which is abbreviated as *cull-*, and therefore possibly intended to be the genitive singular of *cullach* 'boar'. There is clearly some ambiguity here, however: compare, for example, the statement in the Irish version of the *Trotula*-text on women's ailments that *doni slat ferda tairb ⁊ uirgi coilig in genemain*, where only the word *cullach* 'a boar' is listed in the glossary.[84]

[82] See Charles Plummer, 'Notes on some passages in the Brehon laws', *Ériu* 8 (1916), 127–32, at 130.

[83] Liam Breatnach, 'Varia III. The meaning of *nómad*', *Ériu* 62 (2012), 197–205.

[84] Winifred Wulff (ed.), 'A mediaeval handbook of gynaecology and midwifery: preceded by a section on the grades and on the treatment of wounds and some good counsel to the physician himself finishing with a discussion on the treatment of scabies', in J. Fraser, P. Grosjean and J. G. O'Keeffe (eds), *Irish Texts* 5 (London, 1934), i–xxvii, 1–99, at 58.28–9. No translation of the text is given by the editor, but the phrase in question might be rendered as 'the male member of a bull and the testicle of a cock bring about conception'.

§6: This remedy is nearly identical to that given in §17.

***desc*ad.** Precisely what kind of 'dregs' or 'sediment' are in question is not made explicit here, but a separate recipe for dying the hair red found elsewhere in the *receptarium* calls for *descad fína* ('sediment' or 'dregs' of wine).[85] Similarly, the Welsh medical recipe collections include instructions for treating imposthumes or abcesses by making plasters involving the 'sediment of old ale' (*gwaddod hen ddiod*) or the 'sediment of verjuice' (*gwaddod aesel*).[86]

***etursnam*.** This term refers to the scraped-off, green inner bark of a tree, and is noted as an ingredient in several other remedies from Conla Mac an Leagha's collection; see *eDIL,* s.vv. etarsnam (dil.ie/20744) and snob (dil.ie/38176).[87]

§7: *doi*m *all*aid. For the use of the phrase *dam allaid* (lit. 'wild ox') to mean 'stag', see the examples cited in *eDIL*, s.v. 1 dam (II) (dil.ie/14462), where in two cases it translates Latin *cervus*; see also the example cited from Sextus Placitus's *Liber medicinae ex animalibus* above, p. 256.

§11: *būal*ad. On this usage of the verb *búailid*, which more usually means 'striking, beating, attacking', see the entries in *eDIL* svv. 2 búalad ('bathing, healing, curing', dil.ie/7258) and 2 búal ('expld. as cure, curing', dil.ie/7256). The sense intended in this case may have been that of 'shaking [one's feet] around' in the water.

***brec*h*tān*.** *eDIL*, s.v. brechtán (dil.ie/6643), gives the definitions 'butter, fat, relish spread on bread' for this word, whereas Dinneen defines it as 'mixed food as bread and butter, a roll of bread and butter'.[88] Similarly, *Am Faclair Beag* defines *breachdan* as 'wheat, custard, fresh butter, fresh meat', and cross-references the word *breacan*, defined as 'topping (trad. fat, meat, butter or curds on bread)'.[89] See also *eDIL*, s.v. 1 bracht, 'expld. as juice, grease, fat; pith, substance' (dil.ie/6462). The word is used on at least one other occasion in a separate remedy from Conla Mac an Leagha's collection, namely *Ar cnam craide .i. brechtán ⁊ saill do tumad a mil ⁊ a cat*imh ('for wasting of the heart i.e. dip *brechtán* and bacon in honey and consume it').[90]

***ceram*.** I am uncertain of the meaning of this term. If it is the feminine noun *céir* 'wax' (a common ingredient cited in medieval medicinal recipes for making poultices or plasters for wounds) modified by the adjective *am* (a variant

[85]RIA MS 24 B 3 (445), p. 35.20.

[86]Williams (ab Ithel) and Pughe, *Physicians of Myddfai*, 90 and 232 (text) and 302 and 415 (trans.) (§§6 and 674).

[87]For discussion of the term, see David Stifter, 'Zur Bedeutung und Etymologie von altirisch *sirem*,' *Die Sprache* 45 (2005), 160–89, at 168, and Hayden, 'Three versified medical recipes', 112.

[88]Patrick S. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla. An Irish-English Dictionary* (Dublin, 1927), s.v. *breachtán.*

[89]*Am Faclair Beag. Faclair Gàidhlig is Beurla le Dwelly 'na bhroinn/An English – Scottish Gaelic dictionary incorporating Dwelly*, online at https://www.faclair.com (accessed 30 June 2021).

[90]RIA MS 24 B 3 (445), p. 68.5. On the etymology of *breachtán*, see also John Cameron, *Gaelic Names of Plants (Scottish and Irish)* (Edinburgh, 1883), 90–1.

spelling of *om* 'crude, unrefined', on which see dil.ie/33824 and dil.ie/3046), one would expect the inflected form *aimh* for the latter on account of the preceding preposition *do*. Moreover, the five letters appear to have been written as one word here. I have identified only two other examples of the form *ceram* in the *receptarium*, one of which is a versified cure for *gallra in cléib* ('ailments of the chest') that calls for *ní do ceram, bun copōc* ('some *ceram* [and] the root of a dock-leaf') to be added to a drink,[91] and a remedy for cough (*Ar cossa*chtaig) that advises one to *melle ⁊ simsān ⁊ ceram do bruit*h *a*r *medg ⁊ a ōl*, 'boil onion (?) and wood-sorrel and *ceram* in whey and drink it'.[92] It seems unlikely that wax would be included as an ingredient in a potion to be ingested by the patient.

§13: *tumaig*. The manuscript reading gives this word as a disyllable, but cf. *tumaigh*e in §1 (where the trisyllabic form is required for the metre) and *tum*aig*i* elsewhere in this section. Either the form *tumaig* indicates that final *-idh/idhe*, *-igh*/*-ighe* had already fallen together as /i:/, or the scribe has simply omitted the final vowel in the word here.

***scrait*.** This word is not recorded in *eDIL*, but Dinneen's dictionary includes the term s.v. scrait 'a rag', and it is also found in the dictionary of Scottish Gaelic with the meaning 'shred, rag'.[93] I have not yet identified any other examples of it in our text; the more usual term employed in the *receptarium* to refer to a piece of linen cloth used for the administration of a medicinal remedy is that found in *eDIL*, s.v. bréit (dil.ie/6695; see e.g. RIA MS 24 B 3 (445), pp. 44.5, 53.6, 55.8 and 68.15).

***losa guir*.** Although my translation is tentative here, I take *guir* to be the genitive singular form of the o-stem noun given in *eDIL* s.v. 1 gor (dil.ie/26395) attested in various sources with the medical meaning of 'inflammation, pus, matter (gore?)', and thus possibly a reference to herbs that are used specifically for treating inflammation.

§14: *cnū*. So far as I have been able to establish, the meaning of 'a (small) lump' or similar is not given in any published dictionaries for the Gaelic languages as a possible transferred sense of the word listed s.vv. *cnú* and *cnó*, the primary meaning of which is usually given as 'nut'. However, *Am Faclair Beag* does give the meaning of 'vesicle, gas bladder (on seaweed)' for Scottish Gaelic *cnò*.[94] As noted above, moreover, a corresponding remedy found in Sextus Placitus's *Liber medicinae ex animalibus* states specifically that it is intended *ad carbunculos in ueretro* ('for carbuncles in the private parts'). A carbuncle is a red, swollen and painful cluster of boils that are connected to each other under the skin, and this may be what is intended by the word *cnú* here. Note also that the following remedy in the text is for *cnuicc* 'lumps'; the term *cnocc* is well attested in *eDIL* with the medical meaning of 'swelling, lump'

[91] RIA MS 24 B 3 (445), p. 60.38.
[92] RIA MS 24 B 3 (445), p. 62.13–14.
[93] https://www.faclair.com/, s.v. sgrait (accessed 21 July 2021).
[94] https://www.faclair.com/, s.v. (accessed 21 July 2021).

or 'ulcer' (dil.ie/9767). Presumably a *cnocc* was considered to be larger than a carbuncle or *cnú*.

§16: The addressee of this prayer is not made explicit, and could be either the afflicted individual or the male member itself.

***fo*r a*bru eolairc*.** My translation of the final lines of this incantation is very uncertain. The first seven letters might be taken as the preposition *for* 'on, upon' followed by the noun given in Dinneen, s.vv. *abhra* and *fabhra* with meanings including 'eyelash', 'eyelid' and 'the brow (*esp.* of a hill)'. The sense of the first two words might therefore be 'on the brow/brink of', while the following word *eolairc* (with a smudge under the 'o' in the manuscript that might be a point of deletion) could be identical with the genitive form spelled *eolairg* or *eolaircc* that occurs in several place-names mainly in the north of Ireland.[95] The phrase as a whole may therefore refer to the type of location in which the incantation is to be sung, i.e. on top of a hill of some kind.

***cogna dai*m *all*aid ⁊ *u*isce *fūtib*:** The use of the plural form of the conjugated preposition here suggests that the scribe understood the singular *cogna* to refer to the stag's 'horns' or 'antlers' in a collective sense. *eDIL* only gives the form *congna*, defined as 'horn(s), antler(s)' (dil.ie/12168), but cf. Dinneen, s.v. *congna*, which gives the alternate form *cóghna*.

§17: As noted above, this remedy is nearly identical to that in §6.

§18: *cull*ach *bruicc*. If the first of these two words is *cullach*, recorded in *eDIL*, s.v., as a noun meaning either 'boar' or 'stallion' (dil.ie/13770), it could be used adjectivally here to denote a 'male' badger (cf. *collach portáin*, 'a male crab').[96] It would be unusual for a remedy to call for an entire animal as an ingredient, however, and one would rather expect the term to denote a part thereof. I have therefore instead taken it to be a substantival usage of the adjective given in *eDIL*, s.v. *collach* 'corpulent' (dil.ie/10504) and to refer to some kind of fatty matter derived from the badger (*brocc*). The substance known as *taxea* or *adeps taxonina*, a greasy secretion of the badger's subcaudal glands that was equated with Latin *lardum* 'bacon, lard' by Isidore in his *Etymologiae* (20.2.24), is noted as a pharmacological ingredient in a cure for gout from the *De medicamentis* of the fifth-century Gaulish writer Marcellus of Bordeaux.[97] An association between *taxea* and the testicles of the badger, as well as a belief that the substance had aphrodisiac qualities, may ultimately derive from confusion between the area in which musk was secreted by the badger and the

[95]Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon goedelicum locorum et tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae: an index, with identifications, to the Gaelic names of places and tribes* (Dublin 1910), revised and corrected by Donnchadh Ó Corráin, online at https://www.dias.ie/celt/celt-publications-2/onomasticon-goedelicum/ (accessed 3 September 2021), s.nn. *ard eolorg, carn eolairg, carrac eolaircc, carrac holairc, mag n-eolairg* and *túath eolairg*.

[96]Niall Ó Dónaill, *Irish-English dictionary* (Dublin, 1977), s.v. collach.

[97]Joshua T. Katz, 'Hittite -tašku and the Indo-European word for "Badger" ', *Historische Sprachforschung/Historical Linguistics* 111/1 (1998), 61–82, at 70; see Maximillian Niedermann (ed.), *Marcelli de medicamentis liber*, Corpus Medicorum Latinorum 5 (Leipzig, 1916), Ch. 36.5.

animal's anus or testicles.[98] This semantic connection appears to be reflected in the text known as *De taxone*, an anonymous treatise on the medical uses of the badger that is found copied alongside Sextus Placitus' *Liber medicinae ex animalibus* by the seventh century and was subsequently translated into Old English. One remedy in that work suggests that impotence caused by *maleficium* (bewitchment) might be cured by cooking a badger's testicles in honey and drinking it with water from a spring.[99]

***metlec con all*aid.** According to *eDIL* s.v. cú (b) (dil.ie/13291), the term *cú allaid* can refer to either a wolf (lit. 'wild dog') or some kind of plant, possibly orache; the latter definition is drawn from a medical glossary containing the entry *atriplex .i. cu allaid*.[100] In our text, it would appear that some alternative is being suggested to the first ingredient listed in the recipe (which, as noted above, probably refers to the 'fat' of a badger), indicating that *con allaid* is more likely to mean 'a wolf' here. The immediately preceding word is written as *metlec* with a very small dot over the *c* that may have been intended to indicate lenition. I take this to be a substantival usage of the adjective *máethlach* (dil.ie/31268), a formation based on *máethal* 'beestings, clotted milk or curds, cheese' and by extension any soft substance resembling curds' (dil.ie/31264). Dinneen's dictionary, s.v. *maothlach*, includes 'dung' among the extended meanings of the term, and this may have been what the scribe had in mind here, although the translation 'fat' is also a possibility.

§19: *samlemā*n. The translation of this word as 'summer elm' is tentative. See *eDIL*, s.v. lemán (dil.ie/29876), which equates that term with *lem* meaning 'elm-tree', and cites its use in medical remedies. The prefix *sam-* could have several different meanings, but I have opted for that given in *eDIL* s.v. 1 sam 'summer' (dil.ie/36114), on the basis that the remedy may reflect ritual practices concerning propitious times for gathering medicinal herbs that are widely attested in medieval medical sources from various linguistic traditions.[101]

§20: *forraig*. The manuscript here gives the form *forraig*, which is a late 3 sg. present form of the verb listed in *eDIL* s.v. fo-rig (dil.ie/23698); this reading is supported by the fact that the final repetition of the word in our text is rendered with the latter spelling (*amal forig ben drúagh*). Compare the line *fo-rig foregar* 'it preserves, it is preserved' in the edited version of the Old Irish text known as 'The Caldron of Poesy', where Liam Breatnach has noted that the manuscript witness in fact contains the 'late form' *foraig*, and argues that this is 'comparable to *ad-ruig* for earlier *ad-rig*', the latter of which similarly means

[98] Katz, 'Hittite -taška', 74–5.

[99] Rider, *Magic and Impotence*, 26. For the text of the remedy, see Howald and Sigerist (eds), *Sexti Placiti Liber medicinae ex animalibus*, 231: *Si cui malefactum fuerit et non potuerit rebus uenereis uti, testiculos eius cum melle decoque et ex aqua fontanali, quae est perennis, si ieiunus per triduum bibat, remediatur, sic ut deficere non possit*. For the Old English version, see de Vriend, *Old English Herbarium*, 238–9.

[100] Whitley Stokes, 'Three Irish medical glossaries', *ACL* I, 325–47, at 335 (§86).

[101] For the general background, see Delatte, *Herbarius*, 39–72 and Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, 55–9; for an example of such teaching in an Irish context, see Robin Flower, 'Popular science in mediaeval Ireland', *Ériu* 9 (1921/23), 61–7, at 65–7.

'binds' (in both a physical and legal sense).[102] While Best rendered the verb *fo-rig* into English with the meaning 'hinder, delay', both Carey and Borsje translated it as 'binds', a sense that is common in impotence spells.[103]

There is an important distinction between the TCD MS H 3. 17 (1336) version of this charm and the text transmitted in Conla Mac an Leagha's *receptarium*, however: namely, the fact that the manuscript form in the latter, *forraig*, is in the 3 sg. present, whereas in the former it takes the 1 sg. In the H 3. 17 witness, the verb is only written out in full once, appearing as *foriug* with a suspension mark over the *o*.[104] Best expanded this as *fonriug*, and suggested that it may be for OIr. *fa-riug*, 'I hinder, delay him, etc.', with the Middle Irish use of *-n-* for the 3 sg. masculine infixed pronoun.[105] Carey, by contrast, took *fonriug* to be an error for *fo-rriug*, and thus possible 'evidence for copying from a majuscule exemplar — an indication of a relatively early date.'[106] Whether or not there was an infixed pronoun included in the original form of the verb, however, the u-quality of the conjunct ending indicates a 1 sg. in the H 3. 17 witness. In Conla Mac an Leagha's text, the verb is written *plene* on two occasions: first as *forraig*, and then as *forig* in its final repetition. It may be that, in our copy of the charm, an unnamed woman responsible for causing the man's impotence was understood to be the subject of the verb in each case. The two versions are not mutually exclusive, however, as the use of the 1 sg. in the context of charm-incantations, as evidenced by the H 3. 17 copy, is a common feature of binding spells in particular.[107]

***cros dīb*:** I have taken the second word to be a conjugated preposition referring to the fingers of the individual reciting the incantation. Compare, however, the version of this charm in TCD MS H 3. 17, which reads *focertar cros de dar da les in fir*; R. I. Best interpreted this as 'Let the cross of God be put over the loins of the man'.[108]

***ben druagh*.** This is probably a corruption of the original form *ben drúth* 'wanton woman' attested in the H 3. 17 version of the charm.

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[102]Liam Breatnach, 'The Caldron of Poesy', *Ériu* 32, 45–93, at 72–3. On the form *atomriug* 'I bind/gird myself', see D. A. Binchy, 'Varia III. 3. *Atomriug*', *Ériu* 20 (1966), 232–4.

[103]Best, 'Some Irish charms', 32; Carey, 'Encounter at the ford', 19; Borsje, 'Celtic spells and counterspells', 48 n. 145 (citing the discussion by Rider, *Magic and Impotence*, 76–89).

[104]In all subsequent occurrences in the H 3. 17 text, the verb is abbreviated to the letter *f* between points, with a suspension mark over the top; this is also the case in Conla Mac an Leagha's text, with the exception that the last occurrence of the word in that witness is written as *forig*, as noted above.

[105]In support of this, Best refers to the discussion by John Strachan, 'The infixed pronoun in Middle Irish', *Ériu* 1 (1904), 153–79, at 165–9.

[106]Carey, 'Encounter at the ford', 19 n. 29.

[107]Borsje, 'Celtic spells and counterspells', 32.

[108]Best, 'Some Irish charms', 32.

MARBHNA AR SHEAÁN MAC SÉAMAIS MHEIC GHEARAILT (†1582)[1]

Abstract

This article presents an edition and translation of *Truagh sin, a chinn mo chroidhe*, a poem on the beheading of Sir John Fitzgerald of Desmond in 1582. Although anonymous in the manuscript sources, it is suggested here that it may be the work of Donnchadh 'an tSneachta' Mac Craith. The poem, which is one of three surviving poems on the Desmond rebellion, signals the downfall of the House of Desmond and laments the end of its patronage of Irish classical poetry. The poet's vivid portrayal of his patron's severed head can be read in the context of the violence of conquest and plantation.

Cumadh an marbhna *Truagh sin, a chinn mo chroidhe* ar Sheaán mac Séamais Mheic Ghearailt (deartháir le Gearóid mac Séamais Mheic Ghearailt, 15ú hIarla Deasmhumhan), a maraíodh i gCaisleán Ó Liatháin i mbarúntacht Bharraigh Mhóra i gCo. Chorcaí ag tús na bliana 1582. Labhraíonn an file go díreach lena phátrún (agus lena chloigeann, go háirithe) tríd síos — *a Sheaáin* (9*a*), *a mh*[*ei*]*c I*ar*la le*arg *Luimnig*[*h*] (6*a*), *a chin*n *chaoimhchéile Chuain Dor* (3*c*), srl. — agus in ainneoin nach luaitear a shloinne, tugtar go leor sonraí sa dán le gur féidir an Gearaltach a aithint.[2] Ní fios cé a chum an dán, ach tá sé an-chosúil le marbhna eile ar thriúr Gearaltach — Seaán ina measc — a leagtar ar Dhonnchadh 'an tSneachta' Mac Craith, agus déanaim amach go mb'fhéidir gurbh eisean a chum an dán seo chomh maith.

Bhí ról lárnach ag Seaán mac Séamais san éirí amach a bhris amach i gCúige Mumhan sa bhliain 1579 faoi stiúir Shéamais mheic Mhuiris Mheic Ghearailt, agus nuair a bhásaigh seisean ghlac Seaán cúraimí ceannasaíochta ar chúrsaí míleata chuige féin. Ós rud é go bhfuil teacht fairsing ar eolas maidir lena ról san éirí amach, is leor achoimre ghairid a thabhairt anseo: bhí bua suntasach aige ar an rialtas i nGort na Tiobraide i gCo. Luimnigh i mí Mheáin Fómhair 1579, ach buadh ar a fhórsaí ag Mainistir an Aonaigh go gairid ina dhiaidh sin; sa bhliain 1580, thaistil sé go Cúige Laighean le tacaíocht a thabhairt don éirí amach a bhí ar siúl ansin faoi stiúir James Eustace agus bhí sé i láthair nuair a bhí bua suntasach ag na reibiliúnaithe i gcoinne fhórsaí na banríona ag Gleann

[1] Tá an dán seo á fhoilsiú mar chuid de MACMORRIS, tionscnamh atá faoi stiúir an Ollaimh Patricia Palmer in Ollscoil Mhá Nuad agus atá maoinithe ag an gComhairle um Thaighde in Éirinn. Táim buíoch d'Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, Mícheál Hoyne, eagarthóirí *Celtica* agus an léitheoir a cheap siad as a gcuid moltaí le barr feabhais a chur ar an bpáipéar seo. Mé féin, ar ndóigh, faoi deara gach botún agus dearmad.

[2] Bhí dul amú ar Sheán Ó Dálaigh san iarscríbhinn seo a chuir sé le cóip a bhreac sé féin den dán: 'The above poem is on the death of some John O Neile, son of James O Neill, who was beheaded in Dublin' (ARÉ 23 E 14 (125), 160).

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Molúra i gCo. Chill Mhantáin i mí Lúnasa; rinne sé creachadh ar thailte Iarla Urmhumhan i gCill Chainnigh agus i gCeatharlach agus ar thailte eile sa chúige sin sular fhill sé ar Chúige Mumhan le tacaíocht a thabhairt don fhórsa a bhí tagtha i dtír in Ard na Caithne i gCo. Chiarraí, áit a raibh bua cinntitheach ag an rialtas.[3]

In ainneoin gur bronnadh pardún uileghabhálach ar fhormhór mór reibiliúnaithe na Mumhan faoi mhí na Bealtaine 1581, bhí Seaán ina measc siúd nach raibh san áireamh, agus a raibh fórsaí na corónach ar a dtóir i gcónaí.[4] Is cosúil gur maraíodh i gCaisleán Ó Liatháin é uair éigin ag tús na bliana 1582. Tugtar an tuairisc seo a leanas ar a bhás in *AFM*:

> Mac iarla Desmumhan .i. Sean, mac Semais, mic Seain, mic Tómais iarla do thuitim inaisccid lá a easccairdibh, ⁊ aseadh so a fhír amhail do rala dhó, Sean do dhol cethrar marcach do coilltibh Etharlach daccallaimh an bharraigh mhóir baí i ccombáidh fhoghla fris. Dol dó tar Abhainn Mhóir bá dhes i midhmedhón laoí dhobhardha dhuibhchiach. Do rala somh ⁊ captin siuitsi cona chóirighthibh tul i ttul ⁊ aghaidh i n-aghaidh, ⁊ gan aén aca acc iarraidh aroile. Ro gonadh & ro gabhadh Sean ar an lathair sin, ⁊ ní dheachaidh eadh aén mhíle d'fearann an tan ró écc fó cedóir, ⁊ ro badh faoínbhél fotharsna ro hiomcradh ar a eoch é as sidhe co corcaigh, ⁊ ar rochtain dó don bhaile do rónadh cethramhna comhroinnte de. Ro cuireadh a chend a ccomhardha cosccair go háth cliath, ⁊ muna beith gurab i naghaidh coróna Saxan baoí ro badh doiligh díth an deighfhir sin ar a bhucca fri toirbert seód, ⁊ iolmhaoinibh, ⁊ ar a angbaigheacht i n-ionadh fedhma.
>
> 'The son of the Earl of Desmond, i.e. John, the son of James, son of John, son of Thomas the Earl, fell by his enemies, unrevenged. The following is the true account of the manner in which he came by his death. John set out, accompanied by four horsemen, for the woods of Eatharlach, to hold a conference with Barry More, with whom he had entered into a plundering confederacy. He proceeded southwards across the River Avonmore, in the middle of a dark and misty day, and happened to be met, front to front and face to face, by Captain Siuitsi, with his forces, though neither of them was in search of the other. John was [mortally] wounded on the spot, and had not advanced the space of a mile beyond that place when he died. He was carried crosswise on his own steed, with his face downwards, from thence to Cork; and when brought to that town he was cut in quarters, and his head was sent to Dublin as a token of victory. Were it not that he was opposed to the crown of England, the loss of this good man would have been lamentable, on account

[3]Tá cur síos cuimsitheach ar ról Sheaáin san éirí amach ar fáil in Anthony M. McCormack, *The Earldom of Desmond 1463–1583: The Decline and Crisis of a Feudal Lordship* (Baile Átha Cliath, 2005 [athchló 2013]), 62–3; 184–9.

[4]Luadh duais 500*l* le ceann Sheaáin in 1582 sular maraíodh é (*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–1585*, 340).

> of his liberality in bestowing jewels and riches, and his valour in the field of conflict.'[5]

Tagann sonraí an chuntais seo, a bheag nó a mhór, le tuairiscí na Sasanach ar an eachtra chéanna. Is mar seo a rinne an scríbhneoir John Hooker cur síos ar mar a thit cúrsaí amach:

> sir Iohn of Desmond… he was met withall by capteine Zouch and capteine Dowdall, and by them he receiued his iust reward of a bloudie traitor, and a fréendkiller; being killed and then caried dead to Corke, where his bodie was hanged by the héeles, and his head sent to Dublin, and there set vpon the top of the castle.[6]

D'inis an tiarna Grey de Wilton, fear ionaid na banríona, i litir a scríobh sé chuig Walsingham ag tús na bliana 1582, gur bronnadh ceann Sheaáin air mar bhronntanas ('a new year's gift').[7] Nochtar i litir eile a scríobhadh chuig Walsingham ar an 8ú Feabhra go raibh corp Sheaáin ar choimeád i slabhraí i dtúr ('in chains on a high tower').[8] Deimhníonn an méid atá sa dán seo cuid de shonraí na dtaifead thuas. Tugtar le fios go raibh Seaán ar bheagán cosanta (ar *bheagán buidhne*, 3*b*) nuair a casadh *laoich*[*fh*]*réimhe Lun*n*don* air (3*d*), gur thángthas air agus é *a dteirce s*[*h*]*luaig*[*h*] (4*a*), agus gur cuireadh a chloigeann ar taispeáint ar *barr gealchuaille* (2*c*) *a nÁth C*[*h*]*liath* (2*b*).

Tagann an file le *AFM* sa mhéid is go leagann sé béim ar fhlaithiúlacht an phátrúin chomh maith (6*b*; 9*d*), agus tugann sé le tuiscint go gcaitheadh sé go fial leis na filí go háirithe (19*c*). In ainneoin nach maireann dán ar bith eile a cumadh ar Sheaán go príomha, tá roinnt tagairtí sa chorpas filíochta a thugann le tuiscint gur phátrún flaithiúil a bhí ann. Caointear é i measc *triúr mac Shéamais* [sic] *ó Thráig Lí* (4*a*) in *Maith an compándach Dán*,[9] agus is cosúil go bhfuil sé ar an triúr pátrún a chaoineann Conchobhar Ó Dálaigh sa dán *Gabh m'eagnach, a Chú Chonnacht* a chum sé ar Chú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir († 1589): *Bás an trír dá ttucus toil / do chuir misi a ccéin chugaibh; / iomdha lem thiar dá ttoirimh; / triar dob fherr le a n-athoighidh*, 'The death of the three whom I loved has sent me on a long journey to you; many as well as I in the west lament the three who

[5] *AFM* v, 1778–9. Sílim gur cheart *do dhol ceathrar marcach* a thuiscint ar an gcaoi seo: 'accompanied by three [other] horsemen'. (Maidir leis an struchtúr seo, féach Tomás F. O'Rahilly (eag.), *Desiderius, otherwise called Sgáthán an Chrábhaidh by Faithrí Ó Maolchonaire* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1941), 245–6). Ba cheart *ro gonadh & ro gabhadh Sean* a aistriú mar 'John was wounded and captured on the spot'. Tá an dara pointe tábhachtach maidir le sonraí bhás Sheaáin.

[6] John Hooker, 'The Irish Historie composed and written by Giraldus Cambrensis, and Translated into English... together with the Supplie of the said Historie... vnto 1587' in Raphael Holinshed (eag.), *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, imleabhar 6 (Londain, 1807–8), 459. Féach freisin cuntas ar bhás Sheaáin in Samuel Hayman (eag.), 'Unpublished Geraldine Documents', *The Journal of the Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, 1/2 (1896), 356–416, 391. Tugann an dá thuairisc seo le tuiscint nach gan coinne a casadh Mac Gearailt agus fórsaí Zouch ar a chéile, áfach, agus go raibh brathadóireacht agus fealladh i gceist.

[7] *Cal. SP Ire. 1574–1585*, 340.

[8] *Cal. SP Ire. 1574–1585*, 349.

[9] Pádraig Breatnach, 'A poem on the end of patronage', *Éigse* 31 (1999), 79–88.

were best to visit.'[10] Tá tuilleadh fianaise go mbíodh filí ar cuairt ag Seaán sa mhír seo a leanas sna Stát-Pháipéir:

> Item tat the sayde Sir Iohn shall not vse ne keepe within his house anie irishe Bard, karroghe, or Rymour but toe th uttermost of his power he hoe to remove them from those partes of Mounster.[11]

Tá dán amháin eile ar m'eolas a dhéanann tagairt do chúinsí báis Sheaáin. Marbhna seacht rann is fichid is ea *Liaigh mo thuirse tásg mo ríogh*, a cumadh ar an triúr Gearaltach a bhí suas le linn éirí amach Dheasmhumhan: Séamas mac Muiris Mheic Ghearailt (†1579); Seaán ár ndáin-ne; agus Gearóid mac Séamais, an tIarla (†1583). Leagtar an dán seo ar Dhonnchadh an tSneachta (*Donnch*adh *an tSnea*cht*a c*ec*i*nit) i leabhar Uí Chonchobhair Dhuinn (fol. 378v).[12] Is é sin Donnchadh 'an tSneachta' Mac Craith – 'Donnoghoe McCrahe' agus 'Donogh Mac Cragh' ('a rhymer'), a ghlac páirt é féin san éirí amach.[13] Ní leagtar dán ar bith eile air sna lámhscríbhinní. Tugann Mac Craith cuntas ar dhícheannadh na dtriúr Gearaltach – Séamas, Seaán agus Gearóid faoi seach – i rainn dheireanacha an dáin (24–7):[14]

24. Terc inmhe da n-anta ris
a cin*n* tShemuis mic Muiris
nach tt*r*éigfin*n* ar tto*cht* ad chen*n*
ort a ceidhchin*n* do chaillsem.

25. An d*ar*a cen*n* do chaill me
a-tá ar cúaille a ccúirt Life
cáoi daghchuimsi níor dhíol lin*n*
do líon th'athuirrsi mh'in*n*tin*n*.

26. A chin*n* mo rí[ogh] ráinig soir
ó Shlíabh Lúac*r*a go Lun*n*doin
do-dhéna mé a chin*n* mo c*r*oidhe
mo ré rin*n* na heólchuire.

27. Gidhbé do thesg bu*r* tt*r*i ccuirp
a t*r*i cin*n* do chloin*n* G*er*oilt
do líathmhill lí mo dheilbhe
mo t*r*í ciallchin*n* comh*air*le. (*ABM* 299)

[10] *DMU* 19.4. Tá plé ar an dán seo in Marc Caball, 'Notes on an Elizabethan Kerry bardic family', *Ériu* 43 (1992), 177–92, ag 181–2.

[11] *SP* 63/40, 129 (24 Bealtaine 1573); tugtha in Alan J. Fletcher, *Drama and the Performing Arts in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland: Sources and Documents from the Earliest Times until c. 1642* (Cambridge, 2001), 175.

[12] Níl cóip lámhscríbhinne ar bith eile den dán seo ar m'eolas.

[13] T. F. O'Rahilly, 'Irish poets, historians and judges in English documents, 1538–1615', *PRIA* 36 C (Meitheamh, 1922), 86–120, ag 103. Is cosúil gur ghéill Mac Craith i mí Aibreáin 1583 (*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–1585*, 439).

[14] Tá neart deacrachtaí téacsúla ag baint leis an gcóip seo den dán. Tugaim an téacs thíos díreach mar atá sé in *ABM*.

> ‘O head of James fitz Maurice, there is little wealth that I would not exchange for you after coming to meet you, had you stayed with him (.i. on his body), o first head that I lost.
>
> The second head that I lost is staked on a pole in Dublin; a fitting [opportunity to] mourn would not have been enough for me; great sadness over you has filled my mind.[15]
>
> O head of my king that went eastwards from Sliabh Luachra to London; I will reach the apex of sorrow … o beloved head.[16]
>
> Whoever has severed your three bodies, o three heads of the descendants of Gerald, has dulled my complexion, my three wise heads of counsel (?)’.[17]

Tá cosúlachtaí soiléire idir dán Dhonnchaidh Mheic Chraith agus *Truagh sin, a chinn mo chroidhe*, idir ábhar agus stíl. Is féidir linn glacadh leis gur cumadh an dá dhán thart ar an am céanna (*c.* 1582/3), sa cheantar céanna, agus is é an cleas reitrice céanna atá á chleachtadh iontu araon, mar a labhraíonn an file go díreach leis an gcloigeann teasctha arís agus arís eile (*a chinn; mo chinn; a chinn mo chroidhe* srl.). Is díol suntais an blas follasach pearsanta atá ar an dá dhán, agus béim á leagan ar dhólás agus ar chruachás an fhile de dheasca chailliúint a phátrúnachta. In ainneoin nach féidir a chruthú gurbh é Mac Craith a chum *Cia sin a chinn mo chroidhe*, is dóigh liom go bhfuil an fhéidearthacht sin sách láidir. Glacaim leis, ar a laghad, go raibh *Truagh sin a chinn mo chroidhe* ina eiseamláir aige, agus is dóigh liom gur fiú breathnú ar an dá dhán mar phéire.

An cloigeann scoite

Tá *Truagh sin, a chinn mo chroidhe* i measc raidhse dánta a cumadh ag deireadh an séú haois déag agus sa chéad leath den seachtú haois déag agus arb é dícheannadh an phátrúin is príomhthéama dóibh.[18] Tá seans ann gur tháinig borradh faoin téama seo san fhilíocht chlasaiceach i gcomhthéacs

[15] Glacaim leis gurb ionann *cúirt Life* agus Caisleán Bhaile Átha Cliath.

[16] Tá 26*cd* doiléir agus ní léir go díreach céard a bhí i gceist ag an bhfile. D’fhéadfaí líon na siollaí in 26*c* a thabhairt chun rialtachta ach *mo* a fhágáil ar lár agus *a chinn chroidhe* a léamh. Dá léifí *rem* in áit *mo* in 26*d* d’fhéadfaí an leathrann a léamh mar seo: *Do-déana mé a chinn chroidhe, rem ré, rinn na heolchaire*, ‘o beloved head, before the end of my days I will meet the apex of sorrow’.

[17] Tá an t-aistriúchán seo éiginnte ós rud é nach ndéanann *dheilbhe* rinn agus airdrinn le *comhairle*.

[18] An dícheannadh is téama do dhá mharbhna a cumadh ar Fhiachaidh mac Aodha Uí Bhroin (†1597) (*LBranach* 42 agus 43), caointear dícheannadh Aodha Mhéig Uidhir (†1600) i marbhna a cumadh airsean (*ABM* 490), agus caointear ceann Alasdair mheic Shomhairle Mheic Dhomhnaill (†1636) in *Mionn súl Éireann i nÁth Cliath* (in Alexander Macbain agus John Kennedy (eag.), *Reliquiae Celticae* II (Inbhear Nis, 1894), 301–3). An téama céanna atá idir lámha in *Cia na cinn do-chiú an-iar* (*ABM* 97), dán in ógláchas. Tá sampla níos luaithe dá leithéid le fáil in Gordon Ó Riain, ‘A poem on the mutilation of Brian Óg Ó Néill (d. 1449)’, *Éigse* 37, (2010), 92–111. Is le ceiliúradh a dhéanamh ar dhícheannadh a cumadh dán faoi chloigeann teasctha an chláirseora, Diarmaid Ó Cairbre, in 1490 (i gcló in W. J. Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Dún Éideann, 1937), 96).

fhoréigean na bplandálacha agus an nós a bhí suas 'airgead cinn' a bhronnadh ar chinn a baineadh dá gcorp.[19]

I rainn 11–16 den dán cuireann an file bás Sheaáin i gcomparáid le díothú cúigear ceannaire iomráiteach eile a bhásaigh ar an gcaoi chéanna: Brian Boróimhe agus a mhac, Murchadh (†1014) (rainn 11–13); Brian *Chatha Dúin* (.i. Brian Ó Néill, †1260) (rann 14); Seaán mac Cuinn Uí Néill (†1567) (rann 15); agus iarla ónar shíolraigh Seaán *do thuit… sa*[*n*] *Droichead* (.i. Tomás mac Séamais Mheic Ghearailt, †1468) (rann 16).[20] Trí oidhe Sheaáin a chur i láthair i gcomhthéacs bhás na gcinnirí seo tá a mharú á léiriú ag an bhfile mar éagóir amháin i sraith leanúnach, neamhbhriste d'fhoréigean eachtrannach; léiriú, ar ndóigh, a cheileann castachtaí comhaimseartha na n-eachtraí sin. Tá codarsnacht shoiléir sa dán idir muintir Mheic Ghearailt agus lucht Londain — na *Dana*r*aibh* (17*a*) — lenar thit na laochra móra a luaitear mar eiseamláirí. Thit Brian agus Murchadh *Le dubhGhalluibh* (13*a*); rug na *Goill* leo cinn Bhriain agus Sheaáin Uí Néill faoi seach (14*b*; 15*b*); agus ba le *Saxanch*aibh a thit Tomás, Iarla Deasmhumhan (16*d*).[21] Trí Sheaán a chur i gcomparáid le Gaeil aitheanta ar nós Seaáin Uí Néill agus Briain Bhoróimhe, tá an file ag tabhairt le fios gur gaire na Gearaltaigh do na Gaeil ná do lucht Shasana, murab ionann iad go baileach.

Lámhscríbhinní

Tá sé chóip lámhscríbhinne den dán seo ar m'eolas. Le cois na gcóipeanna sin, tá a fhios againn go raibh cóip eile den dán – an chóip is luaithe a bhfuil eolas uirthi – i Leabhar Uí Ghadhra (ARÉ LS 23 F 16 (2)) tráth, ach go bhfuil sí siúd ar iarraidh anois. Bhí Feargal Dubh Ó Gadhra O.S.A. i mbun pinn ar an lámhscríbhinn sin idir 1655 agus 1659.[22] Tugann clár na lámhscríbhinne le fios gur breacadh ár ndán-na ar leathanach 221 (*Trúagh sin a chin*n *mo ch*ro*idhe*).[23] Tá sé i measc *sgata do dhánta maithe* [ceithre dhán is fiche (as daichead ar fad)] *dó* [*sic*] *rugadh as an leabh*ar chomh luath leis an mbliain 1686.[24]

[19]Déantar comparáid idir an téama seo san fhilíocht chlasaiceach agus i litríocht na gcoilínithe in Patricia Palmer, ' "An headlesse Ladie" and "a horses loade of heades": writing the beheading', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60/1 (2007), 25–57.

