Celtica 29



Edited by Barry J. Lewis and Ruairí Ó hUiginn

Celtica 29 (2017), vi + 329 pages

DOI: 10.58480/SCS-aeesb-c3asv

DIAS

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



© School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. This work is licensed under CC BY-NC 4.0. To view a copy of this license, visit https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/

CELTICA

VOLUME XXIX

EDITED BY

BARRY J. LEWIS AND RUAIRÍ Ó hUIGINN



SCHOOL OF CELTIC STUDIES

DUBLIN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

2017

© Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 2017
ISSN 0069-1399
ISBN 978 1 85500 233 3

All rights reserved

Copyright in the whole and every part of this publication belongs to the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (School of Celtic Studies), and it may not be used, sold, licensed, transferred, copied, rented or reproduced in whole or in part in any manner or form or in or on any medium by any person other than with the prior written consent of the publisher.

Typeset by Datapage International Ltd
Printed by eprint Ltd.
www.eprint.ie

PEER-REVIEW

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

CONTENTS

A crux in the fourth letter of Columbanus
†Donnchadh Ó Corráin 1

Aduϭyn gaer yssyd: an early Welsh poem revisited
Paul Russell 6

Who was Ailill Moṡaulum?
Clodagh Downey 38

Sinech Cró, an mháthair chíche agus an t-altramas in Éirinn sa Mheánaois
Aogán Ó hIarlaithe 55

A note on *Sect.o.f.n*.
Marie-Luise Theuerkauf 76

A medieval Irish commentary on the *magister*
Deborah Hayden 90

On the inauguration of Conchubhar Óg Mac Diarmada, 1595
Pádraig Ó Macháin 109

A *crosántacht* composed for Dáibhídh de Barra († 10 April, 1617)
Margo Griffin-Wilson 135

Observations on the manuscript sources for the *Dánta Grá*
Síle Ní Mhurchú 199

Humfrey Wanley, Bishop John O'Brien, and the colophons of Mael Brigte's Gospels
Richard Sharpe 251

Reviews
Elizabeth Boyle: *Clavis Litterarum Hibernensium: Medieval Irish Books and Texts (*c. *400*–c. *1600)* (Ó Corráin) 293
Marie-Luise Theuerkauf: *Studies in Irish Mythology* (Bondarenko) 298
Paul McCotter: *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Ó Riain) 303

 ©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

Sarah Waidler: *Sacred Histories: A Festschrift for Máire Herbert* (Carey, Murray and Ó Dochartaigh) 308
Ruairí Ó hUiginn: *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh/Munterloney Folktales: Irish Tradition from County Tyrone* (Ó Tuathail/Watson) 312
Pavel Iosad: *The Qualities and Origins of the Welsh Vowel [i]* (Wmffre)..... 315

Abbreviations 327

A CRUX IN THE FOURTH LETTER OF COLUMBANUS

Abstract

A note that proposes an explanation of *felmodo,* the name of an important member of Columbanus's followers that occurs in his Fourth Letter.

The fourth letter of Columbanus was written in 610 while he was waiting at Nantes for the ship to bring him back to Ireland.[1] Indeed, the ship was ready as he wrote (§8). He was being expelled because he became involved in the complicated family conflicts of Theuderic II, king of Burgundy (r. 595–613), and his formidable grandmother Brunhilda. He apparently refused to bless Theuderic's two extramarital sons, a remarkable indiscretion which, amongst other things, may have had implications for succession. His expulsion was a disaster for Columbanus' mission and he greatly feared for its future. The letter is written to his disciples in Luxeuil. He is deeply concerned for the survival of his community and painfully aware of its fragility. He is worried, too, about the divisions amongst the brethren. He attempts to make provision the future governance of the monastery. He enjoins that Attala shall rule the community; if, however, he wishes to follow Columbanus into exile, then Waldelenus shall be *praepositus*.

He writes:

> *Haec scripsi propter incertos exitus rerum. Mei voti fuit gentes visitare, et evangelium eis a nobis praedicari, sed Fedolio modo referente eorum teporem pene meum tulit inde animum*.
>
> 'I have written this because of the uncertain outcome of events. It was my wish to visit the heathen and have the gospel preached to them by us, but when Fedolius just reported their coolness he quite took my mind from that.'[2]

As we shall see, there is a good deal doubtful about this rendering.

[1]G. S. M. Walker (ed. and trans.), *Sancti Columbani Opera*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 2 (Dublin, 1957), 26–36; Inos Biffi and Costante Marabelli (eds), *San Colombano, Le opere*, introduzioni di Inos Biffi & Aldo Granata, analisi e commento dei singole opere di Aldo Granata, traduzione a cura delle Monache Benedettine dell'Abbazia Mater Ecclesiae di Isola San Giulio, cartografia di Costante Marabelli, indici di Antonio Tombolini, Biblioteca di Cultura Medievale (Milan, 2001), 54–73. *San Colombano, Le opere* has Walker's text with Italian translation and copious annotation.

[2]Walker, *Opera*, 30 (§5) (Walker's translation).

 ©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

Fedolio modo is Walker's emendation. He comments: 'The manuscript corruptions conceal some proper name, and I have ventured to introduce that of Fedolius; the fact that Columban's poem to him exists in an eighth-century manuscript of German origin suggests that he may have lived or travelled across the Rhine, and he was in regular correspondence with Columban'.[3] He then refers, for support for this interpretation, to some lines in the poem *Columbanus Fidolio fratri suo*.[4] These read *sic tua nostras / missa frequenter / laetificabat / pagina mentes*, translated by Walker, 'so your note, so often sent, made glad our minds'. Few believe that this poem is a work of Columbanus and it lends little support to any argument.

J. W. Smit offers a cogent critique of Walker's understanding. The German manuscript, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Sammelhandschrift Diez. B. Sant. 66, is not eighth-century; at earliest the relevant portion of the manuscript is ninth-century and may be later.[5] This demolishes Walker's argument for a pre-eighth-century author. And with it, out goes the early contact of the so-called 'Fedolius' with Germany.[6] The verses from *Columbanus Fedolio* can equally be translated: 'so the letter you have sent often made glad our minds' – there is, therefore no unequivocal support here for regular correspondence between Columbanus and the so-called Fedolius.[7] Lastly, *gentes* may refer to the lightly christianised Franks. But, as we shall see, there may be more to this. Smit finds Walker's emendation grammatically weak: the ablative absolute *Fidolio modo referente eorum teporem* is the subject of *meum tulit inde animum*. However, Bieler's Index grammaticus[8] has three syntactically similar cases of an irregular ablative absolute:[9] letter IV, §7, p. 34, lines 14–15; letter V, §7, p. 44, lines 3–6; and *Instructiones* II, §3, p. 70, line 34. These all occur in Columbanus' genuine writings. Therefore, this loose use of the ablative absolute is a stylistic quirk of Columbanus and does not constitute, formally, an impediment to Walker's emendation. As we shall see, other considerations supply a diriment impediment.

Smit declares that 'the weakness of Walker's emendation is also apparent from the ease with which one can arrive at a more acceptable correction of the text' and he offers the following:

> Mei voti fuit gentes visitare, et evangelium eis a nobis praedicari, sed fel <s>inodo referente eorum teporem pene meum tulit inde animum.[10]

[3]Ibid. cf. pp. xxxvii–iii, lviii–lx.

[4]Ibid. 192–7: 192, vv.14–17.

[5]J. W. Smit, *Studies in the Language and Style of Columba the Younger (Columbanus*) (Amsterdam, 1971), 242–3; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, *Clauis Litterarum Hibernensium* [hereafter *CLH*] (Turnhout, 2017), i, 431 (§334).

[6]Smit, *Studies*, 242–3.

[7]Smit, *Studies,* 243.

[8]Walker, *Opera*, 233a.

[9]I ignore the example in *Regula coenobialis* §9. This 'rule' is not the work of Columbanus.

[10]Smit, *Studies,* 244.

He does not give a translation of his emendation. It may run something like this: 'It was my wish to visit the *gentes* and have the gospel preached to them by us, but when the synod reported their coolness the venom quite took my mind off that.'[11] I am not sure whether 'their' should refer to the *gentes* or to the members of the proposed synod. Formally, Smit's emendation is a good try but he need not have worried overmuch about the ablative absolute.

In writing this letter, it is clear that Columbanus was in a highly emotional state, worried about his community, distressed about its divisions, deeply concerned about its future government, and depressed. And, as he himself says in §6 of the letter, he had wanted to write a tearful letter, but he tried to bottle up his grief and worry. It is not to be expected that his usual literary polish – which takes time he did not have – would be altogether in evidence here. In fact, he declares at the end (§9): *amor non tenet ordinem, inde missa confusa est. Totum dicere volui in brevi, totum non potui* 'Love does not keep order; hence my missive is confused. I wished to say everything in short, but could not manage everything.'[12]

A much more serious objection to Smit's proposal is that there is no reference whatever to any synod in Letter IV. In the circumstances of Columbanus' troubles, who would have called it and why? Why should a synod evaluate the attitude of supposed pagan or semi-pagan populations (*gentes*), and report its findings to Columbanus? This is not what synods usually do.

Besides, we are in no way obliged to translate *gentes* as pagans or, as Walker, 'the heathen'. Note Granata's translation: 'era mio desiderio visitare quelle popolazioni e predicare il Vangelo anche a loro'.[13] It is worth recalling the meaning of *gens* in Classical Latin: 1. 'race', 'nation', 'people' (note the descending order: *gens*, *natio*, *civitas*, in the usage of Cicero, Tacitus, Caesar); 2. 'the nations (of the world)'; 3. 'the geographical region occupied by a nation'; 'land', 'canton', 'country'; 4. 'a Roman lineage', 'family', 'house'. Blaise does not give the meaning 'pagans',[14] though of course the plural *gentes* can mean 'gentiles, pagans' (the first meaning in the *Lexicon manuale*). And of course, *gentes* may mean 'the barbarians' as opposed to the Romans. I think we had better stick to 'the peoples'. There is no evidence here for a proposed mission to the Germans on the right bank of the Rhine. All we can conclude is that Columbanus planned to preach the Gospel to certain unnamed populations (and preaching the gospel and evangelisation of pagans are not the same thing). When their lack of interest was reported to him, that quite put him off. And it is worth noting the context: Columbanus is a distressed man who has been removed from his community and its cure of souls, and he is recalling yet another failure.

[11] *fel* 1. 'gall', 'bile'; 2. 'bitterness', 'venom', 'acrimony'.
[12] Walker, *Opera*, 34, lines 34–5 (translation by Walker).
[13] *San Colombano, Le opere*, 65.
[14] *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Turnhout, 1975), s.v. *gens*.

If Walker's *Fedolio modo* will not do, what are we to make of the underlying textual corruption? The single manuscript and Fleming's Bobbio transcript read:

> *fee.modo*, M (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Sang. 1346; s. xvii; transcribed by Jodoc Metzler, abbot of St Gall, 'ex manuscripto codice monasterii Bobbiensis litteris hibernicis confecto'; original now lost);
>
> *fel.modo*, F (lost Bobbio manuscript, transcribed by Fr Patrick Fleming (1599–1631) in 1623 and published in his *Collectanea sacra seu Columbani ... acta et opuscula*, ed. Thomas Sheeran (Louvain, 1667).[15]

Behind these forms lies the name of a person so important that, in this time of crisis, Columbanus recalls his opinion on the unreadiness of certain peoples to accept preaching by the Columbanian community. I propose a minor change: to emend *fel.modo* to *Felmedo*, a Latinisation of the Irish name nom. **Felmed*, gen. **Felmedo*, *Felmeda*. The genitive form *Felmeda* is well and clearly attested, but only in one context:

> Genelach Ua Felmeda: trí meic Muridaig meic Óengusa m. Ḟeidilmthe a quo Uí Ḟelmeda m. Énnai Chenselaich.
>
> 'The genealogy of Uí Ḟelmeda: three sons of Muredach son of Óengus son of Fedelmid, from whom descend Uí Ḟelmeda, son of Énna Cennselach.'[16]

Uí Ḟelmeda are a senior royal lineage of the Uí Chennselaig, the dynasty that ruled south Leinster, and whose king Brandub mac Echach (ob. 605), fourth in descent from Fedelmid al. *Felmed was (it is claimed) king of Leinster.[17] The layout of the genealogies makes it certain that Feidlimid is the eponym of Uí Ḟelmeda and, in the understanding of the genealogists, the two names are identical. They place Fedelmid three generations previous to Columbanus' floruit. Early forms of the name occur in ogam: VEDDELLEMETTO, VEDELMET<TO>.[18] Among the forms in Old Irish are: nom. *Feidlimid*, *Fedlimid*, *Fedlimith*; gen. *Fedelmedo*, *Fedeilmtheo*, *Fethelmtho*, *Fedlimtheo*, *Feidhilmtho*, *Feidelmeda*, *Feidlimthe*, *Feidelmthie*.[19]

[15]*CLH* i, 417 (§328).

[16]M. A. O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1962), 353, 354, 430 = *LL*, vi, 1365, 1478.

[17]According to the Annals of Ulster, he was ruling in 590, 597–8, and was slain in 605 (*AU*, 94, 96, 98, 102).

[18]Damian McManus, *A Guide to Ogam* (Maynooth, 1991), 6.13, 6.24; R. A. S. Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* (Dublin, 1945), i, 201–2 (§206).

[19]Ludwig Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 10 (Dublin, 1979), 166.40, 168.5, 7, 12, 16; 176.23; *AU* 578.3, 590.1, 701.4, 722.6, 761.2, 801.2, 814.1, 840.4, 820.5, 847.1, 822.7 (prima manus only).

A second example of *Felmeda* occurs in the early genealogies of the saints, in the place name *Tilach* (al. *Tulach*) *Meic Felmeda*, that is, the townland and parish of Tullowphelim al. Tullow, barony of Rathvilly, Co. Carlow, in the dynastic lands of Uí Ḟelmeda.

> Ingena Cormaic meic Aililla .i. Ethni & Dar Cairthend i Tulaig meic Felmeda.
>
> 'The daughters of Cormac son of Ailill i.e. Eithne and Der Cáirthend in Tulach Meic Felmeda'.[20]

Thus, **Felmed*, gen. *Felmeda*, which appears to be a dialectal syncopated form of *Fedelmid*, is well attested, and closely linked with Uí Ḟelmeda, a branch of Uí Chennselaig, the rulers of south Leinster. Columbanus came from Leinster and it is possible that one of his followers was closely associated with the ruling south Leinster dynasty.

†Donnchadh Ó Corráin

University College Cork

Editors' note

The editors greatly regret that Professor Donnchadh Ó Corráin died while this volume was in press.

[20]Dublin, TCD H. 2. 7 (1298), 77.17 = Lec. 91rb40 = BB 133a9 = P. Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1985), §247 = ibid. §656 ; cf. Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, *Great Book of Irish Genealogies,* ed. N. Ó Muraíle, ii, §726.11: *Eithne agus Dearchairthinn i tTulaigh mec Felmeadha da inghin Cormaic m. Oilealla*.

ADU6YN GAER YSSYD: AN EARLY WELSH POEM REVISITED

Abstract

The poem, *Etmic Dinbych*, preserved in the Book of Taliesin, is a much anthologized poem about which much has been written – about both the poem itself and its historical context. For a poem that has been so studied a number of issues remain, both textual and contextual. In particular, the extra stanza apparently appended to the end of the poem in the Book of Taliesin, a version of which also appears in the Black Book of Carmarthen, remains understudied. This paper provides a new discussion and edition of the poem with special emphasis on the problems presented by the extra stanza for which a new date and context are proposed.

The poem, conventionally entitled *Etmic Dinbych*, preserved in the fourteenth-century Book of Taliesin (Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 2), is a much anthologized poem about which much has been written – about both the poem itself and its historical context.[1] It might be thought therefore that little remains to be said. However, two reasons might be offered for revisiting it. First, in Nikolai Tolstoy's recent discussion of the Four Branches considerable weight has been placed on the poem, both in terms of its date and its contents, and it is important to assess whether the poem is capable of bearing such a weight of interpretation.[2] Secondly, for a poem that has been so studied and analysed a surprising number of issues remain, both textual and contextual. Editors of the text have been torn between emending the text and not emending it but merely suggesting possible changes. This is in part due to its odd structure; there is an extra stanza apparently appended to the end of the poem in the Book of Taliesin, a version of which also appears in the Black Book of Carmarthen (Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 1). No one has ever seemed quite sure what to do about this stanza: is it part of the poem or not? If it is, in what sense is it part of it? Editors and translators have taken this uncertainty as a licence to include it or discard it at will, and to think about it a little or not at all. There also seems to be a general assumption (in that nothing else is said) that the poem is of a piece (with or without its final stanza). However, as will emerge, it is possible that the poem is more fragmentary that has been supposed. In other words, there might be some merit in going back to first principles and asking some basic questions.

[1]Earlier versions of this paper were delivered at Harvard and Oxford, and I am grateful for the comments of those present on both occasions. I am also grateful to Barry Lewis, Thomas Charles-Edwards, and an anonymous reviewer for reading and commenting on a draft of this paper.

[2]Nikolai Tolstoy, *The Oldest British Prose Literature: The Compilation of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Lewiston, 2009), 495–520.

©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

Previous scholarship

Work on this poem is of two types: editions and discussions of the poem, on the one hand, and, on the other, historically focused analyses which seek to provide a more detailed historical context for the poem's composition. As so often with early Welsh verse, work began with Ifor Williams who published his edition of the poem in 1940 (in Welsh but with an English translation of the poem);[3] an English translation by Rachel Bromwich appeared in 1972.[4] He argued that the poem could be dated to *c*. 875 and located its composition in Tenby.[5] This edition effectively established the framework for all subsequent discussion. The late Geraint Gruffydd had several encounters with the poem; his first discussion in the late 1970s was perhaps his most innovative.[6] His more recent edition was first published in 2002 with a text in modern spelling and with a Modern Welsh rendering;[7] an English version of this appeared in 2005.[8] Gruffydd's edition takes into account some more recent discussions, such as that of Breeze on the poet's relationship to the king,[9] but mainly follows Williams in his explication of the text, often incorporating suggestions originally made by Williams in the notes to his edition. A notable difference, however, is that Gruffydd does not discuss the extra stanza at all, although he had seemed content to regard it as part of the poem in his earlier discussion.[10] In addition to the translations provided by Williams and Gruffydd, the poem appears in the usual anthologies of translations.[11]

The historical context has received more attention of late. In a long discussion which *inter alia* proposes that *ysgriuen Brydein* (l. 45) refers to the Four Branches, Nikolai Tolstoy offers two different dates for the composition of the poem.[12] It is worth noting that the argument is embedded in a very particular argument about the date of the composition of the Four Branches. More recently, the poem has been considered by Charles-Edwards who, like Williams, pairs it with a discussion of *Echrys Ynys*;[13] the discussion is set within an examination of what these poems might tell us about the history of

[3]Ifor Williams (ed. and trans.), 'Moliant Dinbych Penfro', *THSC*, 1940, 66–83.

[4]Ifor Williams (ed. and trans.), 'Two poems from the Book of Taliesin: I. The praise of Tenby', in Rachel Bromwich (ed.), *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry* (Cardiff, 1972; second ed. 1980), 155–72.

[5]Ibid., 161; Williams, 'Moliant Dinbych Penfro', 72.

[6]R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'The early court poetry of south west Wales', *SC* 14–15 (1979–80), 95–106 (at 96–8); the innovation can be seen in his acceptance that the extra stanza belongs to the poem, and his robust rejection of Williams's suggestion about *browyr*.

[7]R. Geraint Gruffydd, *'Edmyg Dinbych': Cerdd Lys Gynnar o Ddyfed*, Darlith Goffa J. E. Caerwyn a Gwen Williams, 2001 (Aberystwyth, 2002).

[8]R. Geraint Gruffydd, '"The praise of Tenby": a late ninth-century Welsh court poem', in J. F. Nagy and L. E. Jones (eds), *Heroic Poets and Poetic Heroes in Celtic Tradition. A Festschrift for Patrick K. Ford*, CSANA Yearbook 3–4 (Dublin, 2005), 91–102.

[9]Andrew Breeze, 'Poet and patron in *The Praise of Tenby*', *SC* 31 (1997), 272–5.

[10]Gruffydd, 'The early court poetry', 96.

[11]See, for example, Joseph Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poetry* (Dublin, 2003), 99–101, entitled 'In praise of Tenby' (cf. Joseph Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry* (London, 1970), 89–91 (notes pp. 201–2)); Tony Conran, *Welsh Verse* (Bridgend, 1986), 117–19.

[12]Tolstoy, *The Oldest British Prose Literature,* 495–520.

[13]Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013), 659–65.

the period. Both of these more recent discussions accept the text as discussed by Williams and Gruffydd.

In terms of date, the general view seems to have settled on the ninth century, though there is some variation within that period – later in the ninth century for Williams and Gruffydd, but earlier for Charles-Edwards – with only Tolstoy proposing later dates, late tenth and then the early eleventh. The following discussion is not intended to offer a revised date for the main poem nor revise the historical context significantly, but focuses on the poem itself as presented in the manuscript; it will however return to the historical context towards the end of the discussion.

A complete text, translation and notes are presented in the Appendix (pp. 24–36).

Content

The main poem begins (ll. 1–2) and ends (l. 56) with a conventional invocation to God.[14] However, l. 57 *ar nyn gɕnel yn vrowyr gorɕyr owein* 'may He not make us the countrymen of Owain's great-grandson', which seems intended to form a closing couplet with l. 56, is oddly politicized. Views have differed over the identity of the great-grandson, but Gruffydd suggests that he had only just become king and 'that the poet – perhaps speaking for the retinue as well – was apprehensive about his intentions'.[15] But the tone of this line strongly suggests a devout wish that he is not to be the new ruler (and indeed, if he were already installed, it would be an extremely ill-advised view to express in public). We return to the historical context below, but at this point I would simply note that this line may be a later addition expressing a hope which is strangely out of line with the conventionally pious sentiments expressed in the closing lines of such poems. That said, there is no necessary reason why *gorɕyr Owein* is referring to a successor from a local dynasty rather than to an external threat, such as that implied in the additional stanza; in other words, *browyr* could mean 'country-men' but not necessarily 'men of the same country'.[16]

The focus of each of the intervening seven stanzas is the *aduɕyn kaer* 'a fine fortress' as observed from different angles and perspectives: it is described as 'on the surface of the ocean' (*ar glaɕr gɕeilgi* (l. 3)), 'upon the broad sea' (*ar llydan llyn* (l. 11)), 'on the ninth wave' (*ar ton naɕuet* (l. 19)), 'on a headland' (*ar eglan* (l. 33)), 'rising up' (*yn ardɕyrein* (l. 48)) ; all could be taken as describing the fortress from land, but some could plausibly be viewing the *caer* and the headland from the sea. Furthermore, this is a place where things happen: systematic parallels are drawn (especially in stanzas 1, 4 and 7)

[14]The extra stanza which stands outside the invocations to God, and is also found in a slightly different version in the Black Book of Carmarthen, is discussed in detail below, pp. 13–16.

[15]Gruffydd, '"The praise of Tenby"', 93; this allows Gruffydd to date the poem to 893 × 895.

[16]Although *bro* can often mean something like the land one has in common with others, it can have a more neutral sense of 'land'; cf., for example, *nid hoffet meiuret bro* (*LlDC* 2.6) 'the cowardice of a land is not a thing to boast about'. We might also note that *bro* is occasionally attested in the sense of 'border'.

between the crashing of the waves, the calling of the sea-birds outside, and the noise of the celebrations within, and it is clear that this is a place where gifts abound (*ae kyffrȯy kedeu* (l. 41)). Leaving aside the marginal title, which may be derived from the poem itself, we do not know where this *caer* is until l. 35: *atwen yn dinbych gorwen gȯylan* ... 'I know at Dinbych – bright white its seagull …'. It is generally supposed that this refers to *Dinbych y Pysgod*, Tenby in Pembrokeshire, and there are no good reasons for thinking otherwise. A Dyfed focus is also supported by the slighting reference to the poor status of *eillon* 'villeins' (l. 24) in Deudraeth (Gwynedd) in comparison with that of a *caeth* 'slave' in Dyfed.

As the poem progresses, it turns out that we, the audience, are gatecrashing the New Year's feast of a ruler and his *gosgordd*;[17] the late December and early January storms are crashing in against the headland but they are drowned out by the din indoors, much of it *gorun beird* 'the tumult of bards' (l. 6). But just as the audience is settling in for a poem in praise of Dinbych, of its lord, and of his generosity to his people and poet, there is a gradual but unsettling shift in tone: from l. 15 onwards some of the tenses begin to move into the past (e.g. *bu ... bu...* (l. 15), *ymdullyn* (l. 18)), before we reach l. 30 where we first meet the *argl*ȯ*yd hywyd he*ȯ*r eiran* 'a generous lord, a fine hero' (whose name we do not yet know) around whom there is joyful song on New Year's Day (ll. 29–30). But in the next line there is a sudden shift as we learn that this is how it was before he died: *kyn y vynet yn y ad*ȯ*yt yn deruin llan* 'before he went in [his] death into the oaken enclosure' (l. 31). The tenses of the verbs then begin to slide more rapidly; while the waves continue to crash and the birds continue to cry, the lord and the activities of the poet are referred to in the past tense: *rodes* (l. 32), *oed* (ll. 35, 42) *dewiss*ȯ*n* (l. 43), *ryscat*ȯ*n* (l. 43), *treid*ȯ*n* (l. 47). It gradually emerges then that the lord, eventually identified as Bleiddudd (ll. 36 and 54) has died and the identity of the next ruler is not yet known, or at least not revealed.[18] But, whoever it may be, it appears that the poet is concerned to consolidate and emphasize his own rights and privileges with him.

Title

The title of the poem is understood as *Etmic Dinbych*.[19] This is based on the incomplete title written in the margin opposite l. 15 of fol. 20v, the first few letters of which have been trimmed off. In many other cases in the Book of Taliesin (e.g. fol. 17r, 17v, 19v, 21v, 22r), but not all (e.g. fol. 14r, 18v), the scribe provides the title in red in a full-sized hand in the spaces provided in the text, but here he, or perhaps someone else, has left the title space blank and has put the title in a smaller size in the margin. It is possible that there

[17]Strictly speaking the poem does not say that it is *Calan Ionawr* but the weather conditions make it likely, especially as New Year was a significant festive occasion for bards.

[18]It is striking that the names of the place and the lord in question are delayed until ll. 35–6, more than halfway through the poem.

[19]Williams, 'Moliant Dinbych Penfro', 66–7; Williams, 'Two poems', 155–6.

was no title in the scribe's exemplar and that the marginal title is an extrapolation from the text of the poem by the scribe himself or perhaps by a later scribe after the rubrication had been completed. One reason for thinking that it might not be the scribe himself is that that the letter forms are different; this may simply be the scribe using a different pen and writing in a smaller script, though the form of the *d* and the angular minims with a differentiating accent in *dín* suggest it might be a different hand. Could the marginal title have been added after the rubricator had done his work?

What survives has been usually read as ..]*mic dinbych*, and this reading is supported by the copy made by Dr John Davies of Mallwyd in his 'Liber B' (NLW MS 4973, fol. 80v5).[20] But on closer examination this reading is at least problematic. There are two points at issue. There are four minims visible before the *-c* of the first word and it is most easily, but unhelpfully, read as *imc*, or perhaps more plausibly as *ınic* (the first stroke is a minim which might be read as *i* but could be the final minim of a different letter). Crucially, it seems to me difficult, as it stands, to read it as *mic* as there is nothing joining the first two minims at the edge of the page, though this may be due to more recent deterioration in the manuscript. The second point relates to the reading of the second word where the *b* of the conventional reading is more naturally read as ɓ. There is also an accent written over the *i* (intended to separate the minims). The most accurate reading of the title as it is currently in the manuscript, then, and the least prejudicial, is]*ıuc dínɓych*. If we are to accept the traditional reading, we have to assume that the title, as preserved in the Book of Taliesin, was miscopied from the exemplar; as it stands, the second word should be understood as *dinvych* or *dinɓych* but not easily as *dinbych*. That the place-name was extrapolated from the main poem might be supported by the fact that the form of *b* in *dinbych* (fol. 21r17 = l. 35) is markedly less angular and serifed that the scribe's usual *b*s. To judge from its relative height it was still intended to be a *b* rather than a ɓ but it is not surprising that it might have been read as a ɓ.

It is certainly clear that something has been trimmed off by the binder, but whether that was the *et* of [*et*]*mic* is not clear. Given the content of the poem, there are other possibilities: it may be, for example, *celenic* or *celennic* 'a New Year's gift', with which we might compare *kelennic etmic* in *Hirlas Owein*.[21] Given the uncertainty surrounding the title, there is no point in proposing an alternative, but it is important to recognize that the title of this poem is not as clear as it might be. In view of the uncertainty I would be inclined to refer to the poem as *Aduɓyn gaer yssyd*.

[20]For an image of the page in John Davies's manuscript, see https://www.llgc.org.uk/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/early-modern-period/liber-b-john-davies-of-mallwyd/ (consulted 13 December 2016).

[21]*GLlF* 14.102 (p. 114); this phrase at least indicates that *celennic* and *etmic* can be found in the same context. Elsewhere in the poem the scribe spells the word *kelenic* (as at l. 44 and also *BT* 77.21), which may militate against *kelennic* here; but it is not impossible that a title might be spelt differently.

Form

The main poem consists of seven stanzas, most of which consist of 8 lines, though stanza 4 has six lines and stanza 6 seven lines. Of the fifty-seven lines of the main poem, forty-one have nine syllables, thirteen have ten (ll. 4, 5, 8, 9, 15, 18, 39, 41, 47, 49, 55, and 57); two lines have eleven syllables (ll. 7 and 32), and one has twelve (l. 31). Each stanza has a different end-rhyme except for stanza 5 where the rhyme changes from *-an* to *-ein* for the last two lines (ll. 39–40). In stanza 6 the first line ends in *-eu* (l. 41) while the end-rhyme in the rest of the stanza is in *-6n*. In this case there is *odl gyrch* between *kedeu* and *rydeu* (l. 42) but l. 41 is relatively short and does not contain the main rhyme earlier in the line. However, Barry Lewis has argued that we should be wary of thinking that short lines could not contain a *gair cyrch* and furthermore he has suggested that a *gair cyrch* could be sufficient without the end-rhyme earlier in the line.[22] In other words, it is possible that there was no gap between l. 41 and l. 42. On the other hand, a lacuna between l. 38 and l. 39 is far less easy to explain away, and in this case we may have to do with the beginning of one stanza and the end of another. The repeated *Adu6yn gaer yssyd* with which each stanza opens would have made eyeskip very easy especially as the emphatic capitals used in some stanzas could have been very distracting. In the edited text presented below this possible lacuna is marked. One consequence of this suggestion is that we should be very careful about any interpretation which spans that gap.[23]

Gruffydd proposed that in stanza 6 a line has dropped out after l. 44 which would have provided both a transition to the second half of the stanza about *ysgrifen Brydein* and restored an eighth line. His concern had in part to do with the sudden shift from l. 44 to l. 45. But this may not be necessary if the lines are read differently. If we take *y gell* not as 'the cell' and as the subject of *pereit* but as *ygell* 'in a cell' then it becomes possible to take *ysgrifen Brydein* as the subject of *pereit*. Furthermore, it is possible that *pereit hyt* should simply be read as *perheit*.[24] The lines could then be understood as 'may the writing of Britain … last long in a cell I used to frequent'.

There are three lines with more than ten syllables and considerable ingenuity was devoted to tidying up the syllable count of these lines by Williams and Gruffydd. Of these, l. 32 could perhaps be reduced to nine syllable by emending *ef am rodes* to *am rodes* 'who gave me' as suggested by Gruffydd. More problematic are ll. 7 and 31. In both cases, Williams (followed by Gruffydd) was tempted to identify and expunge an incorporated gloss to reduce the lines to nine syllables. In l. 7 it is proposed that *ar vrys* is a gloss

[22]Barry Lewis, review of Nicolas Jacobs (ed.), *Early Welsh Gnomic and Nature Poetry* (London, 2012), *Dwned* 18 (2012), 99–107, at 105–6; examples from the Black Book include *LlDC* 12.9–10, 13–14, 17–18; 17.22–23, 28–29 (I am grateful to Barry Lewis for providing these examples).

[23]Such as those made by Proinsias Mac Cana, 'The poet as spouse of his patron', *Ériu* 39 (1988), 79–85, and Breeze, 'Poet and patron'.

[24]For discussion of (and possible objections to) these proposed readings, see the Notes on the poem below, p. 35.

on *dybrys* and so can be removed. However, a simpler adjustment of the line might be to emend *Dydybyd* to *Dybyd* and read *Dybyd gɔanec ar vrys dybrys idi* 'a wave will come in a rush; it surges to it'.[25] In l. 31 *yn y adɔyt* is thought to be a gloss on *kyn y vynet yn deruin llan*. But in this case, if we are seeking to reduce the syllable count, it might be simpler to assume that the two possessive pronouns are scribal additions, and to read *kyn mynet yn adɔyt yn deruin llan*, where the minims of *mynet* or *minet* could have been read as *i uynet* or *i uinet*. Alternatively, the preposition before *deruin* could be removed. More generally, we might in the first place question the assumption that such a poem might have been glossed. There is no clear evidence (as there is for some Old Irish poems) that such verse was ever glossed.[26] However, overall we might wonder whether it is wise to attempt this kind of pre-emptive editing. After all, there is no good reason to suppose that a poem composed in the ninth century should necessarily conform to the strict syllable-counting rules of the later bardic grammars. While the longer lines attracted the attention of Williams and Gruffydd, they seemed less bothered about the ten-syllable lines, but even those would be longer than expected according to the later rules. While there might be ways of reducing longer lines to nine syllables, there are also shorter lines, such as l. 61 (and arguably l. 29 if we take *llyfyn* at face value).[27] It is probably more sensible to accept the variation in line-length unless there are good reasons, based on sense, for thinking that something has gone astray.[28]

So far we have been concerned with the arrangement of the poem and what is going on within each *caniad*. But it is possible that the form of the capital letters used to mark the beginning of *caniadau* signals a bigger structural pattern.[29] The poem begins with a large two-line blue-coloured capital *A*. Smaller uncoloured versions of the same letter-form mark the beginnings of

[25]See Marged Haycock, *The Legendary Poems in the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth, 2007; second ed. 2015), poem 21.2; she also comments on this verb being used in reference to the sea (p. 469). There may simply be a scribal error here as *Dy|dybyd* is split by a line-break and the *dy* may have been repeated in error.

[26]One might adduce poems such as *BT* 3.12–24 (edited by Marged Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* (Llandybïe, 1994), pp. 151–5 (poem 17)), but the relationship between the Latin and the Welsh in this poem is problematic and cannot provide clear evidence of glossing. I hope to return to this poem on another occasion.

[27]See the notes to l. 29 below (p. 33).

[28]On the debate about the syllabic or accentual basis of early Welsh verse, see D. Ellis Evans, 'Rhagarweiniad i astudiaeth o fydryddiaeth Y Gododdin', in Rachel Bromwich and R. Brinley Jones (eds), *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd: Studies in Old Welsh Poetry, Cyflwynedig i Syr Idris Foster*, (Cardiff, 1978), 88–122; Marged Haycock, 'Metrical models for the poems in the Book of Taliesin', in Brynley F. Roberts (ed.), *Early Welsh Poetry: Studies in the Book of Aneirin* (Aberystwyth, 1988), 155-77; Marged Haycock, 'Probleme der frühmittelalterlichen kymrischen Metrik', in Hildegard L. C. Tristram (ed.), *Metrik und Mediawechsel: Metrics and Media* (Tübingen, 1991), 155–71; Graham Isaac, 'Mydr a morffoffonemeg yn yr Hengerdd', *BBCS* 40 (1993), 1–16; Graham Isaac, 'Meter and performance in early Welsh poetry', in Christoph Küper (ed.), *Meter, Rhythm and Performance – Metrum, Rhythmus, Performanz: Proceedings of the International Conference on Meter, Rhythm and Performance, Held in May 1999 at Vechta* (Frankfurt, 2002), 307–22 (a Welsh version was published as 'Mydr a pherfformiad yr Hengerdd', *Dwned* 7 (2001), 1–26); and the bibliography cited in these works.

[29]These are marked in the diplomatic version of the text printed in the Appendix (pp. 24–36).

caniadau 1, 5 and 7. The beginnings of the intervening stanzas are marked by yet smaller, less elaborate capitals. If we are to take the variation between these letter-forms seriously, it suggests that we should be thinking of the poem as falling into three main sections, ll. 3–32, 33–47, and 48–55. If so, some potentially interesting structural features emerge. The first four stanzas bring us from the noise of celebration and feasting on New Year's Day to the realisation that Bleiddudd is dead (l. 32). The second section (which in origin may have been longer as it contains at least one instance of broken rhyme) is relentlessly focused on the poet and his concerns in the context of his lord's demise; his *defa6t* 'custom' on New Year's Eve was to recline with the king (by virtue of his current status), to receive gifts so that his status might rise to that of the chief poet of Britain, to act as the preserver of rights and obligations, and to preserve the writings of Britain; the third section then reverts to the *caer* and the screeching birds, and offers up hopes for Bleiddudd's bliss in heaven and the preservation of his memory. If this is correct, then it places the poet centre-stage; while he is present throughout in the first-person references (in ll. 9–10, 23–4, 32, and then possibly in l. 55),[30] he comes to the fore in the central section. It is for this reason in particular that the emendations proposed by Williams and Gruffydd – *kerd* (l. 15) to *kord* and *cherdeu* (l. 29) to *chordeu* – are unnecessary in that they militarize a poem which is fundamentally about a poet, poetry, and the status of poets.

The additional *caniad*

So far the discussion has concentrated on what is generally thought to be the main poem (ll. 1–57). At fol. 21v8–16 of the Book of Taliesin, after the main poem ends, there is an additional *caniad*, a version of which is also found as a single item on fol. 23v of the Black Book of Carmarthen.[31] As noted above, there has been considerable uncertainty as to whether it forms part of the poem. Ifor Williams had his doubts:

> The poem, according to the conventions of the Gogynfeirdd at least, ought to end with line 57. This last stanza seems to be a 'stray': it was the only one known to the B.B.C. scribe, and B.T. stuck it on at the end, *after* the reference to God, which usually concludes such a poem. The text in both is unsatisfactory.[32]

It was omitted by Gruffydd in both of his later discussions (though accepted as part of the poem in his earliest discussion of the poem)[33] and by most translators; Conran notes that he has 'omitted the final couplet to God, and also

[30]For this possibility, see the notes to l. 55 (p. 35).

[31]For a recent detailed study of the Black Book, see Myriah Williams, 'Studies in the Black Book of Carmarthen', unpublished PhD dissertation (Cambridge, 2016).

[32]Williams, 'Two poems', 171–2; cf. Williams, 'Moliant Dinbych Penfro', 83.

[33]Gruffydd, 'The early court poetry', 96.

a stray, fragmentary stanza that follows it in the manuscript';[34] and likewise Clancy: 'I have omitted the final section in Williams' text as apparently unrelated to the poem'.[35]

We may usefully set the two versions side-by-side (a translation can be found on p. 30):

Book of Taliesin, fol. 21v8–16		Black Book of Carmarthen, fol. 23v1–8	
Aduɔyn gaer yssyd ar lan lliant.		Adwin caer yssit ar lan llyant.	
aduɔyn yt rodir y pawb y chɔant.		Adwin yd rotir y paup er y chwant.	
Gogyfarch ti vynet boet teu uɔyant.	60	Gogywarch de gwinet boed tev wyant.	3
Gɔay[a]waɔr[1] ryn rein a derllyssant.		Gwaewaur rrin rei a darwant	
Duɔ merchyr gweleis wyr ygkyfnofant.		Dyv merchir. Gueleiss e guir yg cvinowant	
Dyf ieu bu gɔartheu a amugant.	63	Dyv iev bv ir guarth. it adcorssant.	6
Ac yd oed vriger coch ac och ar dant.		Adoet bryger coch. ac och ar dant.	
Oed lludued vynet dyd y doethant.		Oet llutedic guir guinet. dyt y deuthant.	
Ac am gefyn llech vaelɔy kylchɔy vriwant.		Ac am kewin llech Vaelvy kylchuy wriwant.	
~~eɔd~~ cɔydyn y gan gefyn llu o garant.	67	Cuytin y can keiwin llv o carant.	10

There are both similarities to, and differences from, the main poem. As it stands, with its ten lines this stanza is longer than any of the other stanzas. Six of its lines have nine syllables and three have ten syllables. One line (l. 61 = BBC l. 4) contains eight syllables.[37] In fact at an earlier stage the stanza could have been longer: l. 60 (= l. 3) *Gogyfarch ti vynet boet teu uɔyant* is clearly related to ll. 13–14 of the main poem *gogyfarch ty prydein kɔd gygein hyn*. | *Blaen llyn ap erbin boet teu voyn*. If so, it is possible that at least two half-lines have dropped out (although some adjustments to the rhyme would need to have been made) and we might speculate that on the model of the main poem the name of a person might have been in one of the missing half-lines. This is not the only similarity; the first two lines (ll. 58–9 = BBC ll. 1–2) are in terms of content and tone identical to the opening lines of several stanzas of the main poem, especially stanza 5, *Aduɔyn gaer yssyd yn yr eglan*. | *atuɔyn y rodir y paɔb y ran*. On the other hand, the use of a 'days of the week' topos, the references to Gwynedd, and the relentlessly martial nature of the rest of the *awdl* speak of a different context.[38]

[34]Conran, *Welsh Verse*, p. 118.

[35]Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poetry*, p. 368.

[36]The second *a* is marked with a *punctum delens*, see next note.

[37]The Book of Taliesin reading *Gɔayawaɔr* has a *punctum delens* under the second *a*; the scribe may have been anticipating the *a* after the *w* or contemplating adding an extra syllable. Since it is argued above that 'long' lines should not necessarily be emended to shorten them, there is likewise no good reason to seek to lengthen a 'short' line.

[38]For other examples of the 'days of the week' topos, cf. Marged Haycock (ed.), *Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth, 2013), 133; for a later example, see Ann Parry Owen et al. (eds), *Guto'r Glyn.net* (Aberystwyth, 2013), 24.5–14 (http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=024&first-line=%23); E. I. Rowlands (ed.), *Poems of the Cywyddwyr, c. 1375–1525* (Dublin, 1976), 20–3 (poem 7); J. Llywelyn Williams and Ifor Williams (eds), *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn* (Cardiff, 1939), poem LIII.

The position of this extra stanza in the Book of Taliesin and as a single item in the Black Book points to its having had an independent existence. But whether it is better seen as an additional, perhaps later, stanza modelled on the main poem or as a stanza which has fallen out of the main poem in an early phase of transmission and was then restored to the manuscript remains to be seen. Even so, the stanza deserves closer attention than it has usually attracted because the degree of variation between the two versions may allow us a glimpse of the kind of orthographical and textual variation which may lie behind the main poem.

Significant verbal differences, such as *a derllyssant* (l. 61) : *a darwant* (BBC l. 4), *g6artheu a amugant* (l. 63) : *gwarth it adcorssant* (BBC l. 6), *lludued vynet* (l. 65) : *llutedic guir guinet* (BBC l. 8), make it clear that neither is a copy of the other. If, as suggested above, at least two half-lines have dropped out from l. 60 (= BBC l. 3), some of the error must go back to the common archetype. In terms of orthography the Black Book version broadly follows the usual orthography for that manuscript, but there are hints from the Book of Taliesin version that the archetype may have shared a similar spelling system:[39] *adu6yn* (ll. 58, 59): *adwin* (BBC ll. 1, 2) suggest that the archetype was using *uu* or *vv* which was misread as *wi* in the Black Book or that *w* was understood as /vu/. Such a reading would only be possible if the scribe was expecting *i* for /i̯/. Similarly, the variation between *kyfnofant* (l. 62) and *cvinowant* (l. 5) is only explicable if the archetype had *ciun-* (or *kiun-*) which was read by the Black Book scribe or a predecessor as *cuin-* (and so taken to represent a later *cwynofain* 'lamenting' rather than *cyfnofant* 'fighting'). In the Book of Taliesin version Gwynedd is referred to as *vynet* with *t* for /ð/, the standard Black Book spelling; it follows that the archetype was probably using *t* for /ð/ and presumably therefore *d* for /d/. In most other cases of spelling /ð/ the Book of Taliesin scribe, or a predecessor, seems to have correctly adjusted the spelling of the dentals but in this case, perhaps because he thought it was the lenited form of *mynet*, it was allowed to stand. The use of *y* for /i/ in *bryger* (BBC l. 7): *vriger* (BT l. 64) is relatively uncommon and may here be the result of an over-extended changing of *i* to *y,* and likewise *ti* (BT l. 60) beside Black Book *de* (l. 3) suggests that the pronoun might have been spelt with *e* in the archetype. There are other instances in the main poem where it appears that the modernisation of *i* and *e* to *y* has been over-extended: *llyn* (l. 14; for *llin*), *ty* (l. 15; for *ti*).[40] In the main poem mutations are more consistently, though not universally, spelt, but cases

[39]Paul Russell, 'Scribal (in)consistency in thirteenth-century south Wales: the orthography of the Black Book of Carmarthen', *SC* 43 (2009), 135–74, especially 162; Haycock, *Legendary Poems*, 7.

[40]Another possible example is in l. 4 where *yri* could be read as *eri* 'host; cf. *eri attkas* perhaps to be rendered 'a hateful host' (*LlDC*, 16.18 (p. 26), and also p. xxxi, n. 4); the suggestion derives from Ifor Williams (ed.), *Canu Aneirin* (Cardiff, 1938), 135, who refers to our form in the note. In the edition below I prefer to retain the manuscript reading but understand it as *y ri* 'the king'. Similarly it has been suggested in the previous editions that *llyfyn* (l. 29) is an incorrect modernisation of *llewyn* (plural of *llawen*); if so, it would be an indication that a modernising scribe was aware that *w* could be used for /v/ (cf. also *wleidud* (l. 36)). However, again in the edition below, I retain the reading of the manuscript and understand it as 'fluent'.

in the additional stanza like *bryger* (BBC l. 7) and *o carant* (BBC l. 10) make it likely that mutations were not spelt in the archetype of the additional stanza.

The extra stanza may also help to cast light on some textual problems in the main poem. The phrase *ud erllyssan* (l. 36) has not received a satisfactory explanation; the rendering 'lord of a little court' has held the field (perhaps because it could be seen as playing on the name *Dinbych*), but it is only minimally compelling as it requires us to assume an otherwise unattested *erllyssan* 'little court'; but, if we take a hint from l. 61 *a derllyssan*, we might understand it as 'a lord they deserve' which provides a more satisfactory and explicable reading.[41]

Although the extra stanza may have had a rather different textual transmission from the main poem, it does show the kind of variation, and perhaps modernisation, that might help to illuminate what went on in the transmission of the main poem in the Book of Taliesin. One case involves possessive pronouns, the spelling of which can often be unpredictable. It is clear that the standard mode of reference is to use a third singular feminine pronoun to refer to the *caer*; thus, *llyfyn y cherdeu yn y chalan* (l. 29) 'fluent its songs on its New Year's Day'. However, in some cases a third plural pronoun is used instead, e.g. *eu gwerin* (l. 20), *eu hor* (l. 50). Both Williams and Gruffydd propose emending these forms to *e* 'its' but it possible that *e* was first modernised to *y*. The two cases of *eu* in ll. 21 and 22 refer to *gwerin* and so may have been third plural though still originally spelt *e* or y. A final case where awareness of the orthographical conventions may help to clarify our interpretation involves l. 37, *i nos galan*, which could be understood as *yn nos galan*, but the scribe may have thought that the *i* was the affixed pronoun after *vyn defa6t*.[42]

The extra stanza then deserves more scrutiny than has been devoted to it previously as it offers ways of thinking about the main poem and how it might have been modernised. We return to the historical aspects of the stanza below.

Poets, poetry, status, and the law

It has been suggested above that, if we take the variation in the size and shape of the capital letters seriously, a central section of the poem (ll. 33–47) emerges which focuses on the poet himself. As we have it, this section consists of two stanzas, but both contain problematic rhymes and it has been suggested above that in at least one of these cases (ll. 38–9) text may have dropped out; if so, it is possible that this section was originally longer, perhaps by as much as a stanza.

The strong presence of the poet in these lines is striking. His concern throughout for the *goscor*(*d*) of his lord suggests that in part he fulfills the

[41]For the tense of this verb, see the discussion in the note to l. 36 below (p. 33).

[42]Gruffydd's modernised version seems to imply that he understood the *i* as an affixed pronoun, though this would then leave an eight-syllable line; for further discussion, see the notes, p. 34.

role of a *bardd teulu* as defined in the laws.[43] On the other hand, he has at least aspirations to be of a higher status: *hyny u6yf tauaɔt ar veird prydein* (l. 40) 'until I should be the tongue over the bards of Britain', a line which seems to be delivered with all the panache of a Cynddelw. I take it that this means that he sees himself as a future *pencerdd* over the poets of Britain. His credentials for such an ambition are presented in the striking concentration of legal terminology and preoccupation with legal status and entitlement of the next stanza.[44] Earlier in the poem we have seen him make a claim to be the intermediary between his lord and God: *am bɔyf o deɔs dros vy gwedi,* | *pan gattɔyf amot, kymot a thi*. (ll. 9–10) 'And may I have, O God, in return for my prayer, when I shall keep my promise, reconciliation with you'. Here his relationship with God is defined contractually in terms of *amot* 'pledge' and *kymot* 'reconciliation'. In l. 39 and then in ll. 41–4 he makes a similar claim: along with his purple robe (which, we assume, has been given to him by his lord) one of his rights is that of *medu prein* (l. 39) 'to enjoy a feast (*sc*. as of right)'. But in ll. 42–4 his claims gather pace:

> oed meu y rydeu a dewissɔn.
> Ny lafaraf i deith, reith ryscatɔn,
> ny dyly kelenic ny ɔyppo hɔn.
>
> 'Mine were the freedoms which I used to choose.
> I do not speak of entitlement but of a right I was to maintain.
> He who does not know this is not entitled to a New Year's gift.'

He is clear about his *rydeu* 'freedoms' (*sc*. from obligations) and, in a rhetorical *praeteritio* he need not speak of his *teith* 'his natural, rightful entitlements' but rather of a *reith* 'that which is right' which was his to maintain; and all of this is so well known to other members of the court, and also probably to inferior poets, that anyone ignorant of them does not deserve to be part of the court, or for that matter be a poet, and so should not receive a *celennig* 'a New Year's Day gift' (received as of right by virtue of status). The poet is thus very clear about his own standing. Slightly earlier in the poem, to draw attention to his own proximity to the king and perhaps to underline his own inter-connectedness with him, he observes that his own *defaɔt* 'custom' on New Year's Eve had been *lledyfdaɔt y gan ri* (l. 38) 'to recline with the king'.[45] The term *defaɔt* is presumably intended to invoke

[43]Dafydd Jenkins, '*Bardd teulu* and *pencerdd*', in T. M. Charles-Edwards, Morfydd E. Owen, and Paul Russell (eds), *The Welsh King and his Court* (Cardiff, 2000), 142–66.

[44]For discussion of the different renderings of these terms in translations of this section, see the notes below on ll. 42–3 (pp. 34–5).

[45]The notion that *lledyfdaɔt* reflects the ancient (if not Indo-European) practice of a poet sharing the king's bed has been canvassed by Mac Cana, 'The poet as spouse' and Breeze, 'Poet and patron'. I would be reluctant to go that far, though it might simply mean 'reclining' or the like. The word is only attested here but it is clearly an abstract noun based on *lleddf*, which has such a wide-range of meanings that an abstract noun based on it is thoroughly ambiguous; *GPC* lists the meaning of the adjective as 'decling, slanting, sloping, oblique, awry; fig. indirect, not

in the minds of the audience *defaɔt a moes y llys* 'the custom and practice of the court', the way things are properly done at court.[46] This has already been raised at ll. 22–4 where a particular aspect of the honourable nature of the court is brought up – that it is not their *defaɔt* to be harsh (*calet*). This is immediately associated with the poet again referring to his own status, this time his *trɔydet* (l. 23), a legally loaded term in court circles in that it refers to status in terms of an entitlement to reside within the court and have food and accommodation free from the king.[47] All of this culminates in the claim that such is the generosity and nobility of the court that (ll. 24–6):

> noc eillon deutraeth gɔell kaeth dyfet.
> kyweithyd o ryd wled waretret.
> kynnɔys rwg pop deu goreu kiwet.
>
> 'a slave of Dyfed is better (off) than villeins of Deudraeth.
> A company of freemen, the protection of a feast,
> includes pair by pair the best people.'

The poet's attention switches from his own status to that of others: with a swipe at Gwynedd, he observes that even a *caeth* 'slave' in Dyfed is relatively better off than an *aillt* 'unfree client' in Gwynedd.[48] All these legal references are intended to remind the audience that this was a well-run and properly regulated court where everything was 'comme il faut', and that he, the poet, was at its centre.

Something else, however, may also be going on: the half-line *reith ryscatɔn* 'a right I was to maintain' may not just be referring to *rhaith* in relation to the poet but to a more general sense of what is right.[49] That seems to be the train of thought which takes us from ll. 43–4 into the second half of the *awdl*. He is the preserver of *ysgrifen Brydein* and, whatever it was (or might be imagined to have been), the implication is that he is the preserver of tradition.

---

straightforward, distorted, wanton, lascivious, prostrate(d), flat, low; not strident, soft, smooth; mournful, sad, downcast, plaintive, melancholy; insipid; calm, dispassionate, impassive, cold, tardy, languid, gentle, mild, obedient, humble'. However, the significant and relevant context in which it frequently occurs is that of poetical composition, where it refers to a type of diphthong. While it is difficult to be sure with such a polysemic word, it is quite possible that it was intended to mean something like 'composing or reciting poetry with the king', but it could just as well mean something like 'being obedient' or the like. It is also important to note, as indicated above (p. 11), that there is a rhyme break after this line, and so we cannot be sure that the line which now follows in the manuscript, *A llen lliɔ ehoec a medu prein* (which has been taken to refer to gifts and entitlements), did follow immediately; it may have been in origin part of a later stanza.

[46]For discussion of this phrase, see Manon Phillips, '*Defod a moes y llys*', in Charles-Edwards et al., *The Welsh King and his Court*, 347–61.

[47]For discussion, see D. Simon Evans (ed.), *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* (Cardiff, 1977), 72; Rachel Bromwich (ed. and trans.), *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (second ed., Cardiff, 1978), 172–3 (triad 63).

[48]On the status of an *aillt* (above a *taeog* but below an *uchelwr*), see Dafydd Jenkins (trans.), *The Laws of Hywel Dda: Law Texts from Medieval Wales* (Llandysul, 1986), 310–11.

[49]For the precise sense of *ryscatɔn*, see the notes to ll. 42–3 (pp. 34–5).

In other words, his role can be seen as the equivalent of a *ceidwad*, not only a 'keeper' or 'guardian' but also by implication the guarantor of the tradition which was so important (especially in relation to land law).[50] In part, he is presumably sending out a message to Bleiddudd's successor (whoever that might be) that he is not to be trifled with. But it is difficult to avoid thinking that he also has in mind the role of the poet as a protector of a people's rights, such as we see in *Breintiau Gwŷr Powys* and *Gwelygorddau Powys*, the pair of poems in which Cynddelw reminds the successors of Madog ap Maredudd of the lineage and entitlements of the people of Powys.[51] As such, the poem more generally seems to be suggesting that the poet is both the intermediary between his lord and God – a relationship based on *cymod* and *amod* – and the intermediary between Bleiddudd and his people; as a *ceidwad*, the poet is presumably setting himself up as the one to whom the people should turn to preserve their rights and entitlements in these uncertain times.

This section has focused on the poem's preoccupation with status and entitlement. We conclude with two further examples which seem to be working the same theme; they both concentrate on single words which have not perhaps received the attention they deserve but which could be incorporated into the same line of argument.

The final stanza of the main poem opens (l. 48) with the line *Adu6yn gaer yssyd yn ard6yrein*, which may be easily rendered as 'There is a fine fortress rising up', perhaps as seen from the sea. Now in the poeticised context of the poem, and especially at the opening of the stanza after the poet has been talking of rights, obligations, and being an upholder of the tradition, it is difficult not to think of the semantic range of *ard6yrein* as not only generally meaning 'rising up' but also the very specific 'exalting' which a court does to its lord, and even more specifically its use as a term for 'encomium, eulogy'.[52] Is an alternative image being presented here of a

[50]On the *ceidwad*, see Jenkins, *The Laws of Hywel Dda*, 256.

[51]See Thomas Charles-Edwards and Nerys Ann Jones, '*Breintiau Gwŷr Powys*: the liberties of the men of Powys', in Charles-Edwards et al., *The Welsh King and his Court*, 91–123, with discussion (91–213) and text, translation and notes (216–23); the edition is based on that in *GCBM* I, poem 11 (pp. 128–42). *Gwelygorddau Powys* is edited in *GCBM* I, poem 10 (pp. 113–27), but there is no English translation. On these texts, see also David Stephenson, *Medieval Powys: Kingdom, Principality and Lordships* (Woodbridge, 2016), 182–3, 190, 196–8, 205–6. We may also compare prose texts, such as *Breintiau Gwŷr Arfon* (edited by Morfydd Owen, 'Royal propaganda stories from the law-texts', in Charles-Edwards et al., *The Welsh King and his Court*, pp. 225–54, at 238–45 (discussion), 252–4 (text)) and the *Gravamina* (edited and discussed by Llinos Beverley Smith, 'The *Gravamina* of the community of Gwynedd against Llywelyn ap Gruffudd', *BBCS* 31 (1984), 158–76 (text at 173–6)).

[52]See Ann Parry Owen, 'Canu arwyrain Beirdd y Tywysogion', *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 24 (1998), 44–59; Morfydd E. Owen 'Noddwyr y beirdd', in Morfydd E. Owen and Brinley F. Roberts (eds), *Beirdd a Thywysogion* (Caerdydd, 1996), 75–107, at 92–4; Charles-Edwards and Jones, '*Breintiau Gwŷr Powys*', 195–6, in which it is argued that an *ard6yrein* is the prerogative of a *brenhin*. See also now Catherine McKenna, 'Terms of art: theorizing poetry in the earliest Welsh anthology', in Matthieu Boyd (ed.), *Ollam. Studies in Gaelic and Related Traditions in Honour of Tomás Ó Cathasaigh* (Madison, 2016), 287–98, at 294–5.

personified *caer* (and all its occupants) rising up to honour its (dead) lord and conceivably in future his successor?

Another particularly problematic word is the most frequent word in the poem, namely the opening word of each stanza, *aduǒyn*.[53] The principal problem has been thought to be which adjective we have here. The main poem regularly spells it as *aduǒyn* throughout which is most straightforwardly understood as /aðvuɨn/ (though Williams thought it should be read as *addwyn*).[54] It is spelt likewise in the extra stanza in the Book of Taliesin, but in the Black Book of Carmarthen it is spelt *adwin*, which is ambiguous. If the spelling is taken as being consistent with the usual Black Book orthography, the dental should be read as /d/, but *wi* could represent /uɨ/ or perhaps /vuɨ/; in the Black Book *w* often represents what might been spelt as *uu*, *vv* or *vu* in the exemplar. Thus, the Black Book version suggests /aduɨn/ or /advuɨn/, but not /aðvuɨn/. Matters are not made any clearer by looking at examples elsewhere.[55] Within the Book of Taliesin we find *atwyn*, presumably for /aduɨn/ which occurs throughout a poem entitled *Aduwyneu Taliesin*.[56] In another poem there is one case of *atuwyn*, presumably for /advuɨn/.[57] The spelling *aduwyn* is also found in a poem to God by Einion ap Gwalchmai;[58] and *adwyn* is attested alongside *aduwyn* in Gwalchmai ap Meilyr's *Gorhoffedd*.[59]

There are two main issues here. First, is the dental /d/ or /ð/? Generally, unless it is fixed by alliteration as in *aduan* : *adwyn*,[60] it is difficult to be sure. The second issue is whether to read -/vuɨn/ or -/uɨn/. This may a matter of orthography as much as phonology; as noted above, in some spelling systems scribes tended to use *w* for an original *uu*, *vv* or *vu*, but in addition there is a problem about (mis)counting minims: if the adjective was spelt *aduıuın* or *aduın*, there is plenty of room for confusion. As a note in *GPC* indicates, it is extremely difficult to separate these forms out: moreover, it is possible that a form such as /aðvuɨn/ (modern *addfwyn*) could easily simplify to /aðuɨn/, and likewise /advuɨn/ (modern *adfwyn)* to /aduɨn/.[61] That said, in

[53]For discussion, see *GPC*[2]; *Geirfa*, s.v. *addwyn*[1], *addfwyn*; Williams, 'Two poems', 167; Williams, 'Moliant Dinbych Penfro', 78; Haycock, *Legendary Poems*, 97.

[54]Williams, 'Moliant Dinbych Penfro', 78; Williams, 'Two poems', 167.

[55]It is worth observing that in his 'Liber B' (NLW MS 4973, fol. 80–1) Dr John Davies of Mallwyd regularly spells it as *addfwyn*, but that is no more probative that any of the other evidence amassed here.

[56]Haycock, *Legendary Poems*, 3.94–7 (97n); she notes that the same form is thought to occur in poems by Cynddelw (*GCBM* I, 29.17 and *GCBM* II, 9.93 (the latter confirmed by alliteration)), and in *GLlLl*, 12.48, 16.17 (but taken as *addwyn* by the editors). Variant versions of the Cynddelw poem (*GCBM* II, 9.93) read *adwyn* (NLW Peniarth 3B), *addwyn* (Hendregadredd), *atuǒyn* (Red Book of Hergest); note that two lines later all the manuscripts read *adwyn*; in a long note on l. 93 (p. 202) the editors argue that in that line the form should be read as *adwyn* to alliterate with *aduan*, but that in l. 95 it should be *addwyn*.

[57]Haycock, *Legendary Poems*, 4.195 (p. 119 with note on p. 158).

[58]*GMB*, 29.25–35; cf. Catherine McKenna (ed. and trans.), *The Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric: Poems of the* Gogynfeirdd*, 1137–1282* (Belmont, MA, 1991), 184–7 (ll. 25–8).

[59]*GMB*, 9.135–7, 147–50; *adwyn* is found at ll. 135–7 (*adwen* in the Hendregadredd version), but *aduwyn* in ll. 147 and 149.

[60]*GCBM* I, 9.93.

[61]*GPC* s.v. *adfwyn*; cf. *GCBM* II, 9.93n (p. 202).

terms of interpretation it looks as if all these adjectives belong to the same broad semantic field which covers the range of 'fine, splendid, noble' as well as 'mild, gentle', and so probably one should simply use the form which is attested in a particular poem. One observation is, however, worth making and that relates to the range of possible senses of *adu6yn* which might have had some relevance for our poem. One of the other senses listed in *GPC* is 'legally competent, legally sound'.[62] Given the other legal terminology which is being deployed in this poem, it is not impossible that the repeated phrase *adu6yn gaer* might have been intended to carry at least a secondary sense of a *caer* where things are done properly and according to the law.

The historical context revisited

As noted above, the historical context of the poem has received a certain amount of attention over the years and particularly so recently, with discussion focusing on evidence for the date of the poem and the identity of the deceased ruler (apparently called Bleiddudd) and his possible successor, who may be obliquely referred to as the great-grandson of Owain. Ifor Williams does not commit himself on Bleiddudd but suggests that the Owain in question was Owain ap Maredudd who died in 811.[63] As a result he proposed that the poem is to be dated to 'a little before 900, say 875, and this dating agrees perfectly with the impression given by its language and craftsmanship'. Geraint Gruffydd, whose reading of the poem generally follows that of Williams, offers some refinement and identifies the great-grandson of Owain as Llywarch ap Hyfaidd ap Tangwystl ferch Owain who ruled Dyfed between 893 and 904, thus leading him to date the poem to 893 × 895.[64] A ninth-century date has also been recently followed by Thomas Charles-Edwards, but he rightly points out that there is no room for a Bleiddudd as ruler of Dyfed from *c*. 870 onwards and so an earlier date is more likely, between 815 and *c*. 870 (with the reservation that Bleiddudd might have been a kinsman of the ruling family who held Penfro as a subordinate ruler).[65] The one significant divergence from this ninth-century dating is the view expressed by Nikolai Tolstoy who argues for a later date (or in fact two later dates):[66] first, based on interpreting *clas Ffichti* as referring to the Vikings he concludes '… the

[62]*GPC* s.v. *addfwyn* (c); cf. in particular the examples from *Llyfr Iorwerth*; for example, a particular process (in this case denying sureties) can be described as *nat iaun ac nat aduuen* 'not proper and not competent' (Aled Rhys Wiliam (ed.), *Llyfr Iorwerth* (Caerdydd, 1960), 36 (§61.23–4); trans. Jenkins, *The Laws of Hywel Dda*, 67); an individual can also be described as *aduuyn* 'legally competent': for example, the selection of witnesses for the denial of theft involves half of them coming *o'r guyr a gaffer o wyr aduuyn* '(from) such men as may be got from among competent men' (Wiliam, *Llyfr Iorwerth*, 75 (§111.23); trans. Jenkins, *The Laws of Hywel Dda*, 157). It was suggested by both Wiliam and Jenkins that the sense arose from such people being 'gentlemen, men of gentle birth' (Wiliam, *Llyfr Iorwerth*, 124; Jenkins, *The Laws of Hywel Dda*, 281), but that does not fit the first example above quite so well.