[20]Bhí ardán ar leith bainte amach ag bás na gceannairí sin sa litríocht. Féach an plé a dhéantar sna nótaí téacsúla thíos.

[21]Déantar plé ar an téarmaíocht seo in Katharine Simms, 'The Geraldines and Gaelic culture' in Peter Crooks and Seán Duffy (eag.), *The Geraldines and Medieval Ireland: The Making of a Myth* (Baile Átha Cliath, 2017), 264–77, ag 273.

[22]Tá plé ar Leabhar Uí Ghadhra agus ar a sheachadadh in Pádraig Ó Macháin, ' "One glimpse of Ireland": the manuscript of Fr Nicolás (Fearghal Dubh) Ó Ghadhra, OSA', in Raymond Gillespie and Ruairí Ó hUiginn (eag.), *Irish Europe 1600–1650: Writing and Learning* (Baile Átha Cliath, 2013), 135–62.

[23]Tá clár i lámh an scríobhaí ar leathanach vii den lámhscríbhinn.

[24]ARÉ LS 23 F 16 (2), vi; *RIA Cat*., 8.

Tugaim cuntas gairid anseo thíos ar na lámhscríbhinní ina maireann cóip den dán:

M (= ARÉ 23 M 27 (17), 267–9): Ba é Eoghan Ó Caoimh a scríobh an lámhscríbhinn seo, a bhí mar chuid de lámhscríbhinn níos faide tráth (ARÉ 23 M 25–34 anois), idir na blianta 1684 agus 1707.[25] Má tá leathanaigh na lámhscríbhinne in ord a scríofa, breacadh an dán seo sa bhliain 1684. (Luaitear an bhliain sin ar leathanach 240 agus arís ar leathanach 270). Tá a fhios againn go raibh an lámhscríbhinn mhór sin i seilbh Sheáin Uí Dhálaigh agus ba eisean a roinn sna codanna ina bhfuil sí inniu í. Thras-scríobh sé codanna éagsúla den lámhscríbhinn (féach, mar shampla, E agus A thíos). Tá leagan dioplómaitiúil den chóip den dán atá ar caomhnú in M i gcló in *ABM* (uimh. 484).[26]

Tá a fhios againn gur shíolraigh ceithre chóip den dán go díreach ó LS M, agus is i lámh Sheáin Uí Dhálaigh atá trí cinn díbh sin:

E (= ARÉ 23 E 14 (125), 160): Ba é Seán Ó Dálaigh a scríobh an lámhscríbhinn seo i mBaile Átha Cliath sa bhliain 1846.[27] Deir sé linn (ar leathanach 161 den lámhscríbhinn) go raibh sé ag cóipeáil ó M agus an chuid den lámhscríbhinn ina bhfuil ár ndán-na inti á scríobh aige: 'I have copied it from the Rev. Eugene O Keffe's MS compiled in 1684–6, but the author's name was not given in the book — John Daly June 25, 1846.'

A (= ARÉ 24 M 43 (639), 17): Scríobh Seán Ó Dálaigh an lámhscríbhinn seo i mBaile Átha Cliath *c*. 1848–51, agus is cosúil go raibh lámhscríbhinn Uí Chaoimh, M, os a chomhair amach aige.[28] Bhí an lámhscríbhinn i seilbh Uí Ghrádaigh go gairid ina dhiaidh sin, agus breacadh a ainm siúd (*S. Aodh Ó Gráda*), mar aon leis an dáta 1854, ar an bhfordhuilleog.

C2 (= Cardiff, Leabharlann na Cathrach C 2 [LS 2.395], 76): Ba é an Seán Ó Dálaigh a bhreac an lámhscríbhinn seo sa bhliain 1848. Tugann sé le fios gurbh í lámhscríbhinn Uí Chaoimh an eiseamláir a bhí aige — deir sé linn go raibh sé ag cóipeáil 'From a MS. written by Owen O'Keefe 16th. Die Martii 1684'.[29]

T (= Torna, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Corcaigh 45, 43): Ba é *Piarus Móinséal* a scríobh an lámhscríbhinn seo 'a ndún ar aill' i gCorcaigh sa bhliain 1814. Baineadh ábhar na lámhscríbhinne seo as lámhscríbhinní ARÉ 23 M 25–34 (= LS M).[30]

[25] *RIA Cat.*, 63. Maidir le hEóghan Ó Caoimh, féach Breandán Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí 1700–1850* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1982), 37–8.

[26] Tá íomhánna digiteacha den lámhscríbhinn seo ar fáil ag www.isos.dias.ie (rochtain 24 Samhain 2020).

[27] *RIA Cat.*, 364–5

[28] *RIA Cat*. 1992.

[29] Pádraig Ó Riain, *Clár na Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge sa Bhreatain Bhig* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1968), 61.

[30] Pádraig de Brún, *Clár Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Choláiste Ollscoile Chorcaí: Cnuasach Thorna* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1967), 126–7.

Maireann cóip amháin eile den dán:

C (= Cambridge, Add. 6532, (e) fol. 1r–1v): Is ar bhileog aonair a breacadh an chóip seo den dán, agus is i lámh Standish Hayes O'Grady atá sí.[31] Ní fios cathain a bhreac an Grádach an chóip seo. Fágadh spás ar barr an leathanaigh, agus shílfeá go raibh sé i gceist ag an scríobhaí teideal a chur leis.

In ainneoin nach bhfuil a fhios againn cén eiseamláir a bhí ag an nGrádach agus cóip C á breacadh aige, is léir go mbaineann sí le traidisiún M. Tá roinnt léamha in M atá aisteach nó a sháraíonn riachtanais mheadarachta an dáin, agus ós rud é go bhfuil na léamha seo i gcóip C chomh maith, is féidir linn glacadh leis nach mbaineann sí le traidisiún neamhspleách. Sna samplaí seo a leanas tugaim léamha M, léamha C agus léamha an eagráin idir lúibíní: 1*d* M *uait*, C *uait* (= *uaidhe* san eagrán); M *úrdhabha*, C *úrdhabha* (= *urdhubhadh*); 8*a* M *Fios*, C *Fíos* (= *Fir*); 8*d* M *chríche*, C *chríche* (= *chríoch*); 11*c* M *rígh*, C *righ* (= *rí*); 16*c* M *do chuir*, C *do chu*ir (= *torchuir*); 17*d* M *fh*éad*fuin*n, C *fhéadfain*n (= *fhéadfam*).[32]

Tá a fhios againn go raibh cóip den dán a bhreac an Dálach i seilbh an Ghrádaigh (féach LS A thuas), agus déanaim amach go mb'fhéidir gur cheadaigh sé an lámhscríbhinn sin agus an chóip seo den dán á breacadh aige. Tá léamha áirithe in A agus in C atá beagáinín éagsúil le léamha na bunfhoinse, M. Glacaim leis gur eagarthóireacht na scríobhaithe faoi deara na léamha malartacha sin:

2*b*. M *cion*n; CA *cean*n (is fearr léamh M)
3*a*. M *mana*; CA *muna* (is fearr léamh M)
4*b*. M *do díogladh*; CA *do díoladh* (is fearr léamh M).

Tá roinnt léamha ag C nach bhfuil ag M ná ag A, agus tá an chuma air go raibh an Grádach ag iarraidh deacrachtaí téacsúla na bunfhoinse a thabhairt chun rialtachta:

3*a*. MA *eile*; C *oile* C (is fearr léamh C)
3*c*. MA *dTor*; C *Dor* (is fearr léamh C)
8*b*. M *do chiúmais*; A *do chiúmaois*; C *do chidhmís* (is fearr léamh C (?))
17*c*. MA *dil*; C *geal* [C] (is fearr léamh C (?)).

Déantar iarracht líon na siollaí a thabhairt chun rialtachta i líne dheireanach an dáin in C chomh maith (féach na nótaí téacsúla thíos).

An tuiscint atá agam ar sheachadadh an dáin, más ea, ná gur shíolraigh gach cóip den dán dá bhfuil tagtha anuas chugainn ó LS M; go raibh sí ina eiseamláir ag scríobhaithe A, T, C2 agus E, agus gur shíolraigh C ó cheann de na macleabhair. Déanaim amach nach bhfuil i malartaithe na lámhscríbhinní ach iarrachtaí eagarthóireachta na scríobhaithe. Ní fios cén eiseamláir a bhí ag Ó Caoimh agus

[31] Pádraig de Brún agus Máire Herbert (eag.), *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, 1986), 65.

[32] Tá neamhréireachtaí eile ag baint le rann 17*cd* (féach na nótaí téacsúla), agus is ionann léamha C agus M.

lámhscríbhinn M á breacadh aige agus níl aon fhianaise ann go raibh teacht aige ar lámhscríbhinn Uí Ghadhra. Tá a fhios againn go raibh leabhar Uí Ghadhra, a scríobhadh ar an mórthír, ar ais in Éirinn faoin mbliain 1868, ach tá a fhios againn chomh maith go raibh *Truagh sin, a chinn mo chroidhe* ar iarraidh uaithi faoin am sin. Is léir, mar sin, gur eiseamláir neamhspleách atá caillte anois a cheadaigh Ó Caoimh.

Meadaracht

Is sa mheadaracht *deibhidhe*, dán díreach, a cumadh an dán seo. Tá roinnt mhaith deacrachtaí meadarachta ag baint leis an téacs atá tagtha anuas chugainn ach is féidir a bhformhór a réiteach ach coigeartuithe beaga a chur i bhfeidhm.

Tá roinnt samplaí de chomhardadh iomarcach sa dán. Glacaim leis go bhfuil an chomhardadh inmheánach i seoladh 9*ab* (*chnú* : *tú*) neamhchlasaiceach. Níl aon deacracht leis an gcomhardadh idir *chean*n agus *ch*eann in 12*cd* ós rud é go bhfuil *claochládh céille* (nó athrú brí) i gceist (féach *BST* 227*f*),[33] ach ní heol dom aon chosaint ar an gcomhardadh inmheánach idir *thuit* agus *thuit* in 13*b*. B'fhéidir gur sampla de bhreacadh é an comhardadh slán idir *ghruadh*, *snuadh* agus *t*ru*agh* (6*cd*) agus idir *cháigh*, *fhuláir*, *cáir* agus *cláir* (10*abcd*).[34]

Tugann an dúnadh ag deireadh an dáin (1*a Truagh*, 19*d rothruagh*) le tuiscint go bhfuil príomhchorp an dáin tagtha anuas chugainn.

Cúrsaí eagarthóireachta agus teanga

Tá an dán in eagar agam thíos as LS M, an t-aon fhinné neamhspleách den dán atá ar marthain, go bhfios dom. Tá leagan dioplómaitiúil den chóip sin ar fáil in *ABM* (299). Is sa Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach a cumadh an dán, agus glacaim leis gur botúin sheachadta faoi deara deacrachtaí áirithe sa lámhscríbhinn.

Níl áit ar bith a bhfuil séimhiú ar lorg an réamhfhocail shimplí *ar* deimhnithe ag an meadaracht agus cloím le léamha M tríd síos. Níl séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam ar lorg an réamhfhocail *ós* in *ós cion*n (1*c*; 2*a*; 10*a*), agus a choitianta agus atá *ós cionn* i lámhscríbhinní.[35] Tá úsáid *re h-* in áit *le h-* coigeartaithe agam in *Le dubhGhalluibh* (13*a*) i bhfianaise *le Saxanch*aibh (16*d*) agus *Le Dan*ar*aibh* (17*a*). Úsáidtear *le* agus *re* ar an gcaoi cheart chlasaiceach i ngach áit eile sa dán.[36] Níl séimhiú bainte agam den fhorainm réamhfhoclach *dhó* (12*a*) (*SnaG* IV §13.7).

[33]Féach go bhfaightear a leithéid chéanna sa leathrann seo a thugtar mar eiseamláir sna tráchtais: *Cur um* ***chenn*** *do-neth aniogh / an neach as* ***cenn*** *ar Chaisiol* (*IGT* iii, deismireacht 20), 'He who presides over Cashel might oppose me today'.

[34]Déantar plé ar an mbreacadh in Cáit Ní Dhomhnaill, *Duanaireacht: Rialacha Meadarachta Fhilíocht Na mBard* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1975), §§87–103, agus in Tomás Ó Máille, *Breacadh: ornáid ar an duanaireacht* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1973). Tá doiléireacht ag baint go fóill, áfach, leis na rialacha a bhaineann leis an mbreacadh.

[35]Maidir le séimhiú ar lorg *ós* féach Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, 'Mutational effects of the preposition ós: Bile ós Chrannaibh and related matters', *SGS* 30 (2016), 73–111.

[36]Tabhair faoi deara, áfach, nach féidir formhór mór na samplaí a dheimhniú leis an meadaracht. Deimhnítear úsáid cheart *le* 19*d* (*lea*m : *fhearr*).

D'fhéadfaí an t-urú ar lorg an ainmfhocail *iath* in *a hiath nÉirean*n (14*b*, léamh lámhscríbhinne) a thuiscint mar rian den ainmfhocal neodrach (*SnaG* IV §3.3). Ní bheimis ag súil lena leithéid sa Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach, áfach, agus tá sé bainte amach agam i bhfianaise *a n-iath Iúghoine* (5*b*), cé nach féidir ceachtar sampla a dheimhniú leis an meadaracht. Tá séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam ar lorg ginideach uatha firinscneach den chineál a shéimhíonn sa teanga chlasaiceach in *a chéile cláir C**h**iarraidhe* (10*d*) agus ar ghairmeach firinscneach den chineál a shéimhíonn in *a mh*[*e*]*ic s**h**oghrádhaigh S*[*h*]*éamuis* (19*b*, agus é sin deimhnithe ag an meadaracht). Tá séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam ar lorg tabharthach uatha in *a ngort g*[*h*]*liadh* (13*a*), in *a dteirce s*[*h*]*luaig*[*h*] (4*a*), agus in *a nÁth C*[*h*]*liath* (2*b*), i bhfianaise *a nÉirin*n *fhódbháin* (18*b*), atá deimhnithe ag an meadaracht. B'fhéidir gur cheart séimhiú a chur ar lorg *ar barr* in *ar barr gealchuaille* (2*c*), agus ar lorg *ar bheagan* in ar *bheagán buidhne* (3*b*), ach measaim nach bhfuil go leor fianaise go hinmheánach sa dán leis na leasuithe sin a chur i bhfeidhm. Tá urú curtha ar fáil agam ar lorg ginideach iolra in *tarngaire fhileadh nÉirionn* (7*b*); *a Ghu*air*e aoidheadh* [*n*]*Éirean*n (9*d*), agus *a aodh*air*e chríoch* [*g*]*Caisil* (8*d*).[37]

Cuirtear gutaí meánacha in iúl le síntí fada in amanna sa lámhscríbhinn seo, agus glacaim leis gurb é fuaimniú na bhfocal faoi deara an nós litrithe seo. Tá an litriú tugtha chun rialtachta agam sna cásanna sin: *b*árr > *barr* (2*c*); *tár*l*a* > *tarla* (3*b*; 12*a*).

Is liomsa scaradh na bhfocal agus an phoncaíocht san eagrán. Scaoilim noda i gcló iodálach agus tá litreacha breise curtha ar fáil agam idir lúibíní cearnacha.[38] Tá suíomh síntí fada laistigh de shiollaí tugtha chun rialtachta agam, agus tá síntí fada atá in easnamh curtha ar fáil agam le macrain. Déanaim normalú ar na nithe seo a leanas:

- cc- > gc- (2*a*: ccean*n* > *gcean*n)
- tt- > dt- (4*a*: tteirce > *dteirce*).

Tugaim léamha eile ag bun an leathanaigh. Cé nach dtugaim léamha malartacha na gcóipeanna éagsúla den dán (ós rud é go síolraíonn siad ar fad ó LS M), pléim cuid de choigeartuithe na scríobhaithe sna nótaí téacsúla.

[37]D'fhéadfaí an chéad dá shampla a fhágáil lom, agus *fhileadh* agus *aoidheadh* a léamh mar ghinideach uatha seachas mar ghinideach iolra. Féach na nótaí téacsúla.

[38]Is mar *ead* agus *eid* a scaoilim an tsiombail *et*, de réir mar is cuí. (Is mar *edh* a scaoilim an tsiombail chéanna (shéimhithe) i gcás léamh lámhscríbhinne 7*b* ós rud é nach léir céard a bhí i gceist agus ós rud é go dteastaíonn coigeartú san eagrán).

Téacs

1. Truagh sin, a chin*n* mo chroidhe,
lór dúin*n* d'adhbhar eólchuire,
m*ur* taoi *ar* cuaille ós cion*n* Dan*ar*,
si[o]n*n* uaidhe fa urdhubhadh.

2. Tú ós cion*n* na gcean*n* oile
a nÁth C[h]liath — cúis eólchaire —
ar barr gealchuaille, a ghrádh ban,
crádh le me*ar*chuaine Mumhan.

3. Mana t*ru*aighe táinig de;
tarla tú *ar* bheagán buidhne,
a chin*n* chaoimhchéile Chuain Dor,
re cruaidh laoich[fh]réimhe Lun*n*don.

4. Ó fríoth tusa a dteirce s[h]luaig[h],
do díoghladh ort re haonu*air*,
gér mhór lin*n*, t'éa*cht*a uile,
a chin*n* bréagtha banchuire.

5. Uaigneas aonlaoi ria*mh* roimhe
níor chlea*cht* tú a n-iath Iúghoine;
a bhranáin fa bhfoil gach fe*ar*,
t'fhaghāil m*ar* s[o]in níor saoileadh.

Aistriúchán

1. It is sad, my beloved head, how you are [staked] upon a spike above foreigners; it is a cause of great sorrow for me; it has me under [a cloud of] grief.
2. It is a cause of grief that you, o beloved of women, are [displayed] above the other [severed] heads at the top of a bright spike in Dublin; it torments the swift warriors of Munster.
3. It was a portent of woe that you had [only] a small escort when you encountered the severity of the warriors of London, o head of the sweet spouse of Glandore.
4. When you were found with a small escort, you were avenged at once for all your feats, though I deemed [them] wonderful, o head who enticed women.
5. Never before that had you experienced a single day's solitude in the land of Iúghaine; nobody imagined that you would be found like that, o king-piece surrounded by pawns.

Malairtí

1 ***b*** dádbh*ar*; ***d*** uait, fá, úrdhabha.
2 ***a*** eile; ***c*** b*árr*; ***d*** lé, múmhan.
3 ***a*** táin*igh*; ***b*** t*ár*la, buídhne; ***c*** Dtor; ***d*** ré.
4 ***b*** ré.
5 ***c*** fá; bhfuil.

6. A mh[ei]c I*ar*la le*ar*g Luimnig[h]
n*ár* dhiúlt aon fa a[th]chuinghidh,
a ghruadh ronáir *ar* snuadh sugh,
as t*ru*agh t'fhogháil at uathadh.

7. Duit do gheallsad fiadh na bhFion*n*,
tarngaire fhileadh nÉirionn
fá-ríor ní thánaig as-teach,
dá bhrí[o]gh a-támuid tuirseach.

8. Fir Mhumhan dod thig[h] ag tea*cht*
do-chímis uile a n-aoinfhea*cht*;
gé fríoth gan aonduine ibh,
a aodh*air*e chríoch [g]Caisil.

9. A Sheaáin, a chnú chroidhe,
do bhreágnaigh tú an tarngaire,
níor saoileadh cuaille tr*éd* ch*eann*,
a Ghu*air*e aoidheadh [n]Éirean*n*.

10. Do chean*n* do chur ós cion*n* cháigh,
ag so an fáth as n*ár*bh f[h]uláir:
fúibh b*udh* cáir Éire uile
a chéile cláir Chiarraidhe.

6. O son of the Earl of the hillsides of Limerick who never refused anyone in regard to request; o modest cheek on a rosy complexion, it is sad that you were found alone.

7. They promised you [the sovereignty of] Ireland; alas the prophecy of the poets of Ireland did not come to pass, and so, we are despondent.

8. I used to see all the men of Munster coming to your house together, [and] yet you were found alone, o shepherd of the lands of Cashel.

9. O beloved Seaán, you have disproved the prophecy; nobody imagined a stake through your head, o Guaire of the visiting poets of Ireland.

10. This is the reason your head had to be displayed above all the others: you were due the leadership of all of Ireland, o spouse of the plain of Kerry.

6 ***b*** fá; ***c*** rón*ár*; ***d*** tfhághail, ad, huathadh.
7 ***a*** ~~faid~~ (fiadh ar imeall an leathanaigh); ***b*** t*arr*ngr*edh*, éireonn; ***c*** tháin*igh*; ***d*** túirseach.
8 ***a*** fios, Múmhan, dod] ad; ***b*** do chiúmais; ***d*** chríche.
9 ***a*** Chsheaín; ***b*** bhreágnaidh, t*arr*ng*air*e; ***c*** síleadh.
10 ***a*** cáich; ***c*** cóir; ***d*** cláir ~~Clái~~; Ci*arr*uídhe.

11. Ní chluinim, ní chuala sin*n*,
do chomhmór d'éa*cht* a nÉirin*n*,
a*cht* rí na nGaoidhe*a*l, B*r*ian B*r*eagh;
ti*ar* do caoin*eadh* an c*éid*fhe*ar*.

12. Ionan*n* tarla dhó agus duit;
do bheansad Goill — gníomh ord[h]ruic; —
cur 'na chean*n* ria*mh* ní raibhe —
a ch*eann* do Bhrian Bhóroimhe.

13. Le dubhGhalluibh a ngort g[h]liadh,
do thuit m*ur* do thuit ríghBh*r*ian
— a chneas seangmhālla, a ghlac ghlan —
a mhac me*ar*dhána, Murch*adh*.

14. Brian Chatha Dúin, deimhin leam,
rugsad Goill a hiath Éireann
a chean*n* t*ar* a[n] sáile soir;
bráighe dob fhearr a nUltaibh.

15. Cean*n* Seaáin ne*ar*tmhuir Í Nēill,
rugsad Goill — anba an oilbhéim —
go hÁth Cliath na Midhe a-mach,
do sgiath tighe na Teamhr*a*c[h].

11. I do not hear, and have not heard, of so terrible a slaying in Ireland as yours, save for the king of the Gaels, Brian of Breagha; that first man was mourned in the west.

12. The same thing befell him that has befallen you; the foreigners beheaded Brian Boru — a notorious deed! — he was never opposed.

13. Just as royal Brian fell, his swift, bold son Murchadh fell at the hands of the Danes in a field of battle, o slender and noble body, o smooth hand.

14. Brian of the Battle of Down, I am certain [that] the foreigners took his head from the land of Ireland eastwards over the sea; he was the finest hostage in Ulster.

15. The foreigners carried the head of the powerful Shane O'Neill away from the protection of the house of Tara to Dublin of Meath and beyond; it was a great wrongdoing.

11 ***b*** chómhmór; ***c*** ~~a*cht* roidhe n~~ a*cht* rígh.
12 ***a*** t*ár*la.
13 ***a*** Ré.
14 ***a*** leamh; ***b*** rugsadh, nÉirean*n*; ***d*** brágha, a nUltaibh] an olltaibh.
15 ***a*** tsheaín, hÍ; ***c*** mídhe; ***d*** tíghe.

16. I*ar*la ordhruic dot fhuil féin
sa[n] Droichead, a dhreach mhínréidh,
— giodh g*ar* duit an té torchuir —
do thuit sé le Saxanch*aibh*.

17. Le Dan*ar*aibh, deimhin lea*m*,
ar thuit d'uaislibh fhear nÉirean*n*,
fe*ar*an*n* fo[i]n*n*mhín géagthrom geal,
ní fhéadfam uile a n-áireamh.

18. Dá m*air*theá, do mhaithfin*n* dáibh
ar thuit a nÉirin*n* fhódbháin;
budh bean gan c[h]oimdhe c*rī*och Bhreagh,
doilg[h]e do dhí[o]th fa dheir*eadh*.

19. Do chean*n* *ar* cuaille, a ch*ru*th thais,
a mh[e]ic shoghrádhaigh S[h]éamuis,
a lámh dob fhearr *ar* dhíol duan;
[ní] lea*m* fá-ríor n*a*c[h] rothruagh.

16. A famous Earl from your own bloodline, o soft and smooth countenance — although you were a close kinsman of the one who fell — he [too] was killed at the hands of the English in Drogheda.

17. I am sure I will not be able to enumerate all the nobles of the men of Ireland, the bright land of smooth soil and heavy branches (?), who fell at the hands of the foreigners.

18. Had you survived I would forgive them all who fell in Ireland of the bright soil; Ireland will [now] be a woman without protection; losing you is all the more difficult in the end.

19. Your head on a stake, o smooth form, o beloved son of James, o hand that was best for rewarding poems, is, alas, a great pity for me.

16 ***a*** dod tfuil; ***c*** gé, torchuir] do chuir; ***d*** lé.
17 ***a*** lé; ***b*** bhfe*ar*; ***c*** geal] dil, ***d*** fh*éad*fuin*n*.
18 ***c*** gan] gacha; ***d*** fá.
19 ***b*** soghrádhaicc; ***c*** fhe*árr*; ***d*** róthr*u*agh.

Nótaí

1*d*. Tá siolla in easnamh sa líne seo sna lámhscríbhinní agus tá comhardadh inmheánach de dhíth. Moltar an léamh *uaidhe* (: *cuaille*) in áit *uait* in *ABM* agus tá an coigeartú sin curtha i bhfeidhm anseo agam. Glacaim leis go ndéanann an forainm firinscneach uatha tagairt do *adhbhar* (1*b*).

2*a*. Tabhair faoi deara nach mbáitear na gutaí fada in *Tú* agus *ós*. Ní sháraíonn sé seo rialacha meadarachta an dáin dhírigh, agus rogha ag an bhfile gutaí fada a bhá nó gan iad a bhá (Cáit Ní Dhomhnaill, *Duanaireacht: Rialacha Meadarachta Fhilíocht na mBard* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1975), §59).

3*c*. Tá Cuan Dor ('Glandore') i bparóiste Chill Fachna Bheag i mbarúntacht Chairbhrigh Thoir in iarthar Chorcaigh (*Onom.* s.v. *cuan dor*). B'fhéidir gur tagairt é seo do bhean chéile an phátrúin. Is cosúil gur phós Seaán Eileanóir, inghean Taidhg Mheic Chárthaigh Mhúscraí sa bhliain 1577 (James Graves, 'No. 2. The Earls of Desmond', *The Journal of the Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, 1869*, imleabhar 1, uimh. 2 (1869), 459–98).

5*ab*. Leagtar béim síos tríd an dán seo ar an gcodarsnacht idir aonaracht an phátrúin ar uair a bháis agus an comhluadar a choinníodh sé agus é beo (féach freisin 3*a*; 4*a*; 6*d*; 8). Is fiú comparáid a dhéanamh idir an leathrann seo agus na leathrainn seo a leanas as dán gairid ar Aodh Mág Uidhir (†1600): *Úaignech sin a chenn Áodha / sibh at áonur dob annamh* (*ABM* 490.1*ab*); 'It is lonely, o head of Aodha, you were seldom alone'; *a chinn-si a coirp mo croidhe / tú nír minic go húaigneac[h]* (10*cd*); 'o my beloved head and corpse, you were seldom alone'. Tá cosúlachtaí eile idir an dán seo agus *Truagh sin, a chinn mo chroidhe* (féach n. 5*d* thíos), agus déanaim amach go mb'fhéidir go raibh an file ag tarraingt ar ár ndáin-ne.

5*c*. D'fhéadfaí *fa* a léamh mar *under* agus an leathrann a thuiscint mar seo 'o king-piece who is above all other men'.

6*a*. Tagairt é seo do Shéamas (mac Seaáin) Mac Gearailt, 14ú hIarla Deasmhumhan († 1558). Bhí tailte ag an Iarla in oirthear Luimnigh (féach McCormack, *The Earldom of Desmond*, 34).

6*c*. Bheimis ag súil le *subh* in áit *sugh* go stairiúil (*eDIL* s.v. *sub*), ach cloím leis an léamh lámhscríbhinne agus a choitianta is a fhaightear an litriú *sugh*. Ba litriúla 'the colour of berries' seachas 'a rosy complexion'.

7*ab*. Luaitear tairngreachtaí faoi dhó sa dán seo (féach freisin 9*ab*) agus ba mhinic tagairtí dá leithéid i ndánta molta. Féach, mar shampla, na rainn seo as *Cia as sine ó cheart Chríoch Néill*, dán ar Shéamas mac Muiris Mheic Ghearailt: *Do thairngir fáidh fada ó shoin / go dtiocfadh don treibh Ghréagaigh / sgaoilfeas moircheas chlann gCriomhthain / Gall fhóirfeas ar Éireannchaibh* 'Long ago a prophet foretold that there would come from the Greek tribe a foreigner who will rescue the Irish [and] release the race of

Criomhthan from their great oppression.' (Eoghan Ó Raghallaigh, 'Poems from the Nugent manuscript', tráchtas dochtúireachta neamhfhoilsithe, Coláiste na Tríonóide (2008), 128).

7*b*. Bheadh *tairngire* go breá chomh maith (*IGT* ii §3), ach féach rann 9, mar a dteastaíonn an leagan leathan *tarngaire* (: *chroidhe*).

7*c*. Maidir le *ní thánaig as-teach,* féach *eDIL* s.v. *do-icc* II (d). Tá roinnt samplaí den bhriathar in úsáid i gcomhthéacs tairngire: *tú shaoilid do sheannámhaid / do chur an tairrngire asteach*, 'it is to thee thine ancient rivals look to fulfil the prophecy' (*TD* 27.36*bc*); *tig as-teach mar do thairngear* [léigh *thairgir*] (*ABM* 317.23*a*); 'what you prophesised came to pass.'

8*ab*. Ní léir dom céard is brí le léamh lámhscríbhinne an leathrainn seo (*Fios Múman ad tig ag thea*cht */ do chiúmais uile a naoinfhea*cht), agus glacaim leis go bhfuil sé truaillithe. Leanann an leasú ó *Fios* go *Fir* moladh *ABM* (agus níorbh ionadh na litreacha *s* agus *r* á measctha agus an téacs á sheachadadh). Tá *ad thigh* 'in your house' coigeartaithe agam chuig *dod thigh* 'to your house' óir b'ait liom *ciall chomhnaidhe* anseo (féach *SnaG* IV §10.1; *ABP* 661–7). Moltar *ciumhais* a choigeartú go *ciúnais* in *ABM* ('coming together in silence'), ach déanaim amach gur cheart *do-chímis* a léamh (ag leanúint cóip C). Maidir leis an íomhá atá á cur chun cinn anseo féach 5*ab* (& nóta).

8*d*. Tá an léamh *chríche* coigeartaithe agam go *chríoch* (: *fríoth*) le comhardadh inmheánach a chur ar fáil.

9*c*. Tá an léamh lámhscríbhinne *síleadh* coigeartaithe agam go *saoileadh* (: *aoidheadh*) leis an meadaracht a thabhairt chun rialtachta.

10*c*. Ba litriúla 'all of Ireland should be beneath you' mar aistriúchán.

13*a*. D'fhéadfaí cloí leis an léamh lámhscríbhinne *Re dubhGhalluibh* agus é a thuiscint mar seo: '[fighting] against the Danes'.

13*c*. Glacaim leis gur ag labhairt lena phátrún féin arís atá an file sa cheathrú seo.

13*d*. Baineadh a cheann de Mhurchadh, mac Bhriain Bhoróimhe, i gCath Chluana Tarbh. Tá tagairtí do bhás Bhriain agus Mhurchaidh sách coitianta san fhilíocht chlasaiceach (féach, mar shampla, *ABM* 279 agus 364).

14*a*. Maraíodh Brian Ó Néill ag Cath an Dúin sa bhliain 1260. Tugtar an cuntas seo a leanas ar a bhás sna hannála: *Brien O Neyll, rí Kenal Eógin, da tugsat Gédil bragdi, 7 na tug kys na káyn do ríg Sagsan, do marbad da Gédelib fen 7 do ní de Gallib*', 'Brian Ó Néill, king of Cenél Eógain, to whom the Gaedil gave hostages, and who paid neither tax nor tribute to the king of England, was slain by the Gaedil themselves and by some of the foreigners' (*AI*, 360–1). Déantar trácht ar bhás Bhriain sa dán *Díleas breath do bhreith le seibh*, ina dtugtar le tuiscint go raibh Aodh Buidh Ó Néill ina measc siúd a chur ina choinne (*AthD* 17, rainn 22–7).

14*d*. Tá an léamh lámhscríbhinne *brágha* coigeartaithe agam go *bráighe* le comhardadh slán a chur ar fáil (: *sáile*). Ceadaítear an dá fhoirm in *IGT* ii (§131).

15. Is é Seaán Ó Néill (†1567) an t-aon cheannaire comhaimseartha i gcatalóg chorpán an fhile, agus cé nach eol dom dán ar bith eile ina bhfuil a bhás-san ina ábhar apalóige, is iomaí tagairt a dhéantar dó i litríocht na tréimhse. Is é is cúlra, más fíor, do leaganacha athmhúnlaithe de thrí téacs próis a cumadh do Mhuintir Mheic Dhomhnaill (féach, mar shampla, Caoimhín Breatnach, 'The murder of Shane O'Neill: *Oidheadh Chuinn Chéadchathaigh*', *Ériu* 43 (1992), 159–75. Déantar plé san alt seo ar lámh mhuintir Mheic Dhomhnaill i mbás Sheaáin).

16*a*. Eachtra suntasach i stair Ghearaltaigh na Mumhan ab ea marú Thomáis mheic Shéamais Mheic Ghearailt, 8ú hIarla Deasmhumhan. Chaith Tomás tréimhse ina fhear ionaid de cuid an rialtais, agus cuireadh chun báis gan choinne é sa bhliain 1468. Chuir an eachtra seo tús le droch-chaidreamh fadtéarmach idir Gearaltaigh Dheasmhumhan agus an choróin (McCormack, *The Earldom of Desmond*, 58–61; Katharine Simms, *Gaelic Ulster in the Middle Ages: History, Culture and Society* (Baile Átha Cliath, 2020), 190–1). Luaitear bás Thomáis mar ábhar comparáide in *Ní bean aonothruis Éire*, marbhna ar Thomás Óg Mac Muiris (†1630) a leagtar ar Dhonnchadh Riabhach Ó Dálaigh (*ABM* 358).

16*b*. Is ionann 'An Droichead' agus Droichead Átha (*Onom.* s.v. *drochat*). Is ansin a cuireadh Tomás mac Séamais Mac Gearailt chun báis.

16*c*. Tá uaim in easnamh sa léamh lámhscríbhinní *an té do chuir*, agus cloím leis an gcoigeartú a mholtar in *ABM*; *an té torchuir* 'the one who fell'. Maidir le séimhiú na coibhneastachta a bheith ar iarraidh, féach *SnaG* IV §7.32.

17*cd*. Tá roinnt mhaith deacrachtaí ag baint leis an leathrann seo ó thaobh na meadarachta de. Tá uaim in easnamh i 17*c* agus glacaim le moladh *ABM dil* a choigeartú go *geal* (°*géagthrom*) (: *n-áireamh*). Tá an léamh seo ag an nGrádach i lámhscríbhinn C. Glacaim le moladh *ABM fh*éad*fuin*n a choigeartú go *fhéadfam* (: *géagthrom*). Ach féach go bhfágann na coigeartaithe sin *foinn*n*mhín* agus *uile* gan céilí cuibhis go fóill agus, dá bhrí sin, ní féidir brath ar an téacs. Tá comhartha ceiste agam san aistriúchán leis an éiginnteacht sin a chur in iúl.

18*c*. Tá *gacha* coigeartaithe agam go *gan* le líon na siollaí a thabhairt chun rialtachta agus is fearr, go deimhin, a thagann *gan* le brí na líne.

19*d*. Tá siolla amháin in easnamh ar an líne seo i lámhscríbhinn M, agus leanann an coigeartú léamh C. Ní ritheann réiteach ar bith eile liom.

Giorrúcháin

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Cal. SP Ire.	*Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland of the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office,* 2 imleabhar (London, 1867–1912).
DMU	David Greene (eag.), *Duanaire Mhéig Uidhir: The Poem Book of Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir, Lord of Fermanagh 1566–1589* (Dublin, 1972).
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TROM AN SUAN-SA ORT, A AODH — DÁN AG BROSTÚ AODHA UÍ DHOMHNAILL (†1600)[1]

Achoimre

Chum Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird an dán seo am éigin idir na blianta 1566 agus 1576 d'Aodh Ó Domhnaill (†1600), á bhrostú le dul i gcoinne riail na Sasanach in Éirinn agus ardríocht na tíre a ghabháil dó féin. Tá eagrán den dán ar fáil anseo bunaithe ar an aon chóip amháin de a mhaireann, i LS G 167, Leabharlann Náisiúnta 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

Uilliam Óg (mac Cormaic) Mac an Bhaird (†1576) a chum an dán seo d'Aodh Dubh (mac Mhaghnais) Ó Domhnaill (†1600). De réir *AFM* 1576, *ollamh Uí D*[*h*]*omhnaill lé dán* ab ea Uilliam Óg, agus fuair sé bás ar 22 Feabhra an bhliain sin i nDroim Mór, gar do Bhaile Dhún na nGall. Cé go maireann, ar a laghad, naoi ndán de chuid Uilliam Óig go dtí an lá inniu, níl ach trí cinn acu sin in eagar go dtí seo: *Biaidh athroinn ar Inis Fáil* (Ó Cuív 1977), dán leathaoire a chum sé sa bhliain 1572, leath de ag moladh Aodha Uí Dhomhnaill, agus leath de ag aoradh iarla Thuamhan, Conchubhar Ó Briain; *Trí Coin chosnas clú Gaoidheal* (*DMU* 18) a chum sé do Chú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir am éigin idir 1566 agus 1576; agus *Gréas dearbhtha Duan na Feirsde* a chum sé sa bhliain 1567 d'Aodh Ó Domhnaill mar gheall ar an mbua a fuair seisean ar Sheaán Ó Néill agus ar a arm i gcath Fhearsaid Mhór (Mac a' Ghoill 2020: 103–39). Tá na sé cinn eile i gcló in *ABM*:

ABM 230 *Fada súil Éireann re hAodh*
— d'Aodh mac Mhaghnais Uí Dhomhnaill, am éigin idir 1566 agus 1576

ABM 266 *Gaoidhil meallta nó mac Néill*
— do Thoirdhealbhach mac Néill Uí Néill, am éigin idir 1566 agus 1576

[1]Ba mhaith liom mo bhuíochas a ghabháil le hEoin Mac Cárthaigh, Mícheál Hoyne, eagarthóirí *Celtica* agus an léitheoir a cheap siad as moltaí éagsúla le barr feabhais a chur ar an alt seo. Mé féin faoi deara gach botún agus dearmad.

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ABM 273 *Gluais, a theachtaire théid siar*[2]
— do Sheaán Mac Uilliam de Búrca, am éigin idir 1571 agus 1576 (?)