[63]Williams , 'Two poems', 161; cf. Williams, 'Moliant Dinbych Penfro', 72.

[64]Gruffydd, '"The praise of Tenby"', 92–3.

[65]Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, 659–65.

[66]Tolstoy, *The Oldest British Prose Literature*, 495–520.

last two decades of the tenth century and the first of the eleventh … provide the most convincing chronological parameters for composition of the poem Edmic Dinbych'; but eight pages later he has shifted his view of the dating slightly later: 'thus virtually every historical allusion in Etmic Dinbych points to its composition during the years following the death of Llywelyn ap Seisyll in 1023'.[67] As noted above, his argument forms part of a larger argument about the date of the Four Branches, one which involves the claim that *ysgrifen Brydein* in our poem are the Four Branches. It is based on the idea that *clas Ffichti* is a reference to a particular Viking raid on the Pembrokeshire coast at the end of the tenth century. Another strand of the argument involves treating Bleiddudd not as a name but as a descriptive compound noun 'wolf-lord' which could refer obliquely to someone with a different name.[68] Thus, eventually he concludes that the deceased ruler was Llywelyn ap Seisyll (†1023) and that the great-grandson of Owain was Maredudd ap Hywel ap Edwin. There is a number of problems with this line of thinking. As Charles-Edwards points out, it is not necessary to suppose that *clas Ffichti* refers to a specific raid; it is stormy with rough seas; it is New Year's Day and we are feasting, and so the seas can be safely left to the *Ffichti* if they want to risk it. As such, it is more likely that *Ffichti* is being used generically as a term for sea-raiders of one type or another than referring to a particular raid by Vikings. The argument for a later date is very much driven by other factors; if *ysgrifen Brydein* does refer to the Four Branches (which seems implausible), then Tolstoy has to argue for a later date and so cannot argue that *Ffichti* refers to the Viking campaign of 892–6.[69]

But none of these considerations takes the extra stanza into account. At an earlier point, I discussed the two versions of the extra stanza mainly from a textual point of view but observed that 'the references to Gwynedd and the relentlessly martial nature of the rest of the *awdl* speak of a different context'.[70] The question still remains as to whether it should be regarded as a stanza which dropped out from the main version or was an addition. It is strikingly different in its strongly warlike tone and the incorporation of the days-of-the-week topos but at the same time the first few lines seem intended to bring it into the same orbit as the main poem; it begins in the same way and l. 60 (= BBC l. 3) looks like a reworked version of ll. 13–14 but replacing *Prydein* with Gwynedd (*vynet*). The preoccupation with Gwynedd is notable and seems to envisage, in a mixture of present and past tenses, the defeat of

[67]Tolstoy, *The Oldest British Prose Literature*, 510 and 518 respectively; for reviews, see Sioned Davies, *SC* 44 (2010), 209–12; Jenny Day, *CMCS* 60 (2010), 102–5; Thomas Charles-Edwards, *ÉC* 38 (2012), 340–6. Day's review has most to say about this section of Tolstoy's work; in particular she picks up on Nicolas Jacobs' comment in the foreword to the volume that Tolstoy's later datings were not out of line with the current trend for later datings of early poetry, and she makes the point that just because some can be dated later does not mean that everything is later or that it is more likely that some other unrelated poem might be later.

[68]But there is little evidence for compounds being used like this of individuals; generally some terms are used in the plural as kennings for warriors in verse but usually as collective terms.

[69]A point made by Davies in her review, 211.

[70]See above, p. 14.

a Gwynedd army. The final line (l. 67) also adds an extra bite. The standard reading is a seemingly unremarkable report that a host of kinsmen fell along with a third cousin (who would by definition be a kinsman anyway). Williams tentatively takes the third cousin as a relative of the poet.[71] However, a harsher and more striking reading presents itself if we take *y gan* to mean 'by, at the hands of', thus 'a host of kinsmen fell at the hands of a third cousin (*ceifn*)'. We then have a situation where kinsmen are fighting on both sides and killing each other.

We might also observe that the specificity of *ceifn*, which goes beyond the common observation that kinsmen fought against kinsmen, is striking and likely to have had some significance for the original audience.[72] Such a scenario might make sense at a point when Gwynedd had a firmer grip on parts of Dyfed and family loyalties might on occasion be split, and so fit into a slightly later period than the main poem. While the opening lines clearly signal a connection with the main poem, it can plausibly (and perhaps best) be seen as a later addition.[73]

One possible scenario would place this stanza in the late tenth century and involve the southern and northern branches of the Merfynion descending from the two sons of Rhodri Mawr, Anarawd and Cadell.[74] In the late ninth and early tenth centuries the Merfynion gradually gained control of Dyfed.[75] By the second half of the tenth century the descendants of Cadell (including Hywel Dda) controlled Dyfed and those of Anarawd Gwynedd and Anglesey. Following the death of Hywel ap Ieuaf, king of Gwynedd, in 985, Maredudd ab Owain and the southern Merfynion, taking advantage of the disruption in Gwynedd, killed Cadwallon ap Ieuaf and took possession of the north.[76] For our purposes what is significant in all of this is that Maredudd and Cadwallon were *ceifnaint* 'third cousins', the one from Dyfed and the other from Gwynedd. The circumstances fit the scenario presented in the additional stanza of our poem very well: kinsmen fall at the hands of a third cousin in battle; and the hostilities involve Gwynedd and could be read as the defeat of Gwynedd. If this reading is correct, the battle was won by the men of Dyfed under Maredudd ab Owain but was fought in Gwynedd; that may be signposted by the place-name Cefn Llech Faelwy if we only knew its location.[77] Such a

[71]Williams, 'Moliant Dinbych Penfro', 77; Williams, 'Two poems', 166: 'with (my) nephew's son'.

[72]That *ceifn* alliterates with *Cefn* in the preceding line I take to be a convenient but not a determining factor in the choice of *ceifn*.

[73]Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, 475, 507–10.

[74]I am grateful to Thomas Charles-Edwards for suggesting this possibilty to me.

[75]Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, 507–10.

[76]Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, 548–50; on Maredudd ab Owain, see David Thornton, 'Maredudd ab Owain (d. 999): the most famous king of the Welsh', *Welsh History Review* 18 (1997), 567–91, esp. 575–9 (genealogy on 571).

[77]No location has been proposed. A reviewer suggested that it might have been intended to refer to Penrhos y Feilw in Anglesey (where there are *llechi*), though admitting that this would probably be too far north for a battle between the men of Gwynedd and Dyfed. The earliest forms in the Melville Richards Archive are seventeenth-century: *Penrhos y Veliw* (1670), *Penrhose ucha alias Penrhosyfeilw* (1695), *Penrhos y Veilw* (1721). There is no evidence for a variant in *Faelwy*. *GPC*, s.v. *meilwn*, suggests that *meilw* is a scribal error, but if our example is related

reading points to the additional stanza being a later addition composed soon after 986 and while Maredudd was still alive (he died in 999).

However, if this is right, why then did the poet want to tie this later episode to the main poem about Dinbych by taking over similar opening lines as the individual stanzas? One possibility is that the later poet (like the earlier poet viewing this from a Dyfed perspective) wanted to bring out the contrast between the earlier and later situation: while the main poem may have been set at a period when Gwynedd was exerting its power in Dyfed, the additional *caniad* (and we cannot be sure there were not more which have been lost) was marking a waning of that power and the defeat of Gwynedd in its own territory.

Appendix

Diphlomatic text[78]

Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 2 (Book of Taliesin), fol. 20v16–21v16 (= pp. 42.16–44.16).

]uuc dínoych (*left margin opposite l. 15*)

[fol. 20v16 = p. 42.16]
Archaf y wen yduo ployf escori. perchen
nef allaor poylluaor wofri. **A**duoyn ga-
eryssyd ar glaor goeilgi. bit lawen ygkalan
eiryan yri. **a**c amser pan wna mor maor orhy-
dri. ys gnaot gorun beird uch med lestri. Dy-
dybyd goanec ar vrys dybrys idi. **a**daohoynt
ywerlas oglas ffichti. **a**c am boyf o deos dros-
vygwedi. pan gattoyf amot kymot athi.
Aduoyn gaer yssyd ar llydan llyn. Dinas di-
achor mor oe chylchyn. gogyfarch ty prydein
kod gygein hyn. Blaen llyn ap erbin boet teu

[fol. 21r = p. 43]
voyn. Bu goscor abu kerd yn eil mehyn. **a**c e-
ryr uch oybyr allobybyr granwyn. Rac vd felyc

then that cannot be right. In sum, there is very little here that is certain, but in the absence of other proposals it remains a possibility, though nothing can be based upon it. I am grateful to David Parsons for discussion of this.

[78]The forms of initial letter *A*- in the manuscript seem to indicate structural blocks in the poem; see pp. 12–13 above for discussion. A bold, underlined, and enlarged capital *A* represents a two-line coloured capital letter. A bold and underlined capital represents a capital letter which is the same shape and thickness of line as the bigger letter but which is uncoloured and one-line in size. A bold capital represents a more elaborate uncoloured, one-line version of the usual capital letter. A capital represents a less elaborate uncoloured capital letter. A lower-case bold letter represents a large form of the lower case letter often used after a stop. The hyphens are scribal.

nac escar gychwyn. Clot wascar agɔanar yd
ymdullyn. Aduɔyn gaer yssyd ar ton naɔuet.
aduɔyn eu gɔerin yn ymwaret. ny wnant
eu dɔynuyt trɔy veuylhaet. nyt ef eu defa-
ɔt bot yn galet. Ny llafaraf eu ar vyntrɔyd-
et. noc eillon deu traeth gɔell kaeth dyfet.
kyweithyd o ryd wled waretret kynnɔys
rwg pop deu goreu kiwet. Aduɔyn gaer ys-
syd ae gɔna kyman. medut a molut ac a
dar ba*n*n. llyfyn ycherdeu yny chalan. Am ar
glɔyd hywyd heɔr eiran. kyny vynet yny[79]
adɔyt yn deruin llan. ef am rodes med a gɔin
o wydrin ban. **A**duɔyn gaer yssyd yn yr eg-
lan. atuɔyn yrodir ypaɔb yran. **a**twen yn
dinbych gorwen gɔylan. kyweithyd wleid-
ud ud erllyssan. Oed ef vyn defaɔt i nos ga-
lan. lledyfdaɔt ygan ri ryfel eiran. **a**llen lliɔ
ehoec a medu prein. hyny uɔyf tauaɔt ar
veird prydein. Aduɔyn gaer yssyd ae kyffrɔy
kedeu. oed meu yrydeu adewissɔn. ny lafar-
afi deith reith ryscatɔn. ny dyly kelenic ny
ɔyppo hɔn. yscriuen brydein bryder briffɔn.
yn yt wna tonneu eu hymgyffrɔn. pereit
hyt pell ygell atreidɔn. **A**duɔyn gaer yssyd

[fol. 21v = p. 43]
yn ardɔyrein. Gochaɔn y medut ymolut gofrein.
aduɔyn areu hor escor gynfrein. Godef gɔrych
dymbi hir y hadein. dychyrch bar karrec crec
mor ednein. llit ymyɔn tyghet treidet trath-
[.]ɪmein.[80] **a**bleidut gorllɔyt goreu affein. Dimpy-
ner oduch llat pɔy llad cofein. Bendith culɔyd
nef gytlef afein. arnyn gɔnel yn vrowyr gor-
ɔyr owein. Aduɔyn gaer yssyd ar lan lliant.
aduɔyn ytrodir ypawb ychɔant. Gogyfarch ti
vynet boet teu uɔyant. Gɔayawaɔr ryn rein
aderllyssant. Duɔ merchyr gweleis wyr ygkyf-
nofant. Dyf ieu bu gɔartheu a amugant. **a**c
yd oed vriger coch ac och ar dant. Oed lludued
vynet dyd ydoethant. **a**c am Gefyn llech vaelɔy
kylchɔy vriwant. cɔd Cɔydyn ygan gefyn
llu o garant.[81]

[79]The second *y* is semi-erased.
[80]On this word, see the discussion in the Notes, l. 53.
[81]The rest of the line is filled with the title of the next poem.

[Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 1 (Black Book of Carmarthen), fol. 23v1–8]

Adwin caer yssit ar lan llyant. **a**dwin yd rotir
y paup*er* y chwant. Gogywarch de gwinet boed tev wy-
ant. Gwaewaur rrin. Rei adarwant. Dyv merch
ir. Gueleisse guir yg cvinowant. Dyv iev bv. ir.
guarth. itadcorssant. **a**d oet bryger coch. ac och
ar dant. Oet llutedic guir guinet. Dit y deuthant.
ac am kewin llech Vaelvy kylchuy wriwant.
Cuytin y can keiwin llv ocarant.

Edited text

Divergences from the manuscripts are noted in the apparatus. Since a diplomatic text is also provided, the text has been edited for punctuation, capitalisation, and lineation, and to incorporate emendations proposed in the Notes. For reasons discussed in the Notes, the orthography has not been adjusted except where a scribe has obviously over-extended the modernisation of *i* and *e* to *y*. For further discussion, see the notes below (pp. 31–6).

[…] = possible missing lines. Text in [ ] deleted by scribe.

]uuc Dínɔych (*left margin*)

[fol. 20v16] **A**rchaf y wen y duɔ plɔyf escori,
perchen nef a llaɔr pɔylluaɔr wofri.

Aduɔyn gaer yssyd ar glaɔr gɔeilgi;
bit lawen ygkalan, eiryan y ri.[82]
Ac amser pan wna mor maɔr ɔrhydri,
ys gnaɔt gorun beird uch med lestri.
Dydybyd gɔanec ar vrys dybrys idi.
Adaɔhɔynt y werlas o glas Ffichti.
Ac am bɔy fi,[83] o deɔs, dros vygwedi,
pan gattɔyf amot, kymot a thi.

Aduɔyn gaer yssyd ar llydan llyn,
dinas diachor, mor oe chylchyn.
gogyfarch ti,[84] Prydein, kɔd gygein hyn.
Blaen llin[85] ap Erbin, boet teu [fol. 21r] voyn.
Bu goscor a bu kerd yn eil mehyn,

[82]yri *MS*.
[83]bɔyf *MS*.
[84]ty *MS*.
[85]llyn *MS*.

ac eryr uch ỏybyr a llỏybyr granwyn
Rac vd feleic; rac[86] escar gychwyn,
Clotwascar a gỏanar yd ymdullyn.

Aduỏyn gaer yssyd ar ton naỏuet,
aduỏyn eu gỏerin yn ymwaret.
Ny wnant eu dỏynuyt trỏy veuylhaet.
Nyt ef eu defaỏt bot yn galet.
Ny llafaraf eu ar vyn trỏydet:
noc eillon Deutraeth gỏell kaeth Dyfet.
Kyweithyd o ryd, wled waretret,
kynnỏys rwg pop deu goreu kiwet.

Aduỏyn gaer yssyd ae gỏna kyman,
medut a molut ac adar bann.
Llyfyn y cherdeu yn y chalan
am arglỏyd hywyd, heỏr eiran.
Kyn y vynet yn y adỏyt yn deruin llan,
ef am rodes med a gỏin o wydrin ban.

Aduỏyn gaer yssyd yn yr eglan.
Atuỏyn y rodir y paỏb y ran.
Atwen yn Dinbych – gorwen gỏylan –
kyweithyd Wleidud, ud erllyssan.
Oed ef vyn defaỏt i nos galan
lledyfdaỏt y gan ri ryfel eiran.
[…]
a llen lliỏ ehoec a medu prein,
hyny uỏyf tauaỏt ar veird prydein.

Aduỏyn gaer yssyd ae kyffrỏy kedeu.
Oed meu y rydeu a dewissỏn.
Ny lafaraf i deith; reith ryscatỏn.
Ny dyly kelenic ny ỏyppo hỏn.
Yscriuen Brydein, bryder briffỏn,
yn yt wna tonneu eu hymgyffrỏn,
perheit[87] pell ygell a treidỏn.
Aduỏyn gaer yssyd [fol. 21v] yn ardỏyrein,
gochaỏn y medut, y molut gofrein.
Aduỏyn ar eu hor, escor gynfrein,
godef gỏrych dymbi – hir y hadein –
dychyrch bar karrec crec mor ednein.
Llit y myỏn tyghet treidet tra thrumein.

[86]felyc nac *MS*.
[87]pereit hyt *MS*.

A Bleidut gorllƟyt goreu a ffein.
Dimpyner oduch llat pƟyllad cofein.

Bendith culƟyd nef gytlef a fein;
ar nyn gƟnel yn vrowyr gorƟyr Owein.

AduƟyn gaer yssyd ar lan lliant.
AduƟyn yt rodir y pawb y chƟant.
Gogyfarch ti, Vynet, boet teu uƟyant.
GƟay[a]waƟr ryn, rein a derllyssant.[88]
DuƟ Merchyr gweleis wyr ygkyfnofant.
Dyf Ieu bu gƟartheu a amugant.[89]
Ac yd oed vriger coch ac och ar dant.
Oed lludued Vynet[90] dyd y doethant.
Ac am Gefyn Llech VaelƟy kylchƟy vriwant.
[cƟd] CƟydyn y gan gefyn llu o garant.

Version corresponding to ll. 58–67 from the Black Book of Carmarthen

Adwin caer yssit ar lan llyant.
Adwin yd rotir y paup*er* y chwant.
Gogywarch de, gwinet, boed tev wyant.
Gwaewaur rrin; rei a darwant.[91]
Dyv merchir gueleiss e guir yg cvinowant.
Dyv iev bv ir guarth it adcorssant.[92]
Adoet bryger coch ac och ar dant.
Oet llutedic guir guinet[93] dyt y deuthant,
ac am kewin llech Vaelvy kylchuy wriwant.
Cuytin y can keiwin llv o carant.

TRANSLATION

I ask God's favour that he gather in his people,
lord of heaven and earth eminent in great wisdom.

There is a fine fortress on the surface of the ocean;
may it be joyful on New Year's Day, radiant its king.
And when the sea makes a great battle-din,
the tumult of bards is usual over the mead vessels.

[88]rein a derllyssant] rei a darwant *BBC*.
[89]gƟartheu a amugant] ir guarth. it adcorssant *BBC*.
[90]lludued vynet] llutedic guir guinet *BBC*.
[91]rei a darwant] rein a derllysant *BT*.
[92]ir guarth. it adcorssant] gƟartheu a amugant *BT*.
[93]llutedic guir guinet] lludued vynet *BT*.

A wave will come in a rush; it surges to it.
Let them leave the angry, grey (sea) on account of the band of raiders.
And may I have, O God, in return for my prayer,
when I shall keep my promise, reconciliation with you.

There is a fine fortress upon the broad sea,
an unyielding fortress, sea encircling it.
Ask, Britain, where these things might be fitting.
Chief of the line of Erbin's son, may it be yours that they be.
There was a retinue and there was song in the hall of the place,
and an eagle above a cloud and a path of white-faced ones
before a splendid lord; against the rising of an enemy
fierce ones of broad fame used to draw up in array.

There is a fine fortress upon the ninth wave,
fine their people in defending themselves.
They do not derive pleasure through causing shame.
It is not their custom to be miserly.
I do not speak falsehood about my rights at court:
a slave of Dyfed is better (off) than villeins of Deudraeth.
A company of freemen, the protection of a feast,
includes pair by pair the best people.

There is a fine fortress where a throng makes
carousal and praise together with the noisy birds.
Fluent its songs on its NewYear's Day
around a generous lord, a fine hero.
Before he went in [his] death into the oaken enclosure,
he gave me mead and wine from a glass goblet.

There is a fine fortress on the headland.
Finely to each is given his portion.
I know at Dinbych – bright white the seagull –
the company of Bleiddudd, a lord they deserve.
My custom it was on New Year's Eve
to recline with a king splendid in war,

***

with a mantle of purple colour and enjoying a feast,
so that I may be the tongue over the bards of Britain.

There is a fine fortress where gifts abound.
Mine were the freedoms which I used to choose.
I do not speak of entitlement but of a right I was to maintain.
He who does not know this is not entitled to a New Year's gift.
The writing of Britain, the chief object of care,

where the waves make their crashing,
may it last long in a cell I used to visit.

There is a fine fortress rising up,
lavish its carousal, lofty its praise.
Finely on its cliff, the enclosure of champions,
abides the spray which rushes in – with long wings –
hoarse sea-birds seek the top of a rock.
May anger be destined to go off over the hills.
May Bleiddudd have the finest bliss that there would be.
May consideration of his memory be pondered over drink.

May the blessing of the God of harmonious heaven prevail;
May He not make us the countrymen of the great-grandson of Owain.

BT version:
There is a fine fortress upon the shore of the sea.
Finely is given to each his desire.
Ask, Gwynedd, that it be yours that they might be.
Steadfast spears, these they deserve.
On Wednesday I saw men fighting.
On Thursday it was disgrace they fought over.
And there was bloodstained hair and a lament on a string.
(The men of) Gwynedd were tired the day they came,
and around the ridge of Llech Faelwy they broke shields.
A host of kinsmen fell together at the hands of a third cousin.

BBC version:
There is a fine fortress upon the shore of the sea.
Finely is given to a poor man his desire.
Ask, Gwynedd, that it be yours that they might be.
Steadfast spears; this is what happened.
On Wednesday I saw men lamenting (?)
On Thursday in disgrace they returned.
And there was bloodstained hair and a lament on a string.
The men of Gwynedd were tired the day they came,
and around the ridge of Llech Faelwy they broke shields.
A host of kinsmen fell together at the hands of a third cousin.

NOTES

These notes should be read alongside those of Williams and Gruffydd. References to their work in these notes are mainly to the notes in their editions; since the line-numbering is the same in all the versions, I have not provided more detailed references. As noted above, Williams's frequently innovative suggestions about the text were often left in the obscurity of the notes to his two editions, whilst his text remained very conservative. But his proposals were at

times adopted by Gruffydd, especially in the text printed in '"The praise of Tenby"'. Gruffydd's text is, therefore, more innovative than that of Williams, though most of the suggestions can be found in Williams's notes. The text proposed here is more conservative in some respects and more innovative in others because a diplomatic text is also to hand (pp. 24–6).

Note on orthography: the scribe of the Book of Taliesin uses ꝟ (the incurling form of *v*) as a separate letter to spell /u/, in the diphthongs /au/ and /uɨ/, and in /gw/-, while *v* and *u* are used for /v/ and /ʉ/. The letter *w*, which consists of two overlapping ꝟs is used mainly for /w/, but occasionally for /u/. Since the letter form ꝟ has a different range of values from *w*, it is retained in this edition, and not replaced by *w* as has been conventional.

1 *plꝟyf escori*: Williams and Gruffydd take this as 'protector of the people' (cf. also Haycock, *Prophecies*, 108) presumably taking the construction of object + verbal noun as an epithet (lit. 'people-protecting God'). Another possibility which I adopt here is that this phrase is the petition which the poet is making to God.

3 *Aduꝟyn*: Gruffydd (following Williams's discussion) takes it as representing a medieval *adwyn* and modernises it as *addwyn* here and throughout. For further discussion on the senses of this word, see above, pp. 20–1.

4 *bit*: Previous editions seem to have assumed that this is to be read as /biɨð/, thus 'is', but it should probably be read as the imperative, 'may it (*sc*. the court) be'.

y ri (*yri* MS): Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin* (second ed., Caerdydd, 1961), 135, suggested that *yri* was a faulty modernisation of *eri* perhaps 'host', but in his edition of this poem takes it as the second element of *Eryri*, thus 'headland'; cf. also p. 15 above. Following a reviewer's suggestion, I propose here to take it simply as *y ri* 'its king'; since *ri* is often used of God and is so close to the beginning of the poem, its use here to refer to the ruler has the effect of linking him implicitly with God.

7 *Dydybyd ... idi*: Williams (followed by Gruffydd) proposed taking *ar vrys* as a gloss on *dybrys*; Gruffudd is more certain than Williams: '*ar vrys* obviously glosses *dybrys*' ('"The praise of Tenby"', 99). But this seems unlikely; cf. also l. 31 *yn y adꝟyt* which is also thought to be a gloss, and the discussion above, pp. 11–12. The line has 11 syllables but could be shortened by emending *dydybyd* to *dybyd*; however, the double preverb may simply be a scribal error as there is a line break between *dy* and *dybyd* and the scribe may have mistakenly repeated the *dy*.

8 *o*: Williams and Gruffydd emend *o* to *e* 'to'; thus, 'they will leave ... to …'. Both take *glas* as the lenited form of *clas* 'tribe, band'. I tentatively take *o* here to be 'on account of', and also note the ironical use of *clas*, which is usually associated with monastic groups, of a band of raiders. However it is tempting to think that the original reading might have been different: if *clas* is understood in the basic sense of the Latin loanword 'fleet' (< Latin *classis*), then it is easy to read *o* as 'under'; thus, 'he will leave the angry, grey sea

under the fleet of the raiders'. However, examples of *o* 'under' seem to be restricted to *Y Gododdin*, and there are no other examples where *clas* can be interpreted as 'fleet', and so such an interpretation remains speculative.

9 *b6y fi*: Williams and Gruffydd propose emending the manuscript's *b6yf* to *b6y* (3 sg. pres. subj.), which is probably right; I follow a tentative suggestion of Williams that the *-f* is a reflex of the 1 sg. affixed pronoun.

dros: Williams and Gruffydd propose reading *drws* or *trws* to make internal rhyme with *de6s*, but this is hardly necessary as not all the lines have internal rhyme.

13 This line seems to be the model for the phrasing of the first half of l. 60. I follow Williams and Gruffydd in treating *Prydein* (and also *Vynet* (= *Gwynedd*) in l. 60) as vocatives following an imperative; thus 'Ask, Britain …'. It would be possible in each case to treat the noun as the object of the verb; thus 'Ask Britain …'.

ti (*ty* MS): I follow Williams and Gruffydd in emending to *ti*. This spelling with *y* is one of a number of reflexes of a modernising scribe somewhere in the line of transmission who tended to turn *i* into *y* but over-extended his modernisation to some instances where *i* should have been retained; cf. *llin*/*llyn* (l. 14) and discussion above, pp. 15–16.

14 *llin* (*llyn* MS): This is another case of over-extended modernisation; I follow Williams and Gruffydd in emending to *llin* 'line'. See the discussion on l. 13.

15 *goscor ... kerd*: Williams and Gruffydd propose emending *goscor* to *goscord* and *kerd* to *kord*, thus creating internal rhyme. Neither seems necessary. On the militarisation of the poem by changing *kerd* to *kord* here, and *cherdeu* to *chordeu* (l. 29), see above, p. 13. Adding *-d* to *goscor* would still create alliteration with *kerd*. Williams points to BT 21.26 (Haycock, *Legendary Poems*, 4.190 (*Angar Kyfundawt*)) where *oscord* is intended to rhyme with *heissor* and Haycock emends *oscord* to *oscor*; cf. also BT 18.26 (Haycock, *Legendary Poems*, 18.26 *(Preiddeu Annwfyn*) and note on p. 445) where *goscord* is found as part of a rhyme-scheme in *-or*. One wonders whether forms in *-or* were understood to rhyme with forms in *-ord* anyway.

16 *a ll6ybyr*: Williams and Gruffydd propose *ar ll6ybr*, but it might be possible to construe *ll6ybyr* as being governed by the *uch*, thus 'above a cloud and the path of the white-faced ones'. Perhaps better *a ll6ybyr granwyn* could be taken with the next line: 'and a path of the white-faced ones (i.e. the route they take in flight) before a splendid lord'. While *granwyn* may refer to the enemy, a literal rendering makes fewer assumptions. The second *rac* (emended from *nac* (see next note)) could then be taken with the next line, 'against the rising of an enemy … they used to assemble'.

17 *feleic* (*felyc* MS), *rac* (*nac* MS): I take the spelling *felyc* as another over-extension of *y* spellings. It is clear that *nac* in the manuscript is a mis-reading of *rac*.

20 *eu*: this could be emended with Gruffydd to *e*, or perhaps *y*, thus making it possible to treat it as a 3 sg. fem. possessive agreeing with *caer*, but it could be read as referring to the occupants of the *caer*.

29 *llyfyn y cherdeu: llyfyn* is taken as a mis-modernised form of *llewyn* (pl. of *llawen* 'joyful') and Gruffydd proposes to emend it thus. This may be right but it could simply be the monosyllable *llyfyn* meaning 'smooth, fluent' (cf. *GPC s.v. llyfn* (b)), and so the reading of the manuscript is retained here. On the mistaken proposal to change *cherdeu* to *chordeu,* see l. 15 above.

30 *he6r*: I tentatively follow Williams and Gruffydd in taking this as *hywr* 'a fine man', but, as it stands, it could be read as 'sower, scatterer'; the latter would be acceptable in the sense of 'a scatterer of enemies', but there are not enough early examples to be clear that it can bear that meaning, as opposed to 'a sower or scatterer of seed'.

31 *kyn y vynet yn y ad6yt*: Williams and Gruffydd observe that with 12 syllables the line is long but conclude that *yn y ad6yt* was a gloss mistakenly incorporated into the text; cf. l. 7 above on *ar vrys*. If we think this line is too long, it could be reduced by deleting one or both of the possessive pronouns, which a scribe may have introduced for clarification. See also the discussion above, pp. 11–12.

32 *ef am rodes*: the line is eleven syllables long and Gruffydd proposes deleting the *ef*; for discussion, see above, p. 11.

34 *y rodir*: l. 59 in the additional stanza has *yt rodir* and Gruffydd suggests emending to *yt rodir* here; note also that the same particle occurs in l. 46, *yn yt wna tonneu ...* The emendation is possible but not necessary. On this particle, see Stefan Schumacher, '*y(d)* und *yt*: Zur Syntax zweier 'Partikeln' des Mittelkymrischen', *Keltische Forschungen* 6 (2013–14), 159–217.

36 *ud erllyssan*: attempts to interpret *ud erllyssan* as 'lord of a small court' vel sim. are not compelling; see p. 16 above. Following the reading of l. 61 in the additional stanza, *a derllyssant*, it is better to read it as 'a lord they deserve'. A further, but unnecessary, step might be to emend to *ud derllyssan*. The translations of this verb in l. 61 have assumed that it is preterite: Simon Rodway assumes the stem *derlless-* is preterite without comment (*Dating Medieval Welsh Literature: Evidence from the Verbal System* (Aberystwyth, 2013), 224). Lloyd-Jones expresses some doubt (*Geirfa*, *s.vv. derllyð*, *erllys*), but the fullest discussion is by Schumacher who proposed that there were two distinct verbs, *derllyð-* and *derllys-* (*The Historical Morphology of the Welsh Verbal Noun* (Maynooth, 2000), 46). Ifor Williams argued that *derllys-* was an analogically formed *s*-preterite of *derllyð-* (*Canu Aneirin*, 302), but, as Schumacher points out, the analogical model of *gorðiwes-* 'is completely isolated in Welsh verbal-noun formation and highly unlikely to have provided an adequate model base for analogical spread' (*The Historical Morphology of the Welsh Verbal Noun*, 46). We may also note that the other example of this verbal stem in BT *erlys* (11.16), is treated as a present by Haycock (*Blodeugerdd*, 20.93, and note on p. 197). In both cases, here and at l. 61, the forms are read as present; in the latter, the verbs which follow are preterite, but I would understand *G6ay*[*a*]*wa6r ryn, rein a derllyssant* 'steadfast spears, these they deserve' as meaning that Gwynedd, as the enemy, deserves spears (*sc.* to be thrown at them). The BBC reading *rei a darwant* 'this is what happened' is in the past tense but I take this as belonging to more narrative section which follows.

37 *i nos*: This probably represents the accidental preservation of an older spelling for *yn nos*; for discussion, see above, p. 16. Many of the lines end in a four-line cadence which *yn nos galan* would provide, as would *pob nos galan* (suggested by a reviewer).

38 *lledyfda6t*: for this term, which has generated some discussion, see above, n. 45 (pp. 17–18).

38–9 The end-rhyme changes here and it is possible that some text has dropped out; for discussion, see above, p. 11.

41 *kedeu*: Williams (but not Gruffydd) proposes emending to *kerdeu* or *kordeu*. Neither is necessary; we might have expected to find *keteu*, but there are a few examples of *-d-* for /d/, e.g. *prydein* (l. 13), *brydein bryder* (l. 45).

41–2 The end-rhyme changes here and it is possible, but not necessary, that some text has dropped out; *kedeu* is the *gair cyrch* rhyming with *rydeu* but *kyffr6y* does not carry the main rhyme. For discussion, and the suggestion that the *gair cyrch* may be sufficient here, see above, p. 11.

42–3 The legal terminology in these lines, and how it is rendered and understood, deserves close scrutiny. We may begin with the various translations:

> Williams ('Two poems', p. 165): 'mine were the privileges I desired | I shall not speak of rights, due order would I keep'.
> Gruffydd ('"The praise of Tenby"', p. 98): 'mine were the privileges that I used to choose | I shall not speak of legal right, I would keep due custom'.
> Conran (*Welsh Verse*, p. 119): 'where every concession which was mine | – I say nothing of rights! I kept good order'.
> Clancy (*Medieval Welsh Poetry*, p. 101): 'What honours I wished for were mine | (I will not say 'rights': I must keep decorum)' (the earlier translation has 'my place' instead of 'decorum' (Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry*, p. 91)).

Given the concentration of legal teminology in these two lines, we should at least attempt to extract their full sense; after all they did not land here in a cluster by accident and we should be expecting that the poet is playing them one off the other. *Rydeu* are 'freedom from obligations which are placed on others'; clearly such was his status that he could choose which obligations he might take on. 'Privileges' or 'concessions' capture some but not all of this. *Teith* is in one sense the converse of *rydeu*, namely that to which he was entitled by virtue of his status; again 'rights' is close but is perhaps too general in the context. The final phrase, *reith ryscat6n,* has received the most divergent renderings. *Reith* is more than 'due custom', 'due order', 'decorum', 'my place'; it is no less than 'that which is right' (and not for nothing is it the root of *cyfreith* 'law'). However, only Clancy has got anywhere near the sense of *ryscat6n*; it is a 1 sg. impft. subj. with a prefixed *ry*. None of the examples

quoted in *GMW* 113 (§ 124)) are in main clauses and so I take the verb here as relative. On the point of *cadw*, see above, pp. 18–19.

47 *perheit pell* (*pereit hyt* MS): for discussion, see above p. 11. I would take the subject to be *ysgriuen brydein* (l. 45) and read the MS *pereit hyt* as an attempt to correct a miscopying of *perheit* 'may it last'.

ygell: I propose here that, rather than *y gell* 'the cell', it should be read as *ygell* 'in a cell'. An objection to this reading (pointed out by a reviewer) is that the Book of Taliesin scribe consistently spells *yn* followed by *c*/*k* as *yg* + radical, e.g. *yg kaer ofanhon* (BT 3.2); *yg corff* (4.9); *yg kynted* (4.11, 9.11); *yg kylch eluyd* (6.1); *yg kywyd* (7.3); *yg kebystyr* (9.21); *yg ketoed kymry* (13.19); *yg keithiwet* (13.20); *yg custud* (15.21), etc. But in fact all that tells us is that the scribe thought it represented *y gell* 'the cell'; the poet may have intended something else. A further reason for thinking that this may mean 'in a cell' is the relative rarity of the definite article (in the form *y*) in the early poetry.

50 *eu*: Williams and Gruffydd suggest reading *e*, but *y* would be possible; for discussion, see the note on l. 20 above.

51–2 *hir y hadein*: my translation is based on the assumption that the poet is being clever and wants *hir y hadein* to refer both backwards to the plumes of foam thrown up onto the cliffs below the *caer* and forward to the wings of the birds. Williams' translation 'its (i.e. the spray's) wings' is problematic because *gɷrych* is masculine (and so we would not expect *h-* on *hadein*), but, if we were to take *gɷrych* as a morphological collective with plural agreement, 'plumes of spray', *y hadein* would work.

53 *tra thrumein*: I follow Williams in this reading. The manuscript reads *trath-*| *[.]ɩmein*. Although a *u* has usually been read before the *m*, only a minim is visible and it is not clearly linked at the bottom to what precedes. As Williams suggests ('Two poems', 170 (with further discussion)), it is possible that originally *trathumein* was copied and then the *u* was partially erased to make room for *ru*, but was written has now been obscured by a blot. Gwenogvryn Evans (BT *Facsimile*, 44.4–5) printed *trath-*|*amein*, but it is difficult to see how an *a* can be rescued from the text as it is currently.

54 *a ffein*: With reservations, I follow Williams in treating this as *a fein (*3 pl. impft. subj.) 'which would be'; the difficulty is that *gorllɷyt goreu* is singular though the subjunctive *fein* could allow the antecedent to be read indefinitely (and so perhaps with a plural verb), thus 'whatever bliss which …'. Gruffydd's suggestion that *affein* is a borrowing of Old Irish *affaing* (itself borrowed from Old English) in the sense of 'wealth' is unhelpful.

55 *dympyner*: the sense is uncertain and partly turns on whether we see *dym-* as containing two preverbs, a 1sg. infixed pronoun, or relative marker (for the first two, see Williams, 'Two poems', 170; Haycock, *Legendary Poems*, 102; Haycock, *The Prophecies*, 135; the last is proposed in *Geirfa, s.v. dimbrodic*). Williams prefers the first possibility and thus renders it 'be weighed, be welcomed'; Gruffydd opts for 'be pondered'. However, if the *-m* is treated as the pronoun, it may be that we are seeing the poet edging into the picture again; i.e. he is the one doing the preserving of Bleiddudd's memory.

57 *vrowyr*: Williams' interpretation as 'cow-herds' seems overly etymological and based on what might have survived of the Old Irish of Dyfed; it is more likely that it means 'men of a *bro*, countrymen'. Cf. also Gruffydd, 'The early court poetry', 96 n. 2, who briskly rejected the 'cow-herd' interpretation, though he returned to it in his later work on the poem. In the same discussion he also seems to suggest that *gorƟyr Owein* is the subject of the clause: 'there is talk of *gorwyr Owain* "the great grandson of Owain" making people *browyr*' (p. 96), though later he reverts to God being the subject (Gruffydd, *'Edmyg Dinbych*, 23; Gruffydd, '"The praise of Tenby"', 99). We should also note that the internal rhyme between *vrowyr* and *gorƟyr* is faulty (if it were ever intended).

58–67 the additional stanza: the variant readings from the Black Book are provided in the apparatus of the BT version and vice versa.

58 *ar lan lliant*: on versions of this phrase elsewhere, see *GLlF* 14.110 and n. on pp. 247–8).

61 *derllyssant*: on the form and tense, see the discussion at l. 36 above.

67 [*cƟd*]: this was deleted by the scribe after he realised that he had miscopied the first syllable of *cƟydynt* and he started again; one possibility is that this is a pronunciation error and that he was pronouncing *cƟyd-* as /kuð/ (cf. pronunciations of various parts of *gwybod* with the first syllable as /gub/-).

y gan gefyn (*y can keiwin* BBC): the BBC reading shows that we should understand *ceifn* 'third cousin'. Williams and Gruffydd take *y gan* as 'together with'. However, if we understand it as 'at the hands of', then a note of horror is added in the final line since it would imply that members of the same kin-group were fighting on both sides of the conflict; for further discussion, see above, pp. 23–4.

Black Book of Carmarthen version

2 *pauper*: the *er* is written as a cross-bar on the descender of the final *p* as part of the Latin abbreviation for *per*; this implies that the scribe thought that *pauper* was one word. The *er* was not printed in *LlDC* 13.2 (p. 23), though it is commented upon in the notes (p. 94). I take it that, in the context of dispensing generosity, the scribe understood the line as 'finely is given to a poor man (Latin *pauper*) his desire'. If so, it implies that that the Black Book scribe was used to encountering Latin words in his Welsh verse.

5 *yg cvinowant* (BBC), *ygkyfnofant* (BT): on this variation, see p. 15 above.

Abbreviations

BBC	Black Book of Carmarthen (NLW Peniarth 1); for the edition, see *LlDC* below; facsimile: J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen* (Oxford, 1888); digital images: https://www.llgc.org.uk/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/black-book-of-carmarthen/.
BT	Book of Taliesin (NLW Peniarth 2); facsimile: J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin* (Llanbedrog,

1910); digital images: https://www.llgc.org.uk/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/book-of-taliesin/.

ByT (RB) Thomas Jones (ed. and trans.), *Brut y Tywysogyon or the Chronicle of the Princes*: *The Red Book of Hergest Version* (Cardiff, 1955).

CBT Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion.

GBF Rh. M. Andrews, N. G. Costigan (Bosco), C. James, P. I. Lynch, C. McKenna, M. E. Owen, and B. F. Roberts (eds), *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd a Beirdd Eraill Ail Hanner y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg*, CBT VII (Caerdydd, 1996).

GCBM I N. A. Jones and A. Parry Owen (eds), *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, I, CBT III (Caerdydd, 1991).

GCBM II N. A. Jones and A. Parry Owen (eds), *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, II, CBT IV (Caerdydd, 1995).

Geirfa J. Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg, A–Heilic* (Caerdydd, 1931–63).

GLlF K. A. Bramley, N. A. Jones, M. E. Owen, C. McKenna, G. Aled Williams, and J. E. Caerwyn Williams (eds), *Gwaith Llywelyn Fardd I ac Eraill o Feirdd y Ddeuddegfed Ganrif*, CBT II (Caerdydd, 1994).

GMB J. E. Caerwyn Williams and P. I. Lynch (eds), *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion*, CBT I (Caerdydd, 1994).

GPM E. M. Jones and N. A. Jones (eds), *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd y Moch'*, CBT V (Caerdydd, 1991).

LlDC A. O. H. Jarman (ed.), *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (Caerdydd, 1982).

Paul Russell

University of Cambridge

WHO WAS AILILL MOṠAULUM?

Abstract

Ailill Áulomm, recorded in the genealogies as a common ancestor of the Éoganachta, Dál Cais and other population groups, and a well-known character in literary and historiographical tradition, plays an important role in medieval Irish stories about the Battle of Mag Mucrama. This paper will consider why his name as found in one of these stories, *Scéla Moṡauluim*, should deviate from the usual form of his name in other sources.

To anyone familiar with the stories about the battles of Mag Mucrama and Cenn Abrat, or with the traditional history of Munster, the question in my title may not immediately be felt to require an answer: Ailill Moṡaulum was the man who was better known as Ailill Áulomm, familiar from his pivotal role as a common ancestor of many Munster population groups and dynasties. Indeed, I do not intend to suggest in this article that the literary figure Ailill Moṡaulum was distinct from that of Ailill Áulomm: a less succinct though perhaps more accurate question might be, 'Why was Ailill Áulomm sometimes called Ailill Moṡaulum?' According to historical and genealogical tradition, Ailill Áulomm – whose death *AFM* places in the year 234 – was the father of Éogan Mór, the eponymous ancestor of the Éoganachta, who included the dominant ruling peoples of Munster for much of the early and medieval historical period. Other eponymous ancestors, such as Cormac Cass, eponym of Dál Cais, and Cian, from whom the Cianachta and other groups were said to have descended, were also grafted onto the traditional genealogical framework as purported sons of Ailill. Ailill Áulomm is therefore a very important figure within this framework, and is well known from both genealogical and literary sources. Throughout these fairly copious sources, as far as I am aware, Ailill's epithet – if such it is – takes the form of *Áulomm*, or of an orthographical variant thereof.[1]

There is, however, one source that departs from the others, namely, *Scéla Moṡaulu[i]m ⁊ Maic Con ⁊ Luigdech*,[2] often shortened in secondary literature, as it will be here, to *Scéla Moṡauluim*. Only one copy of this story survives, in the fifteenth-century Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 610, ff. 94vb17–96ra34, and it displays, to my mind, quite a composite nature.

[1]I use *Áulomm* in spelling this epithet throughout this essay for convenience, although the spelling varies considerably in the sources themselves.

[2]MS *luídgech*. The most recent edition and translation is by Máirín O Daly (ed. and trans.), *Cath Maige Mucrama: The Battle of Mag Mucrama*, ITS 50 (London 1975), 74–87, 129–44. The scribe concludes the story with the remark *Scéla Maic Con ⁊ Aililla co rice so* (ibid. 84.694), which occurs a few lines before the end of O Daly's edited text.

 ©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

As we have it, it is made up of various episodes centred on one or more of the three characters of the title: Ailill Mośaulum, his foster-son Mac Con, and Lugaid Loígde, Mac Con's father. An account of the traditional alternation of kingship and judgeship between Lugaid Loígde's descendants and those of Ailill Áulomm is found near the beginning (§3),[3] followed closely by a description of a legal case over which Lugaid Loígde presided (§6). The text gives brief accounts of the reigns of Mac Con and Ailill Áulomm (§§4–8), and a description of the contention between Mac Con and Ailill's sons over an otherworld musician (§9), which led to the battles of Cenn Abrat and, subsequently, Mag Mucrama (or Áth Mucraime; §10), which battles are also alluded to. The text ends with Ailill's vengeful killing of his foster-son Mac Con (§§11–14), an act that was in turn avenged by Finn ua Baíscne (§§15–16).[4]

Scéla Mośauluim was dated by Máirín O Daly to the first half of the ninth century, but comprises elements 'which point to archaic sources, as early perhaps as 700'.[5] It is part of the extensive tract published by Kuno Meyer under the title 'The Laud genealogies and tribal histories', a composite collection of genealogies, poetry and origin stories.[6] Eoin Mac Néill proposed that the compilation represented by the Laud tract was made around the end of the tenth century, but he dated the older narrative material contained in it (which would include *Scéla Mośauluim*) to the eighth century.[7]

The story of how Ailill got his epithet (most frequently analysed, explicitly or implicitly, as *áu* 'ear' + *lomm* 'bare') is found in a number of sources, discussed below, but not in *Scéla Mośauluim*. It is alluded to two folios earlier in the manuscript, however, in another, non-narrative, section of the Laud tract, headed *Do míniugad senchais Fer Muman*:

> Mog Nūadat da*no*, dā mac lais .i. Lugaid Lāga ⁊ Ailill Ōlom. Is eside rogab Áne ingin Fir [ingen fir MS] hÍ m*ai*c Eogabail co ndechaid chuici fo chētōir, co roben si a chlūais de in tan bás oc tīachtain, conid do sin rodngeguin Ailill Ōlom.[8]

[3]Paragraph references are to O Daly's edition (see n. 2 above).

[4]Kuno Meyer, *Fianaigecht: Being a Collection of Hitherto Inedited Irish Poems and Tales Relating to Finn and his Fiana*, Todd Lecture Series 16 (London, 1910), xxi, pointed out that Heinrich Zimmer 'considers this rightly as a later insertion' (Heinrich Zimmer, 'Keltische Beiträge III', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 35 (1891), 1–172, at 115). However, it is suggested by Kevin Murray that the Finn element in this text might be quite old, perhaps as old as *c*. 700 (Kevin Murray, 'A reading from *Scéla Mośauluim*', *ZCP* 53 (2003), 198–201, at 200 n. 22; idem, 'Fionn, fian agus Corca Laoidhe', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 113 (2008), 24–27, at 25). Since Finn was a member of the *fían* of (Lugaid) Mac Con, according to sources such as *Sanas Cormaic* (Kuno Meyer, '*Sanas Cormaic*', *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* IV (Halle, 1912), 97 (§1084 *rincne*)), Meyer included the text and translation of *Scéla Mośauluim* in his collection of some of the oldest material about Finn to demonstrate 'the gradual growth of the cycle connected to him' (see Meyer, *Fianaigecht*, xvi).

[5]O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, 18.

[6]K. Meyer, 'The Laud genealogies and tribal histories', *ZCP* 8 (1912), 291–338.

[7]John MacNeill [= E. Mac Néill], 'Notes on the Laud genealogies', *ZCP* 8 (1912), 411–18, at 416.

[8]Meyer, 'The Laud genealogies', 303.21–4. My own translation.

> 'As to Mog Nuadat, he had two sons, Lugaid Lága and Ailill Áulomm. It is the latter who seized Áne the daughter of Fer Í son of Éogabal, and immediately mated with her, so that she cut his ear off him while he was having intercourse [with her], and it is because of that that she wounded Ailill Áulomm.'

This story is referred to elsewhere in the genealogical corpus, where the aetiological connection is made more explicit:

> Ailill Aulom*m* a m*a*c is hē ro gab Āine ingen Fir-hii m*eic* Ēogabuil ᵍcoro ben a chluais deᵍ un*de* d*icitu*r Aulom*m*.[9]
>
> 'Ailill Áulomm, his [Mog Nuadat's] son, it is he who seized Áine daughter of Fer Í son of Éogabal so that she cut his ear off him, whence "Áulomm" is said.'

Cath Maige Mucrama, a slightly later text than *Scéla Mośauluim*, according to O Daly's analysis,[10] gives a more detailed account of Ailill's rape of the otherworld woman Áine and her consequent disfigurement of his ear:

> Luid Ailill íar*um* aidchi s*h*amna do [f]recaire a ech i nÁne Chlíach. Dérgither dó is' tilaig. Ro lommad in tilach in n-aidchi-sin ⁊ ni fes cía ros lomm. Fecht fo dí dó fon inna[s]-sin. Ba iṅgnad les-seom. Foídis techta úad co Ferches m*a*c Commáin éices ro baí i mMairg Lagen. Fáith side ⁊ f*h*énnid. Do-lluid-side dia acall*aim*. Tíagait a ndiis aidchi s*h*amna issin tilaig. Anaid Ailill is' til*aig*. Baí Ferches frie anechtair. Do-fuitt di*diu* cotlud for Ailill ic costecht fri fogilt na cethrae. Do-llotar asint ṡid ⁊ Éogabul m*ac* Durgabuil rí int ṡída ina ndíaid ⁊ Áne ingen Éogab*uil* ⁊ timpán créda ina láim oca ṡeinm dó ara bélaib. At-raig dó in Ferches co toba(i)rt buille dó. Ro ráith Éogabul reme issa síd. Atn-úarat Fer*ches* di gaí mór co rróemid a druim [trit in tan ran-ānic isin sīth. Con-rānic dano Ailill] frisin n-ingin. Eret ro buí i ssuidiu ro den in ben a ó cona farcaib féoil na crocand fair (⁊) connáro ássair fair ríam ónd úair-sin. Conid Ailill Ó-lomm a ainm ó ṡein.
>
> 'Ailill went then one Samhain night to attend to his horses on Áne Chlíach. A bed is made for him on the hill. That night the hill was stripped bare and it was not known who had

[9]M. A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae I* (Dublin, 1962), 190 (147 b 24–5); my translation. For the text between g-g, the Book of Lecan reads *cor bean māeth na cluaisi de co roibi in chluas lom*m *cen māethān fuirri ⁊ ad-eir araile do leabraib cor beanad in cluas ōn smit de* 'and she cut the soft part of the ear off him so that the ear was bare without cartilage on it, and other books say that the ear was cut off him from the lobe', while the Book of Ballymote reads *cor bea*n *a cluas de intan do bad*h*as aga ti*cht*ain* 'and she cut his ear off him while he was having intercourse with her' (ibid.).

[10]O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, 2, 18–36.

> stripped it. So it happened to him twice. He wondered at it. He sent off messengers to Ferches the poet son of Commán who was in Mairg of Leinster. He was a seer and a warrior. He came to speak to him. Both go one Samhain night to the hill. Ailill remains on the hill. Ferches was aside from it. Sleep then comes to Ailill while listening to the grazing of the beasts. They came out of the fairy mound with Éogabul son of Durgabul king of the fairy mound after them and Áne daughter of Éogabul with a bronze *timpán* in her hand playing before him. Ferches rises up to meet him and struck him. Éogabul ran on into the fairy mound. Ferches attacks him with a great spear so that his back broke when he reached the fairy mound. Ailill had intercourse with the girl. While he was so engaged the woman sucked his ear so that she left neither flesh nor skin on it and none ever grew on it from that time. So that Ailill Bare-ear is his name since then.'[11]

A poetic example of the story is found in the poem beginning *Iarfaiged nech acaib dam*, perhaps dating to the eleventh century.[12] This version differs from others in providing the detail that Áine cut off Ailill's ear with a knife:

Dolluid co Áne Ailill, ros traíth ⁊ ros tairind; is dachúaid ina gnáis ar sain, ní ar áis acht ar éicin.	'Ailill came to Áne, overpowered her and laid her down; and he had knowledge of her then, not by consent but by force.
Darat Áni scéin d'Ailill, nocor immarbrécc [...]: tall a chlúais deiss dá chind chromm; de ros len Ailill Ólom.	Áne used a knife against Ailill, it was not a lie (?) [...]: she cut the right ear from his crouching head, so that he was called Ailill Bare-Ear.'[13]

As might be expected, the story of the origin of Ailill's epithet is covered in *Cóir Anmann*, both the earlier version, the compilation of which was dated by Sharon Arbuthnot to the latter half of the twelfth century, and the later, expanded version. Arbuthnot dated this later compilation to the thirteenth century, perhaps the first half, although it drew extensively on a wide range of pre-existing sources.[14] Neither version mentions the rape of Áine, while the

[11]Ibid. 38–9 (§3).

[12]The poem is attributed to Cormac mac Cuilennáin (d. 908) in the Book of Leinster, but contains forms which must be later, as its editor, Myles Dillon, pointed out: 'The yew of the disputing sons', *Ériu* 14 (1946), 154–65, at 154.

[13]Ibid. 157, 162 (§§11–12).

[14]Sharon Arbuthnot (ed. and trans.), *Cóir Anmann: A Late Middle Irish Treatise on Personal Names*, 2 vols, ITS 59–60 (London 2005–7), i, 60–72.

later version presents her stripping of Ailill's ear as an act of revenge for her father Éogabal's death:

> ***Cóir Anmann*, earlier version:**
> Ailill Ul*om*: ar ni raibe craiceann na feoil f*or*a cluais iarna lomad do Aine ingin Eoghabail. *Nó* Aulom .i. aula lom .i. lom-aula .i. a righdai gan fial tairisi ara beodacht.
>
> 'Ailill Ólom [< *ó* "ear" + *lom* "bare"]: for there was neither skin nor flesh on his ear after it was stripped by Áine daughter of Eogabal. Or Aulom [< *aula* (Lat.) "palace" + *lom* "bare"], i.e. a bare palace, i.e. bare-palace, i.e. his palace had no covering over it because of his vigour.'[15]

> ***Cóir Anmann*, later version:**
> Oilill Ól*om*: cidh 'ma n-apur fris? Ni *ansa*. Ar ní roibhe croicinn na feóil f*or*a chlúais íarna lomadh d'Áine ingin Eogabhail a nDruim Eogham*uil*. Ina chodl*ad* da*no* ro bhoí Oilill in tan rus lom an i*ngen* a ó f*or*a chinn. – Ar nír ḟág an i*ngen* día chlúais f*or* Oilill *acht* colum na cluaissi namá. – Dúiscis Oil*ill* iar sin asa chodl*ad* ⁊ do airigh g*o* mór a ó arna lomadh dond i*ngin*. *Ocus* ba hannsum lais. Isb*er*t Oil*ill*: 'Is ger in póg sin, a i*ngen*,' ar Oil*ill*, 'as lom do ḟagais mo ó f*or*mo chinn.' Isb*er*t Aine fri hOil*ill*: 'Do mharbhaisi mh'ath*air*si ano*cht*, a Oil*ill*,' or Áine, '.i. Eogab*al* Sídhach, ocus ag sin mo chuitsi do dhighail mh'ath*ar* fort, a Oil*ill*,' or Áine, '⁊ bid ainm sloinnti duit co brath Oil*ill* Ólom.' Cona[d] dé sin ro lil Oil*ill* Ol*om* dé. Nó Oil*ill* Aulom .i. aula reigis .i. ríghthech ind rígh .i. lom a aula .i. a righduí .i. a ríthech. Ar ní roibhe fíal tairis ara bheóda*cht* .i. ní roibhe fál na cumdach timcholl a thighi ara omhan la cách.
>
> 'Ailill Ólom [< *ó* "ear" + *lom* "bare"]: why is he so called? It is not difficult. For there was neither skin nor flesh on his ear after it had been stripped by Áine daughter of Eogabal in Druim nEogabuil. Ailill had been asleep when the girl stripped his ear on his head. – For the girl left nothing of Ailill's ear but only the sinew of the ear. – Afterwards Ailill awoke from his sleep and he perceived clearly that his ear had been stripped by the girl. And he took it very hard. Ailill said: "That kiss was sharp, girl. You have left my ear bare on my head." Áine said to Ailill: "Ailill, you killed my father tonight, i.e. Eogabal Sídach, and there is my revenge on you for my father, Ailill, and the name that signifies you for ever will be Ailill Ólom." That is why [the name] Ailill Ólom stuck to him. Or Ailill Aulom [< *aula* (Lat.)

[15]Ibid. 80–1, 120–1 (§2).

> "palace" + *lom* "bare"], i.e. *aula regis*, i.e. the palace of the king, i.e. his palace was bare, i.e. his royal dwelling, i.e. his royal house. For there was no covering over it because of his vigour, i.e. there was neither enclosure nor construction around his house because everyone was afraid of him.'[16]

T. F. O'Rahilly was sceptical of the antiquity of the story of Ailill's rape of Áine, and was of the opinion was that it was 'invented primarily with the object of accounting for Ailill's epithet *aulomm*, "bare-eared", and secondarily in order to explain how enmity, engineered by Áine, arose between Lugaid and Ailill's son, Eógan'.[17] He pointed to Gilla Mo-Dutu's contrary description of Áine as *ben d'Ailill* 'wife of Ailill' in the metrical *Banṡenchas*;[18] the prose *Banṡenchas* also describes her as such.[19]

Despite Ailill's impeccable connection with the Éoganachta in the medieval genealogical tradition (as father of the eponymous Éogan), O'Rahilly argued that he was in fact 'taken over from the traditions of the Érainn',[20] who included the Corcu Loígde, who had enjoyed a significant degree of power in Munster before their displacement by the Éoganachta by the seventh century,[21] and to whom belonged Lugaid Mac Con. O'Rahilly also noted 'a strong tendency among the genealogists to expand an uncommon mythical name by prefixing to it another name of a common type, to which it is placed in apposition,' and cited 'Ailill' Áulomm as an example of this practice;[22] he pointed out that in the version of the story of the expulsion of the Déssi that is also found within the Laud genealogical tract, Ailill's descendants are referred to not as **clanna Ailella* (*Auluim*) but as *Clanna Auluim*.[23] This designation *Clanna Auluim* is also found in *Scéla Moṡauluim*.[24] That *Áulomm* was in origin a personal name,

[16]Arbuthnot, *Cóir Anmann*, ii, 12–13, 88–9 (§41). The following entry (§42), which is concerned with the name *Ailill*, etymologising it as *ail* 'blemish' + *oll* 'great', also makes reference to Ailill's bare ear, as one of three blemishes that he suffered as a result of his encounter with Áine. The other two blemishes were a black tooth (poisoned by his spear, which had been bent by a stone after having transfixed Áine, as he tried to straighten it with his tooth), and the foulness of his breath that resulted from the poisoning of his tooth.

[17]T. F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin, 1946), 289 n. 6.

[18]Ibid.; see Margaret C. Dobbs (ed. and trans.), 'The Ban-shenchas', *RC* 47 (1930), 283–339; *RC* 48 (1931), 163–233; *RC* 49 (1932), 437–89; this passage is at *RC* 47, 300.

[19]*Fa bean fos do Oilill .i. Aine ingen Fhir Hi m. Eogabail* (Dobbs, 'The Ban-shenchas', *RC* 48, 212).

[20]O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, 289.

[21]See, for example, Francis John Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* (Oxford, 1973; second ed. Dublin, 2001), 180–1; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Corcu Loígde: land and families', in Patrick O'Flanagan and Cornelius G. Buttimer (eds), *Cork: History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1993), 63–81, at 63; Thomas Charles-Edwards, 'Nations and kingdoms: a view from above', in T. M. Charles-Edwards (ed.), *After Rome* (Oxford, 2003), 23–58, at 33.

[22]O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, 53.

[23]Ibid. 53 n. 2; Kuno Meyer (ed.), 'The Expulsion of the Déssi', *Ériu* 3 (1907), 135–42, at 140.162–4.

[24]O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, 74.518 (*la clanna Auluim*), 74.520 (*la maccu Auluim*). These examples occur in a similar context to that of the passage from 'The Expulsion of

and not an epithet, may also be indicated by the presence in the genealogies of other characters so called, such as a son of Fergus mac Rossa, from whom were named Dál nÁuluim(m).[25] Áulomm mac Fergusa was also associated with an ear injury:

> D'ōenbreith ructha Ōlom ⁊ Conrī dā mac Fergusa ⁊ is amlaid [rucad] Conrī ⁊ clūas Āulaim ina bēolu īarna tescad de.[26]
>
> 'Áulomm and Conrí, two sons of Fergus, were born in a single birth and it is thus that Conrí was born: with Áulomm's ear in his mouth, having severed it from him.'

Ailill Áulomm is, however, only fairly rarely referred to in surviving sources by the second element of that name alone. With the exception of the usage in 'The Expulsion of the Déssi' just noted, and a couple of other exceptions which will be mentioned below, *Scéla Mošauluim* stands out from other sources concerned with Ailill Áulomm in its absolute use of the second onomastic element. There is, however, variation in how Ailill Áulomm is named in *Scéla Mošauluim*. *Ailill* alone is most common, being found nineteen times in all, with a fairly even distribution throughout the text. *Ailill Aulum* is only found once, in the section of the text that describes the arrangement that allegedly obtained between the Dáirḟine and the Dergthine (also called *clanna* or *maic Auluim*, as mentioned above), whereby they would each hold the kingship and judgeship of Leinster and Munster alternately.[27] There are various indications in *Scéla Mošauluim* as a whole of its composite nature (as there are, indeed, in the Laud genealogical tract of which it is a part), and this particular section seems to stand apart from the general thrust of the narrative.[28] Moreover, an

---

the Déssi' referred to above, i.e. an account of the kingship/judgeship alternation between the Dergthine and Dáirḟine, from whom the Eóganacht and Corcu Loígde, respectively, proceeded.

[25]O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, 279 (157, 29–30); Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Mór na nGenelach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies Compiled (1644–66) by Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh*, 5 vols (Dublin, 2003), ii, 346 (§502.14). Dál nUlaim is given as a branch of Clanna Fergusa in *Senchas Síl Ír*, which also, however, lists one Cú Coirpe Auluimb as a descendant of the same Fergus: Margaret E. Dobbs, 'The history of the descendants of Ir', *ZCP* 14 (1923), 44–144 at 48. Interestingly, the *Vita Tripartita* tells us that the tributary peoples subject to the Uí Amalgada (a gloss refers to these peoples as *senchenéla*) refused to accept as ruler a king with a nickname (*forainm*): Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick, with Other Documents Relating to that Saint*, 2 vols (London, 1887), i, 126.20–2, 127; Kathleen Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick* (Dublin, 1939), 79.1454–80.1456.

[26]Meyer, 'The Laud genealogies', 332; my translation. Cf. O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, 279 (157, 31).

[27]See n. 24 above. The occurrence of *Ailill Aulum* is at O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, 74.517.

[28]We may note Margaret E. Dobbs's comments in this regard: 'From this and other evidence the earliest authority for Mac Con's story, Scela Mos Auluim, is, I think, a compilation from at least four different sources which of course may go back much earlier than the tenth century. I think the editor found a tract on Dáre Doimthech, etc., and added to it a tract on Mac Con's quarrel with Ailill, then a short paragraph on the battle of Mucrima, lastly a full account of Mac Con's death' ('Who was Lugaid Mac Con', *JRSAI* 20/2 (1930), 165–87, at 181).

analogue of this particular section, the only one containing the collocation *Ailill Aulum*, is found elsewhere.[29] It would seem quite plausible, therefore, that the isolated use of *Ailill Aulum* in this section has been inherited from a source other than those which were used for the rest of the story. Throughout the rest of the text, *Mośaulum*, and not *Aulum*, is the only form of the second onomastic element found, whether used alone (six times, three of which are in verse), or in collocation with the name *Ailill* (five times).[30]

As far as I have been able to establish, *Scéla Mośauluim* is the only place in which *Mośaulum* (with *-ṡ-*) as a form of Ailill's epithet is found. We may compare a quatrain which is found in *Scéla Mośauluim* but also, in slightly different form, elsewhere:

Scéla Mośauluim

Mairg dam-sa indíu, mairg do C*h*líu
fo-fríth Fer Hí ina híu,
conid apath Art m*a*c Cuind
⁊ *secht* m*ai*c Mośauluim.

'Woe to me today, woe to Clíu,
that Fer hÍ was found in his yew-tree,
so that Art son of Cond
and the seven sons of Mośaulum died.'[31]

Cath Maige Mucrama

Mairg dam-sa de, mairgg do Chlíu,
dia fríth Fer Fíth inna íu;
is de do-cer Art m*a*c Cuind
⁊ uii. m*ei*c MoÁuluim.[32]

Aided Meic Con

Mairg damsa, a Dé, mairg do Chlíu,
dia fríth Fer Fí ina dí[u]
is de ro bí Art mac Cuind
la secht maccu Mo Úlaim.[33]

Moreover, apart from one other possible (though I think doubtful) exception, discussed below, the last line in this quatrain in *Cath Maige Mucrama* and *Aided Meic Con* is, as far as I am aware, the only place, other than *Scéla Mośauluim*, in which Ailill Áulomm is referred to by his usual epithet *Áulomm* preceded by *Mo-* only, and not by *Ailill*. Even when Ailill is mentioned in other parts of the Laud genealogical tract, his epithet, when given, always has the form *Áulu(i)m*/*Ōlum*. In secondary literature, *Mośaulum* would seem simply to be taken as a variant of these forms, presumably incorporating a first person singular possessive, such as is found in hypocoristic name-forms. This appears to be how M. A. O'Brien took it, or at least his inclusion of *Mo Ṡaulom* in a list of hypocoristic names beginning with *Mo-*/*Do-* is the nearest I have come across to this being explicitly suggested.[34] The versions of the quatrain cited above from *Cath Maige Mucrama* and *Aided Meic Con* would seem to suggest that the name was understood there to contain a first person singular possessive.

[29]See n. 24 above. Cf. O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, 190 (147 b 11–16).

[30]My figures differ slightly from those given by O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, 11.

[31]O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, 78–9 (§7).

[32]Ibid. 58 (§62).

[33]Myles Dillon (ed. and trans.), 'The Death of Mac Con', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 60/2 (1945), 340–5, at 342 (§4); translation at 344.

[34]Rolf Baumgarten (ed.), 'Old Irish personal names: M. A. O'Brien's 'Rhŷs Lecture' – Notes, 1957', *Celtica* 10 (1973), 211–36, at 220. In a note to O'Brien's list, Baumgarten remarked that the second elements of the names *Mo Femis*, *Me Druí*, and *Mo Ṡaulom* 'are not themselves hypocoristic formations' (n. 17), unlike the other hypocorisms listed.

Is, then, *Mośaulum* simply a variant of *Moaulum*? The variation between a form with *-ś-* and one without would seem to me somewhat unusual, although we may note at least one possible parallel in the various hypocoristic forms of St Sárán's name, such as *Mośacra*, *Moacra*, *Doacra*, *Momacra*, *Tacra*, among others,[35] where, however, the *s* is certainly radical. As Baumgarten noted, however,[36] even if we take *Mo-* as a hypocoristic prefix, *-(ś)aulum* would not seem to display typical features of hypocoristic name-formation, such as shortening, suffixation, gemination of consonants, or palatalisation.[37] Paul Russell has described hypocoristic names incorporating the prefix *Mo-* as 'markedly ecclesiastical';[38] in surviving texts, when *Mo* precedes a proper name in non-ecclesiastical contexts, it is predominantly found in vocative position.[39] We may further note that the quatrain cited above is put into the mouth of Sadb, Ailill's wife, and so the possessive in this particular context may have a true genitival/possesssive or honorific function. On the other hand, in a comment made at the presentation of a previous version of this paper at the Fourteenth International Congress of Celtic Studies, Maynooth, in 2011, Donnchadh Ó Corráin suggested that non-ecclesiastical hypocorisms may have been more common than surviving sources indicate. An interesting parallel may be presented by the example of a Leinster king, Muiredach Sníthe, the second element of whose name is also found in seemingly hypocoristic form, Muiredach Mo-Ṡníthech.[40]

Returning to the quatrain cited from various sources above: while *Scéla Mośauluim* is generally considered to be the earliest of the three tales that contain it, Margaret Dobbs was of the opinion that the quatrain was in existence before the compilation of *Scéla Mośauluim*.[41] Which of these, then,

[35]Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin, 2011), 498–9 s.v. *Moshagra*. *Mosacra* appears in the list of guarantors of *Cáin Adomnáin*, and Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha noted variant forms of this name, 'The guarantor list of *Cáin Adomnáin*, 697', *Peritia* 1 (1982), 178–215, at 180, 189 and 189 n. 1.

[36]See n. 34 above.

[37]See the discussion in Paul Russell, 'Patterns of hypocorism in early Irish hagiography' in John Carey, Máire Herbert and Pádraig Ó Riain (eds), *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars* (Dublin, 2001), 237–49, at 245–6.

[38]Ibid. 243.

[39]Joseph Vendryes noted the examples *(a) mo Nere* from *Audacht Morainn*, and *a mo phopa Laíg* from *Táin Bó Cúailnge* ('Sur le hypocoristiques celtiques', *EC* 2 (1937), 254–68, at 258), to which more could be added, including *mo Luigid Luigde* from *Scéla Mośauluim* itself (O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, 76.562). See also Rolf Baumgarten, 'The syntax of Irish *ar marb*, *ar mbeo*: *ar mairb*, *ar mbí*', *Ériu* 40 (1989), 99–112, at 101–2.

[40]He is called *Muiredach Snīthe* in the genealogies of Uí Bairrche, where it is also stated that *robo rí hÉrenn Muiredach Snī*the (O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, 47 (121 ab 54, b 1–3)), citing Laidcenn mac Bairceda's poem *Nídu dír dermait*, in which Muiredach is referred to as *Muiredach Mo-Snīthech* (ibid. 9 (116 c 44)). This would seem to involve the rather uncommon hypocoristic suffixation of *-ach*, although Paul Russell notes that hypocorisms using this suffix are not found in combination with the prefixation of *Mo-/To-* (Russell, 'Patterns of hypocorism', 245). Although the final syllable of *Sníthe* is denoted by a suspension stroke in the references given above, and could therefore theoretically be rendered *Sníthech*, *Snīthe/Snīthi* is found written *plene* elsewhere (e.g. O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, 50–1 (122 a 2, 18), 335 (311 ab 60); Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson B. 502 f. 48ra49).

[41]Dobbs, 'Who was Lugaid mac Con?', 181.

preserves the better reading? Myles Dillon suggested that the compiler of *Cath Maige Mucrama* may have drawn on a source now represented by *Aided Meic Con*,[42] in which case we need not think of them as two independent witnesses. If so, however, that source is not represented flawlessly in *Aided Meic Con*, since *ina dí*[*u*] in the second line of that version would seem to be an error not found in *Cath Maige Mucrama*. The variants in the third line (*-apath* / *do-cer* / *ro bí*) do not really help in ascertaining the earliest version of the quatrain, and while the form of Ailill's alias in *Aided Meic Con* and *Cath Maige Mucrama* reflects the general attestation of his epithet across early Irish material at large (i.e. Ailill Áulomm), it may be a *lectio facilior*. There is good cause, therefore, to take the form in *Scéla Mośauluim* as genuine.

If we were to interpret this form, *Mośaulum*, as containing a possessive, then that which is possessed is not *Aulum* but *Saulum*. In that case, the lenition on the *s* (which is clear in the manuscript) presumably indicates the beginning of either another word or the second element of a compound beginning with *s*-.[43] Therefore, whether we see a possessive in this form or not, we should not expect to find its explanation in the 'bare ear' etymology. Indeed, this etymology may not necessarily be giving us the true origin of *Áulomm* either. Investigation of this question is beyond the scope of this paper, but it seems to me that there are other words that might be read in the first syllable of the compound, the vocalism of which varies considerably: *ól* 'drink',[44] *oí* 'sheep', *óal* 'cheek', *ul* 'beard', or, as David Sproule suggested, *áue* 'descendant',[45] may be other possible contenders. We should also bear in mind the phenomenon of 'change of form or spelling of names through popular etymology', pointed to by Rolf Baumgarten as a subject worthy of more scholarly attention.[46]

There is a detail in the later version of *Cóir Anmann*, in an entry mentioned in passing above (n. 16), which is worth considering here:

> Tri haithisi Oil*ell*a sin gein bhoí a mbiú. Is aire adubhr*ad* Ail*ill* fris .i. ail oll .i. is oll in ail fil f*or*sin fer. Ail*ill* Ólom a ainm iar sin la cách. Mass m*a*c Moga Nu*adat* a ainm gó sin.
>
> 'Those were Ailill's three blemishes for the rest of his life. For that reason he was called Ailill, i.e. great blemish, i.e. great is the man's blemish. Everyone called him Ailill Ólom after that. Until then his name had been Mass son of Mug Nuadat.'[47]

[42]Dillon, 'The Death of Mac Con', 340.

[43]Lenited *-s-* disappeared in intervocalic medial position (*GOI* 84 (§131)), and it could hardly mark the end of the first element of a compound here, as only faint traces of final lenited *-s* can be discerned even in the earliest Irish (*GOI l.c.* and 150–3 (§§240–3)).

[44]For a discussion of this element in the name *Ólchobar*, see Calvert Watkins, 'Varia. II', *Ériu* 19 (1962), 114–18, at 115–16.

[45]David Sproule, 'Politics and pure narrative in the stories about Corc of Cashel', *Ériu* 36 (1985), 11–28, at 13 n. 13.

[46]Baumgarten, 'Old Irish personal names', 213.

[47]Arbuthnot, *Cóir Anmann*, ii, 13, 89 (§42).

In her edition, Sharon Arbuthnot suggests that the name *Mass* is the word meaning 'fine, handsome', and that 'the purpose of mentioning the name at this point is probably to contrast Ailill Ólom's former state with that after his encounter with Áine.'[48] Keating was also of the opinion that Ailill had another name formerly, but according to him, that name was not Mass, but Óengus:

> Aonghus fá hainm ar dtús d'Oilill Ólom agus is uime tugadh Oilill Ólom air, feis do rinne sé ré hÁine inghin Eoghabhail agus ar mbeith 'n-a codladh i bhfochair Oiliolla dhi do chreim sí a chluais ó n-a cheann i ndíoghail a héignighthe agus a hathar do mharbhadh dhó. Gonadh tríd sin ghairthear Oillill Ólom .i. cluaslom dhe.
>
> 'Oilill Olom's first name was Aonghus, and he was called Oilill Olom because he had intercourse with Aine daughter of Eoghabhal, and as she slept with Oilill she bit his ear off his head in retribution for his rape of her and for his having slain her father. Hence he was called Oilill Olom, that is ear-cropped.'[49]

I have not been able to find other instances of these names applied to Ailill, and of course great caution must be exercised when relating the evidence of these sources to a period which is so much earlier than either of them; it is interesting nevertheless to see that there may have been some kind of tradition that Ailill Áulomm was not always so called. The acquisition of new names was not unusual.[50] Could the *Mass* of *Cóir Anmann* have derived from a metanalysis of something like *Maṡaulom*, whereby the boundary between the elements was judged to come after, rather than before, the *s*? It would not otherwise seem to have been a common name, to judge by the single instance recorded by O'Brien (from the genealogies of the Osraige), where, however, manuscript copies seem to differ as to whether *Mas* is to be taken as an element of a name, or as a personal name in itself:

> **Rawlinson B. 502:**
> Cōic m*eic* Droīdo m*eic* Buai*n*: Daig, Māl, Fothud, *Con*chob*o*r Mas, C*r*imth*ann*.
>
> **Book of Leinster:**
> Cōic m*eic* Dróida m*eic* Buai*n*: Daig, Māl, Fothaid *Conch*end, Mas-c*r*imthand.

[48]Ibid. 161.

[49]David Comyn and Patrick S. Dinneen (ed. and trans.), *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn: The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating D.D.*, 4 vols, ITS 4, 8, 9, 15 (London, 1901–14), ii, 280–1.

[50]Russell, 'Patterns of hypocorism', 240, observes that 'there is plenty of evidence for individuals having different names at different stages of their lives, names which can in no way be claimed to be formally related', and that '[t]he idea that a different name from the one given at birth could be acquired during one's lifetime is familiar ... In a number of cases it would seem that the later a name was acquired the more perspicuous it is likely to be. In Irish terms that often means the more prone it is to be etymologised' (ibid. 241).

Book of Lecan:
Cōic m*eic* Drodai m*eic* Buai*n*: Daig, Māl, Fot*h*ad coinchean*n* ⁊ Mas ⁊ C*r*imth*ann*.[51]

The apparent confusion between the manuscript copies of the genealogy may reflect uncertainty about a naming element that had fallen out of use or was unfamiliar.[52] Another possibility is that *Mas(s)* is a variant of the more common name-element *mess* 'fosterling', which is sometimes found with non-palatal initial *M-*; the population name Dál Messe-Corb, for example, is also found as Dál Mos-Corb.[53] Such a variant could presumably only arise if *Mess* was understood as being in composition with the name following it, a later development, according to *DIL*.[54] This element may have been what Margaret Dobbs had in mind when she rendered the title of our story 'Scela Mos Auluim'.[55]

In his study of the early political history of Munster, Liam Ó Buachalla made some interesting observations about the naming practices of Munster peoples from the fifth to the early seventh century. He distinguished between two groups: Group A, comprising 'leading Goidelic septs', including the Éoganachta, and Group B, comprising 'leading vassal septs', including the Ciarraige and Múscraige, but also the Osraige, who were regarded as a free people.[56] One of Ó Buachalla's observations was that there tends to be great diversity among the surviving personal names in Group B, with very many names occuring only once in our records; in Group A, on the other hand, he noted the marked popularity of certain names, which account for a significant number of members of this group during this period. Many of these popular Group A names are also prominent in mythical or legendary contexts, unlike the vast majority of those from Group B.[57] Ó Buachalla points to a resemblance between Group B naming patterns and those of 'the ruling families of Wales in the early centuries', and argues that naming traditions among Group B peoples are an inheritance from 'the period before the Irish peoples of Brittonic origin had separated from the parent stock in Britain'.[58]

[51]O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, 103 (128 b 53).

[52]The genealogies of the saints, however, record two bearers of what may be a diminutive form of the name, *Massán*: see Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1985), 139 (§706.13), 145 (§707.403), 156 (§709.26), 158 (§710.48).

[53]O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, 191 (147 b 27): *Mos-Corb ut quidam putant* (Book of Leinster); R.A.S. Macalister (ed.), *Lebor Gabála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, 5 vols, ITS 34, 35, 39, 41, 44 (London, 1938–56), v, 101–2 (§467): *O Eber autem Dal Mes* (v.l. *Mos*) *Corp*; Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, i, xxxiii–xxxiv: *[L]oech amnas robái do Dáil Mosscorp Laigen*.

[54]*DIL* s.v. 3 *mes(s)*.

[55]See n. 28 above.

[56]Liam Ó Buachalla, 'Contributions towards the political history of Munster, 450–800 A.D. (Early Munster personal name-systems)', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 61 (1956), 89–102, at 89–90.

[57]Ibid. 91–3, 95.

[58]Ibid. 95–8.

Whatever about what these names can tell us about the prehistoric origins of these peoples, many Group B names, as identified by Ó Buachalla, do seem distinctive, or even exotic, when compared to the more common and familiar Group A names – from this remove at least. This makes one wonder whether, for example, the element *Mo-*/*Me-*/*Ma-* as found at the beginning of some names, and especially names from Ó Buachalla's Group B peoples, is in fact not the possessive adjective at all, although, like the latter, it appears to be unstressed, to go by the variation in the vowel and syncope in forms like *Corcomruad* < *Corcu M'druad* < *Me-druí*. M. A. O'Brien included in his list of hypocoristic names beginning with the possessives *Mo-*/*Do-* three – *Mo Femis*, *Me Druí* and *Mo Ṡaulom* – which differ from the others in his list in that the second elements are not hypocoristic formations, as Baumgarten pointed out.[59] All three of these names may be found among the pedigrees of peoples in Ó Buachalla's Group B, those of prehistoric Munster before the emergence of the Éoganachta, and often display variation in spelling: *Me Druí*, for example, is often spelt *Ma Druí*, although I am not aware of any attestation of the name in the nominative with the normal spelling of the possessive *Mo*; it is however sometimes found in the genitive, as in *Corca Mo Druad* (*uel sim*).[60] Baumgarten also alludes to variant spellings of another of the three names, *Mo Ṡaulom*, including without lenition (*Ma-Saulomm*) and without the lenited *s* altogether (*M'Aulom*).[61] Here, then, is a name which should give us pause for thought.

Mo Ṡaulom/Ma-Saulomm/M'Aulom was not a common name by any means, to judge by surviving records; the only instance of it that I have found is in the pedigrees of the Ciarraige Luachra. I give below occurrences of the name (in bold) from O'Brien's edition of the genealogies:

> ... m. Cuilind m. **Ma-Saulim** m. Mese-*Chon* m. Saula m. Moga-Air*r*tt q*u*i d*icitu*r Cia*r* ...[62]
> ... m. Moc*h*on m. **M'Ōluim** m. Messe-c*h*on m. Moga-Ai*r*t ...[63]
> ... m. Moc*h*on m. **M'Aulai*m*** m. Meso-c*h*on m. Saulo m. Moga-Ai*r*t ...[64]
> ... m. Mochon m. **Saulim** m. Messe-chon m. Saulo m. Mogo-Airtt ...[65]

[59]Baumgarten, 'Old Irish personal names', 220. See n. 34 above.

[60]E.g. O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, 157, 35; *AU* 705.2; Charles Plummer (ed. and trans.), *Bethada Náem nÉrenn*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1922), i, 90 (§192); J. Fraser, P. Grosjean and J. G. O'Keeffe (eds), *Irish Texts* I (London, 1931), 19 (§7), 21 (§13); T. Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach maraon le Suim Aguisíní* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1940), 116.

[61]Baumgarten, 'Old Irish personal names', 220 n. 17.

[62]O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, 287 (158, 45), from Rawlinson B. 502. Variant readings are *Mesa-Ului*m (Book of Lecan) and *Neasa Ulai*m (Book of Ballymote).

[63]Ibid. 391 (327 c 61), from the Book of Leinster.

[64]Ibid. 427 (336 f 1), from the Book of Leinster.

[65]Ibid. 254 (154 d 35), from Rawlinson B. 502. The Book of Lecan reads *Mesaului*m.

This same character appears in the saints' genealogies also, again with variation in the form of his name:

> Mochuta Lis Moir m. Finaill ... ~ 5 ~ ... m. Mencon m. **Aulaim** m. Meschon m. Sula m. Moga Airt ...[66]
> Ciar m. Ambrit m. Imchada m. Mochon m. **Saulim** m. Eschon m. Saulo m. Moga Airt ...[67]
> Cammine m. Colmain ... ~ 4 ~ ... m. Mochon m. **Saulim** m. Eschon m. Saulo m. Moga Airt ...[68]
> Epscop Lugach i Cúil Bennchair m. Lugdach ... ~ 10 ~ ... m. Mochon m. **Saulim** m. Meschon m. Etechta m. Saulo m. Moga Airt ...[69]

I mentioned above that apart from the quatrains cited from *Cath Maige Mucrama* and *Aided Meic Con,* I have found only one other possible instance of the use of *Mo(ṡ)aulum* alone, uncollocated with *Ailill*, but which has been understood as referring to Ailill Áulomm. I would like to briefly address this instance now. As the first pedigree of the set just cited claims, St Carthach (Mochuta) was a descendant of Aulam mac Meschon. The story of the expulsion of Mochuta from Rahan includes a quatrain containing a form like *Mo(ṡ)aulum*:

Mochutta *con*a chlamhraidh	'Mochuda and his leper band
D'in*narbadh* a Rathai*n* roglai*n*;	Expelled from fair Rahen;
F*or*bais doibh ar clan*n*aib Cuin*n*	An encampment by them against Conn's clans
Tarr*aid* do siol Muoluim.	Came to the seed of Muolom.'[70]

In the light of Mochuta's pedigree, it is perhaps more likely that this *Muolum* refers to this Ciarraige ancestor than to Ailill Áulomm, as Plummer had thought.[71] This may present further evidence with regard to the placename *Ager Eolum*, found in the Latin Life of Mochuta, which was identified with Gortaleen in p. Kilgarrylander, bar. Trughanacmy, Co. Kerry by Plummer.[72] Although Donnchadh Ó Corráin questions the basis of the identification with Gortaleen, he has argued for a connection between the area around Trughanacmy and Corcu Auluim, a population group with associations with Ciarraige Luachra, and has suggested that the element *Eolum* in

[66]Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 21–2 (§126).

[67]Ibid. 23 (§134).

[68]Ibid. 47 (§290.2). Variant readings are *Saluluim* (Book of Ballymote) and *Masaulim* (Leabhar Breac).

[69]Ibid. 48 (§295). Variant readings are *Masaulaim* (Leabhar Breac) and *Ulain* (TCD MS H.2.17 (1319)).

[70]Plummer, *Bethada Náem nÉrenn*, i, 302; ii, 293 (= *Indarba Mo-Chuta a Raithin*). This quatrain and another accompanying it are concerned with the 'three crooked counsels' of Leth Cuinn, one of which was Mochuta's banishment. Plummer's translation may perhaps be amended, therefore: the copy in the Book of Fermoy shows a length mark on the second syllable of *forbais*, and might be better translated 'great foolishness'.

[71]Ibid. ii, 359.

[72]Charles Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1910), ii, 327.

Ager Eolum recalls their name.[73] It was perhaps Mochuta's Ciarraige ancestor, who appears variously in the pedigrees cited above as *Saulim*, *Ma-Saulim*, *Aula(i)m*, *M'Aula(i)m*, whose name is preserved in the population name *Corcu Auluim*, although elsewhere their descent is traced to Corb Áulomm, son of Fergus mac Róig.[74]

Similar variation is found in Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh's genealogies of Ciarraige:

> Conchabar m. Seaáin ... ~ 33 ~ … m. Mochuine m. **Auluim (no Oluim)** m. Mesi Con m. Saula m. Mogha Airt …[75]
> Caimin m*a*c Colman ... ~ 4 ~... mc Mocon mc **Mosauluim** mc Measchon m. Measamuin mc Mogha Airt ..[76]
> Mo-C*h*uda … ~ 6 ~ ... m. Mencon m. **Auluim** m. Measchon m. Saula m. Mogha Airt ...[77]
> E*asbog* Lugdach i cCúil Bheannchuir m. Lugdhoch ... ~ 10 ~ ... mc Mochon mc **Mosaul*aim*h** m. Mesicon mc Ech*ac*hda mec **Mosaul*aim*h** m. Mogha Airt .i. Cíar.[78]

We might also note the brief entry on Dál Máthrach, presented by Mac Fhir Bhisigh as one of the *forśloinnti* 'alien families' of Ireland, and elsewhere in genealogical tradition as a branch of Clann Ébir:

> Dál Mathrach .i. Math*rí* m*a*c **Muhaulaim** Gabam.[79]

Here, the father of the eponymous ancestor Mathrí is named as *Muhaulam Gabam/Gabann*. Ailill Áulomm was also reputed to have had a son called Mathrach, who, we are told, died at the Battle of Mag Mucrama, along with most of his brothers, and left no heirs.[80] 'The Expulsion of the Déssi' in the Laud genealogical tract, however, seems to identify the eponym of Dál Máthrach with Ailill Áulomm's son:

> Coica do trí maccaib Mathrach m*ai*c Ailella Auluim, ingen Ḟirgair a mathair, diata Dal Mathrach.[81]

[73]Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Onomata', *Ériu* 30 (1979), 165–80, at 176–8.

[74]O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, 321 (161 b 30); cf. Ó Corráin, 'Onomata', 176–7. There is likely to have been conflation in the genealogical record between Corb Áulomm, eponym of Corcu Auluim, and Áulomm son of Fergus mac Rossa, eponym of Dál nÁuluim (see above nn. 25–6).

[75]Ó Muraíle , *Leabhar Mór na nGenelach*, ii, 494 (§572.1).

[76]Ibid. ii, 746 (§727.21).

[77]Ibid. ii, 750 (§729.2).

[78]Ibid. ii, 760 (§733.12).

[79]Ibid. iii, 62 (§782.8). Mac Fhir Bhisigh's *Cuimre* has *Math*rí *mac Muhaulaim Gabann* (ibid. iii, 356 (§1024.1)), while the genealogical compilation titled *De Ḟorślointib hÉrend* has *Mathri mac Mu hAulaim Gabair* (Margaret E. Dobbs (ed.), 'Miscellany from H. 2. 7. (T. C. D.)', *ZCP* 21 (1940), 307–18, at 313).

[80]O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, 192–3 (147 b 40, 43–4, 53).

[81]Meyer, 'The Expulsion', 139.141–2; my translation. The version in Rawlinson B. 502 omits some text here due to a scribal slip; see Kuno Meyer, 'The Expulsion of the Dessi', *Y Cymmrodor* 14 (1901), 101–35, at 128 and n. 10.

> 'Fifty (men) of the three sons of Máthri, son of Ailill Áulomm – Fer Gair's daughter was their mother – from whom are the Dál Máthrach.'

It will be noticed that much of the genealogical material presented here is closely associated with Ciarraige Luachra, one of the main peoples of Ó Buachalla's Group B; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, in his discussion of the Corcu Auluim, pointed out that although references to that group are rare, where they occur, they similarly point to a connection with Ciarraige Luachra.[82] The latter were quite assertive in regard to their rather uneasy relationship with their immediate overlords, Éoganacht Locha Léin, and their perhaps more aspirant one with the kings of Cashel, if we go by, for example, the evidence of the tract known as *The West Munster Synod*, which may date to the eighth or ninth century and which is also found as part of the Laud genealogical tract.[83] This tract describes the rebellion of Ciarraige Luachra and other Munster groups against Éoganacht Locha Léin, the kings of west Munster, and asserts the primacy of the king of Cashel as the only king that these groups would recognise as their overlord. Francis John Byrne describes the text as 'a political manifesto', whose 'real background' lies not in the fictional sixth-century synod it purports to describe, but in a battle between Ciarraige Luachra and Éoganacht Locha Léin in 803.[84]

Might the political context behind the compilation of *The West Munster Synod* have something to tell us about the possibly contemporaneous *Scéla Mośauluim*? Was a political point being made through the literary imposition of a Ciarraige name – in defiance of all other surviving testimony, it seems – on a proto-Éoganacht ancestor? Did the author intend, by doing so, to claim a privileged position for Ciarraige within Munster polity? Or does Ailill's arguably Ciarraige alias suggest another compelling possibility, one that equally, though on a different basis, asserts a special relationship between Ciarraige and the Munster kings: that is, that Ailill had been fostered, or indeed had been born, among the Ciarraige? However, nicknames acquired through fosterage recall the name of the people with whom, or the place in which, the fosterage took place, and surviving examples generally take an adjectival form in *-ach*.[85] This fact, and the preponderance of Ailill's more usual nickname

[82]Ó Corráin, 'Onomata', 176–8.

[83]Text in Meyer, 'The Laud genealogies', 315–17; the text is partly translated and partly paraphrased in Byrne, *Irish Kings*, 216–18. Liam Ó Buachalla puts the compilation of the text no later than the ninth century ('Contributions towards the political history of Munster, 450–800 A. D. (contd.)', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 57 (1952), 67–86, at 78, 80). Thomas Charles-Edwards tends towards the late eighth century (*Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), 522, 549; idem, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, 2 vols (Liverpool, 2006), i, 264 n. 5), while Dáibhí Ó Cróinín concludes that it was 'probably written in its present form during the ninth century, but containing details relating to the earlier period' ('Ireland, 400-800', in D. Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland* I*: Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), 182–234, at 224).

[84]*Early Irish Kings*, 219–20. Cf. Ó Buachalla, 'Contributions towards the political history ... (contd.)', 80; Charles-Edwards, *Chronicle of Ireland*, i, 264 n. 5.

[85]John O'Donovan, *The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin* (Dublin, 1862), 17–18.

Ólomm (regardless of the authenticity or otherwise of its explanation), makes it difficult to propose that *Mośaulum* was the original form of such a nickname, but its discrepancy is surely not without either reason or intent. O'Rahilly's observation about the prefixing of common names to uncommon ones (see n. 22 above) strikes me as most suggestive here, although there is more evidence for *Mośaulum* as a human than as a mythical name. We may never be able to fully get to the bottom of this question, but there would seem to be cause to suspect that this unusual form of the epithet is a clue to the origins of Ailill Áulomm, fortuitously surviving within an otherwise largely homogeneous historical construct.[86]

CLODAGH DOWNEY

National University of Ireland Galway

[86]I would like to thank those who attended the presentation of versions of this paper at the 14th International Congress of Celtic Studies, Maynooth, in 2011, and to the Centre for Antique, Medieval and Pre-Modern Studies (CAMPS), NUI Galway, in 2012, as well as the editors of *Celtica* and an anonymous reader for their helpful comments and suggestions. I am solely responsible for remaining errors and omissions.

SINECH CRÓ, AN MHÁTHAIR CHÍCHE AGUS AN tALTRAMAS IN ÉIRINN SA MHEÁNAOIS[1]

Abstract

The character Sinech Cró appears in the text *Cath Cairn Chonaill*. We are told there that she raised Díarmait mac Áeda Sláine. Her name is an unusual one, the first element of which may be based on the word *sine* 'teat, pap'. Should the name mean 'teated one' it raises questions about the role of the foster mother and whether it involved wet nursing. Seven is often taken as the age at which fosterage began, at which stage a wet nurse would no longer be required. Questions will be raised as to the age at which fosterage began, the nature of that fosterage and the role of the foster mother.

Castar an phearsa Sinech Cró orainn sa scéal *Cath Cairn Chonaill*.[2] Ní thagraítear di, go bhfios dom, lasmuigh den dtéacs so. Deirtear sa chéad líne gur oil sí Díarmait mac Áeda Sláine.[3] Seo mar a chuirtear in aithne dhúinn í:[4] *Diarmait mac Aeda Sláne Sinech Cró rod n-alt* 'Díarmait mac Áeda Sláine, ar altramaigh Sinech Cró é.'[5] Ainm neamhghnách é nár mhiste a bhunús a fhiosrú. Ag iniúchadh a bhrí, ardaítear ceisteanna mar gheall ar an altramas go ginearálta agus ról na máthar altrama go háirithe. Is féidir a áiteamh gur 'í siúd a bhfuil siní uirthi' nó 'an té a tháirgeann bainne' is bunús leis an ainm, agus go bhféadfadh baint a bheith aige le máithreachas cíche. Is minic ráite, áfach, gur ag seacht mbliana a thosnaíodh altramas in Éirinn,[6]

[1]Táim go mór fé chomaoin ag an gComhairle um Thaighde in Éirinn a bhronn scoláireacht orm chun dul i mbun taighde. Gabhaim buíochas leis an Ollamh Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, leis. Léigh sí dréachtaí éagsúla den aiste seo agus phléigh liom iad. Táim buíoch d'eagarthóirí *Celtica* agus den léitheoir seachtrach as a gcuid ceartúchán agus moltaí. Is mise amháin is cúis le pé botúin nó laigí atá fágtha.

[2]Whitley Stokes (eag.), 'The battle of Carn Conaill', *ZCP* 3 (1901), 203–19.

[3]Ba mhac ardrí de shliocht Néill é Díarmait a d'fhás suas le bheith ina ardrí é féin: feic F. J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* (Londain, 1973), 281.

[4]Tá na sleachta ar fad a thógtar as téacsanna meánaoiseacha san fhoirm chéanna ina bhfaightear iad sna heagráin as a dtógtar iad. Seachas lánstad ag deireadh sleachta ní dheinim aon eagarthóireacht. Nuair a bhíonn aistriúchán ag gabháil leis an eagrán tugaim é. Nuair is mise a aistríonn cuirim sin in iúl.

[5]*LU* l. 9568, aist. agam féin. Ní deirtear a thuilleadh linn mar gheall ar an gcaidreamh idir Sinech agus Díarmait. Cuirtear dhá dhán ina béal ina dhiaidh so, ceann ina ngríosann sí Díarmait chun troda ar a son agus an dara ceann á mholadh tar éis an chatha.

[6]Feic, mar shampla, T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), 116; Bart Jaski, 'Cú Chulainn, *gormac* and *dalta* of the Ulstermen', *CMCS* 37 (Samhradh 1999), 1–31, ar 22; L. M. Bitel, *Land of Women: Tales of Sex and Gender from Early Ireland* (Nua-Eabhrac, 1996), 87; J. C. Bledsoe, 'St Ita of Killeedy and spiritual motherhood in the Irish hagiographical tradition', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 32 (2012), 1–29, ar 14; Ute Kühlmann, *Die irische Ziehkindschaft im europäischen Kontext, 7. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Husum, 2017),

 ©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

tráth i bhforbairt an linbh nach mbeadh aon ghá aige le máthair chíche. Tá go leor fianaise gur ag aois i bhfad níb óige a tharlaíodh sé. Gné amháin den bhfianaise sin ná sanasaíocht ainm na mná so.

An tainm *Sinech*

In *DIL* aistrítear an aidiacht *sinech* mar 'having (large) teats or paps'.[7] Go praiticiúil, is léir go bhfuil an tábhacht chéanna, ar a laghad, le cumas na gcíoch bainne a thál is atá len iad a bheith ann ar chor ar bith, dá mhéad iad. Úsáidtear *sinech* i nGluais Uí Dhubh Dá Bhoireann mar mhíniú ar an bhfocal [*s*]*ruaimnec*h *.i. sinec*h nó *sombleoghain* nó *sirsruaimnech* nó *sirsomainec*h nó *sruth sinach* 'having teats, or a good milker, or constantly-streamy, or long-profitable, or a teatful stream.'[8] Is léir go bhfuil i gceist *sinech* a bheith mar shionanaim de na focail eile a liostaítear, agus is fearr focal ar nós 'flowing' a úsáid chun é a aistriú anso, go háirithe an dara huair a luaitear é. Chiallódh sé seo go bhféadfaí an t-aistriúchán amhrasach 'teatful stream' a sheachaint. Is ann fós don aidiacht sa Nua-Ghaeilge, dar ndóigh. I measc na dtéarmaí a sholáthraíonn an Duinníneach tá 'having teats, freely yielding milk'.[9] Úsáidtear é go substainteach i ngluais Shean-Ghaeilge ar an ndlí a bhaineann le tochsal, *Cethairślicht Athgabálae*. Aistríonn eagarthóirí *AL* an tabharthach iolra *se sinechaib*, atá mar ghluais ar *.ui. delechaib*, mar 'six milch cows';[10] aistríonn Neil McLeod é mar 'six uddered beasts [...] "uddered ones", an oblique reference to cattle, in which a characteristic part refers to the whole.'[11] Cuireann *DIL* síos ar an bhfocal *delech* mar 'having udders, milch cow'. Eascraíonn sé seo as an ainmfhocal *dela* 'teat, dug'. Is féidir *dela* a úsáid go fáthchiallach chun cion nó cóngas a chur in iúl.[12]

45–6: táim fé chomaoin ag an Ollamh Ruairí Ó hUiginn a chuir an leabhar so ar m'eolas agus a tharraing m'aird ar chodanna cuí dhe; áitíonn Kühlmann go dtosnaíodh altramas thart ar sheacht mbliana de ghnáth, ach aithníonn sí go raibh cásanna eisceachtúla ann, leis. D'aithin Séamus Ó h-Innse, ar an láimh eile, go dtosnaíodh altramas ana-luath ar fad: '[c]hildren were sent to be fostered at the very earliest age' ('Fosterage in Early and Mediaeval Ireland', tráchtas neamh-fhoilsithe PhD, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath, 1943, 8). Áitíonn Bronagh Ní Chonaill nach amháin go dtosnaíodh altramas ag aois ana-óg ach go mbíodh máithreacha cíche bainteach leis an gcúram, leis: 'Fosterage: child-rearing in medieval Ireland', *History Ireland* 5/1 (Earrach 1997), 28–31, ar 28; glacaim leis go bhfuil a cuid tuairimí bunaithe ar a tráchtas PhD ('The place of the child in medieval Irish and Welsh law': feic https://www.tcd.ie/history/postgraduate/research/theses.php), nach raibh teacht agam air i leabharlann Choláiste na Tríonóide. Ba chuid lárnach de shochaí mheánaoiseach na hÉireann an t-altramas a bhí in úsáid go forleathan ar fud na tíre. Chun léargas ginearálta a fháil air, feic Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1988), 86–91.

[7]*DIL* s.v. 2 *sinech*.

[8]Whitley Stokes (eag.), 'O'Davoren's glossary', in *ACL* ii, 197–504, ar 453.

[9]P. S. Dinneen (eag.), *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla: An Irish-English Dictionary, Being a Thesaurus of the Words, Phrases and Idioms of the Modern Irish Language* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1904, eag. nua 1927), s.v. *sineach*.

[10]*CIH* ii, 353.11; 352.28–9; *AL* i, 66, aist. 67.

[11]Neil McLeod, 'Fergus mac Léti and the law', *Ériu* 61 (2011), 1–28, ar 9–10. Míníonn McLeod níos déanaí (17) gur trí bhó lena dtrí lao atá i gceist.

[12]*DIL* s.vv. *delech* agus 1 *dela*.

D'fhéadfadh an nasc céanna a bheith ag ainm Shinche le cion agus cóngas.[13] B'fhuirist máithreachas cíche a shamhlú mar cheann dá cuid dualgas mar mháthair altrama naíonáin nó naíonán a bheadh féna cúram. Ar an gcuma chéanna a bhronnadh raidhse tuismitheoirí altrama gradam ar leanbh, thugadh a lán deartháireacha agus deirfiúracha altrama i gcéim é, leis.[14] Bheifí ag súil lena leithéid i gcás linbh uasail mar Dhíarmait.[15] Má ráinig gur thug Sinech Cró an chíoch do scata leanaí altrama, is dóichí go mór gur ainmníodh as an gcúram tábhachtach san í.

Ní mór tagairt anois do bhealach eile ar fad chun an chéad eilimint d'ainm Shinche a mhíniú. Mar a tharlaíonn, bhí roinnt naomh ann a raibh Sinech mar ainm orthu. Seo mar a mhíníonn Pádraig Ó Riain é: '[p]robably derived from *sean* "old"'.[16] Más *sen* le foirceann atá ann, bheifí ag súil, de ghnáth, le *-ach* tar éis *n* leathain: 'the synchronic rule for Old Irish is that [the suffix] is spelt *-ach* where the final consonant of the base is non-palatal and *-ech* after bases with a palatal final consonant.'[17] Ar an láimh eile, '[a]lthough the synchronic rule for the distribution of the written forms *-ach* and *-ech* seems to have been as stated above, there are a considerable number of cases where both qualities [...] are attested [...] e.g. *díthach* : *díthech*, *delgnach* : *deilgnech*'.[18] Rud eile dhe, deireann Russell gur minicí fréamhaithe a bheith bunaithe ar ainmfhocail ná ar aidiachtaí.[19] Ní mór glacadh leis, mar sin, ar bhonn teoiriciúil, go bhféadfadh an t-ainmfhocal *sine* 'old age' a bheith i gceist chomh maith céanna le *sine* 'teat, pap'.[20] Is díol suime é, áfach, go raibh baint

[13]Ag easaontú le M. A. O'Brien, 'unlike an ordinary word, the meaning of which can be determined, a name has no meaning', deireann Brian Ó Cuív '[i]t is obvious that when we talk of nouns and adjectives and compounds of these, we cannot ignore the lexical value of the elements in question. That is not to say that such meanings were necessarily attached to the names, although it seems reasonable to believe that at least in the first instance when it was used many a name was meaningful': 'Aspects of Irish personal names', *Celtica* 18 (1986), 151–84, ar 159.

[14]Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, '*Inailt* "foster-sister, fosterling"', *Celtica* 18 (1986), 185–91, ar 188.

[15]Feic, mar shampla, an cur síos ar an bpearsa mhiotaseolaíoch Máel Dúin, duine de cheathrar leanaí altrama a tógadh le chéile: [*r*]*odn-alt íarom óen mumme éseom* ⁊ *tri maic ind ríg i n-óenchliab* ⁊ *for áenchích* ⁊ *for áenchúd* '[n]ow the one fostermother reared him and the king's three sons, in one cradle, and on one breast, and on one lap' (Whitley Stokes (eag.), 'The voyage of Mael Duin', *RC* 9 (1888), 447–95, ar 454, aist. 455). Deireann Bart Jaski gur minic nasc a bheith idir an ghlúin agus altramas: 'Cú Chulainn, *gormac* and *dalta*', 23, roinnt tagairtí 24 n. 93. Is léir ón litríocht gur minic, leis, nasc a bheith idir an chíoch agus altramas.

[16]Pádraig Ó Riain (eag.), *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Baile Átha Cliath, 2011), 563, s.v. *Sineach*. Faightear Senach mar ainm sa Ghaeilge, leis, dar ndóigh. Is dócha, de réir teoirice, go bhféadfaí é a thabhairt ar fhear nó ar bhean ach é a infhilleadh mar *o-* nó mar *ā-*thamhan mar is gá, cosúil leis an ainm Cellach: feic Ó Cuív, 'Aspects of Irish personal names', 157.

[17]Paul Russell, *Celtic Word-Formation: The Velar Suffixes* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1990), 86.

[18]Ibid. Pléadh an t-ainm Sinech ar Twitter, leis (14 Deireadh Fómhair 2016). Deireann @ ChronHib '*Sinach* looks like a variant of *Senach* "old one", but with suffix **-uko-* instead [of] **-ako-*; not [a] very frequent suffix, I think', agus '[a]n alternative: *Sinech* [...] could be an adjective derived from *sine* "teat, pap"': ar fáil ag https://twitter.com/ChronHib/status/787150955867467776 (léite 13 Samhain 2016).

[19]Russell, *Celtic Word-Formation*, 87. Maidir le haidiachtaí a chumtar leis an bhfoirceann *-ach*, ní sholáthraíonn Thurneysen ach samplaí d'ainmfhocail + *-ach*, gan tagairt oiread is uair amháin aige d'aidiacht + *-ach*: *GOI* §347.

[20]*DIL* s.vv. 2 agus 3 *sine*.

ag duine amháin de na ban-naoimh den ainm seo le hoiliúint: *sanctissima uirgo Segnith sub cura sancti patris Abbani sanctas uirgines Deo nutriuit* 'an ógh ríbheannaithe Segnith, a d'oil ógha beannaithe ar son Dé fé chúram an athar cháidh Abbanus.'[21] Tuairimíonn Ó Riain gur truailliú de *Shinech* atá san ainm *Segnith*.[22] Ciallaíonn an briathar *nutrire* 'to suckle, nourish, feed, foster',[23] agus cá bhfios ach go raibh baint ag na ban-naoimh seo le leanaí a oiliúint? Níl dóthain cur amach, áfach, ar an gcúigear eile a luann Ó Riain len é seo a chruthú nó a bhréagnú, ach dealraíonn tromachar na fianaise gur 'teated one, milk producer' is brí leis an ainm.[24]

An cóngas bainne

D'fhéadfadh baint ghinearálta a bheith ag an ainm *Sinech* le deasghnátha an chóngais bhainne, nó 'milk kinship', leis, comhghaol a bhí coitianta i sochaithe ina raibh síolrú bó lárnach sa gheilleagar.[25] Is féidir an cóngas san a bheith bunaithe ar thál litriúil nó ar thál siombalach. Tá an chuma ar an scéal go mbaineann cóngas siombalach bainne leis an sliocht cáiliúil as *Confessio* Phádraig ina ndiúltaíonn an naomh cíocha na mairnéalach a dhiúl agus é ag iarraidh teitheadh as Éirinn.[26] Áitíonn Jacqueline Borsje go mb'fhéidir gur deasghnáth ó ré na págántachta a bhí ann a d'fhág an té a dhiúl spleách ar an dté a thug an chíoch.[27] Fuair an té a dhiúl cosaint as an gcleachtadh úd.[28] Tá an méid seo le rá ag Dorothy Ann Bray mar gheall ar eachtra a bhaineann le Fergus mac Léti, nuair a dhiúl abhac a chíoch:[29] '[t]he aspect of suckling here is clearly ritualistic in its function and contractual in its effect, involving as it does the seeking and acquiring of protection.' Níl aon 'hint of a nurturing role' anso,[30] ná i gcás Phádraig ach oiread.[31]

[21]Charles Plummer (eag.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), i, 23 (§32), aist. agam féin.

[22]Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, 564, s.v. *Sineach of Kilshine*.

[23]C. T. Lewis agus Charles Short (eag.), *A Latin Dictionary, Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), s.v. *nutrio*.

[24]Cf. *bruinne* 'breast(s), bosom, chest' > *bruin(n)ech* 'mother': *DIL* s.vv.

[25]Feic Bernhard Maier, '*Sugere mammellas*: a pagan Irish custom and its affinities', in Ronald Black, William Gillies agus Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (eag.), *Celtic Connections: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Celtic Studies. Volume One: Language, Literature, History, Culture* (East Linton, 1999), 152–61, ar 160.

[26]Ludwig Bieler (eag.), *Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopi: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1993), i, 66 (§18).

[27]Jacqueline Borsje, 'Celtic spells and counterspells', in Katja Ritari agus Alexandra Bergholm (eag.), *Understanding Celtic Religion: Revisiting the Pagan Past* (Cardiff, 2015), 9–50, ar 13–14.

[28]D. A. Bray, 'Suckling at the breast of Christ: a spiritual lesson in an Irish hagiographical motif', *Peritia* 14 (2000), 282–96, ar 285–6.

[29]D. A. Binchy (eag.), 'The saga of Fergus mac Léti', *Ériu* 16 (1952), 33–48, ar 38 (§5), aist. 42.

[30]Bray, 'Suckling at the breast of Christ', 285–6.

[31]Is dóigh le Bernhard Maier go mb'fhéidir gur chleacht Ceiltigh na mór-roinne nósanna a bhí gaolmhar leis seo, leis. Tá foirm an tabharthaigh d'ainm a bhaineann le bandia le feiscint in CICOLLUI, a fhaightear ar roinnt inscríbhinní ar an Mór-roinn. Deineann Maier anailís air seo mar *cích*, sa chiall *cotach* nó *cairdes* 'covenant, pact, friendship', nasctha le *oll* 'great'. Díríonn sé ('*Sugere mammellas*', 154 n. 9) ár n-aird ar *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Beirlín, 1889–1905), xiii.1–2 (§§2887, 5479, 5598, 5599 agus 5601). Is fiú a lua go bhfuil carachtar darb ainm

Síolraíonn nósanna a bhaineann le cíoch a dhiúl as gnásanna a d'fhás ar mhaithe le 'interdomestic allegiance and tributary patronage' a fhorbairt, agus bhí gaolta cliarlathacha altramais mar seo coitianta i gceantair imeallacha na hEorpa. Cuireann E. A. Hammel síos ar an gcóngas bainne sa tSeirbia mar seo: 'the fictive kinship relationship between two children suckled by the same woman, but otherwise unrelated.' Ina chuid taighde ar an nós sa domhan Arabach, tugann Soraya Altorki le fios nach amháin idir na leanaí a chothaítí a d'fhás comhghaol ach idir an bhean agus an leanbh, leis: '[*raḍā'*] denotes the relationship between a child and a woman, not its own mother, who nursed it.'[32] Chruthaigh sé seo caidreamh eatarthu siúd a bhí comhpháirteach ann, agus le gaolta áirithe dá gcuid, lenar bhain na cearta agus na dualgais chéanna a bhain le gaolta fola.[33] De réir *Cáin Lánamna*, an dlí a bhaineann le coibhneas, tá an caidreamh idir buime agus mac altrama ar comhchéim leis an gcaidreamh idir máthair agus mac fola.[34] Deireann Peter Parkes, antraipeolaí, gur féidir anailís Hammel a leathnú chun féachaint ar shaghasanna eile cóngais dhéanta, nó 'constructed kinship', in eitneagrafaíocht stairiúil na hEorpa agus na hÁise.[35]

An briathar *ailid*

Is é eagrán Whitley Stokes de *Cath Cairn Chonaill* a leanadh thuas ag aistriú *-alt* mar 'd'altramaigh'. Úsáideann seisean 'fostered'.[36] Ní mór tagairt do bhrí an bhriathair *ailid* ag an bpointe seo. Aistríonn *DIL* é mar 'nourishes, rears, fosters.'[37] Ní léir anois, áfach, cad dó go díreach a dtagraíonn an briathar *ailid* as measc na mbríonna so, agus is deacair a rá an úsáidtear é do ghníomhartha a dheintí a idirdhealú go léacsach, tráth, nó nach ndeintí. Tá an méid seo le rá ag Parkes:

> Although infant suckling, nursing, and child fosterage were lexically conflated by this time, medieval Irish legends seem to have retained a *moral partitioning* of differential degrees of adoptive

Cichuil in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* nach léir cad ina thaobh go bhfuil an t-ainm sin uirthi: feic Eleanor Knott (eag.), *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1936), 11 agus 41.

Is ionann *cích* na Gaeilge agus *cig* na Breatnaise go sanasaíoch, ach 'flesh, meat' seachas 'breast' ba bhrí leis an bhfocal Breatnaise i bhfad siar. B'shin an chiall a bhaineadh scoláirí as ina gcuid anailíse ar ainm an bhandé: Maier, '*Sugere mammellas*', 154–5. Is cosúil gurb í brí na Gaeilge a bhí leis an bhfocal ó thús: feic Ranko Matasović (eag.), *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden agus Boston, 2009), s.v. **kīkā*.

[32]In Peter Parkes, 'Alternative social structures and foster relations in the Hindu Kush: milk kinship allegiance in former mountain kingdoms of northern Pakistan', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43/1 (Eanáir 2001), 4–36, ar 4–5.

[33]Maier, '*Sugere mammellas*', 155–6.

[34]C. M. Eska (eag.), *Cáin Lánamna: An Old Irish Tract on Marriage and Divorce Law* (Leiden agus Boston, 2010), 84 (§2), aist. 85. Luann eagarthóir an téacs dáta *c.* 700 leis (feic 61–2).

[35]Peter Parkes, 'Fostering fealty: a comparative analysis of tributary allegiances of adoptive kinship', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45/4 (Deireadh Fómhair 2003), 741–82, ar 741.

[36]Stokes, 'The battle of Carn Conaill', 205 (§1).

[37]*DIL* s.v. *ailid*.

> kinship through *altram* fosterage, where nurturant duties of adoptive parenthood and cliental allegiances of milk kinship remained fundamental.[38]

Dar leis, mar sin, go n-idirdhealaítí na coincheapa cothú cíche agus altramas sa réamhstair. Seachas na coincheapa úd a bheith cumaiscthe fén ré mheánaoiseach, áfach, maíonn Edward Gwynn nach n-idirdhealaítí iad ó thús:

> Language does not originally distinguish between nurse and foster-mother, and fosterage may be considered as a natural development of nursing, arising when considerations of health or other special circumstances render it desirable to separate the child for a time from its parents.[39]

Tá gaol sanasaíochta ag *ailid* na Gaeilge le *alere* na Laidine, 'to suckle, nourish',[40] agus is féidir an bhrí seo a bheith le *ailid* leis. Is léir, mar shampla, gurb é sin a bhí i gceist sa dán *Admuiniur secht n-ingena trethan*: *Admuiniur Senach sechtamserach* | *conaltar mnā sīde for bruinnib būais* 'I invoke Senach of the seven periods of time | whom fairy women have reared on the breasts of plenty.'[41]

Muire agus Íosa

Níl gaol idir bean agus naíonán is mó a dtagraítear dó i litríocht na Gaeilge ná an ceann idir Muire agus Íosa agus ní tearc na samplaí den Maighdean ag cothú an Linbh. Tá ceann in *Trom an suan-so ar síol Ádhaimh*, le Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn:

> An chioch ar ar oil an ógh
> Oidhre Dé dia do shíothlódh
> luach a bhfuair an leanb dá lacht
> do chuaidh a fhearg ar umhlacht.
>
> 'The breast whereon the Virgin nourished God's Son – wondrous peace-making! – the result of its milk drunk by the Child was that His wrath turned to gentleness.'[42]

[38]Peter Parkes, 'Fosterage, kinship, and legend: when milk was thicker than blood?', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46/3 (Iúil 2004), 587–615, ar 602.

[39]E. J. Gwynn in James Hastings (eag.), *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Dún Éideann, 1913), vi, 104–9, ar 104.

[40]Feic Michiel de Vaan (eag.), *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages* (Leiden agus Boston, 2008), s.v. *alō, -ere*. I measc na mbríonna atá le *alere* tá 'to suckle, nurse, feed (offspring); to supply (a person, etc.) with food, feed; (also pass.) to be nurtured, grow; to rear, bring up (children)': Lewis agus Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *alō*.

[41]Kuno Meyer (eag.), 'An Old Irish prayer for long life', in Oliver Elton (eag.), *A Miscellany Presented to John Macdonald Mackay, LL.D., July 1914* (Learpholl, 1914), 226–32, ar 230 (§3), aist. 232. Deireann Meyer (227) go mbaineann an dán leis an gcéad leath den ochtú haois.

[42]Lambert McKenna (eag.), *Dán Dé: The Poems of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh, and the Religious Poems in the Duanaire of the Yellow Book of Lecan* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1922), XVII.29, aist. lch 98; cúigiú haois déag: lch vii.

Ciallaíonn *síthlad*, *síthlód* 'act of flowing, pouring forth'.[43] B'fhearr, mar sin, *dia do shíothlódh* a léamh mar 'a sufficient pouring forth' nó 'a sufficient flowing', aistriúchán a ghabhann le coincheap úd an táil bhainne a luadh thuas.

Is suaithinseach, leis, go n-úsáidtear *ailid* pé acu máthair fhola nó máthair altrama a chothaíonn an leanbh. Soláthraíonn Blathmac sampla níos luaithe ná an ceann so de mháthair ag oiliúint linbh gur léir gur mac fola é seachas mac altrama.[44] Tagairt eile do Mhuire agus Íosa atá ann: [*s*]*irsan dot mac – dígrais dál!* | *ron-ailt-siu a oenurán* '[h]appy for your son whom you have reared alone (excellent occasion!)'.[45] Dealraíonn sé gur cothú cíche atá i gceist anso, óir tugtar aitheantas sa dán céanna do ról Sheosaimh i dtógaint Íosa.[46]

Cás ann féin is ea breith Chríost, dar ndóigh. Ní deacair traidisiún a shamhlú ag fás inar chuir Dia an Leanbh Íosa ar altramas ag Muire. Tagraítear do Mhuire mar mháthair agus mar bhuime in éineacht i rann amháin den ndán 'The Irish Gospel of Thomas'. Is léir go mbaineann an íomhá so di mar bhuime len í a bheith ag tál ar an Leanbh:

> Cisi in máthair con-bert
> a ngein-se i mbrú?
> Cisi muime bat tualaing
> rod-alad in sú?
>
> 'Who is the mother who conceived this being in womb? Who is the foster-mother who was able to nurse the suckling?'[47]

[43] *DIL* s.v. *síthlad, síthlód*.

[44] Luann James Carney dáta *c.* 750–70 lena chuid filíochta: *The Poems of Blathmac Son of Cú Brettan, Together with the Irish Gospel of Thomas, and a Poem on the Virgin Mary,* ITS 47 (Baile Átha Cliath, 1964), xiv. Tá an chuma air nach n-easaontaíonn David Stifter leis an ndáta so: feic 'The language of the poems of Blathmac', in Pádraig Ó Riain (eag.), *The Poems of Blathmac Son of Cú Brettan: Reassessments* (Londain, 2015), 47–103, ar 58.

[45] Carney, *The Poems of Blathmac*, 62 (línte 721–2), aist. 63. Úsáideann Carney briathar difriúil ag aistriú líne eile mar seo, fé fhilleadh an Naomhtheaghlaigh ar Iosrael tar éis d'Iorua bás a fháil: *du-breth mac ríg nime nél* | *du altrum i tír Israel* 'the son of the king of cloudy heaven was brought to be fostered in the land of Israel' (ibid. 8 (línte 95–6), aist. 9). Thairis sin, tagraíonn Blathmac do [*i*]*n mac ronn-ucais, ron-ailt* '[t]he son you have borne and reared': ibid. 68 (l. 797), aist. 69.

[46] Tugtar mac Sheosaimh ar Íosa i rann 19, mar a molann an t-aingeal dó Muire agus Íosa a thabhairt go dtí an Éigipt. Feic, áfach, *Félire Óengusso*, mar a dtugtar *aite Issu* ar Sheosamh: Whitley Stokes (eag.), *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (Londain, 1905), 100 (§19).

[47] Ibid. 100 (rann 32), aist. 101. *Mac Maire*, agus ní *dalta*, a thugtar ar Chríost níos minice ná aon teideal eile i bhfilíocht na tréimhse 700–1200: Peter O'Dwyer, *Mary: A History of Devotion in Ireland* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1988), 47. Ar an láimh eile, tugtar máthair Íosa ar Naomh Brigit amanta: e.g. J. H. Bernard agus R. Atkinson (eag.), *The Irish Liber Hymnorum* (Londain, 1898), i, 110, aist. ii, 39; agus [*b*]*id alamaire mar-Choimded mathair* 'she will be another Mary, mother of the great Lord', aist. ag M. A. O'Brien, in Peter O'Dwyer, 'Mary in early Irish tradition', *Archivium Hibernicum* 41 (1986), 72–82, ar 72.

Níl aon ní eisceachtúil mar gheall ar an dtagairt seo do Mhuire mar bhuime.[48] Ní mór a rá go gcuirtear síos ar Mhuire mar mháthair, leis, i bhformhór na ndánta ina dtagraítear di mar bhuime Íosa, go minic in aon rann nó ar an aon líne fiú (sa rann thuas, mar shampla, ó 'The Irish Gospel of Thomas', nó anso: *is í a mháthair 's a mhuime*).[49] An é gur leis an máthair a shamhlaítí breith an linbh agus leis an mbuime an cothú, pé acu máthair fhola nó máthair altrama í? Nó an raibh traidisiún ann inar altramaigh Muire, cliant Dé, Mac a Pátrúin?[50] Sin ceist is fiú a fhiosrú níos mine.

Tuismitheoirí fola i mbun altramais

In eagrán Johan Corthals de *Immathcor nAilella ocus Airt* úsáidtear an briathar céanna *ailid* ag tagairt do mháthair thréigthe a bhí ag tógaint a clainne fola. Nuair a saolaíodh cúpla do Shadb, scar Ailill Aulomm léi. Dá dheasca san, b'éigean do Shadb a gclann a oiliúint ina haonar: *rus-n-alt Sadb hi Comailt hUethne*.[51] Toisc gurbh é sliocht a bruinne féin a bhí á oiliúint ag Sadb, seachas clann altrama, ní dóigh liomsa go bhfuil aistriúchán Chorthals ar an líne seo go hiomlán iontaofa: 'Sadb fostered them in Comalt Uaithne.'[52] Is fearr d'fhocal 'reared', dar liom, a sholáthraíonn sé in aistriúchán an réamhrá a ghabhann leis an reitric: *rocomalt-sí a mac ⁊ a hingean* 'she reared her son and her daughter together.'[53] Sa téacs *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*,

[48]Níl sna samplaí seo a leanas ach fíorbheagán den iliomad tagairtí don ngaol idir Muire agus Íosa a bhaineann úsáid as friotal a shamhlaímid le hinstitiúid an altramais nó le máithreachas cíche: i ndán a leagtar ar Dhonnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (d'éag 1244: McKenna, *Dán Dé*, lch viii), tugtar *muime Meic ar dThighearna* (sic) chomh maith le *máthair Ríogh náraigh nimhe* ar Mhuire (ibid. XXIV.24, aist. lch 112); tugtar *a bhanaltra Mheic Mhairia* uirthi i ndán eile dá chuid (ibid. XXVIII.10, aist. lch 124); tugann Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn (d'éag 1448: ibid. lch vii) *a bhuime chígh* uirthi (ibid. XV.8, aist. lch 94). Le haghaidh úsáid an fhocail *buime* mar thagairt do Mhuire sa chnuasach *Dán Dé* feic, mar shampla, II.11 agus XX.38. Feictear Gearóid Iarla á úsáid, leis: Gearóid Mac Niocaill (eag.), 'Duanaire Ghearóid Iarla', *Studia Hibernica* 3 (1963), 7–59, XIX.2 (ar lch 37). Tugtar *dalta* ar Íosa i ndán le Cormac Ruadh Ó hUiginn (McKenna, *Dán Dé*, XXII.38, aist. lch 109), agus i gceann eile le Muireadhach Albanach (Osborn Bergin (eag.), *Irish Bardic Poetry: Texts and Translations, Together with an Introductory Lecture* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1970), XXI.20, aist. lch 256: [*d*]*alta iongnadh dot ucht bhán* | *agus dot fhult fhionnghlan úr* | *do Mhac agus t'Fhear ar-aon* | *a shlat shaor gheal ar do ghlún* '[t]here was a wonderful nurseling for your white breast and for your fresh bright pure hair – your Son and your Husband were together on your knee, o noble bright branch'. Téann Donnchadh Mór céim níos faide ná na filí eile nuair a thagraíonn sé don Athair, don Mac agus don Spiorad Naomh mar thriúr daltaí: [*b*]*uime trír máthair mhic Dé* [...] *banaltra thrí dtighearna* (Láimhbheartach Mac Cionnaith (eag.), *Dioghluim Dána* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1939), XXIX.1; tá tagairtí mar seo tríd an ndán ar fad).

[49]Mac Cionnaith, *Dioghluim Dána*, XXIX.12.

[50]Tá go leor tagairtí sa Bhreatnais, leis, ina mbaintear úsáid as téarmaíocht a shamhlaítear le haltramas chun cur síos ar an ngaol idir Muire agus Íosa, an ceann so, mar shampla: *Anfon Ei Ysbryd iawnfaeth* | *I Fair, fel rhoi mab ar faeth* 'Sheol Sé a spiorad dea-altramaithe do Mhuire, mar a bheadh leanbh a chur ar altramas' (Rhiannon Ifans (eag.), *Gwaith Gruffudd Llwyd a'r Llygliwiaid Eraill* (Aberystwyth, 2000), XIX.47–8). Táim fé chomaoin ag an Ollamh Barry Lewis a sholáthair an tagairt seo agus a d'aistrigh go Gaeilge.

[51]Johan Corthals (eag.), 'Affiliation of children: *immathchor nAilella ⁊ Airt*', *Peritia* 9 (1995), 92–124, ar 107.

[52]Ibid. 109. Deirtear linn gur ainmníodh an áit as an eachtra so.

[53]Ibid. 97.

is ar thrí ghrúpa ar leith atá cúram altramas Chonaire: an bheirt fhear a d'altramaigh a mháthair, an bheirt Mhaine Milscothach, agus máthair fhola an linbh féin, Mess Búachalla.[54] Sa tslí chéanna, feicimid gurbh éigean do mháthair chiallmhar a leanbh a gineadh ó dhrúth a thógaint í féin go dtí go mbeadh sé fásta: [*b*]*ean chodnach b*e*r*e*s mac do druth dleagar di a altru*m *cu diailtre* '[a] sane woman who bears a son to a fool is obliged to foster him to the completion of fosterage.' Nuair is gealt mná agus drúth na tuismitheoirí titeann an dualgas ar mhuintir na beirte araon: [*b*]*ean mear b*e*r*e*as m*a*c do druth* con *alur it*ir *fi*n*e maithre* ⁊ *aithre* '[a] madwoman who bears a son to a fool: (fosterage) is performed between the family of the mother and (that) of the father.'[55] Tuigtear ó na samplaí seo nach é amháin gur bhain an briathar *ailid* le hinstitiúid an altramais ach le tógaint agus beathú an linbh. Is léir gur gá a bheith aireach ar an mbriathar a roghnaítear i mbun aistriúcháin, ag brath ar an gcomhthéacs.

An mháthair chíche

Más inghlactha an chiall atáimse a bhaint as an ainm *Sinech*, is gá, gan amhras, a léiriú ar an gcéad dul síos gurbh ann don máthair chíche i sochaí mheánaoiseach na hÉireann. Glactar leis go raibh altramas ana-thábhachtach sa tsochaí sin. Níl dabht ar bith ach gur mhinic a bhí domhainchaidreamh agus dílseacht mar dhlúthchuid de na teaghlaigh altrama a deineadh.[56] Is minic a luaitear, mar fhianaise ar threise an naisc idir gaolta altrama, an úsáid a bhaintí as téarmaí ceana mar *buime*/*muime* agus *aite* do thuismitheoirí altrama san áit a n-úsáidtí téarmaí foirmiúla mar *athair* agus *máthair* do thuismitheoirí fola.[57] Léiríonn siad chomh maith a fhairsinge a bhí institiúid an altramais sa tsochaí sin:

> In most Indo-European languages the words for 'father' and 'mother' have intimate forms, used particularly in childhood [...] In Old Irish the intimate forms have been transferred to the foster-parents [...] If fosterage were not common in early Irish society, this shift in meaning could not have occurred.[58]

[54]Knott, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, línte 103–7.

[55]R. M. Smith (eag.), 'The advice to Doidin', *Ériu* 11 (1932), 66–85, ar 69, aist. 71. B'fhéidir gur fearr an chéad tagairt a aistriú mar '[...] is obliged to rear him until he reaches the age of majority.'

[56]Feic Kelly, *Guide*, 89–90. Is gnách go dtugann na foinsí le fios gur dea-rud ab ea an t-altramas. Le léiriú eile a fháil, feic na tagairtí in Colin Ireland, 'The ambiguous attitude towards fosterage in early Irish literature', in Dorothy Disterheft, Martin Huld agus John Greppin (eag.), *Studies in Honor of Jaan Puhvel. Part One: Ancient Languages and Philology* (Washington D.C., 1997), 93–6, go háirithe 94–5.

[57]Feic, mar shampla, T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Oxford, 1993), 80–1. Tagraíonn Charles-Edwards do théarmaí a d'fhéadfaí a chur sa 'father-mother set' agus sa 'daddy-mummy set'.

[58]Kelly, *Guide*, 86–7.