ABM 339 *Mithidh th'athdhúsgadh, a Aodh*[3]
— d'Aodh mac Mhaghnais Uí Dhomhnaill, am éigin idir 1566 agus 1576

ABM 384 *Olc cúitighthear comaoin Dé*
— dán cráifeach

ABM 477 *Trom an suan-sa ort, a Aodh* (in eagar thíos)
— d'Aodh mac Mhaghnais Uí Dhomhnaill, am éigin idir 1566 agus 1576.

An pátrún

Tháinig Aodh Dubh (mac Mhaghnais) Ó Domhnaill i gcomharbas ar a dhearthair, an Calbhach Ó Domhnaill, mar thiarna ar Thír Chonaill sa bhliain 1566 tar éis bhás an Chalbhaigh. Bhí sé i gceannas ar Thír Chonaill go dtí gur sheas sé siar ó ról na ceannaireachta sa bhliain 1592, nuair a rinneadh tiarna dá mhac, Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill. Fuair sé bás ar 7 Nollaig 1600.

Ábhar an dáin

Cumadh an dán seo am éigin idir na blianta 1566 agus 1576. Brostaíonn Uilliam Óg Aodh Ó Domhnaill le dul i gcoinne riail na Sasanach in Éirinn, agus ceannasaíocht na hÉireann a ghabháil dó féin le tacaíocht ó uaisle eile na tíre. Níl sé soiléir an raibh aon rud ar leith a spreag Uilliam Óg chun an dán seo a chumadh. Is léir go raibh borradh ag teacht faoin gcomhrac agus faoin meon frithShasanach in Éirinn sa tréimhse sin. Dar ndóigh, an rud ba shuntasaí a bhí ag titim amach in Éirinn ag an am ná an chéad éirí amach i nDeasmhumhain, agóid i gcoinne chumhacht agus thionchar na Sasanach i ndeisceart na tíre (1569–73). Tagann ábhar an dáin leis an dearcadh frithShasanach seo a bhí ag teacht chun cinn i measc na dtiarnaí Gaelacha ar fud fad na tíre.

Is léir nárbh é Aodh Dubh féin a choimisiúnaigh an dán, ós rud é nach raibh an file ag súil le híocaíocht uaidh as an dán a chumadh (féach rann 9), seachas Aodh a 'dhúiseacht'. Cheapfaí gur choimisiúnaigh pátrún i gCúige Mumhan an dán (bunaithe ar rainn 5, 11, agus 19 go háirithe), agus b'fhéidir nach raibh an file féin i dTír Chonaill ag an am a chum sé é. Tugann an dán seo le fios go

[2]Ní bhíonn sé soiléir i gcónaí cé acu Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird nó a mhac, Uilliam Óg mac Uilliam Óig Mhic an Bhaird, atá i gceist nuair a chuireann scríobhaí an t-ainm seo le dán. Go hiondúil, déanann scríobhaithe idirdhealú idir an dá Uilliam Óg sna ceannscríbhinní, nó is féidir a dhéanamh amach cé acu atá i gceist ó eolas eile faoin dán (dáta, pátrún, eachtraí, srl.). Nílim go hiomlán cinnte cé acu a chum *ABM* 273.

[3]Tá an t-ábhar céanna i gceist leis an dá dhán *Mithidh th'athdhúsgadh, a Aodh* (*ABM* 339) agus *Trom an suan-sa ort, a Aodh* (in eagar san alt seo).

raibh iarrachtaí ar bun comhaontas a dhéanamh idir clanna uaisle na hÉireann ag an am a cumadh é, agus clanna uaisle i gCúige Uladh a tharraingt isteach san achrann i gcoinne chumhacht na Sasanach sa tír.

Lámhscríbhinn

Ní mhaireann an dán seo ach in aon LS amháin, is í sin LS G 167 i Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann, duanaire dánta ar chlann Dálaigh. Tá alt in *Éigse* 1 (Ó Cléirigh 1939: 51–61, 130–42) ina bhfuil cur síos cuimsitheach ar an LS seo, agus tá cur síos uirthi i gcatalóg LSí Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann chomh maith (Ní Shéaghdha 1979: 8–15). Séamus Mág Uidhir a scríobh an LS ar fad, an chuid is mó di sa bhliain 1727 (an chóip den dán seo san áireamh) agus chuir sé 19 leathanach eile léi ní ba dhéanaí, am éigin tar éis na bliana 1738. Aodh Ó Domhnaill, Ceathrú Mhic Oireacht, Co. Liatroma, a choimisiúnaigh an LS. Tá 406 leathanach inti ([viii] + 398), agus 112 dán éagsúil (chomh maith le hocht sliocht as *Saltair na Rann* ag an tús). Tá an chóip den dán seo ar leathanaigh 162–4 [=170–2].

Polasaí eagarthóireachta

- Mé féin faoi deara ceannlitreacha, poncaíocht, áit an tsínidh fhada taobh istigh de shiolla, agus scaradh na bhfocal.

- Tá noda scaoilte agam i gcló iodálach.

- Tá *e*-ard scaoilte agam i gcló iodálach mar *ea* go hiondúil, ach mar *e* nó *ei* in áiteanna freisin nuair is cuí (m.sh. a h*e*irr, líne 12*d*; f[h]r*ēi*mh líne 2*d*).

- Tá comharthaí séimhithe scaoilte agam mar 'h' gan a bheith i gcló iodálach ach amháin nuair atá an comhartha séimhithe mar chuid de líne chrochta shéimhithe.

- Léiríonn líne trí fhoca(i)l sna léamha (m.sh. ~~dhiom~~, líne 3*d*) botún de chuid an scríobhaí a cheartaigh sé féin sa LS.

- Tá síntí fada bainte agam os íseal de na défhoghair *ao, ia* agus *ua*, ach coinnítear síneadh fada ar an défhoghar *eó*.

- Úsáidim macran le síneadh fada nach bhfuil sa LS a chur ar fáil, agus tá síntí fada neamhstairiúla bainte agam os íseal (m.sh. *thárla* >*tharla*, líne 7*b*).

- Déanaim normalú 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-*.

- Tá *it, dot,* srl. athraithe agam go *id, dod*, srl. os íseal nuair a thosaíonn an t-ainmfhocal ina ndiaidh ar chonsan (m.sh. *it che**a**n* > *id che**a**n*, líne 23*a*).

- Úsáidim lúibíní cearnacha chun litreacha nach bhfuil sa LS a chur ar fáil (m.sh. *nár* > *ná*[*i*]*r*).

- I gcás athruithe eile, gheofar léamha na LSe ag bun an leathanaigh.

Teanga

Athruithe tosaigh ar lorg ainmfhocal
Tá séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam sna línte seo a leanas:

- ar lorg ainmneach uatha baininscneach i líne 20*b* (*ní cóir ná budh coinne s*[***h***]*ídh*).

- ar lorg ainmfhocal san uimhir iolra a chríochnaíonn ar chonsan caol i líne 14*d* (*sluaigh t*[***h***]*ionáil thort as gach tír*).

- ar lorg tabharthach uatha i línte 6*c* (*bean do mhuigh C*[***h***]*ruachan do chóir*), 17*d* (*teachta ó fhóir C*[***h***]*ruachan do-chím*), 18*c* (*budh lucht ainbhreath i ngort g*[***h***]*liadh*), agus 23*d* (*ná bí thall id thoirchim t*[***h***]*rom*).[4]

- ar lorg ginideach uatha den chineál a séimhítear ar a lorg sa teanga chlasaiceach i líne 12*c* (*budh hé críoch do chadail t*[***h***]*ruim*).

An réamhfhocal 'gan'
I bhfianaise an tsampla le deimhniú meadarachta i línte 40*ab* den dán *Biaidh athroinn ar Inis Fáil* (.i. *Ní gan f**h**áth innisim sin / draoi Chormaic mheic Airt Éinfhir*), tá séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam ar lorg an réamhfhocail *gan* i líne 8*b* (*a cobhair nī gnáth gan g*[***h***]*liaidh*) agus i líne 11*b* (*gan síth re Gallaibh gan g*[***h***]*liaidh*), mar a bheimis ag súil leis sa teanga chlasaiceach.

Meadaracht

Rannaíocht mhór, dán díreach, meadaracht an dáin seo agus tagann leagan na LSe leis na rialacha a ghabhann leis an meadaracht seo den chuid is mó. De réir riachtanais na meadarachta seo, ní mór cuibheas inmheánach de shaghas éigin a bheith ann idir na haiceantaigh i línte *a–b* (féach Ní Dhomhnaill 1975, 77), ach glactar leis nach mbeadh gá le comhardadh slán chomh déanach seo sa tréimhse (tuilleadh plé in Breatnach 2017). Tá cuibheas feiliúnach ann idir

[4]Tá séimhiú curtha ar fáil ar lorg tabharthach uatha i bhfianaise an tsampla le deimhniú meadarachta i línte 9cd den dán *Biaidh athroinn ar Inis Fáil* (.i. *dob indéinimh go réidh rinn / do fhréimh f**h**innÉibhir d'Éirinn*). Bheimis ag súil le séimhiú ar lorg focal sa tabharthach uatha sa teanga chlasaiceach, agus deimhníonn an sampla seo gurbh é sin an polasaí a bhí ag ár bhfile.

na haiceantaigh i ngach *seóladh* síos tríd an dán, ach amháin gur cosúil go bhfuil an locht meadarachta *cáoiche* ann in 2*ab* (*trom* : *trom*), 9*ab* (*dhúsgadh* : *dhúsgadh*), 12*ab* (*bhrath* : *brat*[*h*]) agus 18*ab* (*chur* : *chur*). Tá dhá shampla den locht céanna sna leathrainn deiridh 9*cd* (*dhaoibh* : *dhaoibh*) agus 12*cd* (*críoch* : *críoch*).

BREACADH

Tugtar faoi deara go mbíonn cuibheas breise (comhardadh slán) taobh istigh de rainn/leathrainn go han-mhinic i bhfilíocht Uilliam Óig Mhic an Bhaird. Táim ag glacadh leis gur samplaí den ghléas ornáidithe *breacadh* iad seo, seachas lochtanna ar an meadaracht (féach Ní Dhomhnaill 1975: 45–54). Tá * curtha agam leis an bhfocal más é focal deiridh na líne:

3*a*	—	3*b*	*dhíol** *dual*	3*c*	*bhríogh* *ghruadh**	3*d*	*ghníomh, thríom** *luadh*
9*a*	*díol*	9*b*	*dhíol**	9*c*	—	9*d*	*fhíor**
10*a*	*leam**[5]	10*b*	—	10*c*	*leam**	10*d*	*fhearr*
12*a*	*Cuinn**[5]	12*b*	—	12*c*	*thruim**	12*d*	*Chuinn*
16*a*	*Slóigh,* (*tós*)	16*b*	*dóigh*	16*c*	*cóir, dóigh*	16*d*	*dóibh*
17*a*	*tír*	17*b*	*Trír**	17*c*	—	17*d*	*do-chím**
18*a*	*Lucht*	18*b*	—	18*c*	*lucht*, *ngurt*	18*d*	*th'ucht*
20*a*	*gcoinne*	20*b*	*coinne*	20*c*	*chloinne*	20*d*	*choinne*

Dúnadh
Tá dúnadh cuí ann ag deireadh an dáin:

> 1*a*. ***Trom*** *an suan-sa ort, a Aodh*
> 23*d*. *ná bí thall id thoirchim* ***throm***.

CEANNSCRÍBHINN

> Uilliam Óg M*ac* an Bhaird do chan so, acc brosd*adh* Aodh[a] m[h]*ei*c Maghn*as*a.
>
> 'Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird composed this, inciting Aodh son of Maghnas.'

[5]Is cosúil go raibh an comhardadh slán seo idir déanaigh línte *a*–*c* ceadaithe i rannaíocht mhór agus rannaíocht bheag agus na riachtanais do *bhreacadh* arna gcomhlíonadh (féach Ní Dhomhnaill 1975, 51–3, le haghaidh tuilleadh plé agus samplaí eile).

Téacs

1. Trom an suan-sa ort, a Aodh;
nī chuala socht mar an suan;
a gcuala sin*n* róm dā rádh
nī mór nach nár lin*n* a luadh.

2. A-táthar trom oraibh uaidh
id chodladh gi[dh] trom a-táidh;
labhair re bhar b[h]fád[h]aibh f*é*in,
tabh*air* f[h]r*ēi*mh Dál*aigh* id dháil.

3. Gabh do bhrosd*adh* uaim, a Aodh,
gā holl*amh* nach dual do dhíol?
B*ea*g an bhrīogh — g*rí*osadh do gh*ru*adh —
luadh do ghníomh dā dtíos*adh* th*rí*om.

4. Red shuan is dealaighthe dhaoibh
go l*ea*thnaighthe do luadh ráidh;
sreath do chomh*aibh* ar chloin*n* Néill,
nā boing chéill do chobhair chāigh.

5. Cuir f*ea*sda — is fada do shuan! —
ar fhearaibh Mumhan do mhaor,
a*cht* muna rabh sé ar bhar síodh,
nā bīodh cradh 'gun té red thaobh.

Aistriúchán

1. Heavy is your slumber, Aodh; I have never heard of a peaceful period like this one; I am almost ashamed to mention what I have heard said in my presence.
2. However heavy your sleep may be, you are being criticised because of it; speak to your own wise men, gather the descendants of Dálach around you.
3. Embrace this incitement from me, Aodh, what poet should not be paid? If I were to recite your achievements, it would not be very impressive, [causing] your cheeks to blush.
4. You must awaken from your sleep so that the recitation [of your achievements] may be expanded; a series of tributes are owed [to you] by the family of Niall, do not despair of the support of others.
5. Long is your slumber! Set hereafter your steward upon the Munstermen, but do not allow him who is near you to have wealth if he is not at peace with you.

Léamha

1*c*. romhainn
2*b*. cholladh
3*d*. ~~dhiom~~ th*rí*om
4*a*. dealaidhthe
5*d*. réd

6. Nā bí ag anmhain sa[n] tír thuaidh,
gach críoch go ngabhth*air* a géill,
b*ea*n do mhuigh C[h]*ru*achan do chóir —
t'uath*adh* slóigh nā cuir i gcéill.

7. Nī hanta ag fiadhach nō ag fíon
an triallsoin ō tharla i ndán —
ráth T*ea*mhr*ach* cuir as a claon —
an tAodh *Ea*ng[h]ach ruibh dā rádh!

8. Ion*n*saig[h] trā t[h]ulaigh an Trír —
a cobhair nī gnáth gan g[h]liaidh;
cia dod thr*ēa*d nachar bhr*ēa*g Bōin*n*?
Nā féag róimh, nā dé[a]g id dhiaidh.

9. Do dhúsgadh ō's díol dom dhán
do-ním led dhūsgadh mar dhíol;
lór dhaoibh i ndēine do shuan,
dhaoibh is dual Éire, más f[h]íor.

10. Mar do-nī-se is n*ea*mhbāidh l*ea*m,
ar bh*ea*gán don tír-si thall;
tú gan lasair nī lōr leam,
mór gurb[h] f[h]earr i nglasaibh Gall.

6. Do not tarry in the northern land until the hostages of every land are taken; take from the plain of Cruacha that which is owed to you — do not act as though your host is small.

7. Relieve the fort of Tara from her collapsed state — hunting and feasting should not continue while that endeavour is destined — you are being called Aodh Eanghach!

8. Approach, therefore, the mound of the Three; she is not normally helped without [engaging in] battle; who of your flock was not enticed by the Boyne? Look neither before you nor behind you.

9. I am waking you up and I will consider it a payment for my poem; you have slept enough, Ireland should be yours, it seems.

10. I disapprove of what you are doing [confining yourself to] this small patch of land; I believe it is not good enough for you to be without a flame, being in English shackles would be greatly preferable (?).

8*d*. feach
10*a*. ni sé; 10*c*. lassair; 10*d*. nglassaibh

11. Mar taoi id chodladh sa[n] tír thuaidh
gan síth re Gall*aibh*, gan g[h]liaidh —
beir maicne Dál*aigh* id dháil —
ná[i]r le haicme mbádh*aigh* mBriain.

12. Bīodh do bhrath ar Bhanbha Cuin*n*,
gabhth*ar* an brat[h] as a bheinn —
b*udh* hē críoch do chadail t[h]*ru*im —
críoch Chuin*n* agaibh as a h*e*irr.

13. Is tráth dhó a ngrīos*adh* do-gheibh
ar Bhóin*n*, dā dtíos*adh* a thail
triall as an toirchim a b[h]fuil —
nī fhuil fiadh gan oirchill air.

14. Aodh Eang[h]ac[h] do fhocail fáidh
do chobhair T*ea*mhrach an Trír;
mac Siobháin ar dtocht a-tuaidh
slua[i]gh t[h]ionáil thort as gach tír.

15. Til*idh* Aodh *Ea*ng[h]ach gach iath;
do shaor na T*ea*mhr*ach* is tráth;
mith*idh* l*ea*m adhn*adh* dā fhíoch —
bíoth 'na chean*n* nō cabhradh cách.

11. The amiable O'Briens consider it shameful that you are sleeping in the northern land, making neither peace nor war with the English — gather the sons of Dálach around you!

12. Let your objective be Ireland, an objective which is achieved from the top [and] Ireland will be yours by its end — it will be the end of your heavy slumber.

13. It is time for him to challenge those across the Boyne, if his will to leave his slumber comes — no land can be taken without first preparing for it.

14. Aodh Eanghach is destined to assist Tara of the Three; Siobhán's son coming from the north [with] hosts massing around you from every land.

15. Aodh Eanghach controls every land; it is high-time, I believe, for him to incite his fury and free Tara — let all support (?) or help him.

11*a*. coll*adh*
12*c*. chad*aidh* (?)
13*c*. toirrchim
14*c*. Siubhain, ~~an trír~~ a thuaidh
15*d*. biodh

16. Slōigh Uladh ar tós ag triall,
nī dóigh na curaidh do chládh —
cóir dóigh as an damhna ríogh —
Banbha do dhīon dōibh i ndán.

17. Beir*idh* cobhair ōn tír thuaidh,
ō Aodh ar thulaigh an Trír;
ní ba heachtra ar uath*adh* slóigh,
t*eacht*a ō fhōir C[h]*ru*achan do-chím.

18. Lucht Dan*ar* do chur tar cuan,
T*ea*mhair do chur as a claon;
b*udh* lucht ainbh*re*ath i ngurt g[h]liadh
fian Laighneach as th'ucht, a Aodh.

19. Nī dísle d'Aodh Ulaidh féin,
dā ghaol na curaidh ō Chliaigh;
Muimhn*igh* nā brosdadh go Bōin*n* —
fóir Luimn*igh* dā mbrosd*adh* biaidh.

20. Lēigfid i gcoin*n*e cóig sluaigh,
nī cóir nā b*udh* coin*n*e s[h]ídh,
ag t*eacht* fa choim chloin*n*e Ī Nēill,
Goill f*ē*in id choin*n*e do-chím.

16. The hosts of Ulster travelling first, [since] the protection of Ireland is their destiny, these warriors are unlikely to be turned back — it is right to place hope in the king to be.

17. Aodh will bring help to the mound of the Three from the northern land; it will not be an endeavour with a small host, [as] I see messengers coming from the war-band of Connacht.

18. The warrior band of Leinster will be making exhorbitant demands on the battle-field on your behalf, Aodh, to drive the foreigners out to sea, restoring Tara from her collapsed state.

19. The Ulstermen themselves are not more loyal to Aodh; the warriors from Cliú are of his kin; let him not rush the Munstermen to the Boyne (?) — the warrior-band of Limerick will be hastening them [there on his behalf].

20. Five hosts will gather, rightly it would be a peaceful encounter arriving under the protection of the families of Niall's descent — the Gall (.i. Anglo-Normans) themselves I see supporting you.

17*a*. thuaith; 17*b*. thulaidh; 17*c*. nib*udh*; sluaigh
19*c*. brosdaigh

21. Meic rīogh sa[n] chonair n*ār* clódh
dod dhíon romhaibh ar an raon;
cuiream sor*aidh* le bhar suan,
cluineam luadh oraibh, a Aodh.

22. Beid ort ag sgaoil*eadh* a sgeóil,
Gaoidhil ag tocht as gach taoibh;
th'aire re ráth Ēibhir d'uaim,
nī trāth suain do dhéinimh dhaoibh.

23. Cuir brosd*adh* ar chách id ch*ea*n*n*,
an fád mar do chosain Con*n*
nī cóir rí gan oirchill an*n*;
nā bí thall id thoirchim throm.

21. The sons of kings steadfast in their paths provide you with protection on the way; let us hear mention of you, Aodh, let us bid your slumber farewell!

22. Gaels coming from all directions will be spreading their message about you; your intention of uniting Éibhir's fort (.i. Tara), it is not time for you to be sleeping.

23. Incite all who are in support (?) of you, it is not right to have an unready king over the land that Conn protected; do not remain there in your heavy slumber.

21*b*. as (*in áit* ar); 21*c*. cuirim; 21*d*. cluinim
22*c*. Eimhir; 22*d*. dh*ea*namh
23*d*. thoirrchim

Nótaí

1*c*. Tá *romhainn* na LSe athraithe agam go *róm* chun líon ceart siollaí agus cuibheas inmheánach a chur ar fáil (*róm* : *mór*).

2*d*. Teastaíonn foirm an áinsígh uatha den ainmfhocal *fréamh* sa líne seo ionas go mbeidh aicill ann (*féin* : *f*[*h*]*réimh*), agus tá séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam tar éis *tabhair* (.i. modh ordaitheach, 2 uatha).

3. Aistriúchán malartach: *Gabh do bhrosdadh uaim, a Aodh, gā hollamh nach dual do dhíol — beag an bhrīogh gríosadh do ghruadh — luadh do ghníomh dā dtíosadh thríom.* 'Let me incite you, Aodh; what poet should not be paid for the recitation of your deeds that may come as a result of me [inciting you] — there is little point in shaming you [into action].'

4*d*. Maidir le 'do not despair of' mar aistriúchán ar *ná boing chéill do,* féach *DIL* s.v. cíall (e).

5*d*. Maidir le 'he who is dependent on you' mar aistriúchán ar [*an*] *té red thaobh*, féach *DIL* s.v. taeb 3 (c).

7*ab*. D'fhéadfadh an chéad **-*a-*** in *Ní h**a**nta* a bheith meánach nó gearr agus é ag teacht roimh an gcarn *-nt-* mar seo (féach Ó Curnáin 2012: 348–9). Léiríonn an céile cuibhis (*tharla*) go bhfuil sé meánach sa chás seo.

8*cd*. Ionas go mbeidh cuibheas inmheánach sa leathrann seo, ní mór *feach* na LSe a athrú go *féag* (: *bhréag*), agus fágann an t-athrú seo cuibheas breise sa leathrann (*thréad* : *bhréag* : *féag* : *déag*). Is díol suime é go bhfuil comhardadh slán idir ceithre aiceantach inmheánacha mar seo. Féach go bhfuil sampla eile de seo sa dán *Tréan ríogh uaisligheas ollamh*, línte 21*cd*: *gá **geall** is **fhearr** rem agra? Fa **gheall** is **fhearr** iontagra* 'what better security have I for my suit? It is a security which is best discussed' (Mac a' Ghoill 2020: 74).

12*cd*. Tagraíonn an forainm firinscneach *hé* i líne 12*c* don ainmfhocal firinscneach *brath* i línte 12*ab*. Tagraíonn an forainm sealbhach *a h-* i líne 12*d* don ainmfhocal baininscneach *críoch* sa líne roimhe.

13*c*. Tá an dara *-r-* bainte agam den fhocal *toir*(*r*)*chim* anois toisc nach bhfuil ann ach léiriú ar shíneadh meánach agus nach cuid de bhunlitriú an fhocail é (féach *DIL* s.vv. toirchim agus tairthím).

14*cd*. Is cosúil go bhfuil sampla anseo den locht *agallaimh agus fáisnéis* (féach *IGT* V §§23, 122; agus *BST* 224.18–26), áit a labhraíonn an file faoin bpátrún (.i. 14*c* ***mac Siobháin** ar dtocht a-tuaidh*) agus leis an bpátrún (.i. 14*d sluaigh thionáil **thort** as gach tír*) taobh istigh de rann amháin. Gheofar tuilleadh plé in Ó Baoill (1990: 377–92) agus Sims-Williams (2005: 315–26).

15*d*. Níl mé go hiomlán cinnte faoin aistriúchán seo ós rud é gur féidir *'na cheann* a aistriú mar 'in support of him' (féach *DIL* s.v. 1 cenn IV 47) nó mar 'in opposition to him' (féach *DIL* s.v. 1 cenn IV 45). D'fhéadfaí an líne seo a aistriú mar 'let all be [either] in opposition to him or in support of him' freisin.

Tá an éiginnteacht chéanna agam i gcás líne 23*a*. D'fhéadfaí an líne a aistriú mar 'Incite all those who are in opposition to you' freisin.

19*cd*. Ní ritheann aon bhealach eile le *nā brosdaigh* na LSe a léamh seachas mar *brosdaidh* sa mhodh ordaitheach, 3ú uatha (.i. *ná brosdadh*; *IGT* III §80) cé nach dtagann an tuiscint seo go han-mhaith le brí an rainn ina iomláine, dar liom.

Tá an briathar seo ann arís i líne 19*d* (*dā mbrosd*adh), an t-ainm briathartha an uair seo, a chiallaíonn nach bhfuil an locht meadarachta *cáoiche* sa leathrann (féach *ABP* §2, líne 69).

20*a*. Tá *slóigh* na LS athraithe agam go *sluaigh* ionas nach mbeidh aicill neamh-mheadarúil idir é agus *cóir* i líne 20*b*.

20*b*. Tá diúltach dúbailte sa líne seo nach bhfuil léirithe agam san aistriúchán. Ba litriúla 'it is not right that it would not be a peaceful encounter'.

20*c*. Is iarméarla é *Í* sa líne seo, agus báitear é ar lorg *chloinne* (féach Ní Dhomhnaill 1975: 10–11).

21*b*. Is ar mhaithe le ciall an rainn atá *as* na LSe athraithe agam go *ar*.

23*a*. Maidir leis an aistriúchán ar *id cheann*, féach nóta 15*d* thuas.

23*d*. Maidir leis an dara *-r-* atá bainte agam den fhocal *thoir*(*r*)*chim*, féach nóta 13*c* thuas.

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Philip Mac a' Ghoill

Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath

DUANAIRE I LÁIMH AN ÚDAIR: FILÍOCHT EOGHAIN RUAIDH MHIC AN BHAIRD I LEABHAR INGHINE Í DHOMHNAILL

Achoimre

Dírítear aird san alt seo ar shraith dánta leis an bhfile Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird atá scríofa i dteannta a chéile i mír amháin de Leabhar Inghine Í Dhomhnaill (KBR 6131–33, fol. 22–27), agus áitítear gur autograf i láimh údair na ndánta atá sa scríbhinn. Bunaítear an argóint ar chomparáid phailéagrafaíochta idir peannaireacht na ndánta agus dhá sholaoid eile de láimh Mhic an Bhaird a aithníodh cheana féin, ceann díobh sa lámhscríbhinn chéanna (ar fol. 28) (Breatnach 2001), agus an ceann eile i measc chnuasach na mBráthar Mionúr sa Choláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Cliath (UCD-OFM A 14, fol. ix) (Breatnach 2008). Neartaíonn an ardcháilíocht théacsúil a bhaineann le cóipeanna na ndánta sa scríbhinn le fianaise na peannaireachta.

1.

Aicme scríbhinní ar leithligh in annála na seachadaíochta liteartha is ea an chuid acu a tháinig anuas i lámha na n-údar a chum iad. Nuair is údar cáiliúil a bhíonn i gceist bíonn luach speisialta lena scríbhinn mar chuimhniú míos ar an té sin. Más scríbhinn í a bhfuil ceartúcháin nó leasuithe nach iad scríofa isteach ag an údar inti bíonn tairbhe mór eile le háireamh léi, ina cáilíocht mar fhianaise ar intinn an scríbhneora le linn na cumadóireachta, nó ar an bpróiseas cruthaitheach féin, mar is féidir a rá. Tá samplaí tábhachtacha de scríbhinní den chineál seo ón traidisiún Gaeilge scrúdaithe agam sa leabhar *The Four Masters and their Manuscripts* (Breatnach 2013) i gcomhartha dul amach ar an bpróiseas cumtha a bhain le saothair na bhfear léannta úd, Annála Ríoghachta Éireann ina measc. Staidéar eile a bhfuil an cineál anailíse céanna mar aidhm leis is ea *On the Ó Cléirigh Recension of Leabhar Gabhála* ina bhfuil leagan óna láimh féin den Leabhar Gabhála a réitigh Cú Coigcríche Ó Cléirigh mionphléite (Breatnach 2010).[1]

Tá scríbhinní éagsúla na gCeithre Máistrí eisceachtúil ó thaobh stádais agus scála dhe sa traidisiún Gaeilge dar ndóigh, agus is saothair staire iad seachas scríbhinní liteartha sa ghnáthchiall. Nuair a chasaimid i dtreo litríocht na véarsaíochta sa Ghaeilge, níl an soláthar scríbhinní a tháinig anuas i lámha

[1]Le cois an dá shaothar ainmnithe feic chomh maith a bhfuil de thrácht ar scríbhinn nua-aitheanta próis óna láimh féin le hEoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird san alt a bhfuil tagairt dó thíos ar lch 315 (Breatnach 2008).

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na n-údar a cheap iad in aon ghiorracht do bheith chomh toirtiúil leis an ábhar staire sin. Ní nach iontach is líonmhaire go mór a bhfuil ar fáil d'ábhar dá leithéid ón 18ú agus ón 19ú haois — amhráin an traidisiúin aiceanta a bhíonn i gceist — ná ó aon tréimhse is luaithe ná í. Ar na húdair idir 1700–1850 a bhfuil saothair dheimhnithe leo tagtha slán chugainn i riocht autograf tá na máistrí móra Muimhneacha Eoghan Ó Caoimh, Aodh Buí agus Aindrias Mac Cruitín, Piaras Mac Gearailt, Uilliam Mac Cairteáin an Dúna, Seán na Ráithíneach Ó Murchú, Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin, agus Mícheál Ó Longáin. Má fhágtar Seán na Ráithíneach as áireamh ón liosta sin (de bhrí gur eisceacht é a bhfuil suas lena leath dá shaothar iomlán san imleabhar cáiliúil óna láimh atá i Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann, LS G 321), níl le fáil scríofa ina láimh féin ó aon údar eile dá bhfuil ainmnithe, formhór an ama, ach dán aonair nó cúpla dán. Ach dá laghad é an soláthar, níl aon chás orthu ná gur fiú é a scrúdú go cáiréiseach mion mar bhunfhoinse eolais ar phróiseas na cumadóireachta, fiú amháin muna mbeadh á chuardach sa scríbhinn ach tuiscint níos cruinne ar aigne an fhile maidir le láimhseáil na meadarachta aiceanta féin, mar shampla, gan trácht ar aon ghné eile den ghníomh cruthaitheach a bhíonn ar taispeáint.

Ag díriú aird i dtreo an chineál filíochta a shaothraigh an té a bhfuil a ainm luaite i dteideal an pháipéir seo — filíocht an traidisiúin chlasaicigh — is ar éigin más gá a shuíomh nach bhfuil ach fíorbheagán dánta den aicme sin tar éis teacht anuas i bpeannaireacht na n-údar a chum. File amháin a bhfuil saothar leis seachadta i gcóip óna láimh féin is ea an Gael Albanach ón 17ú haois Cathal Mac Muireadhaigh. Tá leathchéad éigin bliain ó shin ó chuir David Greene (nach maireann) dán díreach a chum an file sin in eagar ó chóip autograf, *Sona do cheird, a Chalbhaigh* (15 r.), agus — iontas na n-iontas — is é seo a bhí le rá ag an bhfear eagair ag trácht dó ar cháilíocht an téacs a fuair sé roimhe sa lámhscríbhinn:

> 'The text presents many difficulties, the most important of which is that in several places it departs from strict metre, which is the more surprising when we consider that Cathal was capable of writing correctly.' (Greene 1968: 51)[2]

Ar an mbeagán beag solaoidí eile atá againn de shaothair ó lámha lucht a gcumtha tá cóip den dán cáiliúil úd leis an bhfile Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird, *Dána an turas trialltar sonn*, a scríobh sé ar dhuilleog den lámhscríbhinn ar a dtugtar 'Leabhar Inghine Í Dhomhnaill'; agus tá tuaiplisí meadarachta agus lochtanna eile nach iad tugtha faoi deara i dtéacs na cóipe sin chomh maith is atá i gcóip an dáin le Mac Muireadhaigh. Lámhscríbhinn í Leabhar Inghine Í Dhomhnaill ón gcéad leath den 17ú haois atá ar coimeád i leabharlann ríoga na Bruiséile (KBR, MS 6131–33).[3] Tá céad éigin go leith

[2]Cf. (i suímh chomhardaidh): mhuic : orrduirc, domhan : ealadhuin, uair : duan, rádh : clódh, dhúinn : cúl etc. Tá beagán dánta eile i bpeannaireacht Mhic Mhuireadhaigh foilsithe ag Matheson (1963, 1964) ar dócha gurb é an té a scríobh a chum; ach is beag le háireamh na lochtanna den chineál atá aitheanta in *Sona do cheird a Chalbhaigh* a thugtar faoi deara sna cóipeanna sin.

[3]Tá teacht anois (Nollaig 2019) ar na lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge san Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België (KBR) ar Irish Script on Screen — Meamram Páipéar Ríomhaire (www.isos.dias.ie) maraon le clár sealadach ó údar an ailt seo (Breatnach 2019).

de dhuilleoga inti, agus is é atá sa chuid tosaigh di (fol. 1–27) sraith dánta in onóir do dhaoine éagsúla de Chlann Dálaigh Thír Chonaill (Uí Dhomhnaill).[4] Tá an chuid áirithe sin den leabhar scríofa den chuid is mó i bpeannaireacht shlachtmhar rialta ag dhá phríomhscríobhaí — rud a thaispeáineann gur mar dhuanaire foirmeálta a chuathas i mbun an leabhar a chur le chéile an chéaduair. Ach ní mar a chéile do na lámha atá sa chuid eile den leabhar (ó fol. 28r ar aghaidh) a bhíonn ar easpa slachta go minic, agus na leathanaigh líonta le hábhar meascaithe idir phrós is fhilíocht, a lán de gan baint in aon chor nó ar éigin aige leis na Dálaigh.

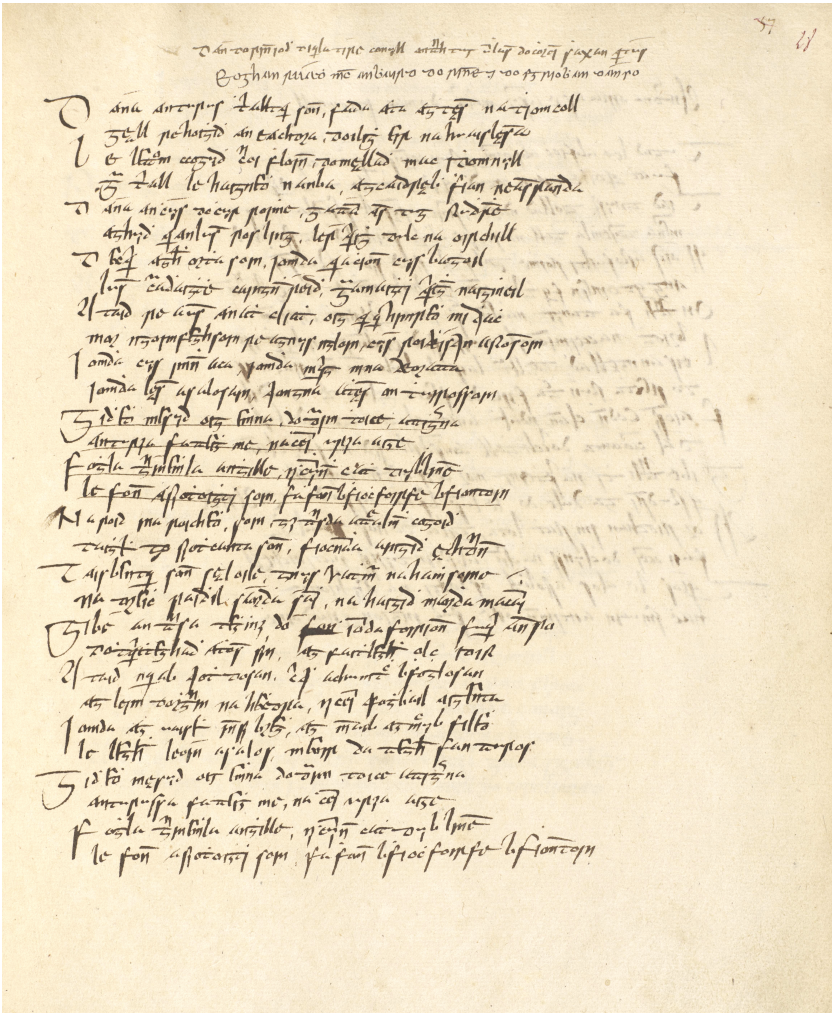
Tá na focail 'Leabhar Inghine Í Dhomhnaill' scríofa mar theideal ar chlúdach an leabhair i láimh dhéanach, agus thaispeáin Pól Breathnach i bhfad ó shin gurb í 'inghean' a bhí i gceist sa teideal sin ná Nuala (Nualaidh), iníon Aodha mhic Mhaghnais Uí Dhomhnaill, deirfiúr do na deartháireacha Aodh Ruadh, Rudhraighe agus Cathbharr (Walsh 1947: 179–205). Bhí sise sa chuideachta a d'fhág Éire in éineacht le hIarlaí Thír Eoghain agus Tír Chonaill i Meán Fómhair 1607 agus a bhain cathair Lobháin amach ar dtúis, sular ghluaiseadar ar aghaidh chun na Róimhe in Earrach na hathbhliana a bhí chucu. D'fhill sí ar an Ísiltír níos déanaí (*c.* 1613) agus fuair sí bás ann uair éigin roimh 1633. Roimh an am sin, mar sin, is ea a tosnaíodh ar an gcnuasach dánta a réiteach di.[5] Tháinig an t-imleabhar i seilbh Choláiste San Antoine na bProinsiasach ó Éirinn i Lobháin tar éis a báis, ní foláir; agus is ansin a tugadh faoin ábhar nach bhfuil dlúthbhainteach le Clann Dálaigh a bhreacadh isteach sa leabhar ó am go ham, i lámha difriúla a bhfuil cuid mhaith díobh aitheanta ó scríbhinní eile faoin tráth seo (Breatnach 2001: 380; 2007: 16–18; 2013: 144).

Is é rud is mó a thaispeáineann gurbh í Nuala an té ar cuireadh tús leis an leabhar ar a son, lasmuigh den teideal ar an gclúdach, ná tagairtí a bheith déanta di i roinnt dánta a bhfuil Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird luaite mar údar leo ann. Bhí dlúthcheangal oidhreachta ag Eoghan Ruadh le Clann Dálaigh agus le teaghlach athair Nuala go speisialta. Tá sé ainmnithe maraon léi mar dhuine den chomhluadar a d'fhág Éire leis na hIarlaí, agus do réir thuairisce ón bhfear féin sa dán leis *A bhean fuair faill ar an bhfeart*, mar a gcuireann sé forrán uirthi (Knott 1960) — tá cóip de ar fol. 22v de leabhar Nuala — bhí sé in éineacht léi sa Róimh bliain níos déanaí (1608) chun a deartháireacha Rudhraighe agus Cathbharr a fuair bás ann i mí Iúil a chaoineadh.[6] An fhianaise is luaithe ar chaidreamh an fhile léi ná dhá rann 'iargomhairc' ina honóir atá curtha leis an dán ar tagraíodh thuas dó agus a bhfuil cóip de ó láimh an fhile in KBR

[4]Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill (5 dhán); Rudhraighe Ó Domhnaill (5 dhán); a ndeirfiúr Nuala (1 dán); a n-athair Aodh (mac Maghnais) (1 dán); a gcol ceathrar an tAlbanach Séamus Mac Domhnaill (1 dán); Aodh mac le Rudhraighe (3 dhán); Niall Garbh (an tréatúir, fear céile Nuala) (1 dán); Neachtain mac Néill Gh. (1 dán); Aodh Ruadh I (†1505) (1 dán); Domhnall Ó Domhnaill (†1420) (1 dán).

[5]Tá *laisser passer* dar dáta 1622 scríofa ar dhuille greamaithe leis an gclúdach cúil den lámhscríbhinn ón taobh istigh; feic an clár ar-líne (Breatnach 2019: KBR 6131–33, 'Inside back cover (c)'); cf. Walsh 1947: 186–7). Ós rud é nach fios cathain a greamaíodh an duille leis an gclúdach ní féidir an cháipéis féin a áireamh mar fhianaise gur 'tiomsaíodh' cuid an duanaire den lámhscríbhinn 'sa bhliain 1622' (*pace* Ó hUiginn 2007: 45).

[6]Feic thíos lch 316.



Pl. 1 KBR 6131–33, fol. 28r ©KBR

6131–33, *Dána an turas trialltar sonn* (Bergin 1970: uimh. 2). Do Rudhraighe Ó Domhnaill a cumadh é sin nuair a chuaigh sé go Baile Átha Cliath agus é ar a shlí go Londain chun glacadh lena ghradam mar 'Iarla Thíre Conaill' ó choróin Shasana sa bhliain 1603. Ar fol. 28rv sa leabhar atá an chóip (Pl. **1** KBR 6131–33, fol. 28r), í suite ag deireadh na coda foirmeálta den chnuasach ar na Dálaigh; agus tá na focail seo leanas scríofa os cionn tosach an dáin i dhá líne mar cheannscríbhinn.

> Dán do rin*n*iodh dia*r*la tíre conuill ant*ra*th tug u*mh*la*cht* do choroi*n* shaxan a*r* tús / Eoghan rúadh m*ac* an bhaird do rin*ne* ⁊ do sgriobh an dán so.

> 'A poem which was made for the Earl of Tyrconnell when he first made submission to the Crown of England / Eoghan Rúadh Mac an Bhaird made and wrote this poem.'

In alt dar teideal 'A poet's autograph in the Book of O'Donnell's Daughter' a foilsíodh scór blianta ó shin (Breatnach 2001) chuireas romham a thaispeáint gur féidir géilleadh sa tslánchruinne don cheannscríbhinn sin mar fhaisnéis údarásach iontaofa. Níl fúm mionsonraí na hargóna a thabhairt uaim arís anseo, dar ndóigh. Ach ní foláir roinnt príomhphointí a thabhairt amach is a threisiú le hionchas an téis atá luaite i dteideal an pháipéir reatha seo a chur i láthair.

2.

Foclaíocht na ceannscríbhinne

Is féidir solaoidí den fhoclaíocht 'do rinne agus do scríobh', nó a leithéid eile dlúthghaolmhar léi, a thabhairt faoi deara i gcolafain agus/nó nótaí ó scríobhaithe éagsúla i lámhscríbhinní ón 17ú agus ón 18ú haois, mar a mbíonn an chiall litriúil chéanna léi is atá bainte aisti sa cheannscríbhinn ar fol. 28r. Solaoid dár tagraíodh san alt thuasluaite ón mbliain 2001 is ea nóta sa lámhscríbhinn RIA 23 L 37 (scríofa idir 1706–1709) ón scríobhaí léannta Seaghan Stac, a chuir sé le cóip a thrascríobh sé as scríbhinn i láimh Dháibhí Uí Bhruadair de dhán dar tosach *Créad í an anbhuain so ar Éirinn* (Séafraidh Ó Donnchadha cct.). Gabhann véarsa le deireadh an téacs a chuir Ó Bruadair mar amhrán ceangail a chum sé féin mar chomaoin ar an téacs sa bhliain 1672. Tá gníomh na scríbhneoireachta agus na cumadóireachta dealaithe go soiléir sa bhfoirm focal lena dtagraíonn Seaghan Stac dá fhoinse (marcálta i gcló trom anseo).

> Dáibhith Ua Bruadair (trócaire ó Dhia dho) **do sgríobh an dán ⁊ do rine an t-abhran** tuas an 25 lá do Shamhara .i. Satharn Cingcíse na bliaghna 1672, & ar na aithsgríobh le Seaghan Stac lá St Pól a mbliadhain ar slánuighthe 1708/9. (RIA 23 L 37 (303), 158; Mac Erlean (1910–17), II: 12; cf. Breatnach 2001: 381.)
>
> 'D. Ó B. (God's mercy upon him!) wrote the poem and composed the above verse (*abhran*) on the 25th day of Summer [i.e. May], that is Pentecost Saturday of the year 1672 and it has been transcribed by Seaghan Stac on the feast of St Paul in the year of our salvation 1708/09.' (Breatnach 2001: 382.)[7]

Tá péire solaoidí eile den fhoclaíocht tugtha faoi deara agam i bhfoinsí atá comhaimsireach le Leabhar Inghine Í Dhomhnaill. Sa chéad chás tagraíonn an scríobhaí do dhán dar tús *Saothrach bocht in doman so* (8 r.) a ghabhann díreach roimh an nóta seo leanas aige:

[7] Tá mionathruithe déanta anseo ar an aistriúchán a sholáthair Mac Erlean (1910–17), II 13.

> Mise Aodhagán **do chum ⁊ do sgrīobh** na hocht rain*n* b*h*eaca si*n* *agus* is olc in dubh. Caoicīs ó [a]niu lā fhēil Brighde … 1619 (MacNiocaill 1960–1: 254 in eagar as RIA C II 3 (1218), 3*i* [16ú haois]; cf. Mulchrone 1942: 3270).
>
> 'I am Aodhagán who composed and wrote those eight little quatrains and the ink is bad. A fortnight from today is St Brigid's day … 1619.'

Sa chás eile seo a leanann tagraíonn fear an nóta a bhreacadh (sealbhúdóir na lámhscríbhinne) do dhán *Triallam go caisleán [an] cheóil* (4 r.)[8] a fuair sé roimhe inti, agus tá dealú déanta aige idir an t-údar a chum an téacs agus an scríobhaí (roimhe féin) a dhein an trascríobh:

> Mo bhendacht ar anmuin an tí **do rinde na roind sin tsúas** .i. Criostóir Fléimenn, & go madh slán don tí **do sgríobh íad** .i. Eoghan mhac Díarmada mo mhuighistir Gaoidheilge féin san leabhar sa anno 1628. Misi Sean Ó Farandán qui in illis diebus hunc possidebam. (UCD-OFM MS A 25, 127.2 = Dillon *et al.* 1969: 53)
>
> 'My blessing on the soul of him who composed the above quatrains, i.e. Criostóir Fléimenn, and long life to him who wrote them, Eoghan son of Díarmaid, my own tutor in Irish, in this book anno 1628. I am Sean Ó Farandán qui in illis diebus hunc possidebam.'

Tá solaoid amháin eile ar an úsáid ar mithid í a chur leis an bpéire deireanach, ach ar déanaí í de chéad bliain ná iad. Nóta é seo a chuir Cormac Ó Dálaigh (file, scríobhaí agus duine de lucht aitheantais Aogáin Uí Raithile) mar chríoch le cóip de dhán dá dhéantús féin, *Mo dhollsighe diachrach dianguirt rinnmhar* (71 + 4 stt.) i lámhscríbhinn nár tháinig slán di ach an blúire seo amháin (idir théacs is nóta).

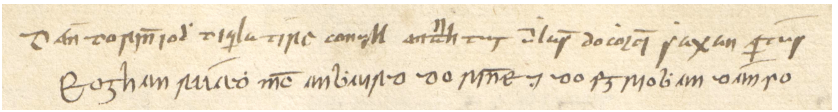
> Marbhna an Atharr Maoghnuis Ui Chaoimh noch déag a[g] Ccuillinn Ui Chaoimh an seachtmhadha lá don miosa Mairt annsa mbliadhain daois an Tiagharna mile seacht ccéad agus aon bhliaghuinn deag ar fhithchid 1732 **iairna sgriobh agus na deanamh** le Cormac Ó Dálaigh. (LNÉ, G 470, lch 1 = Ní Shéaghdha 1987: 61.)[9]
>
> 'The elegy of Fr Maoghnas Ó Caoimh who died in Cuileann Uí Chaoimh on the seventh day of the month of March in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty one, 1732 (*sic*), written and composed by Cormac Ó Dálaigh.'

[8] In eagar ag O'Rahilly (1927, uimh. 35 (feic lch 85 n.)); cf. O Nualláin (1939: 123–4).

[9] Lámhscríbhinn eile leis an scríobhaí seo ina bhfuil tuilleadh dá chuid cumadóireachta féin is ea LNÉ G 31.

Pailéagrafaíocht na duilleoige

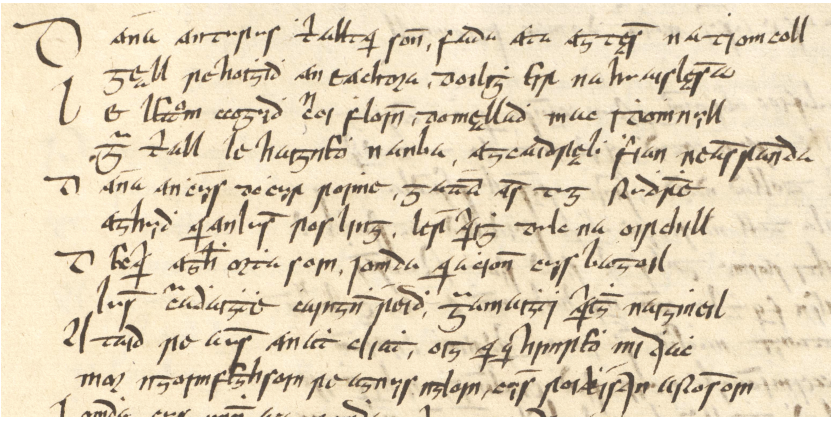
Is mithid súil ghéar a chaitheamh ar an nduilleog a sholáthraíonn an cheannscríbhinn is cás linn ar an ócáid seo (Pl. **1** KBR 6131–33, fol. 28r, lch 310 thuas), agus aird a dhíriú ar roinnt nithe speisialta. Ar an gcéad dul síos tugtar faoi deara go bhfuil téacs an dáin féin scríofa go han-chóngarach don imeall clé; tá an cheannscríbhinn bogtha isteach go lár na duilleoige os a chionn; agus tá toisí laghdaithe ag baint leis an gceannscríbhinn i gcomórtas leis an téacs a leanann í. Thar aon rud eile is gá a lua go bhfuil dhá láimh éagsúla le haithint sa cheannscríbhinn. Le dúch dubh a scríobhadh an chéad líne a thugann cuntas ar an ábhar; agus is le dúch donn a breacadh an líne ina diaidh, a sholáthraíonn ainm an údair. Tá difríochtaí suntasacha idir foirmeacha na litreacha san dá líne agus tá léiriú faoi leith le feiscint ar cheann de na difríochtaí sin sna foirmeacha atá ag an litir *d* iontu faoi seach (Pl. **1a** KBR 6131–33, fol. 28r1–2).



Pl. 1a KBR 6131–33, f. 28r (ll. 1–2) ©KBR

Trí fhoirm dhifriúla ar a laghad atá ag ***d*** sa chéad líne (***d***án/***d***o/***d***iarla; rinnio***dh***; agus ***d***o (choroi*n*)), ach níl aon cheann de na foirmeacha sin le cur in ionannas leis an gcrot atá ag ***d*** sa dara líne, a bhfuil cúig cinn de shamplaí di os ár gcomhair. Ins gach cás acu sin (rúa***dh***, bhair***d***, ***d***o, ***d***o, ***d***án) tá an scríob i mbarr na litreach tairgthe i dtreo an taoibh chlé ach titim nó log éadrom le haithint go soiléir ina lár. Scéitheann an fhoirm litreach sin ar an té a scríobh an líne. Mar tá an pheannaireacht chéanna tugtha faoi deara agam in áit eile sa lámhscríbhinn, ar fol. 38r–39v, ach toisí rialta a bheith aici. Aithnímid ón stíl dheascríofa, rithimiúil a bhaineann sa bhall sin léi gurb í peannaireacht an mhórscríobhaí cháiliúil ón 17ú haois, an Bráthair Míchéal Ó Cléirigh, atá inti.[10] Is é tábhacht is mó atá le toradh ár gcuid scrúdaithe ná seo: an Bráthair Míchéal a bheith mar fhínné leis gurbh é Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird *do rinne* ⁊ *do sgriobh* an téacs — caint nach bhféadfadh aon bhrí eile a bheith leis, mar a chonaiceamar, ach *qui scripsit composuit*. Lucht comhaimsire dá chéile ab ea Mac an Bhaird agus an Bráthair Míchéal, dar ndóigh, agus aithne ar a chéile acu ó ba Chonallaigh iad, agus ón mbaint a bhí acu araon le Coláiste San Antoine i Lobháin. Is amhlaidh a chuireann an t-eolas ar na lámha ar ár gcumas *terminus ante* socair a lua le cóip an dáin sa lámhscríbhinn. Bhí Ó Cléirigh ag obair in Éirinn ar feadh tuairim agus dosaen bliain ó 1626 ar aghaidh, ag cóipeáil lámhscríbhinní agus ag déanamh léinn. D'fhill sé ar Lobháin sa bhliain 1637 agus fuair bás ann 1643 (Breatnach 1999: 13), i dtreo gur uair éigin in imeacht an leathdosaen bliain sin a bhí ár lámhscríbhinn os a chomhair.

[10]Do thréithe na peannaireachta a chleacht an Br Míchéal, feic Breatnach (2013: 133–62, agus go háirithe lgh 135, 144).



Pl. 1b KBR 6131–33, fol. 28r3–12 (mír) [= ll. 1–10] ©KBR

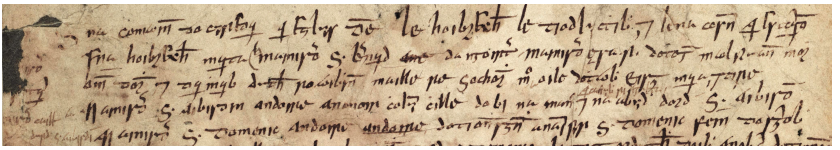
Maidir leis an láimh eile a scríobh an chéad líne den cheannscríbhinn, is fuiriste a fheiscint gurb ionann í agus an lámh a bhreac téacs an dáin féin (Pl. **1b** KBR 6131–33, fol. 28r3–12 [= ll. 1–10]). Peannaireacht dhlúth dhithneasach neamhfhoirmeálta atá inti seo. Tá titim dhomhain i dtreo an taoibh dheis aici a thugann cuma fhiarthrasna di, agus í cúinneach, rinneach. Tá an cháilíocht mhear atá ag baint léi le feiscint thar rud ar bith eile san símpliú i struchtúr litreacha áirithe, mar shampla *e* ina bhfuil idir chluas is teanga rite isteach in aon mhion-scríob amháin (Pl. **1a** l. 1 tír*e*, Pl. **1b** l. 5 roimh*e*); *a*, is í oscailte níos minicí ná a mhalairt (Pl. **1b** l. 2 huaisleacht*a*); *g* le bogha scríofa in aon stróc uilleach amháin faoin mbarr-scríob (Pl. **1a** l. 1 tu*g*); *r* agus *s* mar a bhfuil an scríob ghualann nach mór in easnamh (Pl. **1a** l. 1 tú*s*, Pl. **1b** l. 4 caid*r*eabh); agus na suas-scríobanna i gcás *l* agus *h* a bhíonn an-mhinic gan aon *serif* (nó 'cleite') (Pl. **1a** l. 1 iar*l*a, Pl. **1b** l. 2 eac*h*dra).

Tréithe suaithinseacha peannaireachta is ea an tiús méadaithe a thaispeáineann san suas-scríob i gcás *h* (agus í iarracht beag cuartha seachas díreach) (Pl. **1b** l. 9 *h*imreadh), sna síos-scríobanna i gcás *s*, *f*, *r* faoi seach (l. 5 'chúi*s*', l. 3 '*fh*loinn', l. 4 neacht*r*anda), agus atá le haithint i gcás an charachtair *q* (= ar, air < *quia*) agus go háirithe sna nasclitreacha *di* (l. 9 *dhi*ach),[11] *de* (l. 10 *dhé*is*di*n). Tá an tréith sin, leis, ag baint le barr na litreach *d* sna foirmeacha is coitianta a bhíonn aici agus ar tagraíodh do phéire díobh a bheith sa cheannscríbhinn ó chianaibh, viz. (i) foirm amháin ina síneann an bharrscríob suas le cúinne géar 45° faoi os cionn na litreach roimpi (bíonn an tsúil bhuin uilleach sna cásanna sin de ghnáth) (l. 7 'iom*d*a'); (ii) foirm eile ina gcríochnaíonn an bharrscríob shínte chéanna le cor beag is é casta suas agus aniar (Pl. **1** l. 13 (aca) iom*dh*a); (iii) foirm ina bhfuil idir shúil bhuin an-bheag agus drom tite le chéile in aon chuarscríob amháin (Pl. **1a** l. 1 *d*o, Pl. **1b** l. 9 Atái*d*); agus (iv) foirm uingeach úsáidte mar cheannlitir nó mar ghnáthlitir ina bhfuil an barr tarraingte ar chlé ina scríob chothrom dhíreach (Pl. **1a** l. 1 *D*án, Pl. **1b** l. 1 *D*ána).

[11] Cf. foirm eile, Pl. **1** l. 14 *di*ongna.

3.

I ndiaidh dom an cás a dhéanamh maidir le cé scríobh an chóip de *Dána an turas trialltar sonn* ar fol. 28rv de KBR 6131–33 (agus ceann feadhna na gCeithre Máistrí mar fhínné leis, dar ndóigh), tháinig eiseamláir eile den pheannaireacht cheanann chéanna faoi mo láimh i scríbhinn phróis atá ar fáil ar dhuilleog aonair atá ceangailte isteach le hábhar eile ó Lobháin in imleabhar i gcnuasach na bProinsiasach sa Choláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Cliath, UCD-OFM A 14, fol. ixrv (Pl. **2** UCD-OFM A 14, fol. ixr [mír shamplach]).[12]



Pl. 2 UCD-OFM A 14, fol. ixr (mír shamplach) © UCD-OFM Partnership

Sraith de mheamraim ghearra atá mar ábhar sa duilleog seo a thráchtann ar ghnéithe éagsúla de stair Thír Chonaill. Tá an téacs ón dá thaobh breac le ceartúcháin agus le leasuithe i láimh an scríobhaí — focail scriosta amach agus an leagan ceartaithe scríofa á leanúint nó mar choigeartú os cionn an fhocail scriosta, agus bearnaí fágtha idir na míreanna le líonadh uair éigin níos déanaí. Foilsíodh staidéar ag cur síos ar ábhar agus ar phailéagrafaíocht na duilleoige seo beagán blianta ó shin in alt in *Éigse* 36 (Breatnach 2008), mar a bhfuil an argóint déanta gurb é atá sa scríbhinn ná plean garbh, a raibh tráchtas níos iomláine beartaithe a bhunú air, ina bpléifí gnéithe éagsúla de stair Thír Chonaill ó aimsir Naomh Pádraig; ina léireofaí ar an dílseacht a thaispeáin na Conallaigh riamh dá gcreideamh; agus ina dtabharfaí tuairisc ar a dtailte, a gcearta agus a gcíosa, anuas go dtí imeacht na nIarlaí ó Éirinn. Tá fianaise i riocht macallaí follasacha i ndánta éagsúla de dhéantús Eoghain Ruaidh Mhic an Bhaird ag tagairt don phrós nó *vice versa*, a dheimhníonn (*sine dubio* mar is féidir a rá) gurbh eisean a dhréacht agus a bhreac síos an t-ábhar. Lasmuigh den tábhacht a bhaineann leis an duilleog mar dhréachtcháipéis stairiúil a léiríonn ar ghné shuaithinseach de ghníomhaíocht Eoghain Ruaidh féin i dtosach an ama a chaith sé thar lear — dáta éigin idir Meán Fómhair 1607 agus Iúil 1608 atá curtha i gcás di san alt — tá sí le háireamh mar a bheadh cnó mullaigh ar an argóint ar son an lipéid úd *do rinne* 7 *do sgriobh* a thagairt do chóip an dáin *Dána an turas trialltar sonn.*

Is é is mian liom a dhéanamh sa chuid eile den chur síos láithreach ná a thaispeáint go bhfuil níos mó ná a bhfuil pléite go dtí anois de scríbhinní Eoghain Ruaidh Mhic an Bhaird (an chóip de *Dána an turas* agus an prós úd) tar éis teacht slán óna láimh féin. Tá an t-ábhar breise le fáil san fhoinse chéanna le *Dána an turas trialltar sonn*, ach é a bheith gan aithint sa cháilíocht sin roimhe

[12]Tá teacht ar íomhánna an chnuasaigh UCD-OFM (i seilbh an Choláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Cliath) ar www.isos.dias.ie. Cf. Breatnach (2008: 48–9 (plátaí 1(a), 1(b); 2011: 159 (plátaí 13, 13a)).

seo. Is é atá i gceist ná leathdosaen de dhánta is iad scríofa i mbéal a chéile ar leathdosaen duilleog, idir fol. 22r agus 27v, ag críochnú ar thaobh *verso* na duilleoige roimh chóip an fhile de *Dána an turas trialltar sonn* (atá ar fol. 28). Cuimsíonn na leathanaigh seo an dara comhchuid de mhír thosaigh fhoirmeálta úd na lámhscríbhinne dár tagraíodh níos luaithe (lch 309 thuas) agus a bhfuil dhá phríomhscríobhaí le haithint inti. Na dánta seo atá i gceist, is iad i láimh an dara príomhscríobhaí, táid in ord a chéile sa lámhscríbhinn mar seo leanas:

22r *Truagh do chor a chroidhe tim* (do Rudhraighe Ó Domhnaill)

22v *A bhean fuair faill ar an bhfeart* (do Nuala iníon Aodha mhic Mhaghnais)

24r *Ionmholta an t-óglách nach diongnadh* (do Shéamus Mac Domhnaill)

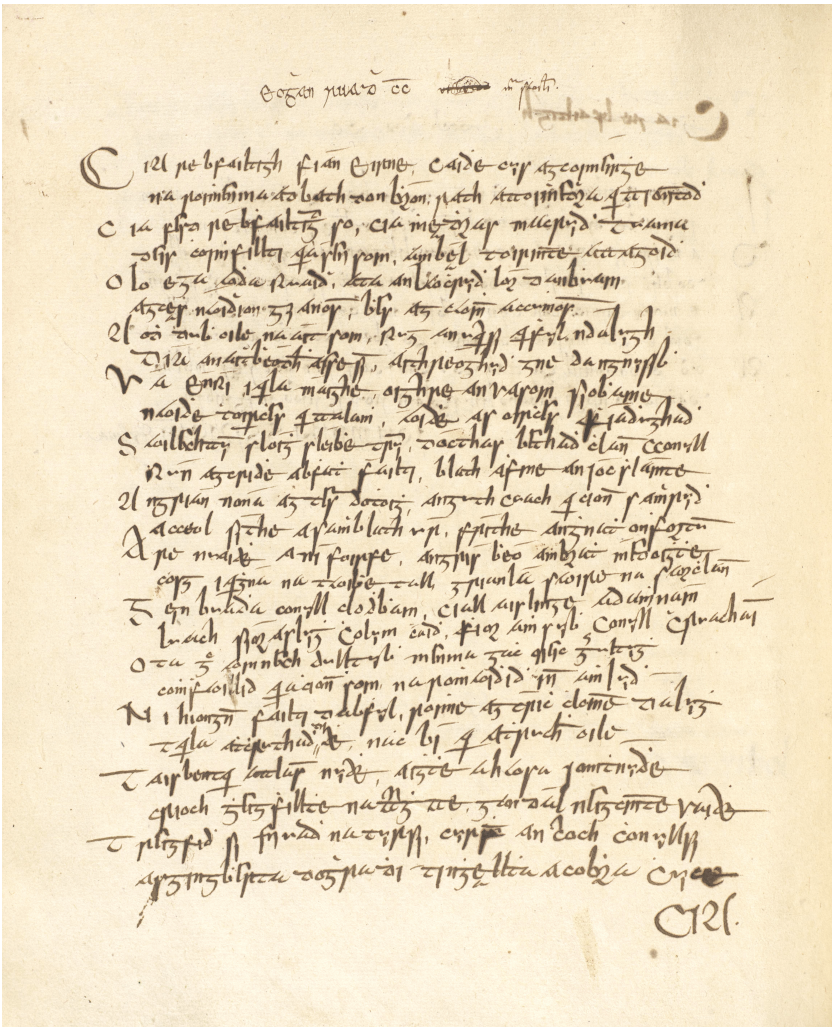
25v *Cia re bfáiltigh fían Eirne* (d'Aodh mac Rudhraighe Uí Dhomhnaill)

26r *A bhráighe ata a ttor Lunndan* (do Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill)

27r *Mairg as bráighe ar mhacruidh Murbhuigh* (do Neachtain mac Néill Ghairbh Uí Dhomhnaill).

Is féidir tagairt do fol. 25v anseo mar dhuilleog shamplach (Pl. **3** KBR 6131–33, fol. 25v). Ach roimh dhíriú ar na sonraí pailéagrafaíochta a bhaineann leis an gcomhchuid faoi leith den lámhscríbhinn lena mbaineann sí a chur síos, agus iad a thagairt d'fhianaise na duilleoige atá ag teacht ina diaidh (fol. 28r), is gá a rá nach bhfuil aon ainm údair luaite i láimh an scríobhaí féin leis na dánta atá le chéile anseo, ach an oiread agus atá a leithéid curtha leis an gcóip de *Dána an turas trialltar sonn* ag an té a scríobh an téacs féin, mar a chonaiceamar. Dála mar a tharla sa chás eile sin, áfach, is ann a scríobhadh ainm Eoghain Ruaidh isteach i lámha éagsúla níos déanaí os cionn trí cinn de na dánta atá i dtreis (*Truagh do chor a chroidhe tim* fol. 22r, *A bhean fuair faill ar an bhfeart* fol. 22v, *Cia re bfáiltigh fían Eirne* fol. 25v), agus tá fianaise ó fhoinsí eile le fáil a dheimhníonn a údaracht dúinn sna trí chás sin — mar atá chomh maith i gcás dhá dhán eile díobh, *A bhráighe atá a ttor Lunndan* (fol. 26r) (Mac Cionnaith 1938: uimh. 63), agus *Mairg as bráighe ar mhacruidh Murbhuigh* (fol. 27r) (McKenna 1939–40: uimh. 25). Is é *Ionmholta an t-óglách nach diongnadh* (Walsh 1931: 43–6) an t-aon dán díobh nach bhfuil deimhniú ó fhoinse lasmuigh den lámhscríbhinn seo air gurbh é Eoghan Ruadh a chum, mar is í seo an t-aon chóip amháin atá ar fáil de. Ach bíodh sé sin mar atá, i liosta i láimh dhéanach ar fol. 148r den lámhscríbhinn seo tá Eoghan Ruadh luaite mar údar leis.[13]

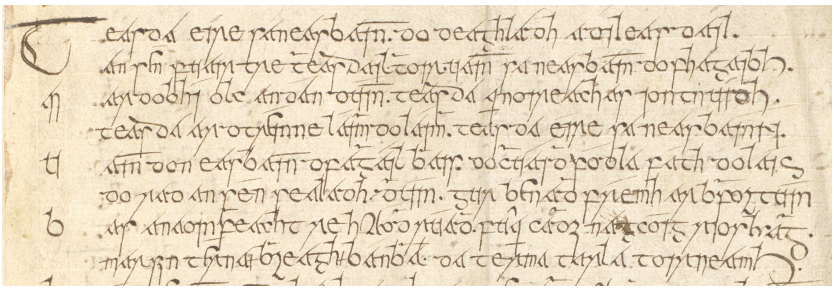
[13]Is cóir a lua go mbaineann an cás céanna maidir le tuairisc ar údair na ndánta atá sa chuid den lámhscríbhinn a ghabhann roimh an mír di atá faoi chaibidil; i lámha déanacha atá ainmneacha na n-údar scríofa isteach i bhformhór gach cás sa chuid tosaigh sin, leis. I measc a bhfuil ainmnithe sa chuid sin tá na filí Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird, Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhusa agus Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird féin — a bhfuil péire de dhánta leis i gceist.



Pl. 3 KBR 6131–33, fol. 25v © KBR

Míníodh cheana féin go gcuimsíonn na duilleoga fol. 22r–27v (ar a bhfuil an leathdosaen de dhánta le hEoghan Ruadh le chéile iontu) an dara comhchuid den mhórmhír thosaigh fhoirmeálta den lámhscríbhinn a bhfuil dhá phríomhscríobhaí le haithint inti. Tá an chomhchuid a ghabhann roimh an gcuid seo den lámhscríbhinn (fol. 1r–19v, is é sin) níos faide go mór ná an ceann áirithe seo, mar is léir.[14] Scríobhaí anaithnid a scríobh an scór duilleog tosaigh — tá dosaen éigin dánta i gceist — i láimh nach bhfuil buailte liom in áit ar bith eile (Pl. **4** KBR 6131–33, fol. 1r1-8 [mír shamplach]). Stíl lánfhoirmiúil na mionpheannaireachta traidisiúnta a chleachtann an scríobhaí sin, agus í ag oiriúint

[14]Fágtar na fol. 20r–21v as áireamh anseo mar gur duilleoga iad a líonadh isteach níos déanaí i bpeannaireacht eile.

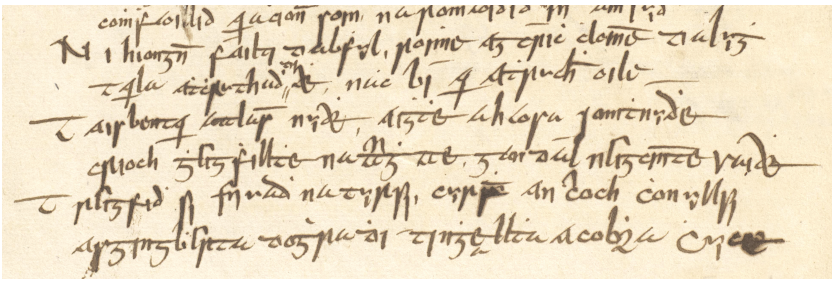


Pl. 4 KBR 6131–33, fol. 1r1–8 © KBR

don aidhm thíodhlacúil lenar tosnaíodh ar an leabhar a chur le chéile. Tuairim 24 líne atá in aghaidh na duilleoige, leathrann in aghaidh gach líne, ceannlitir le tosach gach rainn agus spás fial idir í agus an téacs. Tá seasamh ingearach faoi na litreacha agus a bhfoirmeacha agus a dtoisí socair snoite agus mós mór, agus iad ar comhaoirde tríd an líne; is fiú ceann faoi leith a thógaint d'fhoirm na litreacha i ndeireadh línte, iad méadaithe go minic (i riocht cinnlitreacha ar uairibh) ar mhaithe le cuma shiméadrach a thabhairt don láithriú.

Murab ionann agus an chéad chomhchuid sin den mhír fhoirmeálta lena dtosnaíonn an leabhar, tá mianach neamhthraidisiúnta ón dtaobh peannaireachta de ag roinnt leis an gcomhchuid atá i láimh an dara príomhscríobhaí, ina bhfuil na sé dhán dár tagraíodh le Mac an Bhaird curtha síos. Nochtann an eilimint neamhthraidisiúnta í féin i bpéire tréithe go háirithe, (i) sa mhéid gur toisí laghdaithe atá ag na litreacha, agus (ii) sa mhéid go bhfuil claonadh i dtreo an taoibh dheis ag roinnt leo, murab ionann agus an seasamh ingearach atá sa pheannaireacht thraidisiúnta (Pl. **3** KBR 6131–33, fol. 25v). Cuireann an ghné chlaon seo mar a bheadh siúl imeachta faoi pheann an scríobhaí. Tréith shainiúil í sin a bhaineann leis an stíl pheannaireachta thapaidh nó chúrsach, an *cursiva*, a thagann chun cinn go forleathan in obair scríobhaithe na Gaeilge go luath sa chéad leath den 17ú haois agus a chítear i bpáirteanna móra d'Annála Ríoghachta Éireann na gCeithre Máistrí, cuirim i gcás.[15] Ach cé gur leis an gcineál stíle neamhthraidisiúnta sin a bhaineann carachtar na láimhe sna dánta atá ar na duilleoga seo ar an mórgóir, níl an símpliú céanna ar litreacha áirithe a shamhlaítear leis an nós comhaimseartha (agus a chonaiceamar i láimh Mhic an Bhaird ar fol. 28r, mar shampla) le tabhairt faoi deara i gcónaí inti, ach iad níos minicí ná a mhalairt sa riocht ina scríobhtar iad sa pheannaireacht thraidisiúnta. (Feictear Pl. **5** KBR 6131-33, fol. 25v22–27 [= ll. 1-6]: *e* ag deireadh líne 2 (oil*e*) agus ag deireadh na líne a leanann (iomthúidh*e*), mar shampla; bíonn *a* triantánach agus *a* oscailte ag malartú mar an gcéanna, l. 3 (t*a*isbentar *a*ighthe) vs. l. 2 (tarl*a*, n*a*ch).) Is comhartha soiléir iad na foirmeacha traidisiúnta a bheith measctha tríd an scríbhneoireacht go raibh scríobhaí na nduilleog seo meáite ar láimh néata fhoirmiúil a chleachtadh a bheadh ionchurtha i gcúrsaí aontachta, rialtachta

[15]Do chur síos ar phréamhú agus fás an stíl pheannaireachta seo feic Breatnach ([2011=] 2015: 140 *seq*., go háirithe).



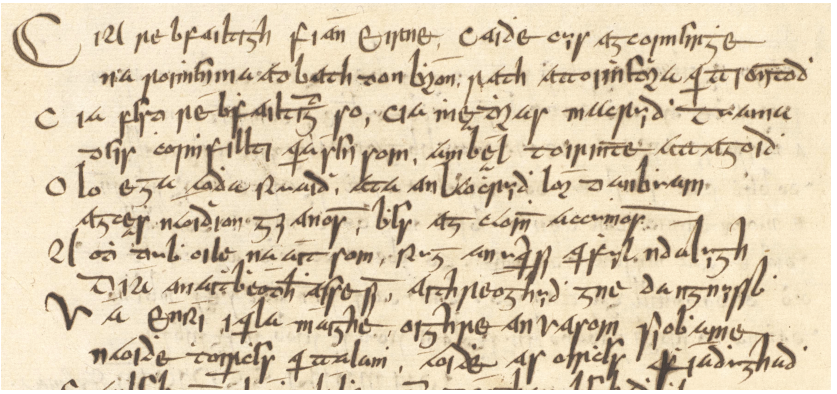
Pl. 5 KBR 6131–33, fol. 25v21–6 [= ll. 1–6] © KBR

agus slachta, le saothar an chéad phríomhscríobhaí a chuaigh roimhe is a chuir tús le scríobh an leabhair.

* * *

Óna bhfuil ráite go dtí seo i dtaobh mhianach na peannaireachta trí chéile sna leathanaigh atá curtha i gcomórtas, ba chóir go mbeadh sé soiléir go bhfuil difríochtaí le háireamh idir scríbhneoireacht na nduilleog a bhfuil an leathdosaen dánta le hEoghan Ruadh orthu (fol. 22–7) agus an lámh atá luaite sa lámhscríbhinn féin mar autograf leis an bhfile sin (fol. 28). Dá chomhartha sin, mar shampla, níl rian an dithnis mhóir a aithníodh faoi láimh Mhic an Bhaird ar fol. 28r le feiscint sna duilleoga eile, ná an dlús céanna sa líon línte a bhfuil slí dóibh ar an leathanach ach oiread. (Tá ceithre líne de théacs ar fol. 28r de bhreis ar a bhfuil sna duilleoga eile seo.) Chomh maith leis sin níl an claonadh measartha atá ag peannaireacht na nduilleog seo i dtreo an taoibh chlé in aon ghiorracht do bheith chomh domhain leis an gclaonadh a thugann an chuma chúinneach rinneach do pheannaireacht an duille eile (ar fol. 28).

Ach ina choinne sin is uile, tá mórchosúlachtaí foirme idir an dá scríbhinn a oireann, sílim, chun aon tuairim a chur ar neamhní go bhfuil na difríochtaí eatarthu le tagairt do scríobhaithe difriúla. Tá an tiús méadaithe a chonacthas ar fol. 28r sna suas-/ síos-scríobanna i gcás *h*, *s*, *f*, *r* le feiscint go rialta ar na duilleoga seo (Pl. **6** KBR 6131-33, fol. 25v2–11 [= ll. 1–10]: l. 9 máig*h*e, *s*iobhaine), agus é ar taispeáint go láidir sna nasclitreacha *de df* (l. 10 aoi*dhe*, *df* híadhughadh). Thar aon tsaintréith eile, áfach, b'fhéidir gurb é an t-*i*onannas i gcúrsaí an rogha foirmeacha den litir *d* féin a chastar orainn san dá scríbhinn (l. 1 cai*d*he, l. 2 a*d*bath, l. 3 fes*d*, l. 5 ao*d*ha, *d*anbhuain) agus an tiús a bhaineann le barrscríob na litreach sin iontu (l. 1 cai*d*he, l. 5 ruai*dh*, etc.), a thugann an mhéar ar eolas is láidre — lasmuigh d'ionannas an mhianaigh neamhthraidisiúnta atá á roinnt acu — gur leis an scríobhaí céanna an pheannaireacht san dá scríbhinn.



Pl. 6 KBR 6131–33, fol. 25v2–11 [= ll. 1–10] © KBR

4.