Feictear domsa gurb iad na téarmaí ceana is luaithe a fhoghlaimíonn leanbh agus é ag saothrú urlabhra ar dtúis.[59] Tugann an ghné seo d'fhorbairt na teanga le fios go dtosnaíodh altramas go luath i saol an naíonáin.[60] Is deacair, áfach, a bheith cinnte arbh ionann an cóngas altrama agus an cóngas bainne. Ar ndóigh, ní féidir cóngas bainne a chruthú gan cothú cíche. Maíonn Lisa Bitel go ndealraíonn sé go raibh máithreacha cíche gann toisc a laghad tagairtí ar leith dóibh sa litríocht: '[n]one of the laws or any other sources explicitly mentioned wet nurses; they may have existed, but were not common enough to merit comment.'[61] Téann Elizabeth Lerner níos faide fós nuair a deireann sí nach raibh ról ar bith sa tsochaí do bhean nach raibh in inmhe leanbh a chothú: 'women who could not mother (i.e. nurse) a child had no viable options for a life and place in society.'[62] Ní chuireann sí fianaise ar bith leis an dtuairim seo, áfach, agus tá go leor samplaí sa litríocht de mhná a chomhlíonann dualgais eile seachas leanaí a chothú. Feicimid, mar shampla, sa réamhrá Meán-Ghaeilge a ghabhann le *Cáin Adamnáin*,[63] gur theastaigh ó mháthair an chléirigh, ach é a bheith ar a cumas, dílleachta a fheiceann siad beirt ar pháirc an áir a chothú:

> 'Is bōedh ⁊ is trógh lim-sa suut,' ar Ron[n]at māthair Adamnāin, 'aní atchīu fot cosu-su, a chlērc[h]ocān! Ced nachamlēci for lār, co tartur mo chiigh dō? Acht is cīan mór hūadh ō dac[h]ōdar mo chíghi-si i ndīsca. Nī foigfide nī indtib.'
>
> '"That is a touching and a pitiful sight," said Ronnat, the mother of Adamnan, "what I see under thy feet, my good cleric! Why dost thou not let me down upon the ground that I may give it my breast? However, it is long since my breasts have run dry! Nothing would be found in them."'[64]

[59]Baineann an fhuaim *mā* (foirm eamhnaithe *mamā*/*māmā*) le luathchaint linbh. Uaidh seo d'fhoirmeacha mar *muime*. Ón bhfréamh chéanna *mamma* 'cíoch' na Laidine: *IEW* s.v. 3 *mā*. Is í an *muime* an té a thugann an chíoch don leanbh. Táim fé chomaoin ag an Ollamh Ruairí Ó hUiginn a chuir an forás so ar mo shúile dhom.

[60]Is díol suime go luann téacs leighis go raibh mar chúram ar an mbuime im a chimilt d'fhiacla an linbh (nó don ndrandal, ní foláir) nuair a thosnaíonn siad ag fás: *in uair is aimser dona fiaclaib fás dlighid na banaltranna im do coimilt do cir in leinim* (Winifred Wulff (eag.), 'A mediaeval handbook of gynaecology and midwifery', in J. Fraser, P. Grosjean agus J. G. O'Keeffe (eag.), *Irish Texts* (Londain, 1934), v, 46 (§30)). Ní luann an buntéacs Laidine aon ghníomhaí leis an gcúram so (47). Is gnách go ngearrtar fiacla linbh idir cúig agus naoi mí d'aois: E. S. McKinney, S. R. James, S. S. Murray agus J. W. Ashwill, *Maternal-Child Nursing,* an tríú heag. (St Louis, 2009), 93.

[61]Bitel, *Land of Women*, 87. Ina theannta san, deireann sí (102) go mb'fhéidir go mbíodh máithreacha altrama róshean le clann a bhreith nó leanbh a chothú.

[62]E. A. Lerner, 'Virgins and mothers: feminine ideals and female roles in the early Irish Church', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 14 (1994), 162–74, ar 164. Úsáideann sí *Cáin Adamnáin* mar chruthúnas air seo.

[63]Baineann an réamhrá le deireadh na deichiú haoise nó leis an aonú haois déag luath: feic Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The *Lex Innocentium*: Adomnán's law for women, clerics and youths, 697 A.D.', in Mary O'Dowd agus Sabine Wichert (eag.), *Chattel, Servant or Citizen: Women's Status in Church, State and Society* (Béal Feirste, 1995), 58–69, ar 58.

[64]Kuno Meyer (eag.), *Cáin Adamnáin: An Old-Irish Treatise on the Law of Adamnan* (Oxford, 1905), 6 (§8), aist. 7.

In ainneoin nach bhfuil ar chumas na mná so leanbh a chothú a thuilleadh, is léir go bhfuil ról cinnte aici: spreagann sí an cléireach chun an bhean mharbh a athbheochan agus cuireann dualgas air ina dhiaidh san an cháin iomráiteach a fhógairt.

Níl ach dhá thagairt ag Fergus Kelly don máthair chíche in *A Guide to Early Irish Law*. I gcás amháin baintear leanbh de mháthair toisc nach bhfuil sí oiriúnach i súile an dlí le clann a thógaint: *dingbáil maic di chích* 'removing a child from the breast'. Baineann an cosc so le mná nach raibh in inmhe, go fisiciúil nó go meabhrach, chomh maith le mná a bhí in ainm is a bheith mímhorálta, bancháintí nó striapacha, cuir i gcás. Tagraíonn an cás eile do mháthair a fuair bás: *athgabáil dingbála meic di marbchích a mathar* 'distraint to enforce the removal of a child from the dead breast of its mother'.[65] Sa dá thagairt i saothar Kelly, altramas cinniúna nó 'crisis fosterage' atá fé chaibidil, réiteach ar uair na práinne seachas córas sóisialta chun naisc dhílseachta agus mhuiníne a fhorbairt.[66]

Saghasanna altramais

Sa domhaintaighde atá déanta aige ar institiúidí an chóngais uchtaithe thar réimsí fairsinge den Eoráise, idirdhealaíonn Parkes altramas cliantach 'clien-tal' agus altramas pátrúnach 'patronal'. Go hiondúil, baineann an dara cineál, mar a n-altramaíonn pátrún leanbh a chliaint, le réimsí a dtugann sé 'deve-loped patrimonial states' orthu, agus ba ghnách leanaí níos sine ná naíonáin a bheith i gceist. San altramas cliantach, ar an láimh eile, is cliant a ghabhadh leanbh an phátrúin ar altramas. Tharlaíodh sé seo ana-luath, díreach tar éis breithe uaireanta. Bhain sé le 'segmentary-tributary polities', a raibh Éire ina measc dar le Parkes.[67] Aontaíonn Bitel gur ghnách go dtéadh leanbh uasal ar altramas ag duine nó daoine in aicme shóisialta níos ísle ná é: '[n]ot just noble parents but those of all free ranks supposedly participated in the system whereby a couple usually of lower status than the parents raised, either for love or money, their social superiors' sons and daughters.' Tagraíonn sí do *CIH* 1760 mar chruthúnas air seo,[68] cé nach léir domsa aon fhianaise ion-taofa a bheith ann. In ainneoin na dtuairimí sin deireann Jaski: '[a] foster-father was normally of the same status as his fosterling';[69] agus tá Bray ar aon

[65]*CIH* ii, 375.4; 400.4; in Kelly, *Guide*, 86.

[66]Idirdhealaítear 'crisis fosterage' agus 'kinship fosterage' in E. N. Goody, *Parenthood and Social Reproduction* (Cambridge, 1982), 37–54. Maidir le Máel Dúin, a luadh thuas (n. 15), áitíonn Kühlmann (*Die irische Ziehkindschaft im europäischen Kontext*, 45) gur altramas cinn-iúna a bhí i gceist mar gheall ar imthosca a bhreithe. De réir an téacs, áfach, caitheadh le triúr mac an rí, a bhfuil an chuma air nár bhain aon ní as an ngnáth lena mbreith, sa tslí cheannann chéanna le Máel Dúin: feic Stokes, 'The voyage of Mael Duin', 454.

[67]Parkes, 'Fostering fealty', 743–54; sainmhíníonn sé iad so mar 'segmentary states, periph-eral to patrimonial or bureaucratic states, whose administration was articulated through inter-nally ranked kin groups or conical clans.'

[68]Bitel, *Land of Women*, 86–7 agus 256 n. 10. Ina dhiaidh so (102), glacann sí leis nach féidir a bheith cinnte go raibh aicme níos airde ag na leanaí altrama ná mar a bhí ag na tuismitheoirí altrama.

[69]Jaski, 'Cú Chulainn, *gormac* and *dalta*', 26. Deineann sé an ráiteas so a cháiliú ar ball (n. 106).

intinn leis.[70] Is fiú aitheantas a thabhairt do na sleachta as *Ántéchtae* (*Breth*)[71] ina bhfeictear dhá shaghas ar leith altramais. I gceann amháin *in dalta is e is flaith ann seo ⁊ int aite is e ceile* 'is é an dalta an flaith anso agus is é an t-oide an céile,' ach sa cheann eile *int aithe is e is flaith and-so ⁊ in dalta is e is ceile* 'is é an t-oide an flaith anso agus is é an dalta an céile.'[72]

Tús an altramais

Mar a dúradh cheana, tagraítear do sheacht mbliana mar aois le tús an altramais go minic.[73] Fén aois seo, dar ndóigh, ní bheadh gá le máthair chíche. Tagairt amháin a cuireadh chun cinn ag tacú leis seo ná *EACHUIB I NAIMSIR IMRIME* [...] *.i. o aite o .uii. mbl*iadn*uibh amach* 'capaill ag am marcaíochta [...] .i. ó athair altrama ó sheacht mbliana amach.'[74] Ní chiallaíonn sé seo go dtosnaíodh altramas ag seacht mbliana, áfach, ach go raibh an aois sin oiriúnach le tosnú ar mharcaíocht a fhoghlaim. Dealraíonn sé go bhfuil tuairim Jenny Bledsoe bunaithe ar Bheatha Mholing,[75] mar a lorgaíonn Moling comhluadar an Linbh Íosa agus É in aois a seacht. Níl an chuma air gur altramas atá i gceist anso, áfach, ach cuideachta bheannaithe ar feadh tamaill.[76] Sa Bheatha chéanna deireann an naomh: *beir lat in náidhin ⁊ a māthair leis da lessughadh corob am léigind dó* 'bring the babe with thee, and his mother with him to maintain him until his time of study arrives.'[77] Mar is léir ó aistriúchán Stokes, bhí an buachaill ag dul i mbun léinn ag aois a seacht, an aois chéanna ina dtéadh buachaillí i mbun marcaíochta. Ach ní hionann san is a rá gur thosnaigh altramas ag an aois sin.

Tá roinnt fianaise le fáil sa traidisiún liteartha a thugann léiriú dúinn ar an gceist. Sa téacs a dtugann a eagarthóir 'The adventures of Ricinn daughter of Crimthann mac Lugdach' air, mar shampla, cuireann Crimthann a iníon ar

[70]Bray, 'Suckling at the breast of Christ', 292.

[71]Téacs ginearálta a bhaineann le réimse fairsing ábhar: feic Liam Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Baile Átha Cliath, 2005), 168 (§5.6.3). Tá an téacs so níos luaithe ná *Bretha Nemed Toísech* (169 (§5.6.4)), a luann Breatnach (190) dáta sa dara ceathrú den ochtú haois leis.

[72]*CIH* i, 171.5–6; 171.13, aist. agam féin. Is cirte, b'fhéidir, tagairt do stádas an athar seachas stádas an linbh: *ar id comdire mac righ ⁊ mac aithigh co cenn .uii. mbliadnae* 'óir is ar comhdhíre mac rí agus mac aithigh go ceann seacht mbliana' (*CIH* iii, 923.3–4, aist. agam féin). Ina dhiaidh san, braitheann díre an linbh ar dhíre a athar nó ar dhíre a athar altrama: feic D. A. Binchy (eag.), 'Bretha Crólige', *Ériu* 12 (1938), 1–77, ar 8 (§7), aist. 9.

[73]Feic n. 6 thuas.

[74]*CIH* v, 1761.3–4, aist. agam féin. Tagraíonn Bitel do *CIH* 1761 nuair a deireann sí '[n]o laws set an age at which mothers bade farewell to their babes, but jurists hinted that the age of seven, when sexless infants became educable little boys and girls, was the appropriate time to begin a child's training': *Land of Women*, 87 agus 256 n. 12. Is í an líne seo agus 1761.32 (tagairt eile do mharcaíocht) an t-aon dá líne ann (mar a bhfuil a lán tagairtí do na nithe gur chóir a mhúineadh do bhuachaillí) ina dtagraítear d'aois an pháiste ar altramas.

[75]Bledsoe, 'St Ita of Killeedy', 14.

[76]Feic Whitley Stokes (eag.), *The Birth and Life of St. Moling: Edited from a Manuscript in the Royal Library, Brussels, with a Translation and Glossary* (Londain, 1907), 30 agus 32 (§39), aist. 31 agus 33.

[77]Ibid. 12 (§9), aist. 13.

altramas ag sagart go ceann seacht mbliana óna baiste amach. Ina dhiaidh san, chuir an sagart chuig Cáirech Dergain í le hoideachas a fháil:

> Beir*idh* iarum in clēirech in ingen lais. Nos-altramann iaram co cenn secht mbliadan í. Atnaig in clēirech leis co Cāirigh nDercain hī ⁊ mos-aithin aicce í do lēigenn lē. Āsaid in ingen iarsin et*er* ghenus ⁊ grēs ⁊ lēigenn ⁊ deilb ⁊ dēnum ⁊ āl*aigh* ⁊ erlabhra.
>
> 'Beireann an cléireach an iníon leis ansan. Altramaíonn sé ansan go ceann seacht mbliana í. Tugann an cléireach leis í go Cáirech Dergain agus tiomnaíonn dó í le léann a fháil. Fásann an iníon ina dhiaidh san i ngeanas agus gréas agus léann agus deilbhiú agus déanamh agus iompar agus solabharthacht.'[78]

Maidir le hóige Sétanta, feictear dúinn in *TBC 1* gur thóg a thuismitheoirí é go dtí go raibh sé cúig bliana d'aois, roimh dó dul go hEmain Macha mar a raibh sé ina dhalta ag Conchobar.[79] Leanbh eisceachtúil ab ea Sétanta ar go leor slite, dar ndóigh. Chuaigh sé chun cinn ó thréimse go tréimhse dá óige ní ba luaithe ná mar ba ghnách. Fág go mbaineann Sétanta leis an miotaseolaíocht, tá caoineadh stairiúil le Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe a bhaineann le cailín a cailleadh ar altramas in aois a cúig bliana.[80] Go hachomair, mar sin, is féidir a áiteamh go bhféadfadh stádas an linbh altrama athrú ag aois a seacht, nó go bhféadfadh altramas tosnú thart ar an aois sin, ach nach den riachtanas gur ag an aois sin a thosnaíodh sé go hiondúil.

Tréimhsí an altramais ó fhianaise na dTéacsanna dlí

Is léir ó na dlíthe go bhféadfadh altramas tosnú ana-luath ar fad i saol an linbh. Luann Kelly go dtagraíonn an téacs ar dhíre do dhearthóireacha altrama a bhí chomh hóg san gur tógadh in aon chliabhán iad.[81] In *Cáin Lánamna* tugtar aitheantas don gcaidreamh idir buime agus mac altrama, an t-aon chomhghaol altrama a luaitear ann. Sa tráchtaireacht a ghabhann leis an dtéacs, tugtar suntas dá luaithe a ghlacann an bhuime ról lárnach i saol an linbh:

> .i. fr*i*a mo-uime, mo do-ní uime ina int aite .i. a tegha[d] ⁊ a chluda[d] ⁊ [a] alt*r*ama; ł mucha do-ni uime 'nas g*a*c duine; ł is mo na mí no(s)-ailen*n*.
>
> 'i.e. with his *mo-uime* "greater-concerning him", she does more concerning him than the foster-father, i.e. warming him and

[78]Kuno Meyer (eag.), 'A medley of Irish texts', in *ACL* iii, 302–26, ar 308 (§vi), aist. agam féin. Is díol suime an sliocht so, leis, maidir le hoideachas cailíní.

[79]*TBC 1*, l. 399, aist. lch 136: [*al*]*ta-som* [...] *la máthair* ⁊ *la athair*; l. 537, aist. lch 140; l. 570, aist. lch 141.

[80]Seo a deirtear mar gheall ar an gcailín: *nír shlán acht cúig ceirtbhliadhna* 'only five full years were completed' (N. J. A. Williams (eag.), *The Poems of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe*, ITS 51 (Baile Átha Cliath, 1980), II.13).

[81]*CIH* ii, 439.16; in Kelly, *Guide*, 86: *comalta óenchléib.*

> clothing him and nursing him, or she does [things] concerning him sooner than every person; or she nurses him more than a month.'[82]

Maidir le *Mellbretha*, is é sin an dlí a bhaineann le gortuithe a fhaigheann leanaí le linn cluichí a imirt,[83] deintear an óige a roinnt i dtrí chuid: *tri haoise eim-coi*m*sith*ar *dona ma*c*aib be*c*a .i. 7. mbl*iadn*a* ⁊ *da bl*iadain *.x.* ⁊ *.7. mbl*iadn*a .x.* 'leagtar amach trí thréimhse do na leanaí óga .i. seacht mbliana agus dhá bhliain déag agus seacht mbliana déag d'aois',[84] is é sin le rá go gcríochnaíonn tréimhse thosaigh na hóige ag seacht mbliana, an dara tréimhse ag dhá bhliain déag agus an tréimhse dheireanach ag seacht mbliana déag d'aois.[85] Aontaíonn an aois dheireanach a luaitear anso le foinsí áirithe a mhaíonn go gcríochnaíodh buachaill a altramas in aois a seacht déag.[86] In *Cáin Íarraith*, an dlí a bhaineann le táille altramais,[87] feictear na trí thréimhse chéanna á gcur i bhfeidhm maidir le húdarás na dtuismitheoirí altrama ar a gcuid daltaí agus conas ba cheart dul i ngleic leis na coireanna a d'fhéadfadh na leanaí féna stiúir a dhéanamh:

> CIA AIRET BIS IMCOMUS FOR MACUIB NALTRUMU .i. cia fat bis eimcuimsiug*ud* curtha forna m*a*caib donith*er* d'alt*r*am? a t*r*i: tomaithimh [curtha] (?) in m*i*c cin a denumh ina cetcinadh, a cur*adh* isin .c.ais, ⁊ beth gan biadh la cureth isin ais tanuisi, ⁊ aithg*in* isin ais deidenuigh o da bl*iadain* decc amach.

[82]Eska, *Cáin Lánamna*, 96, aist. 97.

[83]Feic Breatnach, *A Companion*, 263–4 (§5.45).

[84]*CIH* iv, 1340.4–5, aist. agam féin. Feic, leis, *CIH* iv, 1341.9–12: *Mad iar .7. mbl*iadnaib *.x., is lanfiach fair, cid e a .c.chin cincob é .i. cin tainisi iar .7. mbl*iadnai ⁊ *is cu*ma ⁊ *in tres cin co .7. mbl*iadna. *IS é airad is ecodn*ac *in mac* ⁊ *is e re in altram*a 'má tá seacht mbliana déag slánaithe aige, gearrtar lánfhíneáil air, más é a chéad chion é nó munarb ea .i. is ionann é agus an dara cion os cionn seacht mbliana, agus an tríú cion fé sheacht mbliana. Is é sin an fhaid a bhíonn an leanbh gan chiall agus sin í tréimhse an altramais' (aist. agam féin).

[85]Tá aitheantas tugtha cheana féin ag Ó h-Innse do thrí thréimhse ar leith altramais, ceann acu a chríochnaíonn in aois a sé nó a seacht mbliana: 'Fosterage in Early and Mediaeval Ireland', 103. Tugann trí thréimhse an altramais an triad so a leanas chun cuimhne: 'seacht mbliadhna le leanbhaidheacht, s. mb. le scolaidheacht, is s. mb. le céird' (Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*, s.v. *le*).

[86]Feic Kelly, *Guide*, 88–9: tugann sé le fios go ndeirtear in *Críth Gablach* go bhféadfadh altramas buachalla críochnú in aois a ceathair déag; is í an aois chéanna a luaitear le cailín in *Cáin Íarraith*, ach seacht déag do bhuachaill; luann *Bretha Crólige* aois a seacht déag le haghaidh cailíní agus buachaillí araon. 'Probably there was variation in practice', dar le Kelly. Maíonn Jaski ('Cú Chulainn, *gormac* and *dalta*', 23) go mb'fhéidir gur athraíodh an aois a chríochnaíodh altramas óna ceathair déag go dtí a seacht déag, agus go mb'fhéidir go raibh baint ag an athrú so le hiarrachtaí smacht a choimeád ar ógánaigh a d'fhéadfadh mioscais a chothú mar bhaill de ghrúpaí fiann (n. 89).

[87]Ní mhaireann aon chóip leanúnach de, ach blúirí le gluaiseanna Sean-Ghaeilge ag *CIH* iii, 901.34–902.14, giotaí níos faide le gluaiseanna níos déanaí agus tráchtaireacht ag *CIH* v, 1759.6–1770.14, agus a thuilleadh sleachta le tráchtaireacht ag *CIH* iii, 852.13–25 (Breatnach, *A Companion*, 288); ar fáil le haistriúchán in *AL* ii, 146–93. Feic, leis, Séamus Ó h-Innse, 'Fosterage in Old Irish Law', tráchtas neamhfhoilsithe MA, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Gaillimh, 1940.

> ‘Cén fhaid a bhíonn smacht ar leanaí altrama .i. cén fhaid a chuirtear smacht ar na leanaí a altramaítear? A trí: greadadh a bhagairt ar an leanbh, gan é a dhéanamh, dá chéad chion; é a ghreadadh sa chéad aois; é a fhágaint gan bhia, chomh maith lena ghreadadh, sa dara haois; agus cúiteamh a dhéanamh san aois dheireanach, ó dhá bhliain déag d’aois amach.’[88]

Le linn an altramais, dá bhrí sin, laghdaíonn óige an chúisí a fhreagracht as coir. Dealraíonn sé gurb ionann an chéad choir a dheineadh leanbh idir a dó dhéag agus seacht mbliana déag d’aois, an dara ceann a dheineadh leanbh idir seacht mbliana agus a dó dhéag, agus an tríú ceann a dheineadh leanbh fé sheacht mbliana.[89] Tugadh an ‘chéad aois’ altrama ar an dtréimhse fé bhun a seacht.

Tá fianaise bhreise ar aois óg an naíonáin altrama in *Cáin Íarraith*, a thagraíonn do dhualgas na dtuismitheoirí fola *díllat cléib*, a dtugtar ‘cradle coverlet’ air in *DIL*,[90] agus [*s*]*aluchdíllat* a thabhairt do na tuismitheoirí altrama.[91] Comhfhocal den aidiacht *salach* ‘dirty’ agus den ainmfhocal *díllat* ‘garment’ is ea *saluchdíllat*, a aistrítear mar ‘nursing clothes’ in *AL* agus ‘a child’s swaddling clothes’ in *DIL*.[92] Saghas éadaigh chun leanbh óg a choimeád glan a bhí ann, naipcín nó maonairt b’fhéidir. B’shin an chiall a bhain an té a chuir gluais leis as: *int etach dobe*r*ar imin salcar* ‘an t-éadach a thugtar i gcomhair an tsalachair’.[93] Seasann sé le ciall go mbeadh máthair chíche ag teastáil ó leanaí a chuirtí ar altramas chomh luath san ina naíocht. Pé scéal é, is léir go gcríochnaíodh tréimhse amháin altramais, a mhair roinnt áirithe blianta, in aois a seacht, seachas an aois sin a bheith mar thús ar an socrú ar fad.[94]

Tagairtí déanacha do chóngas bainne

Tá tagairtí don gcóngas bainne ar fáil lasmuigh de na dlíthe, leis. Ag tosnú le cinn dhéanacha, is léir go nglacadh tuairisceoirí deoranta leis an máthair chíche mar dhlúthchuid d’altramas in Éirinn. Is iomaí tagairt do ‘nurse’ atá i bhfoinsí Béarla de chuid na séú agus na seachtú haoise déag.[95] D’fhéach Edmund Spenser, ag

[88]*CIH* v, 1768.19–23, aist. agam féin.

[89]Feic, leis, Ó h-Innse, ‘Fosterage in Old Irish Law’, 25 agus 87.

[90]*DIL* s.v. *clíab* (c). Glacann eagarthóirí *DIL* leis an aistriúchán a thugann *AL*. Brí eile atá le *clíab* ná ‘brollach’ (*DIL* s.v. *clíab* (e)). An bhféadfadh éadach le bean a chlúdach agus í ag cothú linbh a bheith i gceist?

[91]Tugann Ó h-Innse suntas do na tagairtí seo maidir le haois óg a lua le tús altramais: ‘Fosterage in Early and Mediaeval Ireland’, 8–9.

[92]*AL* ii 161; *DIL* s.v. *díllat* (a).

[93]*CIH* v, 1762.18, aist. agam féin.

[94]Deireann Parkes go bhfuil sé seo léirithe cheana féin ag Sheila Boll i dtráchtas nach bhfuil teacht agam air: ‘Boll [...] thus corrects an erroneous but common assumption that Irish fosterage normatively began at an age of seven years’ (feic Peter Parkes, ‘Celtic fosterage: adoptive kinship and clientage in northwest Europe’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48/2 (Aibreán 2006), 359–95, ar 362 n. 6, ag tagairt do S. M. Boll, ‘Foster-Kin in Conflict: Fosterage as a Character Motivation in Medieval Irish Literature’, tráchtas neamhfhoilsithe PhD, Ollscoil Chambridge, 2002).

[95]Sorcha Nic Lochlainn, ‘The foster-mother as praise poet in Gaelic tradition’, *Celtica* 27 (2013), 119–47, ar 119.

deireadh na séú haoise déag, ar altramas agus ar phósadh idir Gael agus Gall mar chonstaicí suntasacha le dul chun cinn fhorlámhas Shasana ar Éirinn. Ní bheadh mar thoradh air, dar leis, ach Gaelú na nGall:

> the cheif cause of bringinge in the Irishe language amongst them [...] for first the child that sucketh the milke of the nurse must of necessitie learne his first speach of her, the which beinge the first that is envred to his tonge, is [ever] after most pleasinge vnto him [...] for besydes the yonge children bee lyke Apes, which will affecte and ymitate what they see done before them speciallie by theyre nurses, whom they loue so well, they moreover drawe into them selues togeather with theire sucke, even the nature and disposition of theire nurses, for the mind followeth much the temperature of the bodye.[96]

Foinse eile ó dheireadh na séú haoise déag a thagann, i gcló agus i meon, le *A View of the Present State of Ireland* de chuid Spenser ná an cháipéis ar a dtugtar 'H. C.'s tract'.[97] Tuairimíonn Fiona Fitzsimons go dtaispeánann an téacs so gur ró-shimpliú í an deighilt dhénártha a dheineann Kelly agus é ag cur síos ar shaghasanna altramais.[98] Idirdhealaíonn 'H. C.'s tract' cúig chineál ar leith altramais,[99] gur léir baint a bheith ag cothú cíche le cuid acu. Tagraíonn an saghas is mó is suim linne do:

> miltch nurses that fostereth upp our children with their children with theire breast [...] and this Irish mylke worketh such effect in our children [...] that moste of them never careth for englishmen or english civilitie ever afterwards [...] by bearinge such affection to that sorte of people who naturally are evill.[100]

[96]Edmund Spenser in W. L. Renwick (eag.), *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (Londain, 1934), 88. Chreid go leor de lucht leighis na tréimhse seo go bhféadfadh an leanbh tréithe pearsanta agus fisiciúla na buime a thabhairt leis tríd an mbainne cíche: maidir leis na tuairimí seo sa Bhreatain, feic R. K. Marshall, 'Wet-nursing in Scotland', *Review of Scottish Culture* 1 (1984), 43–51, ar 44–5.

[97]Public Records Office (Londain), S.P. 63/203/119.

[98]Fiona Fitzsimons, 'Fosterage and gossiprid in late medieval Ireland: some new evidence', in P. J. Duffy, David Edwards agus Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eag.), *Gaelic Ireland c. 1250–c. 1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Baile Átha Cliath, 2004), 138–49, ar 141. Tagraíonn Kelly d'altramas a dheintí ar bhonn pá agus d'altramas a dheintí ar bhonn grá (*Guide*, 87). Is dóigh le Marion Deane gurbh é an dara cineál an t-idéal: feic Deane, 'The debate in *Feis Tigi Becfholtaigh*: a blueprint for society', in Gregory Toner agus Séamus Mac Mathúna (eag.), *Ulidia 3: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales. In Memoriam Patrick Leo Henry* (Beirlín, 2013), 163–80, ar 176–7.

[99]Is gá a rá gur aithníodh go raibh ar a laghad cúig chineál ar leith altramais ann sular tháinig an téacs áirithe seo chun solais: feic Kathleen Mulchrone, 'The rights and duties of women with regard to the education of their children', in Rudolf Thurneysen, Nancy Power, Myles Dillon, Kathleen Mulchrone, D. A. Binchy, August Knoch agus John Ryan (eag.), *Studies in Early Irish Law* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1936), 187–205, ar 187 n. 2.

[100]Fitzsimons, 'Fosterage and gossiprid', 146.

Ag tagairt do 'H. C.'s tract', maíonn Fitzsimons go raibh an comhghaol idir tiarna agus cliant lárnach i ngach cineál altramais, ag glacadh le 'miltch nurses' mar mháithreacha uaisle a d'altramaíodh naíonáin a bhí thart ar an aois chéanna lena gclann féin. Tá an nós so i gcodarsnacht leis an gcóras a bhí i bhfeidhm i sochaithe eile in iarthar na hEorpa (sin iad na 'developed patrimonial states' a luadh thuas), mar a mbíodh máithreacha cíche de chuid na cosmhuintire fostaithe ag na huaisle chun a gclann a chothú. Is dóigh léi, mar sin, gur téarma tarcaisniúil ab ea 'miltch nurse' a d'úsáidtí, d'aonghnó, chun stádas na máthar cíche a dhísbeagadh.[101] Ní hionann san is a rá go raibh na máithreacha altrama ar aon leibhéal sóisialta lena leanaí altrama, ach nár mhór an difríocht a bhí eatarthu agus gur bhuaine agus gur shuntasaí an gaol a dheintí eatarthu ná idir máthair chíche agus leanbh i sochaithe eile.

D'fhéadfaí na tagairtí thuasluaite a lochtú as a bheith mí-aimseartha, ós rud é go mbaineann ábhar na haiste seo le tréimhse i bhfad níos luaithe ná iad. Os a choinne sin, is fiú tagairt do 'Lawes of Ireland', lámhscríbhinn Bhéarla Huntington 7042, ón seachtú haois déag, a thaispeánann, dar le Kelly, 'how little the institutions of Irish society changed between the Old Irish period [c. 700–900] and the Flight of the Earls [1607]'.[102] Pé scéal é, ní bhréagnaíonn na foinsí dúchasacha a bhfuil i gcuntaisí na Sasanach, dá chlaonta iad ar thaobh an choilínithe. Is cinnte go dtagann a gcuidsean tuairiscí lena raibh le rá ag eachtrannach eile, breis is ceithre chéad bliain roimhe sin. Agus é ag cásamh nós an altramais in Éirinn, deireann Giraldus Cambrensis go raibh an cónasc a deineadh idir gaolta altrama ní ba dhoimhne ná an cónasc idir gaolta fola féin. Úsáideann sé téarmaí a bhaineann le cothú cíche: *alumnos et collactaneos diligunt; fratres et cognatos persequuntur* 'gránn siad leanaí altrama agus deartháireacha altrama; ionsaíonn siad deartháireacha fola agus gaolta fola.'[103]

Tagairtí eile

Tá sampla cuí den máthair chíche in *Compert Con Culainn*. Nuair a saolaíodh Sétanta bhí plé i measc na nUltach maidir leis an dté ab oiriúnaí chun é a oiliúint. Ar deireadh, níor chloígh Conchobar le haon tuiste amháin ach le scata, mar a bhí dlite do leanbh uasal, ag cur dualgaisí éagsúla orthu. Thit cúram na máthar cíche ar chrann Fhinnchóeme: *dí chích a máthar cích*

[101]Ibid. 141–2.

[102]Kelly, *Guide*, 241.

[103]J. F. Dimock (eag.), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* (Londain, 1867), v, 167, aist. agam féin. Ciallaíonn *alumnus* 'nursling, pupil, foster-son'; ciallaíonn *collactaneus* 'brother or sister nourished at the same breast, foster-brother or sister': Lewis agus Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.vv. Tugann na cuntais seo sliocht as *Smaointe Beatha Chríost* chun cuimhne, aistriúchán Gaeilge ar bhuntéacs Laidine ar dóigh lena eagarthóir gur cumadh ag tús na ceathrú haoise déag é: Cainneach Ó Maonaigh (eag.), *Smaointe Beatha Chríost .i. Innsint Ghaelge a chuir Tomás Gruamdha Ó Bruacháin (fl. c. 1450) ar an* Meditationes Vitae Christi (Baile Átha Cliath, 1944), xiii. Agus í ar cuairt ag Eilís, piocann Muire an leanbh Eoin suas ina baclainn agus tugann an chíoch dó. Ina dhiaidh san ba mhó a ghrá do Mhuire ná dá mháthair féin: *dob airde a ghradh innti sin na i n-a mh*athair (20 (§38)). Níl fáil ar an ngiota so in aon cheann de na lámhscríbhinní Laidine (235).

Finnchóeme '[is iad] dhá chíoch a mháthar cíoch[a] Fhinnchóeme.'[104] Tá leagan eile den gcoimpeart a bhréagnaíonn tuairim thuasluaite Bhitel, is é sin go mb'fhéidir go roghnaítí mar mháithreacha altrama mná a bhí róshean len a thuilleadh leanaí a shaolú, chun deis a thabhairt do mháithreacha óga leanúint de chúram na breithe.[105] Sa leagan so den gcoimpeart castar orainn Cet mac Mágach agus a thuismitheoirí altrama. In ainneoin Cet a bheith fásta fén am so, ní hamháin go bhfuil a bhuime fós óg a dóthain le bheith ina máthair ag an naíonán, Lóeg, ach baintear an leanbh so den gcíoch le go gcothódh sí Sétanta óg ina áit:

> Beiridh dī Ceat ar alt*ru*m m*a*c Deichtire ⁊ dos·b*er* i n-ucht a buime ⁊ a aide he ⁊ bent*air* Lægh da chich roime. Teit dī Ceat i Conn*acht*aibh iar sin, ⁊ fairisidh a bhuime ⁊ a aide la hUltu ac altrum ConCul*aind*.
>
> 'Tógann Cet mac Dheichtire ar altramas ansan agus cuireann sé i gcúram a bhuime agus a oide féin é agus baintear Lóeg dá chíoch roimhe. Téann Cet go Connachta ansan, agus fanann a bhuime agus a oide in Ultaibh ag tógaint Chon Chulainn.'[106]

I mBeatha Nua-Ghaeilge Mhuire, aistriúchán ar théacs Laidine, feictear nach raibh máthair chíche ag Muire: 'níor iarr a máthair buime dá hoileamhuin amhail iarraid mná eile ach a hoileamhuin ar a cíochaibh féin.'[107] Sampla de mháthair chíche ó litríocht na Sean-Ghaeilge is ea scéal Naomh Íte. Daol mór a bhí mar dhalta aicise. Dhein a cothú díobháil d'Íte: *dael oc a diul méitigt*her *oirce ro chlóid a lethtaeb uile* 'a stag-beetle as big as a lapdog a-sucking her completely destroyed one of her sides.'[108] Agus Íte as baile, lá, maraíonn a cómhná rialta a dalta. Éilíonn sí an Leanbh Íosa mar dhalta in ionad an daoil ionúin, agus feictear í Á chothú sa dán iomráiteach *Ísucán*.[109] Leagann Bray béim ar leathnú an róil mháthartha ó chúram fisiciúil go cúram spioradálta.[110] In ainneoin gur thug Íte an chíoch don ndaol agus don Leanbh Íosa, níor

[104]A. G. van Hamel (eag.), *Compert Con Culainn* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1978), 1–8, ar 8. Luann van Hamel (1) dáta san ochtú nó sa naoú haois leis.

[105]Feic n. 61 thuas.

[106]Rudolf Thurneysen (eag.), *Zu irischen Handschriften und Literaturdenkmälern* (Beirlín, 1912), 44, aist. go Gearmáinis ar 47; aist. go Gaeilge agam féin. Ina dhiaidh san, ní léir an leanann an bhuime de chothú na beirte in éineacht nó an ndeintear socrú eile do Lóeg.

[107]Maoghnas Ó Domhnaill (eag.), *Beatha Mhuire* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1940), 17. Tá an sonra so sa Laidin, leis.

[108]Stokes, *Félire Óengusso*, 42–44 (§15). Ní roghnaíonn Elva Johnston an briathar is oiriúnaí nuair a thagraíonn sí do 'a beetle that gnawed on her flesh': feic 'Íte: patron of her people?', *Peritia* 14 (2000), 421–8, ar 422.

[109]Stokes, *Félire Óengusso*, 44, aist. 45. Le plé ar an ndán so feic E. G. Quin (eag.), 'The early Irish poem *Ísucán*', *CMCS* 1 (Samhradh 1981), 39–52. Bhí cáil ar leith ar Íte mar mháthair altrama naomh na hÉireann: [*h*]*ec enim uirgo multos sanctorum Hibernie ab infantia nutriuit* 'ar ndóigh, chothaigh an mhaighdean so a lán de naoimh na hÉireann ón naíocht' (Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, i, 99 (§3), aist. agam féin).

[110]Bray, 'Suckling at the breast of Christ', 294.

dhein i gcás Bhréanainn. Is amhlaidh a baineadh an naíonán naofa de chíoch a mháthar féin sarar chuaigh sé ar altramas ag Íte:

> Postquam uero in domo parentum compleuit annum sue ablactationis infans benedictus, episcopus Ercus eum secum adduxit, ac cure sancte uirginis, nomine Ita, commisit.
>
> 'Bliain tar éis don naíonán naofa a bheith bainte den gcíoch i dteach a thuismitheoirí, thug an tEaspag Erc leis é agus chuir fé chúram na maighdine beannaithe, Íte.'[111]

Fir i mbun cothaithe

Tá tagairtí chomh maith sa litríocht do leanaí a bheith ar an mbrollach ag fir. I gcuntas atá níos déanaí ná na samplaí atá díreach pléite, ní raibh aon bhac ar an naomh Colmán Ela, mar fhear, a chíoch a thabhairt do leanbh. Tairgeann sé *cioch lemn*acht*a* ⁊ *cioch meala* 'a pap with milk and a pap with honey' do bheirt a bhí le bheith ina ndaltaí aige.[112] Is díol suime é gur minicí tagairtí do naoimh fhireanna ag cothú an Linbh Íosa, nó leanaí naofa eile, ná do naoimh bhaineanna dá gcothú sa litríocht.[113] Beirt naomh eile a bhí i mbun cothaithe ná Fregius[114] agus Findchú.[115] Bhain mac altrama le Findchú, a tógadh óna mháthair díreach tar éis a bhreithe, an méid sin tairbhe as an gcothú a fuair sé uaidh go ndeirtear go raibh *bisech ar an mac sin nách bíadh*

[111]Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, i, 99 (§3), aist. agam féin. Sa tslí chéanna, baineadh Naomh Brigit den gcíoch sarar chuaigh sí ar altramas: feic Donncha Ó hAodha (eag.), *Bethu Brigte* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1978), 2 (§§5–6), aist. 21. Aistríodh an Bheatha ó Laidin go Gaeilge uair éigin sa naoú haois (xxvi–xxvii).

[112]Charles Plummer (eag.), *Bethada Náem nÉrenn* (Oxford, 1922), i, 174, aist. ii, 168.

[113]Bledsoe, 'St Ita of Killeedy', 1.

[114]Cuntas Laidine ar fáil i mBeatha Bhearaigh: Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, i, 76 (§4).

[115]Is díol suime go dtagraíonn Stokes, ina chuid nótaí, do 'authenticated instances of males suckling infants': *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890), 348. Tá an 'cruthú' air seo in Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America During the Years 1799–1804*, *Written in French by Alexander von Humbold: Translated and Edited by Thomasina Ross* (Londain, 1852), i, 220–2, mar a soláthraíonn von Humboldt samplaí d'fhir a raibh ar a gcumas leanaí a chothú.

Tugtar *galactorrhoea* ar '[a]bnormal production of milk. It may occur under psychological influences or be a sign of pituitary tumor': K. G. Auerbach agus Jan Riordan, *Study Guide for Breastfeeding and Human Lactation,* an dara heag. (Toronto agus Londain, 1999), 150. Maidir le cás fir a raibh meall ar an bhfaireog phiotútach aige feic T. M. Anoop, P. K. Jabbar agus J. M. Pappachan, 'Lactation associated with a pituitary tumour in a man', *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 182/6 (Aibreán 2012), 591. Cás eile, ceann nach deacair a shamhlú le saol aiséiteach cuid de na manaigh mheánaoiseacha in Éirinn, ná an ceann so: 'lactation in men was observed in [WWII POW] camps when malnourished detainees were later liberated and provided with adequate nutrition. During the period of limited food supply, the prisoners suffered liver [...] and pituitary atrophy. After post-release increases in nourishment, the [...] pituitary gland rapidly regained [its] function and began producing estrogens [...] However, the liver was slower to recover from the stress of starvation and could not metabolise these products. The result was an imbalance of hormones that led to male lactation': T. H. Kunz agus D. J. Hosken, 'Male lactation: why, why not and is it care?', *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* 24/2 (Nollaig 2008), 80–5, ar 81–2.

*oca mh*áthai*r fesin dia mbeitis noenb*ur *banaltrann fai* '[t]hat boy throve as he would not have thriven with his own mother if he had had nine wet-nurses under him.'[116] Dealraíonn sé go mbíodh ba agus/nó mná ar fáil sna mainistreacha, ó am go chéile ar a laghad, chun bainne a sholáthar do na naíonáin a théadh ar altramas chucu. Tuigtear é seo ón suntas a thugtar dá gceal i mBeatha Chóemgin:

> quia mulieres et vacce longe erant a suo monasterio [...] Deus ilico misit de monte propinquo ceruam ad sanctum Coemgenum, de cuius lacte infans Felanus nutritus est.
>
> 'mar go mbíodh mná agus ba i bhfad óna mhainistir [...] chuir Dia eilit láithreach chuig Cóemgen ó shliabh in aice láimhe, ar beathaíodh Felanus ar a cuid bainne.'[117]

Agus ní cléirigh amháin na fir a chothaíonn leanaí sa litríocht. Sna ginealaigh ag Uí Echach Muman tá tagairt do Lughaidh Cíochach:

> Lughaidh Cíochach, umorro, isé ro alt na meic sin Chriomhthainn mic Eachach ar a chíochaibh féin .i. Laoghaire agus Aodh Uargharg. Agus adeirid cuid dona senchadhaibh gur lemhnacht do thigeadh as an gcíoch do bheireadh do Laoghaire, agus gur fuil do bheireadh d'Aodh as an gcíoch eile. Do ghoir Lughaidh Cíochach ar na draoithibh dá láthair, agus do thesbeán dóibh a chíocha, agus mar do thighedh lemhnacht do Laoghaire agus duil d'Aodh. Isé breithemhnas rugadar na draoithe air sin .i. nimh ghaisgidh agus fola do bheith ar chinél Aodha, agus sonus cethra agus lachta ar Chinél Laoghaire.[118]

In *Acallam na Senórach*, deineann Finn brionglóid ar dhá rón ag diúl a chíoch. Téann sé go Fergus Fínbél ar tí bhrí a bhrionglóide. Sa leagan is sine dá bhfuil againn den *Acallam*, míníonn Fergus gurb iad beirt mhac rí Chonnacht an dá rón. Bogann an scéal ar aghaidh gan a thuilleadh mínithe.[119] I leagan níos déanaí,[120] áfach, tugann Fergus eolas breise ar an mbrionglóid. Deireann sé gurb ionann dhá chíoch Fhinn agus beirt mhac rí Chonnacht: an chúis a nascann sé an bheirt le hucht Fhinn ná go rabhadar ina ndaltaí aige.[121]

[116]Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, 90, aist. 237.

[117]Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, i, 250–1 (§31), aist. agam féin.

[118]Tadhg Ó Donnchadha (eag.), *An Leabhar Muimhneach maraon le Suim Aguisíní* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1940), 168–9.

[119]Whitley Stokes agus Ernst Windisch (eag.), *Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1900), iv, 89. Leagann Nessa Ní Shéaghdha (eag.) dáta idir 1142 agus 1175 ar an leagan so den saothar: *Agallamh na Seanórach*, 3 iml. (Baile Átha Cliath, 1942–5, in athcló mar aon leabhar amháin 2014), ii, lgh x–xii.

[120]Ón gceathrú haois déag nó ón gcúigiú haois déag, dar le Ní Shéaghdha (ibid. lgh xxiv–xxxi).

[121]Ibid. 140.

Conclúid

Léiríonn réimse fairsing na n-eiseamláirí de chothú cíche sa litríocht gur glacadh leis an máthair chíche mar chuid den saol, mar aon leis an gcothú cíche mar chuid den altramas. Is fuirist a shamhlú go mbaistfí Sinech ar bhean toisc baint a bheith aici leis an gcúram so. Ní hionann glacadh leis an máthair chíche mar dhlúthchuid den sochaí mheánaoiseach is a rá go mbíodh a leithéid ag gach leanbh altrama dá raibh ann, gan amhras. Bhí saghasanna difriúla altramais ann, agus is fiú go mór a thuilleadh iniúchta orthu.

Aogán Ó hIarlaithe

Ollscoil na hÉireann Gaillimh

A NOTE ON *SECT.O.F.N.*

Abstract

This note suggests a reconstruction of the first line of a poem on the subject of Brug na Bóinne from the Book of Leinster, p. 209, beginning *Sect.o.f.n.* The poem was previously edited and translated by Lucius Gwynn and translated into French by Christian Guyonvarc'h, although neither scholar attempted to reconstruct the first line. Issues of mise-en-page, as well as the content, language, and metre of the poem will be discussed.

A poem of 78 quatrains beginning *Sect.o.f.n*. was edited by Lucius Gwynn from the sole manuscript witness, the Book of Leinster (Trinity College Dublin MS. H 2. 18 [1339]; *LL*),[1] where it is erroneously ascribed to Cináed úa hArtacáin.[2] The poem begins in the middle of p. 209b where it runs for 24 lines before the scribe notes, *ut ante. in precedenti pagina* 'as before, on the preceding page'.[3] It continues on p. 208b (*A éicsiu Banba*), and further on p. 209a, and finishes in the middle of column b of that page, just before the beginning of the poem (see Fig. 1). *Sect.o.f.n*. is preceded by a nature poem on winter beginning *Fuit co bráth*,[4] and is followed by the metrical *dindṡenchas* of Mag Femin. The manuscript is stained and the writing faded on the top right area of p. 209, which affects the legibility of a number of lines towards the end of the poem.

*This note is the result of a seminar which I gave at the Department of Early and Medieval Irish at University College Cork in February 2017. I would like to thank all those present for their helpful input. I further wish to thank Ruairí Ó hUiginn, Liam Breatnach, Clodagh Downey, as well as the anonymous reader and the editors of *Celtica* for their comments and suggestions; any errors that remain are entirely my own.

[1]Lucius Gwynn, 'Cináed úa hArtacáin's Poem on Brugh na Bóinne', *Ériu* 7 (1914), 210–38. *Corrigenda* to the edition were published in Kuno Meyer, *Miscellanea Hibernica*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 2.4 (Urbana, Illinois, 1917), 38–9. A translation into French can be found in Christian Guyonvar'h, 'La Courtise d'Étaín', *Celticum* 15 (1966), 283–327.

[2]Rudolf Thurneysen and Gerard Murphy both dated the poem to the twelfth century, see Rudolf Thurneysen, 'Allerlei Irisches', *ZCP* 10 (1915), 421–44: 438–40; addenda *ZCP* 11, 167, and Gerard Murphy, 'On the dates of two sources used in Thurneysen's *Heldensage*', *Ériu* 16 (1952), 145–56, at 156. However, John Carey has noted that James Carney, in a seminar at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies some thirty years ago, strongly advocated Cináed's authorship of the poem. Indeed, Carney lists *Sect.o.f.n.* among the poems composed between *c.* 950 and 1004, and cites the poem as evidence from the tenth century for the present tense third sg. dependent ending *-ann*/*-enn*. See James Carney, 'The dating of Early Irish verse texts, 500–1000', *Éigse* 19:2 (1983), 177–216, at 179 and 206. Further, John Carey, 'Irish parallels to the myth of Odin's eye', *Folklore* 94:2 (1983), 214–18, at 218 n.17.

[3]*LL* iv, 1017.

[4]Most recently edited in Vernam Hull, 'Four Old-Irish songs of summer and winter', *Celtica* 9 (1971), 200–1.

 ©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

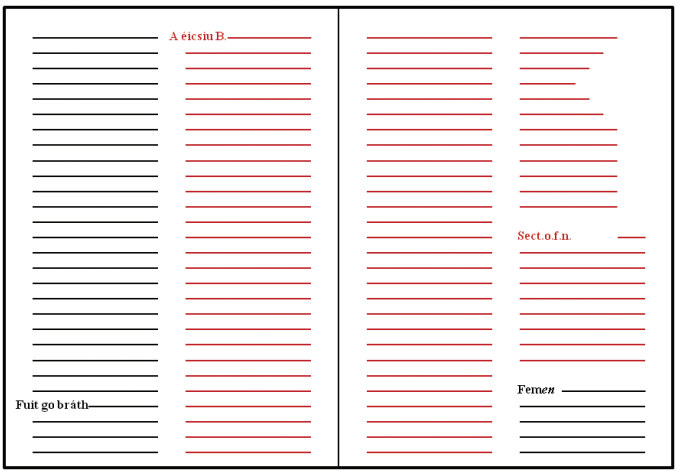


Fig. 1: Book of Leinster pp. 208 and 209.

To my knowledge, the meaning of the opening line, *Sect.o. f. n*., has never been deciphered. It may be that the line was written out in full in the exemplar behind the Book of Leinster; and that the meaning of the first line was obvious to the scribe so that he abbreviated it,[5] confident that it would be understood without difficulty by other readers. Another possibility is that the opposite was the case and that the scribe's exemplar was in some way defective, so that the letters he wrote were the only ones he could read. This would also explain why he left a space between *Sect.o.f.n.* and the first word of line b of the verse, *ním thabair* (see Fig. 2). In this poem, lines a and b usually occupy one line in the manuscript, and lines c and d occupy another line, so that each quatrain

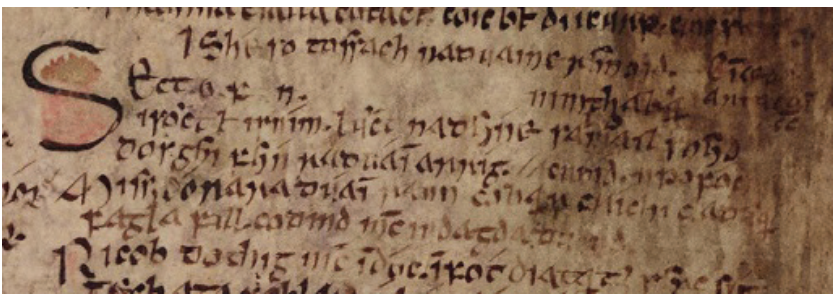


Fig. 2: Opening lines of *Sect.o.f.n.* (Book of Leinster p. 209b).

[5]A mere coincidence, perhaps, but as David Herriott has pointed out to me, the number of letters in the first line is seven. Wherever the word *secht* is found in the rest of the poem, it is either spelt out in full, or else the *c* carries a *spiritus asper*. But this is not the case in the opening line.

takes up two lines. If the opening of the poem was not legible to the scribe, it is possible that he left as much space as the illegible words took up in his exemplar, perhaps in the hope of getting hold of a better copy of the poem at a later stage.

The 24 lines in the lower half of p. 209b make up the first nine quatrains of the poem and seem to constitute a sort of introduction or raison d'être for the text.[6] This section ought to precede what the scribe may have initially mistaken for the actual beginning of the poem (since he wrote it on the preceding p. 208): a section beginning *A éicsiu Banba* 'O scholars of Ireland' (see Fig. 3) with a more lavishly decorated initial than the first section.[7]

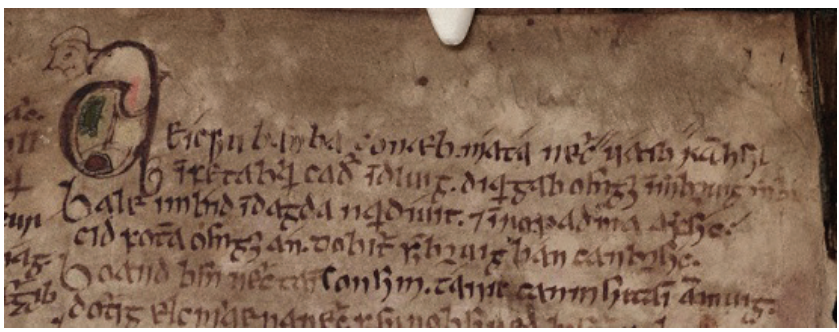


Fig. 3: Beginning of Section 2, *A éicsiu Banba co n-æb* (p. 208b).

Whatever may have been the scribe's reason for rendering the opening line of section 1 in this manner, the meaning of *Sect.o.f.n.* is not obvious to us.[8] Lucius Gwynn assumed – correctly I think – that these letters, once expanded, make up the first line of the poem to complete the quatrain and

[6]See further discussion below.

[7]This would be an understandable mistake, since the phrase *A éicsiu X* is a common opening line in poetry. See, for example, a poem beginning *A éicsi Banba na mbend* (Gisbert Hemprich, 'Das Gedicht *A éigsi Banba na mbend* von Giolla Íosa Mac Firbhisigh (gest. 1301) und die irische *Réim ríoghraidhe*-Tradition', in Helmut Birkhan (ed.), *Kelten-Einfälle an der Donau. Akten des Vierten Symposiums deutschsprachiger Keltologinnen und Keltologen* (Vienna, 2007), 255–78); a further example is *A éicsiu Fáil fégam sein* (Kuno Meyer, 'Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften', *ZCP* 8 (1912), 102–20, at 105–6).

[8]As Liam Breatnach points out to me, *Sect.o.f.n.* looks rather like a *dúnad* marker. A comparable puzzle, in an internal *dúnad* to an acephalous poem on the origin of the Uí Mhaine (north Co. Galway, south Roscommon), can be found on fol. 18vb41 in British Library Egerton MS. 90, where the letter sequence *Re.c.c.* occurs at the end of the penultimate quatrain. The cataloguer notes that this 'gives a clue to the beginning of the poem'. See S. O'Grady and R. Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London, 1926), i, 83. My thanks to Ruairí Ó hUiginn for the reference. This type of abbreviation is very common in internal and final *dúnada*. At times, each abbreviated letter stands for a word; while at other times one or two words are rendered with a *punctum* after each letter, e.g. 'S.u.n.*n*.d.ea.si.n', which stands for the opening line *sund dessid do-munemar*, and stands after the *dúnad* of the poem on Ráith Ésa in the *Dindṡenchas*, beginning in TCD MS. 1318 (the Yellow Book of Lecan), col. 407.

therefore should make up at least four words, filling seven syllables in total.[9] Gwynn translated the word *secht* and then proceeded to line b of the first quatrain as follows:

> Sect o. f. n.
> ním-thabair i socht nó i sním
> lucht na déine samail snéid
> dos-gén féin radúain a rríg.
>
> 'The seven *o. f. n*.
> it casts me not into grief or anxiety:
> a race that does not make comparison trivial [?],
> I will compose them a mighty song of their King.'[10]

CORRECTIONS TO QUATRAIN 1

Before any reconstruction of the first line can be attempted, Gwynn's rendering of the rest of the quatrain, both text and translation, requires a few corrections. There is no issue in line b, but line c contains a number of problems. Gwynn interpreted *lucht na déine* as *lucht nád déine* 'people who do not make', taking it as a relative clause with the antecedent *lucht* 'people, folk, company', followed by the negative relative *ná*(*d*) 'which ... not' and the third sg. pres. ind. prototonic of *do-gní* (OIr *-dén*[*a*]*i*, cf. *GOI* §§ 831; 857).[11] Since this word ends in an unstressed final vowel – and these were no longer distinguished in the period this poem was written – this vowel can be rendered as *-e*. The problem with this interpretation is that, while spellings like *-déni* and *-déne* are attested for this form (although both are from the Glosses and therefore much earlier), the prototonic forms of the verb *do-gní* normally have a broad *n*, while *-déine* in our poem clearly has a palatal *n*.[12] I would therefore suggest that *déine* is not a verbal form, but rather a noun in the genitive,

[9] I would like to thank Pádraig Ó Macháin for suggesting that the first line of the quatrain could be short. Gerard Murphy records several metres in which the first line of each quatrain is shortened from seven to three syllables. See, for example, the metre called *rannaigecht chethar-cubaid gairit dialtach*, which follows the structure $3^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$ (Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin, 1961), 54). There are further examples in Old and Middle Irish poetry of poems in which the first line of a quatrain has been shortened to three syllables, but where this feature is not observed throughout. For example, in an Old Irish poem on the Old Woman of Beare (Gerard Murphy (ed.), *Early Irish Lyrics* (Oxford, 1956), 74–83) several quatrains begin with a trisyllabic line, while the rest of the quatrain observes the structure $7^{2}7^{3}7^{2}$. If the first line of our poem is indeed a short line, it would have to have four syllables, with each of the words beginning with *o.f.n.* being a monosyllable. Shortened first lines, in heptasyllabic metres, tend to have three syllables, rather than four, as exemplified by the preceding poem beginning *Fuit co bráth*. Only the first quatrain begins in a short line; the other quatrains each have seven syllables in line a.

[10] Gwynn, 'Cináed úa hArtacáin's Poem', 219 (text); 230 (translation).

[11] In the French translation of this poem, Christian Guyonvarc'h seems to have interpreted *déine* as a form of *duine* 'person, human being, man', since he translates 1c as 'la foule des *hommes*, comparaison qui n'est pas petite' (Guyonvar'h, 'La Courtise d'Étaín', 283-327; at 323).

[12] In the later language, palatal forms of *·déin* are attested. See for instance, J. G. O'Keeffe (ed.), *Buile Śuibhne*, Medieval and Modern Irish Series, i (Dublin, 1931), 95, ll. 15–16: *ní déinim comnaidhe i n-áon áit* 'I do not abide [lit. 'make habitation'] in any place'.

preceded by the feminine definite article *na*, and qualifying *lucht*. The most straightforward interpretation would be to take it as the gen. sg. of the *iā*-stem noun *déine* 'swiftness, eagerness', abstract noun of the adjective *dían* 'swift'. This would give 'people of eagerness'. But I think another interpretation is possible here, namely to take *déine* to be the gen. sg. fem. of *ā*-stem *dían*, which is the name of a type of metre (e.g. *dían airṡeng*, *dían midṡeng* etc.).[13] According to this interpretation, *lucht na déine* would give 'people of the [metre] *dían*'.

As Kuno Meyer pointed out in his corrigenda to the poem, the penultimate word in line c should not be *samail* but *sádail* 'indolent, lazy'. While the reading in the manuscript may be *samail*, the scribe corrects this with *no d* 'rather d', above the letter *m*.[14] Therefore the line can hardly mean 'which makes comparison trivial'. Gwynn translates line d as 'I myself will compose them a great poem for their king'. He takes the *–s* in the verbal form *dos-gén* to be the third pl. class A infixed pronoun, apparently taking *lucht* as the antecedent. The problem with this translation is that *–s* cannot be the indirect object of the verb. This indirect or dative use of infixed pronouns is not only highly restricted,[15] it would also be completely unexpected in a twelfth-century poem. If the intended meaning was 'I will make a poem for them (i.e. *lucht*)', then the preposition *do* would most likely have been used. The infixed pronoun can only be the direct object of *do-gní*, in which case it makes more sense to take it as being a third sg. feminine proleptic pronoun, anticipating *radúain*, so that the line translates as 'I will compose it myself, a great poem [...]'. But the verbal form *dos-gén* is actually written with a *punctum delens* above the *s* in the manuscript.[16] While this may indicate lenition in another context, here the scribe sought to delete the letter (and lenition would not make sense here at any rate) so that the correct reading is *do-gén*, not *dos-gén*, with *radúain* being the only possible object of the verb. I would therefore emend the line to *do-gén féin radúain* 'I myself will compose a great poem'. A final possible emendation concerns the last two words in line d, which Gwynn has rendered as *a rríg* 'their king'. Another possible interpretation is *ar ríg* 'for a king'.[17] Both interpretations are equally possible, but the second case would eliminate any remaining relationship to line c: while *a rríg* maintains a relationship to *lucht na déine*, which is its only possible referrent, *ar ríg* would make the noun indefinite and sever any link in line d to line c or the remainder of the quatrain.

[13]Although *DIL* s.v. 4 *dían* records no declension, it is clear from the examples of dat. sg. *déin* and the nom. pl. *díana* that we are dealing with an *ā*-stem feminine noun. Note that Murphy takes *dían* to be an *ā*-stem (*Early Irish Metrics*, 79).

[14]Cf. *LL* iv, 1016 n. 2.

[15]See Thurneysen in *GOI* §409(b), who notes that this construction is extremely rare with verbs other than the sustantive verb. He notes one example from *Táin Bó Fraích* (*LL* 252[a]25) and another from the Würzburg Glosses (Wb. 17[d]4).

[16]Best and O'Brien seem to have noticed this as well, although they note '*n* may be expunged', instead. Since there is nothing unusual about the *n*, they must have meant the *s*. See *LL* iv, 1016 n. 3.

[17]My thanks to Clodagh Downey for suggesting this reading to me.

METRICAL CONSIDERATIONS

While it may not be possible to reconstruct the first line with absolute certainty, we can narrow down possible answers, or, at least, exclude impossible answers with the help of metrics. The first word of the opening line, *secht*, is confirmed by the *dúnada*. The poem is made up of three parts: an introduction, and two narrative sequences. The sections are as follows:

> §1, qqs. 1–9: Composing a poem for Óengus Mac Ind Óc, Feis Tigi Óengussa;
> §2, qqs. 10–65: How Óengus was born and how he gained the Brug;
> §3, qqs. 66–78: Boand's death from the Well of Segais.

Each section ends in a *dúnad* in the word *secht*. Thus, 9d [*tech*] *ran can socht co fo ṡecht* 'a glorious [house] without gloom sevenfold'; 65d *do-rat sain i sním foa secht* 'it cast him into sevenfold grief'; and the final *dúnad* 78d *cóic blíadna di i curp cóic secht* 'in this body she was five years and five times seven'. While it appears that each *dúnad* repeats the opening word of the poem in full (*saigid*), we must not discount the possibility that *sect.* itself stands for a longer word beginning in these letters, so that the *dúnada* only repeat the first syllable of the opening word (*ascnam*).[18] The poem is written in *rannaigecht mór*, which follows the structure 7^{1}x 4.[19] This metre requires end-rhyme between the final words in line b and d (here *sním*: *ríg*). Since each line must end in a monosyllable, the word beginning with *n* can only be a monosyllabic word. In quatrain 1, there is alliteration between the final stressed words in the lines which we have, i.e. *socht—sním*; *sádail—snéid*; *radúain—ríg*. There is also *aicill* rhyme (*snéid*: *féin*) in lines c and d. All three end words, *sním*/*snéid*/*ríg*, make *úaitne*.[20] From this picture emerge four questions:

a. Is there alliteration in the first line, and if so, does it occur between the final two words, or, as is also permissible, between the penultimate word and the antepenultimate word? In other words, should we look to expand *Sect.o.f.n.* + *n.* or *Sect.o.f.* + *f. n.*?
b. Does *aicill* rhyme – though optional in the first couplet – occur between a and b?
c. In the absence of *aicill* rhyme, does internal rhyme compensate for this feature?
d. Does the final word in line a participate in *úaitne*?

[18]This possibility is further discussed below.

[19]See Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics*, 52.

[20]While matching consonant quality, in addition to matching vowel length and matching consonant class, is a requirement for *úaitne* in *dán díreach*, the same is not true for the earlier period (Murphy notes this by way of exception to the later rules only, see Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics*, 35 n. 3; further see Ó Cuív in his review of Murphy in *Éigse* 10 (1961/63), 238–41, at 239; and Liam Breatnach, 'III. Poets and Poetry', in Kim McCone and Katharine Simms (eds.), *Progress in Medieval Irish Studies* (Maynooth, 1996), 65–77, at 68). Thus *sním* (later *sníomh*) ends in a broad lenited *m*; *snéid* ends in a palatal lenited *d*; and the *g* in *ríg* is either broad or palatal depending on whether we take it as genitive *ríg* (later *ríogh*) or dative *ríg* (later *rígh*) respectively.

Indeed, the speaker even makes a comment about the metrical strictures of his composition in the (highly ornamented) seventh quatrain:[21]

> Dar Dia ra *dí*rig cach n*d*áim
> noco bia 'na *th*rírig *th***réin**
> rind *é*clinne cen a n-*ú*AIM
> im dÚAIN ríg *F*éiclinne *f***éin**
>
> By God, who has directed every company of poets,
> there will not be in his mighty lyric
> an unsounding[22] rhyme without any[23] harmony,
> for the poem of the king of Fíacc's Pool himself.

In addition to the end rhyme *thréin*: *féin*, we get internal rhyme *dírig*: *thrírig* in a–b and *éclinne*: *Féiclinne* in c–d; we get *aicill* rhyme *úaim*: *dúain*, as well as alliteration in every line.[24] For the sake of determining whether any of these features are present in 1a, we need to draw up their statistics from the rest of the poem. To avoid contamination of the results, I am excluding those quatrains, either in part or as a whole, where a metrical fault (e.g. lack of a word or syllable)

[21]End-rhymes are written in bold; *aicill* rhyme is written in small capitals; expanded character spacing is used for internal rhyme; *italics* are used for initial letters participating in alliteration.

[22]In order to rhyme with *Féiclinne*, the rhyming word in line c cannot be *éclainne*, which – gathering from Gwynn's translation – he took as a form of *clann* with a negative prefix. Rather, I would suggest that this noun is based on a word related to *clinnid* 'sounds, rings' with a negative prefix, since the concern of this verse is clearly how the poem sounds. In *DIL* s.v. *éclinne*, for which our quatrain above is the only entry, the word is taken as the genitive of the preceding entry *éclind*. Examples from *TBC* are given. I do not think that the use of *éclinn* or *églinne* (as it is also spelt) in *TBC* has any relationship to the *éclinne* we are looking for. As the variants in *TBC* demonstrate, other forms of the word are given as *églinne* and *inglinne*, as negatives to *glinne* 'safety, security, pledge', since the context in *TBC* is an unsafe chariot. Cf. *LU* l. 5094; *TBC 1*, l. 684. Of course, it is possible that the quatrain above refers to an 'unstable verse', although I am not sure what exactly that would entail. I find that a word based on *clinnid* makes more sense here.

[23]This line is problematic. If we take a^N to be the third pl. possessive pronoun, then what is its referent? *Rind* at the beginning of the line is in the singular so that the only possible candidate is *dáim* (semantically plural) in line a. But line a does not have a very strong connection to the remainder of the quatrain, being syntactically independent from it. I am also not sure what sense 'their alliteration' would make. Another possibility would be to take a^N as the old accusative neuter definite article before *úaim(m)*, originally a neuter *n*-stem. On the other hand, I would not expect to find a neuter article in a poem this late, and the use of the definite article in this instance seems redundant to me. A third possibility would be to emend *an* to *áen* 'one, any', and to translate as above. If the poet meant that there will not be a verse-final end-rhyme (i.e. *rind*) without lit. 'stitching togeher', and in the extended sense 'harmony', and later specifically 'alliteration', his assertion does not hold true since there are quatrains which do not feature alliteration in line d between the final two stressed words of the line. If we are to take *úaim* in a less specific sense of 'joining together', and if the poet simply means to say that all of his verses have harmonious end-rhyme with perfect rhyming partners, then this assertion holds true.

[24]Although the speaker says that there won't be a quatrain without alliteration, he does not say that it has to occur in every single line. While alliteration between the ultimate and the penultimate, or the penultimate and the antepenultimate word was compulsory for every line in the most common metres in *dán díreach*, this was not the case for the earlier period.

affects the inquiry,[25] and further those quatrains which Gwynn has reconstructed in his edition due to the stained section on the top of p. 209. The quatrains variously affected are:

metrically faulty: 6, 13, 41, 52, 60
stained: 70–3.

I have drawn up the statistics as follows: for *aicill* rhyme and internal rhyme, I have taken the couplet as a unit and have separated the evidence for the first and the second couplet. I have done the same for internal rhyme, but with the following addendum: I have counted as separate those instances where internal rhyme compensates for the absence of *aicill* rhyme in both the first and the second couplet. For alliteration, I have first counted each line individually, then the first line only (where possible). For *úaitne*, since we are only interested in the first line, I have counted all quatrains in which the first line participates, and have not taken the third line into consideration since *úaitne* in line c is often sacrificed in order to make *aicill* rhyme with a word in line d. The tally, then, is as follows:

alliteration (total): 266/304 = 87.5%
    alliteration (line a only): 68/76 = 89%
úaitne: 72/73 = 99%
aicill rhyme (total): 82/146 = 56%
    aicill rhyme a–b: 13/73 = 18%
    aicill rhyme c–d: 69/73 = 94.5%
internal rhyme (total): 86/150 = 57%
    internal rhyme a–b: 64/75 = 85%
    internal rhyme c–d: 22/75 = 29%
internal rhyme (compensatory; a–b): 46/73 = 63%
internal rhyme (compensatory; c–d): 2/73 = 3%

As these numbers demonstrate, *aicill* rhyme and internal rhyme are almost equally common, with the former being dominant in the second couplet, while the latter occurs more frequently in the first. It therefore follows that internal rhyme can compensate for the absence of *aicill* rhyme in the first couplet, but this is almost never true for the second couplet; when internal rhyme occurs in c–d, it is nearly always in addition to, and not instead of, *aicill* rhyme. *Úaitne* and alliteration are the most pervasive features in the poem, with *úaitne* occurring in every instance but one. While the percentage for alliteration is high, it is not as pervasive as *úaitne*, so that it need not necessarily be present in 1a.

[25]Not all features under consideration are equally affected by this and the numbers are adjusted accordingly. For example, verse 6 lacks the final word in line a. It is therefore excluded from the count for *aicill* rhyme in a–b and *úaitne*, but not from the tally for alliteration since the previous two stressed words, *fer* and *ferand*, alliterate.

We will now be able to check for the presence of these features in the first couplet, one by one. If we assume that *aicill* rhyme is present in 1a–b, then the participating word in a must be *n*. and the only possible rhyming participant in b is *socht*, since the other stressed word in the line, *-thabair*, has two syllables when only one is required. If the rhyming pair is *n.*: *socht*, then the only word in *n-* which rhymes with *socht* is *nocht*. This could be the adjective *nocht* meaning 'naked, bare', as well as the petrified prepositional phrase *innocht* 'tonight' (which counts as a monosyllable for the sake of rhyme, and alliteration, but as a disyllable for the sake of syllable count in the line as it originally represented two words, *i* and *nocht*). But it should be noted that neither of these two words make *úaitne* with the rest of the quatrain.

There are more possibilities for internal rhyme in 1a–b since both *-thabair* and *socht* are possible rhyming partners in this case. For *socht*, the rhyming partners can be both the word abbreviated *o.* and the word abbreviated *f.* For *-thabair* the rhyming partner cannot be the word abbreviated *o*. since the vowels do not match. It also cannot be the word in *n*., because this word must be monosyllabic. The only possible rhyming partner for *-thabair* is the word abbreviated *f.* The possible combinations, respecting vowel quality and length, and consonant class, are:

a. *socht*: *ocht*, *olc*, *orc*, *ort*, *folc*, *folt*, *forc*, *fort*
b. *-thabair*: *-fagaib, fagail*, *falaig*, *fanaid*, *faraid*

Both *-fagaib* (< *fo-gaib*) and *fanaid* (the verb *anaid* 'stays' with prosthetic *f-*) are singular forms, which would not work after *secht*, since we would expect the word abbreviated *o*. to be a plural word. And neither *falaig* (< *fail*) 'ring, enclosure'or *falaig* (< *folach*) 'hiding, covering', nor *fagail* (as a later form < *fogal* 'attack') or *faraid* (< *forad*) 'mound, platform' make sense in the line either.

Given the limits of rhyming possibilities for 1a–b just laid out, neither *aicill* nor internal rhyme may be present in the first couplet. This leaves us with *úaitne* and alliteration, for which the statistics were considerably higher. For *úaitne*, we require a word beginning with *n-*, which has to be a monosyllable with a long vowel or diphthong, ending in a voiced continuant. The following words beginning in *n-* make *úaitne* with *sním*/*snéid*/*rríg*:

ná(*i*)*r* 'high, noble'
nél 'cloud'
ném 'lustre, radiance'
nóeb 'holy, sacred'
nóin '(ninth) canonical hour'
núaill 'noise'
núin 'evil, harm'.

I would give preference to the first option, especially since the adjective *nár* occurs twice again in the phrase *Mac Namat náir* in 69a and in 70c, where it alliterates in both instances.

Alliteration is one of the most pervasive features throughout the poem.[26] But since the scribe only indicated one word beginning in *f-* or in *n-*, we would need to supply another stressed word for alliteration. In this case, we must postulate either *sect.o.f.f.n.* or *sect.o.f.n.n.* One possibility for the arrangement *f. n. n.* would be *for nim náir* 'in high heaven', or *fo nim náir* 'beneath high heaven'. This phrase is attested elsewhere: we find several examples of it in *Saltair na Rann*, e.g. l. 1759 *mo chur do maig nimi náir*; l. 4181 *manbad ruirig nimi náir*; l. 5488 *ó ríg nime náir nóebfind*.[27] The phrase *for nim nár*, specifically, is found in the *Dindṡenchas* poem on Achall,[28] which, incidentally, is commonly accepted to be Cináed úa hArtacáin's composition.[29] While this phrase fulfills a number of metrical exigencies in keeping with the rest of the poem, it gives the line *secht o. for nim nár* 'Seven o. upon high heaven', and nothing of the sort is referred to either in the rest of the quatrain or anywhere else in the poem. While alliteration is a dominant feature throughout the poem, there are still nine instances in which we do not get alliteration in the first line. All we can say for certain is that the last word is a monosyllable, and that the line must fill seven syllables in total, which means that besides *secht* and the final monosyllable, there are a further five syllables to fill. But what may not be inferred from the metre may yet be inferred from the context.

Context of the quatrain

Due to the cryptic nature of the first line, Gwynn admitted to having some difficulties with translating the rest of the quatrain. His notes state: 'I cannot discover what were the seven '*o. f. n.*' which 'cast not into grief": nor why *-thabair* is not plural.'[30] It is true that we would not expect a singular verb to agree with whatever comes after *secht*, since the numeral indicates that a word in the plural is to follow. There is a dot between the word *Sect* and the letter *o*, however, which, although marked by the editors of *LL*, seems to have gone unnoticed by Gwynn. If *Sect* itself was abbreviated, it could stand for a longer word which begins with these letters. The ordinal *sechtmad* 'seventh' is a possibility here, since whatever follows an ordinal stands in the singular and must therefore take a singular verb. Another possibility for a numeral is *sechtmoga* 'seventy' (later also *sechtmad*), followed by (*a h*)*ocht*, giving the numeral 'seventy-eight'. Seventy-eight is the number of quatrains in the poem. The problem with this suggestion is that the following *f.* cannot

[26]With the exception of quatrain 20, all quatrains which do not feature rhyme in a–b do feature alliteration.

[27]All lines taken from Whitley Stokes (ed.), *The Saltair na Rann. A Collection of Early Middle Irish Poems* (Oxford, 1883).

[28]See Gwynn, *MD* i, 50–1.

[29]See John Carey, 'Cináed ua hArtacáin' [Cineth O'Hartagain] (d. 975), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20636, accessed 2 Feb 2017]. Curiously, the quatrain which contains the phrase is only found in the copy of the poem in the Book of Leinster. It also contains Cináed's full name.

[30]Gwynn, 'Cináed úa hArtacáin's Poem', 237.

stand for a noun, since it would have to stand between the tenth and the digit in that case, so that only a relative clause can follow here, e.g. *fil*, or later *filet*. Another issue is the syntax of the quatrain. If we are changing *secht* to *sechtmad*, for instance, in order to have a singular subject for the verb *ním thabair*, it should be borne in mind that whatever *Sect.o.f.n*. is, is not the only possible subject. It is equally possible that the whole noun phrase which makes up line c, *lucht na déine sádail snéid* is the subject of *ním thabair*, so that we would get *ním thabair* [...] *lucht na déine* [...] 'the folk of the *dían* does not cast me etc.' But whatever the syntactical relationship of either line a or line c to the verb in the second line, some echo or semantic link probably still exists between line a and c.

In order to determine what the semantic link to *lucht na déine* may be, we will have to cast a wider net and look at the rest of section 1 down to quatrain 9. What we know is that the speaker is composing a *radúain rann* 'a great poem of verses' (2a), which will not contain any *rind éclinne* 'unsounding verse',[31] *cen ... úaim* 'without alliteration' (7c), and that he is going to attend *Feis Tigi Óengussa áin / ro fitir cach fili fír* 'The Feast at the House of noble Óengus,[32] which[33] every true *fili* knows' (8a–b). All of these lines contain references to poetry, poets, or metrics. The speaker evidently intends to present his composition: he is attending an event where *deich fichit fichi cét cām* 'ten score and twenty hundred nobles' (4a) will be present, and describes them as *l*[*u*]*cht can locht* 'a company without fault' (9c). And, at the beginning of sections 2 and 3, he addresses the crowd as *a éicsiu Banba* (10a) 'scholars of Ireland', and [*a*] *senchaide in talman* 'historians of the world' (66a).

As previously noted, the phrase *lucht na déine* gives both 'people of swiftness/eagerness' or 'people of the [metre] *dían*'. The *dían*, specifically, is the metre assigned to the lowest grade (*grád*) of *fili*, the *fochloc*.[34] There are a number of Old and Middle Irish texts which deal with the *secht ngrád filed* 'seven grades of poets'. In the majority of these, the grades are listed from

[31]See footnote 22; this seems to me to be the most likely meaning.

[32]Although the category *feis tige* X 'feast at the house of X' features in the medieval Irish tale lists, there is no such title as *Feis Tigi Óengussa*. See Proinsias Mac Cana, *The Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1980), 44, 55. The only guess I could venture here is that *Feis Tigi Óengussa* may be a different title for the first section of *Tochmarc Étaíne*. It was not uncommon for what was essentially the same story to be known under different names. The tale lists give several titles for versions (or sections) of the courtship(s) of Étaín as known from the Yellow Book of Lecan (see edition in Osborn Bergin and R. I. Best, 'Tochmarc Étaíne', *Ériu* 12 (1934–8), 137–96). There is also a short poem of three quatrains, beginning *Tomus tighe Mec ind Ócc*, which deals with the measurements of Óengus' house, edited in Kuno Meyer, 'Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften', *ZCP* 8 (1912), 102–20, at 108. My thanks to the anonymous reader for this reference.

[33]Or 'whom', since both Óengus, or the whole phrase, *Feis Tigi Óengussa*, could be the antecedent of the relative clause here.

[34]For a description of the seven poetic grades, see Liam Breatnach (ed.), *Uraicecht na Ríar* (Dublin, 1987), 177, 182, 183. See further Liam Breatnach, '*Sluindfet dúib dagaisti an dána*', in Caoimhín Breatnach and Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail (eds), *Aon don Éigse* (Dublin, 2015), 51–90, for an edition of a Middle Irish poem which also deals with the seven grades of the *fili*. My thanks to Liam Breatnach for pointing me to this possibility.

highest (*ollam*) to lowest (*fochloc*) so that the *fochloc* is named in seventh place.[35] A possible rendering of the opening line, then, may be:

> **Secht** n-**ō**engrád a **f**ochloc[36] **n**áir
> ním thabair i socht nó i sním
> lucht na déine sádail snéid
> do-gén féin radúain ar ríg.
>
> '[There are] seven grades from the noble *fochloc*,[37]
> the indolent eager folk of the *dían*
> do not cast me into gloom or grief;
> I myself will compose a great poem before a king.'

This may not be a metrically elegant solution, since – with the exception of *úaitne* – it leaves most of the ornamentation aside.[38] But the first quatrain is actually less ornamented on the whole than we would expect the opening quatrain of a poem to be.[39] Compare the second quatrain with both internal rhyme and *aicill* rhyme in both couplets: *radúain*: *cladúair*, *rann*: *barr*; *fagla*: *Dagda*, *fill*: *dind*. The same holds true for most of the quatrains in the first section. In the first quatrain, on the other hand, there is no internal rhyme in the second couplet. As can be seen from the statistics above, the most dominant feature in the poem is *úaitne* so that it is highly likely that *úaitne* was present in the first line. If we do have *úaitne*, however, then we cannot have *aicill* rhyme since the only *aicill* rhyming partner in the second line is *socht*, and no word rhyming with *socht* (see possibilities above) would make *úaitne* with *sním*/*snéid*/*ríg*. If *aicill* rhyme is not present in the first couplet, then internal rhyme can compensate for it, as the numbers above show, and as is exemplified by 5a–b and 8a–b, for instance. But even here the possibilities for internal rhyme in 1a–b are extremely limited, and we are faced with the constraint that the first line must still link up with the rest of the quatrain, especially since an echo of some sort with line c will be expected. None of the words making internal rhyme with either *socht* or *-thabair* proposed above would make sense in connection

[35]Thus presented, among others, in *Bretha Nemed*, *Uraicecht na Ríar*, and *Midślechta*. See Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Ríar*, 148, 154, 160.

[36]Alternatively, we could expand the line as *secht n-ord a fochlocain nár*, since *fochloc* is also attested as an *n*-stem (see the example in Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Ríar*, 43), and the word *ord* (though the word *grád* is usually used) can also mean 'rank'.

[37]That is, inclusive of the *fochloc*.

[38]Another line of inquiry, which I briefly pursued, was to look for other poems with an opening line beginning in *secht* in the catalogues of manuscripts, to see whether there was any other poem beginning with the same line. While there are many poems beginning in *secht*, there seems to be no other example of *sect.o.f.n.* or something similar. See T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1921), 398–9; and Kathleen Mulchrone, Thomas F. O'Rahilly, Elizabeth FitzPatrick, and A. I. Pearson (eds), *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, 8 vols (Dublin, 1926–70), viii, 498–9.

[39]After a cursory look through other poems in *rannaigecht* type metres in the Book of Leinster, it appears that most opening quatrains are indeed highly ornamented. Note one exception in *LL* v, 1239 (l. 36778).

with line c. But there is semantic equivalence between *fochloc náir* and *lucht na déine*, since the latter seems to be paraphrasing the lowest rank of the *fili*. As already mentioned above, restoring alliteration would mean supplying an additional word in either *f* or *n*, which, given the extremely narrow possibilities we are already operating under, may simply not be present in line a.[40]

The adjective *sádail* seems to express criticism since *sádail* 'indolent, lazy' is used in a derogatory sense. The primary meaning of the adjective *snéid* is 'swift, quick', but in our context it may mean 'eager'. Not unlike *déine*, with its double association of swiftness and poetry, it is possible that some sort of pun was intended here.[41] It is certainly hard to shake off the feeling of condescension in this phrase: the speaker, most likely a *fili* himself (perhaps even a *fochloc*) criticises the laziness of his fellow scholars, although he himself is not troubled by it (*ním thabair i socht nó i sním*) because he will make a great poem (*radúain*). And *snéid* also creates a nice contrast to its rhyming partner *fḗin*, underscoring the difference between the speaker and those he seems to criticise. Moreover, if the speaker is a *fili*, whether *fochloc* or not, he may wish to progress to the next *grád*. *Uraicecht na Ríar* tells us that, when a *fili* wanted to progress to the next *grád*, he had to compose a poem and submit it to the highest representative of his guild, the *ollam*, who would then submit the young scholars's petition before a king, as it was the king who would confirm him in his grade:

> §6 Ceist, cía cruth do-berar grád for filid? Ní hansae, taisbénad a dréchtae do ollamain – ⁊ biit na secht ngráda fis occa – ⁊ gaibthi in rí inna lángrád, inid-focladar int asa dréchtaib [...]
>
> 'How is a grade conferred on a poet? Not difficult; he shows his compositions to an ollam—and he has the seven grades of knowledge—and the king receives him in his full grade, in which the ollam declares him to be on the basis of his compositions, [...].'[42]

In the context of the conferral of a higher grade, the reading *ar ríg* makes sense, since the most basic meaning is 'before a king'. It is possible that the speaker wished to progress to the next rank of poet and that he composed the poem for that purpose.

Indeed, the question of the purpose of the poem is a tricky one. Thomas Owen Clancy has argued that,

> [i]n this poem, the opening clearly praises the local ruler of the area around Brug na Bóinne, before going to tell the tale of

[40]One way to avoid supplying a word would be if the word in *f-* were lenited, in which case it would alliterate with the word in *o-*. *Secht n-óengrád ó fochloc náir* would be a possibility.

[41]Moreover, the word *snéid* is found in compound nouns designating metres such as *snéd-bairdne* or *snéddechnad* etc. (Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics*, 29). What the metres called *snéid-X* have in common is a lack of internal or *aicill* rhyme (as well as alliteration) in the first couplet of a poem, which is exactly what appears to be happening here.

[42]Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Ríar*, 104–5.

> 'the feast of Óengus's house', and a somewhat different version from the prose of the story of *Tochmarc Étaíne*. In this work we have a mixture of praise-poem and entertaining story, with a locality and to some extent a discernible motivation for the telling of the story.[43]

As becomes evident quickly, the king referred to in the first quatrain is Óengus Mac Ind Óc, since the poem describes how he obtained Brug na Bóinne. He is variously referred to as *barr críchi cladúair Cuinn* 'the chief of the cold-trenched territory of Conn' (2b), *meic* [gen.] *in Dagda duind* 'the noble Dagda's son' (2d), *mac ríg Banba* 'son of the king of Banba' (6c), and *ríg* [gen.] *Féiclinne* 'the king of Fíacc's Pool' (7a).[44] Similar or identical phraseology can be found in another poem on Brug na Bóinne, also ascribed to Cináed úa hArtacáin.[45] This is the poem beginning *Án sin a maig Mic ind Óc*, which is found in the *Dindṡenchas*[46] and in *Senchas na Relec*.[47] Note, for instance, the reference to *lind find Féic* 'the clear pool of Fíacc' (l. 17), or the phrases *mic in Dagda déin* (l. 74), and *tech Mic in Óc* (l. 9). While the characters in the poem are fictional, it is possible that the poet is praising an actual ruler of Meath as suggested by Clancy, but through the figure of Óengus Mac ind Óc, and by telling the well-known story of Óengus's ruse.[48]

Marie-Luise Theuerkauf

Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

[43]See Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Before the ballad: Gaelic narrative verse before 1200', in Colm Ó Baoill and Nancy R. McGuire (eds), *Caindel Alban. Fèil-sgrìobhainn do Dhòmhnaill E. Meek* (Aberdeen, 2008), 113–36, at 126. My thanks to Clodagh Downey for this reference.

[44]Near Rosnaree on the Boyne. See Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin, 1910), 490. Fíacc's Pool is also mentioned in a poem on Brug na Bóinne (Gwynn, *MD* ii, 10:17) and in the *dindṡenchas* of Linn Féic contained in RIA MS. D ii 2 (see Gwynn, *MD* iv: 296).

[45]The language of the text suggests that this ascription is genuine as there appear to be no features that would contradict a tenth-century date.

[46]Edited and translated in Gwynn, *MD*, ii, 10–17 and labelled *Brug na Bóinne* I. The thematic and rhetorical similarities between this poem and *Sect.o.f.n.* could explain why the latter was ascribed to Cináed. Indeed, Cináed seems to have been the author of several poems focusing on areas in Meath.

[47]Further see *LU*, 129–32.

[48]Noting the reading *Mac Ócán* in 5c, Gwynn remarked 'An Óengus mac Ócan is mentioned Ann. Ult. 956' (Gwynn, 'Cináed úa hArtacáin's Poem', 230 n. 2). But the correct reading is *mac Nocáin* (see *AU* s.a. 956.1), and this person seems to have been a cleric, not a secular ruler. At any rate, a *obit* of AD 956 would be too early for the poem to have been written for this person. The reference to *críchi cladúair Cuinn* in 2b could suggest that the poem was written for an Uí Néill ruler. More recently, Donnchadh Ó Corráin has proposed an eleventh-century date for the poem and suggested that Óengus son of Carrach Calma (d. 1017) was its intended honorand. See Donnchadh Ó Corráin, *Clavis Litterarum Hibernensium*, 3 vols (Turnhout, 2017), iii, 1566.

A MEDIEVAL IRISH COMMENTARY ON THE *MAGISTER*

Abstract

Three medieval Irish manuscripts, two of which are almost entirely medical in content, preserve a hitherto unpublished passage of commentary in Irish on the meaning of the Latin word *magister* ('teacher' or 'master'). The text in question consists chiefly of a series of expositions on the eight letters of the term *magister* that serve to highlight various attributes associated with an individual bearing that title. Each explanation cites a different Latin word, the initial letter of which corresponds to one of the letters in the word *magister*. These Latin terms are then translated into Irish, and followed in turn by succinct interpretations of how each concept relates to the function and duties of a *magister*. The present contribution offers an annotated edition and translation of this passage, and attempts to situate its contents within the wider context of medieval Irish intellectual culture.

The purpose of this contribution is to bring to light a previously unpublished passage of medieval Irish commentary concerned with the meaning of the Latin term *magister* ('teacher' or 'master'). The text in question consists of a short preface beginning with the phrase *do cēimindaib[h] in maighisdir ann sō* ('concerning the grades of a master here'), in which a figure referred to variously as *Tomás Alisanus*, *Tomás Alifanus* or *Tomás Elesanus* is cited as an authority. This brief introduction is followed by a series of expositions on the eight letters in the Latin word *magister* that serve to outline various attributes of an individual who might achieve the distinction of that title.[1] Each explanation cites a different Latin word, the initial letter of which corresponds to one of the letters in the headword *magister*. Although the headword is said to consist of 'Greek letters' (*litreacha Grēgacha*), no Greek terminological equivalents are posited for any of the Latin terms. The latter are also translated into Irish in the commentary, and these renderings are followed in turn by brief interpretations of how each concept relates to the function and duties of a *magister*. In the first three of these, it is asserted that the individual who achieves the title of *magister* is in some way superior to a *dochtúir*, while

I am grateful to Liam Breatnach, Ruairí Ó hUiginn and an anonymous reader for offering many helpful comments on a draft of this article. Any errors or shortcomings that might remain are my responsibility alone.

[1]For the form of the Irish borrowing, see *DIL*, s.v. *maigister (maigistir)*, and also Damian McManus, 'On final syllables in the Latin loan-words in Early Irish', *Ériu* 35 (1984), 137–62, at 161 n. 49. The three manuscript witnesses of the text variously preserve both the *o*-stem form *maig(h)isdir* for the nominative and genitive singular, and the Middle Irish guttural-stem genitive singular form *maig(h)istrech*. However, the subsequent commentary clearly follows the eight-letter nominative singular spelling of the Latin form, i.e. *magister*.

©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

the subsequent five interpretations cite different duties or qualities that are associated with his role.

Manuscripts and context

I have identified three copies of this text, one of which comprises only the introduction and the commentary proper, and two of which contain varying amounts of additional explanatory commentary at the end of the text. The longest version (henceforth E) is found on p. 364a14–b8 of TCD MS E 4. 1 (1436), a composite volume made up of two paper sections and many vellum gatherings that were collectively dated by Abbott and Gwynn to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[2] Nearly all of the fairly miscellaneous content of this manuscript pertains to medicine. However, the compilation also includes some of the material identified by Francis Shaw as being 'medico-philosophical' in nature, including an imperfect copy of a physiologico-philosophical treatise on the powers of the soul, an incomplete translation of a commentary on the last six of the Aristotelian *prædicamenta*, and a number of propositions, most of which are written in both Latin and Irish, culled from various philosophic works.[3] The commentary on the word *magister* occurs near the end of the manuscript, where it is immediately preceded by the series of propositions (pp. 362–3) and followed by several paragraphs on medical and physical topics.

A second copy of the text (henceforth G) is found in National Library of Ireland MS G8, the contents of which also relate mainly to medicine. This is a sixteenth-century volume made up of paper and vellum sections, the main scribe of which was Éumann Ó Bolgaoi, though several other scribes can also be identified.[4] Ní Shéaghdha has described G8 as 'a pocket-size medical encyclopaedia, containing texts, in a digested form, on almost every branch of medicine and medico-philosophy', and suggested that 'it was perhaps intended as a teacher's note-book written with the collaboration of a whole medical school.'[5] As in E, the commentary on the word *magister* occurs near the end of this manuscript; it occupies most of p. 200, and is followed by only a further six pages of material. The first four of these contain medical definitions in Latin followed by Irish translations that were 'presumably extracted from a text dealing with purging and purgatives', while the final two pages contain the misplaced opening to a text on contusion that precedes the commentary on pp. 185–98.[6] The insertion of the text on the *magister* at this point may not be entirely accidental, as it is immediately preceded by a list of names, in first-letter order, of 46 philosophers and medical men alluded to within

[2]T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1921), 312.

[3]Francis Shaw, 'Medieval medico-philosophical treatises in the Irish language', in John Ryan (ed.), *Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néil: Essays and Studies Presented to Professor Eoin Mac Neill, D. Litt., on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (Dublin, 1940), 144–57, at 147–8 and 155.

[4]Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland, Fasciculus I* (Dublin, 1967), 41.

[5]Ibid. 42.

[6]Ibid. 56–7.

the tract on contusion. This catalogue includes authorities such as Avicenna, Galen and Averroes, who are variously described as *ughdair*, 'authorities' or *dochtúirí* 'doctors'. Although no explicit connection is made between the two texts, it is possible that the commentary on the word *magister*, in which the meaning of this term is repeatedly contrasted with that of the *dochtúir*, may have been included in the manuscript here by association with the titles cited for various medical authorities immediately before it.

The third witness of the commentary (henceforth H) is found on two separate vellum fragments included in the fourth volume of TCD MS H 4. 22 (1363). Most of this volume consists of a copy of the grammatical treatise *Auraicept na nÉces* that was probably written in the mid-sixteenth century by scribes associated with the Mac Aodhagáin law school; it contains a dedication to a certain Tomás mac Fhlannchadha, who may himself have been one of the scribes.[7] The fragments containing our text are found in two separate locations within this volume. The brief introduction and explications of the first seven letters of the word *magister* (§§1–8 of the text, following the division in the transcription and translation given below) are written in a neat hand on the verso of a narrow, roughly rectangular slip of vellum inserted between pp. 192–3 of the manuscript, and thus in the middle of the *Auraicept* witness. The contents of this slip were recorded in the TCD manuscript catalogue with only the heading provided by the first four words on the fragment, i.e. *do ceimmenuibh in maigistrech*.[8] The conclusion of the commentary (§9), which here consists only of a short comment on the eighth letter of the headword, is found on a separate, smaller slip inserted between pp. 204–5. This was partially transcribed in the catalogue as '*An .S. lit*ir *.i r. is inann .ur. a g*aedheil*g* ⁊ *signum a lait*in ⁊ *is inann signum a l*aitin ⁊ *foill*siugud *a g*aedheil*g* etc'; however the sentence was not identified as a continuation of the text found on the first slip.[9]

In addition to the *Auraicept*, the fourth section of H 4. 22 contains other material of a didactic nature, suggesting that the inclusion of the commentary on the word *magister* may have suited the pedagogical interests of that volume's compiler.[10] The separation of the two fragments on which it is written, as well as the higher number of copying errors in this witness, point to a degree of haphazardness in this strand of the text's transmission. It may

[7]For discussion, see William O'Sullivan, 'The manuscript collection of Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh', in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), 439–47, at 444; and also Deborah Hayden, 'Some notes on the transmission of *Auraicept na nÉces*', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 32 (Cambridge, MA, 2013), 134–77, at 139–53.

[8]Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, 211.

[9]The second word in this sentence should be an Arabic numeral '8', here standing for the ordinal (i.e. 'the eighth letter'). Since the numeric symbol is not fully joined up in the manuscript, it is easy to see how the cataloguers might have misread it as the letter *S*, particularly given that they had evidently not noted the connection between this sentence and the text on the preceding slip.

[10]This includes another grammatical fragment inserted after p. 158, several elementary notes on grammar and orthography on pp. 159–60, and an only partially legible poem on accentual rules on p. 200.

be noteworthy, however, that both vellum fragments are located in a section of the *Auraicept* consisting mainly of commentary relating to the Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Ogam alphabets, and one might therefore speculate as to whether the alphabetic basis of the commentary on the word *magister*, and its concern for Greek, Latin and Irish vocabulary, may have been what prompted its inclusion in the manuscript at this point.[11] As I have shown elsewhere, moreover, some of the glossing and commentary in the *Auraicept* suggests a familiarity on the part of one or more of its scholiasts with elementary medical doctrine.[12] Given the manuscript context of the other two copies of this text (E and G), which survive in compilations that are almost entirely medical in content, it is thus possible that the H 4. 22 copy of the commentary on the word *magister* may provide a further piece of evidence for the confluence of grammatical and medical teaching in early Ireland.

Sources and content

In addition to the evidence of its manuscript context, there are other indications that the commentary on the word 'magister' may have its origins in a medical milieu. The first point in this regard concerns the structure of the commentary itself. This comprises a series of Latin words, for each of which the first letter corresponds to one of the letters in the Latin term *magister*, followed by an Irish equivalent of that Latin word and then a short explanatory gloss that serves to relate the concept in question to the meaning of the headword (*magister*). In the interpretation of the first three letters (§§1–3), it is asserted that the individual who achieves the title of *magister* 'master' is in some way superior to a *dochtúir* 'doctor'. Thus the Latin word associated with the letter *m* is *maior* 'more', and the explanation given for this is that a master is understood to be learned in more arts than a doctor, who possesses only one. Similarly, the letter *a* is said to stand for Latin *auctoritas* because the master is seen as more of an 'authority' than a doctor, and the letter *g* is said to stand for *gradus* 'grade, step, degree' – probably understood here with the transferred sense of 'attainment' – because a *magister* is also thought to possess more of these than a doctor. The content of the commentary changes slightly for the remaining five letters, which, rather than comparing the respective attributes of the master and the doctor, instead identify various duties or virtues associated with the former. Thus the letter *i* is equated with Lat. *instructio* 'instruction'; the letter *s* with Lat. *scientia* 'knowledge' or 'understanding'; and the letter *t* with Lat. *tenens* 'holding, retaining' (the explanation being that a *magister* is supposed to 'retain' every word that he hears). The letter *e* is equated with Lat. *excellentia* 'excellence, superiority, merit', and the final letter *r* is associated in two of the three manuscript witnesses with Lat. *regimen* 'guidance, direction'. The eight letters of the Latin word *magister* are repeatedly described as being

[11]George Calder, *Auraicept na nÉces: The Scholars' Primer* (Dublin, 1917), 88ff.

[12]Deborah Hayden 'Anatomical metaphor in *Auraicept na nÉces*', in Elizabeth Boyle and Deborah Hayden (eds), *Authorities and Adaptations: the Reworking and Transmission of Textual Sources in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2014), 23–61.

'Greek', but no words from this language are given in the commentary proper, and consequently one has the impression that Greek is being cited in the text as something of a formality.

In most cases, the Irish translations of Latin words in the commentary are quite accurate: for example, Lat. *maior* is rendered in Irish by *ní is mó*; Lat. *gradus* by Ir. *céim*; and Lat. *scientia* by Ir. *tuigsin*. In two instances, however, we can see evidence of errors or innovations in the transmission of the text. Thus in §8 the Latin word *excellentia*, which is given to illustrate the seventh letter of the headword, is translated in Irish by *tocht* 'silence', which no doubt results from the author's interpretation of the Latin term as *ex silentio* 'from silence' – prompting one to speculate as to whether dictation was involved at some stage in the transmission of the commentary. The meaning of Lat. *excellentia* would, of course, have suited the overarching theme of the commentary quite well, since 'excellence', 'superiority' or 'merit' are all attributes that might be readily associated with the figure of a *magister*. It is therefore noteworthy that the accompanying explanatory gloss on this letter seeks to fit the 'erroneous' Irish translation into the thematic pattern established in the preceding examples: for it is stated that *dlighidh an maighister b[h]eth na t[h]ocht nō co cluin anī ara tabuir fregra* ('the master must be silent so that he might hear the thing to which he will give an answer'). A similar instance of re-analysis has occurred in the case of the letter *r*, which is discussed below.

At first glance, we might compare this structure of translation + explanatory gloss to many of the entries in the corpus of early Irish glossaries, compiled in Ireland from as early as the eighth century. In those sources, the etymology of a given (Irish) headword was frequently explained through derivation from a word in another language, such as Latin, Greek or Hebrew, using the medieval analytical methodology popularised by Isidore's *Etymologiae*.[13] Paul Russell has noted that of the early Irish glossary entries containing Greek, 'a large number of them have a particular format [headword, A *Graece* .i. B *Latine*] where the Latin term is usually some rendering of the Greek (though not always to be honoured with the title of translation)'; he also observed that this format is strikingly similar to that of continental Graeco-Latin glossaries of the eighth and ninth centuries.[14] In a subsequent study of the 192 Greek entries in O'Mulconry's Glossary, moreover, Pádraic Moran has shown that 'very few identify any real linguistic relationships', noting that words in that text are

[13]For a survey of the early Irish glossary material see Paul Russell, 'The sounds of a silence: the growth of Cormac's glossary', *CMCS* 15 (1988), 1–30. On medieval etymological method, see Mark Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* Studies in the History of the Language Sciences 44 (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia, 1989); for the influence of this tradition and of Isidore's work on Irish scholars, see for example Rolf Baumgarten, 'Creative medieval etymology and Irish hagiography (Lasair, Columba, Senán)', *Ériu* 54 (2004), 49–78, at 55–65, and Liam Breatnach, 'The glossing of the early Irish law tracts', in Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell (eds), *Grammatica, Gramadach and Gramadeg: Vernacular Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 2016), 113–32.

[14]See Paul Russell, '*Graece ... Latine*: Graeco-Latin glossaries in early medieval Ireland', *Peritia* 14 (2000), 406–20, at 411, and examples therein.

more often paired instead on the basis of formal similarity.[15] Such etymological explorations of Irish vis-à-vis the three sacred languages are also an integral feature of the commentary to *Auraicept na nÉces*, alongside which one copy of our text has been transmitted, and there is considerable thematic correspondence between the scholia to the *Auraicept* and entries in the collection of early Irish glossaries, which clearly formed part of the same learned tradition.

However, a search of the *Early Irish Glossaries* database suggests that none of the Latin or Irish terms used in our commentary on the word *magister* appears in the glossaries, although a definition of the word *magister* itself is given in the glossary known as *Irsan*.[16] The translations and accompanying explanations in our text also stand in contrast with the early Irish glossary entries in that they do not demonstrate the kind of lexical analysis that is a typical product of medieval etymological method, i.e. one in which the meanings of words are explained using various verbal or extra-verbal criteria such as onomatopoeia, sound symbolism, or association with one or more similar-sounding words that were felt to shed light on the meaning of the term in question. Instead, the commentary in our text merely aims to establish direct semantic equivalents in Latin and Irish, paying no heed to the additional constraint of identifying formal similarities between the various terms cited. All eight glosses in the commentary employ the formula *is inann* X *isin Gréig* ⁊ Y *isin Laidin* ⁊ *is inann* Y *isin Laitin* ⁊ Z *isin Gaoidheilg*, followed immediately by an explanatory gloss beginning with the conjunction *óir* 'because'. This particular way of presenting Greek, Latin and Irish terminological equivalents is rather more ponderous than the typical corresponding construction found in the early Irish glossaries. It is, however, widely attested in medieval and early modern Irish medical texts, many of which are translations or adaptations of Latin works that are themselves based on Greek doctrine. For example, one might consider the opening to an Irish translation of a tract on melancholy, adapted from the section on diseases of the head in Bernard of Gordon's *Lilium Medicinae*, which offers the following explanation of the Greek word *hereos*:

> 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 [...]
>
> '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 [...].'[17]

[15] Pádraic Moran, 'Greek in early medieval Ireland', in Alex Mullen and Patrick James (eds), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* (Cambridge 2012), 172–92, at 179.

[16] *Irsan* 213: ***Maigister*** *.i. magister .i. maior statior magister oc grece statio dicitur.* For the database, see www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries.

[17] Winifred Wulff (ed. and trans.), 'De Amore Hereos', *Ériu* 11 (1932), 174–181, at 177 and 179.

Similarly, the Early Modern Irish translation of Guy de Chauliac's anatomical treatise, *Anathomia Gydo*, explains the titular word *anathomia* as follows:

> Anatho[m]ia est recta divitio et determinatio membrorum corporis .i. is ead is anathomia ann dealugad ⁊ crīochnugad dīreach ball gach uile chuirp. Agus is uime adeirar anathomia ria ōir is inann anna isan nGrēig ⁊ rectum sa Laidin ⁊ dīreach sa nGaoidhilg ⁊ is inann thomia isin nGrēig ⁊ divitio san Laidin .i. dealugad sa nGaoidhilg ōir dealuigid sin na boill go (go) dīreach ō chēile.
>
> 'Anatomy is the division and correct determination of the members of every single body. And it is called anatomy since *ana* in Greek is the same as *rectum* in Latin and *díreach* in Irish, since it separates the members correctly from each other.'[18]

The Irish translation of John of Gaddesden's *Rosa Anglica* also displays this particular pattern of translation + explanatory gloss, as is evidenced, for example, in the observation *is ime aderur antrax, oir is inann* antrum *tri Laidin ⁊ umha no clais a Gaedilg, oir donít clais san inadh a mbí* ('and for this it is called anthrax; *antrum* in Latin is the same as *umha* or *clais* in Gaelic, for they make a furrow in the place wherein they are.').[19] It is worth noting, however, that the actual knowledge of Greek reflected in some medical sources is often not much more convincing than it is for many entries from the early medieval glossaries. Winifred Wulff has drawn attention, for example, to the 'sorry attempts at explaining the derivation of words which had Greek roots' displayed by the author of the *Rosa Anglica*, such as his erroneous etymology of the word *epilepsia* as *epi* 'above' and *ledo*, 'as it is a lesion of the upper parts'.[20] As noted above, the translations in our commentary-text consistently refer to the Roman letters of the headword *magister* as being 'Greek' at the beginning of each explanation, in such a way that one might have expected to find the citation of a terminological equivalent in that language for the Latin and Irish words subsequently given. However, Greek forms are never actually provided in the text, suggesting that either they had been lost in transmission or that the glossator was simply adhering as closely as possible to a familiar translation formula. The fact that the pattern of the commentary in the text as a whole is entirely dependent upon the correspondence between the letters of the headword *magister* and the initial letters of the Latin terms, however, suggests that the latter circumstance is more probable.

Another indication that the commentary may have its origins in a medical milieu is the explanation given for the last letter of the word *magister* (§9).

[18]Eithne Ní Ghallchobhair (ed. and trans.), *Anathomia Gydo*, ITS 66 (Dublin, 2014) 34–5.

[19]Winifred Wulff (ed. and trans.), *Rosa Anglica sev Rosa Medicinae Johannis Anglici: an Early Modern Irish Translation of a Section of the Mediaeval Medical Text-Book of John of Gaddesden*, ITS 25 (London,1929), 210–11.

[20]Wulff, *Rosa Anglica*, xvi.

In E and G (the two copies of the text found in medical manuscripts), the letter *r* is associated with the Latin word *regimen*, meaning 'directing' or 'guiding', and the accompanying explanatory gloss states that this is because the master ought to 'show' or 'reveal' every single word (*dlighidh an maighister gach ænf[h]ocal d'f[h]oillsigud*). As in the case of the preceding letters, therefore, the commentator has here succeeded in drawing some kind of connection between the meaning of the Latin word and the functions or attributes of a *magister*, although one might argue that the concept of 'showing' or 'revealing' (*foillsigud*) does not reflect the meaning of *regimen* ('direction' or 'guidance') in a very precise way. In that regard, it is noteworthy that the copyist of H has changed Lat. *regimen* to *signum* 'sign'. There are two possible reasons for this: one is that the scribe mistook the letter *r* in his exemplar for the often similar-looking manuscript symbol for *s*, while the other is that he may have understood the word *signum* to have a closer association with the meaning of *foillsigud* than Latin *regimen*, since a 'sign' is something that 'shows' or 'reveals' something else. The problem, of course, is that the word *signum* does not fit the pattern of the text as a whole as well as *regimen*, which begins with the correct letter of the headword *magister*, namely *r*. This suggests that the reading given in the two medical manuscripts (E and G) is superior to that found in H.

This series of copying errors and innovations in the final section of the commentary may also have something to do with the fact that the word *foillsiughadh* has been abbreviated in all three witnesses to the first five letters *foill-* followed by a suspension stroke. In light of this, one wonders whether the explanation for this gloss may have originally invoked the verbal noun *follumnugad*, which, like Latin *regimen*, means 'guiding' or 'directing', but could have been written with the very similar abbreviation *foll-* + suspension stroke. Indeed, it may be noteworthy that *follumnugad* is the term used to render Lat. *regimen* in a sixteenth-century Irish translation of Magninus of Milan's *Regimen Sanitatis*, a widely known medical text concerned with the regulation of non-naturals in the body and the varying courses of treatment prescribed for health, which opens with the statement *regimen sanitatis est triplex, éd ón atáid trí gnéithi ar follamhnugud na sláinte* ('there are three aspects of the Regulation of Health').[21] Thus here again, we have a possible indication that this text may have had its origin in a medical milieu, where the Latin term *regimen* would no doubt have been well known to Irish translators. The inferior reading *signum* given in H indicates that the commentary had undergone a further level of corruption in its textual transmission by the time that it came to be associated with the *Auraicept*.

One final point that might be made regarding the probable medical associations of the commentary on the word *magister* concerns the supposed source of this teaching. The brief introduction to the text attributes its contents to a figure who is variously referred to as *Tomás Elesan*us (E), *Tomás Alifan*us (G)

[21]H. Cameron Gillies, *Regimen Sanitatis: The Rule of Health* (Glasgow, 1911), 17 (text) and 31 (trans.).

and *Tomás Alisan*us (H), of whose identity I am uncertain. The name certainly looks Latinate in form, and it is probable that the distinction in the spelling of the surname in G and H simply arose from confusion regarding the similar form of the letters *f* and *s* in many scribal hands. If the arguments advanced thus far in relation to the possible medical associations of the text prove persuasive, one might hazard a guess that the figure referred to is one of the many medical authorities so commonly cited by name in Irish translations of Latin scientific works. However, I can find no examples elsewhere of the surname in question, and no convincingly similar names occur in O'Grady's list of authorities cited in medieval Irish medical manuscripts from the British Library, or indeed in other catalogue sources known to me. It is possible that the form is a corruption of *Thomas Aquinas*, but this level of textual confusion seems rather extreme for such a well-known figure, who in any case is typically cited as 'Saint Thomas' in Irish medical manuscripts.[22]

Another possibility, although a very speculative one, is that the authority in question might be identified with Archbishop Alfanus of Salerno, a figure who played a central role in the theoretical renaissance that characterised the development of medical science in southern Italy from the eleventh century onwards. During this period, medical practice in Salerno increasingly came to be based on the principles of natural philosophy as expounded in the works of Aristotle.[23] Alfanus was a noted translator, writer, theologian and medical practitioner from the region, whose extant works include several poems, a tract on pulse, and a Latin translation of Nemesius' anthropological tract 'On the Nature of Man'. After being appointed Archbishop of Salerno in 1058, Alfanus also gained renown as one of the principal patrons of Constantinus Africanus, the individual responsible for producing translations and adaptations of Arabic medical writings that formed the foundation of the new medical curriculum, and underlay the expansion of medical learning throughout Europe during the twelfth century.[24] I can find no attestations of this figure with the forename given in our text, and it may be, of course, that an individual other than Archbishop Alfanus I is being referred to; indeed, as Acocella has noted, the name *Alfanus* is well attested in onomastic and toponymical sources for the Lombardy region of northern Italy.[25]

[22]S. H. O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Library [Formerly British Museum], Volume 1* (London 1926), 173–4.

[23]Luis García-Ballester, 'Introduction: practical medicine from Salerno to the Black Death', in Luis García-Ballester, Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga and Andrew Cunningham (eds), *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death* (Cambridge, 1994), 1–29, at 1.

[24]Faith Wallis (ed.), *Medieval Medicine: A Reader*, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures 15 (Toronto, 2010), 135–40. On the life and works of Alfanus, see Nicola Acocella, 'La figura e l'opera di Alfano I di Salerno (Sec. XI) – profile biografico', *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* 19 (1958), 1–74, and Nicola Acocella, 'La figura e l'opera di Alfano I di Salerno (sec. XI) – Alfano nella critica moderna', *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* 20 (1959), 17–90. On Alfanus as a scholar of medicine, see Rudolf Creutz, 'Erzbischof Alfanus I, ein frühsalernitanischer Arzt', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 47 (1929), 413–32, and Rudolf Creutz, 'Nachtrag zu "Erzbischof Alfanus I, ein frühsalernitanischer Arzt"', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 48 (1930), 205–8.

[25]Acocella, 'La figura', 3.

The evidence for the association of Archbishop Alfanus I with the present text is thus decidedly uncertain, but one further attribution in the commentary may nonetheless lend support to the supposition that it may have originated as a product of the nascent 'academic revolution' in medical theory that characterised his patronage in Salerno. It is claimed in the introduction to the commentary that the question of 'what a *magister* is' (*crēd is maighisidir ann*) was originally posed by 'The Philosopher' (*An Feallsamh*), which is a common designation for Aristotle in medieval Irish medical texts.[26] In this regard, we might consider the very last part of the commentary (§9), which is slightly longer in E than it is in G or H. The additional material in this section explains that if a master is lacking in any of the attributes outlined in the commentary on the seven preceding letters, he should not be called a master, since according to *an Feallsamh*, 'things that are complete in themselves should not be divided apart from the divine primordial matter from which everything was derived' (*na neithi atā co huilidhi inntu fēin nī cōir a mbeth randuighi a n-ēgmuis na maisi diagha asar boined gach aennī*). Accordingly, a master ought not to be divided (*is mar sin dlighus an maighistir...gan a b[h]eth co randi*), since if he were he could be missing one of the *céimeanna* ('attainments' or 'attributes') that are outlined in the preceding commentary, and therefore would not be deserving of his title.

The concept of a 'complete entity' made up of multiple parts is strongly reminiscent of Aristotelian metaphysical doctrine, which held a prominent place in learned exegetical commentary of the late medieval period. It is noteworthy, for example, that the longest tract immediately preceding the copy of our text in E is a commentary on the *Liber sex principiorum*, an anonymous treatise on the last six of Aristotle's categories that was written in the twelfth century and often attributed to Gilbert de la Porrée.[27] One of the chief concerns of this text is the problem of universal concepts and their accidental properties, which are categorised as being either 'intrinsic' or 'extrinsic'.[28] As we have seen, moreover, the two medical manuscripts that contain copies of the commentary on the word *magister* also contain a number of propositions culled from philosophical and logical texts, such as the short excerpt on the definition of 'genus' and 'species' that immediately precedes the commentary in E.

[26]Donald Mackinnon, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library Edinburgh, and Elsewhere in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1912), 30–1; for examples from the manuscripts in this collection, see also pp. 13, 33, 40, 44 and 48.

[27]TCD MS E 4. 1 (1436), pp. 356–9. Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, 316, describe this work as 'a treatise … on the Aristotelian concepts of Form, Cause, Individuum, Compositum, etc.' Shaw, 'Medieval Medico-philosophical treatises', 147, identifies it as 'a commentary on the logico-metaphysical treatise of Gilbert de la Porrée', and states that 'the original of the present commentary has not been established'. For a discussion of the authorship, editions and structure of the *Liber sex principiorum* , see Lorenzo Minio-Pauluello, 'Magister sex principiorum', *Studi Medievali*, third ser., 6:2.123–51.

[28]William E. McMahon, 'The Liber Sex Principiorum, a twelfth-century treatise in descriptive metaphysics', in E. F. K. Koerner (ed.), *Progress in Linguistic Historiography: Papers from the International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences (Ottowa, 28–31 August 1978)*, Studies in the History of the Language Sciences 20 (Amsterdam, 1980), 3–12, at 5.

The reference in §9 to the *maisi diagha asar boined gach aennī* ('primordial matter from which everything was derived') is no doubt an allusion to the four elements of earth, air, water and fire, which Aristotle, following the doctrine of Empedocles, argued to be the fundamental constituents of all bodies. Aristotelian philosophy likewise conceived of individual things as 'substances' (e.g. a man or a horse) consisting of essential and non-essential properties. It may be, therefore, that the author of the commentary in §9 of our text understood the concept of a *magister* in Aristotelian metaphysical terms as a single substance possessed of certain essential properties (e.g. authority, excellence, knowledge, etc.), without which it could not exist under that title.

In this, we can see one obvious point of similarity between our commentary on the Latin word *magister* and the contents of the *Auraicept* with which it has been transmitted in H: for both reflect the kind of ontological analysis typical of elementary school-texts that reveal an acquaintance with Aristotelian doctrine on the *praedicamenta*. Erich Poppe has shown how the glossators of the *Auraicept* employed basic logical terminology, probably drawn from a rudimentary work on logic like Boethius' Latin translation of Porphyry's *Isagoge* (or introduction to Aristotle's *Categories*), to analyse various linguistic concepts.[29] This is clearly reflected, for example, in a gloss on the word *etargaire* from the longest extant recension of the *Auraicept*, in which the term in question seems to have been understood as a reference to the identification of Aristotelian categories such as quantity and quality in a given substance. Here the act of differentiation in linguistic analysis is compared to separating parts from a whole, as branches from a tree:

> Caiti eisi etargaire. Ni ansa. Ant athfeugad meidi in*d*e no inchoisg no eiterdethbere no etarderrsgaigti rodealph Die iter na duilib. Eisi .i. go mbeith e*sse d'ecensia* .i. mar roinnius ran ⁊ uilidhecht .i. mar ta cran*d* ⁊ a geuga ⁊ a cousmailius.[30]
>
> 'What is the essence of *etargaire* "distinction"? Not difficult. The consideration of size, quality or denotation or difference or distinction which God has fashioned among the elements. *Eisi* "essence", i.e. that it be *esse* "essence" from *ecensia* (leg. *essentia*), i.e. as it separates *rann* 'part' and *uilidhecht* "totality", i.e. as is a tree and its branches and such like.'

The coalescence of medicine and philosophy in the later medieval period was, of course, a natural consequence of the fact that the basic concepts

[29]Erich Poppe, 'Die mittelalterliche irische Abhandlung *Auraicept na nÉces* und ihr geistesgeschichtlicher Standort', in Klaus D. Dutz and Hans-J. Niederehe (eds), *Theorie und Rekonstruktion: Trierer Studien zur Geschichte der Linguistik* (Münster, 1996), 55–74.

[30]Calder, *Auraicept na nÉces*, 218–19, lines 3795–99 [cf. pp. 68–9, lines 913–16] (my translation). On the term *etargaire*, see also Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Les *differentiae* dans la littérature irlandaise ancienne', in Pierre Lardet (ed.), *La tradition vive: mélanges d'histoire des textes en l'honneur de Louis Holtz* (= *Bibliologia* 20) (Turnhout, 2003), 107–18.

and intellectual methods of medicine were also those of natural philosophy. Medicine was perceived as a branch of knowledge concerned with 'the essential nature of things, the materials they are made of, and their inherent qualities', and one that explored 'fundamental questions about what causes things to be as they are and to become other than what they are.'[31] The principles of Aristotelian logic and ontology provided the mechanism through which a single entity could be analysed in relation to its parts, whether it be the body and its members – as in anatomy – or the individual and his attributes, as we would seem to have here in relation to the concept of a 'master'. Indeed, one wonders whether the notion conveyed in our text that a master must be possessed of several attributes – including multiple arts, as indicated in §2 – has any basis in the long-standing conception of medicine as being, like philosophy, not a discipline in itself but a culmination of many disciplines. Isidore stated, for example, that the medical doctor, like the philosopher, must be trained in both the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, and therefore be a master of all the Liberal Arts; indeed he argued further that 'medicine is called the Second Philosophy, for each discipline claims for itself the entire human: by philosophy the soul is cured; by medicine, the body'.[32]

The influx of Greek and Arabic medical texts to western Europe during the twelfth century through the availability of new Latin translations coincided with a fresh approach to studying medicine through formal, systematic reading and analysis of texts under the leadership of a teacher (a *magister* or a *doctor*), and therefore the establishment of universities on the Continent that accommodated these disciplines. As active participants in this intellectual renaissance, Irish medical scholars of the later medieval period can be seen to have enthusiastically carried out the two central functions of translating texts from Latin and providing manuscripts for educational and reference purposes.[33] I submit that, when we examine the manuscript transmission and context of this brief commentary on the Latin word *magister* alongside certain aspects of its structure and content, it is possible to situate the text within this wider tradition of medical scholarship, which concerned itself increasingly not only with the qualifications and training of a good doctor, but also with the mechanics of translation and the philosophical underpinnings of ontological analysis.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

I have provided below the text from the longest copy of the tract in E, with variants from the copies in G and H. In addition to the fact that it preserves more of the commentary in §9, there are several grounds on which to present

[31]Wallis, *Medieval Medicine,* xxii.

[32]*Hinc est quod Medicina secunda Philosophia dicitur. Vtraque enim disciplina totum hominem sibi vindicat. Nam sicut per illam anima, ita per hanc corpus curatur:* Isidore, *Etymologiae* IV.xiii.1–5, ed. W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911); trans. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006), 115.

[33]Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha, 'The medical school of Aghmacart, Queen's County', *Ossory, Laois and Leinster* 2 (2006), 11–43.

E as a superior witness over G and H. First is the point that some letters on the right-hand edge of the manuscript page are obscured in the latter two copies, in G because of damage to the manuscript and in H because of the tightness of the manuscript binding. In both instances it is a fairly straightforward process to reconstruct the missing letters, however, since the commentary follows quite a repetitive pattern, and in any case the contents of the text are fully visible in E, where the scribe has also employed fewer abbreviations. This is a particularly useful feature of that witness, given that in both G and H a single letter enclosed by a *punctus* on either side can signify either a letter of the Roman alphabet or an entire word. For example, in §4 the graph *.g.* is used to represent the letter *g* as well as the word *Gaoidheilg*, while *.l.* is elsewhere used for both *litir* and *Laidin* (e.g. §5 of G or §6 of H).

E is the only witness in which both the words *Gréig* and *Laidin* have been written out in full (e.g. *isin Grēig ... isin Laidin* in §2), and I have followed this spelling in my expansions of these words elsewhere in the text. The word that I expand as *Gaoidheilg* is never written out completely in any of the witnesses: it is abbreviated to a single *g* in all instances save §8 of E, where the usual symbol for *Gréig* (*.gg.* with a suspension stroke over the top) is used for *Gaoidheilg* instead, as well as §§5–7 of H, where the word is written *gaod-* with a suspension stroke. On the whole, however, the meaning of these abbreviations is rendered quite clear by a comparison of all three witnesses of the text, as well as from the overall pattern of the commentary. For example, in nearly all cases the word *Gréig* is abbreviated to *.gg.* with a suspension stroke over it, as distinct from the single *.g.* for *Gaoidheilg*, the latter of which in any case is always illustrated by an Irish word in the translation. In one case a letter-name is given, i.e. *im* for *m* in G.[34] It is noteworthy that G abbreviates the word *céad* in §2 to *k* (compare *c* in E and *c* with a suprascript length mark in H), since the letter *k* was typically used by Irish scribes to represent the sound *kă*.[35] Otherwise bare Arabic numerals are almost always used as abbreviations of the ordinals, with only a few exceptions.[36] For the sake of clarity, I have silently edited out points around letter names and ordinal numbers.

The language of the text is Early Modern Irish, and its meaning is on the whole quite clear. However, the syntax of the final clause in §§2–4 is rather peculiar, making it somewhat awkward to provide very literal translations.

[34]On the use of letter-names as evidence for the pronunciation of letters in medieval Irish, see further my comments in Deborah Hayden, 'Cryptography and the alphabet in the "Book of Ádhamh Ó Cianáin"', in Hayden and Russell, *Grammatica, Gramadach and Gramadeg*, 35–64, at 59–64.

[35]O'Grady, *Catalogue*, 267, notes that the letter *k* served to abbreviate Lat. *kălenda* in some medical manuscripts, while James Carney gives several examples of its use for this sound in the Irish translation of the *Regimen Sanitatis* of Magninus of Milan, noting further that it is employed in other manuscripts to abbreviate the words *cath* and *cathrach*: S. Ó Ceithearnaigh (ed.), *Regimen na Sláinte: Regimen Sanitatis Magnini Mediolanensis*, *Imleabhar a I (Pars I – II)* (Dublin, 1942), lvii.

[36]These are §5 of H, where the Irish word *cethramad* is abbreviated to *cr* with a dot to indicate lenition over the *c* and a suspension stroke over the *r*; §6 of H and E, where the Roman numeral *.u.* is used for 'fifth'; and §8 of H, where the Roman numeral *.uii.* is used for 'seventh'.

It would appear that the verb *dlighidh*, which is written out in full by the scribe of E, is being used here with the meaning of 'ought to'.[37] In all cases save §2 of E, however, the subject of this verb is followed by what I expand as the verbal noun of the copula, *b[h]eth*,[38] and then the object preceded by what I take to be the preposition *de* (written as *do* in §4) used in a partitive sense after the comparative forms *ní is mó* 'more' or *nísa lia* 'more numerous'. Nevertheless, it is clear that in each case a comparison is being made between the respective achievements of a *magister* and a *doctor*, those of the former being the greater of the two.

A number of more significant variants suggest that H is an inferior witness to E and G, and it would be difficult to reconstruct the text on the basis of this copy alone. For example, although all three copies contain Latin words that clearly illustrate standard medieval orthographical features (e.g. the spelling of *scientia* as *siencia* in §6 of G and H, or of *excellentia* as *esilencia* in §8 of G),[39] the word *instructio* in §5 (given as *instruxio* in E and *instrucsio* in G) has been thoroughly corrupted in H, where it is written as *sduritcia*. This suggests that the scribe of H has not understood the basic structural principle of the text, i.e. that the first letter of the Latin word in a given section of commentary is meant to correspond to the relevant letter of the word *magister* (in this case *i*). The same process of corruption has again occurred in §9 of H, where the scribe has changed the Latin word *regimen*, which correctly illustrates the final letter *r* of the word *magister*, to *signum* 'sign'. As discussed above, this may have resulted from confusion between the very similar graphs for *r* and *s*, or from the scribe's attempt to illustrate what he understood to be the word *foillsigud* 'showing, revealing'.[40] Regardless, the error demonstrates that the scribe has not understood his source-text very well.

In §6, moreover, the clause *ōir dlig*hidh *an m*aighister *dílis g*ach *ǣnf[h] ocail do tabuirt amach* (as in E and G) appears in H as *ōir dlig*idh *in m*aighister *g*ach *aonf*[h]*oc*ul *do thuicsin*. Given that the genitive singular form of the word *focul* is written out in full in E (it is abbreviated to the first three letters *foc-* with a suspension stroke in G), I take the word *dílis* here to be a substantival form rather than the adjective meaning 'faithful' or 'loyal'. This usage is attested in grammatical exegesis with reference

[37]See *DIL*, s.v. *dligid* (III), which cites the examples *dligid óg eladha* 'it is part of a young man (to acquire) learning' and *dá réir sin dlighid bheth meta* 'consequently they are necessarily timid' (I am grateful to David Stifter for pointing out the latter sentence to me). On the various constructions involving this term, see Thomas Charles-Edwards, '*Dliged*: its native and Latinate uses', *Celtica* 24 (2003), 65–78.

[38]In all cases this word is written as the letter *b* followed by the Tironian note ⁊ with either a suprascript dot or a spiritus asper to indicate lenition; only in §2 of G is lenition marked on the initial letter *b* by way of a suprascript dot.

[39]For discussion, see Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'The pronunciation of Latin in medieval Ireland', in Sigrid Krämer and Michael Bernhard (eds), *Scire litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Abhandl. NF, Heft 99 (Munich, 1988), 59–72. Breatnach notes (p. 69) that the substitution of *ci* for *ti* 'is endemic in Medieval Latin', and that its origins date from about the third century.

[40]See above, 96–7.

to the 'property' or 'characteristic function' associated with a given word, and I would argue on that basis that the original meaning intended in §6 of our text is that a *magister* is possessed of *scientia* 'knowledge' because he knows how to explain (*tabuirt amach*, lit. 'give out') the property or attribute (*díles*) associated with every word.[41] In H, however, the scribe has clearly not understood this meaning, and has instead simply explained the association between the words *magister* and *scientia* by way of the Irish equivalent given for the latter, i.e. *tuigsin* – namely that the *magister* has knowledge because he 'understands' every word.

In the following transcription, I have noted all variant readings from G and H except for those of a minor orthographical nature (e.g. *an* vs. *in*; *nn* vs. *nd*; *curub* vs. *curob* or *gurub*) or the use of the Tironian note ⁊ versus the digraph *et* for 'and', the latter of which is generally the preferred form in G. Italics are used to expand contractions and suspension strokes in the manuscript; all attestations of suprascript *c* have been expanded as *ch*. As lenition is marked rather irregularly by the scribe, I have supplied this in several places in order to clarify the sense; however I have not supplied initial nasalization, which is never marked orthographically in the manuscript. I have also regularised the position of length marks, and where these have been omitted in the text I have indicated length with a macron. Missing letters are supplied in square brackets; word separation and punctuation are editorial.

§1 Do c[h]ēimindaib[h] an m[h]aig*h*isdir[42] an*n* sō, ōir atā in Feall*samh* ica f*hiarfaighe*[43] crēd[44] is maig*h*isdir an*n,* nō c[ré]ad fā[45] n-abur[46] maig[h]isdir ris. ⁊ ad*eir* Tomás Elesan*us*[47] curub ōn focul[48] Laidne[49] d*ar*ub ainm magist*ir*,[50] ⁊ is *ed*[51] do litreac*h*aib[h][52] atā isin[53] ainm so,[54] .i. 8[55] lit*r*eac*h*a Grēg*ach*a[56] ⁊ is ē[57] sō mīniug*h*[adh][58] na lit*r*eac*h* so:[59]

[41]See *DIL*, s.v. 2 *díles*.
[42]na maigist*rec*ha G in maig*istrech* H
[43]aga fiarfi G agá f*hiarfaigh*i H
[44]The edge of the manuscript page has obscured the reading of this and the following word in G.
[45]c*red* for H
[46]n-ab*urter* G n-ab*urtur* H
[47]Alifa*nus* G Alisan*us* H
[48]f*hocul* G H
[49]word abbreviated to letter 'l' in G; Laitin*e* H
[50]maig*hister* ad*erar* é H
[51]letter 'i' followed by the Arabic numeral '6' in G (= *isé*); is é H
[52]m*ét* do let*rech*a G lín leit*r*ech H
[53]san H
[54]sin H
[55]oc*h*t G
[56]*om*. G H
[57]it G
[58]mīn*iughth*i G minug*ad* H
[59]sin H

§2 .i. an c*héid*litir[60] dīb*h* .i. m[61] ⁊ is inan*n* m[62] isin Grēig ⁊ maiór[63] isin Laidin[64] ⁊ is inan*n* maiór[65] isin L*aidin*[66] ⁊ anī is mō[67] isin G*aoidheilg*,[68] ōir dlig[h]id*h* an maig[h]ist*ir* nī is mō[69] d'eal*adh*ai*n* nā[70] in d*ocht*ūir, ōir nī haburt*er* do*cht*ūir[71] *acht* a n-ēneal*adh*ain[72] ⁊ ad*ear*ur[73] an[74] m*aighistir* a n-eal*adh*ain[75] imd*h*a.