Dá ainneoin a bhfuil bailithe d'fhianaise anseo ar chomhúdaracht an leathdosaen dánta ar fol. 22–7 de Leabhar Inghine Uí Dhomhnaill, agus ar an ionannas peannaireachta idir na duilleoga agus lámh dhearbhaithe Eoghain Ruaidh Mhic an Bhaird atá ar fol. 28, níorbh ionadh é dá mbeadh ruainne amhrais ann fós ar cheart glacadh leis an gcomhchuid seo den lámhscríbhinn i gcáilíocht mar autograf, nuair nach bhfuil aon trácht ná scrúdú déanta san argóint fós ar an stádas téacsúil a bhaineann le foirm na ndánta aonair ina gceann is ina gceann. Tagraíodh cheana ar ndóin do na lochtanna a fuarthas ar an autograf a tháinig slán den dán úd *Sona do cheird, a Chalbhaigh* leis an bhfile Cathal Mac Muireadhaigh (lch 308 thuas). Agus tá curtha in úil mar an gcéanna maidir leis an gcóip den dán *Dána an turas trialltar sonn* a sholáthraíonn KBR 6131–33 go bhfuil tuaiplisí foirme ar aon dul le fáil inti. Ach tá an t-áiteamh déanta cheana in áit eile agam i dtaobh na lochtaí atá ar scríbhinn an dáin le hEoghan Ruadh gur sa mhórdhithneas follasach lenar breacadh an téacs atá a míniú sin le lorg tríd is tríd. Ní hé sin amháin é, ach is féidir a thaispeáint chomh maith go bhfuil roinnt léamha san autograf de *Dána an turas trialltar sonn* atá níos údarásaí ná iad siúd atá ag freagairt dóibh i gcóipeanna den dán céanna a tháinig anuas ó scríobhaithe eile.[16]

Maidir leis an sraith dánta a ghabhann roimh *Dána an turas trialltar sonn* sa lámhscríbhinn, agus atá curtha i láthair, mar a dúradh, i bhfoirm shlachtmhar dhea-scríofa, is ar éigin ab fhéidir oiread is réasún substainteach amháin a lua ón dtaobh téacsúil de chun a bheith drochamhrasach ar a bhfuil d'fhianaise cruinnithe cheana gurb é Eoghan Ruadh féin *do rinne 7 do sgríobh*. Dá chomhartha sin, nuair a chuir an tAimhirgíneach an chéad dán sa tsraith thuas in eagar, *Truagh do chor a chroidhe tim*, agus é sin gan dul i muinín aon chóipe eile de seachas cóip na lámhscríbhinne seo amháin (Bergin 1970: uimh. 4), níor ghá dhó imeacht ón lámhscríbhinn ach trí huaire sa téacs foilsithe. Ní raibh de choigeartú le déanamh in aon chás díobh ach mionfhabht litrithe a leasú

[16]Don fhianaise féach Breatnach (2001: 383).

('róimh' go *róibh*, 'sinn' go *sionn*, agus '-gh' go *-dh* faoi dhó); lasmuigh de sin tá an téacs gan cháim.[17] Mar an gcéanna, bhunaigh Eleanor Knott an t-eagrán a d'fhoilsigh sí den dara dán sa tsraith, *A bhean fuair faill ar an bhfeart* — ar ar ghlaoigh sí 'the noblest and most moving of all the known elegies in the classical style' — ar théacs na lámhscríbhinne seo amháin (Knott 1960), agus níor aithin sí údar ar bith chun imeacht uaidh ach i gcás péire mionearráidí litrithe ab éigin a leigheas (12*c* 'dhuit' leasaithe go *dhuibh* (: *bhfuil*), 38*c* 'raibh' leasaithe go *rabh* (: fagh)). An tAthair Pól Breathnach a chuir an tríú dán sa tsraith i gcló, *Ionmholta an t-óglách nach diongnadh*, arb í cóip an leabhair seo an t-aon chóip de a tháinig slán; agus arís ní bhfuair de locht uirthi ach an dá mhionearráid (1*c*) 'toil' > *tal* (: ghar), agus (7*b*) 'bpríosún' > *bríosún* (chun uaim a sholáthar le *brághad*)[18] (Walsh 1931).

Is ionann cás, mar is mian liom a áiteamh, do na trí dhán eile sa tsraith, viz. *Cia ré bhfáiltigh fian Éirne*, *A bhráighe atá a ttor Lunndan*, *Mairg as bráighe ar mhacruidh Murbhuigh*. Tá trácht ar a gcáilíocht seo foilsithe in áit eile agus an bhreith tugtha maidir leis an téacs a sholáthraíonn KBR 6131–33 i gcás an chéad dán acu (*Cia ré bhfáiltigh*) ansin ná go bhfuil sé saor ó locht a bheag nó a mhór — 'virtually error-free' (Breatnach 2010a: 114). Tarlaíonn go bhfuil cóipeanna den dán céanna agus den phéire a leanann é le fáil i Leabhar Uí Chonchobhair Dhoinn (1631) chomh maith, mar a bhfuilid scríofa san ordú céanna is atá orthu in KBR 6131–33, agus léiríonn mionchomparáid idir na leaganacha sna trí chás gur fearr an téacs a thugann leabhar na Bruiséile uaidh ná mar a thugann an leabhar eile. Seo mar atá tátal na hanailíse orthu curtha síos san alt thuasluaite:

> The high degree of textual accuracy in **B10** [= Book of O'Donnell's Daughter] and Eóghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird's proven connection with that manuscript make it probable that the installation of this group of his compositions in **B 10** was from a copy of his own making. (Breatnach 2010a: 114)

Dá mbeinn á scríobh sin anois, in áit a rá 'from a copy of his own making', is é ab fhearr liom a bheadh curtha síos ná 'by his own hand' — *qui scripsit ille composuit*.

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[17]Tá botún cló sa téacs foilsithe i r. 12*d* mar a bhfuil *fhionnmhúir* in áit 'fhonnmhúir' (: *gcomhrúin*), agus is amhlaidh a fágadh an rann iargomhairc atá sa lámhscríbhinn (ag tagairt do Bhrighid, iníon Iarla Chill Dara agus céile pósta Iarla Thír Chonaill) ar lár san eagrán; cf. Breatnach (2008a: 140–2).

[18]Leasú neamhriachtanach is ea an dara ceann mar is léir ón mbailiú samplaí de *(b)p-* ag freagairt do *p-* i riocht uama atá cruinnithe ag Ó Riain (2017: 180 (c) i-iv).

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THE MARTYROLOGY OF DONEGAL AND *CATH MHAIGHE MOCHROIMHE*[1]

Abstract

On 1 November, the seventeenth-century Martyrology of Donegal commemorates Lonán of Treóit (Trevet, Co. Meath), who is also commemorated on this date in medieval martyrologies. Unlike these earlier sources, however, the Martyrology of Donegal includes a short episode about Art mac Cuinn and the naming of Treóit. This article examines the idea that this part of the entry is derived from the Early Modern version of the Battle of Mag Mucraime, *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe*, extant in a significant number of manuscripts. It also makes some preliminary suggestions regarding the relationship of the various manuscripts of *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* with regard to this episode, including manuscript groupings.

The seventeenth-century Martyrology of Donegal exists in two versions: a shorter version completed in 1628 (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 4639) and a longer, annotated version completed by 1630 (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 5095–5096). The shorter version was compiled by Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh and Michéal Ó Cléirigh, but the annotations in the longer version are mostly the work of Michéal Ó Cléirigh, with some further additions by Hugh Ward and John Colgan after the manuscript had been sent to Louvain.[2] The extended, annotated version of the entry concerning Lonán of Treóit (Trevet, Co. Meath), besides dealing with the saint, also recounts how Art mac Cuinn had a vision at the site of Treóit, then known as Duma Derglúachra, and renamed the location *Treóit*. I have previously put forward a brief argument that this passage is derived from the Early Modern tale *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe*.[3] The intention here is to examine this idea in more detail.

[1]I would like to thank Prof. Máire Ní Mhaonaigh and Dr. Daniel Brielmaier for help with checking references to secondary literature, Prof. Pádraig Ó Macháin for addressing a query regarding manuscript locations, Robyn Orr at the the University of Liverpool Library for assistance with an enquiry regarding manuscript holdings, and Dr. Elliott Lash and Dr. Anna Pagé for comments at the draft stage of this article. I am also very grateful to the editor and anonymous reviewer of this article for very helpful feedback and suggestions and the copy-editor for improving consistency and clarity. Any remaining errors or oversights are, of course, my own.

[2]On the Martyrology of Donegal, including an outline of its development, see Pádraig Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies*, Subsidia hagiographica 86 (Brussels, 2006), chapter 13 'The Martyrology of Donegal (MD)', 281–313.

[3]Helen Imhoff, 'The tradition of Art mac Cuind's burial at Treóit (Trevet, Co. Meath)', *Ríocht na Mídhe: Records of the Meath Archaeological and Historical Society* 24 (2013), 73–11, at 86–8.

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The information which the Martyrology of Donegal presents on Lonán of Treóit is clearly derived from medieval hagiological sources. Lonán mac Talmaig, in various sources the son of a British princess, Drustic, was associated with Treóit, a foundation at Trevet in Co. Meath.[4] His feast day on 1 November and his connection with Treóit are clearly attested in medieval sources, with entries in the medieval saints' genealogies, where a 'Lonan Treoiti' appears,[5] and in *Félire Óengusso*.[6] The Middle Irish commentary to *Félire Óengusso* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 505 identifies Lonán as Lonán mac Talmaig 'o Threoit hi mBregaib' and the commentary in Rawlinson B. 512 also provides the alternative, 'Nó Lonán m*ac* Telchain o Cluain fota il-Laichis', and a brief outline of Lonán mac Talmaig's parentage is then given, accompanied by two stanzas of poetry on the same topic.[7] The parentage of Lonan mac Talmaig 'o Threoit' and a quatrain on his mother are also given in the tract on the mothers of the saints.[8] The Martyrology of Gorman as preserved in the glossing of the *Félire Óengusso* in UCD, Franciscan A 7, fol. 39r, also contains a reference to Lonán on 1 November with a gloss providing the same information as that in Rawlinson B. 505.[9] A saint named Lonán is also associated with Treóit in the Middle Irish text *Fástini Airt*, found in *Lebor na hUidre*,[10] the language of which suggests a date in roughly the tenth century.[11] The association between him and Treóit appears to have been long-standing.

[4] A summary of sources associated with Lonán and details on the story regarding his parentage are found in P. Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin, 2011), 403.

[5] Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberiae* (Dublin, 1985), 146 (707.452) and 180 (722.100).

[6] Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Felire Óengusso Celi De: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, Henry Bradshaw Society 29 (London, 1905). On the date, see most recently Ó Riain, 'The dates of the Tallaght Martyrologies', chapter 4 in his *Feastdays*, 75–98, and 'The Tallaght martyrologies: correlated', chapter 5 in his *Feastdays*, 99–118.

[7] Stokes, *Felire Óengusso*, 238. On the date of the commentary to *Félire Óengusso*, see Ó Riain, 'Textual history and sources of the commentary on the Martyrology of Óengus (MO)', chapter 8 in his *Feastdays*, 173–203, and previously Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Die Bibliothek des Verfassers des kommentierten *Félire Óengusso*', in Erich Poppe and Hildegard L. C. Tristram (eds), *Übersetzung, Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter* (Münster, 1999), 87–104, at 102, and Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Martyrology of Óengus: the transmission of the text', *Studia Hibernica* 31 (2000/2001), 221–42, at 235–6.

[8] Ó Riain, *Corpus*, 180 (722.100).

[9] On manuscript A 7, see in particular, Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 275–7. On the Martryology of Gorman as a whole, see Ó Riain, 'The Martyrology of Gorman', in *Feastdays*, in particular 147–71. The martyrology is edited in Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Felire Húi Gormain: The Martyrology of Gorman*, Henry Bradshaw Society 9 (London, 1895); the relevant passage is found on p. 208. Both manuscript A 7 and Ó Cléirigh's copy in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, MS 5100–4 are available on *ISOS*.

[10] A diplomatic edition of the text is found in Best and Bergin's *LU* ll. 9821–900, and it was also edited and translated in John Mac Neill, 'Three poems in Middle-Irish, relating to the Battle of Mucrama. With English translation and notes, and a short vocabulary', *PRIA* 3, 3rd series (1895), 529–63, at 532–39.

[11] See Helen Imhoff, 'Pre-Christian characters in medieval Irish literature: an examination of *Fástini Airt meic Cuind*, *De Suidigud Tellaig Temra*, *Aided Chonchobair* and *Aided Echach maic Maireda*', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 10–17. Available online at DOI https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.56884 (access 22 November 2020).

Turning to the Martyrology of Donegal, the earlier, shorter version contains the brief entry 'Lonán ó t*h*refoit imbreg*h*aib*h*' ('Lonán of Treóit in Brega') for 1 November.[12] The longer version with the commentary contains some brief information on Lonán's family, which tallies with the *Félire Óengusso* commentary and includes the verse found in the text on the mothers of the saints, both also being sources for the Martyrology of Donegal.[13] Ó Cléirigh's text is thus based on the medieval sources and old association between Lonán and Treóit. However, this information is preceded by a passage concerning Art mac Cuinn, the pre-Christian king and son of Conn Cétchathaig, which does not relate to Lonán at all, but concerns the name of his church, Treóit:

> Lonán, ó Threfhoit, i mBreghaibh, ag Boinn. A dubairt Art, mac Cuinn ced cathaig rí Erenn, iar bfhaicsin na físe an lá ria ccath muighe Mucraimhe, gurab Dumha Dergluachra ba hainm don aitsin ó thús, acus gomadh Trefhod do bhiadh air ó sin amach óna trí fódaibh do bhenfadh sé an uair sin, .i. fód fona chenn acus fód ceachtar a dhá thaobh, acus gurab ann do hadhnaicfidhe é in ainm an athar, an mic, acus an spirat naoimh. Is ann sin do rinne, Art an laoidh darab tus, 'Caoin do dhionnaibh dén,' acus as follas mar sin gur chreid se, amhail tuigter, etc.
>
> 'Lonan, of Trefoit, in Bregha, at the Boinn. Art, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, king of Erin, after having seen the vision the day before the battle of Magh Mucraimhe, said that Dumha Dergluachra was the name of this place at first, and that Tréfót should be on it from that forth, from the three sods which he would cut at that time, viz., a sod *to be put* under his head, and a sod under each of his sides, and that it is there he should be buried in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. It was then that Art composed the poem beginning, "The fairest of mounds make;" and it is therefore evident that he believed, as is understood, &c.'[14]

The interest appears to be in the name Treóit, or Tréfót as it is spelt here. It is interpreted as *fót* 'sod of earth' with the prefix *tre-*. This makes the entry for Lonán different from the majority of entries in the martyrology in terms of structure and content. A typical entry with commentary names the most important church associated with the saint in question and may also include information on the saints themselves and their families. The focus in Lonán's case on the place-name of his church is slightly unusual in the context of the martyrology, a point which will be discussed further below.[15]

[12]Brussels, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 4639, fol. 100r (accessible online via *ISOS*, accessed on 22 October 2020).

[13]The entry is found on fol. 53v of the manuscript and is accessible online via *ISOS* (accessed on 22 October 2020). It is edited in James Henshaw Todd and William Reeves (eds), and John O'Donovan (trans.), *The Martyrology of Donegal: A Calendar of the Saints of Ireland* (Dublin, 1864), 290. On *Félire Óengusso* and the tract on the mothers of the saints as sources for the Martyrology of Donegal, see Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 301 (*Félire*) and 303–4 (mothers of the saints).

[14]Todd, Reeves and O'Donovan, *Martyrology*, 290–1.

[15]See pp. 346–7 below.

The source for the entry on Treóit

An obvious potential source for the story given by Ó Cléirigh is the account found in *Fástini Airt* in *Lebor na hUidre*; a second text in *Lebor na hUidre*, *Senchas na Relec*, also makes reference to Art's burial at Treóit and cites the first line of the poem he is supposed to have recited.[16] While the Martyrology of Donegal does explicitly refer to *Lebor na hUidre* elsewhere,[17] it is not clear from the wording of the reference whether Ó Cléirigh had access to the manuscript itself.[18] Moreover, a textual comparison between the Martyrology of Donegal and the two medieval texts preserved in *Lebor na hUidre* shows that they did not serve as the direct source of the passage in the martyrology even if Ó Cléirigh was familiar with them. First and foremost, neither *Fástini Airt* nor *Senchas na Relec* includes Art's explanation of Treóit's name or his description of the three sods at his burial. The fourth stanza of the poem in *Fástini Airt* does allude to this particular etymology, but the idea is not elaborated further.[19] *Senchas na Relec* does not refer to the idea at all. Secondly, the first line of the poem as cited in the Martyrology of Donegal differs from the version in *Fástini Airt* ('Cáin do denna den') and *Senchas na Relec* ('Cain do Denda Den', main text; 'Cain do Denna Den', gloss). While this may not seem significant, especially as the line is difficult to translate, it is relevant when we consider that there is a text which contains both the detailed explanation of the etymology of Treóit as well as the first line as cited in the martyrology. This text is the Early Modern version of the battle of Mag Mucraime, *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe*.

Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe

Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe (hereafter CMM², following O Daly) was edited by Micheál Ó Dúnlainge at the beginning of the twentieth century from four eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy: 23 M 47 (973; late eighteenth century; Ó Dúnlainge's main manuscript), 23 G 10 (974; nineteenth century), 23 L 27 (556; eighteenth century) and 23 K 7 (658; early eighteenth century).[20] Ó Dúnlainge's edition includes

[16] *LU* 128, ll. 4089–96 and, in particular, gloss m.

[17] Todd, Reeves and O'Donovan, *Martyrology*, 256–7: 'Is do Adhamhnan do foillsighedh glóir flatha nimhe acus piana ifrinn, amhail atá a bfhis Adhamhnain do sgriobhadh as Leabhar na Huidhre'; 'It was to Adamnan were revealed the glory of the kingdom of heaven and the pains of hell, as contained in the Vision of Adamnan, which was copied from the Leabhar-na-hUidhre'.

[18] Cf. the reference to a copy of *Lebor na hUidre* in the preface to *Leabhar Gabhála*: Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish History, Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Dublin, 2014), 55.

[19] *LU* 296, ll. 9847–50: 'Treóit tréde fót / im thri fotu ind ríg / in tan bas bec cách / and bas már a mbríg'.

[20] Micheál Ó Dúnlainge, 'Cath Mhuighe Mochruimhe', *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* 17 (1907), 385–7, 406–8, 427–31, 434–9; 18 (1908), 30–4, 75–82, 180–1. The information regarding the manuscripts used is found in a comment on p. 387. Ó Dúnlainge also states that there is 'an seanscéal i leabhar Bhaile an Mhóta' ('Cath Mhaighe Mochruimhe', 387), but I have also not been able to establish with certainty what this refers to, as the Book of Ballymote does not to my knowledge contain a copy of the tale. It may refer to the copy of *Genemuin Cormaic*, starting on fol. 142v

no discussion of the text or its history, and very little work has been done on the tale to date.[21] Not even the number of extant manuscripts has been established with certainty, and it varies significantly between secondary sources. Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville included 21 manuscripts in his *Essai d'un Catalogue*,[22] Kuno Meyer identified a further copy in NLS Adv. 72.1.38,[23] and Whitley Stokes listed five of the British Library manuscripts, as well as referring to Meyer's and Arbois de Jubainville's references.[24] Máirín O Daly in her edition of the medieval text *Cath Maige Mucrama* refers to 36 manuscripts at the Royal Irish Academy, without providing details.[25] Robin Flower gives an outline of narrative sources relating to the Battle of Mag Mucrama and, regarding CMM², lists a further six manuscripts in addition to the ones used by Ó Dúnlainge, also providing some brief notes on how the versions in the British Library manuscripts, then at the British Museum, relate to one another.[26] More recently, the Stichting A. G. van Hamel website has listed 11 manuscripts.[27] The most comprehensive list so far, however, was provided by Bruford in his *Gaelic Folk-Tales and Mediæval Romances*, where he lists 68 manuscripts.[28] In my own research I have so far identified 94 possible manuscript copies in catalogues from libraries in Ireland and the UK, 81 of which I have confirmed to be manuscripts of the tale either through viewing the manuscript or an image thereof or through detailed catalogue information confirming that the text in question is CMM². These manuscripts are not, of course, all independent copies,[29] but the overall number indicates the strong popularity of the tale. My collection of the manuscripts of the tale

of the manuscript. That tale is edited by Vernam Hull, 'Geneamuin Chormaic', *Ériu* 16 (1952), 79–85. The abbreviation CMM² is used in Máirín O Daly (ed. and trans.), *Cath Maige Mucrama: The Battle of Mag Mucrama*, ITS 50 (Dublin, 1975).

[21] O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama* includes occasional references to CMM² in the introductory discussion based on Ó Dúnlainge's text, and Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, *The Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt* (Dublin, 1977), 28–9, 114–15, briefly considers the encounter between Art and Olc Aiche's daughter and Cormac's conception in CMM².

[22] H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Essai d'un catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande*, *précédé d'une étude sur les manuscrits en langue irlandaise conservés dans les Iles Britanniques et sur le Continent* (Paris, 1883), 75–7. He actually includes more manuscripts, but not all are in fact of CMM² and he was not able to find the manuscript given in the list of books in Colgan's room in Louvain. This list, headed *Catalogus Manuscriptorum tam Latiné quam Hibernicé olim in Camera R.P. Colgani repertorum; quibus postea R.P. Sirinus usus fuit*, is preserved as the second item in UCD, Franciscan A 34, on which see pp. 332–6 below.

[23] Kuno Meyer, 'Addenda to M. de Jubainville's catalogue de la littérature épique de L'Irlande', *RC* 6 (1883–5), 187–91, at 191.

[24] Whitley Stokes, 'The Battle of Mag Mucrime', *RC* 13 (1892), 426–74, at 428–9.

[25] O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, 1.

[26] Robin Flower, Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum, Volume II (London, 1926, repr. as Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Library [formerly British Museum], Volume II, Dublin, 1992), 400–1.

[27] A. G. van Hamel Foundation for Celtic Studies's CODECS: https://www.vanhamel.nl/codecs/Cath_Mhaighe_Mochruimhe, accessed 21 October 2020.

[28] Alan Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales and Mediæval Romances: A Study of the Early Modern Irish 'Romantic Tales' and Their Oral Derivatives* (Dublin, 1969), 255.

[29] For example, BL Egerton 106, NLI G22, Liverpool M12029, RIA 24 L 21 (816) and RIA 12 F 20 (897) all appear to be copies of the same exemplar (see the catalogue description of NLI G22).

is work in progress and I plan to compile and publish a complete list as part of a separate project. A consideration of the CMM² passage concerning Art's experience at Treóit shows significant differences in the various manuscripts, and while I have not yet been able to view the text of all of them, the number of manuscripts consulted so far is sufficiently large for there to be a reasonable expectation that textual groupings would already be identifiable. This would thus allow some provisional suggestions regarding the relationship between the Martyrology of Donegal and CMM², although confirmation of these suggestions would have to await a fuller treatment of CMM² as a whole and its textual history.

A footnote in the edition of the Martyrology of Donegal references O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters and Petrie's essay on the round towers of Ireland to point out the similarities between the entry for Lonán and *Senchas na Relec* as well as CMM²:

> The substance of the following notice of Tréfoit is borrowed from the Leabhar-na-hUidhri, and the tale *Cath Maighe Mucraimhe*. See Petrie, Round Towers, pp. 99, 101, and O Donovan's note on the Four Masters, An. 734, vol. i., p. 336.[30]

This note does not specify whether this is the medieval or Early Modern version, but the relevant note in O'Donovan's edition of the Annals of the Four Masters allows us to surmise that the reference is to a version of CMM²: it is a summary of information on the monastery of Treóit, referring amongst other sources to 'the historical story called Cath Maighe Mucraimhe'.[31] This cannot be a reference to the medieval tale, which does not contain any reference to Treóit, and O'Donovan thus appears to be referring to the Early Modern account. He also includes a direct quotation which is similar to the words spoken by Art in CMM² but not identical. O'Donovan may have had access to a manuscript I have not yet been able to consult; alternatively, one might perhaps assume that he was paraphrasing the text.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no other discussion of the connection between the entry in the Martyrology of Donegal and material relating to Art and the battle of Mag Mucrama. Ó Riain does not refer to CMM² as a possible source, referencing only Best and Bergin's edition of *Lebor na hUidre* (*Fástini Airt*) in relation to the entry for Lonán.[32] Ó Cléirigh himself does not reference the text CMM²; nevertheless, a comparison between the Early Modern text and the martyrology indicates the great likelihood that a version of the tale lies behind the entry for Lonán in the longer version of the martyrology, as the following comparison will show.

[30]Todd, Reeves and O'Donovan, *Martyrology*, 290 n. 1. The page reference for Petrie makes it clear that the text in *Lebor na hUidre* that is referred to here is *Senchas na Relec*. It is found in George Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, Anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion; Comprising an Essay on the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland, which Obtained the Gold Medal and Prize of the Royal Irish Academy*, 2nd ed. (Dublin, 1845), 97–101.

[31]*AFM* s.a. 735, vol. i, 336, n. a.

[32]Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 307 n. 119.

In *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe*, Art goes hunting on the day before the battle. Following the hunt, all his companions leave him except for one by the name of Lughna. Art lies down to sleep, and when Lughna wakes him, Art tells him of a dream he had in which he saw angels going up and down in the place in which he and Lughna are. He tells Lughna that this place will at some point be of great importance. In the passage which then follows and which corresponds to the entry in the martyrology, Art provides an etymology of the placename Treóit. Ó Dúnlainge's edition reads as follows at this point:

> […] 'Dumha Dearg-Luachra a ainm gus indiu, agus ba Treafóid a ainm ó so amach do na trí fódaibh bhainfead-sa do chois na sleighe so im' láimh ann, .i. fód fám' cheann, fod fám' thaobh, agus fód fám' chosaibh, gurb ann adhlaicfear mé i n-onóir an Athar agus an Mhic agus an Spioraid Naoimh, agus mairbhfíor mé i gCath Mhuighe Mochruimhe le mac mo dhearbhsheathrach, agus tuitfidh Eoghan Mór le Beinne Briot, mac righ Breataine; agus is truagh liom-sa gan oirdhearcas Éireann ag Eoghan Mór, ó nach bhfuil mac mo dhíongmhála agam féin,' agus do chan an laoi mar leanas:
>
> "Caoin do dhéanamh is do ghean […]".[33]
>
> '[…] "Duma Dearg-Luachra [was] its [the place's] name up until today, and from now on its name will be Treafóid because of the three sods of earth that I will cut there with the point of this spear in my hand, that is, a sod under my head, a sod under my side and a sod under my feet, so that I will be buried there in the glory of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and I will be killed in the Battle of Mag Mucrama by the son of my sister, and Eogan Mór will fall by Beinne Briot, the son of the king of Britain, and I pity the fact that Eogan Mór will not have the renown of Ireland, since I myself do not have a son who is my equal" and he recited the poem as follows: *Caoin do dhéanamh is do ghean* […].'

The explanation for the name Treóit, i.e. 'three sods', is the same in both CMM[2] and the martyrology, with both giving the detail that these are the sods of earth with which Art will be buried. Furthermore, the way the information is structured is very similar as the bold passages in the following side-by-side comparison of the full passage show:

[33] Ó Dúnlainge, 'Cath Mhuighe Mochruimhe', vol. xvii, 427; my translation.

CMM²	Martyrology of Donegal
‘Do toirbheadh fís domh,’ ar an righ, ‘óir gidh beag brigh agus cádhas an ionaid-so a bhfuilim anois, beidh amsear ann i ndeireadh an domhain bhéas mór a chion agus dobhéarthar uinge d’ór ar áit aoin-tighe ann, **Dumha Dearg-Luachra a ainm gus indiu, agus ba Treafóid a ainm ó so amach do na trí fódaibh bhainfead-sa do chois na sleighe so im’ láimh ann, .i. fód fám’ cheann, fod fám’ thaobh, agus fód fám’ chosaibh, gurb ann adhlaicfear mé i n-onóir an Athar agus an Mhic agus an Spioraid Naoimh**, agus mairbhfíor mé i gCath Mhuighe Mochruimhe le mac mo dhearbhsheathrach, agus tuitfidh Eoghan Mór le Beinne Briot, mac righ Breataine; agus is truagh liom-sa gan oirdhearcas Éireann ag Eoghan Mór, ó nach bhfuil mac mo dhíongmhála agam féin,’ agus do chan an laoi mar leanas: **‘Caoin do dhéanamh is do ghean** […]’.[34]	A dubairt Art, mac Cuinn ced cathaig rí Erenn, iar bfhaicsin na físe an lá ria ccath muighe Mucraimhe, gurab **Dumha Dergluachra ba hainm don aitsin ó thús, acus go-madh Trefhod do bhiadh air ó sin amach óna trí fódaibh do bhenfadh sé an uair sin, .i. fód fona chenn acus fód ceachtar a dhá thaobh, acus gurab ann do hadhnaicfidhe é in ainm an athar, an mic, acus an spirat naoimh.** Is ann sin do rinne, Art an laoidh darab tus, ‘**Caoin do dhionnaibh dén,’** acus as follas mar sin gur chreid se, amhail tuigter, etc.[35]

There are a few differences in detail, some of which will be discussed below, but the overall similarity between the two texts is striking. They agree significantly more closely with each other than either of them do with any of the medieval sources on this episode. In *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe*, of course, the episode is part of an extended narrative, including a detailed explanation of the dream vision and, in many of the manuscripts, the text contains more than just the first line of the poem recited by Art, providing us instead with a poem of between 1 and 25 stanzas. Although the vast majority of CMM² manuscripts post-date the Martyrology of Donegal, the detail in the narrative and the length of the poem make it clear that the martyrology cannot have been the source of the Early Modern saga. Instead, it seems likely that Ó Cléirigh was familiar either with CMM² or with a text that served as a direct source for CMM². The large number of surviving CMM² manuscripts, including one from the seventeenth century, and another, now non-extant one that is attested in Louvain in the seventeenth century, discussed below, make it very likely that Ó Cléirigh could have been

[34] Ó Dúnlainge, ‘Cath Mhaighe Mochruimhe’, 427.
[35] Todd, Reeves and O’Donovan, *Martyrology*, 290.

acquainted with a written version of CMM². The tale did also have an oral existence,[36] and it should be noted that the textual differences between CMM², in particular Art's poem, and *Fástini Airt* preclude a direct line of transmission from the medieval to the Early Modern text, instead indicating that there was further related material in circulation that has been lost. However, the nature of this additional material is entirely unclear and, consequently, we cannot speculate on whether such a source may have been available to Ó Cléirigh. A written version of CMM² remains the strongest and most convincing candidate as a source for this passage in the Martyrology of Donegal and would be quite different in nature from the sources for Lonán outlined at the beginning of this contribution.

Notwithstanding the similarities between the two passages, it must, however, be noted that there are also differences. These are the wording of the first line of the poem and the wording with regard to the placement of the sods of earth. The next section of this article will consider first the evidence that a copy of CMM² was available in Louvain; this will be followed by a discussion, with reference to the manuscript transmission of CMM², of the two differences just noted.

CMM² at Louvain

While NLS 72.1.38, which dates to the seventeenth century,[37] indicates that CMM² was in existence in written form by around the time the Martyrology of Donegal was being compiled, there also survives a reference to the presence in Louvain of a manuscript that is very likely to have contained a copy of CMM². While this does not necessarily mean that Michéal Ó Cléirigh had access to the latter copy, a number of manuscripts of the Donegal friary in which the martyrology was compiled were transferred to Louvain, so the reference is tantalising.[38] The presence of a copy of CMM², and other vernacular 'secular' literature, certainly indicates that this type of source was of interest in Louvain. UCD, Franciscan A 34, contains lists of texts available in Louvain,[39]

[36] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 153 and 255, also provides information on oral accounts collected in Scotland (Western Isles), at least one of which was derived from a manuscript version.

[37] See Donald Mackinnon, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library Edinburgh and Elsewhere in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1912), 118, for a late sixteenth-/early seventeenth-century date. The description by Ronald Black, 'Catalogue of Gaelic manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland', published online as part of *ISOS*, 2011, references seventeenth-century watermarks; see the *ISOS* page for NLS Adv. 72.1.38 (accessed 22 November 2020).

[38] For specific manuscripts, see Myles Dillon, Canice Mooney, and Pádraig de Brún, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Franciscan Library Killiney* (Dublin, 1969), xiv–xv. For an outline of Franciscan manuscripts, see Canice Mooney, 'Irish Franciscan libraries of the past', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 60 (1942), 215–28, esp. at 220–1, and on the Killiney collection specifically, Canice Mooney, 'Franciscan Library Killiney. A short guide for the student of Irish church history', *Archivium Hibernicum* 18 (1955), 150–6. Additional manuscripts that entered the Killiney collection at a later date are described in Pádraig de Brún, 'Two additions to the Franciscan collection', *Éigse* 13 (1978), 379–84, and Pádraig de Brún, 'Further additions to the Franciscan collection', *Éigse* 20 (1984), 157–63.

[39] A very brief overview of the lists in A 34 is given in Dillon, Mooney and de Brún, *Catalogue*, xix–xx.

and the second of these lists, which consists of manuscripts previously kept in Colgan's room and later used by Thomas Sheeran, includes a reference to a paper manuscript that contained *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* and *Nuallghubha Oileall Oloim*, amongst other texts:

> Liber in 4° continens Cat*h* muig*h*e mucroim*h*e / Nuallg*h*ub*h*a Oileall oloim / Do rig*h*e C*h*ormaic m*ai*c Airt / Do na trí C*ai*r*b*ri*b*h / Bet*h*a Ronáin ⁊ buile S*h*uib*h*ne / Cat*h* Ros na Ríog*h* ós boin*n* / Bet*h*a Pad*ra*ic / Bet*h*a B*h*rig*h*ide / Indeall an g*h*aoi bulga / Chronicon breve apocryphum / Imt*h*ea*ch*ta Nuad*h*a nec*h*tm*hair*.[40]

This manuscript is very likely to be identical with a manuscript found in the first and third list in A 34, also described as being paper and in quarto. The contents of this manuscript are mostly identical, but some additional texts are mentioned:

> Liber in 4°,[41] continens cat*h* muige muc*h*roim*h*e; nuallgub*h*a oileall oloim; do rí*gh*e corbmaic m*ai*c airt énfir; dona tri cairbrib*h*; bet*h*a \Ronaín/ ⁊ buile suibne; cat*h* ros na riog*h* ós bóin*n*; beat*h*a Pad*ra*ig; beat*h*a b*h*rig*h*de;[42] Indeall an gáoi bulga; cat*h* leatreac*h* ruid*h*e; iomt*h*us taid*h*g m*ac* ceín, m*ac* oilill oluim; foclóir; cronicon breue apochryphum; imt*h*ea*ch*ta nuad*h*a neac*h*tm*air*.[43]

As the manuscript is listed among the paper manuscripts, if it was copied in Ireland (as seems likely), the use of paper would suggest that it would most likely have dated to the sixteenth century at the earliest and more probably the seventeenth.[44] It would thus have been contemporary with Ó Cléirigh and Colgan. Given that it also contained *Nuallghubha Oileall Oloim*, a text which frequently appears together with CMM² in the manuscripts, it is extremely likely that its *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* was the Early Modern version of the story rather than the medieval text.[45]

[40] Item 2, p. 3, available on *ISOS* (accessed 8 November 2020). The list was published in Charles Mac Donnell, 'On the MSS. of John Colgan, preserved at St. Isidore's, Rome', *PRIA* 6 (1853–7), 95–103, and in J. T. Gilbert, 'Manuscripts of the former College of Irish Franciscans, Louvain', *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Part I, Report and Appendix (London, 1874), 599–613, at 611–12. On the printed material in this second list, see Ignatius Fennessy, 'Printed books in St Anthony's College, Louvain, 1673 (F. L. K., MS A 34)', *Collectanea Hibernica* 38 (1996), 82–117. Note also that the entry includes a reference to *Buile Shuibne*, a text which also served as a source for the martyrology (see Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 307).

[41] Corrected from 'folio'.

[42] 'beat*h*a Pad*ra*ig' and 'beat*h*a b*h*rig*h*de' added in margin and inserted via insertion mark.

[43] The text is cited from Item 1, p. 2 of the manuscript, but the entry in Item 3, p. 2 is identical.

[44] On the relative numbers of parchment to paper manuscripts in the different centuries and on the transition to paper, see Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'The emergence of the Gaelic paper manuscript: a preliminary investigation', in Pádraig Ó Macháin (ed.), *Paper and the Paper Manuscript: A Context for the Transmission of Gaelic Literature* (Cork, 2019), 21–43.

[45] A version of *Nuallghubha* is edited from NLS Adv. 72.1.28 in Myles Dillon, 'The lamentation of Oilill Olom', *SGS* 6:1 (1947–9), 1–10. Ó Dúnlainge, 'Cath Mhuighe Mochruimhe', 75–180, also includes a version of the text.

In his survey of Louvain manuscripts in the Franciscan friary, Killiney, Gilbert transcribed the list of manuscripts in the possession of Colgan, including the reference to this quarto volume.[46] In his overall inventory of the Louvain manuscripts he also listed an item which he described as follows: 'Battle of Mag Macruimhe; death of Cuchullain. Irish. Small 4to.'.[47] Gilbert numbered this manuscript as 30, and it is tempting to identify Gilbert's manuscript 30 with the manuscript listed in items 1–3 in A 34. However, while the size is the same and *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* is listed in both cases, the manuscript in A 34 does not, according to any of the descriptions, contain an account of the death of Cú Chulainn.

Both Arbois de Jubainville and Flower refer to Gilbert's mention of his manuscript no. 30,[48] and Arbois de Jubainville identified it with what is now manuscript A 25.[49] The same identification was made by Hyde[50] and in the *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Franciscan Library Killiney*.[51] This is, however, problematic: while A 25 does contain a version of *Brislech Maige Muirtheimne*, it does not contain *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* in its present form.[52] The problem is illustrated by the fact that while Arbois de Jubainville is able to identify Gilbert's manuscript 30 in his introduction, he is unable to reconcile this with the reference to *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* in his list of manuscripts of the tale.[53] The catalogue description of A 25 states that it is damaged and difficult to read in places and, moreover, that pages have been removed, either deliberately or through loss,[54] and so it is not impossible that CMM² was originally contained in the manuscript but later lost. However, even if this were the case and Gilbert's manuscript no. 30 was A 25, the manuscript listed in A 34 cannot be identical with A 25 in its present form as the contents according to the passages cited above differ entirely from what is found in A 25. In fact, none of the texts listed in the manuscript in A 34 appear in the index to the 1969 *Catalogue*. Furthermore, A 25 contains a significant amount of poetry, a fact that does not tally at all with the manuscript described as containing *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* in the A 34 lists. Instead, it seems more likely that the

[46]Gilbert, 'Manuscripts', 611.

[47]Gilbert, 'Manuscripts', 605.

[48]Arbois de Jubainville, *Essai*, lxxxiv and 75; Flower, *Catalogue*, 401. Flower provides page references both to Gilbert's description of his manuscript no. 30 and to his transcription of A 34, thus probably indicating that he considered them to be the same manuscript.

[49]Arbois de Jubainville, *Essai*, lxxxiv. Arbois de Jubainville did not, of course, use the number A 25, but his description of the manuscript, including folio numbers, make it clear that he is referring to manuscript now catalogued as A 25.

[50]Douglas Hyde (ed. and trans.), *Giolla an Fhiugha; or, The Lad of the Ferule. Eachtra Cloinne Righ na h-Ioruaiḋe; or, Adventures of the Children of the King of Norway*, ITS 1 (London, 1899), xiii. For other references regarding A 25, see the Dillon, Mooney and de Brún, *Catalogue*, 51.

[51]Dillon, Mooney, and de Brún, *Catalogue*, Table 1, xxi, and n. 57.

[52]The tales do in fact appear together in UCD A 59, but this manuscript was not added to the collection until 1977 (de Brún, 'Two additions').

[53]Arbois de Jubainville, *Essai*, 75: 'un manuscrit de ce morceau appartenait à Colgan quand il mourut à Louvain en 1658: Gilbert, *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Mss.*, p. 611, col. 2. M. Gilbert, p. 605, col. 1 a classé ce manuscrit sous le n° XXX de la collection de Franciscains de Dublin, Je n'ai pas eu le talent de le retrouver'.

[54]See the description of the manuscript in Dillon, Mooney and de Brún, *Catalogue*, 50–1.

current manuscript A 25 is the manuscript described as follows in the A 34 list: 'Liber in 4° continens varia Poemata Hibernica / St*air* t*riar* mac rí na Hioruaid*h*e / com*h*rac f*h*irdæ ⁊ c*h*oncculuin*n*'.[55] For ease of reference, I will refer to the manuscript description in A 34 that refers to *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* as A 34(a) and the description just cited, which is likely to be the surviving manuscript A 25, as A 34(b).

Gilbert's manuscript no. 30 may have been lost after he carried out his inventory; indeed, the 1969 catalogue of the Irish manuscripts at Killiney contains no reference to any account of the Battle of Mag Mucrama, medieval or modern. I have been unable to consult the lists made by O'Reilly at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century to ascertain whether he includes any reference to the manuscript.[56] However, as seen above, the surviving manuscripts do include a copy of Cú Chulainn's death tale. Thus, there are the following three possible ways of explaining the joint appearance of *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* and the death of Cú Chulainn in Gilbert's manuscript no. 30:

- There may have been two copies of *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* at Louvain; one as described in A 34(a) and one contained in A 25, from which it was lost or removed; however, in this case, one might still reasonably expect CMM² to feature in the contents of A 25 as described in A 34(b) given that it is mentioned in A 34(a).

- Alternatively, Gilbert's manuscript no. 30 may be completely separate from either A 34(a) or A 34(b) and could in fact be a second copy of both *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* and the death of Cú Chulainn. However, A 34 does not explicitly refer to a second copy of either text, though it should be taken into account that not all manuscript descriptions in the A 34 lists provide all names of individual texts. It would also mean that *both* copies of *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* and one copy of the death of Cú Chulainn had gone missing from the library since Gilbert's survey.

- Finally, A 25 and the manuscript containing *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* may have been bound together after the lists in A 34 were compiled and presented to Gilbert as one volume, subsequently recorded by him as manuscript no. 30; this would also mean that these manuscripts were separated again at some point after Gilbert's survey had been completed and the *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* part of the manuscript, perhaps identical with A 34(a), had then been lost.

None of these solutions is entirely satisfactory, but the third is perhaps more feasible than the first two. In this case, the statement that Gilbert's manuscript

[55] Item 2, p. 4. The manuscript is also listed in Item 1, p. 2 ('Liber in 4°. continens varia poemata Hibernica: Acta conficta filior*um* Regis No\r/wegiæ; pugnam firdía ⁊ conc*h*ulain etc.') and Item 3, p. 2 (text identical to Item 1). No manuscript corresponding to this description can be identified in Gilbert's inventory list.

[56] On these lists and for a concordance of manuscript numbers, see Dillon, Mooney and de Brún, *Catalogue*, xix–xxii.

no. 30 is identical with A 25 would be at least partially correct. Ultimately, however, the copy of *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* listed in A 34(a) does not survive today, and the discussion above has shown that it is unlikely that even parts of the manuscript in which it was contained survive. Thus very little can be said regarding its date or the exact nature of its text of the tale. Furthermore, it is not possible to say whether the manuscript in Colgan's possession at the time of his death was available to Ó Cléirigh when he was working on the annotated version of the martyrology. Nonetheless, the reference in A 34(a) is significant, as it indicates that such a text may have been considered a source of interest in Louvain and may well have been regarded as an acceptable source for Micheál Ó Cléirigh's work on the martyrology.

The text of CMM²

To return to the text of CMM² itself, in the short passage on Art and Treóit alone, the manuscript copies I have consulted show significant differences, as will be seen below. As my interest in this context is on this episode's relationship with the martyrology, I have focused on the episode of Art's experience at Treóit and have not analysed the tale in its entirety or examined such questions as the episode's position within it. Given the divergence and manuscript groupings that can be established for this short passage alone, Ó Dúnlainge's text is unlikely to be representative of the textual tradition as a whole and likely reflects one version of the tale.

The first line of the poem

Most of the manuscripts I have identified so far date to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and, as mentioned, only NLS Adv. 72.1.38 can be dated to roughly the same time as the Martyrology of Donegal. Thus, while I have not been able to find any other surviving manuscripts from this period, this manuscript and the copy of the tale probably present in Louvain indicate that the text was known in the first half to middle of the seventeenth century.

The various manuscripts of the tale that contain Art's poem differ both in the number of stanzas transmitted, ranging from 1 to 25, and in the wording of the first line of the poem. Moreover, some manuscripts omit the poem entirely. Of those for which I have sufficient detail of the text, 62 copies of the tale contain the poem and 19 do not. Of these, only those manuscripts I have been able to consult either in person or as images, 53 in total, have been included in the discussion here. In one of these, NLS Adv. 72.2.8, the script is so badly faded that the poem is only very partially legible, and it is impossible to determine the wording of the first line or the length of the poem. This manuscript has therefore been omitted from the following considerations.

On the basis of the variation amongst this group of manuscripts, I have divided the ones that contain the poem into five groups, which I have labelled A to E. Groups A and C are further subdivided into A1 and A2 and C1 and C2 as the quality in the final consonant of the last word varies, reflected in the spellings 'dein', 'den' and 'dean'. My working hypothesis is that these groups arise from different lines of transmission and may be linked to different versions

of CMM², although only a full examination of the text and manuscript tradition of the tale would bring certainty on this. The following list gives the form of the first line in each group and, indented, the manuscripts that belong to this group.

A1 *Caoin do dionnaibh de(i)n* (nine manuscripts)
Maynooth R70; NLS Adv. 72.1.38; RIA 24 L 8 (121); RIA 24 C 8 (288); RIA 23 E 4 (524); RIA 23 H 12 (705); RIA 24 I 9 (930); TCD H 1. 13 (1287); TCD H 2. 5 (1296)

A2 *Caoin do dionnaibh dean* (two manuscripts)
NLI G18; RIA 24 L 26 (776)

B *Caoin do dheanamh is do ghean* (four manuscripts)
BL Add. 29614; Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3095; TCD H 6. 7 (1411); RIA 23 H 18 (707)

C1 *Caoidhin do dheanamh a dhein* (thirteen manuscripts)
BL Eg. 150; Coláiste Cholmáin, Mainistir Fhear Maí 34, Liverpool, University Library, M12029; Maynooth M20; Maynooth M67; NLI G22; RIA F iv 1 (267); RIA 23 I 47 (431); RIA 23 D 46 (521); RIA 24 L 21 (816); RIA 12 F 20 (897); RIA 23 E 15 (1029); to this group can be added BL, Eg. 114, which is a nineteenth-century transcript by John O'Donovan of Eg. 150

C2 *Caoin do dheanamh a dhean* (seventeen manuscripts)
BL Eg. 106; Maynooth C37(a); Maynooth C37(b); Maynooth M51; Maynooth M55; NUI Galway Hyde 51; RIA 23 D 22 (33); RIA 24 P 6 (94) (second version); RIA 24 P 10 (96); RIA 23 H 16 (115); RIA 23 K 37 (152); RIA 23 O 37 (197); RIA 3 B 12 (212); RIA 23 L 27 (556); RIA 23 M 47 (973); RIA 23 G 10 (974); RIA 23 N 19 (1030)

D *Caoíne do dheanam a dhe(a)n* (three manuscripts)
RIA D iii 2 (619); TCD H 1. 15 (1289); UCC 96.

A further manuscript, MS Ir 12 at Houghton Library, Harvard University, contains the first stanza of the poem, with the first line reading '[C]aoin do deanam*h* do d*h*ean'. This cannot be clearly assigned to the groups outlined.

It is clear that the first line of the poem quoted in the Martyrology of Donegal corresponds to the line as found in the Group A1 manuscripts. While a comparison of a single line of poetry may seem a slim basis for such an association, there are a few points that justify it. From a purely practical point of view, the martyrology only preserves the first line of the poem and so that is what must be compared. More importantly, however, if as is argued here, a written version of CMM² formed the source of the martyrology text, one would imagine that that source contained the line of verse as preserved in the martyrology. While Ó Cléirigh may have intervened in the text, as suggested below

with regard to the prose, the verse line tallies with this group of manuscript witnesses and an association thus seems a reasonable inference.[57]

When taking groups A1 and A2 together, it becomes clear that they also share another feature not found in the other manuscripts, namely the length of the poem. The number of stanzas in the poem varies across the manuscripts of CMM², with some citing only the first stanza and others giving fuller versions of the poem consisting of 20, 21, 22, 23.5, 24.5 or 25 stanzas.[58] While the most common length is 22 stanzas, the 25-stanza version of the poem appears to be exclusive to groups A1 and A2.[59] It should be noted that some of the manuscripts in the other groups only cite the first stanza and we cannot, therefore, tell how long a fuller version would have been.[60] Nevertheless, this distribution is striking, suggesting that Group A is indeed a distinct group and that it may reflect a particular phase in the text's history or a separate line of transmission.

Four other manuscripts, Cashel 4729 (now University of Limerick, Bolton Library MS 22), NLI G161, UCD A 59 and BL Add. 18947 contain lines which may be corrupted forms of Group A. The Cashel manuscript has the first line 'Caoin do d*h*ionnaib*h*', G161 reads 'Caoin do dionad dein', UCD A 59 gives 'Caoin do d*h*iona déan' and BL Add. 18947 has '[C]aon do dhenábha ccéin'. Of these, G161 and A 59 also contain 25 stanzas. The Cashel manuscript contains 24 stanzas plus an extra line. Taken together with the anomalous first line, it is possible that this manuscript contains a corrupted version of the 25-stanza poem beginning 'Caoin do dionnaibh de(i)n' or 'Caoin do dionnaibh dean'. The British Library manuscript only contains the first stanza of the poem. While the first line is clearly problematic, nothing can be said beyond that.

Interestingly, Group A also contains the oldest manuscript identified so far, NLS Adv. 72.1.38. Furthermore, while the precise relationship between the episode in CMM² and *Fástini Airt* is unclear, the 25-stanza version of the poem is closer to the medieval text than the other shorter versions of the poem, as the three additional stanzas contained in the 25-stanza version have equivalents in *Fástini Airt*. Finally, of the various first lines, the version in Group A is closest to *Fástini Airt's* 'Cain do denna den'. There may be grounds, then, for arguing that this group of manuscripts reflects the oldest strand in the extant Early Modern transmission of the poem, and this is a possibility that should be investigated further in any future, more detailed examination of the overall textual variation in the manuscripts of CMM².

As a provisional conclusion, it may be suggested that the Martyrology of Donegal appears to be related to this strand in the textual development of *Cath*

[57]The citation of the first line of a poem is also in itself not an unusual practice and one might therefore assume the first line to carry a degree of authority.

[58]Problems with the legibility of NUI Galway, Hyde 51, make it difficult to determine the exact length of the poem, but it appears to contain 23 stanzas or 23 stanzas plus an extra half-stanza.

[59]There are two manuscripts containing the 25-stanza version of the poem that I omit from my grouping as I have not been able to double-check their readings due to library closures. These are NLI MS G296 and TCD MS H 3. 10 (1329), both from the eighteenth century.

[60]These are in Group C2: Maynooth M51, RIA 23 O 37 (197), RIA 23 G 10, RIA 23 M 47, RIA 23 G 10 (974).

Mhaighe Mochroimhe and, if one accepts that it is directly dependent on the tale, is likely to have been based on a version of the tale that contained 25 stanzas of the poem.

The sods of earth

Turning to the other difference mentioned above, i.e. the placement of the sods of earth, this concerns the number of sods actually mentioned in CMM² as compared to the Martyrology of Donegal. Given that the first line of the poem in the martyrology appears to be related to a particular group of CMM² manuscripts, namely those in Group A above, in the following I will compare the text of those manuscripts, including the four doubtful manuscripts Cashel 4729 (University of Limerick, Bolton Library MS 22), NLI G161, UCD A 59 and BL Add. 18947. The focus on this group assumes that the association between the martyrology of the Group A version of the text is secure, and while further research may revise this assumption, the reasons justifying it have been outlined above.

Of these manuscripts, i.e. Group A and the four doubtful copies, BL Add. 18947 does not contain the detailed etymology given in the text as cited above from Ó Dúnlainge's edition and the martyrology in that the placement of the three sods is not described to the same extent as in the other manuscripts. BL Add. 18947 is also the only manuscript in this group to cite just the first stanza and it may be that this version is generally less detailed.

The other manuscripts are more detailed and can be divided into two groups as follows (insignificant variations in spelling or wording have not been taken into account and are ignored in the following headings):

Group 1 — *fód fám chenn ⁊ fód fám chosaibh ⁊ fód ceachtar mo dhá thaoibh* (alt. *fód ceachtar dom dhá thaobh*) ('a sod beneath my head, and a sod under my legs/feet, and a sod for each of my two sides'):
Cashel 4729/Limerick Bolton 22; NLI G18; NLI G161; NLS Adv. 72.1.38; RIA 24 L 8 (121); RIA 24 C 8 (288); RIA 23 E 4 (524); RIA 24 L 26 (776); TCD H 1. 13 (1287); TCD H 2. 5 (1296), UCD A 59;

Group 2 — *fód fám cheann, fód fám chosaibh ⁊ fód fám dhá tháobh* ('a sod under my head, a sod under my legs/feet, and a sod under my two sides'):
Maynooth R70; RIA 23 H 12 (705); RIA 24 I 9 (930).

It is noticeable that, although the supposed etymology of Treóit is 'three sods', the wording in Group 1 is ambiguous. The possible distributive use of *ceachtar* to reference a sod beneath each of Art's two sides may be read as indicating two distinct sods, which would bring the total count up to four. In Group 2, the ambiguity is less obvious as the text leaves more room for the reference to be to one large sod that is big enough to accommodate the width of Art's body. Moreover, although there are three manuscripts in Group 2 as given here, they are related to each other, and all are linked to 'Leabhar Muimhneach'. The Maynooth manuscript and RIA 24 I 9 (930) were copied by the same scribe,

Mícheál Ó Raghallaigh, and a note in the third manuscript, RIA 23 H 12 (705), states that it was also copied from a manuscript by Mícheál Ó Raghallaigh.[61]

The martyrology diverges from Groups 1 and 2 at this point and only mentions a sod beneath Art's head and beneath each of his sides. The feet/legs are ignored entirely, but the distributive pronoun *ceachtar* is also used. However, unlike in Group 1, there is no ambiguity about the number of sods. The question arises as to whether Michéal Ó Cléirigh's version derived from his source, was an oversight on his part or is the result of a deliberate intervention of his to regularise the text by highlighting the perceived etymology of Treóit more clearly.[62] As Pádraig A. Breatnach has remarked, Ó Cléirigh, in comments from 1629, complains about having to copy his sources exactly, including any errors he identified in them, but according to Breatnach, such comments do not recur in the later period of his work.[63] If one accepts that the Martyrology of Donegal was drawing on a version of *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe*, the martyrology's peculiarity regarding the sods of earth *may* reflect Ó Cléirigh's desire to correct his sources, although his annotations presumably date to around the time of the complaints noted by Breatnach.

A comparison with The Annals of the Four Masters and Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae

It has been argued above that the first line cited in the Martyrology of Donegal may be an indication of which version of CMM² underlies the account. It may further be of interest to take into consideration references to Art in three other works produced by Micheál Ó Cléirigh and his associates in order to see whether this potential influence of CMM² can also be detected there. These are the *Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae*, the Annals of the Four Masters and *Leabhar Gabhála*.[64] The *Genealogiae* existed in draft form at the time the annotated version of the martyrology was being compiled and the Annals

[61] It may be of interest to note that the version of the etymology involving the word *ceachtar* is by far the most common, including in manuscripts outside Group A. The other variants found outside Group A are a version including the word *dhá* and variants that do not: (1) *fód fám chosaibh, fód dom dá tháobh ⁊ fód fám cheann*; (2) *fód fám chosaibh, fód fám cheann ⁊ fód fám tháobh*; and (3) *fód fám cheann, fód fám chosaibh ⁊ fód fám tháobh* (spellings normalised). Ó Dúnlainge's edition, which is based on RIA manuscripts 23 M 47, 23 G 10, 23 L 27 and 23 K 7, presents yet another version, reading *fód fám' cheann, fod fám tadh*bh*, agus fód fám' chosaibh*. As the anonymous reviewer has pointed out to me, this last variant is less ambiguous than the two variants presented here from the Group A manuscripts. However, 23 M 47, 23 G 10, and 23 K 7 all include the word *ceachtar*, so Ó Dúnlainge's version must derive from 23 L 27, for which I have not been able to double-check the prose section.

[62] As stated in the previous note, three of Ó Dúnlainge's four manuscripts actually contain the version of the etymology including *ceachtar*. At the very least, then, Ó Dúnlainge also appears to have felt the need to choose a more logical reading than that presented by the *ceachtar* manuscripts.

[63] Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'An Irish Bollandus: Fr Hugh Ward OFM and the Louvain hagiographical enterprise', *Éigse* 31 (1999), 1–30, at 15–16.

[64] For an overview of these texts as a group, see Pádraig A. Breatnach, *The Four Masters and their Manuscripts: Studies in Palaeography and Text* (Dublin, 2013), 1–10.

may also have been partially available in draft form.[65] To date, there is no full edition of the Four Masters' recension of *Leabhar Gabhála*, so I refer to two manuscripts: Royal Irish Academy 23 M 70, written by Michéal Ó Cléirigh and probably closest to the version of the text completed in 1631, and Royal Irish Academy 23 K 32 (617), written by Cú Choigcríche O Cléirigh and likely representing his own expansion of the material prepared by 1631.[66]

The *Genealogiae* contain the following reference to Art and his death:

> Art m Cuinn cétcathaig deich mbliadhna fichet go ttorcair la Lucchaid mac Maic Niadha a ccath Moighe Mucroimhe do laimh Lioghairne laighnigh A. M. 5394, A. D. 195.[67]
>
> 'Art mac Cuinn cétcathaig, 30 years until he fell due to Lucchad mac Maic Niadha in the Battle of Mag Mucraime by the hand of Liogharne laighnigh.'

In the Annals of the Four Masters, the description of the battle reads as follows:

> Iar mbeith triocha bliadhain hi righe hEreann dArt, mac Cuinn Cédcathaigh, torcair hi ccath Moighe Mucraimhe la Mac Con go na allmarchoibh. Torcratar beos isin cath cedna maraon re hArt, meic a Sethar Saidbe ingine Cuind .i. seacht maca Oiliolla Oluim, tangatur lais i naghaidh Mic Con a nderbrathar, Eoghan Mór Dubhmerchon, Mughcorb, Lughaidh, Eochaidh, Dichorb, ⁊ Tadcc a nanmanna, ⁊ Béinne Briot, ri Bretan ro imir lamha forra. Torchair Beinde la Lughaidh Lagha a ccionaidh a bhráithrech. Liogairne Leacanfhoda, mac Aengusa Bailbh, mic Eathach Finn-fuathnairt, ro imbir lamha for Art isin cath sin Moighe Muccroimhe, iar ttocht do hi sochraide Mic Con.
>
> 'After Art, the son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, had been thirty years in the sovereignty of Ireland, he fell in the battle of Magh-Mucruihme, by Maccon and his foreigners. In the same battle, along with Art, fell also the sons of his sister, Sadhbh, daughter of Conn, namely, the seven sons of Oilioll Olum, who had come with him against Maccon, their brother. Eoghan Mor, Dubhmerchon, Mughcorb, Lughaidh, Eochaidh, Diochorb, and Tadhg, were their names; and Beinne Brit, King of Britain, was he who laid [violent] hands upon them. Beinne was slain by Lighaidh Lagha, in revenge of his relatives. Lioghairne of the Long Cheeks, son of Aenghus Balbh, son of Eochaidh Finn Fuathairt, was he who laid

[65] Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 291 (on the *Genealogiae*) and 290 (on the Annals). Moreover, Cunningham has noted a close connection between *AFM* and the Martyrology of Donegal in terms of the saints whose obits are mentioned in *AFM* (Cunningham, *The Annals*, 226).

[66] A detailed discussion of these manuscripts is found in Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'On the Ó Cléirigh recension of *Leabhar gabhála*', *Éigse* 37 (2010), 1–57. Both are available on *ISOS*.

[67] Walsh, Paul (ed.), Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae *by the Four Masters* (Maynooth and Dublin, 1918), 27.

> [violent] hands upon Art in this battle of Magh-Mucruimhe, after he had joined the forces of Maccon.'[68]

The two manuscripts of *Leabhar Gabhála* considered here present an interesting contrast, with 23 K 32 presenting a much fuller entry on Art's reign than 23 M 70, in keeping with their relationship as a whole. I cite only the sentence relevant to Art's death and note that neither manuscript refers to Art's experience at Treóit.

23 M 70, fols. 94v[69]

> Gabois t*ra* Art m*ac* Cuin*n* c*et* cath*ach* an rig*h*e deich mbl*iadna* fichet go ttorc*air* a ccat*h* muc*ra*m*h*a la lug*haid* m*ac* *con* & lioghairne loigneach ro imb*ir* lamh fair.
>
> 'Art mac mac Cuinn cétcathaig took the kingship for 30 years until he fell in the battle of Mag Mucramha by Lugaid Mac Con and it was Liogairne Loigneach who carried out violence agaist him.'

23 K 32, p. 148

> Liog*h*airne lea*con*foda m*ac* aeng*h*usa bailb m*aic* each*aid* fin*n* fuat*h*airt baoi for dibeirg iffarr*adh* meic con ro imbir lam*h*a for an rig*h* Art. Deich mbl*iadh*na fic*h*eat do Art ina Rig*h* gó si*n*.
>
> 'Lioghairne Leacanfoda mac Aengussa bailb maic Eochaid was engaged in vengeance in the company of Mac Con. He carried out violence against the king, Art. Art had been king for 30 years up until then.'

The use of the *ro imbir* in both manuscripts and the fuller genealogy of Liogairne in 23 K 32 align both versions more closely with the text in *AFM* than that in the *Genealogiae*. All of these texts diverge from the medieval account of the battle, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, in attributing Art's death to Ligairne rather than Lugaid Lága. In the case of the *Genealogiae*, Lugaid mac Macnia is also mentioned, though he is not referenced as being associated with Art's death in the other sources discussed here.[70] Dobbs and O Daly drew attention to the discrepancy regarding the identity of Art's killer in various medieval and Early Modern sources,[71] including two poems in *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh* as well as O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*.[72] The first of the two poems is 'A Thaidhg ná tathaoir Torna',[73] in which stanza 61 reads

[68] *AFM* 108–11.

[69] This passage comes at the end of fol. 94. The beginning of 95r is damaged; as a result text has been lost and what remains is fragmentary. As far as can be seen, however, the text on fol. 95r does not concern Art.

[70] Several characters appear to have been known by the name Mac Nia (and variants thereof) as well well as Lugaid, leading to some problems of identification. See Margaret Dobbs, 'Who was Lugaid Mac Con?', *JRSAI* 20 (1930), 165–87, at 175.

[71] Dobbs, 'Who was Lugaid Mac Con?', 179; O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, 8.

[72] The Early Modern poems are found in Lambert McKenna (ed. and trans.), *Iomarbhágh na bhFileaḋ: The Contention of the Bards*, 2 vols, ITS 20, 21 (London, 1918). The passage in O'Flaherty's *Ogygia: Seu, Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia* (London, 1685) is found on p. 328 (not 228 as stated by O Daly).

[73] McKenna, *Iomarbhágh*, 18–27.

> Guin Airt do Lughaidh Lágha
> níor mhaoidhte dhuit go dána
> ní hé Lughaidh do mharbh Art
> acht Lioghairne go laochdacht.
>
> 'You should not have attributed so boldly the death of Art to Lughaidh Lagha. It was not Lughaidh who killed Art but Lioghairne in brave combat.'[74]

The second poem is 'Ro chuala ar thagrais a Thaidhg',[75] in which stanzas 255–268 are wholly or in part concerned with the question and which appear to contain references to other sources, though these are not identified by McKenna. O Daly specifically refers to stanza 257:

> Tar a bhfuair do ghonaibh arm
> is é Líoghairne ros mharbh
> iar dtuitim Airt ar an maigh
> is ann ros dhícheann Lughaidh.
>
> 'After all the sword-wounds Art received, Lioghairne killed him. When he was dead on the field Lugh[aidh] beheaded him.'[76]

Both of these poems are attributed to Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh, an acknowledged influence on Michéal Ó Cléirigh's work.[77]

In the late seventeenth century, O'Flaherty's *Ogygia* also suggests competing traditions. He also involves both Lugaid and Ligairne and concludes *Uter eorum vero lethale vulnus inflixit, uter caput scidit? disquisitione, aut controversia dignum non judico* 'I do not consider [the question of] which of the two actually inflicted the lethal wound and which severed the head worthy of investigation or debate'.[78] In the edited version of CMM², however, it is also Lugaid Lága who kills Art, and Ligairne does not come into play; the manuscripts which I have so far consulted on this point agree, including the oldest manuscript, NLS, Adv. 72.1.38, with which the martyrology shares a first line. Thus, provisionally, it appears that Ligairne does not have a role in Art's death in CMM², and Ó Cléirigh's information on this point may have been derived from a different source. The textual examples cited above serve to show that, while CMM² appears to have influenced Ó Cléirigh's addition to the martyrology regarding the naming of Treóit, the other texts in which he was involved show influence from a different tradition to the one underlying CMM². It appears that CMM² was valuable for the information it could give on Treóit but it did not serve as a source for other information on Art.

Another point can be added to the examination of the passages quoted above. The Annals of the Four Masters list the sons of Ailill Ólomm that

[74]McKenna, *Iomarbhágh*, 26–7.
[75]McKenna, *Iomarbhágh*, 54–91.
[76]McKenna, *Iomarbhágh*, 88–9.
[77]For details of this, see Cunningham, *The Annals*, 268–70 and passim.
[78]O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, 329; my translation.

are killed in the battle, and the order in which they are listed corresponds, with one exception, to the order in which Ailill is given news of his sons' death in *Nuallghubha Oiliolla Oluim*. *Nuallghubha* is a text which frequently accompanies CMM² in manuscripts of all the groupings above and thus the similarities with *AFM* could potentially indicate a connection. The one exception to the order given in *AFM* and *Nuallghubha* is Eoghan Mór, whom *AFM* mentions first, but who is mentioned last in *Nuallghubha* as printed in the edited version of CMM². Ailill's reaction in that text to the *giolla* who conveys the news of Eoghan's death is more extreme than when he is told about his other sons' deaths:

> Ad! Ad! Ad! Uch! Uch! Uch! is faobhrach ro bheanais riom, óir do dhallais mo rosg, do bhodhrais mo chluas, do lagais mo lámh, do ghearrais mo réim, do chiorrais mo ré, go bhfuilid caoba fola flann-ruadha i gcompar mo chléibh, agus d'ionnarbais mo chroidhe as mo chlé-thaobh, go bhfuil 'san taobh ar aill.[79]
>
> 'Oh! Oh! Oh! Alas! Alas! Alas! It is sharply you have struck at me, since you have blinded my eye, you have deafened my ear, you have weakened my arm, you have cut short my course, you have destroyed my life, so that they are tears of very red blood in my chest, and you have banished my heart from my left side, so that it is in the other side.'

Ailill then recites a verse, as he also does regarding each of his other sons, but like the prose reaction, the verse is lengthier in Eoghan's case. Whether this is because it is the final piece of bad news in a series of blows or whether it is because he considered Eoghan the greatest of his sons is not clear. In the latter case, this might explain his different position as the first of the sons in the annal entry, but as last in the narrative text where the account builds up to the news of his death.

The medieval account *Cath Maige Mucrama* does, of course, include references to Ailill's seven sons dying, but they are not named.[80] Their names are, however, given in the poems 'Beir mo scíath' and 'A maccáin na cī', both preserved in the Book of Leinster.[81] These poems were edited and translated by Mac Neill together with *Fástini Airt*, and their connection to *Cath Maige Mucrama* and CMM² has been noted on a number of occasions.[82] In 'Beir mo scíath', the order in which Ailill's sons are named is essentially the same as in *AFM* and CMM², but Eoghan's name is found in yet another position:

[79] Ó Dúnlainge, 'Cath Mhuighe Mochruimhe', 78; my translation.

[80] O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, 56 (text) and 57 (translation): *Atá a n-otharlaige frisin n-áth atúaid .i. secht meic Aillela Óluim* 'The grave of the seven sons of Ailill Ólom is to the north of the ford'.

[81] Mac Neill, 'Three poems', 540–45.

[82] See Mac Neill, 'Three poems', 556 n. 22–4 and 28; O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, 1; Flower, *Catalogue*, 400.

Mo shecht maicc ro-s-marb Macc Con
issē a nglo nglechrach ngarg
Dubmercon Mug Corp Eogan
Lugaid Echaid Dichorp Tadc.

'My seven sons, Mac Con slew them, he is (the cause of) their vehement wild bewailing, Dubmercon, Mug Corp, Eogan, Lugaid, Echaid, Dichorp, Tadg.'[83]

'A maccáin na cī' gives a different order overall, but it emphasises Eogan's special importance to Ailill:

Ro-marbad mo macc ⁊ mo shé meicc.
diliu lim mo macc andát mo shecht meicc.

Mug Corb. is Dubmercon. Dichorb. Eocho ard.
ropdar crōda cruaid Lugaid ⁊ Tadg.

Diliu lim-sa Eogan andat ciarbat ile
rop é smir mo chnāma rop hí in chuslend cride.

Rop é con mo shlúaigh rop é mo choll ciúin
rop é cuit mo bél rop hí mo chruit ciūil.

Am cumthach dia éis nidam tualnge dúis
am aneoil dia ēis is todiúir mo gnúis.

'My son was slain and my six sons; dearer to me my son than my seven sons.

Mug Corb and Dubmercon, Dichorb, tall Eocho, they were brave and hardy, Lugaid and Tadg.

Dearer to me Eogan than they, though they were many; he was the marrow of my bones, he was the heart's vein.

He was the head of my host, he was my gentle hazel, he was the food of my lips, he was the harp of music.

I am sorrowful after him, I am incapable of joy (?), I am senseless after him, my aspect is miserable.'[84]

While the constraints of verse must be taken into account with these two poems, the second citation shows that the order of the names was not fixed enough to prevent variation and this may give more weight to the similarities between *AFM* and CMM² in this regard. However, the citation from 'Beir mo scíath' also shows that CMM²/*Nuallghubha* was not alone in employing the basic order found in these texts. As with the identity of who killed Art,[85] the examination of

[83] Mac Neill, 'Three poems', 542–3.

[84] Mac Neill, 'Three poems', 546–53 at 548–9.

[85] Moreover, any order may also have been influenced by factors such as the perceived age of the sons. I thank the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

the names of Ailill's sons provides no clear indication that CMM² and by association *Nuallghubha* played a role in the work of Ó Cléirigh and his associates beyond providing the passage on the renaming of Treóit.

Why include Art in the martyrology?

Compared to the other texts that refer to Art's burial at Treóit, i.e. the medieval texts *Fástini Airt* and *Senchas na Relec* and the Early Modern text CMM², the martyrology stands out because it is the only one that brings together hagiographical information on Lonán with the story of Art's experience at Treóit and the resultant change in name from Duma Derglúachra to Treóit. As the two components of the martyrology's entry are not linked internally by their narrative and only through their association with Treóit, the fact that they are not found together elsewhere is not necessarily surprising.[86] However, it does raise the question of why the story of Art's conversion is included in the martyrology. While the account is religious in nature, it is not hagiological. The sources of the martyrology underline the relevance of the question: while the sources listed by Ó Riain of the annotated version of the martyrology include a number of poems, the majority of source texts is hagiographical in nature.

It is clear that the martyrology was not intended for use in a liturgical context,[87] and it could be argued that the Treóit entry illustrates this well: in this small section, the vision experienced by a pre-Christian king precedes the genealogy of the saint with whom the entry is concerned. The relevance of Art's vision to the entry seems to lie not in any connection to Lonán but in the name of the place itself, providing an etymology for the name Treóit. An interest in placenames does occasionally surface elsewhere in the Martyrology of Donegal, although it is not an overriding theme. The locations of churches are sometimes identified on the basis of personal geographical knowledge,[88] and at times, the names of the places are elucidated, as in the long 9 June entry on Colum Cille, where the name 'Ath-an-Carpaid' is explained as deriving from a broken chariot.[89] On 8 September, the entry for Colum of Ros Glanda is probably the closest in nature to the entry on Lonán and the story of Art, including both an etymology of the placename as well the reference to a change in name:

> Coluim, Rois glanda, .i. glan ainm tioprat boí ann ria bPáttraicc, acus Domhnach mór Maighe Iomchlair a ainm aniu ó do bheannaigh Pátraicc ann, a Tír Eoghan atásidhe.
>
> 'Colum, of Ros Glanda: i.e. Glan is the name of a well which was there before Patrick; and Domhnach-mór Maighe Imchlair is

[86]It might be argued that *Fástini Airt*'s interest in the foundation and *Senchas na Relec*'s focus on burial sites rather than individual biographies could have offered a space to provide information on the saint associated with the church in question, but this may not have made sense within the narrative focus and structure of the texts.

[87]Cf. Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 312–13.

[88]For other examples, see Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 290 and 309–10.

[89]Todd, Reeves and O'Donovan, *Martyrology*, 154.

> its name at this day, since Patrick blessed it. In Tir-Eoghain it is situated.'[90]

It is tempting to associate this interest in the name of the church with the fragmentary lists of placenames preserved in UCD, Franciscan A 31, which are connected to Louvain.[91] By the nature of these lists, the name Treóit does not appear in them: none covers those sections of the alphabet or the regions of Ireland in which Treóit would be expected to appear. However, it cannot be argued that the Martyrology of Donegal reflects a particular interest in such matters; the ancestry of the various saints, for example, is referenced much more frequently. Thus, while there does appear to have been an interest in collecting placenames in Louvain, it is possible that this occasional interest in placenames in the martyrology has its origins elsewhere. Etymology is a common feature of medieval Irish literature and the martyrology may reflect a continuation of this interest. The commentary on *Félire Óengusso*, for example, also includes numerous etymologies. While most of these are of saints' names, some provide short placename etymologies that are unconnected with the saint in question.[92] Thus, the inclusion of the episode of Art's conversion and the recourse to a non-hagiographical source is in keeping with medieval practice, which would have been evident in the sources available to Ó Cléirigh and his collaborators.

CONCLUSION

A detailed consideration of the 1 November entry for Lonán suggests that *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* is likely to have been a source for information in the Martyrology of Donegal. While the sources of the martyrology are of course manifold, this argument has potential implications for the textual history of

[90] Todd, Reeves and O'Donovan, *Martyrology*, 238 (text), 239 (translation). The words 'ó do bheannaigh Pátraicc ann' are added above the line.

[91] Digital images available on *ISOS* (accessed 24 November 2020). On the lists preserved in the manuscripts, see Canice Mooney, 'Topographical fragments from the Franciscan library', *Celtica* 1 (1950), 64–85. Pádraig Breatnach has suggested that Item 8, which Mooney describes as possibly being 'intended as an index of placenames occurring in the Martyrology' of Donegal ('Topographical fragments', 81), might be linked to *De Nomenclatura Hiberniae*, a title attested for a text available in Louvain in the seventeenth century but no longer extant: Breatnach, 'An Irish Bollandus', 24.

[92] Two examples of such brief accounts, chosen at random to illustrate the point, are the etymological notes on Dún Blésce (3 January, saint: Findlug) and on Cenn Etig (7 April, saint: Fínan). The 3 January entry reads 'Dun-bléisci .i. Flesc nomen amnis qui est iuxta urbem, et ab eo nominatur (L). Blesc ainm muccida rig Húa Cuanach. is e ro bui isin dunad sin artus, unde nominatur (LL)' ('of Dún-bléisce, that is, Flesc is the name of the river which is next to the settlement, and from that it is named (L). Blesc was the name of the swineherd of the king of Uí Cuanach. It is he who was originally in that fort, from which it is named (LL)'.) The text is taken from Stokes, *Félire*, 40. The letters in brackets indicate the manuscripts as given by Stokes. L: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 610; LL: the Book of Leinster. As Stokes does not translate the Latin passage, the translation is my own. The 7 April entry reads as follows: '*Cennetig* .i. Etęch muime na Fian ro hort ann. *Nó* Cell eti o eti in prechain ro faid Brenaind roime a tuaid o Cl*úain* ferta B*r*enaint. (R²)' ('*of Cenn-etig*, i.e. Etech, the nurse of the Fians, was slain there. Or *Cell eti* (is the right reading) from the flying of the (pet) scallcrow that Brénainn sent out of the north from Clúain ferta Brénainn'; Stokes, *Félire*, 112–13. R²: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 512).

CMM² and adds a further small piece to the picture of the sources used by Ó Cléirigh and his associates. In the absence of a full discussion of CMM²'s textual history, many of the arguments made here must be considered provisional, but they and the evidence of NLS MS 72.1.38 indicate that a version of *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* was circulating in the early seventeenth century, predating the bulk of the surviving manuscripts. The first line of Art's poem as given in the Martyrology of Donegal aligns it with those manuscripts of CMM² that include the 25-stanza version of the poem and may reflect the oldest strand of transmission in the context of CMM². Moreover, comparison with the Annals of the Four Masters, the *Genealogiae* and *Leabhar Gabhála* indicates that Ó Cléirigh was also familiar with details concerning Art's death that differ from *Cath Maige Mucrama* and the surviving manuscripts of CMM².

It is impossible to say with certainty whether Ó Cléirigh had access to a version of CMM² or whether his account was based on an independently circulating episode of Art at Treóit, but there is no doubt that there is a close connection between the Martyrology of Donegal and the Early Modern saga text, and the balance of the evidence points towards CMM² being a source for the martyrology.

Abbreviation

CMM² *Cath Mhaighe Mochroimhe* (with reference to the text itself and not the critical edition, for which see n. 20)

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VARIA HIBERNICA

1. The syntax of *at-bail* ‘dies, perishes’. 2. *ettae*, 3pl. rel. of *ithid* ‘eats’. 3. *desruith*, *desruithithir*. 4. *bríad* ‘residue’ in *Bérla na Filed*. 5. *maoi* in *Bérla na Filed*.