§3 An 2[76] litir .i. a ⁊ is inand a re rád[h]a[77] isin G*réi*g ⁊ autoritas isi*n* L*aidin* ⁊ is inan*n* sin[78] isin L*aidin* ⁊ ug*h*durās isin G*aoidheilg*, ōir dlig[h]id*h* an maig[h]istir b[h]*eth* nīs mō[79] d'ug[h]durās[80] nā in doc*h*tūir.

§4 An 3[81] lit*ir* .i. g ⁊ is inand sin[82] isin G*réi*g ⁊ g*r*ad*us* isin L*aidin* ⁊ is inan*n* sin[83] ⁊ cēim isin G*aoidheilg*,[84] ōir dlig[h]id*h* in m*aighistir* b[h]*eth* nīsa lia[85] do c*h*éimin*n*aib*h* nā[86] in d*ocht*ūir.

§5 An 4[87] lit*ir* .i. i ⁊ is inan*n* sin[88] isin G*réi*g[89] ⁊ instruxio[90] isin L*aidin* ⁊ is inan*n* sin[91] ⁊ cum[h]dac*h* isin[92] G*aoidheilg*, ōir dlig*hidh* an m*aighistir* g*ach* ǣnf[h]ocul do c[h]um[h]d*ach*.

[60]The first element of this compound has been abbreviated to *k* in G.
[61]im G
[62]ím G
[63]magior G H
[64]Abbreviated to .l. in G H
[65]magior G si*n* H
[66]*om.* H
[67]nisa m*h*ō G
[68]Abbreviated to .g. in all witnesses.
[69]b*heth* nís mō G b*eth* ní i*s* mó H
[70]ína G
[71]i*n* doctū*ir* H; the suspension mark is missing in E.
[72]a n-ao*n* eal*adh*ai*n* G ó ao*n* el*adh*ai*n* H
[73]This word is obscured by the edge of the page in G.
[74]*om.* G in H
[75]a *n*-eal*adh*aibh G a n-eladnuib*h* H
[76]Given as the Arabic numeral '2' (for *dá*) in all three copies, with the spiritus asper only in G.
[77]re rād*h* G *om.* H
[78]auto*r*itas G
[79]nísa m*h*o G ní is mó H
[80]ūd*ur*ās G d'ūd*ur*ūs H
[81]3s G
[82]g G; obscured by binding in H.
[83]g*r*ad*us* isi*n* L*aidin* G g*r*a isi*n* L*aidin* H
[84]nG*aoidheilg* G
[85]nís m*h*ó G ní is mó H
[86]iná G
[87]c*eth*ṛ*amad* H
[88]i G H.
[89]nG*réi*g G
[90]instrucsio G sduritcia H
[91]*om.* G
[92]a H

§6 In u[93] lit*ir* .i. s ⁊ is inan*n* sin[94] isin G*réi*g ⁊ scien*n*cia[95] isin[96] L*aidin* ⁊ is inan*n* sin[97] isin L*aidin*[98] ⁊ tuicsi*n* isin[99] G*aoidheilg*, ōir dlig*hidh* an m*aighistir* dīlis[100] g*ach* ǣnf[h]ocail do t[h]ab[h]uirt amach.[101]

§7 An 6 lit*ir* .i. t ⁊[102] is inan*n* t isin G*réi*g[103] ⁊ tenens[104] isin[105] L*aidin* ⁊ is inand sin[106] isin[107] L*aidin* ⁊ congm[h]āil[108] isin[109] G*aoidheilg*, ōir dlig*hidh* an m*aighistir* g*ach* ǣnf*h*oc*ul* do-c[h]luin[110] do c[h]ongm[h]āil.[111]

§8 An 7[112] litir .i. e ⁊ is inand e isin G*réig*[113] ⁊ exilen*n*cia[114] isin[115] L*aidin* ⁊ is inand sin[116] ⁊ to*cht*[117] isin[118] G*aoidheil*g,[119] ōir dlig*hidh* an m*aighistir* b[h]*eth* na t[h]o*cht*[120] nō co cluin[121] anī[122] *ar*a tab[h]uir[123] fregra.[124]

§9 An 8 litir .i. r ⁊ is inand r isin[125] G*réi*g ⁊ reg*h*imen[126] isin[127] L*aidin* ⁊ is inand sin[128] ⁊ foill*sigudh* isin[129] G*aoidheilg*, ōir dlig*h*id*h* an m*aighistir*

[93]Suprascript in E; Arabic numeral 5 in G
[94]s G; obscured by binding of manuscript in H
[95]sie*n*cia G H
[96]a H
[97]scie*n*cia G
[98]*om.* H
[99]a H
[100]*om.* H
[101]do t*h*uicsin H
[102]*om.* G
[103]Obscured by binding of MS in H.
[104]ti*n*ens H
[105]a H
[106]tene*n*s G
[107]a H
[108]*con*gbāil H
[109]a H
[110]da-cluin H
[111]*con*gb*áil* H
[112]uii H
[113]Written suprascript and abbreviated to a single ‘g’.
[114]esilencia G exilincia H
[115]a H
[116]esilencia isi*n* L*aidin* G si*n* a Lait*in* H
[117]Written as tos + the –us symbol in G
[118]a H
[119]Abbreviated to two ‘g’s here with suspension and lenition marks above.
[120]t*h*oc*h*t G H
[121]g*o* clui*n*e G gu clu*in* H
[122]an ní G i*n* nī H
[123]dtiub*h*r*adh* G
[124]fregradh G freagrud*h* H
[125]a H
[126]regimíní G signum H
[127]a H
[128]regi*m*íní isi*n* L*aidin* G signum a L*aidin*
[129]a H

g*ach* ǣnf[h]oc*ul*[130] d'f[h]oill*sighudh*[131] do r*éir* m*éti*[132] ⁊ ug*h*durāis ⁊ cēime ⁊ cum[h]daig*h* ⁊ tuicsina ⁊ congm[h]āla ⁊ tosc*aig*thi[133] ⁊ foill*sigth*ia ōna b[h]unad*us* ⁊ gebē bīs andsna hoc*h*t cēiminduib[h]-sin fētur maig[h]isdir foirfi do g*h*airm d*h*ē, ⁊ dā t*est*aigi ēnc*héim* dīb[h] sō uad*h*a nī maig[h]isdir ē do r*éir* an F[h]eall*saimh*, ōir ad*eir* an Feall*samh* na neithi atā co huil*idh*i in*n*tu fēin nī cōir a *m*b*eth* randuig*h*i a n-ēgmuis na maisi diag*h*a as*ar* boined[h] g*ach* ǣnnī ⁊ is m*ar* sin dl*ighus* an m*aighistir* b[h]*eth* and fēin: co huil*idh*i ⁊ ga*n* a b[h] *eth* co randi. Ōir dā mb*eth* co randuid*h*i tuict*er* rann de sō do b[h] *eth* d'uireasbaig*h air*; mas *ed*, ní maig[h]isdir ē *acht* muna roib[h] co huil*idh*i andsna cēimindaib[h] sin ⁊rl.

§1 On the attainments of the master here, for the Philosopher is asking what a master is, or why he is called a master. And Tomás Elesanus says that it is from the Latin word *magister* ('master, teacher'), and this is the number of letters in that noun, i.e. eight Greek letters, and this is the explanation of these letters:

§2 The first of those letters is *m*, and *m* in Greek is the equivalent of *maior* ('more') in Latin, and *maior* in Latin is equivalent to *aní is mó* ('more') in Irish, for the master ought to have more art[s] than the doctor, for one is said to be a doctor in only one art, and one is said to be a master in many arts.

§3 The second letter is *a*, and *a* in Greek is the equivalent of *auctoritas* ('authority') in Latin, and that is equivalent in Latin to *ughdarás* ('authority') in Irish, for the master ought to be of more authority than the doctor.

§4 The third letter is *g*, and that in Greek is the equivalent of *gradus* ('grade, step, degree') in Latin, and that is equivalent to *céim* ('step, grade, attainment') in Irish, for the master ought to have more attainments than the doctor.

§5 The fourth letter is *i*, and that is equivalent in Greek to *instructio* ('constructing, building, instruction') in Latin, and that is equivalent to *cumhdach* ('constructing, composing') in Irish, for the master ought to construct every single word.

[130] f*h*oc*ul* G

[131] d'fhoill*sigud* G d'foillsiug ⁊rl. H (remainder of the text omitted in H). In E, the letters ⁊ *is inand sin* ⁊ *fo* have been deleted immediately before this word.

[132] mēidi G

[133] tosgaid*he* G. I am uncertain of the expansion intended in E here, where the suspension mark occurs over both the *s* and *c*. It could have been intended as a participial form of *toscaigid* 'moves, sets in motion', or alternatively as *tos*aic*thi*, as a participial form of the verb *tosaigid* 'begins'. However, neither of these solutions accords particularly well with the noun *tocht* 'silence' in the gloss on the letter *e*, which was presumably the basis for the noun.

§6 The fifth letter is *s*, and that in Greek is equivalent to *scientia* ('knowledge') in Latin, and that in Latin is equivalent to *tuigsin* ('wisdom, understanding') in Irish, for the master must provide (lit. 'give out') the property of every single word.

§7 The sixth letter is *t*, and *t* in Greek is the same as *tenens* ('holding, retaining') in Latin, and that in Latin is the equivalent of *congmháil* ('keeping, retaining') in Irish, for the master must retain every single word that he hears.

§8 The seventh letter is *e*, and *e* in Greek is the equivalent of *excellentia* ('excellence') [or *ex silentio* 'from silence'?] in Latin, and that is equivalent to *tocht* ('silence') in Irish, for the master must be silent until he hears the thing to which he gives an answer.

§9 The eighth letter is *r*, and *r* in Greek is the equivalent of *regimen* ('guidance, direction') in Latin, and that is the equivalent of *foillsigudh* ('showing, revealing') in Irish, for the master ought to reveal every single word according to size and authority and degree and construction and understanding and retaining and silence (?) and demonstration of its origin, and whoever should possess those eight attainments can be called a complete master, and if he is lacking any of these attainments he is not a master according to the Philosopher, for the Philosopher says that things that are complete in themselves should not be divided apart from the divine primordial mass from which every single thing was derived, and that is how the master should be: complete in himself and not divided. For if he is divided, one of these parts is understood to be missing from him; if it is so, he is not a master, save if he be entirely possessed of those attainments, etc.

Deborah Hayden

Maynooth University

ON THE INAUGURATION OF CONCHUBHAR ÓG MAC DIARMADA, 1595

Abstract

This article presents an edition and translation of a poem by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird celebrating the inauguration of Conchubhar Óg Mac Diarmada as head of his family in 1595. It may be considered a political poem, which is to be interpreted in the context of other poems composed by this poet and which are paralleled by the work of contemporaries such as Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, that feature themes of leadership and resilience among satellite characters in the drama of the Nine Years War.

The poem edited here was composed by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird in celebration of the restoration of his lands to Mac Diarmada, Conchubhar Óg, in late 1595 – having been previously ejected by the English[1] – and his inauguration by Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill.[2]

This was one of a sequence of actions taken by Ó Domhnaill at the end of that year, which also included inaugurations of Ó Ceallaigh, Ó hEadhra, Ó Dubhda, Mac Donnchaidh, and Ó Ruairc.[3] The poem is therefore an inauguration ode of sorts, which the declamatory apostrophes in the opening line and in qq. 4 and 5 serve to emphasise, and celebratory in its general thrust. As is clear from the repeated references to *Danair*, *Eachtrainn* and *Goill*, however, and those to the justice of Mac Diarmada's cause, the composition carries weight as a political poem, an historical document firmly located in the conflict of the Nine Years' War, and contextualized both by other work of Fearghal Óg's at this period and also of his contemporary, Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa.

The poem begins with the assurance that the expulsion of the Goill from all of Ireland is now a *fait accompli* (qq. 1–3) due to the unity of the Gaoidhil, and for this Mac Diarmada is to be thanked, as it was he who maintained the struggle (qq. 4–6). Fearghal Óg then elaborates on Mac Diarmada's war against the Goill (qq. 7–9). This opening section makes a remarkably atmospheric use of river-names (qq. 3–9) to conjure up the extent of Mac Diarmada's influence and of his theatre of operations prior to his restoration. The hardships he endured while on this campaign are treated of in qq. 10–12 and it is then stated that the endurance of such hardships ensured his victory

[1] *do ratsomh dana Ó Ruairc ⁊ Mac Diarmata ina natharda iarna niondarbadh la Gallaibh* (*Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, i, 118).

[2] *ro ghairsidhe . . . mac diarmada maighe luircc do chonchobhar mac taidcc mic diarmada* (*AFM* s.a. 1595 (vol. vi, 1990)).

[3] Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'A poem on the death of Tadhg Ó Ruairc', *Celtica* 28 (2016), 35–54.

 ©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

(qq. 13–16) and that, now that the campaign is over and the Goill expelled, he will experience such comforts as will compensate him for the discomforts endured previously (qq. 17–21).

It is clear, however, that he has suffered much and that his victory has been dearly bought (qq. 22–3). This recalls the struggles of Conn Céadchathach against Eóghan Taidhleach, culminating in the battle of Magh Léana (qq. 24–34). The conclusion to be drawn is that those who perpetrate injustice are always defeated (q. 35). Like Conn, Conchobhar Óg has repaid all those who wronged him (qq. 39–40). The poem ends with praise of Conchobhar Óg (qq. 41–4) and of his wife Mairghréag (qq. 45–7), and with memorial quatrains to Aodh Mág Aonghusa (q. 48) and Conn Ó Ruairc (q. 49), ending with the customary quatrain dedicated to St Peter (q. 50).

Conchubhar Óg's predecessor as Mac Diarmada, Brian mac Ruaidhrí mheic Thaidhg, died in November 1592. He is remembered as the patron of TCD MS H.1.19 (1293) – in which he inserted a number of valuable notes – and scribe of British Library MS Additional 4792 (fol. 19–32), which manuscripts contain the Annals of Loch Cé.[4] Brian mac Ruaidhrí's learned activities represent but one of many highlights in the sponsorship of Irish learning associated with Clann Diarmada. Poems referring to members of the family are recorded in the Book of the Dean of Lismore,[5] and patronage of poets by them continued into the seventeenth century, as witnesses a poem to Conchubhar Óg's successor, Brian Óg mac Briain mheic Ruaidhrí (d. 1636), preserved by Heinrí Ó Carraic in a manuscript written by him in Sligo 1701–8.[6] Elsewhere in the same manuscript Ó Carraic records that he had found Aodh Ollbharr Ó Carrthaigh's poem on the rights of Mac Diarmada *a ndúanaire mhic Díarmada na Cairrge*.[7] So renowned for their generosity were Clann Diarmada that they were reputed to be prohibited by *geis* from refusing a stranger, and they had their own reflex of a sovereignty legend associated with generosity to a *cailleach* who inhabited the Carrag.[8]

Recording the death of Brian mac Ruaidhrí, the Four Masters comment: *┐ ro ba móide dadhbhar éccaoine écc an fhir sin gan a chosmaileas do beith do chloinn Maol Ruanaidh do ghébhadh ceandus dia éisi*.[9] This remark reflects the fact that the chieftainship of Clann Diarmada lay vacant for the

[4]Paul Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning*, ed. Colm Ó Lochlainn (Dublin, 1947), 15–22.

[5]William J. Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh 1937), Poems VI, VII, XIX.

[6]Maynooth MS B8, pp. 87–9 (poem beginning *Álainn claochlódh na Cairrge*), available on Irish Script on Screen (www.isos.dias.ie), and transcribed in Damian McManus and Eoghan Ó Raghallaigh, *A Bardic Miscellany* (Dublin, 2010), 35.

[7]MS B8, p. 33 (poem beginning *Atá sunn sochar na ríogh*); for the poem see Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, 'The rights of Mac Diarmada', *Celtica* 6 (1963), 156–72.

[8]*TDall* 34.223–7; *DDána* 68.37–8, 120.15–33; Watson, *Scottish Verse*, XIX.7–13; *ALC* i, pp. xxxv–xxxvi. The *cailleach* features in one of the anecdotes in a mid-seventeenth-century *crosántacht* (unedited) beginning *Foghmhar na bhfileadh fuil Bhrianach* (transcribed in McManus and Ó Raghallaigh, *Bardic Miscellany*, Poem 242).

[9]*AFM* s.a. 1592 (vol. vi, 1908).

following three years. The incumbent previous to Brian mac Ruaidhrí was Tadhg mac Eóghain (cf. qq. 36a, 39b), father of the subject of this poem, Conchobhar Óg. Although the annals make no mention of the matter, Tadhg seems to have died about 1585: when Brian mac Ruaidhrí attended Perrot's parliament of April–May 1585, he did so as *fear ionait mec diarmatta mhaighe luircc . . . oir baí mac diarmatta fein .i. Tadhcc mac eocchain ina sheanóir chianaosda*.[10] In October of the same year, in a document concerning the Composition of Connacht, Brian is termed 'chief of his name' and Conchubhar Óg is mentioned as *tánaiste*.[11]

At this time, and for many years afterwards, Conchubhar Óg, and his wife 'Margaret ny Knowgher' (cf. q. 45 n.) lived at Aghacarra (variously spelt Agheghare, Aghahare, Incheaghechare) in the parish and barony of Boyle, close to the southern shore of Loch Cé.[12] Apart from the garrisons billeted in Tulsk, Roscommon town, and Boyle, it appears that further pressure was being exerted on the Mac Diarmada lordship through the leasing of lands in and around Loch Cé to new-English merchants from the Pale.[13] The day had gone when Mac Diarmada could claim control over all of Moylurg.

As *tánaiste*, Conchubhar Óg might have been expected to succeed Brian mac Ruaidhrí on the latter's death in 1592. Under the terms of the Composition of Connacht, however, it was ordained that the Clann Diarmada were to set aside customs such as tanistry and 'that their lands shall lineally descend from the father to the sonn according to the c[o]urse and order of the lawes of England'.[14] But on the death of Brian mac Ruaidhrí, his son Brian Óg, heir by English law, was a boy of about 10 years old.[15] The situation therefore appears to have been that Brian Óg may have been unable to rule because of his age, and that Conchubhar Óg was too weak to assume the leadership until aided by Ó Domhnaill at Christmas 1595. References in the poem edited here to action over-riding a *rogha* 'selection' (qq. 14 and 16) hint that there may have been some opposition to Conchubhar's accession; and this is also re-enforced by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa's protesting too much, perhaps, that Mac Diarmada ruled without *formad* or *tnúth*, two keywords for internal opposition.[16]

From English sources for the intervening period, 1593–5, we know only that in 1593 Aodh Mág Uidhir wrote to Fitzwilliam, the Lord Deputy, seeking protection for himself, Ó Ruairc and 'Connor Oge M'Dyermada and the rest of his kinsmen and followers' against the Governor of Connacht, Sir Richard Bingham.[17] Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird's account of this period in his career,

[10]*AFM* s.a. 1585 (vol. v, 1830–2).

[11]A. Martin Freeman, *The Compossicion Booke of Conought* (Dublin, 1936), 155.

[12]Ibid., 163. *Irish Fiants*, iv, §§4702, 5497.

[13]*Irish Fiants*, iv, §§4407, 4922, 5070, 5877.

[14]Freeman, *Compossicion Booke*, 160–1.

[15]Inquisitions (RIA Transcripts): Roscommon, vol. i, 154 (Inq. 47); Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning*, 20.

[16]Ó hEódhusa's allusions occur in the poem beginning *Ní gnáth liaigh gan luach saothair* (qq. 22 and 24), discussed below. For the keywords in question see Pádraig Ó Macháin, ' Tadhg Ó Ruairc', 35–6.

[17]*Cal. SP Ire. 1592–1596*, 128.

where Conchobhar Óg is depicted as locked in a mortal struggle with the English, is probably an exaggerated and partisan picture – not unexpected in poetry such as this – at variance with non-Gaelic sources, which depict Mac Diarmada as weak and unable to enforce his authority in his own territory, until eventually aided by Ó Domhnaill. Other Gaelic sources, however, are consonant with Fearghal Óg's account.

Poems by Eochaidh ó hEódhusa

Support for Fearghal Óg's account comes from a series of four poems addressed by his contemporary, Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, to Conchubhar Óg. As in the case of the evidence of his poems relating to Ó Dochartaigh and Ó Ruairc and others,[18] it is of interest to observe how Fearghal Óg's circuit at this time is paralleled by that of Ó hEódhusa, as though the poetic itinerary was becoming constricted to a definite area and restricted to certain famous centres of patronage. It is notable also how their poems complement each other in a number of points.

The earliest of Ó hEódhusa's poems to Mac Diarmada may be that beginning *Fód codarsna críoch Bhanbha*.[19] In this poem the struggles of Conchobhar Óg – not yet chief of his nation – are located solely in the context of the war with the English:

> Tnúthach bhfoghla re fada
> Goill is mac Meic Diarmada
> – mór d'éintír ionnramh a n-olc –
> fa fhionnmhagh gcéichtmhín gConnocht. (q. 10)
>
> 'The Goill and Mac Diarmada for long past are eager to fight for fair well-ploughed Connachta; no land could support their destructiveness.'[20]

Such is the fury with which Conchobhar Óg prosecutes this war that Ó hEódhusa feels bound to caution him that the destruction he is causing will be to his own detriment when eventually he claims his patrimony. The poet goes so far as to say that the havoc wreaked by the English is no worse than that caused by Conchubhar Óg, and that all this destruction will bring him shame.

> Ní lugha as mhillteach mac Taidhg
> ar iath Cruachna an chláir mhíonaird
> tír bhreaclongach na mbruach slim
> d'fhuath eachtronnach 'n-a inntinn.

[18]Ó Macháin, 'Tadhg Ó Ruairc'; Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'An elegy for Seaán Óg Ó Dochartaigh', *Celtica* 26 (2010), 89–110

[19]*DDána*, poem 92.

[20]Translations of quatrains from this poem are those provided in L. McKenna, 'Poem to Mac Diarmada of Magh Luirg by Eochaidh Ó hEoghusa', *Irish Monthly* 49 (1921), 327–32.

Mór longphort do leagadh lais
feadh cogaidh an duinn dearcglais
's níor tógbhadh dún ná diongna
san mhúr fhódghlan oireaghdha.

Gidh eadh is easbhaidh air féin
gach cion gnáth, gach dreas aigmhéil,
gach díbhearg dá ndéanann sain,
fa réadhfhonn mhíndearg MaonMhaigh.

Budh aithreach leis uair éigin
iath Cruachna an chláir mhínghéiggil
muighe slaitgheala síon dte
gan aitreabha ríogh roimhe.

Caithfidh cuingidh Cláir Meadhbha
bheith ag ól fleadh bhfíneamhna
– náir don tairngeartach ros thogh –
fa ghairbhleachtach cláir Chruachan. (qq. 12–16)

'In his heart's hate of foreigners he is as ruinous as they to Cruachain with its noble plain its painted boats and graceful banks.

Many the castle laid low in the war of this grey-eyed hero, nor has fort or fortress been built in all the famous fair-sodded land.

Yet, injuries to himself are his wonted heroism, his dread foray, all the rage he wreaks in smooth ruddy Maonmhagh.

One day he shall weep to see Cruachain with its bright-treed plain, those fair-treed summery fields without a prince's dwelling left.

Then shall the lord of Meadhbh's plain have to drink his wine-feasts mid Cruachain's rough rocks; shame to the Prophecied One who hath chosen so.'

Although Ó hEódhusa takes the harm out of this argument later in the composition by favourably comparing Conchubhar Óg to Cú Chulainn, it is difficult to interpret this as anything other than a hard-hitting poem. Consequently, it may be that another pre-1595 poem, beginning *Neimhchiontach mheise a mheic Thaidhg*,[21] from Eochaidh to Conchubhar Óg, in which he apologises for 'a wild-worded attack' (*foiléim fhocuil mhearuighthe*), and memorably contrives to construe Conchubhar Óg's anger as a ploy for eliciting praise (*ag seilg mholta*), is be taken as referring to what was said in *Fód codarsna*.

We next hear from Ó hEódhusa on the subject when he apostrophizes the chief residence of Mac Diarmada in a poem beginning *An tú ar gcéadaithne, a Charrag*.[22] Carrag Mheic Dhiarmada, located on an island in Lough Key,

[21] *Aith.Dána* poem 34.
[22] *DDána* poem 68.

has changed beyond recognition from the glorious days of the past, and has joined the *sé ríoghphuirt* (Teamhair, Aileach, Caiseal, Eamhain, Nás and Cruachain) of Ireland in their dereliction.

> An tú bhíodh i mbéalaibh sgol,
> do measdaoi re múr Cruachan?
> a phuirt ghil fan rionnghlan rosg,
> más ibh is iongnadh t'éagcosg.
>
> Do claochlóidh do chruth dealbhghlan,
> do imthigh bhar n-óirthreabhradh
> dod mhúr ghlan thaoibhleabhar the;
> ní mhar aoilghreanadh th'aighthe.
>
> Níor deargadh le hingnibh each,
> níor loiteadh le lorg nuaichreach,
> do leirg dtonnbháin ngairthe ngil,
> congháir t'fhaighthe do uaignigh.
>
> Tugais cruth naoidhe ar neamhchruth
> amhail do bhiadh baintreabhthach;
> a chúirt orrdhraic thirmgheal thiogh,
> do chomhloit imneadh th'aigneadh. (qq. 2–5)
>
> 'Art thou the rock on all poets' lips and praised beyond the palace of Cruachain, thou fair place making one's eye sparkle brightly? if so, strange now is thy appearance!
>
> Thy bright fair form has changed, gone are thy gold-rich dwellings from thy fair comfortable long-walled enclosure, nor does the lime-white adorning of thy frontal remain.
>
> It is not now cut up 'neath hoofs of steeds or disfigured by tracks of plundered cattle; but the baying of hounds (lamenting) on thy lawn has made desolate thy bright fair slope.
>
> Thou hast exchanged fair form for shapelessness as though thou wert a widow, o noble firm dry-walled castle; anguish has destroyed thy spirit.'[23]

The reason for its abandonment and dilapidation is the oppression of the English:

> I n-aimhriocht dot fhoirinn féin
> a-taoi re treimhse n-imchéin,
> a chúirt ródghlan choillbhleacht chorr,
> ó fhoirneart ógbhadh n-eachtrann.

[23]Translation from L. McKenna, 'Poem by Eochaidh Ó hEoghusa', *Irish Monthly* 48 (1920), 539–44. We look forward to improvements on McKenna's groundbreaking work in Mícheál Hoyne's forthcoming anthology of Mac Diarmada poetry.

Foirneart eachtrann is é tug
do chur sa chruth-so, a Charrag,
a ráth thoghtha bheannbhláth bhog
far neamhghnáth orchra orad.

Níor ghnáth leat-sa acht re linn Ghall
gur bearnadh séan bhar saorchlann,
a linngheal taobhuaine tiogh,
imneadh aonuaire ar th'aigneadh. (qq. 17–19)

'For long past thou hast been unclaimed by thy own folk owing to the excessive power of the warriors of the foreigners, thou round fair-pathed fort of sap-rich hazels.

'Twas the foreigners' power that has brought this state upon thee, o Rock, o gentle choice fair-towered castle where sorrow never was wont to dwell.

Even one hour's sorrow on thy spirit was unknown till the day of the foreigners when the fortune of thy nobles was broken, thou firm green-walled fort of the fair lake.'

While the first 24 quatrains of this poem belong to the contemporary genre of laments for ruined and forsaken buildings, metaphors for the demise of past glories,[24] the remaining 18 quatrains express the optimistic view that the end of this desolation is now at hand, as Mac Diarmada will set all to rights and restore the castle to its former glory. Its true spouse (*céile cubhaidh*) has been found. All will be well again.

Tréig an gcumhaidh do chleachtais,
eirg it earraidh oireachtais,
lí bróin ná haithintear ort,
a róimh chlaichfhinntreabh Chonnacht. (q. 28)

'Put aside thy wonted gloom, don thy assembly garments, let no colour of mourning be seen on thee, thou bright stone-built Rome of the Connachta.'

At first sight this description of the ruined *Carrag* might be construed as a vindication of Ó hEódhusa's earlier warning in *Fód codarsna*, but in fact we know, from the inquisition cited above (n. 15) that the chief Mac Diarmada castle was already dilapidated when Brian Mac Ruaidhrí was seized in fee *de ruinoso Castro de Diermott*, August 1593.

[24]E.g. *A dhúin thíos atá it éanar* (*Measgra Dánta* poem 56)*, A mhná guileam tre Ghlais Áir* (*Measgra Dánta* poem 58)*, Do bháidh teine Tír Chonaill* (*DDána* poem 81), and *Uaigneach a-taoi a theach na mbráthar* (*DDána*, poem 122, cf. Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Two Nugent manuscripts: the Nugent Duanaire and Queen Elizabeth's Primer', *Ríocht na Midhe* 23 (2012), 121–42, at 129).

This poem must be dated to *circa* 1596 when Mac Diarmada had just reclaimed his patrimony, and is therefore exactly contemporary with Fearghal Óg's poem. Together with *Fód codarsna*, it supports Fearghal Óg's account of Conchubhar's career prior to 1595; so too does the final poem in the sequence, which begins *Ní gnáth liaigh gan luach saothair*.[25] As the first line suggests, Mac Diarmada is here likened to a leech who has had to take severe measures (blood-letting, cauterization) to cure a sick patient, and who has earned his reward on account of this. The patient is, of course, Magh Luirg and the sickness the oppression of the English:

> Críoch Bhúille na mbruach mbáinte
> tréan Gall dob í a heasláinte,
> fuinn chraoibhgheala na gcíogh nocht
> níor ghníomh aoinleagha d'fhurtocht. (q. 7)
>
> 'The territory of the Búill, of the clear warm shores, English oppression was its illness – lands of white trees and proud hills – it was no job for a lone leech to minister to it.'

The lone leech is Mac Diarmada, who has to resort to desperate measures to remedy the illness, and endure hardship himself in so doing:

> Meinic do síntí an taobh tais
> deireadh laoi láimh re Seaghais,
> gan suainleaptha, gan chraoibh gceóil,
> re caoin fhuairshneachta an aieóir.
>
> Meinic fuair mar cheól gcodail
> éighmhe ban ar bhreacmhadain,
> ar bhrú eas ngéagthamhan[26] nglan
> ar gcréachtnughadh gcneas gcuradh.
>
> Ní ar déarghadh leaptha luighe,
> ní ar codladh ná ar comhnuighe,
> an t-éigne ón Bhúill bhreicmhín mhir
> do shúir sheintír a sheinnsir. (qq. 26–8)
>
> 'Often the soft body used to be stretched out by the Seaghais at day's end, without beds for sleeping, without musical instrument, accompanied by the cold snow of the air.

[25]Unedited. Manuscripts consulted: RIA 23 M 23 (340), pp. 77–80 ; 23 B 24 (498), p. 414–20; 23 C 21 (672), pp. 10–14; NLI G 18, pp. 150A and 150B. G 18 is available on Irish Script on Screen, and is transcribed in McManus and Ó Raghallaigh, *A Bardic Miscellany*, 510–12.

[26]ngéugthana(mh) MSS.

> Often for sleep-music[27] he had the cries of women at dawn, beside waterfalls of clear young vegetation, following the wounding of warriors' bodies.
>
> 'It is not in preparing beds for lying down, it is not in sleeping or resting, that the salmon of the sparkling, smooth, swift Búill strove for the ancient land of his ancestors.'

The ultimate reward, once the patient has been cured, is the reclamation of his patrimony:

> Fiú a dtarla dó dá dochar,
> fiú ar chleacht d'anbhuain d'iomachar,
> fiú a dheighbhearta, dearbh an dáil,
> sealbh na heighreachta d'fhagháil. (q. 23)
>
> 'It was worth all the harm that it caused him, it was worth the misfortune that he used to endure, it was worth, to be sure, his heroic deeds, to gain possession of the patrimony.'

In addition to the testimony of the other Ó hEódhusa poems, *Ní gnáth liaigh* comes closest to Fearghal Óg's poem in the detail of the litany of hardships, which, together with their corresponding litany of comforts, occupies qq. 10–21 of Mac an Bhaird's poem. The context provided by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa's poems to Conchubhar Mac Diarmada, therefore, furnishes important collaboration of the perception among Mac Diarmada's partisans of his activities in the war of resistance against the English occupation of his territory, even if ultimately he needed the help of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill to confirm him in his patrimony. These poems present quite a different picture to that deducible from other historical evidence, and it is the depiction of Mac Diarmada as successful resistance-fighter that is the abiding theme of the poem edited here, the justice of whose cause is emphasised by the reference to *cóir* at qq. 36*c* and 39*a* (in opposition to *ainbhfíor* at 37*d* and *éagóir* 34*a*, 35*a*, 38*b*).

Mac Diarmada's subsequent career

The present poem must therefore be dated to *circa* 1596, a date supported by the memorial quatrain (q. 48) to Mág Aonghusa. A reading of Conchubhar Óg's career subsequent to the event celebrated in this poem leads one to conclude that, after the fashion of the time, he was determined to maintain his new position and was willing to ally himself with whichever side was strongest. Not long after his inauguration was made known to the English,[28] efforts were made to make him submit, the failure of which was attributed in turn to

[27]Cf. q. 19 in the poem edited below.
[28]*Cal. SP Ire. 1592–1596*, 447, 501.

Sir Richard Bingham and to Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill.[29] At this time Mac Diarmada was with Ó Domhnaill, who was successfully confronting Sir John Norris in Connacht.[30]

Ó Conchubhair Sligigh had long been Ó Domhnaill's enemy and thus proved an important ally for the English on the southern border of Tír Conaill. Conchobhar Óg was married to a daughter of the late Sir Domhnall Ó Conchobhair, and his predecessor as Mac Diarmada, Brian mac Ruaidhrí, had also been married to a daughter of Domhnall's (see q. 45 n.). In 1581, on the death of his brother-in-law An Calbhach Ó Conchobhair, Brian mac Ruadhrí inscribed a note lamenting his passing in the Annals of Loch Cé.[31] The significance of these close ties between the two families was apparent in the autumn of 1596 when his wife's first cousin, Donnchadh Ó Conchobhair, persuaded Mac Diarmada to submit to the English on September 8.[32] Native sources attribute this submission to the arrival in Connacht of the popular Sir Conyers Clifford.[33]

English suspicions of Mac Diarmada's good intentions seemed confirmed when, in early 1597, it was reported that he had re-joined Ó Domhnaill.[34] In fact, under Ó Domhnaill's instructions, Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill rounded up those of the Irish of north Connacht who had submitted to the English and Conchobhar Óg Mac Diarmada and Aodh Ó Conchobhair Donn were taken captive.[35] Having been kept 'in great misery' they were released in November 1597, and immediately the English set about capitalising on their disaffection.[36] In this they were successful as in January of the following year Mac Diarmada and Ó Conchobhair Donn were advising Clifford on the best time to invade Tír Conaill. In response to this Ó Domhnaill hanged their pledges, including a son of Mac Diarmada.[37]

This retaliation may have persuaded Mac Diarmada to return to Ó Domhnaill, for in October of 1598 Clifford reported that Conchobhar Óg had switched camps 'rather than lose his wealth'.[38] This appears to have finally ended Mac Diarmada's association with the English, though his respect for Clifford remained. Following Clifford's death, August 1599, at the battle of the Curlews in Mac Diarmada's country, Conchobhar Óg took his headless body to Loch Cé and offered to exchange it for prisoners or else to bury it himself.[39]

[29]Ibid., 533; *Cal. SP Ire. 1596–1597*, 91.
[30]*Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, i, 124; *AFM* s.a. 1596 (vol. vi, 2002).
[31]*ALC* s.a. 1581.11 (vol. ii, 434).
[32]*Cal. SP Ire. 1596–1597*, 104–5, 197.
[33]*Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, i, 132; *AFM* s.a. 1596 (vol. vi, 2002).
[34]*Cal. SP Ire. 1596–1597*, 167, 215, 228.
[35]*Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, i, 140; *AFM* s.a. 1597 (vol. vi, 2010); *Cal. SP Ire. 1596–1597*, 452.
[36]*Cal. SP Ire. 1596–1597*, 453, 482.
[37]*Cal. SP Ire. 1598–1599*, 25, 65, 129.
[38]Ibid., 315.
[39]Richard Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors with a Succinct Account of the Earlier History*, iii (London 1890) 337–8.

In the months following Clifford's death, Mac Diarmada's involvement in activities against the English intensified,[40] and this continued into 1600 when he twice joined Ó Domhnaill on raids into Thomond.[41] In August 1601 he assembled in Elphin, Co. Roscommon, with Ó Domhnaill and other Connacht chiefs and, according to Bagwell, two months later he accompanied Ó Domhnaill on the march to Kinsale.[42] It is at this point that we lose sight of him.

In an obituary notice in the Annals of Loch Cé for Conchubhar Óg's successor, Brian Óg son of Brian mac Ruaidhrí, it is stated that he was chief of his country for 'trí bliadna dég ocus fiche ocus ráithe' at the time of his death in January 1636.[43] If this dating is according to New Time it means that Conchobhar Óg probably died *circa* October 1602; if the dating is Old Time his death occurred probably in 1603. An inquisition taken in July 1606 shows that he was survived by his wife, Mairghréag, and a son, Eóghan.[44]

Mithidh sin a mhaca míleadh

The poem edited here occurs in a single copy: RIA MS A iv 3 (743), pp. 759–63.[45] This mutilated manuscript, the texts of which are exceptionally free from corruption, and which is unsigned and probably dates from the mid-seventeenth century, must in its day have been one of the greatest anthologies of bardic poetry.

The poem is in *dán díreach*, and in *séadna* metre. Length-marks absent in the manuscript are supplied editorially and indicated with a macron; non-historic and otherwise redundant length-marks are silently ignored; editorial supply of grammatical lenition is indicated with an italic *h*. Other interventions are indicated in the apparatus. For the sake of clarity, bardic teaching on the representation of the juncture of homorganic consonants in compound words is ignored at qq. 5*c*, 8*d*, 24*d*, 27*a*, 34*d*, 42*c*. Substitution of permitted variants for metrical reasons occurs at qq. 6*d*, 14*d*, 15*b*, 27*d*, 35*d*, 46*c*. Instances of the metrical decoration known as *breacadh* are in evidence in qq. 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 25, 34, 39, 46, and 48.[46]

[40] *Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600*, 207, 333.

[41] *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, i, 198, 250.

[42] *Cal. SP Ire. 1601–1603*, 38; Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, iii, 403.

[43] *ALC* s.a. 1636 (vol. ii, 516–18).

[44] Inquisitions (RIA Transcripts): Roscommon, vol. i, 204 (Inq. 10).

[45] Available on Irish Script on Screen, and transcribed in McManus and Ó Raghallaigh, *A Bardic Miscellany*, 465–7.

[46] I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer, and to Dr Gordon Ó Riain, for suggesting a number of improvements to this edition.

Text

Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird

1. Mithidh sin a mhaca Míleadh
mithidh dhaoibh a ndearna sibh
fa iath gcnóigheal na gcíoch dtana,
dár fóireadh críoch Lagha libh.

2. Is fada an treimhsi a-tá Banbha
fa b*h*reith Danar, díochra an brōn,
go dtug sibh congnamh dá chéile,
dār cobhradh libh Éire ógh.

3. Nī bheid Goill i ngar do Luimneach,
nā fa Lifi na learg dtais,
ná fān mBúill, tre bháidh bhar gcomhghaoil,
ná um Mháigh n-ūir, ná um ghormDhaoil nglais.

4. A Ghaoidhiola na ngreagh seangbhras,
saoradh Banbha na mbrugh gcorr,
cia dhíbh lé mbeirthior a bhuidhe,
tír chleithgheal na nduile ndonn?

5. Beiridh uile, a aicme Chormaic,
cuid dā bhuidhe le baidhbh gcró:
fairche thaoibhsheang na dtrágh líghgeal,
clār Raoilionn do dhídion dó.

Translation

1. That was timely, sons of Míl, timely for you was what you did regarding the nut-bright land of the slender peaks, through which Lugh's country was aided by you.

2. Banbha has been a long time under the rule of Foreigners – intense is the grief – until you helped each other, through which pure Éire was helped by you.

3. The English will not be near to Luimneach, nor around the Life of the soft banks, nor around the Búill, on account of your mutual bond, nor around the fair Máigh nor the dark-blue Daoil.

4. O Gaoidhil of the slender and spirited horses, which of you is to be thanked for it, the saving of Banbha of the prominent castles, land of white trees and brown leaves?

5. O race of Cormac, let you all give some thanks for it to a bloody warrior: he protected the plain of Raoile, slender-sloped territory of the bright-coloured strands.

Variants

1 *d* logha
2 *b* ndanar
3 *a* bheidh *d* mháidh *inserted above*
4 *d* nduille
5 *b* chró *c* líggeal

6. Cóir a bhuidhe do b*h*reith rision,
rí Mhoighi Luirg na learg dte,
go dol agaibh ar iath nÉibhir,
cliath chagaidh do dhēinimh dhe.

7. Mac Diarmada, dreagan Búille,
do bhuaidhreadh iad taobh re taoibh –
le a dheirc moill is beirthi a bhuidhe –
Goill Eithne, Goill Mhuighi Maoin.

8. Tug fuath Eachtrann fa iath Meidhbhe
a mheince um Bhúill na mbárc ndonn,
’s a ró dībhearg fán Muaidh maighrigh,
gruaidh mhíndearg do thairngir tonn.

9. Do chaitheadh lá láimh re Suca,
ag seilg Dhanar dá dheirc chuirr;
do chaitheadh bláth thoighi Tuathail
tráth oile fa Chruachain gCuinn.

10. Do cheól ghnáth ar ghothaibh fuairshreabh
fada do bhíoth barr na ngéag;
cian do bhíodh i mbothaibh caoilshleagh
ag díon shochair Ghaoidheal nGréag.

6. Thanks should be given to *him*, the king of Magh Luirg of the warm slopes, for turning the land of Éibhear into a theatre of war until such time as ye prevailed over it.

7. Mac Diarmada, dragon of the Búill, he used to harass them in unison – thanks for it should be given to his astute eye – the English of the Eithne and the English of Magh Maon.

8. Hatred for the Foreigners around the land of Meadhbh was the cause of his frequent presence around the Búill of the dark boats, and his great number of raids around the Muaidh of the salmon, red cheek foretold by a wave.

9. He used to spend a day beside the Suca, his noble eye harrying the Foreigners; the flower of the house of Tuathal used to spend another while around Cruacha of Conn.

10. For a long time he of the wavy hair used to partake of the perpetual music made by the sounds of cold streams; long was he in bivouacs of slender spears, defending the claim of the Grecian Gaoidhil.

6 *c* néimhir; *d* chogaidh
7 *c* mhoill as
8 *c* múaigh mhaighrigh
9 *d* chuinn

11. Do fhuilngeadh, gér anba an mheisnioch,
Mac Diarmada, dídion ceall,
fa fhairche mín dtoinnghil dTuathail,
shín n-oighridh i mbruachaibh beann.

12. Do ghnáthaigh re gluasacht cogaidh,
Conchobhar Óg innlius cheilg,
sreabh reóidh agus teach gan tuighi,
is feóil chreach, is luighi ar leirg.

13. Mar sin, re Gallaibh ghuirt Lonndan,
lámh fhuiltioch dá n-órthar cuilg,
fairche ghlan na bhfiodhbhadh bhfillte,
do sgar fionnMhagh linnte Luirg.

14. Gur ghabh Magh Luirg na learg dtorthach
tamhan cumhra Chnuic na Niall,
do sgáth an anshóidh ní adhair,
gnáth radhóigh i raghain riamh.

15. Mac Diarmada na nduas líonmhur,
do luach an anshóidh uair sé,
do thil clár na bhfionnshroth bhfoirbhthe
lámh re bionnLoch coirmthe Ché.

11. Though his courage was great, Mac Diarmada, protector of churches, used to suffer icy weather on the slopes of peaks around the smooth, bright-surfaced territory of Tuathal.

12. While prosecuting war, Conchubhar Óg, who plans subterfuge, experienced frozen stream and roofless house, meat from preys and resting on a hillside.

13. In that way did a bloody hand, for which swords are gilded, free fair Magh Luirg of the warm pools (pure land of the inclining woods) from the English of the territory of London.

14. Until he captured Magh Luirg of the fertile slopes, the sweet sapling of the Hill of the Nialls did not defer to a dislike of hardship – always a promising trait in any [leadership] election.

15. Mac Diarmada of the plentiful payments [to poets], in reward for the hardship that he got he occupied the plain of the fair, mature rivers beside sweet Loch Cé of the warm ale.

11 *b* mac díarmata *c* mhín *d* oighridh
14 *d* rodhóigh a roghain
15 *b* fuair *c* bfoirfi

16. Tug beódhacht is beagán tathaimh,
’s tug a bheith i mbeannuibh sliabh
do fhleisg Luain is-teagh a toradh:
buaidh ar fear na roghan riamh.

17. Mac Diarmada, díoghbhódh Eachtrann,
íobhaidh feasda fíon a hór
fa Bhúill sgathaigh na síon soirbhgheal:
rachaidh díol san oighreadh dh’ól.

18. Beid ag uaislibh innsi Luighdhioch
leabtha donnshrōill má dheirc gcuirr:
do shíor insna leabthaibh luachra
bhus díol d’Eachtair Chruachna Cuinn.

19. Seanchas diamhair dán le ceólchroit
mar cheól chodail cleachtaidh sé;
d’ua na ríogh ō iathmhuigh Earca
díol i mbriathraibh ealta é.

20. Seóid Dhanar ag dol ’na éaraic
d’éigsibh cáigh ó chúl na ngéag;
i mbothaibh diamhra ar díoth maoineadh
do bhíoth griangha Ghaoidheal nGréag.

16. Action and little rest, and being on the peaks of mountains, brought in its benefit for the youth of Luan: victory always over the elected man.

17. Mac Diarmada, destroyer of Foreigners, will henceforth drink wine from gold [vessels] around the blossom-strewn Boyle of the pleasant seasons: it will be compensation for drinking ice.

18. The nobility of the isle of Lughaidh will enjoy around his keen eye beds of dark satin: for the Hector of Conn’s Cruacha it will be compensation forever for the beds of rushes.

19. For a lullaby he is [now] accustomed to the secret lore of poems with a musical harp; for the heir of the kings of the territory and plain of Earc it is compensation for the sounds of a flock of birds.

20. The valuables of the Foreigners are bestowed by him of the wavy hair on poets from all over: this is in compensation for the sunbeam of the Grecian Gaoidhil being destitute in remote huts.

17 *a* Macdíarmata *b* íobha
18 *c* thsíor; leaptthaibh *d* coinn
19 *a* ceólcrot
20 *c* mbotha

21. I n-aghaidh uaignis an fhásaigh
iomad curadh do-chí sé,
lén gnáth rinn chatha do chongmháil
fa linn Lacha chollbháin Ché.

22. Go deimhin is daor do cheannaigh
críoch Bhúille fā mblaghaid cuill:
tug a dhonnchrú uile uirrthi
onchú mhuighi cuirmthe Cuinn.

23. Mac Aibhilín na n-éacht minic,
fa Mhagh Luirg na linnteadh dte,
fuair go fóill a chneas do chréachtghuin,
dōigh i dtreas nī déantair de.

24. Conn Céadchathach, coiléan Teamhra,
tugadh amhlaidh iolar cneadh
ar a chorp fa fhiadhmhagh nÉirionn,
gort niamhghlan na ngéirreann ngeal.

25. Téid an Connsoin, tar ceann Éirionn –
iúl fíre dá bhfuil an sdair –
go Magh Léana i n-aghaidh Eóghain;
gabhair sgéala eólaigh air.

26. Téid i n-aghaidh Eóghain Taidhligh
triath Éirionn le huathadh sluaigh
go slios brúigh leachtMhuighi Léana,
neartruire mhúir Éanna d'uaim.

21. Instead of the solitude of the wilderness he [now] sees an abundance of warriors by whom the vanguard is continually maintained around the water of hazel-white Loch Cé.

22. Indeed it was dearly he paid for the land of the Búill about which hazels break: he gave all his dark-red blood for it, wolf of the plain of Conn of the warm ale.

23. Aibhilín's son of the frequent exploits, about Magh Luirg of the warm lakes his body has received such wounding up to now that it is thought unlikely he will [ever] be defeated in battle.

24. Conn Céadchathach, cub of Teamhair, many wounds were inflicted likewise on his body around the wild plain of Éire, pure-bright territory of the sharp, shining spears.

25. On Éire's behalf – true knowledge on which the tale is based – this Conn proceeds to Magh Léana against Eóghan: a scholar's tidings of it are recited.

26. The prince of Éire proceeds against Eóghan Taidhleach with a small army to the slope of the bank of Magh Léana of the graves, the strong king who united the rampart of Éanna.

27. Cóigeadh Uladh na n-eas líghgeal
is Leath Mogha na múr réidh
do thairg uaidh, i gcomhaidh chatha,
do roghain shluaigh Lacha Léin.

28. ‘Ní ghēabh uaidh,’ ar Eóghan Caisil,
‘comha acht Teamhair na dTrí bhFear,
tulach fhíonūr na n-eang n-álainn,
badh leam rīomhúr bhánfhuinn B*h*reagh.’

29. Conn Céadchathach na gcuach ngreanta
do ghabh fírfhearg – fíor an sdair –
longphort eangbhláith an fhuinn g*h*rianaigh,
fān seanrāith gcuirr d’iarraidh air.

30. ‘Eóghan Mór, giodh mór a aigneadh,
nī fhuighi feasda,’ ar flaith Luain,
‘d’Éirinn shriobhghloin do thaoibh thoile
iomdhaidh laoigh na hoighi uaim.’

31. ‘Do-bhéar cath dá chrobhaing m*h*íleadh
ar Mhagh Léana i los a uilc,
ó’s é is áil le hEóghan éachtach,’
do ráidh leōmhan crēachtach Cuilt.

27. To the one elected by the host of Loch Léin he offered as a peace-term the province of the Ulaidh and Leath Mogha of the smooth ramparts.

28. ‘I will not accept from him,’ said Eóghan of Caiseal, ‘any term except Teamhair of the Three Men, the hill of new wine and beautiful banners: I will possess the royal fort of the fair land of Breagha.’

29. Anger gripped Conn Céadchathach of the engraved goblets – a true story – because the ancient eminent fort, the stronghold of the beautiful banners in the sunny territory, was demanded of him.

30. ‘Eóghan Mór, though great is his courage,’ said the prince of Luan, ‘he will never get from me willingly the choicest part of Éire of the pure streams.’

31. ‘Because of his evil, I will give battle to his band of soldiers on Magh Léana, since it is what heroic Eóghan desires,’ said the wounding lion of Colt.

27 *a* líggeal *d* locha
28 *d* rioghmúr
29 *d* chuirr
30 *a* giodh] ge
31 *b* ‘bnm’ *jotting above* ós

32. Ar Mhagh Léana, an lá ar na bhárach,
brisdear cath ar a chúl f*h*ann;
ua na ríogh nār lag a luaghal,
do-rad díol san uabhar ann.

33. Beantar san gcathsoin, céim suaithnidh –
seanchus fīre fuarus róm –
leómhan fa teann ar gach teaghlach,
a cheann d'Eóghan mheadhrach Mhór.

34. An éagōir re hairdrígh mBanbha
do bhí ag Eóghan – anba an ró –
dā bhfuair a ghoin fa Bhóinn mbionnfhuair:
do-chóidh soin ar diombuaidh dhó.

35. Gach drong ré ndéantar an éagcóir,
ar an eachtsoin, d'iúl na suadh
ní bhí orra dhíobh re deabhaidh:
orra do shíor bearair buadh.

36. Rug mac Taidhg trēan ar a nāimhdibh,
do nós Chuinn na gcupadh sean,
re hathaidh, a hucht na cóire,
nathair ó phurt B*h*óinni Breagh.

37. Do dīoghladh leis – lór de mheisnigh –
mar m*h*ac Úna dhár fhill dair,
éigni Bearbha, bláth na ndaighrīogh,
a ndearna cách d'ainbhfíor air.

32. The following day, his smooth head was defeated; the descendant of kings whose vigour was not weak repaid him there for his arrogance.

33. During that battle, an outstanding feat – true history that I discovered – merry Eóghan Mór is beheaded, a lion severe on every retinue.

34. The injustice that Eóghan did to the high-king of Banbha – great excess – on account of which he received his [death-]wound by the sweet cool Bóinn: it was that which caused his misfortune.

35. Every faction by whom injustice is perpetrated, therefore, according to the wisdom of the learned they have no protection against battle: they are always defeated.

36. Over a period, with justice on his side, Tadhg's son overcame his enemies, in the manner of Conn of the ancient goblets, serpent from the shore of the Bóinn of Breagha.

37. What courage: like Úna's son for whom the oak bent low, he avenged the injustice that all had perpetrated against him, salmon of the Bearbha, flower of the good kings.

33 *b* rór*m*
34 *a* hairdrí banbha
35 *d* búaidh
36 *b* choinn
37 *a* de] do

38. Magh Luirg, ní léamhadh í d'f*h*éachain:
ēagóir Ghall ar a ghruaidh nduinn,
dóigh ghnáth dá ríoghaibh do-roinni,
do dhíoghail blāth chloinni Cuinn.

39. A hucht uaisle, a hucht na córa,
do chuir mac Taidhg na dtreas ndian
fian Ghall ó choimhéad a chríche,
barr na bhfoighéag bhfíthe bhfiar.

40. Mac Diarmada, dúsgadh faladh,
fuath a chríche fa chath nGall
do chuir caomhthach rúin na ríghe,
aonchloch chúil na tíre thall.

41. Taobh seada dā slēachtuid biodhbhaidh,
bas fhuiltioch dá n-ísligh sreabh,
croidhe is eagal eidir armaibh,
dreagan mhoighi bharrghloin Bhreagh.

42. Seabhac Cruachna na gcraobh lúbtha,
leannán Uisnigh an fheóir chuirr,
bláth an chaomhmhuighi um Bóinn mbiligh,
aodhuiri slóigh chinidh Chuinn.

38. He would not permit Magh Luirg to be garrisoned: ever confident of defeating their leaders, the flower of the race of Conn avenged the injustice of the English against his red cheek

39. With nobility and justice on his side, the son of Tadhg of the hard battles prevented a company of English from garrisoning his land, head of the plaited, curling tresses.

40. Mac Diarmada, awakening resistance, he, beloved confidant of sovereignty, initiated his land's hatred for the English battalion, solitary supporting-stone of that territory.

41. Slender side to whom enemies submit, bloody hand before which a river subsides, a heart to be feared amidst weaponry, dragon of the bright-surfaced plain of Breagha.

42. Hawk of Cruacha of the bending branches, lover of Uisneach of the tall grass, flower of the fair plain around the tree-lined Bóinn, shepherd of the host of the race of Conn.

38 *d* coinn
40 *a* Mac diarmata

43. Beithir lúthmhar lingios deabhaidh,
dreagan éachtach fhuilngios goin,
ursa ghliadh míonmhoighi Mheadhbha,
grian ríoghraidhe Teamhra thoir.

44. Conchobhar Óg, aigneadh faoilidh,
féithlionn cheangail Chnuic na nGiall,
báthadh coibhdhean bruaigh na Búille,
gruaidh toinngheal is núidhe niamh.

45. Abhall chumhra de choill uasail,
inghean Domhnaill dhíolus duain:
cleachtaidh fodhail a séad sídhe,
géag thoraidh an tíre thuaidh.

46. Téid ó éigsibh innsi Cobhthaigh,
i gcrích Connacht na gcolg ndéad,
do thoill Mairghréag, ó's dá mhaoidheamh,
pailmghéag de choill Ghaoidheal nGréag.

47. Leaca t*h*aoibhdhearg nár théigh ollamh,
inghean M*h*óire ó mhúr Dhá Thí,
a teisd ag dol fán trian thallan:
ag riar sgol nī hannamh í. Mithidh

43. Swift bear who is supreme in battle, lethal dragon who is impervious to wounding, battle-prop of Meadhbh's smooth plain, sun of the kings of Teamhair in the east.

44. Conchubhar Óg, cheerful disposition, binding vine of the Hill of the Hostages, destruction of the raiders of the shore of the Búill, white-skinned cheek of radiant appearance.

45. Sweet apple-tree from a noble wood, Domhnall's daughter, who rewards a poem: she practises the sharing out of her marvellous treasures, fruitful branch of the northern land.

46. I proclaim it: in the land of Connachta of the ivory swords, Mairghréag – palm-branch from the wood of the Grecian Gaoidhil – has earned [praise] that is sent from the poets of Ireland.

47. Rosy-skinned cheek that no poet has satirised, daughter of Mór from the house of Dá Thí, her fame spreads around yonder territory, not seldom does she minister to schools of poetry.

43 *b* fhuilgios
44 *d* núidhe] *vel correction from* nuaidi
45 *a* de] do
46 *c* do thuill
47 *a* théidh

48. A bheith fo chriaidh do chráidh meisi,
Māg Aonghusa nār éar dháimh;
nach truagh mo leannán 'na luighi,
beangán ó chuan mhuighi Máil?

49. Mo dhara céile i gcrích Chobhthaigh,
Conn mac Briain lé mbronntaoi fail,
teasda slat bhosghlan na Búille,
nach dorsan brat úire air?

50. Ceileadh doirseōir dhúin na n-aingiol
gach olc dhamh dá ndearna sí:
mé dá toil congmhaidh an cholann –
foghlaidh, mar soin, oram í. Mithidh

48. His being beneath the earth has tormented me, Mág Aonghusa who did not refuse poets; is it not sad that my lover is prostrate, the sapling from the shore of the plain of Mál?

49. My second spouse in the land of Cobhthach, Conn son of Brian who used to bestow a ring, the clean-palmed scion of the Búill is dead: is it not woeful that a mantle of earth covers him?

50. May the door-keeper of the citadel of angels conceal every evil that she has done to me: the body keeps me subjected to her will – she is, therefore, a predator on me.

48 *a* ch*ra*áidh

NOTES

2*b* MS *ndanar* possibly influenced by the instances of *fa* and *um* 'around' (with accusative) in qq. 1c and 3d.

3*a* MS *bheidh*, is presumably a slip for 3 pl. dep., which form (as opposed to *-biad* (*IGT* III.7)) is found in contemporary prose (e.g. *TBg* p. xix) and poetry (e.g. *DDána* 59.28, *O'Hara* XX.8, etc.).

Fearghal Óg, here and in qq. 7–9, makes use of river names to convey both the extent to which the English have encroached on autonomous Gaelic Ireland, and the extent of Mac Diarmada's theatre of activities. In this quatrain he refers to the English presence in three of the provinces: river Liffey (Leinster), rivers Maigue and Deel (Munster), and the river Boyle (Connacht).

5*b baidhbh* Though clearly used figuratively (cf. Ó Macháin, 'Seaán Óg Ó Dochartaigh', 27*c* n.) with reference to Mac Diarmada, the context, developed later in the poem, of patrimony recovered through battle and hardship, suggests that the word also carries its primary connotations of battle, the pun being accentuated through the use of *cró* gen. sg. 'of blood', or gen. pl. 'of battle-enclosures'. McManus's suggestion ('Varia III: Miscellanea on bardic poetry: metre, language ansd style', *Ériu* 55 (2005), 147–66, at 163 n. 31

(referenced by the peer-reviewer)), however, that *cró* in such phrases be taken as an unidentified placename, may well be correct; cf. the case of *fleisg Luain* 16c below.

d dó The use of the masculine pronoun here in reference to the feminine *badhbh* is explainable by the primacy of the sex of the referend over the gender of the word.

6*b Moighe Luirg* Mac Diarmada's territory of Moylurg in present-day Co. Roscommon.

c agaibh The poet is still addressing *aicme Cormaic*.

7*d Eithne* River Inny (in counties Westmeath and Longford); *Mhuighe Maoin* Magh Maoin or Maonmhagh, the plain in south Galway centred on Loughrea.

8*c Muaidh* The river Moy.

d Cf. *craobh tharaidh do thairrngir tonn* in *Ir. Bardic Poetry* 43.11, a reference to the part played by the three great waves (Cliodhna, Tuaighe and Rudhraighe) in combining with the Lia Fáil to foretell the true king of Ireland.

9*a Suca* The river Suck, Co. Roscommon.

10 This quatrain marks the introduction of the topos of the litany of hardships endured by the warrior prior to attaining leadership (cf. Ó Macháin, 'Tadhg Ó Ruairc', 38). Such litanies dwell on the hero's endurance of exposure to the elements while on campaign, thereby proving himself in the struggle to attain leadership. Once attained, the ultimate comforts of castle-life are seen as well-earned rewards, and correspondences between the comforts and the hardships are established, as here in qq. 17–21.

14*b Chnuic na Niall* A kenning for Teamhair: cf. *O'Reillys* XXIV.34, and see Ó Macháin, 'Tadhg Ó Ruairc', 35*c* n.; cf. *Chnuic na nGiall* q. 44*b*.

c ní adhair Historic present.

15*d Loch Cé* Loch Key on which Mac Diarmada's main residence, Carrag Mheic Dhiarmada, was located: see Introduction.

16*c fhleisg Luain* The expression *flaith* (etc.) *luain* etc. has received various interpretations in editions of poetry: *fear Luain* 'chief of Luan' (*Mac Con Midhe* X.12); *craobh Luain* 'luminous lord' (*Marcher Lords* II.69); *flaith Luain* 'Lord of Monday' (*O'Hara* XXX.21). The tentative suggestion of a meaning 'warrior' has also been made in *DIL* (L, 224.52–9, and cf. also s.v. 5 *lúan*). While the example in the present quatrain is ambiguous, in q. 30*b* it would seem that *luain* is to be regarded as a proper name, as though associated, perhaps with Áth Luain. Though the probability is that the usage is connected to the ancient *lúan láith*, I have merely translated 'youth of Luan' and 'prince of Luan' in both instances here.

is-teagh a toradh This might also be construed as *is teagh a toradh*, possibly meaning 'and a house [made] from foliage', referring to the temporary dwellings used while on campaign, the *botha caoilshleagh* (q. 10), *teach gan tuighi* (q. 12), *botha diamhra* (q. 20) mentioned elsewhere in the poem.

d For the notion of action or heroism being the determining factor in the election of a leader cf. *gibé tí do thogha ríogh / an gníomh do-ní rogha riamh*, *O'Reillys* XIV.1.

17*b* For other examples of the idea of drinking from golden vessels see *DDána* 100.18 and *Aith.Dána* 5.18.

19*a ceólchroit* (MS *ceólcrot*) Accusative sg. must be read here.

20*ab* With the booty plundered from the English, Mac Diarmada maintains not only his own poets but the poets of everyone else also.

21*c rinn chatha* Sometimes a kenning for chieftain, warrior etc. (e.g. *DDána* 93.40, *Aith.Dána* 18.17), but also signifying a military vanguard (cf. *rinn áigh* in *Magauran*, l. 2662n.).

22*b críoch* An instance of *cosg réime*. The hazel branches break due to the weight of their fruit in the reign of the rightful king: cf. *Mac Brighde fa mbloghthar dair*, *DDána* 93.51, and *dhár fhill dair* below (37*b*).

23*a Aibhilín* (*Eibhilín* in *DDána* 68.36). Wife of Tadhg mac Eóghain, but otherwise as yet unidentified.

24 The *uirsgéal*, which begins here and continues to q. 34, adheres fairly closely to the second half of *Cath Maighe Léana*, where Conn Céadchathach finally overcomes Eóghan Taidhleach. For Conn's wounds see Kenneth Jackson (ed.), *Cath Maighe Léna* (Dublin, 1938), ll. 1245–71, 1913–21.

a coiléan More usually *cuiléan* (*IGT* II.35); cf. *coiléin* : *foiléim* (*Duanaire Mhéig Uidhir* XVIII.11).

26*b* For Conn's small army see Jackson, *Cath Maighe Léna*, ll. 1381–6.

27 Conn's offer to Eóghan is detailed in Jackson, *Cath Maighe Léna*, ll. 1387–93.

29 Fearghal Óg's narrative varies from the prose-tale here, where it is said that Conn's anger was caused by Eóghan executing his peace-emissaries (Jackson, *Cath Maighe Léna*, ll. 1429–45).

30*a* On Eóghan Mór, Eóghan Taidhleach and Mogh Nuadhad, see Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin, 1946), 184–5.

d The expression *laogh na hoighe* or *laogh oighe* ('fawn of the/a doe') is a complimentary term in bardic verse: examples will be found in *Ir. Bardic Poetry* 43.33, *Dán Dé* 8.17; *Butlers* XVII.31; *DDána* 26.24; *IGT* II, ex. 74. Therefore *iomdhaidh laoigh na hoighi* presumably means a coveted place, but also with a possible pun here on Laogh – the name of a well at Tara (*MD* i, Temair III, ll. 129–32; *Onom*. s.v. *loég*) – with *iomdhaidh* signifying 'source' (DIL I, 82.81–3). Dr Ó Riain, however, suggests 'he will never get from me willingly [as much as] a resting place for a fawn'.