1. The syntax of *at-bail* ‘dies, perishes’[1]

Amongst the OIr glosses on *Córus Bésgnai* is *ata-baill a n-aurdliged in fine n-ērlama mā cian bedi cen saigid a ndūthaig .i. mā ro-sā rudhrad* ‘their inherent right perishes from the kin of the patron saint if they let a long period of time elapse without seeking their hereditary right, i.e. if it reaches an undue lapse of time’, edited and translated in Breatnach (2017: 276–7 §92).[2] In a note on this (p. 283), I commented that the use of the accusative, doubly marked with a pronoun and a noun object, was noteworthy, and I will now provide a fuller account of the syntax of *at-bail*, and supply additional examples of this particular usage, where the subject of the verb expresses what is lost and the person who undergoes the loss is made the object of the verb.

As noted in *GOI* §423, forms of *at-bail* and its suppletive preterite *at-bath* are normally, but not always, accompanied by an 3sg. neut. infixed pronoun. Examples there referred to include *int í fora tuit-som immurgu at-bail-side* ‘he, however, on whom it falls, he perishes’, *Wb*. 4d15, and *amal arind-chrin dáe 7 asind-bail* ‘as smoke perishes and dies’, *Ml*. 57a10, and, exceptionally without the pronoun, *arnā epíltis oc opair* semper ‘that they might not die by being at work always’, *Ml*. 121d16.

As these examples show, it can take both animate and inanimate subjects, and in the case of the latter the meanings range from ‘perishes’ to, in legal usage, ‘lapses, is forfeit’. Furthermore, the verb can be construed with objects other than the 3sg. neuter infixed pronoun, as will be seen below.

DIL cites examples where the cause of death or perishing of is indicated with the preposition *di*, e.g. *mani eple dē* ‘if he dies not of it’, *Sg*. 181a5, and *fo bīthin at-bathatar dend aīne-sin sruithi* ‘because old men died of that fast’, Gwynn and Purton (1911: 156.5).[3]

Examples are also cited where the cause of death or perishing of both animate and inanimate subjects is indicated either by the ‘acc. or dat.’, e.g.

[1] In what follows, the position of the length-mark and macron is normalised in citations, and macrons, punctuation, and occasionally a different word-division are introduced in citations. Editorial additions are in square brackets. My thanks are due to the editors of *Celtica* and an anonymous reader for a number of improvements, while all remaining shortcomings are my responsibility.

[2] The gloss (= *CIH* 904.28) is part of an extensive Old Irish glossing of *Senchas Már* (*OGSM*), for which see *Companion*, 338–46.

[3] To the examples in *DIL* can be added one from the OIr glossing of *Senchas Már*, viz. *ci ad-bela-som im*murgu *dīa fācbāil a chailce*, *CIH* 924.5, translated ‘though it should die from leaving behind its sting’, Charles-Edwards and Kelly (1983: 67 §29 gl. e).

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at-bēlam gorte ‘we will die of want’, Greene and Kelly (1976: 60–1.1556), and *ni epéla faill ná ésliss* ‘he will not die from neglect or contempt’, Van Hamel (1933: 7.23). An additional example, with an inanimate subject, is *Ní apail íriu ainfaitchius* ‘Land does not lapse from inadvertence’ McLeod (1992: 186–7).

The hesitation in *DIL* as to whether *at-bail* takes the accusative or dative is of course due to the fact that in none of the examples cited do we have a case form of the noun which is unambiguously one or the other. However, two examples not previously taken into account allow us to decide between the two possibilities. The first is the form with an infixed pronoun in verse 27 of *Anmchairdes Mancháin Léith*,[4] the two MS copies of which read:

> Dium*us* frit*h*bruit*h*e indrig*h*a donahui*m*lib dobeir rat*h* foimned digal doen dogni i*n*at ai*n*gil itabat*h*, 23 N 10, p. 90.4–6.
>
> Diu*mm*u*s*s frit*h*bruid*h*e ind righ. dona hu*m*laib doberrat*h* foimnedh diogal doen dogni. inad aingil adigbath, B. IV. 2, fol. 140r19–20.

The best way to account for the variant readings of the final word is to posit an original *adid-bath*, with *adid-* to *ita* in N through loss of final *-d*, and to *adig* in B through confusion of lenited *d* and *g*. Accordingly I would restore and translate as:

> Díummus frithbruítheo ind Ríg
> — dona huimlib do-berr rath —
> foimned dígail dóen do-gní,
> indid aingel adid-bath.
>
> ‘Pride, whereby God is rejected[5] — to the humble grace is given — let the human who practises it beware of punishment, seeing that an angel[6] perished because of it.’

The last line can be translated more literally as ‘since it is an angel who perished because of it’, and *adid-bath* can be analysed as the 3sg. relative preterite form with a class C 3sg. masc. infixed pronoun,[7] referring to *díummus*, as the object of the verb indicating cause.

[4]Ed. from the copies in RIA MSS 23 N 10, pp. 89–90 and B IV 2, fols l39r–140r by Meyer (1910: 310–12). Meyer prints v. 27 as it stands in 23 N 10.

[5]Lit. ‘pride of rejecting of the King’.

[6]That is, Lucifer.

[7]Note that the form of the preverb is *ad-*, not *as-*; for confusion of these preverbs see *GOI* §§822 and 834. The anonymous reader refers to the discussion in Russell (1988: 120–1) and suggests that since the British cognates, e.g. W *aballu* ‘to perish, die’, continue **ad-ball-* with the preverb *ad-*, two compounds, one with **exs-*, the other with **ad-*, might have existed at a prehistoric stage of the languages, so that the OIr forms with *ad-* would be instances of continuity rather than innovation.

One might expect *adid-mbath*, but for the suppression of nasalisation between two consonants see Thurneysen (1905: 1–19), Quin (1979–80) and Roma (2020). Uhlich (2020: 196 n. 6) cites an apposite pair of examples with the 3sg. masc. class C pronoun: *ind hūall rod ngab-som* ‘the pride that had seized him’, *Ml.* 61a1, beside *hūand ūaill rod gab* ‘by the pride that had seized him’, *Ml.* 49a3.

In the second example, the pronoun object indicating cause is fronted and preceded by the copula in a cleft sentence. This is in a passage which probably belongs to *Bretha for Conṡlechtaib*, tract 30 of *Senchas Már*:[8] *neoch má at-bala, ní laimther fortuch nó aurthuch bid ed ad-balad*[9] 'such that if she dies, no one dares to confirm or rebut that it is that which she died of.'[10]

In both of these instances with the pronoun, the cause is indicated by the object of the verb, and accordingly we can conclude that cause was indicated by the accusative case of a noun, not the dative.

DIL cites only one example of a sentence where what perishes or is lost is the subject of the verb and the person who suffers the loss is also expressed, from a MidIr gloss in Digest B32,[11] viz. *ad-bathadar tresin n-iumarbus uile thorad Parrthuis ar Ādam; ad-bathadar ar Aongus a thīre*, *CIH* 1317.39, 'all of the fruits of Paradise were lost to Adam because of the transgression; his lands were lost to Óengus'.[12] To this example of the use of the preposition *ar* before the person suffering the loss (*ar Ādam ... ar Aongus*) can be added an OIr example from tract 14 of *Senchas Már*, viz. *Cis n-é téora haimsera inid apail a torad ar cach flaith* 'What are the three occasions when his fruits perish from every lord'.[13]

The above augmented account of the syntax of *at-bail* as described in the standard reference works can be summarised as follows. The verb usually contains a 3sg. neuter pronoun, the subject can be animate or inanimate, the cause of death or loss can form the object of *at-bail* (in which case a pronoun other than the 3sg. neuter can be used), or be preceded by the preposition *de*, and to express 'X is lost to Y', 'X perishes from Y' the syntagm *at-bail X ar Y* can be used.

A previously unnoticed alternative to this last syntagm, however, is the OIr example with which this paper opens, where what perishes or is lost is the subject of the verb, and the person suffering the loss is the direct object; that is, the syntagm *ad-bail X* (nom.) *Y* (acc.) 'X is lost to Y'. The main purpose of this note is both to supply some further examples, and to show how recognition of the existence of the syntagm can help in the interpretation of OIr texts.

[8] See *Companion*, 301.

[9] Normalised from *neoch ma dbala ni laimter fortuch no urrtuch bidh eadh ad-balat*, the MS text of H 3. 18 p. 280, omitting the glosses and correcting the text as printed in *CIH* 807.2–3. I previously (Breatnach, 1996: 16) normalised the last word as *at-balad*, but as a pronoun is already expressed by *ed*, it should probably be normalised as *ad-balad*; the alternative *at-balad* would only be possible if the *at-* had become petrified, and had no pronominal force. For *-bal-* instead of *-bel-* in the subjunctive, cf. *MĀ 'T-BALAD*, *CIH* 2244.34, 'if it perishes'.

[10] For further details, and for an edition and translation of all of the passage from which this example is taken see Breatnach (1996: 16).

[11] See *Companion*, 58.

[12] *DIL* cites only the last clause. The last syllable of *Parrthuis* is written in MS with the *us*-compendium, and I so expand, rather than *Parrthus* as in *CIH*.

[13] Normalised from *Cisne .iii. haimsera inad apail a torad ar cach flaith*, *CIH* 231.15. The passage which this sentence begins is edited and translated in Breatnach (2010: 114).

The marginal verse in TCD MS H 2. 12 fol. 3v inf. is edited and translated in Culverwell (1913, 134) as:[14]

> Maith ar maith —
> ni hed notbeir de bithflaith;
> fo fri olc — nitebela —
> cen mair cach aen dodgena.
>
> 'Good in return for good is not what shall bring you to the eternal kingdom, [but] good in return for evil — well for him who shall do it — he shall not die (?)'.

There is an inferior copy of this verse in BL MS Additional 30512, fol. 32v, which nevertheless has essentially the same verbal form in the third line: *co frith holc níd ebela*.[15] Culverwell's translation, accompanied by a query, will not really fit, whereas if we take *fō fri olc* as the subject of *nīt ebēla*, and the infixed pronoun in the verbal complex as marking the person undergoing the loss, and translate 'it will not be a loss to you', this will make perfect sense in the context of the quatrain as a whole.

The end of the well-known passage on contracts in the opening tract of *Senchas Már* was edited and translated in Breatnach (2011: 6–7 §10) as: *amail ad-rodad Ádam inna derbdíupairt: at-bath in bith uile ar óenuball*. 'as Adam had been held to his obvious unequal bargain: the whole world perished for a single apple'. The translation was based on assuming that *at-bath* contains the 3sg. neuter pronoun, but in the light of the examples here, one could just as well take *at-bath* to be for *at-mbath*, with a masc. pronoun.[16] Semantics are decisive; it makes much better sense to do so, and translate 'the whole world perished from him', that is, 'he lost the whole world for a single apple'. After all, it is not that the world actually perished, but rather Adam's dominion over the world.

A further example is in *Berrad Airechta*, viz. *ni apaill nech ni ar nos*, *CIH* 599.22. In his edition, Thurneysen (1928: 30 §80) printed *ni apaill nech niarnos*, with a footnote suggesting emending to *na nī arnas*. In accordance with this emendation he translated 'Nichts erstirbt, das "gebunden" worden ist', and Stacey (1986: 227) rendered it as 'Nothing that has been bound is extinguished'. The sentence is cited with a gloss in Digest B 22 as *ni apail nech ni ar nos .i. nochan eiplenn nī ó neoch ara nōs inndligtec*, *CIH* 1310.37, '*ni* ... i.e. nothing perishes from anyone because of their unlawful customary procedure'.[17]

The MS readings of all three instances of the sentence, as well as the gloss, indicate that the original had *ar nós*. Thurneysen's proposed emendation of *nech*

[14] Apart from the form in question here, the linguistic evidence, especially the verbal forms with pronouns *not beir* and *dod-gēna*, points to a date in the OIr period. The metre is *deibide scaílte ngairit*, with the rare inversion of *rinn ocus ardrinn* in the second couplet, for which see Meyer (1913: 10–11) and Mac Cana (1972: 117 n. 2).

[15] For the verses in both MSS, see Breatnach (2020: 82, 84).

[16] For the suppression of nasalisation see fn. 7 above.

[17] The same citation with the same gloss recurs in Digest C 35 at *CIH* 1939.22.

nī ar nos to *na ní ar-nas* (with the pass. sg. pret. of *ar-naisc*) is quite radical. In any case, the sentence as it stands will make good sense, if, in the light of the above examples, *nī* 'anything' is construed as the subject and *nech* 'anyone' as the object, indicating the person suffering the loss, and *ar* is construed as introducing the word indicating the cause. I take the point of the sentence to be that no one can be disadvantaged for having followed what had been the normal customary procedure, when it turns out that it had not been in accordance with the law and needs to be revised, and would read and translate as: *Ní apaill nech ní ar nós* 'Nothing is lost to anyone because of [following] a customary procedure'.

DIL cites the line *manid epled ní airi* from §3 of *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó*, and translates 'though nothing of it should perish', with a query.[18] This line is in the fourth verse of a dialogue poem of nine verses between Mac Da Thó and his wife, and to appreciate the context it will be useful to cite the third and fourth verses as edited by Thurneysen (1935: 3–4):

> [In fer:] As-bert Cremthann Nia Nāir:
> ni tardda do rúin do mnāib,
> rūn mnā ní maith con-celar,
> maīn ar mug ni aithenar.
>
> [In ben:] Cid fri mnaī at-bertha-so
> manid epled ní airi
> ní na<d> tét do menma-so,
> tēti menma neich aili.

For the first of these, spoken by Mac Da Thó, see Ní Chróinín (1941), who translated 'Cremthann Nia Náir said: do not give your secret to women; a woman's secret is not well hidden; wealth expended on a slave is not requited.'[19]

From among the various translations of verse 4, two can be cited as fairly representative, viz. that by Thurneysen (1901: 3) as: 'Auch dem Weibe magst du's sagen, kann dadurch nichts schlimmer werden. Was du selber nicht ersinnst, fällt gar oft dem andern ein', and that by Charles-Edwards (2005: 3) as: 'Although you might utter it to a woman, if nothing should perish as a result, that which your mind does not reach, someone else's mind gets there'. These and other interpretations are based on reading *manid*, with a 3sg. neuter pronoun, and present the woman as raising no objections to the first-rate misogyny of verse 3, and reassuring Mac Da Thó that it will do no harm to consult her, and that she might even come up with a solution that he had overlooked.[20]

I wish to propose a different interpretation. To begin with metrical issues, in his notes on the text, Thurneysen (1935: 25) commented on the last word of the

[18] Thurneysen (1935: 4).

[19] For the last line, see also Breatnach (2015: 112).

[20] Cf. also: 'Though you tell it to a woman, no ruin results; what your mind cannot grasp another's can', Bitel (1996: 38), and 'Why would you speak to a woman if something would go wrong as a result. That which your mind cannot penetrate someone else's mind can', Toner (2010: 268).

first line: 'One would expect the conditional *at-bértha-so*, but the rhyme with *do menma-so* seems to point to the past subjunctive *at-bertha-so*'. This would only be so if the metre were *aí freislige*, where end-rhyme occurs not only between lines *b* and d, but also between *a* and *c*. The metre in this poem is so irregular, however, that the only metrical criteria that can be safely invoked are syllable count and the principal end-rhyme. The metre in the other verses varies between *deibide* (e.g. v. 2) and a very loose form of *rannaigecht* where, for the last word of the line, only the syllable count of the end-rhymes is fixed (e.g. v. 6). In the verse in question here, the essential end-rhyme is supplied by the finals of *b* and *d*, and even with trisyllabic finals in *a* and *c*, there is no compelling reason for insisting that they should rhyme. Furthermore, as the syntax requires the conditional, with a long *é* in *-bér-*, as Thurneysen acknowledged, this would rule out entirely the possibility of rhyme between *a* and *c*.

In addition to all of these considerations, it is not even certain that the original had a trisyllabic ending in the first line at all. For the *at-bertha-so* of Thurneysen's edition, the MS readings are *atberthasu*, *LL* 13053, *atberthasa*, H 3. 18, p. 744, and *atbertha so*, Harley 5280, 50r. In the last of these, the *so* appears to be separate from *atbertha*, and certainly has an *-o* as opposed to the *-u* and *-a* of the other readings. On the basis of this reading I would restore *at-bértha só*, and the variants could be explained as due to seeing a rhyme with the final of the third line. In the proposed reading, *só* 'this' would refer unambiguously to the contents of verse 3, but even in the alternative *at-bértha-su* 'you would say it' the referend of the infixed pronoun could be the same.

For *manid epled* in the second line, the variant readings are *manit eplad* in H 3. 18 and *manid ebled<u>h</u>* in Harley 5280, while *LL*, with *mani thesbad*, has substituted another verb.[21] On the basis of the first two variants a 2sg. infixed pronoun *-t-* can just as well be restored as the 3sg. neuter *-d-* of Thurneysen's edition, and the examples given above of the syntagm *ad-bail X* (nom.) *Y* (acc.) 'X is lost to Y' show how this can make good sense; indeed, in my view, *manit* will make far better sense than *manid*. Accordingly, I would restore and translate as:

> Cid fri mnaí at-bértha só,
> manit epled ní airi;
> ní nád tét do menma-su,
> téti menma neich aili.
>
> 'Even to a woman you would say this,
> unless you might lose something by it;
> the thing which you pay no heed to,
> another person does pay heed to.'

This interpretation leaves us with a more robust response to verse 3. That is, you would utter these misogynistic notions even to a woman. The only thing that concerns you is any damage done to yourself — what the woman feels about it is

[21] The 3sg. past subjunctive of either OIr *do-esta* or MidIr *tesbaid* 'is lacking'.

immaterial. You might hold your tongue with another woman, but you think you can say what you like to your wife. The second couplet is probably deliberately ambiguous, the equivalent both of 'what you are insensitive to, another is not' and 'the solution that you cannot think of, another can'.

2. *ettae*, 3pl. rel. of *ithid* 'eats'.

One indication that *ithid* is a strong verb in OIr is the fact that the 3pl. present indicative form was *ethait*.[22] Although no 3pl. absolute form is attested in the Old Irish Glosses, or, apparently, in OIr texts transmitted in later MSS, we can safely conclude that it was *ethait* in OIr. Not only is this form quite well attested in MidIr,[23] where it could hardly have replaced the only putative alternative **ithit*, but it is further confirmed for OIr by the forms to be discussed here, namely of the corresponding 3pl. relative, no examples of which are registered in *DIL*.

With regular syncope and delenition, the expected relative form will be *et-tae*, and this is attested, although indirectly, in two OIr texts which survive only in later copies. The first is in the Old Irish Penitential:

> *Nech ithes feoil etti coin no biasta ... pendid cethorchait n-aidci for usciu ⁊ bargin*
>
> 'Anyone who eats flesh which dogs or beasts have been eating ... does penance for forty nights on bread and water.'[24]

Probably on the assumption that the 3pl. absolute form in OIr was **ithit*, Gwynn (1914: 146 n. 4) suggested reading *itte*. While unstressed final short vowels are regularly confused in MSS after the OIr period, this is not the case with stressed vowels, and accordingly, with only minor emendation, to either *ette* or *ettae*, required, the MS form attests the expected OIr 3pl. relative.

The second attestation is in *De Origine Scoticae Linguae*, usually referred to as O'Mulconry's Glossary.[25] In the first edition of this text, Stokes (1900: 257) edited §463 as *Ethad ⁊ etham ab edo, dicitur enim etam ni etham tabron arindí ethaid oine (?) ⁊ eti a torad*. Whatever about the first part of this entry, a simple re-division of *ethaid oine* as *ethai doine* allows one to make good sense of the final clause, and in the recent edition by Moran, the entry is edited and translated as:[26]

> Ethad ⁊ etham *ab aedo dicitur enim* et[h]am ní etham tabron, arindí ethai doíne ⁊ éti a t[h]orad.

[22]Cf. McCone (1991: 4–5) and Schumacher (2004: 377–80).

[23]E.g. *ethait* 'they eat', *CIH* 200.11. Further examples can be found in *DIL* s.v. *ithid*.

[24]Gwynn (1914: 146–7 §3). In translating 'which dogs or beasts have been eating', Gwynn took the meaning to be any flesh which has already been partly eaten by animals. The anonymous reader questions whether the present indicative in Old Irish can bear this interpretation, noting that one would more readily translate 'which dogs or beasts eat' and take as referring to flesh which animals rather than humans consume.

[25]For the title, see Moran (2019: 13–15).

[26]Moran (2019: 191).

> '*Ethad* (?) and *etham* (?), is so-called from [Lat.] *edo* "I eat" (?), for it is said: *etham ní etham tabron* (?), because of the fact that people and cattle eat its fruit.'

Erroneous lenition of *t* is not uncommon in the MS copy in which this entry is found,[27] and another instance in a 3pl. relative form is *berthae trenfir* 'which warriors carry', §410.[28] A relative clause is regular after *arindí* in OIr (*GOI* §503), and allowing also for the later confusion of unstressed final short vowels, we can then confidently take MS *ethai* to be for OIr *ettae*, the relative 3pl. pres. indicative of *ithid*.

3. *desruith*, *desruithithir*

Entry 436 in the YBL copy of *Sanas Cormaic* is as follows in Meyer's edition: *Dessruith .i. dé- fo diultad .i. nī sruith. Nō dessruith .i. brithem, unde dicitur a mBrethaib Neimeth: desrith fīal filidh*.[29]

The first part of this entry is cited in *DIL* under the headword *deṡruith* 'mean, insignificant, petty, ignoble', and the second part is cited, as the sole example, under the headword *desruith*, where it is classified as a noun, and for which the meaning 'judge' is suggested, with a query. There is no explicit comment on the fact that they appear together in CormY 436, and the problem of how a word which is introduced with the same spelling, *dessruith*, on both occasions could mean both 'insignificant' and 'judge' is apparently avoided by assigning them to separate headwords, one with, and the other without a lenited *-ṡ-*.

In this note I intend to show that the postulated form with lenited *-ṡ-* can be dispensed with, and that the forms of the fairly well-attested adjective, and of the rare derivative verb are in fact *desruith* and *desruithithir*, respectively, with an unlenited *s*.

To begin with, however, the word explained as 'judge' can be set aside as a separate word, having no connection with the adjective *desruith*. The second part of the entry in *Sanas Cormaic* is found in only two of the MS copies thereof. The corresponding entry in the Book of Uí Maine has simply *Desruith .i. de fo diultud .i. ni sruith*,[30] and similarly that in the Leabhar Breac reads *Deshruith .i. diṡruith .i. ni sruith*.[31] The only other copy with the fuller entry is that in TCD MS H 2. 15B (1317), and this has a significant variant reading in the second part: *Desruith .i. de fo diul*tad *.i. ni sruith. no deisrith .i. br*eith*em, un*de *d*icitu*r. a mBr*eth*aib Nemedh deisrith fial filid*.[32]

[27]The second section of the composite TCD MS H 2. 16 (1318), the Yellow Book of Lecan; see Moran (2019: 16–18).

[28]Moran (2019: 182 §410); for OIr *bertae tréṅfir*.

[29]Meyer (1912: 36).

[30]Meyer (1919: 305).

[31]Stokes (1862: 16). This is on p. 266 of the MS, with the first instance written with *s* + suprascript *spiritus asper*, and the second with *s* + suprascript dot.

[32]H 2. 15B, p. 97 col. c.

This leaves us with two separate lemmata, *desruith* and *deisrith*, and furthermore, while the second part of the entry in YBL begins *Nō dessruith .i. brithem*, the citation there has *desrith*. Accordingly, the isolated *dessruith* of YBL must be an error, and the version in H 2. 15B is superior.

As for the citation itself, it is taken from a passage in *Bretha Nemed Dédenach*, concerning persons in the service of a king who are free from liability for offences committed by members of their kin:[33]

> *Cis duirn díolmhuine dlighther i riaruibh rígh? Drúth, ara, arrchogadh, dercaidh, dailemh, deogbhaire, desrigh fial file*, *CIH* 1118.2–3.[34]
>
> 'Who are the unattached retainers who ought to be[35] in the service of a king? A jester, charioteer, a huntsman (?),[36] watchman, dispenser, cupbearer, noble right-hand man (viz. judge), poet.'

As it not only makes good sense but also allows us to account for how the variant arose, *desrigh* qualifies as the superior reading. It is a compound of *des* 'right' and *rig* 'forearm', in synecdoche meaning 'right-hand man', and qualified by *fíal*, in effect 'judge'. For the judge being seated beside the king, and thus his 'right-hand man', see Kelly (1988: 52) and the text edited and translated in Breatnach (1990: 8). Beside the compound *desrig*,[37] there is a derivative of similar shape and meaning, *deisred* 'right hand', and, significantly, two of the examples cited in *DIL* s.v. have a variant reading *de*(*a*)*srig*. The *-th* in the variants *desrith*, *deisrith*, in *Sanas Cormaic* can be explained as due to the influence of the near synonym *deisred*, and the word in question in *Bretha Nemed Dédenach* has nothing to do with *desruith* 'insignificant'.

As for this adjective, the spelling in the first part of CormY 436, cited above, with a double *-ss-*, clearly indicates an unlenited *s*. Orthography is not always diagnostic, however. Thus in v. 12a of the poem beginning *A Marbáin, a díthrubaig*, viz. *mennután díamair desruid*, 'Little hidden humble abode',[38] the spelling in the sole MS copy is ambiguous, and the word makes neither rhyme nor *úaitne* (consonance). Nevertheless, it may be noted that both here and in his glossary (p. 261), where he translates 'humble, lowly', Murphy prints a form with unlenited *s*.[39]

[33] See Kelly (1988: 13, 179–80); it is headed *Daoine gan cion inbhleogain* 'Persons without vicarious liability'.

[34] With *fial* of *CIH* 1118.3 corrected to *fial*; there is no dot over the *f* in the MS, and Gwynn (1942: 23.6) read *fial*. In a restored text, however, lenition will have to be supplied, as *fíal* qualifies the fem. noun *rig*.

[35] The variant in *O'Dav*. 584, *cis duirnn dilmaine file i riaraibh righ?*, *CIH* 1487.38, has *file* 'who are'.

[36] The rare word *archocaid* is elsewhere used of a hunting dog (see Kelly, 1997: 118–19); as all the other terms in this list refer to humans, I take it that, unless something has dropped out here, it had the neutral meaning 'hunter', and could refer to either hounds or humans.

[37] Another, but non-figurative, example of the compound is *ina brut osa desrigh*, O'Rahilly (1961: 144.4560), 'in his cloak above his right forearm'.

[38] Murphy (1956: 10–11). I cite from the most recent, although partial, edition of the poem. For earlier editions and translations see Murphy (1956: 177–8).

[39] As well as with a voiced final consonant, in keeping with the MS spelling.

Similarly, the orthography is ambiguous in an example not included in *DIL*, viz. from the OIr Glossing of *Senchas Már*, in an explanation of the phrase *Cilar etha scēo blechta*, *CIH* 877.25, 'Biased equating of corn with milk'. The context is a fictional case, introduced as follows:

> in tan fo-gellsatt Ulaid um tīr .xxx.aid cumal do br*eith* leo ar aonboin i n-aimsir nāuna māire doth[a]-āinig. Con-[d]iachtatar danō comarbai in tīri īar dain in tír-sin. Fo-gellsad Tūathal Techtmar n-imbi, *CIH* 877.17.
>
> 'when the Ulstermen sought arbitration concerning land to the value of 30 *cumal*s being given by them in exchange for a single cow in the time of a great famine which had come to them. The heirs to the land then sought that land after some time. They submitted the case to Túathal Techtmar for adjudication.'

The relevant sentence is:

> .i. ro cudrumaidhset breithemain iter ith ⁊ mblicht .i. nī desruithe leo mblicht na bō fo-releangar anmain in mōrfeisir oldās ith in tīre mōir īar dain cīa fo-lō sōn sochaide, *CIH* 877.25.[40]
>
> 'i.e., judges equalised between corn and milk, i.e. they do not regard the milk of the one cow which maintained the life of the seven men as being more unimportant than the corn of the large land area in due course, however many it may support'.[41]

In the next example, on the other hand, a MS spelling serves as a criterion for establishing the form. It is found in *Cethairślicht Athgabálae*, tract 2 of *Senchas Már*. The readings of the copies of the relevant passage are:[42]

> fethem fo mia feicheman frisi-aice agrudh, nadbi dossruithiu sein raith na fiadhnaisi na forus na fechem frisia tuidhbenar fuadach comde forus fasc, *CIH* 418.3–33.
> nabi desraighthi sin raith na fiadhu na forus na feichumuin frisi tuibinur fuadach cuimdi forus fasc, *CIH* 1454.24.
> Feicheamnuibh fo miad. feich*eman* (?) fris.a. a., *CIH* 1718.31.
> fechem fris-aice accra, *CIH* 899.4.[43]

The variants *dossruithiu* and *desraighthi* point to an original *dessruithiu*, and the whole passage can be restored and translated as:

[40]Parallelism with *fo-lō* shows that *fo-releangar* stands for a form of the 3sg. perf. of *fo-loing*, probably *fo-róelangair*. *DIL* s.v. *fo-loing* lists a number of examples of the 3sg. perf. of this verb with the deponent ending *-air* under the heading of 'spurious formations'; this can be added to them and the qualification 'spurious' can be removed.

[41]Lit. 'although that may support a multitude'.

[42]The first is from a continuous copy of the tract, and the others are glossed extracts.

[43]This last extract is from the OIr Glossing of *Senchas Már*, and it is glossed *.i. curap comgrād do fuidiu fer ad-gair*, *CIH* 899.5, which can be translated 'i.e. that the man who is suing be of the same grade as that one', with *fuidiu* a slip for *ṡuidiu*.

> fethem fo míad ḟeitheman fris-aici acrae, nádbi dessruithiu sin ráith ná fíadnaise ná forus ná fethem frisa tuidmenar fúatach comded forus fásc.
>
> 'A representative[44] in accordance with the rank of the representative whom he expects to sue, and no lower in rank is the paying-surety nor the witness nor the [owner of the] station, nor the representative to whom is attached [responsibility for] the removed cattle, with regard to impounding, stationing, announcement.'

What is in question here is the requirement that all those involved in the process of distraint besides the plaintiff and defendant should be at least of the same rank, and that the amount at issue should not be beyond their means.[45]

The spellings with double *s* noted above would be enough to show that the OIr adjective *dessruith* had an unlenited *s*, but in addition we have a rhyming example which settles the matter conclusively. This, example 5, of the nom. plural, is in verse in *Fingal Rónáin*:

> Munter Mael[e] Fothartaig
> cet lim cenptís desruithe;
> nī maith ro gabsat oc fir
> do-ficed a n-esbuide.
>
> 'The men of Mæl-Fothartaig, I allow that they were not insignificant; not well they stood by a man who would come when they needed him (Lit. who would come to their wants).'[46]

That this is a rhyming example is inexplicably passed over in *DIL*, where only the first couplet is cited. The *-sb-* in *esbuide*, where the spelling with *s* can only stand for unlenited *s*, confirms that the cluster *-sr-* in its rhyming partner *desruithe* also has an unlenited *s*.

As for the derivative verb, the headword *deśruithid* 'degrades, diminishes', is doubly erroneous.[47] As it is a denominative verb from *dessruith*, the *s* cannot be lenited, and this is confirmed by one of the spellings (*dessruithidar*, *CIH* 234.4) of the form in a passage in tract 14 of *Senchas Már*, *Di Astud Chirt*

[44]For *fethem* 'guardian; representative, advocate' etc., and confusion between it and *féichem* 'party to a contract' etc. in later MSS, see Binchy (1976).

[45]This is made clear in the glosses and commentary, as, for example, in the gloss on *nādbi dossruithiu sein rāith*: *.i. nābi dīruidhi nō nābi derēolai nā sin in rāith*. *.i. gurab rāith dāma ló enech*, *CIH* 418.34, 'i.e. that the paying-surety is not more lowly or not baser than that, i.e. that he be a paying-surety whose honour-price matches it (viz. the sum at issue in the dispute)'. The corresponding gloss in *CIH* 1454.26 reads *.i. nābi dīsruithi nō nābi derōile nā sin in rāith nā in fīadnaise nā fechem*. 'i.e. that the paying-surety or the witness or the representative is not more lowly or not baser than that'.

[46]Greene (1955: 10.229–32); translated by Meyer (1892: 392).

[47]In passing it may be noted that the headword *díśruthaigidir* for the similar-looking but unrelated compound formed from *dí* + *sruth*, rendering Latin *derivare*, does not accurately represent the attested forms. The correct headword is *di-sruthaigedar*, as in *LEIA*; a compound rather than a simple verb will account for all the attested forms, as shown by Griffith (2020: 255–6).

7 *Dligid*, which recurs in tract 1, the Introduction to *Senchas Már*.[48] I cite the restored text and translation from the latter:[49]

> Ataat cethéora sabaid túaithe noda desruithetar i mbecaib: rí gúbrethach, epscop tuisledach, fili díupartach, aire esindric.
>
> 'There are four eminences of a kingdom who debase themselves through petty things: a falsely-judging king, a stumbling bishop, a fraudulent poet, an unworthy noble.'

Furthermore, the (reflexive) infixed pronoun which precedes the verbal form (in all copies) means that it must be construed as a deponent verb, not a passive, and accordingly the headword should be corrected to *desruithithir*.[50]

There remains one example where there has been uncertainty as to whether we have to do with the adjective or the derived verb. *DIL*, citing from Stokes' edition of O'Davoren's Glossary, entered it under the adjective, whereas in Binchy's subsequent edition of *O'Dav*. it is interpreted as a verb: *Desruith .i. derēoil, ut est descip*ul *na desruith*er *deruscaib .i. nochan derōili nā sin in ní derb-cinnt*er *don deiscipal*, *CIH* 1489.35. This is §639 in Stokes' edition, and the only difference between the two editions is that Stokes expanded the word in question as *desruith*iu.[51]

The citation is from an OIr text on the seven grades of ecclesiastical scholars, fuller extracts from which constitute the passage beginning *Secht ngrāid ecna*, 'Seven grades of ecclesiastical scholar', edited in *CIH* 2101.1–13.[52] The corresponding reading there is *descipul nā desruither dorosc*aib, *CIH* 2101.3.[53] In this case *desruither* is written out in full, but if it is to be taken as a verbal form, it would be as passive sg., and the sentence could be restored as: *descipul nád desruitter deroscaib* 'the disciple who is not made lower by examinations'

In the scheme in this text, the four lowest grades (beginning with the lowest) are the *cóectach* 'person of fifties (viz. one who knows the psalms)', *foglaintid* 'learner', *descipul* 'disciple' and *staraige* 'historian', and the sentence as restored would simply be saying in a roundabout way that a higher grade is conferred on the *descipul* after proving himself in examination.

The same applies to the alternative possibility, viz. *descipul nád desruithiu deroscaib* 'the disciple who is not lower with regard to examinations'. Restoring the comparative adjective requires assuming that the reading *desruither* is the result of an erroneous expansion of a suspension-stroke.[54] Furthermore, the

[48]None of the other spellings contradict this. The full set of MS readings for the verbal form is, firstly as in occurs in tract 1, *noda desruithethar*, *CIH* 352.10, *nodo desruidht*er, *CIH* 1897.13, and secondly as it occurs in tract 14, *nodo dessruithidar*, *CIH* 234.4, *noda desraidhther*, *CIH* 1225.7, and *noda esraidhther*, *CIH* 1011.4.

[49]Breatnach (2011: 6–7 §11).

[50]The possibility that the headword should instead be *deśruithigidir* is suggested with a query, but this is not supported by the attested forms.

[51]Stokes (1904: 300).

[52]It is unlikely to represent a complete text, and it is not always easy to distinguish the OIr original from later glosses.

[53]I have substituted the expansion *desc*ipul for *desc*ad (with a query) in *CIH*.

[54]Even this requires emendation, to *desruitter*, because of the delenition resulting from the combination of *desruith-* and the ending *-ther*.

fact that this text has what is unambiguously a comparative adjective in the description of the next highest grade, *oirdnidiu sin staraige* 'the historian is more eminent than that one',[55] is an argument in favour of reading a comparative *desruithiu* here also.

In the glosses on the third example (see fn. 45) above the adjective is glossed with a compound of *dí* + *sruith*, viz. *díṡruith*; while the spelling of *dīsruithi* is ambiguous, that of *dīruidhi* clearly shows that the *s* has been lenited. This of course has a different prefix *dí-*, and is entirely separate from *dessruith*. The compound *díṡruith* is not registered in *DIL*; a further example, outside the context of glossing *dessruith*, is *nō dītsruithe in māithir inā 'nt aithir*, *CIH* 1729.27, 'or the mother is of lower status than the father'.[56] Furthermore, whereas all the other copies of the entry in *Sanas Cormaic* explain *dessruith* with a phrase which can be normalised as *de fo díultud* '*de* serving to make negative' the copy in the Leabhar Breac substitutes the glossing form *díṡruith*, and the erroneous lenition in the headword *Deshruith*, found in that MS alone, can be explained as due to influence from the lenited *-ṡ-* in the word that glosses it.

As to the etymology of *desruith*, it is possibly an early compound of *sruith* 'venerable' and the prefix *de-*. If the initial *s-* of *sruith* derives from *st-* (see *LEIA* s.v. *sruith*), then the negative would have an intervocalic *-str-*. While original intervocalic *-st-* resulted in *-s-* in OIr, intervocalic *-str-* may have remained (*GOI* §§155, 194, 217).[57] This would mean that a compound of *sruith* with *de-* should have resulted in **destruith*, or **destruid*. Nevertheless, the etymology could be retained, if it were assumed that the negative was re-formed on the model of the positive *sruith*; certainly the frequent spelling as *desruith*, with final *-th*, attests to the influence of the base-form on the derivative.

4. *BRÍATH*, *BRÍAD* 'REMNANT, RESIDUE' IN *BÉRLA NA FILED*

DIL s.v. *briad* cites three examples, suggesting that the meaning is 'appar[ently] *judging*, *verdict*'.

The first example given is in v. 15 of the poem beginning *A chuirp, not chaith fri crábud*:[58]

> Mairg lingis lēim in leth-sain,
> mairg cingis in rēim rod-sain,
> mairg bīas isin mbrīaidh mbrisc-sin;
> ro miscnidh Līaig in loc-sain.

DIL adds the comment 'i.e. doomed to Hell', and also cites the relevant line under *brisc*, there translating 'under that critical verdict (of Hell)'. This and

[55]Normalised from *oirdnide sin stair*, *CIH* 2101.4, and the citation *ornidh sin staruidhe*, *CIH* 1518.24 (*O'Dav*. 1302).

[56]In commentary on tract 2a of *SM*. The *-ts-* is a not uncommon representation of lenited *s* in this text; cf., for example, *aitgin tslān*, *CIH* 1742.4, 'complete restitution'.

[57]As the anonymous reader points out, however, referring to the discussion in Schrijver (1995: 453–5), both the etymology of *sruith* and the outcome of *-str-* are uncertain.