33. The beheading of Eóghan is not recorded in the prose-tale, but cf. *TDall* 18.28.

34*a éagóir* Spellings of this word with *-g-* and *-gc-* (q. 35*a*) are permitted (*IGT* II.42). Note that acc. sg. *-rígh* and following eclipsis are editorial.

37*b mhac Úna* Conn Céadchathach.

38*a féachain* and *coimhéad* (39*c*) are probably synonyms in this context.

c For the expression here compare q. 23*d* above.

d This line cements the connection with Conn, from whom, according to the annalists, Mac Diarmada was descended through Eochaidh Muighmheadhóin (e.g. Séamus Pender (ed.), *The O Clery Book of Genealogies* (= *Analecta Hibernica* 18 (1951)), 83).

40d The use of *tír thall* and related expressions (q. 47*c*) to refer to places in the immediate vicinity of the speaker is noted in Ó Macháin, 'Seaán Óg Ó Dochartaigh', 92 n. 26.

44*b Chnuic na nGiall* A name for Tara deriving from the name of the passage-grave known as Dumha na nGiall (*MD* i, Temair III, ll. 33–6). Hence *Leac na nGiall* for the Lia Fáil (*Aith.Dána* 10.27) and *Teagh na nGiall* (ibid, 5.12) for Tara.

c Perhaps eclipsis after gen pl. should be inserted here, although it is consistent with the feature noted by Knott in *TDall* i, p. cv.

d The final *mh* is to be regarded as the first *dúnadh*, though not so indicated in the manuscript.

45 This is the first of three complimentary quatrains in honour of Conchubhar Óg's wife, Mairghréag, daughter of Domhnall Ó Conchubhair and his wife Mór (47*b*). Mór was the subject of Tadhg Dall's well-known poem *A Mhór cuimhnigh an comann* (*TDall* poem 15). She was a daughter of Brian Ballach Ó Ruairc and a sister of Conn Ó Ruairc memorialized in q. 49. Conchubhar Óg's predecessor, Brian mac Ruaidhrí, was married to another daughter (Meadhbh) of Domhnall Ó Conchubhair (*ALC* s.a. 1582.5 (vol. ii, 446–8)).

d an tíre thuaidh Presumably Sligo.

46 The syntax of this quatrain is unclear, though the meaning is unambiguous: Mairghréag has earned the praise of the poets of Ireland. Dr Gordon Ó Riain suggests this interpretation to me: 'She goes by means of the poets of Ireland into . . . Connachta . . . since I am saying this, M., palm-branch . . . , has earned [this]'. For commonplace expressions – mostly chevilles – of the type *ó's dá* + verb noun cf. *TDall* 15.2, *Aonghus Fionn* XLVI.4, and *Dán na mBMionúr* 19.16, 23.5.

48–50. Fearghal Óg brings the poem to its conclusion with three dedicatory verses, one each commemorating Aodh Mág Aonghusa (q. 48), who died in January 1595/6, a month after Mac Diarmada had been installed, and Conn Ó Ruairc, who probably died in 1577; and the final signatory quatrain to St Peter (*doirseóir dhúin na n-aingiol*). For this practice see Padraig Ó Macháin, 'Poems by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird', *Celtica* 24 (2003), 252–63.

Abbreviations

Aith.Dána	Lambert McKenna, *Aithdioghluinm Dána*: *a Miscellany of Irish Bardic Poetry*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1939, 1940).
ALC	William M. Hennessy (ed.), *The Annals of Loch Cé. A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1590*, 2 vols (London, 1871).

Aonghus Fionn	L. M'Kenna, *Dánta Do Chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh* (Dublin, 1919).
Beatha Aodha Ruaidh	Paul Walsh (ed.), *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill as Leabhar Lughaidh Uí Chléirigh*, 2 vols, ITS 42, 45 (Dublin 1948, 1957).
Butlers	James Carney (ed.), *Poems on the Butlers of Ormond, Cahir, and Dunboyne* (Dublin, 1945).
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*, 7 vols (London, 1867–1912).
DDána	Láimhbheartach Mac Cionnaith, *Dioghluim Dána* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1938).
Dán na mBMionúr	Cuthbert Mhág Craith (ed.), *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1967, 1980).
Duanaire Mhéig Uidhir	David Greene (ed.), *Duanaire Mhéig Uidhir*: *the Poem Book of Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir, Lord of Fermanagh 1566–1589* (Dublin, 1972).
Foras Feasa	D. Comyn and P. S. Dinneen (ed.), *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Seathrún Céitinn D.D.*, 4 vols, ITS 4, 8, 9, 15 (London, 1902–14).
Ir. Bardic Poetry	Osborn Bergin (ed.), *Irish Bardic Poetry*, ed. David Greene and Fergus Kelly (Dublin, 1970).
Ir. Syllabic Poetry	Eleanor Knott, *An Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry of the Period 1200–1600*, second ed. (Dublin, 1957).
Irish Fiants	*The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns during the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip & Mary, and Elizabeth*, with a New Introduction by Kenneth Nicholls and Preface by Tomás G. Ó Canann, 4 vols (Dublin, 1994).
Mac Con Midhe	N. J. A. Williams (ed.), *The Poems of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe*, ITS 51 (Dublin, 1980).
Magauran	Lambert McKenna (ed.), *The Book of Magauran: Leabhar Mhéig Shamhradháin* (Dublin, 1947).
Marcher Lords	Anne O'Sullivan (ed.), *Poems on Marcher Lords from a Sixteenth-Century Tipperary Manuscript*, ITS 52 (London, 1987).
Measgra Dánta	Thomas F. O'Rahilly (ed.), *Measgra Dánta*: *Miscellaneous Irish Poems* n(Dublin and Cork, 1927).

O'Hara	Lambert McKenna (ed.), *The Book of O'Hara*: *Leabhar Í Eadhra* (Dublin, 1951).
Onom.	Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum Locorum et Tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae: An Index, with Identifications, to the Gaelic Names of Places and Tribes*. (Dublin, 1910).
O'Reillys	James Carney (ed.), *Poems on the O'Reillys* (Dublin, 1950).
TBg	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).

Pádraig Ó Macháin

University College Cork

A *CROSÁNTACHT* COMPOSED FOR DÁIBHÍDH DE BARRA († 10 APRIL 1617)

Abstract

This article presents an edition and translation of *Teallach coisreagtha críoch Bharrach*, a *crosántacht* composed for Dáibhidh mac Séamais (mac Risteard) de Barra († 10 April 1617). The poem is attributed to Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair, though evidence examined here does not support the attribution. An introductory analysis considers the historical context, including an intriguing allusion to Aodh Mág Uidhir († 1600), chieftain of Fermanagh. Images of *fír flaithemon* are also highlighted. The fertile state of Barrymore is the result of the chieftain's sacral marriage to the land, but also of St. Patrick's blessing upon Munster. The regenerative power of the land is further exemplified in an apologue about Antaeus mac Tíre, who renews his strength by yielding to opponents and touching the earth, his mother. With a mix of praise and comic wit, the poet of *Teallach* extolls his patron and affirms the enduring bond between patron and patrimony.

The following is an edition of *Teallach coisreagtha críoch Bharrach* 'The land of the Barrys is a blessed homestead',[1] a *crosántacht* addressed to Dáibhídh († 10 April 1617) son of Séamas († 10 April 1581) son of Risteard de Barra of Barrymore, whose chief residence was Barryscourt Castle, near Carrigtohill, Co. Cork.[2] *Teallach* is a medley of verse (42½ quatrains) and four interspersed prose passages, two of which are drawn from medieval literary tales.[3] The poem is undated. It is attributed to Dáibhídh Ó Bruadair in all of

[1]For some discussion of the poem see Pádraig A. Breatnach, *Téamaí Taighde Nua-Ghaeilge* (Maigh Nuad, 1997), 33–6. I thank Pádraig Breatnach for reading this edition and offering many improving suggestions and corrections, and Damian McManus for helpful insights on the translation of several quatrains. Pádraig Ó Macháin has generously answered questions on the manuscripts, and Seán Ó Coileáin offered references relating to Prose B. I am indebted to the peer-reviewer for his/her careful reading and corrections, and to the editors of *Celtica* for their attention to the text. The contributions of these and other scholars are included in the notes. Any remaining errors are my own.

[2]E. Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 5 (1899), 1–17, 77–92, 153–68, 209–24; *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 1–11, 65–87, 129–46, 193–209; *JCHAS* 7 (1901), 1–16, 65–80, 129–38, 193–204; *JCHAS* 8 (1902), 1–17, 129–50. Here *JCHAS* 6 (1900), at 143. The patron's mother was Ellen, daughter of Cormac 'na haoine' McCarthy Reagh (ibid., 134); cf. Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage of England Scotland Ireland Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, vol. 1 (London, 1910), 442.

[3]For some discussion see M. Griffin-Wilson, 'St Patrick and Antaeus: two bardic apologues', in John Carey, Kevin Murray and Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh (eds), *Sacred Histories: A Festschrift for Máire Herbert* (Dublin, 2015), 161–74. Cf. M. Griffin-Wilson, 'Zegening van patroon

 ©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

the manuscripts, but the attribution has been called into question and will be considered further below.

Teallach is eulogistic in tone, with traces of the wit and ironic praise which characterize *crosántacht*. Throughout the composition, verse and prose are woven together thematically and verbally; the prose not only restates themes set out in the verse, but creatively articulates them and pushes the boundaries of style and form. Its opening section establishes the predominant theme of *fír flaithemon* 'the sovereign's truth' and the resulting fecundity of the chieftain's patrimony.[4] An apologue narrating St Patrick's baptism of Aonghus son of Nad Fraoich and blessing upon Munster (q. 3, Prose A) intersects with traditional images of the sacred marriage between chieftain and land.[5] Dáibhídh de Barra is united to *Críoch Bharrach* (q. 9), and presides over a blessed and fruitful territory. He is extolled as a fierce warrior (qq. 19–23), a man of learning and master of every craft (qq. 24–5). Imitating the customs of the sun, which shines equitably upon all (Prose C), he extends hospitality to both high-born and low-born, accomplished poets and lower entertainers (qq. 27–36). In a rare bardic apologue which concludes the poem, he is compared to the Classical figure, Antaeus son of Terra (*Anteus mac Tíre*), who was born from the earth and whose extraordinary strength is renewed by falling to the ground and touching (*tadhall*) the earth, his mother (Prose D).[6] Dáibhídh de Barra likewise has been 'burnished' (*foighreadh*) in the fertile land of Barrymore (39d), and his prowess and generosity are increased by contact with the land of his birth.

The poet

Teallach is attributed in all of the manuscripts to Dáibhídh Ó Bruadair. It is the reputable scribe of the oldest manuscript (British Library Additional 29614), Seán Ó Murchadha na Ráithíneach, who first questioned the attribution in a marginal note: 'Ní thuigi*m* gu*r*b é *Dáibhídh* <Ó> B*ru*ad*air* do rin. Féac*h* geineal*ach an* B*harr*aigh san leab*har*sa' ('I do not think that it was Dáibhídh Ó Bruadair that composed it; consult the Barry genealogy in this book').[7] Ó Murchadha's opinion is of considerable weight, as he knew Ó Bruadair's work and had access to some of his manuscripts.

---

en erfgoed in *Teallach coisreagtha Críoch Bharrach*', in *Kelten*: *Mededeling van de Stichting A. G. van Hamel voor Keltische Studies* 57 (Utrecht, 2013), 5–9.

[4]For a discussion of the theme see Damian McManus, '"The smallest man in Ireland can reach the tops of her trees": images of the king's peace and bounty in bardic poetry', in Joseph Falaky Nagy (ed.), *Memory and the Modern in Celtic Literatures*, CSANA Yearbook 5 (Dublin, 2006), 61–117.

[5]Sources are noted at Prose A, notes.

[6]*CCath.*, 220–2, ll. 2887–914.

[7]London, BL Additional 29614, fol. 57v. The colophon appears in the upper right hand corner. Angular brackets indicate letters illegible in the manuscript which have been supplied editorially. The common abbreviation ~~*bb*~~ has been expanded as *Dáibhídh*.

John C. MacErlean does not refer to *Teallach* in his edition of Ó Bruadair's poetry, but a surviving personal correspondence confirms that he regarded the poem as too early to be Ó Bruadair's work.[8] The patron's death on 10 April 1617 is well-documented,[9] and the date is difficult to reconcile with Mac Erlean's view that Ó Bruadair lived *c*. 1625–1697.[10] Scholars remain sceptical.[11] Pádraig Breatnach concluded that the attribution was in error,[12] and Liam Ó Murchú has drawn my attention to *Do chonnradh foirceadal*, dated 1648 in one manuscript, which Ó Bruadair presents as the 'start and substance' (*tosach is toradh*) of his writing,[13] suggesting the 'first fruits' of his work at a considerably later date. An erroneous scribal attribution of *Teallach* to Ó Bruadair could be explained by his close association with the Barrys. Ó Bruadair composed several poems for members of the family and may have been born in the barony of Barrymore.[14] His composition of two wedding *crosántachta* later in the seventeenth century adds a stylistic association. It is of some interest that the earliest manuscript of *Teallach* also contains a text of the later wedding poem, *Cuirfead cluain ar chrobhaing gealGhall*, composed in 1674.[15] *Teallach* exhibits far greater skill in the syllabic metre *snéadhbhairdne* than is found in Ó Bruadair's *crosántachta,* but Ó Bruadair may have studied (or recited) *Teallach* in a bardic school in Barrymore and kept it among his works. The poem undoubtedly bears Ó Bruadair's name, but given the evidence which we have, the attribution does not stand. The question of who composed *Teallach* remains unresolved.

THE PATRON

Teallach was composed for Dáibhídh son of Séamas (son of Risteard) de Barra, Viscount Buttevant († 10 April 1617), whose chief residence was in Barrymore, Co. Cork. He is addressed in the poem as *mac Séamuis* (11a, 18a), and *Mac meic Risdeard* (37a), the latter indicating his descent from Richard 'of the Rath'

[8]McKenna (*Content*. ii, 228 n. 3) comments on a note which he received from Mac Erlean, who concluded that *Teallach* was not Ó Bruadair's work and 'must have been composed a century earlier'.

[9]See Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, 442; Barry, 'Barrymore' *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 201.

[10]*DOB* I, xix–xx. Tradition preserves conflicting dates of Ó Bruadair's death: one source gives the year 1697 (*DOB* I, xlvi), another 1710; see Pádraig de Brún, 'Tuireamh Laidne ar Dháibhí Ó Bruadair', *Éigse* 12 (1967–8), 327–30, at 327 n. 3; *Clár Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Choláiste Ollscoile Chorcaí: Cnuasach Thorna* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1967), 131; M. Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair* (Dublin, 2010), 14–15.

[11]Standish Hayes O'Grady (*BLCat.* 1, 557) notes the 'judicious' marginalia of Seán na Ráithíneach. Gerard Murphy (*RIACat*., p. 1366 (no. 191)) viewed the attribution to Ó Bruadair as impossible.

[12]Breatnach, *Téamaí Taighde Nua-Ghaeilge*, 33 n. 104; cf. Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 2.

[13]*DOB* I, 20 §1. I thank Liam P. Ó Murchú for helpful comments following my initial presentation on the poem (August 2012).

[14]*DOB* I, xv–xix; Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 12–15.

[15]BL Additional 29614, fol. 50r–53v.

in Ibane.[16] Séamas (mac Risteard) de Barra had five sons and five daughters by his wife, Ellen, daughter of Cormac 'na haoine' McCarthy Reagh, and the marriage is further confirmed in the poem *Decair teacht re tréan Barrach*, where Dáibhídh de Barra is referred to as the son of Séamas (*cumhain le saormhac Séamais*) and as *Mac Eibhilín*'.[17] Séamas mac Risteard de Barra was imprisoned in Dublin Castle for his role in the Desmond rising and died there on 10 April 1581.[18] He is extolled in the annals as one of the 'true stock of the Barry Roes ... who had *at first* no hope or expectation of obtaining even the title of Barry Roe. But, however, God bestowed upon him the chieftainship both of Barry Mael and Barry Roe … but he was elected chief over the Barry Mores, after the extinction of those chieftains whose hereditary right it was to rule over that seigniory till that period.'[19] A pedigree by Florence MacCarthy (written in 1595) presents a different scenario, claiming that Séamas mac Risteard (James fitzRichard) took forcible possession of Barryscourt Castle through treachery, dispossessed the deceased Lord's only child and procured (18 March 1560) an assignment of Barrymore and also the Barryroe estates and titles.[20] Upon the death of Séamas mac Risteard, Dáibhídh de Barra (the patron of *Teallach*) got assignments of all their rights to the Barrymore estates.[21] The eldest son, Richard, was deaf and dumb ('though of sound understanding'), and for this reason was superseded in titles and estates.[22]

The patron is praised in *Teallach* as *An Barrach Mór* 'the great Barry' (Prose A, D), a title which he assumed on 1 May 1581, following the death of his father. The annals record that Dáibhídh mac Séamais was afterwards called *An Barrach* 'the Barry' by the Earl of Desmond',[23] and our poet's exclusive use of the Irish title *An Barrach Mór* is of some interest. Dáibhídh de Barra also assumed the title of 'Viscount'. He is referred to in English sources as the 'now Viscount Barry' on 25 October, 1582,[24] and appears in a list of Peers (26 April, 1585) as the 'Viscount of Barry, *alias* Buttevant'. It has been noted that he joined the Desmond Rebellion as 'Viscount Barry', but abandoned the rebel cause in or before 1599 as 'Viscount Buttevant', which afterwards became the usual designation.[25] Dáibhídh is addressed as *Bhíocont Barrach* in another bardic poem, also undated,[26] and as both *barún* and *bhíocunt* in a third

[16]Richard 'of the Rath', the first son of James Barry Roe, is said to have been illegitimate; see Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 78–9; cf. Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, 441.

[17]RIA 23 D 4 (5), 358, lines 20, 29; cf. *ABM* 156.27d, 30a (p. 205). See also n. 2 above.

[18]Barry, 'Barrymore' *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 133; cf. *Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 250 (8 September 1580).

[19]*AFM* V, 1752.

[20]Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 72–4, 78–9, 129–30; *JCHAS* 7 (1901), 65–6.

[21]Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 131. For a pedigree of the Barrys given to Sir George Carew by Dáibhídh de Barra in 1600–3 see Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 5 (1899), 84–5.

[22]See Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 84–5; Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, 442.

[23]*AFM* s.a. 1581.4. The State Papers contain this notice: 'David Barry proclaimed 1 May. The Viscount, his father, dead. 140 followers of Sir James Fitzgerald, Lord of the Decies, revolted' (*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–1585*, 303 (May 12, 1581)).

[24]*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 406.

[25]Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, 442.

[26]*DDána* no. 87.22d. Although the poem is undated, his visits to Elizabeth I († 24 March 1603) and King James I are mentioned (qq. 18–21). Cf. P. A. Breatnach, 'A poem on the end of patronage', *Éigse* 31 (1999), 79–88, at 84 n. 24.

composition, which interestingly contains a seemingly nostalgic recollection of his earlier Irish title:

> Ráinig iarumh u*cht* re hu*cht*
> bheith 'na bharún 'na bhiocont
> o tharla ar bhreith bháirr na sgath
> nir chaill bheith 'na Bharrach.[27]
>
> 'He came to be then, one after the other, a baron and a viscount; seeing that upon securing the pre-eminence of the scions, he did not cease to be "the Barry".'

The exclusive use of the Irish title in *Teallach* might suggest composition at an earlier period in his career, though the evidence is inconclusive. The poet may intentionally use the Irish title to sway Dáibhídh de Barra's allegiance to the Irish cause during a period of political turmoil and shifting alliances. Interestingly, the Irish title seems to have adhered more enduringly to his father, Séamas de Barra. Long after both of their deaths, Dáibhídh is extolled (along with other deceased chieftains) as *Dáibhí mac an Bharraigh Mhóir*.[28]

During his father's lifetime Dáibhídh de Barra joined the rebellion. There are records of his pardon in 1577 and 1579,[29] but in 1580 he and his father are named as 'traitors' in a letter from Sir Warham St Leger.[30] After his father's death, Dáibhídh de Barra is accused of joining with other Munster chieftains 'to become Robin Hoods';[31] he 'burnt his own houses and joined the rebels with great force' (24 February 1581) and, with the seneschal of Imokilly, 'burnt 36 towns in the Decies and carried off 7,000 kine'.[32]

Rebellion was short-lived. During a meeting between Dáibhídh de Barra and the son of the Earl of Desmond (John son of James), which was arranged to resolve disputes amongst the Irish,[33] the band was attacked in the wood of Aherlow by Captain Zouch. John of Desmond was mortally wounded and was brought to Cork; he was 'cut into quarters, and his head was sent to Dublin, as a token of victory'.[34] Dáibhídh de Barra afterwards submitted to the Crown.[35] English documents note his 'humility and offers of service' (7 June 1582), and his 'offer to repair into England and commit himself simply

[27]See *ABM* 156 q. 35 (=RIA 23 D 4 (5), 359, ll. 19–22) (translation mine). There may be a pun on *barr* and *Barrach*. The patron's surname is rendered *do Bárr (do Barr)* in *Teallach* (Prose A, D), possibly with a similar pun.

[28]See Breatnach, 'A poem on the end of patronage', 84, 88 (§13).

[29]*Irish Fiants*, ii, 414–15 (§3079), 442 (§3554).

[30]*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 223 (Letter to Lord Burghley, 21 May 1580).

[31]*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 287 (20 February 1581).

[32]*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 289, 306. Cf. ibid., 292 (14 March 1581).

[33]The dispute involved Dáibhídh de Barra and the seneschal of Imokilly. See Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 144.

[34]*AFM* s.a. 1582.11. For another account see Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 144–5.

[35]*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 311 (Letter from the Earl of Ormond to Lord Burghley, 15 July 1581).

to Her Majesty's mercy' (12 June 1582).[36] He was pardoned on 24 August 1582,[37] and the Barrymore estate was restored to him. By 1588 he and his wife, Ellen Roche, were living at Barryscourt, as indicated in an account by John Windele, who visited the castle in 1817 and noted this inscription on the moulding of a fireplace: 'A° D[i] O. 1588. DB. ET ER. ME . FIERI. FECERVT'.[38] Ellen is not mentioned in *Teallach*, but she is extolled in another poem addressed to Dáibhídh as *inghean rosgmhall an Róisdig* 'languid-eyed daughter of Roche';[39] that is, David Roche, Lord of Fermoy.[40] She is again praised as his spouse in the *iargcomharc* of two other bardic eulogies,[41] both of which address Dáibhídh de Barra as *bhíocunt Barrach*.[42]

A staunch Catholic, Dáibhídh de Barra nevertheless refused to join the Earl of Tyrone, Aodh Ó Néill, during the Desmond rising in 1599–1600; he is named as 'the only man of note that seemeth to affect dutiful obedience to Her Magesty'.[43] Aodh Ó Néill and the Earl of Desmond urged Dáibhídh de Barra to join the rebellion and 'shake off the cruel yoke of heresy and tyranny'.[44] In spite of Ó Néill's accusation that he had been 'seduced to hold with the Queen of England, and to serve against us and the Church',[45] and ignoring threats of excommunication from the bishop of Cork for his refusal to support 'this Catholic action',[46] Dáibhídh de Barra remained loyal to the Queen. Consequently, his lands were burned and plundered by Ó Néill *o chúil go cuil etir magh, ┐ mothar, etir mín, agus ainmhín, co ná baoi súil na saoilechtain aon duine fri a haitiucchadh, no fri a haittreabhadh go haimsir imchein* 'from one extremity to the other, both plain and wood, both level and rugged, so that no one hoped or expected that it could be inhabited for a long time afterwards.'[47] He pleads on behalf of the 'poor inhabitants' of his

[36]*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 376–7.

[37]*Irish Fiants*, ii, 550 (§3974). Cf. Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 145–6.

[38]For Windele's account see James Coleman, 'The old castles around Cork harbour', *JCHAS* 21 (1915), 53–68, at 67–8. The date 1596 on a chimney piece in one of the towers is also noted. Cf. Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 194, where the inscription is translated: 'In the year of the Lord 1588, Jesus, Saviour of Men, David Barry and Ellen Roche caused me to be made'. I was informed, during a visit to Barryscourt Castle (November 2013), that these stones were not recovered during a recent restoration. The initials of the couple have been engraved on a table in the main hall, presumably in imitation of the original inscription.

[39]RIA 23 D 4 (5), 361, l. 10; *ABM* 156.48b. She is addressed as *Inghean Dái-bhídh* (*DDána* 87.25a). Dáibhídh de Barra is named as 'brother-in-law' of Lord Roche (*Cal. SP Ire. 1586–88*, 3 (4 January 1585–6)).

[40]Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, 442.

[41]*Mar an gcéadna a chéile dil / Oiléan óg aigneadh suilbhir* (*DDána* 87.23ab); *Mór ttarbha don tír a bhfuil / do-ní bainchéile an Bharraidh* (RIA MS 23 D 4 (5), 361, l. 13; *ABM* 156.49ab); *bean d'ainnribh is uaisle frémh / a hairrgibh uaisle Oilén* (RIA MS 23 D 4 (5), 361, ll. 22–3; *ABM* 156.51cd). Ellen was still living in 1602 (*Irish Fiants*, iii, 531 (§6700)).

[42]*DDána* 87.22b. Cf. RIA 23 D 4 (5) 358, l. 22; ibid., 359, l. 20; *ABM* 156.28b, 35b.

[43]*Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600*, 481 (letter dated 16 February 1600).

[44]*Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600*, 497–8 (letter dated 25 February – 6 March 1600); cf. ibid., 493–5.

[45]Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 196; *Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600*, 493–4 (letter dated 13 February 1599).

[46]Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 196; *Cal. Carew Manuscripts 1589–1600*, 362 (13 February 1599). Cf. *Cal. Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600*, 494; *AFM* s.a. 1600.10 n.

[47]*AFM* s.a. 1600.10.

country, 'whose corn and haggards with most of their cattle, the traitor Tyrone this last summer altogether burned, foraged, and spoiled.'[48]

Dáibhídh de Barra was loyal to the Crown throughout the end of the Nine Years War, and he and his wife Ellen Roche were granted a pardon in 1602.[49] In the Crown's final suppression of rebellion in Munster, he was given charge of a company and joined forces with Sir George Thornton and Sir Charles Wilmot to 'round and hunt [the Rebels] out of the Fastnesse'.[50] In 1606 Sir John Davies, Attorney-General, reports dining with the Viscount Barry who, 'at his castle at Barrie Court "gave us civil and plentiful entertainment"'.[51] His loyalty was rewarded. Upon the succession of King James I, Dáibhídh de Barra was granted a fair at Castlelyons and Timoleague in 1607.[52] His death in 1617 provides a *terminus ad quem* for the poem composed in his honour.

'Aodh Mhág Uidhir … Aodh ós Aodhaibh'

The only reference to an historical person (other than the patron) in *Teallach* is an oblique allusion to Aodh Mág Uidhir (q. 16). This is very likely Aodh Mág Uidhir, who succeeded his father, Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir, as chieftain of Fermanagh in 1589.[53] While a quatrain to Aodh would not be expected in a poem addressed to Dáibhídh de Barra, a Munster chieftain, we know that Mág Uidhir journeyed into Munster to aid Aodh Ó Néill, earl of Tyrone, who raided and burned the lands of Dáibhídh de Barra in Co. Cork in 1599–1600 because of his refusal to join the uprising.[54] In a letter written by Dáibhídh de Barra from Barryscourt (19 February 1600), 'Maguire' is named among those who devastated his lands: 'The traitors Tyrone, Maguire, and others, are now drawn up to this province … accompanied with five thousand foot and five hundred horse of Ulster forces, besides the province's rebels. Their first attempt in this country was against me, most of their forces being robbing and spoiling of me and my tenants this seven days'.[55] Evidence is also found in a poem by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, to whom Aodh Mág Uidhir was a special patron, and who pledged to include a quatrain to Aodh in his poems.[56] Ó hEódhusa expressed anxiety

[48]*Cal. SP Ire. 1600–01*, 22 (§20) (Letter from Barryscourt, 8 November 1600).

[49]*Irish Fiants*, iii, 531 (§6700).

[50]Thomas Stafford*, Pacata Hibernia* (London, 1633), 358, 362–3, 365.

[51]J. Coleman, 'The old castles around Cork harbour', 64 (letter to Lord Salisbury). The castle at Barryscourt appears on a map from this period; cf. Stafford, *Pacata Hibernia*, between pp. 4–5.

[52]E. Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 200.

[53]*AFM* s.a. 1589.1.

[54]*Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, i, 238–41 (§127). Cf. P. A. Breatnach, 'Irish records of the Nine Years' War: a brief survey, with particular notice of the relationship between *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill* and the Annals of the Four Masters', in P. Ó Riain (ed.), *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh: The Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell. Historical and Literary Contexts*, ITS Subsidiary Series (London, 2002), 115–38.

[55]*Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600*, 492–3 (Letter dated February 19 1599[–1600]).

[56]P. A. Breatnach, 'A covenant between Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa and Aodh Mág Uidhir', *Éigse* 27 (1993), 59–66; Breatnach, 'Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa (*c*. 1560–1612)', *Éigse* 27 (1993), 127–9. The presence of a quatrain to Aodh Mág Uidhir in *Teallach* is not presented as evidence that Ó Eódhusa is the author. Other poets sought Mág Uidhir's patronage; for example, Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn complains that the northern poets deny him access to Aodh (*TD* i, no.12).

over Aodh's safety during the Munster campaign in the poem *Fúar liom an adhaighsi dh'Aodh*.[57] His fears were well-founded, as Aodh († 13 March 1600) died of wounds inflicted by Sir Warham St Leger in a skirmish outside of Cork city.[58] The allusion to Aodh in *Teallach*, along with satiric hints at the plundering *sionnach* 'fox' (Prose B) and references to raids upon the patron's lands (Prose D),[59] suggest that *Teallach* may refer to this period of conflict which affected the patron, Dáibhídh de Barra.

The allusion to Aodh Mág Uidhir immediately follows a comic prose anecdote about a greedy 'fox' (*sionnach*) who intrudes into church lands and pulls on the rope of the church bell (Prose B), presumably sounding a call to Mass or perhaps raising an alarm. The juxtaposition hints at some connection between Aodh and the *sionnach*, with the suggestion of a satiric jest. *Sionnach* 'fox' occurs elsewhere in verse to deride a Maguire chieftain,[60] and occurs commonly as a term of opprobrium in other Irish texts.[61] The Middle Irish poem *Can as ticc macc léginn*, for example, alludes to 'foxes' (*sinnaig*) feasting on corpses in the graves at Clonmacnoise, which has been interpreted as a satiric gibe directed at Muintir Thadhgáin, a family in Co. Meath known as the 'Foxes' (*Sinnaig*), who were long remembered for the desecration.[62] Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn bitterly derides *An Sionnach* 'the Fox', a chieftain of that family, in a *crosántacht*,[63] and while there is no reference to this family in *Teallach*, the prose anecdote of the *sionnach*'s intrusion into the churchyard may have evoked such images of plunder and desecration. A 'covenant' involving the 'Fox' and an account of the submission of the chief of the 'Sionnaigh' to the English Crown during the Nine Years War offers an intriguing record of the family's allegiance to the Crown.[64]

[57]*IBP* no. 29.

[58]*Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, i, 238–9 (§126); cf. *AFM* s.a. 1600 (vol. vi, 2160–5). St Leger was slain by Mág Uidhir in the skirmish. Aodh was succeeded by his younger brother, Cú Chonnacht († 1608), who left Ireland for the continent with Tyrone in 1607.

[59]Note especially the following phrasing, as the poet acknoweldges such raids upon his patron, e.g. *ní bhfuil dá mhéid d'imreasa[i]n ná d'easaonta do-ghníd a fhoghluidh ⁊ a eascaruid dō* ... (Prose D). Cf. also q. 38.

[60]John O'Donovan (ed.), *The Tribes of Ireland* (Dublin, 1852), 52–3, l. 12 and n. 3. Cf. Prose B, note at *sionnach*.

[61]See note on *sionnach* (Prose B).

[62]For a proposed connection between the poem and the destruction of Clonmacnoise by the 'Foxes', i.e. the Ó Catharnaigh (Muintir Thadhgáin), see Caitilín Ní Mhaol-Chróin, 'Macalla as Cluain-Mhac-Nois A.D. 1050', *Galvia* 1 (1954), 15–17. I thank Seán Ó Coileáin for this reference and for helpful insights on this passage. Cf. note at *sionnach* (Prose B). For remarks on the Ó Catharnaigh see Margaret E. Dobbs, 'The territory and people of Tethba', *JRSAI* (1942), 136–48. Cf. also Mícheál Ó Flaithearta, '"No fox can foul the lair the badger swept": aspects of the fox in Irish tradition', in Ailbhe Ó Corráin and Gordon Ó Riain (eds), *Celebrating Sixty Years of Celtic Studies at Uppsala University: Proceedings of the Eleventh Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica* (Uppsala, 2013), 63–75.

[63]*TD* i, poem 34, qq. 28–29 with intervening prose; *TD* ii, pp. 165–6. See also below Prose B, notes.

[64]In 1526 'The Fox' (Breasal son of Eoghan) made a covenant with Connla Mageoghegan at Suidhe Adhamnain, in the barony of Kinealeagh, in which Mageoghegan became lord over the Fox; see J. O'Donovan, 'Covenant between Mageoghegan and the Fox, with brief historical notices of the two families', in *The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society* (Dublin, 1846), 179–97, at

In the shift from prose to verse, the satiric jesting spills over into the opening quatrain: *'S iomdha glór dīomhaoin sa chlog-soin* 'there is a lot of nonsense in that bell' (15a), a translation suggested by comparable phrasing which survives in Modern Irish: *is mó glór díomhaoin id' cheann, mar dubhairt an madadh ruadh leis an gclog* 'you have many silly things to say, as the fox said to the bell'.[65]

> 'S iomdha glór dīomhaoin sa chlog-soin
> is cúis aonaigh;
> beanaidh fear a-nuas um nónaidh
> cnuas do chraobhaibh.
>
> Rug a mbí do thart ar thánuibh,
> lacht ó laoghuibh,
> Aodh Mhág Uidhir don taobh tuaid*h*in,
> Aodh ós Aodhuibh. (qq. 15–16)
>
> 'There is a lot of nonsense in that bell, which summons an assembly (?); a man strikes down clusters of nuts from branches at [the ringing of] nones.
>
> Aodh Mág Uidhir in the north, Aodh above [all other] Aodhs, caused (?) the thirst that was on herds of cattle, depriving calves of [their] milk.'

While Mág Uidhir is recognized as *Aodh ós Aodhaibh* 'Aodh above [all other] Aodhs', the juxtaposition of the comic anecdote suggests a mix of praise and ironic jesting, a common feature of *crosántacht*. The quatrains cited above depict, on the surface, a reign which typifies *fír flaithemon*: trees laden with nuts (q. 15) recall the showers of nuts during a fruitful reign,[66] and herds of cows straying from their young in search of water (16ab) correspond to images of intense summer heat associated with *fír flaithemon*.[67] Here, however, the poet seems to mock the proceedings in a chaotic intersection of sound and sense. The striking down of nuts echoes the ringing of the bell; the scorched land which leaves calves without milk suggests the plundering and burning of the lands of Barrymore by Aodh Mág Uidhir. The poet may mock an action taken at an inappropriate time: the unnamed *fear* 'man, fellow' (perhaps Aodh Mág Uidhir?) harvests nuts when he should heed the call to Mass. The poet himself concedes: *Ní beag linn ar*

191–97. During the Nine Years War (1594–1603), Hoibeard († 1600), son of Breasal, who was chief, or the 'Sionnach' of the family (in Co. Offaly), signed an agreement of 'surrender and regrant' with the English Crown, 'to express his zeal and loyalty'. For an extract from a Patent Roll of Chancery see O'Donovan, 'Covenant between Mageoghegan and the Fox', 185. For some remarks see P. A. Breatnach, 'The chief's poet', *PRIA*-C 83 (1983), 37–79, at 56. Cf. notes at 14c, Prose B.

[65]Dinneen s.v. *glór* (ref. P. A. Breatnach).

[66]For examples from verse see McManus, '"The smallest man in Ireland"', 106.

[67]Compare *táinte ag loighe a leapthaibh tonn* 'herds of cattle take refuge in the sea'; *táin a n-áth sreabha 'na súan* 'cattle [are] slumbering in the river-ford'; cf. McManus, '"The smallest man in Ireland"', 97 (§§104, 105).

leansum d'fhuarchúis 'I have been pursuing a pointless matter long enough' (q. 17a). All of these untimely actions comprise the poet's *fuarchúis*, which merely forestalls the praise due to the Barry chieftain. One is reminded of the pointless 'barking of the fox at the bell', which elsewhere in bardic verse signifies a futile action: *Glór an tsionnaigh ris an gclog. ní beag nod dá chur i suim / go leigfeadh Leath Mogha mhór. a gcána le slógh ó gCuinn* 'Like the barking of the fox at the bell – a hint is enough to show you what I mean – is your idea that Leath Mogha would let her tribute be taken by the hosts of Conn's race'.[68]

Was Aodh Mág Uidhir alive when the poet acknowledged his status as *Aodh ós Aodhaibh*? The comic tone strongly suggests that he is, though the context is unspecific and the intriguing allusions are couched in satiric banter. When and by whom *Teallach* was composed remains uncertain, but composition before Mág Uidhir's death in March, 1600, is certainly plausible.[69] Even if randomly introduced as a part of the verbal nonsense, a quatrain naming the 'supreme Aodh' would be odd in a poem composed after the death of this renowned chieftain, who was a generous patron of poets and who was regarded, even by Sir John Davies, as a 'valiant rebel'.[70] The poet, aware of Aodh's fame as a tenacious fighter, may have sought to navigate the shifting alliances and unpredictable outcome of events with such robust jesting.

Teallach may have been composed when Aodh Mág Uidhir was conducting raids in Munster (1599–1600), at a time when the Earl of Tyrone, Aodh Ó Néill, sought the allegiance of Dáibhídh de Barra and appealed to his Catholic faith as grounds for joining the Irish cause. The Catholic faith is a prominent theme in the opening prose apologue, and there is the rarely attested word *ómhannta* (see Prose A, notes), an apparent by-form of *ómánta* 'humble, obedient', occurring in the religious prose of John Carswell and Seaán Ó Cearnaigh, the latter a native of Leyney, Co. Sligo. The poet may have been familiar with these religious works, or the word may have been in use in his native district. Whether the poet was on tour in Munster,[71] and included a quatrain to Aodh, or whether he had only a vague familiarity with the renowned Northern chieftain, he brings Mág Uidhir (the *sionnach*?) into the comic *fuarchúis.* Such jesting occurs elsewhere in bardic eulogy. In one copy of Tadhg Dall's poem to Aodh Mág Uidhir, for example, Aodh is compared humorously to a pig.[72] The tale of the 'fox' in *Teallach* seems to have a satiric function, but amidst the jesting, the image of

[68]*Content*., ii, 27.4.

[69]See discussion of dating above, pp. 000.

[70]See Paul Walsh, 'The chieftains of Fermanagh', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 19 (1922), 598–613, at 606.

[71]For a discussion of Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa's period of study in Munster, for example, see James Carney, *The Irish Bardic Poet: a Study in the Relationship of Poet and Patron as Exemplified in the Persons of the Poet, Eochaidh Ó hEoghusa and his Various Patrons, Mainly Members of the Maguire Family of Fermanagh* (Dublin, 1985; originally published by the Dolmen Press, 1967). Compare also the sojourns of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn; see Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'The poetry of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn: themes and sources' in P. Riggs (ed.), *Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn*: *His Historical and Literary Context*, ITS Subsidiary Series 21 (London, 2010), 55–87, at 73–4.

[72]Ó Macháin, 'The poetry of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn', 82 n. 83. As Ó Macháin has noted, the comparison is unique to the Book of O'Conor Don, where it is added marginally. Cf. *TD* i, 12.13.

nut-laden branches (q. 15) attests to a reign of prosperity, a theme to which the poet continually returns, no matter how far astray his musings carry him.

SOURCES AND LITERARY THEMES

Teallach was described by Standish Hayes O'Grady somewhat dismissively as 'exceedingly flowery',[73] but the heavily layered imagery depicting natural abundance can be understood as an elaborate portrayal of *fír flaithemon*, which testifies to the fecundity of the land and the proper relationship between ruler and subject, patron and patrimony. The notion is often treated with creativity and wit in bardic verse, as Damian McManus has demonstrated,[74] and it is developed here within the more liberal parameters of *crosántacht*, where the links between verse and prose provide further opportunities for verbal echoes and word play. The structure of the poem has been outlined above, but it will be useful to examine the relationship of various parts of the poem.

The opening section presents the fertile state of Barrymore, Co. Cork, resulting from St Patrick's blessing upon Munster at the baptism of Aonghus mac Nad Fraoich, king of Munster (*c*. 453–489). The earliest account of the baptism of Aonghus occurs in *Bethu Phátraic*,[75] though a more likely influence is a version of the saint's *vita* in the fifteenth century *Leabhar Breac*,[76] where key elements of the story, including a verse blessing upon the people and land of Munster,[77] are condensed into a single narrative. The poet of *Teallach* names Aonghus mac Nad Fraoich, who figures in the *vitae*, but also names Corc son of Luigdeach, king of Cashel, and it is possible that he was familiar with a story about the founding of Cashel. An early version contains a prophetic blessing chanted by an angel upon Corc, the chosen ruler, and upon all of the future kings of Cashel: *Bendacht nime néll-bendacht, bendacht tíre torad-bendacht, bennacht mara íasc-bendacht, bendacht gréine grád-bendacht, bennacht ésga ordan-bendacht, bendacht latha lón-bendacht, beandacht drúcht, bendacht daithin, bendacht gaile, bendacht gaísi, beandacht air* 'Blessing of heaven cloud-blessing, blessing of earth fruit-blessing, blessing of sea fish-blessing, blessing of sun rank-blessing, blessing of moon honour-blessing, blessing of ale food-blessing, blessing of dew, blessing of light, blessing of valour, blessing of wisdom, blessing of ploughing'.[78] The alliterative poetic language and emphasis on abundance and a just rule is in keeping with the

[73] *BLCat*., 558.

[74] See n. 4 above.

[75] Kathleen Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic* (Dublin, 1939), 118–19 (ll. 2297–307). For some discussion see Breatnach, *Téamaí Taighde Nua-Ghaeilge*, 35–6.

[76] Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Three Middle-Irish Homilies on the Lives of the Saints Patrick, Brigit and Columba* (Calcutta, 1877), 32–5; cf. *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 28a25–28a55).

[77] Mulchrone, *Bethu Phátraic*, 128–9 (ll. 2545–73). See further Prose A, Sources.

[78] See Myles Dillon, 'The Story of the Finding of Cashel', *Ériu* 16 (1952), 61–73, at 65 (§2, ll. 16–20). I thank Tomás Ó Cathasaigh for this reference during a presentation on the poem in the Harvard Celtic Department (September, 2017). The blessing, with some variation, is also appended to *Lebor na Cert*, where it is attributed to St Patrick and addressed to the people of Ireland, but with no mention of Corc son of Luigdeach or the kinship of Cashel. See Myles Dillon (ed), *Lebor na Cert. The Book of Rights*, ITS 46 (1962), 120 (ll. 1769–79); cf. David Sproule, 'Politics and Pure Narrative in the Stories about Corc of Cashel', *Ériu* 36 (1985), 11–28, at 22–6.

central theme of the prose passage in *Teallach*. Identifying a source precisely is difficult, as the bardic poet was not required to reiterate the language of an earlier tale; rather, he selects details to suit his purpose.[79] The idea of linking the blessing of St Patrick to the praise of the patron's lands has very likely been drawn from the earlier bardic poem *Teallach coisreagtha clann Bhriain*, composed for Tadhg 'Caoluisce' Ó Briain († 1259), as Pádraig Breatnach has observed,[80] and the title echo would link Barrymore and its chieftain to that past homestead famed for its generosity. The notion is developed in a distinctive manner in the later *Teallach*, where abundance is attributed both to St Patrick's blessing (q. 3) and to the union between the rightful lord joined in a sacral marriage with the land of the Barrys (q. 9). These two quatrains are the core around which the opening section (qq. 1–10, Prose A) is constructed.

The landscape depicted has the typical manifestations of *fír flaithemon*. The rhyming words *teachta : feactha* (q. 4cd) emphasise the paradoxical upward 'growth' (*teachta*) upon the land which causes a downward bending of trees burdened by fruit.[81] Trees are 'bent' (*feactha*) by the weight of abundant fruit.[82] The chieftain's union with the land is fundamental to *fír flaithemon*, and the quatrain conveys structurally and semantically, a relationship of reciprocity and excellence between the chosen ruler and *Críoch Bharrach*:

> A-tá a díol do rígh san rígh-se;
> is rádh toilltear;
> 's a-tá a dhíol-sin d'oireacht innte;
> roibheacht roinntear. (q. 9)

> 'In this king there is her match of a king; it is a claim which is deserved; and he [likewise] has his match of supporting nobles in her [*Críoch Bharrach*]; it is precisely apportioned.'

The union is reflected in the parallel phrases *a-tá a díol* (line a) and *a-tá a dhíol* (9c), with the feminine and then the masculine possessive adjective. The juxtaposition of *do rígh* 'of a king' (9a), indicating the indefinite king sought by the mateless sovereign, and *san rígh-se* 'in this king', identifying the physically present Barry chieftain, represents the sacral marriage of king and sovereignty goddess. The marriage also establishes his match of a noble assembly (*oireacht*) in her (*innte*),[83] emphasising the interdependency of the chieftain and his people. The union brings about a metamorphosis, from misfortune to bounty, and prosperity is also assured by *brígh na mbeannocht*

[79]L. P. Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFilí 1200–1650* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1984), 16–17.

[80]Breatnach, *Téamaí Taighde Nua-Ghaeilge*, 30–6.

[81]See note at 4cd for comments on an emendation.

[82]The alliterating phrase *feactha [a] fiodhbhaidh* (4a) can 'be compared to a similar image of prosperity: *Cleath Chró fa bfeacadh gach fiodh* (McManus, "The smallest man in Ireland"', 104 (§133)).

[83]The notion has been discussed by many scholars. See R. A. Breatnach, 'The lady and the king: a theme of Irish literature', *Studies* 42 (1953), 321–36; Máire Herbert, 'The sacred marriage in early Ireland', in Louise Olga Fradenburg (ed.), *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh, 1992), 264–75.

'the power of the blessings' (q. 10). An emendation of MS *brugh* to *brígh* is supported by rhyme, and the verbal link of *brígh* and *beannocht bhríoghmhar* (Prose A) further emphasises the theme.

In the description of St Patrick's blessing and resulting bounty (Prose A), the poet draws on a store of images signifying *fír flaithemon* employed by the bardic poets. In Tadhg (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha's poem *Mór a-tá ar theagasg flatha*, composed in the seventeenth century but incorporating the notion of *fír flaithemon* present in earlier Irish texts,[84] a just rule ensures the 'bursting forth of every full fruit' (*sgeith gach lántoraidh*).[85] Sea-waif (*torchairthe / turchairthe* and *torchar*) is likewise a witness to righteous kingship, as McManus has noted: *An talamh gana thairthibh / 'sa[n] tonn gana torchoirthibh / ag tairngire ríogh o Róigh / as síon ainglidhe ina onóir* 'The land with its produce and the waves with their sea-waif bear witness to the king of the line of Roach, as does the angelic weather [guaranteed] in his honour'.[86] In *Teallach* comparable images occur in the syllabic verse, but are more elaborately developed in the alliterative prose: ⁊ *tug beannocht d'úir* ⁊ *d'uisge* ⁊ *d'fhéar na n-uasalMhuimhneach fá sgeith a dtorchair* ⁊ *a dtromthortha dá gcabhair* ⁊ *dá gcomhfhortacht ann gach n-imneadh,* ⁊ *ann gach n-aimsir budh dú* ⁊ *budh dual dóibh* 'And he [St Patrick] gave a blessing to the earth and water and grassland of the noble Munstermen on account of which their sea-wrack and their heavy fruits burst forth to help them and to relieve them in every sorrow and season that was belonging to them and natural to them.' The prose echoes the verse blessing pronounced by the saint in versions of the *vita*, but it is the poet's own retelling, and the *crosántacht* style grants considerable latitude as he forms the analogy. The narrative recalls the saint's blessing and renews its promise of regeneration. The poet's notable emphasis on the 'Catholic' faith also affirms, and perhaps appeals to, the patron's zealous Catholicism, to which he adhered even while he remained loyal to the Queen.

The patron's prowess in warfare is extolled in the syllabic verse and culminates in a eulogistic metaphor depicting him as *caor chruaidh chomhraig* 'a hard missile [of battle]' (q. 23d), a weapon which in Old and Middle Irish texts is prized for its craftsmanship: *Tréde neimthigedar cerdai: fige ronn, caer comraic, plett for faebur* 'Three things that constitute an artificer: weaving chains, a mosaic ball, an edge upon a blade'.[87] Medieval glossators describe its intersecting lines and diverse colours,[88] as does a reference in the *Leabhar Breac*: *in choer comraic i fhuilet .uiii. ndatha* 'the missile in which there are

[84]See Fergus Kelly's comments on the poem in *Audacht Morainn* (Dublin, 1976), xiv.

[85]McManus, '"The smallest man in Ireland"', 69. For a recent edition of the poem see Emma Nic Cárthaigh (ed. and trans.), 'Mór a-tá ar theagasc flátha: *Speculum Principis* le Tadhg mac Dáire Mheic Bhruaideadha', in Seán Ó Coileáin, Liam Ó Murchú and Pádraigín Riggs (eds), *Séimhfhear Suairc: Aistí in Ómós don Ollamh Breandán Ó Conchúir* (An Daingean, 2013), 139–80, at 148, q. 5.

[86]McManus, '"The smallest man in Ireland"', 103 (§129) (cf. Franciscan MS A 25, fol. 185, ll. 19–20, at line 20). A critical edition of the poem is provided in Gordon Ó Riain, 'Ceithre dhán le Maol Eachlainn na nUirsgéal Ó hUiginn: eagrán criticiúil', unpublished PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Dublin (2008), 87–129, with the relevant quatrain (q. 36) on p. 115.

[87]Meyer, *Triads*, §121.

[88]For the gloss on the phrase see *Triads*, §121 (p. 39). See further note below on q. 23d.

eight colours'.[89] The poet of *Teallach* appears to introduce the metaphor to praise not only his patron's battle-strength but also his diverse attributes, for he is king-like when among kings (*rí idir ríoghuibh*), child-like when among children (*leanb ar leanbhuibh*), a poet (*file*), a sage (*saoi*) and a master of all crafts (24–5). Its use as a eulogistic metaphor in a bardic eulogy addressed to one of the Butlers can be compared: *Ar leag lōghmhar, ar gcaor comhraig* / *is mō buadha* 'Our precious stone, our battle-missile of most virtues'.[90]

The patron's rule, informed by learned seers who interpret the motions of heavenly bodies, mirrors the order of the cosmos. The poem shifts to a prose description of the territory of *críoch Bharrach* nourished by the sun, that rises within its celestial spheres and indiscriminately heats both 'green hills' and 'dark mires', warming the earth's inhabitants regardless of their rank (Prose C). In a similar fashion, Dáibhídh de Barra is the sun-like centre of Barrymore, who imitates the sun's benevolent generosity by satisfying the will of high-born and low-born, *ollamh* and *bard* and a host of entertainers. The prose passage highlights the learning and wisdom of the Barry lords. The poet extols the patron as 'the [epitome] of generosity' (*<Is é> an t-oineach*), and extends homage 'to the fair [lord] rich in horses' (*don gheal ghroidheach*),[91] the rhyming words *oineach : groidheach* (q. 27) highlighting the patron's lavishness.[92]

Subsequent verses set out, in formal legalistic language, the chieftain's obligation to bestow hospitality ceaselessly and without respite (*ní dáil fhaoisimh* (29b)). He must satisfy the 'will' (*toil*) of high-king, *ollamh* and *bard*, and the repetition of *toil* (qq. 28–30) emphasises the duty of the ruler. The queen (unnamed) must similarly maintain royal women and assume the burdensome demands of female fools and strollers. The excessive demands of unruly entertainers upon the patron's residence are diminished by his generous yielding of wealth, and his excellence is mirrored in the deeds of his nobles (qq. 30–36).

The poet returns to the theme of a fertile patrimony, concluding with a rare bardic apologue about the Classical figure Antaeus son of Terra, or *Anteus mac Tíre*, who was born from the earth, his mother, and renews his strength by touching his body to the earth (Prose D). Apologues from foreign sources become more frequent in bardic poetry during the late sixteenth century, as Katharine Simms has observed,[93] and the poet clearly draws on an episode from the medieval Irish tale *In Cath Catharda*, an adaptation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*.[94] *Teallach* contains a notable allusion to the story of

[89]*Leabhar Breac*, 108b20.

[90]*Poems Butlers*, 6.39ab (ll. 599–600) (translation mine).

[91]This quatrain might be defective in the manuscripts. See note below at Prose C and q. 27.

[92]Compare *a chráobh chúlchas groidheach* (: *oineach*) *Ghrég* (*IGT* ii ex. 1059).

[93]Katharine Simms, 'Transition from medieval to modern in the poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn', in P. Riggs (ed.) *Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn: His Historical and Literary Context*, ITS Subsidiary Series 21 (London, 2010), 129.

[94]*CCath.,* 220–29 (ll. 2874–2989). For another instance of the Antaeus (Ainntius) story see Gordon Quin (ed. and trans.), *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules,* ITS 38 (London, 1939), 122–3. The latter episode is very likely drawn from *In Cath Catharda*, as Quin notes (ibid., xxvi–xxvii); cf. Eric Poppe, '*Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás* – Rewriting Hercules in Ireland', in Kevin Murray (ed.), *Translations from Classical Literature: Imtheachta Aeniasa and Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás*, ITS Subsidiary Series 17 (London, 2006), 61–3.

Antaeus from poems of the Classical Irish period.[95] To my knowledge, the only other occurance of the Antaeus legend as an apologue is found in *Faoilidh Fir Mhanach a-nocht* 'Fermanagh is joyous tonight', a eulogy composed for another Maguire chieftain, Brian son of Cú Chonnacht son of Aodh.[96] He has been identified as Brian Mág Uidhir († 1700) son of Cú Chonnacht Mór († 1691),[97] which is plausible, but the text has not been fully edited and the date requires further investigation, particularly in light of Katharine Simms's investigation of the complexities of dating bardic eulogies,[98] the repetition of names in the Maguire genealogy and even, perhaps, the uncertainties surrounding Aodh Mág Uidhir's descendants.[99] In the poem, which is composed in *deibhidhe* with regular rhyme, alliteration and a *dúnadh*, the extolled Maguire patron is more conventionally likened to the illustrious hero Hercules, who crushes the brutish Antaeus (or *Anteón*, as he is called in this poem).[100] Details of the story are more judiciously selected by the poet of *Teallach*, who twists the tale of Antaeus into praise of the Barry chieftain. The poet describes the unusual birth of Antaeus and the wondrous manner in which he regains battle-strength: when Antaeus is about to be vanquished by his opponent, he falls to the ground, only to rise up stronger when his body touches the earth, his mother. In the legend Antaeus succumbs to Hercules' strength, but in *Teallach* it is the earth, the contact with the soil, the falling to the earth and rising with renewed fury which are the primary themes for the poet's praise. There is no mention of the single combat between Antaeus and Hercules who, upon perceiving that Antaeus draws his strength from the earth, raises him aloft and crushes him to death between his forearms; rather, the tale is reshaped to praise Barrymore and its ruling lord.

The poet may incorporate elements of parody and caricature which, as Pádraig Ó Macháin has demonstrated, are allowable within the liberal parameters of *crosántacht* and do not necessarily diminish the praise of the patron.[101] In likening his patron to Antaeus, who craftily yields to his opponent and falls to

[95]See http://bardic.celt.dias.ie/. No examples have been noted by Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFilí*.

[96]Ludwig Stern (ed.), 'Über eine Sammlung irischer Gedichte in Kopenhagen', *ZCP* 2 (1899), 323–72, at 362, ll. 17–18: *Maguidhir medhrach ar ttriath . mhac Conchonnacht na ngrodgliatth/ mhic Aodh an fial ba badhach, ní baoth Brian ciodh iolldhanach*.

[97]Ludwig Stern (ed.), 'Über eine Sammlung irischer Gedichte in Kopenhagen', 323–72; esp. 361–5 (§36). A passage from Advocates 72.1.46 is also cited by Stern (ibid., 364 n. 1). Cf. also Stern, 'Corrigenda', *ZCP* 3 (1901), 625.

[98]Katharine Simms, 'The dating of two poems on Ulster chieftains', in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), 381–6.

[99]Walsh ('The Chieftains of Fermanagh', 607–8) notes a few surviving details regarding Maguire' s wife (a daughter of Tyrone) and children. The eldest son was slain in the skirmish on the same day as his father. An Irish treatise gives the names of three sons (Sean Ruadh, Aodh, Eamonn). Sir John Chichester mentions (*c.* 1610) 'Tyrone's grandchild, son to Hugh Maguyre, slain in Munster', though Walsh notes that there is no trace of him.

[100]The form of the name is supported by rhyme, i.e. *Anteón* (: *león*); cf. Stern, 'Über eine Sammlung irischer Gedichte in Kopenhagen', 362 (ll. 25–6). See also Stern 'Corrigenda, addenda', *ZCP* 3 (1901), 625 (correction to *ZCP* 2, p. 363). Another Brian Maguire is likened to *an tEarcoilse Mac Míleadh* 'this Hercules of the Sons of Mil' (*TD* 13.45d), in an apologue drawn from *Stair Ercuil*.

[101]Ó Macháin, 'The poetry of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn', 81.

the ground to renew his strength, one senses that the 'yielding' described may contain an oblique hint at the patron's submission (or repeated submissions) to English Crown. The patron is likewise described as guarding his form and yielding often (qq. 37–8), like the *mac tíre*, and here a pun on the Irish meaning 'wolf', who yields before a strong opponent, is likely.[102] The poet defends his patron's 'yielding' of his physical form and also his wealth: *nach bí guth ag cléir 'na choinne, / réidh do-ríne* 'so that the poets do not have cause to fault him; what he did was sensible' (38). If it is ironic praise, it is praise of Barrymore nonetheless. Whether Dáibhídh mac Séamais bows in submission or in battle, he rises renewed by contact with the land of his birth, and in a poem which praises the land of Barrymore, blessed by St Patrick and offering enduring gifts of prosperity, such 'yielding' increases the patron's valour and his generous bestowal of wealth upon poets and entertainers. While there is no link between the Classical story of the Antaeus's birth and the blessing by St Patrick, the poet makes a connection. The two tales frame the poem and, in complementary ways, affirm the regenerative power of the earth – the *teallach coisreagtha* which the poem celebrates.

Teallach borrows from its literary source a key phrase which identifies the source of Antaeus's strength: *ó thadhall a mhátharbhunaidh .i. an talamh* 'from touching his own mother, that is, the earth' (Prose D). The prose directly echoes the phrasing of *In Cath Catharda* (though the poet cleverly forms a compound *mátharbhunaidh*), and one senses that the phrase was selected directly from a written text of the tale: *Ticced calmatus mór dosom desin co mba nert nua ar gach lo leis tre tadall a mat[h]ar bunaidh .i. in talam* 'Thence great courage came to him, so that on every day he had fresh vigour through touching his original mother, the earth'.[103] Interestingly, the same phrasing is found in the fifteenth century manuscript Advocates 72.1.46 (fol.1r–1v),[104] an early fragment of *In Cath Catharda* which includes the Antaeus episode, now missing from the two oldest manuscripts due to a loss of a leaf.[105] The Advocates manuscript was written by the scribe Tadhg Ó Cianáin († 1469), during the reign of Tomás Óg Mág Uidhir, king of Fermanagh, the latter referring either to Tomás Óg who ruled 1430–71, or his son (1484–6).[106]

[102]See note below at 38b. For remarks on *mac tíre* as a later 'kenning' for older *cú*, and the lupine element in tales of the hero-king Cormac mac Airt, see Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, *The Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt* (Dublin, 1977), 33–7, 54–5.

[103]*CCath*, 222 (ll. 2911–12). Compare the phrasing earlier in the narrative: *Innuair ticced dith neirt do nos-leicced 'na ligi fria lar. O no thaidhledh a thaeb an talmain ticced a nert fein do, co llinta do calmatus dermair é o mhathair bhunaidh .i. on talmain* 'When his strength was exhausted he used to lie down on the ground. When his side touched the earth his own strength used to return, so that he was filled with great courage by his original mother, to wit, the earth' (*CCath*, ll. 2898–99).

[104]*comba nert nua ar cach lo leis tre thadhull a mathar bunaidh .i. in talam* (Advocates 72.1.46, fol. 1v).

[105]The episode is missing from both TCD H.2.17 (1298) and RIA MS. D.iv.2.

[106]See Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Observations on the manuscript of Tadhg Ó Cianáin', in F. Ó Fearghail (ed.), *Tadhg Ó Cianáin*: *an Irish Scholar in Rome* (Dublin, 2011),171–205, at 173–4. Ó Macháin also notes a separated bifolium of *In Cath Catharda* in RIA D i 1 (1237), Part I. The Antaeus episode does not appear in this fragment, however, as the narrative breaks off several lines earlier (= ed. Stokes, l. 2877); cf. *RIACat.*, 3427. I thank the Royal Irish Academy for permission to consult the manuscript and the accompanying loose papers associated with the

While it may or may not have been our poet's source, the manuscript is of value to our study as it is now, to my knowledge, the earliest surviving Irish text of the Antaeus episode.[107]

The end of *Teallach* echoes and extends the theme set out at the beginning. Just as Antaeus was born from the womb (*clí*) of the earth – recalling the 'dark mires' described in Prose C – Dáibhídh mac Séamais got his 'burnishing' (*foighreadh*) in the land of Barrymore (q. 39). Just as Antaeus 'touches' (*tadhall*) the earth and rises with renewed strength, all who traverse (*tadhall*) the land of Barrymore partake of its bounty (q. 43), and here a pun on *tadhall* 'touch' links the verse to the prose and emphasises the benefits of contact with the land. The poem begins, and ends, with an image of *Críoch Bharrach* as an idealized Otherworld kingdom 'of the delightful mounds' (*na mbrugh síthe*), which mirrors the blessed, fruitful land depicted in the opening prose apologue (Prose A). The likely pun on *sídh* 'fairy mounds' and 'peace', both potent images of *fir flaithemon*,[108] would further praise the patron's patrimony and its promise of enduring prosperity. The poet weaves together stories of a native saint and foreign champion, of the celestial spheres and the earthly spheres, to celebrate the resilience of the patron and the regenerative power of the Barry lands.

TEXTUAL TRADITION

To my knowledge, the poem survives in eleven manuscripts. There are two distinct families: ABCELMT form one family, and NOYP (written by the Ó Longáin scribes), the other. In both families, quatrain 27 (following Prose C) has only two lines. These two lines are missing in LM. The second family has other notable omissions. Two additional lines of verse (7cd) are missing in NOYP. All of Prose D is missing in NOY; P breaks off at quatrain 15. Manuscripts from two families are outlined here:

Family 1:

(**A**) London, BL Add. 29614, fol. 57v–59v, written by Seán Ó Murchadha na Ráithíneach in 1725, is the earliest manuscript and the basis of the present edition.[109] Some letters in the prose passages have been lost due to wearing at the margins. One letter has been lost from the marginal colophon.[110]

Maguires of Fermanagh. I have elsewhere suggested a possible Maguire connection in *Teallach* (Griffin-Wilson, 'St Patrick and Antaeus: two bardic apologues', 171–4), though the suggestion was speculative and no evidence has since emerged.

[107]Advocates 72.1.46 is not included in Stokes's edition of *In Cath Catharda*, as he had access only to unclear photographs of the manuscript, and consequently drew the Antaeus section of the text from two late manuscripts: Franciscan MS A 17, probably written in Fermanagh in 1618, and RIA C vi 2, dated 1633; see *IT* 4/2, vi–vii. The Advocates manuscript is now available on the Irish Script on Screen website (www.isos.dias.ie), with a description by Ronald Black.

[108]See T. Ó Cathasaigh, 'The semantics of *síd*', *Éigse* 17 (1977–9), 137–55. Cf. n. 43b below.

[109]*BLCat.*,1, p. 557 (§45). I thank the British Library for permission to consult this manuscript. A scribal colophon in the earlier part of the manuscript gives the date 1725 (fol. 24v); another in the later section gives the date 22 May 1726 (fol. 60v). For an account of the scribe see Breandán Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí 1700–1850* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1982), 167–72; Máire Ní Mhurchú agus Diarmuid Breatnach, *1560–1781 Beathaisnéis* (Baile Átha Cliath, 2003), 159–61.

[110]See n. 7 and discussion of authorship above.

(**T**) Dublin, TCD H. 6. 7 (1411), fol. 48–55,[111] was written in Goirtín in 1737 by Donnchadh Ó Conuill, a lesser known scribe who may have been connected to the Roches of Fermoy,[112] a connection of some interest given the patron's marriage to the daughter of David Roche, Viscount Roche of Fermoy.[113] The text is clearly written and closely aligned to A. The two manuscripts undoubtedly derive from a common source. There is no trace of the marginal colophon (A) questioning Ó Bruadair's authorship. Readings in A are preferred in a few instances, e.g. *fosuig* (A) rather than *sosuig* (T) (18c), *seabhac* 'hawk' (A) rather than *seabheac* (T) (21a), though significant variants are few.