[58]Ed. Meyer (1908: 264–6). I normalise word-division, punctuation and capitalisation; see *DIL* s.v. *1 liaig* for its being used 'of God or Christ'.

the preceding stanza certainly concern Hell,[59] but it makes far better sense to simply take *briaidh* here as the dsg. of *bréo* 'fire', and I would translate the verse accordingly as: 'Woe to him who takes a leap in that direction, woe to him who goes on that rash journey, woe to him who will be in that crackling fire; the Saviour has hated that place.'

A word meaning 'judgement, verdict' will not work syntactically ('in that judgement'?) or contextually (*brisc* 'brittle' etc. is hardly a suitable epithet for 'judgement'). But more than all that, this poem is written in the normal literary Irish of its time,[60] whereas *bríad* is a word belonging to the highly artificial variety of Irish known as *Bérla na Filed*,[61] and it had the meaning 'remnant, residue', not 'judgement', as I will now go on to show.

Although it is not made explicit in *DIL*, the interpretation offered there probably derives from the entry in O'Clery's Glossary which is cited as the third example, viz. *brath .i. briad .i. fuigheall. ⁊ fuigheall on mbreithir brath*.[62] Even allowing for the two possible meanings of *fuigheall* (see below), this entry seems confused, and can be of little or no help in explicating the meaning of *bríad*.

The remaining example in *DIL* is in the second couplet of v. 14 of the heavily glossed poem of 15 verses in *Bérla na Filed* beginning *Fē mo ese ol atú*,[63] where *briadh* is glossed *.i. fuighell*:[64]

> briadh molta Dhē ō nach fuil
> ní thuillit muir a braon, Meyer (1905: 487).[65]

The problem with the simple definition *fuighe*(*a*)*ll* in such late sources is that, without further qualification, it is ambiguous as to whether it means 'remnant, etc.' or 'speech, etc.'. While the corresponding words were distinct in OIr, with *fuidell* for the former and *fuigell* for the latter, after the falling together of lenited *-d-* and *-g-* in the late MidIr and early EModIr period, they came to be identical in pronunciation, and in EModIr the spelling *fuigheall* is used for both.[66] The examples cited in *DIL* are difficult to interpret, and the editors opted for *fuigheall* in the meaning corresponding to that of OIr *fuigell*. However, the meaning of the following example from a previously unpublished marginal

[59] Cf. *Ifern denn, dōer an dīthrub*, v. 14a, 'Vehement Hell, it is a hard wilderness'.

[60] I would date it to the MidIr period. Cf., for example, the loss of hiatus in *bīas* and in the rhyming words *mbrīaidh* and *Līaig* in the verse cited.

[61] See Breatnach (2009: 113–14).

[62] Miller (1880: 375).

[63] Ed. Meyer (1905: 485–7). The honorand is named in v. 10c as *Muirceangal Ūa Domain Nūaill*, glossed .i. *Maghnus Ō Domnaill*. As he is referred to as the son of Aodh in v. 5a (*Lūan Deaä*, glossed *.i. mac, .i. Aodha*), he is almost certainly the well-known ruler of Tír Chonaill who died in 1563.

[64] For the glossing of such poems see Breatnach (2009: 113).

[65] The general tenor of this and the preceding verse is that the honorand has been praised so much that there is little left to be said. Cf. *cā can a cētal go gnāth? / ní tét cūach lān tar a līon*, v. 13cd, 'what is the point of continuing to sing of him? A full cup cannot hold more than its fill'. While 14d is metrically defective (a syllable short), it seems to be saying that showers (or seas?) do not get any bigger from one drop. I cannot see how 14c can refer to the Deity, and accordingly would read *briadh molta dhē ō nach fuil* 'since, then, there is no residue left of praise'.

[66] Cf. *fuigheall* (*ó dhá chéill*), *IGT* II §53.

verse is quite clear, and shows unambiguously that the meaning is in fact that of the word corresponding to OIr *fuidell*.

I know of two occurrences of this verse; one is in the lower margin of fol. 40v of RIA MS 23 Q 10, and the other in the lower margin of fol. 9v of BL MS Additional 30512. It is noteworthy that the glossing which typically accompanies verse composed in *Bérla na Filed* is found even with this single marginal verse. The only significant differences between the two copies are in the word for 'bird' in the last line (*lampur* vs. *lempur*), the absence of the gloss on the first line in MS 23 Q 10, and the form of the word for 'wren' in the last gloss.[67] The subject-matter of the verse, complaining of inhospitality, is a common theme in satirical verse.[68]

In colt cruind
*tu*cad dond fil*id* adluinn.
nī fāicfed brīath[a] dē ag dul
cid bec lampur[b] lenn odur.[c]
[a] .i. fuigel [b] .i. ēn [c] .i. drēolān.
23 Q 10, 40v inf.

An colt c*r*uin*n*.[a]
tuc*ad* don f*h*il*id* ad*h*lui*n*d.
nī fáicfed brīat*h*[b] dé ic dul.
cid*h* bec lempur[c] lendodur[d]
[a] .i. bīad*h* b*e*c [b] .i. fuig*h*ld[69] [c] .i. ēn [d] .i. i*n* draīdlēan.
Additional 30512, 9v inf.

'The miserly aliment [i.e. small amount of food] which was given to the ravenous poet — although Dun Cloak [i.e. a wren] is a small avian creature [i.e. bird], it would not leave behind any residue [i.e. leftovers] when departing.'

I suggest that *bríath* is the result of a complex play on words, being a truncated form of *bríathar* 'word, speech, discourse', with *bríath*, *bríad*, being the 'remnant' (*fuigheall*, OIr *fuidell*) of *bríathar* after removal of the last syllable.[70] Furthermore, given the semantic development of OIr *fuigell* 'judicial pronouncement' etc. to *fuigheall* 'speech' in the later language, *bríath* could be characterised as the *fuigheall* (OIr *fuidell*) of a word meaning *fuigheall* (OIr *fuigell*).

[67] I supply macrons over long vowels, and all glosses are included in the translation. I follow 23 Q 10 in reading *lenn odur* as two words; in Additional 30512 they appear to be written as one word. With *lenn odur* one can compare *in donn beg* 'the little brown one' used of the wren in verse 7d of the poem *Einech uaisle iná cech dán*, Meyer (1913b), for which see Ó Cuív (1980: 50). For the other words used for the wren see Ó Cuív (1980: 55–9).

[68] Cf. McLaughlin (2008: 12–13).

[69] Sic.

[70] The form *bríad*(*h*) in two of the examples cited above, with voicing of the final consonant, is a further development.

5. *maoi* in *Bérla na Filed*

Outside certain combinations with the 3rd person form *aí* / *áe*,[71] the genitive forms of the independent pronoun are already rare in OIr, and, as stated in *GOI* §443, 'they are nearly always replaced by the preposition *la* (or *do*) with suffixed pronoun; e.g. *is limm-sa* "he is mine" '.[72]

Examples of the 1sg. form *muí* are found in the OIr glosses, as well as in some texts composed in the OIr period, but transmitted only in later MSS. In texts of the latter kind which are glossed, we regularly find *limm* in the gloss corresponding to *muí* of the main text. For example, the first line of v. 11 of *Amra Senáin*, *Moí mo rosc rígḟotha* 'Mine the royal basis of my eyes', Breatnach (1989: 25–6), appears in the Leabhar Breac copy as *Moai mo rosc rigfotha*, with the gloss *rop lium mo radarc* 'may my sight be mine', Breatnach (1989: 11, 16). Another instance is *Tí .i. brat, ut est tí mo macáin mui .i. ticidh dhamh étach mo macain muí .i. is lium hé*, *CIH* 954.12, '*Tí*, i.e. a cloak, as in *tí mo macáin muí* ("the cloak of my dear boy, mine"), i.e. let the clothing of my dear boy come to me; *muí*, i.e. it (or 'he'?) is mine'.[73] Similarly the 3sg. masc. form of the conjugated preposition glosses *áe* 'his', as in the following line in *Amrae Coluimb Chille*: *HUILE BITH BA HAE HÉ .i. robo les-seom int ule bith*, *LU*(*A*) 610–11, 'The whole world, it was his own', i.e. the whole world was his'.[74]

The explanations in glosses such as these must be the starting point of the peculiar artificial use of *maoi* in *Bérla na Filed* to be examined here. Most of the examples I know of are taken from the sixteenth-century mainly legal MS of Domhnall Ó Duibh dá Bhoireann, which consists of British Library Egerton 88, as well as two sections which were separated from it in the second half of the eighteenth century, and are now Copenhagen MS 261B, and section four of RIA MS 23 Q 6.[75] Many of the scribal notes contain, to varying degrees, elements of *Bérla na Filed*, and the feature in question here is found in two of the notes in what is now Egerton 88, and in three of the notes in the Copenhagen MS; there are no instances in the scribal notes in the RIA MS.

The note at the end of fol. 89rc is edited and translated in O'Grady (1926, 136 no. 105) as:

> Sin ó Domnall do budhéin ocus slán imlán duit a Maghnuis ocus is ing m'aoi Sémus do beith go tim cidh tá an codh ann. olc do cungnum a Cormaic.

[71]For example, *cach aí* 'each of them', *cechtar n-aí* 'each of the two'; see *GOI* §444.

[72]Note also the observation in *GOI* §443 that the 2sg. form *tuí*/*taí* is 'not found in the Glosses and only rarely elsewhere'. For the replacement in the OIr period of the syntagm *is muí X* 'X is mine' by *is limm X* 'X is mine', see further Greene (1961).

[73]The citation is from *Bretha Nemed Dédenach*, and the only copy of the continuous text reads *doniocfa tiomthach mo mhacain maoin*, *CIH* 1116.3, with *maoin* for *muí*. A fuller form of the citation, but without the gloss, appears in *O'Dav*. 1555 as *Ti .i. brat, ut est domicfa tí mo macain muí*, *CIH* 1529.13.

[74]Cf. Bisagni (2019: 268–9).

[75]For further details see O'Sullivan (1999) and *Companion*, 6.

> 'There's from Donall for himself; and I defy you to your best, Manus. 't is a thing to talk of that *Sémus* is so slack though the drink is there. bad is the assistance you give me, Cormac!'

How O'Grady understood the syntax of what he printed as *is ing m'aoi* is uncertain, and I can neither relate his translation to it or make sense of it. Instead I propose that what we have here is *is ing maoi*, with *maoi*[76] substituted for *liom*, and thus equivalent to *is iongnadh liom* in normal language.[77] The relevant clause can then be punctuated and translated as *ocus is ing maoi Sémus do beith go tim cidh tá an codh ann* 'and I am astonished that Séamas is weak, although the food is in him'.

The scribal note is otherwise characterised by artificial language, viz. *ing*, and *codh*,[78] but the use of *maoi* for *liom* is not simply the substitution of an archaic word for the current one, but also an extension from *liom* meaning 'mine' in sentences of the type *is liom an leabhar* 'the book is mine', to the entirely separate *liom* meaning 'in my opinion', in sentences of the type *is maith liom an leabhar* 'I like the book'.[79] The syntax of the two types is quite different, and while interchange at an earlier stage of the language is quite possible between *moí* and *limm* in the first type (e.g. *is moí in lebar* and *is limm in lebar*),[80] such interchange is impossible in sentences of the second type. Long after *moí* had disappeared from the normal literary language, however, it was revived and applied to sentences of the second type in the artificial variety of language known as *Bérla na Filed*, as can be shown by further examples, which support my interpretation of the above scribal note.

The next is in another scribal note in the same MS, edited and translated in O'Grady (1926, 139 no. 113 v.) as:

> A dia a Domnaill is fada co mbiadhthá ac scripneoracht dam ocus mé fén a féchain imertha ocus is lang m' aoi co tigit in taos creatha as gach aird féile na croichi sunn.
>
> My goodness, Donall, 'tis long before you'd be scrivening for me, and I looking on at others playing [gambling]; and I think it all too long until the "shivering fellows" return from various quarters. The Festival of the Cross is here.'

Again, how O'Grady understood the syntax of *is lang m'aoi* is uncertain. While his translation, as it happens, can be retained, the only way to make sense of

[76] With the regular EModIr spelling of the diphthong, written *oí*, *uí* in OIr, as *aoi*, in final position.

[77] Although not in *DIL*, that *ing* was a *Bérla na Filed* equivalent of *ingnad*, probably indeed a truncated form thereof, can be seen from the instance of *ing* being glossed *ingnamh* in Hardiman (1831: 290.8). For the poem in which this instance is found see Breatnach (2009: 113 n. 24).

[78] I take this as the word registered in *DIL* s.v. *coth* 'food, sustenance'.

[79] *DIL* s.v. *la*, VI (c) and V (g), respectively.

[80] Compare *á aii .i. comtis les* 'His own, i.e. that they should be His', *Ml*. 92c10, noted in Greene (1961: 45–6).

the original is by reading *is lang maoi*, equivalent in *Bérla na Filed* to *is fada liom* 'I think it all too long'.[81]

Three further previously unpublished examples are in the part of the MS which is now Copenhagen MS 261B. They are:[82]

> Dob urusa dhamh-sa sgel*a* dh'inísin dama fó mai. Cád hí an cealg a Maghnuis? /pni bn3r, innarb*a* ann soo, 1r marg. sup.
>
> 'It would be easy for me to tell tales if I wished to. What is the deceit, o Maghnas? In the name of the Trinity,[83] expulsion[84] here below.
>
> Is olc lium can fal ag*u*m ⁊ is mes maoí a ndein Domn*all* na gealg, 2ra marg. sup.
>
> 'I dislike not having abundance, and I dislike more what deceitful Domnall is doing.'[85]
>
> Is doilghi maoi g*an* cim ul– uim uel ollnus nuim[86] acainn ⁊ in fíon ac <...>[87], 5rb marg. inf.
>
> 'I find it a cause of distress that we do not have a *cim ul– uim uel ollnus nuim* (goblet?), seeing that the wine is ...'

The first of these has an earlier orthography in *mai*, and another characteristic of *Bérla na Filed* is the use of the archaic word *fó* in place of *maith*. In the second, the contrast between the normal wording of the first of the parallel phrases, *Is olc lium*, and the artificial wording of the second, *is mes maoí* (= *is measa liom*)

[81]O'Grady (1926: 140) noted that there is a play on words in *aos creatha*. While he translated *creatha* as the gsg. of *crith* 'trembling, quivering' etc., it can also be taken as the gsg. of *creth* 'craftsmanship; poetical art' etc., and *aos creatha* will then be a *Bérla na Filed* term for 'poets'.

[82]With capitalisation and punctuation supplied.

[83]Interpreting the cipher */pni bn3r* to be for *in nomine an Trír*, with (i) *in nomine* shortened to *inom*, written backwards, *p* substituted for *o*, and the Ogham letter *m* substituted for the minuscule letter, and (ii) in *an Trír*, *b* substituted for *a*, and the arabic numeral substituted for *trí*. For Ogham letters in these notes, including two other examples of *m*, see O'Grady (1926: 109, 125, 141). The substitution of the letters which follow them in the alphabet for vowels is common in ciphers. Examples are plentiful in the legal text in TCD MS H 3. 18 (1337) pp. 197–202, decrypted in *CIH* 719.30–722.36.

[84]This last clause serves as a heading to the set of extracts with glosses and commentary from *Cáin Aicillne* (tract 6 of *Senchas Már*) on folios 1–2ra (*CIH* 2233.1–2238.15). The extracts concern contracts, and especially the impugning of contracts by a person's kin or superiors, and *indarbae* 'expulsion' is the term for the formal procedure for rejecting a fief offered by a lord.

[85]I tentatively take *fal* to be the rare word registered in *DIL* s.v. *3 fál*. An alternative possibility is to take it as *1 fál* in the sense 'bar (to rescission of a contract)', given that the subject-matter of folios 2rb–2vb (*CIH* 2238.16–2240.20) is contracts, in particular rescission of contracts, and the word *fál* recurs a number of times there.

[86]This phrase derives from *Bretha Nemed Toísech*, corresponding to the latter half of *nascc deobuire dodaile fimm i crethir cim uim oll nos nuim*, *CIH* 2223.31, 'the collar of a cupbearer who dispenses wine into a cup *cim uim olus nuim*' and *cim uim olus nuim* is cited in *O'Dav.* 354, where *cim* is glossed *airget* 'silver', and in *O'Dav.* 1609, where *uim* is glossed *umha* 'copper'. Without going into what exactly *cim uim olus nuim* means, it is likely that the author of this note took it to refer to a drinking-cup.

[87]The end of this note, extending to roughly six letter spaces, is badly stained.

is striking.[88] In the third *Is doilghi maoi* is the equivalent of *Is doilghe liom*, with the noun given in *DIL* s.v. *doilge* 'trouble, distress', etc.

I know of two further examples in scribal notes, both with *is cīan maī* 'I think it all too long'. One is on the lower margin of fol. 7r of RIA MS MS C iii 2 (1236):

> Aidhci feil Sin Seon anocht ⁊ a C*athair* M*eic* N*echtain*[89] damh ⁊ is cian mai aniu ⁊ amáirech gan .b. ⁊ is decair d*u*l air Sin Seon ⁊ c'aidhchi Myre ⁊ dar lium is inscripta Diarm*ai*d Og ag fagb*ail* a da bu ndarti oc ⁊ gan aithni a b*er*t aige.
>
> 'Tonight is the eve of the feast of St John, and I am in Cathair Meic Neachtain, and I think it all too long to be without ... (?) today and tomorrow, and it is difficult to endure it on [the feast of] St John and until the eve of [the feast of] Mary, and I think that it is worth noting that Diarmaid Óg is leaving his ... (?).[90]

The other is on the lower margin of p. 55 of RIA MS 23 Q 6 (1243):[91]

> Sguirim b*u*desta ⁊ i[s] sgithac mo fracc ⁊ is cian mai co tig m<o th-seisi> \.i. Aod*agan*/ <...> co mbeth ris om domnus ag*u*m in Satharn iar f*ei*l Michel <...> mo log ⁊ me am aonur.
>
> 'I am stopping for now, and my hand is tired, and I think it all too long until my companion (i.e. Aodhagán) comes <...> that I may have news from my home. The Saturday after Michaelmas. <...> is my location and I am on my own'.

This is in section 5 of 23 Q 6, which consists of two leaves, pp. 53–4 and pp. 55–6, bound in the wrong order, containing part of *Immacallam in Dá Thúarad*[92], and originally formed part of C iii 2.[93] It is not only in the same hand as the copy of the *Immacallam* in C iii 2, but fills exactly the lacuna in the latter between folios 10 and 11, and together they form a complete copy of the text.

As noted in O'Sullivan (1999: 283), Egerton 88,[94] 'thanks to Standish Hayes O'Grady's splendid work on the scribal inscriptions, has long been known to be the book of Domhnall mac Aodha Uí Dhuibhdábhoireann, a member of the minor legal family of Cahermacnaghten, County Clare, employed by O'Loghlin, lord of the Burren of County Clare', although

[88] It is uncertain whether *mes* is a slip for *mesa*, or an artificial variant of it, although I have no other examples.

[89] Written *.c.m–.n.* in the MS.

[90] I leave two gaps in the translation, as it is not obvious either what *.b.* stands for, or what the sense of the end of the note is.

[91] Although *mo thseisi* is badly rubbed, the reading seems fairly certain. The suprascript gloss has *aod* with a faint suspension-stroke above the *d*. The version of this note in *RIA Cat*. p. 3446 has only *m*[ ] for *mo thseisi*, and silently omits *mai*, although the latter is perfectly clear in the MS. A number of other letters, indicated here by <...>, are so badly rubbed as to be completely illegible.

[92] Edited and translated by Stokes (1905).

[93] As Dr Alice Taylor-Griffiths has brought to my attention.

[94] Together with its two detached sections (above, p. 364).

'much of the copying for Domhnall is noted to have been done at Park, the well-known Mac Aodhagáin school in north-east County Galway ... and some at the Ó Deoradháin law school at Ballyorley in County Wexford' (O'Sullivan: 1999, 285). The other MS in which the scribal notes in question here are found was written some years earlier than Egerton 88,[95] but shares one place of writing with it, viz. Cathair Mhic Neachtain, as can be seen from the colophon at the end of the copy of *Immacallam in Dá Thúarad* in MS C iii 2, fo. 12vb, dated AD 1552:

> Orait don té ro scribh in leabur-sa o thus co deiredh. A Cath*air* Meic Nechtain a farr*ad* Ara na mBreo a tindscnad, ⁊ a f*or*ba a mBaile MeClandcada a farr*ad* mo goisde .i. Domhnall Og MaCl*a*nndcada.[96] Mise Forandan qui scribsit sin do fein ⁊ da gach aon darub toil do Dia. ⁊ is i ais in Domini .i. 2. bliadain .x. ⁊ dá .xx.it ⁊ .u.c. ⁊ .0000. bl*iadan* cusin Nodlaig so cugam. Caoicis ria Samuin odie.
>
> Translated in Bisagni (2019: 11–12) as: 'A prayer for the one who wrote this book from beginning to end. In Cathair Mhic Neachtain near Ara na mBreo[97] it was begun, and its completion [was] in Baile Mhic Fhlannchadha, near my patron, i.e. Domhnall Óg Mac Fhlannchadha. I am Forannán, who wrote this for himself and for every one whom God may please. And the age of the Lord is: twelve years and two twenties and five hundred and one thousand years [= AD 1552] up to next Christmas, today it is a fortnight before the 1st of November'.

Outside these scribal notes, I know of only one instance in a text written entirely in *Bérla na Filed*, viz. in v. 2d of *Fē mo ese ol atú*.[98] This line reads *is fur maoi gan dia fo mām*, and two words are glossed, viz. *fur* with *.i. olc*,[99] and *dia* with *.i. bheith*. On the basis of these the line can be translated as 'I think it bad that I am not under his yoke', or 'I do not like not being under his yoke'.[100] If I am right in my assumption (footnote 63 above) that the honorand of this poem is Maghnus Ó Domhnaill of Tír Chonaill, who died in 1563, this instance would

[95] The writing of Egerton 88 'stretched over seven years, from 1564 to 1570', O'Sullivan (1999: 287).

[96] I so represent the MS reading, viz. *madcada* with an insertion-mark (inadvertently after instead of before the first *d*) referring to *cl* + double suspension-stroke in the margin; *RIA Cat*. p. 3422 has *Ma*(*d*) *Clanncada*, without comment.

[97] Parallelism with *a farrad mo goisde* (recte 'in the company of my godfather') suggests that this is rather a cryptic rendering of a personal name, and this is confirmed by the context in which *Ara na mBreó* recurs in the scribal note at the bottom of fol. 9r (*RIA Cat*. p. 3423). Accordingly translate: 'in the company of the "Attendant of the Fires" '. The most likely candidate is *Aodhagán*, since the meaning of the poetic word *áed* 'fire' (with which the non-diminutive name *Áed* belongs) was fairly well known, being frequently given in glossaries (see *DIL* s.v.), and an Aodhagán is mentioned in the note on fol. 3v (*RIA Cat*. p. 3422) as well as in the note in 23 Q 6 cited above.

[98] See above p. 362.

[99] See *DIL* s.v. *2 fúr* for this *Bérla na Filed* term.

[100] *DIL* cites this line s.v. *1 maoi*, as the sole example of *maoi* 'in Bérla na f. used for mé (nom.)', but without comment as to what the line might then mean.

attest to a more widespread use of *ma*(*o*)*i* for *liom* than indicated by the fairly localised scribal notes.

The scribal notes in British Library Egerton 88 and RIA MS C iii 2, and those in other manuscripts of the period, such as RIA MS D v 2 (670) or TCD MSS H 3. 17 (1336) and H 3. 18 (1337) are an important source for the intellectual history of Ireland in the sixteenth century, and yet have mostly been ignored. Thus, hardly any of them are printed in the catalogue of TCD MSS,[101] and while the catalogue of RIA MSS usually cites scribal notes, it does not always cite all of them,[102] and in failing to mention any one at all of the many scribal notes in D v 2, it creates the impression that there are none in that MS.[103] The only serious attempt at editing and interpreting any of them is that by O'Grady,[104] but the task is complicated by difficulties of style, including ciphers and abstruse vocabulary. This note on *maoi* has sought to clear away one of these difficulties.

ABBREVIATIONS

Companion	Liam Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, Early Irish Law Series 5 (Dublin, 2005).
CormY	Meyer (1912)
O'Dav.	Stokes (1904).
RIA Cat.	T. F. O'Rahilly, K. Mulchrone, M. E. Byrne, J. H. Delargy, E. FitzPatrick, L. Duncan, W. Wulf, G. Murphy, A. I. Pearson and T. Ó Concheanainn, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1926–70).

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[101] Abbott and Gwynn (1921).

[102] For example, the note at the end of fol. 12ra in C iii 2 is omitted from the description in *RIA Cat*. pp. 3421–4, and there are some serious errors in those that are included.

[103] O'Rahilly et al. (1926–70).

[104] O'Grady (1926: 109–41).

——, 1990: 'Lawyers in early Ireland', in Daire Hogan and W. N. Osborough (eds), *Brehons, Serjeants and Attorneys: Studies in the History of the Irish Legal Profession* (Dublin), 1–13.

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REVIEWS

Norse-Gaelic Contacts in a Viking World. Colmán Etchingham, Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh and Elizabeth Ashman Rowe. Brepols Publishers: Turnhout, 2019, xii + 435 pp. ISBN 978-2-503-57902-3. €65.00 (Hardback).

This volume offers an exciting collaboration between four well-established experts on medieval Scandinavia, Iceland and Ireland. Despite the title and cover photo of a Manx runestone, this book deals not with the Viking Age as conventionally identified but with the 'long thirteenth century', defined as 1169 × 1334. It provides a detailed analysis of literary links between the North Atlantic and the Irish Sea region through a range of case studies. There is detailed discussion of *Konungs skuggsjá*, *Baile suthach síth Emhna*, the Battle of Clontarf in Icelandic sources and claims of Gaelic ancestry in *Landnámabók*. The book provides an important analysis of cross-cultural contacts in the later Middle Ages and it will be of interest to a broad range of literary and historical scholars.

The first chapter provides commentary on contacts between the Norse- and Gaelic- speaking worlds in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Within the Irish Sea region the focus is on Ireland and the Isle of Man. Perhaps a missing piece of the jigsaw, only occasionally alluded to in the book, is the role of the north-west-English coast in this ongoing network of contacts. Norse and Gaelic influences can be perceived in the *Life of St Bega* of St Bees, Cumbria, *c*. 1200 (which offers some close parallels to the hagiography of St Sunniva) and in the works of Jocelin of Furness, which are touched on briefly. Indeed, Jocelin's *Life of St Patrick* or tales derived from it may have been familiar to the author of *Konungs skuggsjá*, although possible borrowings (such as Jocelin's account of Tara being swallowed into the ground) are not discussed.

The 'Wonders of Ireland' in *Konungs skuggsjá* are the focus of chapter two. This chapter provides a detailed evaluation of key sources of the work as well as text and translation of the relevant sections. The analysis highlights multilingual literacy in the Irish Sea region, as its author drew on a wide range of material. The political context in which *Konungs skuggsjá* was written is also discussed, although it is hard to know whether the flattering claim in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* that the king was invited to rule Ireland was serious or exaggerated. Chapter three deals with the praise poem for Raghnall, King of Man, *Baile suthach síth Emhna*, providing text and translation with analysis. Both the genre of bardic poetry to which the praise poem belongs and its political context are discussed with thoughtful insights and ideas that goes beyond the useful work done on this king by R. Andrew McDonald.

Chapter four deals with Icelandic narratives of the Battle of Clontarf. As with previous chapters, editions and translations are provided for relevant

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sections of text, complemented by well-informed discussion of the historical context. Following the work of others, including Goedheer and Hudson, the poem *Darraðarljóð* is seen to reflect a Norse perception that the Dubliners had the victory at Clontarf. This idea was explored previously by this review author in 'Clontarf in the Wider World', *History Ireland*, Clontarf issue, in 2014. Relevant texts to consider here would have been *Gesta Herewardi* and a poem composed by Cináed ua hArtacáin which claims that the *Gaill* were the victors at Clontarf. The discussion of a hypothetical *Brjáns saga* which underlay Icelandic accounts of Clontarf includes detailed analysis of the work done by Donnchadh Ó Corráin. However, such a text may not have existed, as Rosemary Power argued in *Sagabook* in 2018; *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib*, or a lost written translation, or oral dissemination of its contents may have influenced the later Icelandic saga narratives of Clontarf.

The fifth chapter discusses tales of Gaelic ancestry in Iceland, focused on *Landnámabók*. This forms an excellent final case study for the book. It demonstrates that Irish links mattered to the redactors of *Landnámabók* working in the later decades of the thirteenth century and the first decade of the fourteenth century. A useful study is provided of the transmission of Gaelic names analysed on a case-by-case basis. A special study is made of Kjarvalr Írakonungr. Kjarvalr's association with Cerball mac Dúnlainge (king of Osraige, d. 888) is challenged and Cerball mac Muirecáin (king of Leinster, d. 909) is put forward as a more likely contender.

The authors of the book conclude with an evaluation of the wider implications of this case-study-based approach to Norse-Gaelic literary contacts. Emphasis is placed on the interpretation of the texts as 'political documents' and it is proposed that the text-based, historically grounded approach be applied to a wider range of sources. It will be interesting to see what fruits this rallying call bears in future.

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The Correspondence of Thomas Stephens: Revolutionising Welsh Scholarship in the Mid-Nineteenth Century through Knowledge Exchange. Edited by Adam Coward. Celtic Studies Publications XXIII. Celtic Studies Publications, Aberystwyth, 2020, xxxii + 287 pp. £19.95. ISBN 978-1-891271-30-4.

This volume, the twenty-third in the Celtic Studies Publications series, is an edited selection of the correspondence of Thomas Stephens (1821–75). Stephens, a pharmacist from Merthyr Tydfil, was an amateur scholar of Welsh literature and history. He is, perhaps, best known for his *Literature of the Kymry* (1849), though he was also renowned for his contributions to local and national eisteddfodau. As this publication demonstrates, Stephens's reputation was not limited to Wales, and he contributed greatly to nineteenth-century European scholarly networks. The correspondence included in this volume has been carefully selected to fulfil two aims. The first is to promote Stephens's

reputation as 'Wales's first modern, scientific, as opposed to romantic, historian' (p. ix). The second aim is for the selection of letters to be 'read as a coherent account of his [Stephens's] thought and participation in the wider development of Welsh studies both inside Wales and internationally' (p. xxxi). Adam Coward's selection of Stephens's letters to various scholars, based in ten different nations, demonstrates the breadth of this knowledge exchange, which he claims transcends numerous boundaries: national and linguistic; between the 'amateur' and the 'professional'; and across various academic disciplines (p. xxx).

The collection is broken up into six chapters which focus on various thematic strands. The 'introduction' gives a biographical account of Stephens, his activities in Merthyr Tydfil, and scholarly activity in the town in the nineteenth century. The 'Welsh republic of letters' is also examined giving information about the state of Welsh literary scholarship during Stephens's lifetime, as well as indicating how he revolutionised Welsh literary study in his essay demonstrating that Prince Madoc did not 'discover' North America. The introduction ends with a brief overview of some of the authors and recipients of the letters to and from Stephens reproduced in this volume. Finally, the letter manuscripts themselves are discussed, including how they are grouped in the National Library of Wales. The 'introduction' is followed by 'a note on the text', which covers Coward's editorial practices and his re-arrangement of the letters from how they are ordered in the National Library of Wales, which is by sender's surname, then chronologically. Coward's ordering is designed to 'reconstruct conversations' and to allow 'the reader to see how the letters interact, correspond to or even inspire one another' (p. xxxi).

Chapter one is centred on Stephens's early correspondence between the years 1845 and 1853. While other chapters in this volume also cover some of this period, Coward has selected the letters for inclusion in this one, as he explains in the introduction to this chapter, in order to demonstrate the almost immediate recognition of the calibre of Stephens's work by more established Welsh scholars (or 'yr hen bersoniaid llengar' [the learned clergy] — Anglican clergymen holding official titles who were prominent in the study of Welsh literature and history) and to show his willingness to criticise them when he felt they erred. Stephens's correspondence with Thomas Price (Carnhuanawc) and Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain) is reproduced here, along with his letters to and from, inter alia, the German scholar Carl Meyer, Charlotte Guest, and Augusta Hall.

Chapter two focuses on the further development of Stephens's reputation as a central figure in scholarly circles in Wales. As Coward argues in the general introduction and reiterates here in the chapter introduction, one of his aims in reproducing Stephens's correspondence was to highlight the role Stephens played in the knowledge transfer and exchange as enacted in letters (p. 35). The correspondence presented in this chapter covers 1850 to 1864 and illustrates 'the diverse avenues and methods by which research was conducted and knowledge acquired in nineteenth-century Wales' (p. 35). This includes requests for manuscript transcriptions, as well as discussions of new research

in the field of Celtic studies, both at home an abroad. A letter from Thomas Wakeman in 1854, for example, discusses his views on Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica*, in which Wakeman objects to the modern Celtic languages being referred to as 'Celtic' as 'no-one knows what language the Celts of Gaul spoke' (p. 49). Alongside Wakeman, Stephens's correspondents in this chapter include George T. Clarke, W. Basil Jones, and Ebenezer Thomas (Eben Fardd).

The third chapter covers Stephens's correspondence with Irish scholars, which began in 1849 after the debate about the origin of cromlechs arose at the third annual meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association that year (p. 70). The clergyman and antiquarian James Henthorn Todd was in attendance at that meeting and began corresponding with Stephens afterwards. He also made introductions on Stephens's behalf to William Wilde, who in turn introduced Stephens to John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry. All of their letters are included in this chapter and cover such topics as: the ridiculous notions of Charles Vallancey; whether a disease referred to as 'blefed', which appears in the *Annals of Tigernach,* derives its name from Welsh; and whether the age of Cú Chulainn could be dated. Stephens also corresponded with the Cork-based antiquarian Richard R. Brash, who consulted Stephens on matters such as the Irish colonisation of Wales and on ogham. The Irish correspondence extends until 1871.

Covering the period 1853 to 1874, the fourth chapter reproduces Stephens's continental correspondence. As Coward points out in the 'introduction' to the volume, and re-iterates in the chapter introduction, there were close ties between Welsh and continental scholars, especially when it came to the Abergavenny Cymreigyddion society, which had admitted the Breton scholar Théodore Hersart de la Villemarqué and the German scholar Albert Schulz as members (p. 107). Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué and Schulz both wrote to Stephens about his *Literature of the Kymry*, as well as on matters pertaining to Welsh literature more generally. There are also letters from Adolphe Pictet on Welsh saints and Welsh toponomy, as well as correspondence from the philologist Friedrich Max Müller on Welsh mystic poetry.

Chapter five focuses on the portrayal of Stephens as a revolutionary scholar in Welsh studies. Coward has selected correspondence for this chapter which demonstrates Stephens to have been a more scientific researcher who did not include in his histories of Wales and Welsh literature that which he could not find manuscript evidence for (pp. 151–4). The letters in this chapter also demonstrate Stephens's frustration with older Welsh historians and literature scholars, who, he felt, were more inclined to have a more rosy-tinted view of Welsh history. This chapter seems to develop naturally out of the previous two: in chapter three we saw Stephens seeking the advice and guidance of the most prominent Irish scholars after Todd remarked that cromlechs were not in fact altars to Crom, nor were they Druidic in nature, at the Cambrian Archaeological Association meeting mentioned above. In chapter four, Stephens began corresponding with continental scholars, interested in his findings, and chapter five brings together Stephens's rigorous scholarship with support from fellow researchers on the continent. This can be seen in one of the letters in this chapter from

Stephens to Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué in which Stephens mentions his recent tour to Ireland (in 1856) and notes that his research there into the origins of round towers led him to believe that Vallancey's and O'Brien's claims that they were fire worshipping temples to be 'pure moonshine' (p. 157). Much of the letters in this chapter concern the mythological figure of Hu Gadarn. His correspondents here include Henri Martin, William Forbes Skene, and the aforementioned Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué.

The final chapter is concerned with Stephens's work on the Madoc myth or controversy. As Coward outlines in the chapter introduction, the theme of the essay prize of the 1858 Llangollen eisteddfod was 'the discovery of America by Prince Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd' (p. 189). Stephens's entry argued that Madoc had in fact never made it across the Atlantic, which caused arguments to break out as to whether or not it was eligible to be judged. He later turned this essay into a monograph and Coward argues that the correspondence in this chapter shows Stephens's development of thought on this subject between his essay and his book (p. 191). In his quest for knowledge, Stephens sought sources from across Wales, and eventually began seeking references from the United States, where he sought information from the founder of the American Ethnological Society, John Russel Bartlett. Other correspondents include James Hadley of Yale College, Daniel Silvan Evans, and W. Walker Wilkins.

A 'retrospective' serves as a conclusion, which highlights Stephens's attention to detail and scientific approach to Welsh historiography — both recognised by his immediate successors, such as John Morris-Jones, as well as by more recent commentators, such as Marion Löffler. Again, Coward reiterates his aim in reproducing Stephens's correspondence in this volume: to demonstrate the development of Stephens's career and to show that the republic of letters enacted throughout this volume both had influence on Stephens's work and also showed that 'Stephens was not a lone voice of reason in the face of romantic credulity' (p. 226). There are two appendices following this. Appendix A contains short biographies of some of Stephens's notable correspondents. Appendix B is a compilation of some of the notable people mentioned in the correspondence and includes the likes of Jakob Grimm, Leopold von Ranke, Johann Kaspar Zeuss, and Charles Vallancey. These are followed by a bibliography of manuscript and printed sources relevant to the people and topics mentioned in the correspondence.

The volume has been carefully assembled and while Coward admits that the manuscript sources of Stephens's letters in the National Library of Wales have already been compiled to reflect his scholarship rather than being a collection of all his correspondence, there is also a sense that Coward's selection provides his own view of Stephens's significance. There is no sense of repetition across the volume, even where there are numerous letters on the same theme. In addition to this careful curation, for all letters which are not in English (correspondence is also presented in Welsh, French, and German), translations are provided. Some were made by Stephens; others were made by later hands; and the rest were carried out by Coward and Nely van Seventer. Where there is overlap of themes between chapters, Coward provides careful references back

to previous mentions in correspondence, and the whole volume is footnoted with relevant information throughout. In his biography of Stephens prefixed to the second edition of *The Literature of the Kymry*, B. T. Williams wrote that 'the correspondence of [Stephens's] correspondence, if it could be got together […] would be welcomed by all Celtic Scholars' (Williams, 1876, p. xxvii). This volume has made this a welcome reality.

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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 Lexicographie*, 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'Keefe (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–).
GPC Online	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, online ed. (www.geiriadur.ac.uk).

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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.
RIA	Royal Irish Academy.
RC	*Revue Celtique*.
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 Cúailgne: Recension I* (Dublin, 1976).
TBC LL	Cecile O'Rahilly (ed.), *Táin Bó Cúailgne from the Book of Leinster* (Dublin, 1967).
TBC St.	Cecile O'Rahilly (ed.), *The Stowe Version of Táin Bó Cúailgne* (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 Wirzibirgensis, 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*.