(**E**) RIA MS 23 E 14 (125), fol. 56–61, written by Seán Ó Dála in 1846, was copied from A.[114] Seán Ó Murchadha na Ráithíneach's marginal colophon (A) appears only in this copy. The scribe has left spaces where the text of A is worn and illegible.

(**C**) Cambridge Add. 7089, fol. 218–30, written by Standish Hayes O'Grady in 1850, is a copy of A.[115] This is clear from colophons (pp. 159, 196) and from the distinct spaces left where words are missing in A.

(**B**) RIA MS 24 B 8 (315), fol. 93–123, was written *c*. 1860 by William Smith O'Brien, who transcribed manuscripts written by Standish Hayes O'Grady.[116] It follows A but contains several errors in transcription, e.g. *a naridire* for *a nainnire* (6d), *feochuint* for *feochuir* (Prose A).

(**L**) University College Cork LS 164 (L), fol. 247–54, was written in 1827 by Seán Ó Dreada.[117] L is aligned to AT, and readings *fosaig* (18c) and *seabhac* (21a) suggest that it is more closely aligned to A. It departs from AT in its omission of the two lines which comprise quatrain 27. It differs from AT at three other points: 1) The inclusion of the 3 sg. feminine possessive adjective in the line *ag feacadh a fíodhbhadh* (4d); 2) The addition of two words in Prose A (designated here by square brackets): *go rabhadar úmhal áisioch [géileamhuil tromdha] urramach omhannta* 'so that they were obedient, accommodating, [submissive, dignified] respectful and compliant';[118] 3) L supplies a variant

[111]T. J. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1921), 270. I thank the Trinity College Dublin Library for permission to consult this manuscript and for providing digital images of the text. For a transcript of the poem (with an omission of two lines (Prose A)) see *ABM*, 646–9.

[112]See Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe of the Irish astronomical tract in RIA B ii 1', *Celtica* 11 (1976), 158–67, at 166 n. 24; cf. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí* , 46–8, 197.

[113]For the relevant sources see nn. 38, 39, 40 above.

[114]*RIA Cat*., 364–73, at 367. The signature of 'Seaghan Ó Dálaigh' and address at Bedford Row, Dublin, July 1848, appear in the inside cover of Add. MS. 29614.

[115]Pádraig de Brún and Máire Herbert (eds), *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, 1986), 102. I thank the Cambridge University Library for granting permission to consult the manuscript.

[116]*RIA Cat*., 892–3.

[117]Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí* , 61–2. I thank University College Cork, Special Collections, for permission to consult L 164 and for providing digital images of the text.

[118]Prose A narrates an episode from a life of St Patrick. Ó Dreada made copies of *Beatha Phádruig* (RIA 24 A 27 (661), 1–111; RIA 24 A 22 (659), 100–213) and other saints' lives. The adjective

maithe where A is worn (Prose C). These *variae* are not included in the critical apparatus, and L is otherwise ignored for editorial purposes.

(**M**) RIA 24 M 4 (601), fol. 140–7 (M), was written by Seán Ó Dreada in 1836.[119] M appears to be a later copy of L, but the omission of *do ghliocus* (L) (Prose A), and the reading *fhoilmhe* (M) for *fhoile* (L) (13cd) indicate that it is an inferior copy. The final line of Prose C, *et dá fhíormhaithibh mhaithe sé an toineach* (L), appears as *d'á fhíormhaithibh do mhaithidh sé an t-oineach* (M). *Variae* from M are not included in the textual apparatus.

Family 2:

(**N**) RIA 23 N 15 (490), fol. 191–4, was written by Mícheál mac Peattair Ó Longáin between 1740 and 1781.[120] It is missing two lines of verse (7cd) and all of Prose D (the Antaeus legend). Nevertheless, it sometimes supplies superior readings, e.g. 4c, 18a, 23ab. Ó Longáin is known to have exercised creative licence in his rendering of other prose texts,[121] and there are frequent variations in wording in the prose passages. The verse is often written across the page horizontally without line breaks, making it difficult to distinguish from prose. The scribe complains of writing on inferior paper: *Mo mhallacht ar lucht déanta na ndrochpháipéar. Amen*.[122]

(**O**) RIA 23 E 16 (491), fol. 364–7, written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin between 1804 and 1808.[123] It is a copy of N.

(**Y**) Maynooth Murphy 2 (3 c 2), fol. 184–9, written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in 1818.[124] It repeats the omissions and variations found in NO.

(**P**) Maynooth Murphy 6 (3 c 6), fol. 435-40, written by Pól Ó Longáin in 1818 (in partnership with Peattar and Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin and Eoghan Tóibín) breaks off at quatrain 15.[125] The omission of quatrain 7cd indicates that it was aligned to N.

---

géileamhuil could come from such a source, but it is not well-attested. See *DIL*, s.v. *giallamail* 'possessing or exacting hostages (?)', which occurs in a poem concerning the kings of Leinster in the Book of Ballymote, where it is fixed by rhyme: *A cuíg dec fianamhail feigh. / in geg ba giallamail nghaigh* ('Coigedh Laigen na lecht rígh'), The Book of Ballymote, RIA MS 23 P 12, f. 36v, col. a, l. 36). Cf. Dinneen, s.v. *géilleamhail* 'submissive, obedient'. I have not found examples in bardic verse.

[119]*RIA Cat*., 1904–11, at 1907.

[120]*RIA Cat*., fasc. xi–xv, 1366; cf. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 88. It is noted on p. 117 of RIA 23 N 15 that he was copying texts in 1740 in Raheen, in West Carbery; other notes indicate that he was writing in Cúil Méine, in West Cork, in 1761; see Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 90, 233, 280. See also Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail, *The Scribe in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Motivations and Milieu* (Münster, 2000), 35–43.

[121]For some discussion see Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail (ed.), *Cath Cluana Tarbh*, ITS 64 (London, 2011), 89–102.

[122]RIA MS 23 N 15, 198.

[123]*RIA Cat*., fasc. xi–xv, 1395; cf. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí* , 92, 110–13; Ní Úrdail, *The Scribe*, 42 (§37).

[124]Paul Walsh, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Maynooth College library* (Magh Nuadhat, 1943), i, 12. Cf. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí* , 95, 119.

[125]Walsh, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Maynooth College Library*, i, 60. Cf. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí* , 95, 141–9.

Manuscripts included in the edition:
The present edition is based on A. Variants are drawn from two other primary manuscripts, T and N. Where letters are missing in A due to wearing on the margins (in the prose passages only), they have been supplied by T and are enclosed in angular brackets.

Metre

The metre of the poem is *snéadhbhairdne* – commonly used in *crosántacht* – with alternating octosyllabic and quadrasyllabic lines ending in disyllables, linked by rime, alliteration and consonance, groups of quatrains being interspersed with passages of prose. A high percentage of quatrains are composed in *dán díreach*, but some irregularities occur and are particularly noticeable in the final quatrains (40, 41, 42). Such variations may point to the influence of *óglachas*, a looser imitation of *dán díreach*, though it is possible that the poem was composed entirely in *dán díreach* but has been corrupted in transmission. The poet seems to have admitted a degree of metrical licence in quatrains immediately following prose passages (11a, 15a, 27(?)), and may also relax the rules in the closing quatrains.

The metre, as represented in the manuscript, has missing syllables in lines 2a, 3c, 4c, 11a, 20c, 23c, 26c, 34c, 37a, 37c, 39c, 40c; the correct syllable count is supplied by another primary manuscript in one instance (4c). Extra syllables occur in the manuscript in 1a, 3b, 3d, 4d, 6d, 8a, 8b, 8d, 9c, 15a, 25c, 25d, 28b, 39a. The syllable count has been restored editorially, except in lines 2a, 3c, 8bd, 37c, where I cannot offer a solution. A notable instance of elision across the line boundary (8ab/ 8cd) suggests that the poet may have followed the older usage with regard to *snéadhbhairdne*, in which the stanza was regarded as consisting of two 12 syllable lines with a caesura after the eighth and fourth syllable.[126] Alliteration, required in each line, is wanting in the manuscript in line *a* in 11a, 15a, 40a. Lines *a* and *b* are regularly linked by alliteration, with only a few exceptions (12, 13, 14, 16); and where linking alliteration is absent, there is alliteration within line *b* to compensate and an internal rhyme with the penultimate (and alliterating) word in line *a*.[127] Alliteration is otherwise frequently absent in line *b*, as is common in some samples of *crosántacht*.[128] Quatrain 2 has both linking alliteration between lines *a* and *b* and alliteration within line *b*. The surname *de Barra*, tentatively supplied editorially in 11a, is suggested by linking alliteration, but alliteration within line *a* is nevertheless wanting. Alliteration, required in *cd* and involving the penultimate and rhyming word in *c*, is wanting in the manuscript in 17d, 31d, 34c, 39d, 41d, 43c. I cannot resolve its absence in 31d, 43c.

The manuscript tradition shows imperfect final rhymes between lines *bd* in quatrains 2, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 14, 18, 21, 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, and imperfect internal rhymes in *cd* in quatrains 2, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 17, 18, 20, 24, 25, 26, 29, 35, 38, 41, 43. Variant forms permitted by the grammatical

[126]See remarks by James Carney in *Poems Butlers*, pp. 112–13. Cf. note at q. 8.
[127]The rhymes *feacht* : *ceart* (14ab) and *tart* : *lacht* (16ab) are imperfect by Classical standards.
[128]*Ir. Syll. Poetry*, 18.

tracts and required by the metre have been supplied editorially. These are generally deducible from the critical apparatus, though significant changes are discussed in the notes. Final rhymes in 2bd, 40bd are imperfect. *Fear* (14d) is lacking a rhyming counterpart, and the absence of internal rhyme in 43cd is also unresolved. I note the more tentative emendations *daonna* (5c), *fháith* (17d), *dreach* (37b), *n-āithmhín n-amhra* (41d). Attention is also drawn to an emendation which suggests that our poet was familiar with older teachings on predicative plurals, e.g. *caomh[a]* (5d).[129] Consonance has been restored editorially in the following (line *c*): 1, 3, 6, 16, 18, 21, 32, 35, 39, 40. A few irregularities in consonance are unresolved (9, 19, 38, 42).

Manner of Editing

Capitalization, punctuation and line-division are editorial. Suspensions, *n-* and *m-* and compendia have been expanded silently. Length marks and lenition are supplied with macrons and italics. Italics are used in the textual apparatus where the expansion of an abbreviation may be in doubt. Angular brackets are used to indicate letters which have been lost where A has suffered wearing on the margins, and the missing letters have been supplied from T. Other additions of words or letters suggested by the metre and context, but found in none of the primary manuscripts, are indicated by square brackets, e.g. *[de Barra]* (11a), *cai[n]gne* (6b), *ea[n]ghnamh* (39c), *[a] bheōil* (20c), *[a] bhuaidh* (23c). The manuscript form is included in the critical apparatus. Changes, where significant, are discussed in the notes. An obelisk † is used where there are unresolved cruxes in the text which affect the metre.

Throughout the verse and prose, the usual modifications to the orthography have been effected silently: *a* (preposition 'in') > *i*, *as* (non-relative copula) > *is*, prep. *air* > *ar*, *uim* > *um*; *cc* > *gc, tt* > *dt, df* > *d'fh*. Final *-icc* has been adjusted to *-igh,* e.g. *shoibhéasuicc* > *shoibhéasuigh* (Prose A). Medial and final *gh* are regularized to historical *dh*, e.g. *tághall* > *tadhall* (43c, Prose D). Tall *e*, which appears only before a broad consonant, is represented as *ea*, e.g. *doireacht* (36c), *duirtheach duireach* (Prose B). Scribal doubling of *n* has been normalized to Classical Irish usage, e.g. *aibhnne* > *aibhne* (4a), *miann* > *mian* (43c).

Syllabic verse

I have restored historical forms in the syllabic verse, e.g. MS *tortha* > *toirthe* (4a), *gártha* > *gáirthe* (12c), *do ghníd* > *do-níd* (26c), *aisge* > *aisgidh* (32b), *minic* > *meinic* (14a, 38a), *réig* > *réidh* (19d, 30d, 38d). Final non-palatal *-dh* has been restored, e.g. *gábha* > *gábhadh* (21b), *Ríogra* > *Ríogradh* (33a), *cheapa* > *cheapadh* (40a), *hiongna* > *hiongnadh* (40c). Unhistorical marks of length have been removed, e.g. *úmhla* > *umhla*, *bárd* > *bard, nách* > *nach*. In one instance where unhistorical lengthening is suggested by rhyme

[129]Damian McManus has drawn this formation to my attention. Cf. *ABM* 461.5d, where the emendation is proposed. See further note at 5d.

(MS *túrnamh* (22d)), the manuscript form has been retained. Final unstressed vowels have been written as they appear in the manuscript.

Prose

Non-classical forms have been admitted in the prose, e.g. MS *ann gach* (for *i ngach*) (Prose A),[130] *do-ghnídh* (Prose C). Unhistorical marks of length are retained, except where it was felt that confusion might occur, e.g. MS *bhús* > *bhus*, MS *annráidhte* > *annraidhthe* (Prose C), MS *sgímhealbhreágha* > *sg[e]imhealbhreágha* (Prose C), and in one instance where another primary manuscript suggests the more usual form, e.g. MS *hÁfraice* > *hAfraice* (Prose D). Editorial interference is limited to an occasional emendation, e.g. MS *fíorbhrúghadh* > *bhfíorbhrúghadh[aibh]*, MS *fóir / fór* > *for* (Prose A), *míchéadf[adhach]* (Prose B). I have emended to the Classical Irish genitive singular forms in the following: MS *an rígh* > *an rí[o]gh*, *an fhile* > *an fhile[adh]*, *ollamhuin* > *ollamh[a]n* (Prose C). Where a change is made, the manuscript form is noted and the emendation, where significant, is discussed in a note. Attention is drawn here to the juncture at Prose C/q. 27, which poses editorial questions. *Et* written for *agus* is allowed to stand when used.

Text

Teallach coisreagtha críoch Bharrach
Dáibhidh Ō Bruadair cecinit.

1. Teallach coisreagtha críoch B*h*arrach;
buaile dáimhe,
clár beathaighthe na n-eang n-uaine
fán seang sáile.

Translation

1. The land of the Barrys is a blessed homestead; the nourishing plain of the verdant lands around which the sea narrows is an enclosure of poets.

Variants

1. *Marginal note in right hand corner:* Ní thuigim gurb é ~~bb~~ [*margin worn*] bruadair do rin; fēach geineal*ach* an Bharr*aigh* san leabharsa. *a* chríche Barrach AT, críche Barach N. *c* na neang nuaithne AT, naineang nuainthe N. *d* sheang N.

[130]For examples in prose see Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma: Seaán O'Cearnaigh's Irish Primer of Religion, Published in 1571* (Dublin, 1994), 40.9, 46.13, p. 30.

2. Críoch B*h*arrach na mbrugh ndaithg*h*eal†
díochur doghra;
oirear saor na n-iongna[dh] n-iomdha
fionnmhagh fromhtha.†

3. A-tá bail beannochta Phádraig
an phuirt aingligh
ar an gcrích n-éachtruim n-iubhruig*h*†
ngéagthruim ngainmhigh.

4. Ciúin a haibhne, iomdha a toirthe,
tearc a biodhbhaidh;
ní fhuil dí[o]th teachta ar a talmhuin,
feactha [a] fiodhbhaidh.

5. Fial a brughaidh, buan a maithios,
mín a cúilte;
a ngeall ré daonna níor dháilte,
caomh[a] a cúirte.

6. Gaoth a filidh, fraochdha a marcraidh,
maordha a cai[n]gne;
ní cleachtar leō caomhna a gcuirme;
aobhdha a n-ainnre.

2. The land of the Barrys of the bright halls [brings about] a banishing of sorrow; the noble region of the many wonders is a lustrous, [battle-]tested plain.

3. The prosperity of the blessing of Patrick of the angelic abode is upon this exploit-laden, yew-abounding, thickly-wooded, sandy land.

4. Calm her rivers, plentiful her produce, scarce her enemies; there is not a lack of growth upon her land; her trees are bent [with the weight of fruit].

5. Honourable her farmers, enduring her prosperity, smooth her coverlets; their prize in kindliness should not be bestowed [upon any other]; her castles are fair.

6. Wise her poets, furious her horsemen, lofty her disputes (?); they are not wont to be stingy with their ale; gracious their maidens.

2. *a* Barrach TN; ndaithngeal AT, ndaithngheal N; *b* díothchur ATN; doghra] dóghradh N; *c* oiréar ATN; nionga A, niomdha *excised* nionga T, niongna N.
3. *a* beanachta N; *b* ainglídhe AT, ainglidhe N; *c* ccríoch N; néachttruim AN, néachttruím T, ndiubhraig A, niubhraig T, aindiubhraig N; *d* ngéagthruím T, ngéaghtruim N; ngainmhídhe AT, ngainbhíghe N.
4. *a* tortha ATN; *b* bíodhbhaidh ATN; *c* ní bhfuil ATN, díth teachta ar talmhuin AT, dítheachta air a talmhuin N; *d* ag feacadh fíodhbhaidh AT, ag fiachadh fíodhbha N.
5. *a* a mbrúghaidh A, abrúghaidh T, abrúigh*aidh* N; maithchios T, mathas N; *b* coillte ATN; *c* ré daonnacht A, re daonnacht T, ré daonacht N, í níor dháilte ATN; *d* caomh AT, caoimh N.
6. *a* filídhe ATN; g (*excised*) fraochdha A; marc*raídh*e (*length mark over c*) A, marcruidh T, macra N; *b* maorga T; caigne ATN; *c* ccuirmhe AT; *d* a nainnire A.

7. Do réir a gcinn cuid dá bhfoghnamh
– gá fearr umhla? –
bíod na boill go teacht don tiomna;
eacht is umhla.

8. Mar tá an Barrach, beithir Teamhra,
a-táid na daoine,†
ar mhaordhacht, ar fheidhm, ar fhéile,
ar sheilbh, ar shaoire.†

9. A-tá a díol do rígh san rígh-se;
is rádh toilltear;
’s a-tá a dhíol sin d’oireacht innte,†
roibheacht roinntear.

10. Fir Bharrach na mbleidhe[adh] gcorcra
cuire neambocht;
do shaor a thír ar gach tromolc
brígh na mbeannocht.

7. Let the members be supplying the needs of their leader until the coming of the bequest (?) – what better humility? – a portion of their service is a most humble obligation.

8. Like the [Great] Barry, a hero of Tara, are the people [of Barrymore], for stateliness, for warlike effort, for generosity, for possessions, for nobility.

9. In this king there is her match of a king; it is a claim which is deserved; and he [likewise] has his match of supporting nobles in her [*Críoch Bharrach*]; it is precisely apportioned.

10. The men of the Barrys of the crimson goblets [are] a numerous troop; the power of the blessings delivered his land from every grievous misfortune.

7. *a* bhfóghnamh A (*stroke over* n?), T; *b* úmhla ATN; *d* úmhla T; *lines cd omitted in* N.
8. *a* Mar atá ATN, Barách N; Teámhra N; *c* fhéidhm T, fheithimh N.
9. *a* rígh so AT, ríghseo N; *b* tuíllthear A, túillthear T, tuillthear N; *c* is atá ATN, a dhíol san T, a díol N; doighreacht A, doíghreacht T, don oighreacht N; innt T; *d* róibheacht AT; roínntear T.
10. *a* Bharadh N; mbleidhe A, mbléidhe T, bfléidhe (*length mark over* f) N; *b* neamhbhocht N; *c* gach teangamháil (*excised*) tromolc N; *d* brígh] brúgh ATN; mbeanocht N.

Prose A. Et beannocht bhríoghmhar bhuadha bhiothmharthanac*h* bheannaighthe tug an t-eapstol onóireach árdchómhachtach, ⁊ an t-éarlamh féig*h* feochuir fíorchráibhtheach, ⁊ gein shochuir ⁊ shaoirsine saorG*h*aoidheal [n] Éirionn .i. Pádraig príomhfháidheamhuil parrathasda mac uasal Ailpruinn do dhá chóige mórgharga Múmhan, iar dteacht i gcoinne ⁊ i gcómhdháil Aonghusa m*ei*c Nad Fraoich m*ei*c Cuirc m*ei*c Lúigheach dá bhaisde ⁊ dá bhuainbheannúghadh, dá theagasg ⁊ dá thréanchómhairliúghadh, do chabhair ⁊ do choisreagadh, do sheoladh, do shársgaoile ⁊ do shaoirsheanmóir na canōinne caoimhe ⁊ creidimh chogúsaig*h* Chatoilce an Choimhdhe dhō, gur thionóladur ⁊ gur thiomsuighadar saorchlanna saidhbhre soichinéoil na sārMhúmhan idir ísiol ⁊ uasal, idir urra agus easurra, do shuíghe ⁊ do shárionnsuíghe an tsaoireapstuil shuairc shoibhéasuigh, go dtugsad <a> gcíos ⁊ a gcánachus ⁊ a gcómhachta ar a chumas ó bheag go mór, go rabhadur úmhal áisioch <ur>ramach ómhannta i n-uair ⁊ i n-aonfhábhall dó, gur thóguibhsium*h* an lámh chaomh chearrdamhuil choisreagtha ós a gcionn uile, gur

Prose A. And it is a powerful, pre-eminent, enduring [and] fortunate blessing which the honourable, mighty apostle and keen, indomitable, pious patron saint and favoured and ancient offspring(?) of the noble Gaels of Ireland, that is, eminently wise, paradisal Pádraig, the noble son of Alpurn, bestowed upon the two great valorous provinces of Munster, after coming to meet and to convene with Aonghus son of Nad Fraoich son of Corc son of Luigheach to baptise and perpetually bless him, to teach and firmly counsel him, to help and to consecrate, to instruct and vigorously spread and eloquently preach the precious sacred text and conscientious Catholic faith to him; so that the wealthy, well-born, noble offspring of fair Munster, both low-born and noble, both the freeman and the landless man, gathered and assembled to sit and intently seek the gentle, gracious apostle; so that they, from the lowly to the great, brought their tax and their tribute and their dominions for his use, so that they were obedient, accommodating, respectful, and compliant toward him at once and at the same time, so that he raised his fair, skillful, blessed hand above them all, and he blessed them, both man and woman, sons and daughters; so that he left a special virtue of life, honour and wisdom

Prose A. Et] Agus N; bhiogh(?)mharthannac A, bhiothmharrthannach T, bhiothmharthanach N; t*ug* an taspal N; an teárlaimh féigh N; fíorchráibhteach T, fiorchráibht*eadh* N; gein tsochair ⁊ saoirsin*n*e N; shaorGaoidheal Éirionn T; saorGhaoidheal E*irion*n N (e *written above* o); Alfroin T, Alphruinn N; mhórgharga Múmhan T, morghardha Múmhain N; iar tteacht N; Aonghus mac A, Aonghusa mac T; Aong*usa* (?) (*margin faded*) m*ei*c N; Natfraoicc N; mac Cuirc m*ei*c Luigheach T, meic Ciurc meic Lúigh*each* N; dá chabhair N; dá choisreagadh T, dá naoimhchoisearaca N; do sheola na saorsgaoile N; do sheanmóir N; canóine N; chreidimh T, c*h*reidimh N; Catailice N; Chóimhdhe dhó T, Chóimhdhe dho N; thíonoladar N; thiómsuíghadur T, thiomsuigh[.]a*d*ar (*letter missing*(?); *worn margin*) A, thiomsuighdior N; saidhbhire T, saibhre N; sármhúmhan TN; uradh ⁊ easurradh N; an tsaoireasb*adh* N; ttugs*a*d A, ttugsiad N; a gcómhachta] *om.* N; chum*us* A; áisioch [u]rramach] áisioch géileamhuil tromdha urramach L; ómhanta N; an uair AT, aonuair N; an aon fhábhall dó A, an aonfhábhall do T, an aon fhabhall do N; thógabh sium T, thógaibh sgrin*n* N; an láimh caom céardúmhuil N; mhaca] is maca N; […] f*h*[..]gaibh (*top of lenited* f *with a mark of length visible*) A, gur fhágabh T, gur fhágaibh N; neinig ⁊ maithghniomha N; fóir anuaislibh AT, fór anuaaisle N; buadh féile fairsinge ⁊ foighde N; for abhfíorbhrúgh*adh* A, fór abhfíorbhrúgh*adh* T,

bheannaig*h* iad idir fhear ⁊ mhnaoi, mhaca ⁊ inghiona, <gur fhá>gaibh buadh n-anma, n-einig*h*, ⁊ n-eagnamha for a n-uaislibh ⁊ a n-árdríoghaibh; buadh bhféile bhfairsionga agus bhfoighd*h*e for a bhfíorbhrúghadh[aibh], buadh láimhe lainne ⁊ laochdhachta for <a> laochaibh, buadha crotha caoimhe cinéol ⁊ áille for a n-ainnribh, buadh bhfeasa bhfoghlamtha ⁊ bhfáisdne for a bhfileadhaibh, ⁊ tug beannocht d'úir ⁊ d'uisge ⁊ d'fhéar na n-uasalMhuimhneach fá sgeith a dtorchair ⁊ a dtromthortha dá gcabhair ⁊ dá gcomhfhortacht ann gach n-imneadh, ⁊ ann gach n-aimsir budh dú ⁊ budh dual dóibh; agus dar linne do réir ár bhfeasa ⁊ ár bhfīorbharamhla féin do thuit breath ⁊ buantoradh na beannochta ⁊ na buanghuídhe sin ar chrích mbuig mbraonaigh mbuantíodhlaicigh mBarrach Mór le linn ⁊ le lánréimhios Dhāibhí mh*ei*c Séamuis m*ei*c Risteard do Bárr, go bhfuil ina clár thorcharthach théachtughthe thromchonáigh lán d'ioth ⁊ d'ioltorthac*h* ⁊ d'iolmhaoinibh, lán d'fhéile ⁊ d'onóir, do ghliocus ⁊ do gheanmnuígheacht, lán d'uaisle, d'oineach ⁊ d'fhoirm*h*idin ré gach aonfhear, mar atāid uaisle ⁊ árdmhaithe chríche ⁊ chaomhthalmhan an Bharraigh Mhóir, ⁊ go speisialta an Barrach Mór féin .i.

upon their nobles and their high-kings, a gift of abundant generosity and hospitality upon their excellent farmers, a special virtue of wielding a sword and of valour upon [their] warriors, gifts of fair shapeliness of kindreds and beauty upon their maidens, and a gift of knowledge, learning and prophesying upon their poets; and he gave a blessing to the earth and water and grassland of the noble Munstermen on account of which their sea-wrack and their heavy fruits burst forth to help them and to relieve them in every sorrow and season that was proper to them and natural to them; and I think, according to our [shared] wisdom and assured opinion, that the judgement and enduring fruitfulness of that blessing and lasting prayer fell upon the gentle, dewy, perpetually abundant land of Barrymore during the reign and the complete rule of Dáibhídh son of Séamas son of Risteard de Barra; so that it is a plain rich in sea-wrack, firm, laden with prosperity, full of grain and many fruits and many treasures, full of generosity and honour, astute wisdom and generative power, full of nobility, honour and respect toward every single man, namely, [the] nobles and leading men of the territory and fair land of Barrymore, and especially the great Barry himself, that is:

fór a bhfíorbhrúigh*eadh* N; fór (*following letter excised*?) alaocaibh T, fór alaochaibh N; buadh crotha N; cineoil ⁊ aile N; fór anainnribh T, fór aningeana N; buadh feasa foghlamtha faisdine N; fór a bhfileadhaibh AT, fór a bhfillidhibh N; tug fós beanacht N; dfeur N; na nuasal Mhúimhneach N; do ccómhfhortacht T; ann gach n-imneadh] ann gach ionnad N; ann gach áimsir N; b*udh* dú ⁊ b*udh* dual AT, badh dú ⁊ badh dual N; bhfíorbhárum*adh* (*lenited stroke over m*) N; breath] breith N; chrích mbuig mbraonaigh] chríoch barach mbraonaicc N; mbuantíodhlaiceach N; le linn] ré linn N; le láinréimheas T, ré lanréimheas N; Dáibhí mh*ei*c Séamuis TN; m*ei*c Rist*ear*d A, mh*ei*c Ruiste*ar*d T; m*ei*c Risdird N; do Barr T, do Barradh N; ina chlár thorchurthach T, na clár thorcharthach N; thromchonáigh] drómchónáig N; d'ioth] díoth T; d'ioltorthac*h*] dioltorthaibh T, dioltortha N; do gheanamnuigheacht N; doirbhidin N; ré gach fear N; mar atáid T, mar táid N; árdmhatha N; chríche ⁊ chaomhthalmhan] críche caoimhaile N; .i.] *om*. N.

11. Dáibhídh mac Séamuis [de Barra] (?),†
béas do bhuidhnibh,
ní fhacuidh i n-am an fhoghmhuir
call nár chuibhrig*h*.

12. Cóir do-bearthar úidh ar ainnribh
le a s*h*úil shuirghidh;
bíd na gáirthe gan fhios d'ainnribh
fá lios Luimnigh.

13. Ní fáth gotha d'f*h*ior an einig*h*
cion ar chuirmdhig*h*;
do-bheir dáil a fhuile i n-iorghuil
duine duilbhir.

14. Meinic do bhí t' [fh]eacht ar fhoghail;
ceart do chuimhnig*h*
iomdha bradán – léir i Laighnibh–
fear séimh suilbhir.†

11. Dáibhidh son of Séamus, gracious towards companies, did not see in the season of autumn a hazel-tree that he did not fetter [with heavy fruit].

12. It is fitting that attention is given to maidens by his wooing eye; maidens [entranced by him] are oblivious to the shouts around the fortress of Limerick.

13. A love of ale-drinking is not a cause of censure for the honourable man who pours out his blood in conflict (?), a sombre man.

14. Frequent was your expedition for [launching] a raid–it is clear in Leinster–it is right that many a warrior remember the slender, cheerful man:

11. *a* Dáibhí m*a*c Séamuis AT, ~~bb~~ m*a*c Séamuis N; de Barra] *om.* ATN; *b* bhúidhnibh ATN; *c* ní fhacadh N; an ám TN; fhomh*ur* N; *d* chúibhrig ATN; *Lines a-d of qq. 11-14 written as single line in* N.
12. *a* úigh AT, uigh N; ainiribh N; *b* le a súil shuirghidh AT, le a shúil suirge N; *c* garrtha A, gárrtha T, gártha N; gan fios N; dainirib N; *d* luimne (*lenition above* e ?) N.
13. *a* fáith N; einig (*initial* e *written above excised* o) A, einig T, ein*igh* N. *b* cuirmdhigh N; *c* do bheár N; a fhoile AT, a fhail*idh* N; air iargh*u*l N; *d* duilbhear AT.
14. teacht ATN; fhóghail A, fhóghuil TN; *b* chuímhnig AT, chúimhnicc N; *c* leir T; *d* suilbhear AT, soilbir N.

Prose B. Et is suilbhear sólásach adubhairt an sionnach, ⁊ é aon do ló ar mbualadh tré naoimhchill uaignigh i ndiamhair fhionnfhásaigh, ⁊ do bhí duirtheach duireach diamhair doeóluis i n-imeal na huasalchille a mbíodh díthreabhach diadha deisgréideach ag fóghnamh don fhíorDhia fhīorórdha, ⁊ do bhí clog fíorbhinn fogharmhongrach ar bhinn an chlogáis an áirdtíghe-sin do beantaoi i n-am Aifrinn ⁊ iarmhéirge don uasalAthair, ⁊ do bhí téad táthleabhair tómhusfhada i gcoimhcheangal don chlog, léna mbeantaoi é ann gach amm budh áil a bhuain, ⁊ do bhí iall fhada fhīorchruaidh chadad chóimhríghin ag leanmhuin do cheann na cruaidhthéide, ⁊ mur ráinig an sionnach í, do rug uirthe go hocarach airciosach ainbhuaineach d'éis a aisdir ⁊ ainshiobhail, ⁊ tug téib[e] ⁊ tréantarrang uirthe, gur bhain an clog go cáinteach congháireach, ⁊ tug an sionnach ar[na] chlos sin dō, silleadh ⁊ síorfhéachuin go hathúmhalta fair, ⁊ adubhairt go mailíseach míchéadf[adhach]:

Prose B. And cheerfully and affably did the fox say one day when he had just entered the deserted, holy church in a remote, barren wasteland, and there was a secluded and obscure oratory at the edge of the noble church where a holy, solitary hermit used to render service to the resplendent (?) true God; and there was a particularly sweet, clamorous bell upon the spire of the belfry of that main church which used to be struck at the time of Mass and matins in honour of the noble Father, and a woven, supple rope of considerable length fastened to the bell, by which it was rung every time that there was a wish to ring it; and there was a long, very hard, entwined [and] very tough strap adhering to the top of the strong rope, and when the fox reached it, he took hold of it hungrily, greedily and raucously after his journey and long walk, and gave it a yank and a strong pull, so that the bell rang clamorously and clatteringly; and the fox, when he heard that, gazed and stared long [and] attentively upon it, and he said maliciously [and] grudgingly:

Prose B. Et] Agus N; suilbh*ear* AT; soilibhir N; adubh*ar*t T, adub*hair*t N; an sionnach é N; ár mbual*adh* A, air *m*bual*adh* T, iar mbuala N; uaignicc ndiamhair dfion*nfh*áisig N; dúirtheach N; dóeólais A, doeoluis TN; a niomall N; huasailchille T, huasail choille N; ró bhí clog T; fírbhinn formhongrach N; árdthighe T; do bantaoi N; an ám Aifrinn T, anam Aifrinn N; tháithleabhar T, taithleabhair N; a coimhcheangall N; ann (am *excised*) gach amm A, ann gach ám TN; budh háil a bhuaint N; fhíorchruaidh T, fíorchruaig N; chadad*h* A, *om* N; ag leanamhuin ceann na téide N; ráin*igh* ATN, do r*ug* N; go hocrach T; ainsíobhail T, a shíorshúbhail N; téibe T, teibe N; iarna clos sin do silleadh ag sírfhéachaint N; go hathúmhalta air N; míchéadf[...] *margin torn*; f (*with lenition*?) *partially visible* A; míchéadfach T, míchéadfadh N.

15. ’S iomdha glór dīomhaoin sa chlog-soin†
is cúis aonaigh;
beanaidh fear a-nuas um nónaidh
cnuas do chraobhaibh.

16. Rug a mbí do thart ar thánuibh
lacht ó laoghuibh;
Aodh Mhág Uidhir don taobh thuaid*h*in,
Aodh ós Aodhuibh.

17. Ní beag linn ar leansum d’fhuarchúis;
ní háil liomsa
gan tabhairt gheill chá[i]ch im chionn-sa
don fháith(?) fhionn-sa.

18. Mac Séamuis na sirt*h*eadh neimhneach,
niata i ndeabhaidh,
borb ré rígh, fosadh ré filidh,
do-san dleaghair.

19. Fraochdha ré tréan, tláth ré héadtréan,
ucht ar dhíormaibh,
cuid do thrēidhibh an fhéil armthuig*h*,†
réidh ré ríog*h*naibh.

15. There is a lot of nonsense in that bell which summons an assembly (?); some fellow strikes down clusters of nuts from branches at [the ringing of] nones.

16. Aodh Mág Uidhir from the north has caused the thirst that is on herds of cattle, depriving calves of milk; Aodh above [all other] Aodhs.

17. [But] I have been pursuing a pointless matter long enough; it is not my wish to withhold the pledge of everyone [coming] towards me to this fair sage (?).

18. [The pledge] is owed to the son of James of the deadly raids, combative in strife, insolent toward a king, steadfast toward a poet.

19. [When] confronting troops he is furious towards the strong, gentle towards the weak; [these are] some of the traits of the war-like (?), generous one [who is] gentle toward queens.

15. *a* ’s] as AT, Is N; sa chlog sin A, sa clog sin T, sa chlogsoin N; *b* aon*aigh* (*lenited stroke over* n) AT, aonaicc N; *c* bean*aidh* (*lenited stroke over* n, AT), beanaid*h* N, nóna ATN; *Lines a-d written as though a continuation of prose*, N.
16. *b* laedhibh N; *c* Mhag Uidir AT, mháguibhir N; taobh thuaigin AT, taoibh th*uidh*in N. *d* Aodh is Aoduibh A, le *excised* (?) Aodh is Aodhuibh T, Aodh is Aodub N.
17. *b* líomsa A; liómsa TN; *c* ghéill A, geill N; chách ATN, am chionnsa T; *d* fháith] rígh ATN; fionnso N.
18. *a* sirteadh T, sireach N; nímhneach A, nimhneach T, neimhneach N. *b* niadhta ATN; andeabhtha N; *c* fosuig A, sosuig T, fosaigh N; re rígh TN; ré file A, re file T, le filidh N; *d* dleaghth*ar* A, dleaghth*air* T, dl*eagh*th*air* N.
19. *a* re (*throughout quatrain*) T; tláith TN; le h*éad*rean N; *c* threighthibh A, thréighthibh TN; an fheil T; armthuig AT, armt*haigh* N; *d* réig re ríognuibh T, ré re ríog[…] N (*letters on margin not visible*).

20. Dáibhídh Barra beithir dhéadla
dhiongbhus cogtha;
aoib*h*eall [a] bheōil fichidh falta,
crithir chorcra.

21. Grianlá solus, seabhac aille
f*h*uilngeas gábhadh;
lasair ghrod is teó do thaobhadh,
beó nár bádhadh.

22. Arracht sgātha do sgoil Aoife
nár fhéach diúltadh;
gríobh éachtach i bhfeidhm nár fuilngeadh –
teidhm nár túrnadh.†

23. Bradán beathadh ban na hEórpa
urradh formuid;
breith [a] bhuaidh i n-aon ní fhaghmuid;
caor chruaidh chomhraig.

24. Saoi i ngach foghluim, file ar eagnamh
é idir leabhruibh;
ní haithnid*h* damh ceard nár chuimhnig*h*;
leanb ar leanbhuibh.

20. Dáibhídh de Barra is a brave warrior who is a match for battles: the fiery spark of his lips seethes resentments, a crimson flame.

21. [He is] a bright sun-lit day, a cliff-hawk who endures danger; a quick flame which is the hottest to approach; vigour which was not quenched.

22. He is a terrifying spectre from the school of Aoife who heeded not a refusal [of admittance]; he is a death-dealing griffin in unendurable warlike-effort: a frenzy which was unabated.

23. The spirited hero of the women of Europe is an envied leader; we do not find anyone [capable of] defeating him; he is a hard, missile [of battle].

24. He is a master in all learning, a poet on account of [his] skill among books; [any] craft that he has not mastered is not know to me; he is a child [when] among children.

20. *a* Dáibhí ATN, Baradh N; d*éadh*la N; *b* dhiongmhus AT; coga N; *c* aoibeall bheoil A, aoibheall bheoil T, aoibheall beoil N; fiucha falta AN, fiucha faltha T, crith*ir* AT, crithir N.
21. *a* solais N; seabheac T; áille A; *b* fuilngeas A, fhuilingeas T, fhuillingeas N; gábha ATN; *c* do thaobhaibh ATN; *d* báthadh ATN.
22. *a* do sgoilaoise N; *b* diultadh T, dhiulta N. *c* grib N; a bféidhm T, a bhf*ead*m N; fuiling*eadh* AT, fuilling*eadh* N; *d* téidhm T, t*ead*m N; túrnadh] tóir (*margin worn*) N.
23. *a* bheatha bhán AT, beatha ban N; *b* urra AT; *c* breith bhuaidh AT, breith buadh N; ní fhághmuid AT; nídh fhághmaid N; *d* c*ra*obh c*ru*agh N; chómhr*aig* A, comhr*aig* T.
24. *a* Saoir ann gach fóghlaim N; fil*idh* AT; file N; *b* leabharaibh N; *c* damhsa A, dámhsa T, damsa N; cearrd A, ceárrd T, cérd N; chuímhnig T, cuimn*ig* N; *d* leanbh AT, lea*un*b*h* N; ar lea[...] *letters on margin illegible* N.

25. Mílidh é le haghaidh gcatha
cuid dá ghníomhaibh,
beag do luighe do-ní ar naomhaibh,
rí idir ríoghuibh.

26. Lucht coim*h*éada chríche Barrach,
beag dá bhféile,
do-níd [i]s a bhfátha fíre
gnátha gréine.

25. He is a warrior in face of battle—it is among his [many] deeds; rarely does he [need to] swear upon saints; he is a king among kings.

26. [As] a sample of their generosity, the guardians of the land of the Barrys and their seers of truth observe the laws of the sun.

25. *a* lé haghaidh ccatha A, re hagh*aidh* catha N; *b* cuid] arid (?) N; *c* do luíghe AT, an luíghe N; do ghnídh AN, d*o* (*lenited stroke above d*) ghnídh T ; *d* rí] rígh ATN.
26. *a* coiméada AT, coiméad*h*ta N; barach N; *c* do ghníd ATN; sa bhfádha AT, go hárd san bfógha N; fíora ATN.

Prose C. Et is gnáth ag an ngréin an uair mhúsglann sí as soithidh síorchómhnuighthe ⁊ as a fosgabhluibh fíorfhuiling ⁊ éirg*h*ios róthínntidheacht ina róghnúis ⁊ saoirse ⁊ saoirdheallradh ina saoraghaidh, go mbí do shochroidheacht ⁊ do shofhairsionga innte, nách mó luígheas sí ar na tulchaibh sgoithsheamracha sgáthshoillse sgiamhuaine sg[e]imhealbhreágha ná ar na lathachaibh fuara fíordhorcha, ⁊ nách fearr lé solus ná síortheasuígheacht do

Prose C. And it is the custom of the sun, when she awakens from the vessel of continual resting and from her ever-abiding [celestial] supports, that there arises an intense heat in her broad countenance and nobility and unrestrained brilliance in her expansive face, so that there is [such] beauty and openness in it that she shines upon the shamrock-flowering, light-shaded, beautifully covered, graceful [and] fair hillocks no more intensely than upon the cold, impenetrably dark mires; and in her

Prose C. Et] Agus N; gnáith N; an soithidh N; a fosg (*a following* g *is excised*) abhluibh A, a bhfosgabhlaibh N; fíorfhullang N; ⁊ róithinntidheacht T; ró theinntidheacht N; ionna ríoghnúis N; sírdhealbhradh ionna saoraígh*aigh* N; shochroídheacht T; sgáthshóillse T; sgiamhuaithne N; sgímhealbhreágha AT, sgimhealbhreágha N; fíordhoracha N; feárr T; sírteasuígheacht T; róithíghéarnuibh T, roithiag*ur*naoibh N; móghaibh TN; ghiubhluídhe T, ghiobluighe N; dómhan N; go bhfághan T, go bhfághain N; a sásaimh uaithe ⁊ a sárghoradh N; asárgharadh (*excised*)

dhéanamh do ríoghuibh ⁊ do róthighearnaoibh, ná do na moghaibh ⁊ do na míoladranaibh, ⁊ dho gach aon dá ghiobluídhe ⁊ dá dhearóile ar domhan, go bhfaghann gach aon aco a sásadh ⁊ a sárghoradh uaithe; ⁊ is ar an órdúghadh sin atá Dáibhídh mac Séamuis mh*ei*c Ristird do Barr le huaislibh ⁊ le hanuaislibh Éireann. Óir mar do-<gh>nīd*h* sé toil an rí[o]gh ⁊ an ródhuine, an fhile[adh] ⁊ an ollamh[an], an amhuis ⁊ an óigthighearna, <an> bhrúghaidh ⁊ an bhuanbhiadhtaigh, do-ghnídh sé réir ⁊ róthoil an chearrbhaigh mheisgeamhuil mhaill<bhe>artaig*h* mhíothapuig*h*, ⁊ na hóinsídhe úd maille anraidht*h*e iomarcuíghe éigcialluíghe, ⁊ an <bháird> bhéilbhrisg bhuantuitmhig, ⁊ gach nduine bhús uaisle ⁊ is anuaisle ná iad; go bhfaghann <ga>c<h> nduine aco a n-onóir iomchubhaidh féin uaidh, gur combuídheach bhíos an maith ⁊ an saith, <a>n <s>aidhbhir ⁊ an daidhbhir, an saor ⁊ an daor dé féin ⁊ dá oighreacht ⁊ dá fhíormhaithibh <mha>t<ha>;

view it is no better to produce light or continual warmth for kings and noble lords than for the slaves and rough churls and every one upon the earth however ragged and wretched, so that every one of them receives their satiation and their intense warming from her; and that is the way in which Dáibhidh son of Séamas son of Risteard de Barra is wont to be with the noble and the ignoble people of Ireland. For as he satisfies the will of the king and the noble, the poet and the *ollamh*, the attendant and the sub-chieftain, the hospitaller and the farmer, he [likewise] fulfills the maintenance and the excessive appetite of the tippling, slow-moving, listless gambler and those jongleurs along with headstrong, arrogant rhymers (?) and the saucy-mouthed, stammering bards, and every person who shall be more noble and less noble than they; so that every one of them gets their own due honour from him; so that the noble and the lowly, the rich and the poor, the freeman and the serf are equally satisfied by him and his patrimony and his true, excellent (?) nobles:

asárghoradh T; m*ha*c Séamuis mh*ei*c Rist*ear*d A, mhic Séamuis mhic Ruisteard T, m*a*c Seamuis m*ei*c Risdird N; da barradh N; le] re N; mur do ghnídh sé T, ní mar do ghnídh sé N; ollamhain AT, ollamhuinn N; an amhus N; óigthíghearna T; an bhrúgh*aidh* ⁊ an bhreathúmhuin ⁊ an bhuainbhiat*aigh* N; chearb*haigh* AT, chearumhuic N; hóinnsuídhe A, hionnsuídhe T, hoinnsidhe N; annráidhte A, annráidhthe T, an*n*ráitidhe N; bháird T, bárrd (bárd *on following page*) N; gach nduine bhús uaisle ⁊ anuaisle ná iad; go bhfaghann A, *om*. N; iomchuibhe N; cómbúidheach T, comhbhúidheach N; an math agus an sáth T; an mhaith ⁊ an sáith N; ⁊ an daibhir T, *om*. N; de féin TN; oighreacht T; [.] t […] an toineach (*length mark and top of letter (possibly* s) *visible following* t A; mhathasé an toineach T, *om*. N.

27. … (?)
<Is é> an t-oineach;
Ní hiongna[dh] liom dá mbear buidheach
don gheal ghroidheach.

28. Do-níd Barraigh na mbreath n-innill,
’s é a-dearar,
toil an duine mhaith ’s a mhoghadh,
maith an mheadhar,

29. toil an airdrí[o]gh ’s an fhir d*h*ána,
ní dáil f*h*aoisimh;
deacair a gcor tar an gcúis-sin;
tol an taoisig*h*.

30. Réir an fhir théid toil an chearrbhaigh
céim do fíoradh;
toil na n-óinseach nach réidh riaghal
réir na ríobhan.

31. Do-gheibh an tí thóghbhus ifreann
fá aon dísle,
mar do-beirthear d’fhior dá uaisle,
cion sa tír-se.†

27. […] He exemplifies generosity; it is no wonder to me if I should be grateful to the fair [lord] rich in horses.

28. The Barrys of the capable judgements—it is spoken of [by all]—carry out the will of the nobleman and his servants—excellent the discourse,

29. [and] the will of the high king and the poet; it is a demanding task; it is difficult to exempt them [the Barrys] from that charge (?); it is the chieftain’s will.

30. Hospitality [bestowed] by the man who responds to (?) the will of the gambler is a task which was fulfilled; [satisfying] the appetite of the female fools, which is not an easy mandate, [is] the obligation of the royal women.

31. The person who removes hell [and places it] beneath a single ownership, as is granted to a man of his [the Barry’s] nobility, gains respect in this land.

27. *c* lióm TN; búidheach ATN; *d* ghróidheach ATN.
28. *a* Do ghníd ATN; breith ATN; *b* asé adéarar ATN; *lines ab written as continuation of q.* 27 *in* N; *c* mhoghaidh A, mhóghaidh T, mógha N; *d* mhéadhar A, m*éadh*air N; *lines* 28a-d *written as two lines, both indented, beneath* Ní hiongna … don ghealghróidheach (27cd) AT.
29. *a* árdrígh A, áirdrígh TN; san nfir N; *c* accur ATN; t*h*ar T; a ccúis sin N *d* toil ATN. *Arrangement of lines in* N *written as single lines across page without a clear division into quatrains (qq. 29-31).*
30. *a* chearab*aigh* N; *c* noinnseach AT; riaghuil AT, riaguil N; *d* ríogbhan AT, ríghbhean N.
31. *b* fá aon dísle] fá aoin dísle AT, *om.* N; *c* da A; huaisle N; *d* tírso AT, tír seo N.

32. Gémadh é an bard nó an bhean shiubhail
shireas aisgidh,
nocha n-iarruid aithne an iosda[i]dh
d'aithle an aisdir.

33. Ríog*h*radh Bharrach is an Barrach
buidhean aonda;
ní fheadar cia dhíobh is díogha
fá dhíol [n]daonda.

34. Ní thuigim féin go bhfuil díobh-san
– dia do chridhe –
acht dream is f*h*earr [io]ná ar-oile;
dream is dile.

35. Geall ar bhronntaibh nó ar bharr láimhe
nó lot síodha
ní fhagha a dhá n-uimhir uadha,
ruirigh ríodha.

36. Mar fuair codhnach críche Barrach
barr ó ríoghaibh
fuair an t-oireacht dob fhearr áiriomh
geall ar ghníomhuibh.

37. Mac meic Risdeard na ruag ndoil[i]g*h*,
dreach mur ógbhláth,
ag cosnamh a ghné ngéagm*h*aoth,†
is é an t-óglách.

32. Whether it be the bard or the strolling woman who seeks a gift, they do not demand to know the lodging at the end of the journey.

33. The princes of the Barrys and the [Great] Barry are a single band; in the matter of kindly treatment [of entertainers] I don't know who among them is the worst!

34. I myself do not think that that there is among them [i.e. the Barrys]—oh what affection!—even one band that is better than the other; they are a most beloved troop,

35. Not [even] two of their number – [these] royal rulers – may be surpassed for gifts or for supremacy [in battle] or a violation of peace (?).

36. [Just] as the lord of the land of the Barrys achieved pre-eminence among kings, the assembly of supporting nobles that were best in repute won supremacy in feats.

37. The son of the son of Richard of the grievous raids, a face like a youthful flower, is the young warrior defending his tender-limbed forms.

32. *a* Gé má ATN; bárd ATN, an bheantsiúbhail A, bhean tsíobhail T, an bh*ean* tsiubhail N; *b* shíreas N; aisge ATN; *c* noch an iarradh N; íosdagh AT, iosdagh N.
33. *a* Ríogra AT, Riog*ur*a N; Bharrach] Barach N; *b* buídhean ATN; *c* díobh N; *d* fághdhíol N; daonna AT, dána N.
34. *a* díobh soin N; *b* do chroídhe ATN; *c* dram N; is fearr ATN; ná ar oile AT, nár air aile N; *d* dile] dísle ATN.
35*a* bhárr T; *c* ní bfhágha A, ní bhfágha TN, uatha ATN; *d* rúighrí AT, rughrí N; ríogdha AT, riodha N.
36. *a* codhnách T, cóghnach N; Baradh N; *b* bárr T; *c* an doireacht AT, doírseacht (*length mark over* r) N; áiriomh] aitiom*h* N.
37. *a* mic Ruisde*ar*d AT, m*ei*c Risdird N; ndoilg ATN; *b* dfeach AT, dféach N; ogbhláth T; ogbhláith N; *c* a gné N; ngéagmaoth ATN. *d* tóglach AT.

Prose D. Et óglách iongantach adhuathmhar iollrachtach do bhí i gcrīochaibh áille oirearmhíne na hAfraice dár badh comhainm Anteus mhic Tíre, ⁊ ní ó dhúil dhaonna dhuineata mhná do geineadh an t-ársuigh ainmhín aindreannta-sin, acht a gheineamhuin go modartha míonádúrtha a tonnghnúis na talmhan tromfhóduíghe; ⁊ is amhlaidh do-níodh an tan do théigheadh do chathúghadh nó do chruadhchomhrac ré curadhaibh cródha coimseacha cleaslúithreacha colgladarthacha ⁊ ré feinneadhaibh fíorniadhta fearamhla fraocháidhmhéile fíorárrachtacha, ⁊ ré hársuídhibh údmhalla ēachtmhóra āit*h*iosacha armnímhneacha na n-innsi ⁊ na n-eachtarchríoch, in uair do bhíodh sé i n-áirc nó i n-éigion dá chlódh nó dá chómhfhorrach, ní dhéineadh acht é féin do léigean ina easglann mhór anbhāil d'ionnsuíghe láir ⁊ lántailimh, go dtigeadh a neart ⁊ a bhrígh, a chalmacht ⁊ a churantacht féin ann ré halt na huaire sin, ó thadhall a mhátharbhunaidh .i. an talamh, go n-éirg*h*eadh ina cholmhuin chóimhdhíreach ina chuilgsheasamh, go sloigheadh ⁊ go slatbhuaileadh go gcraipleadh ⁊ go gcruadhcheangladh, go milleadh ⁊ go míochóirígheadh a lucht iomtha ⁊ easaonta ar an órdúghadh sin; ⁊ is iongna an réim ⁊ an obair bhí for an óglaoch sin .i. gurb ē a neartúghadh a bhuanleagadh, ⁊ is ionshamhluighthe sin ris an mBarrach Mór, óir fuair a choimpreadh ⁊ a cho<mh>f*h*oghluim i gcogthaibh ⁊ i gconghalaibh, i n-éachtaibh ⁊ i n-áthasaibh, i n-oineach ⁊ i n-e<agnomh> agus i n-árdghnīomhaibh, ⁊ ní bhfuil dá mhéid d'imreasa[i]n ná d'easaonta do-ghníd a fhoghluidh ⁊ a eascaruid dō, nách ar barr cumais ⁊ calmacht théid sin dō-san, ⁊ ní bhfuil dá mhéid a chlú ⁊ a chomhsgaoileadh, a bhronnta ⁊ a bhuantíodhlaice do lucht iarrata athchuinge ⁊ éadála, nách ar barr saidhbhris ⁊ sochonáig*h*, ionnmhuis ⁊ iolmhaithis théid sin do, do réir mar atá an cleachta ⁊ an cómhthaithíghe aige *et* –

Prose D. And a wondrous, terrifying, shape-shifting warrior who was called Antaeus mac Tíre was in the beautiful, smooth-region of Africa, and it is not from a kindly, human woman that that rough, fierce champion was begotten, but rather, his murky, unnatural birth [was] from the surface of the heavy-sodded earth. And this is what he used to do when he went to battle or hard combat against fierce, strong, feat-pivoting(?), sword-grasping champions and against valorous, manly, furious, monstrous warriors dangerous in wrath, and against quick, heavy-slaughtering, exuberant (?), weapon-venomous champions of the islands and of the foreign territories, when he was in difficulty or distress of being destroyed or subdued: all that he used to do was to let himself fall into a large, lifeless, massive (?) heap to the ground and earth, so that his strength and his power, his courage and his own warlike-action used to come in him at that moment, from touching his own mother, that is, the earth, so that he rose upward, as straight as a blade, so that he struck and beat, bound, tied fast, destroyed and threw his rivals and rebels into confusion in that manner; and wondrous is the manner and labour of that warrior; that is, that it is his continual falling [upon the earth] which makes him stronger; and that can be compared to the Great Barry, for he was begotten and received equal training in wars and conflicts, in exploits and in victorious feats, in honour and in wisdom and in noble deeds. And there is not [anything], however much strife or chaos which his plunderer and his enemies inflict upon him, which does not benefit (?) the ability and strength which that [strife] gives to him (?), and there is not [anything], however great his fame and his yielding, his bestowing and constant surrendering to those seeking a favour and wealth, which does not benefit (?) the profit and prosperity, wealth and benefits which that [yielding] gives to him, according as he practices it and performs it frequently, and

Prose D: iong*h*antach A; accríochaibh T; hAifrice T; dár b*adh* A, dár ba T; cómhainm T; dhaona T; a ghineamhuin T; modortha T; do chathúgha T; chruadhchomhrag T; colgladarthacha T; fírniata T; fraocháighmhéile T; aitiosacha AT; armnimhneacha T; d'ionnsuíghe] dionc (*stroke over* c) A, dionnsuíghe T; go ndéirgeadh AT; ccruaidhcheangladh T; míochóirígheadh T; órdughadh T; oglaoch T; gurab é T; bhuainleaga T; ionnshamhluighthe T; aithiosaibh T; aneagnomh T; árdghníomhaibh T; dimreasan AT, chómhsgaoileadh T; abhuaintíodhlaice T; cómhthathuíghe T.

38. A thabhairt uaidh go mór meinic
mar mhac Tíre,
nach bí guth ag cléir ̓na choinne,†
réidh do-ríne.

39. Mar do coimpreadh i gclí an talmhan
an tréan boinngheal,
Dáibhí[dh] iar n-uair as an ea[n]g*h*namh
uair a fhoighreadh.

40. Ar dháil ionnmhuis f*h*uair a cheapadh
’s ar chur troda;
ní hiongnadh a cheacht aga†
ag teacht troda.†

41. Oirbheart Bharrach, bronnta ó gCarthaigh,
ag cur anma
a-nois ar an dtláithrígh dtromdha
n-āithmhín n-amhra.

42. Foghluim Ghall ’na ngníomhaibh cródha
ceard ’na bhfuiltear;
réidhe Ghaoidheal ’na ghnúis gheilte;†
cúis do-cluintear.

43. Críoch oirbheartach airdrí[o]gh Barrach
na mbrug*h* síthe;
mian gach f*h*ir dá dtriallann uaithe†
tadhall tríthe.

38. Yielding often, like the son of the Land [Antaeus], so that the poets do not have cause to fault him; what he did was sensible.

39. Just as the strong, white-soled warrior [Antaeus] was born in the womb of the land, Dáibhídh in turn got his burnishing from prowess.

40. He got his training for distributing wealth and for waging war; it is no wonder that he knew what to do (?) at the onset of battle.

41. The prowess of the Barrys, the gifts of the descendants of Carthach, [is] now conferring renown upon the keen [and] courteous, wondrous, serious and gentle king.

42. The reason he is renowned is the skill in which there is the learning of the foreigners, in their fierce deeds; the gentleness of the Gaels is in his bright countenance.

43. The renowned territory of the high king of the Barrys of the delightful dwellings; every person of all those who journey [away] from it longs to travel through it.

38. *b* mhaic AT, mac N; *c* guith N; cléir na chuin*n*e AT, cléir cuinne N; *d* do rin*n*e N.
39. *a* Mar] mac N; na talmhan AT, na talm*an* N; *b* bonngheal AT, bongheal N; *c* Dáibhí ATN, eagnamh ATN; *d* fuair ATN; a fhóighreadh T, a fóighreadh N.
40. *a* a cheapa ATN; *written as continuation of previous quatrain; lines in qq. 40-43 lack clear arrangement into quatrains* N; *c* ní hiongna acheacht aige ATN.
41. *a* barach N; ó gcarrth*a*igh A, ó gcárrth*a*igh T, ó ccarth*a*igh N; *c* air ttláithrígh N; dtromdha] *om*. N; *d* ndaithmhín niamhdha ATN.
42. *a* Fóghluim gall N; *b* ceárrd T; bhfuiltir N; *c* réidh N; *d* do cluinntear AT, do cluintir N.
43. *a* áirdrígh AT, airdrígh N; barach N; *b* mbrug AT, mbr*ugh* (*lenited stroke over* r) N; sithe N; *c* miann TN, fir ATN; ttriallainn N; *d* tághall A, taghall TN; Finis (*written beneath the final quatrain*) A.

NOTES

1a Line *a* has a syllable too many. MS *chríche* (gen. sg.) has been emended to nom. sg. fem. *críoch*.

1b Where alliteration is wanting in line *b*, lines *ab* are joined by linking alliteration. Eleanor Knott (*Ir. Syll. Poetry*, 18) has noted the frequent absence of alliteration in the first short line in some poems composed in *snéadhbhairdne.*

1c *uaine* The emendation of MS *uaithne* restores consonance and is suggested by the context.

1d *fán seang sáile* Lit. 'around which the sea is narrow', an apt description of the patron's land. Florence McCarthy writes (August 1602) of 'Lord Barry, who dwells near it (i.e. Cork?) upon a creek of that haven and his country alongest the haven up to the gates thereof …' (*Cal. SP Ire. 1601–1603*, 481–2). Dáibhídh de Barra also held lands in the barony of Ibane, formerly in the possession of his father, Séamas mac Risteard, 'Lord of Ibawne' and Viscount Buttevant. An inquisition at Timolaga, 11 April 1594, found that 'David Viscount Barry' was in possession of three manors of Ibawne, namely, 'Tymolagge, Rathbarry and Lisleigh' (Barry, 'Barrymore, *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 129–30, 135). For Dáibhídh de Barra's petition (May 1594) 'that he may be restored to the possession of Tymolagg', see *Cal. SP Ire. 1592–6*, 249. In a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, Dáibhídh de Barra complains against Florence McCarthy and James FitzThomas for forcibly taking meat, drink and money from his tenants in 'a small cantred or barony of mine, called Ibawne Linge [i.e. lying?], in a remote corner toward the sea near Carberry', adding that 'That small barony was one of the best stays of living that I had' (*Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600,* 470–1). 'Linge' has been interpreted by the editor as Eng. 'lying', but as Seán Ó Coileáin has proposed to me, it is more likely an anglicization of Ir. *Loinge*, gen. sg. of *Long*, common in placenames, e.g. Inis Loinge (Inishleena, Cork), Cluain Loinge (Shiplough, Co. Cork). The 'Linge' element may be preserved in the townland of Ballylangy, parish of Lislee, in the barony of Ibane and Barryroe just south of Carbery along the coast, possibly 'Baile an Longaigh' (www.logainm.ie), but the paucity of earlier forms makes this uncertain. I thank Kevin Murray for this reference and helpful notes on the placename, which include the form 'Ballinlangie' from the Inquisitions. This may be 'Ibawne Linge' (cited above). Lord Barry's lands are listed as follows: 'Barryscourt, 18 plowlands. Inchinibakye, 4 pl. Castlelyons, 30 pl., Buttevant and Liscarroll in Orrery, 40 pl., Timologe, Rathehaary and Lislie in Ybawne, 300 pl.' (*Cal. Carew Manuscripts 1589–1600*, 513 (§520)).

2*a* Line *a* is wanting a syllable in the manuscripts. Perhaps read *Críoch*[*a*]?

2*b* Alliteration occurs within line *b*, in addition to linking alliteration between lines *ab.* For further remarks see Introduction (rhyme).

díochur MS *díothchur* for *díochur* (*DIL* s.v. *díchor*) is probably a hypercorrection based on the fact that *-thch-* was pronounced the same

way as *-ch-* (*SnaG*, Chapter IV, §2.11 (1)). Elsewhere it is regarded as an artificial spelling used occasionally for rhyming purposes, e.g. *ndíothchur* : *síothbhrugh* (*LBranach* no. 49, ll. 4556–7 (p. 386n.)). For the idea that the land has the power to banish affliction compare the praise of Fermanagh: *Lór do bhuain fhiabhrusa dh'fhior / duinne a géag, guirme a huisgiodh* 'Enough to take sickness from a man were the browness of her branches, the blue of her waters (*TD* 13.4ab).

doghra MS *doghra* has been taken to be gen. sg. of fem. *iā*-stem *doghra* (*DIL* s.v. *dogra*(*e*)). Rhyme with *fromhtha* (2d) is imperfect, though comparable lapses occur occasionally in *dán díreach* (Ó Cuív, 'The phonetic basis of Classical Modern Irish rhyme', *Ériu* 20 (1966), 94–103, at 100–1). A perfect rhyme could be achieved by emending to genitive singular *dochra* (: *fromhtha*). While *dochar* is a masculine *o*-stem (*DIL* s.v. *dochor*), a late example of gen. sg. *dochra* is supported by rhyme (though imperfect): *Le a bheith faoi ag fulang dochra / dearbhthar airdhe a umhlochta* 'Subject to affliction's test: its humility is proved'; see J. MacErlean (ed. and trans.), 'Eoin Ó Cuileannáin: Bishop of Raphoe, 1625–1661', *Archivium Hibernicum* 1 (1912), 104 (§5).

2*c na n-iongnadh* I have emended to the gen. pl. of the masculine *o*-stem noun *iongnadh* (*IGT* ii, §49).

3a *bail beannochta Phádraig* Reference here is to St Patrick's blessing of the land of Munster, the topic of Prose A. For plausible sources see note at Prose A below. The phrasing recalls the descent of good fortune upon a chieftain: *Ar mhac Céin cheannchas molta / do thuit bail na beannochta* 'On Cian's son who buys encomiums the fortune of the blessing has settled' (*O'Hara*, 4.45ab).

3b *aingligh* Line *b* has an extra syllable. MS *ainglidhe* is trisyllabic in Classical Irish, e.g. *ngainmhidhe* : *ainglidhe* (*TD* i, 13.5cd); *sreibhe* : *ainglidhe* (*O'Reilly Poems* 25.35ab (ll. 2953–6)). I have emended to *aingligh,* masc. gen. sg. of the adjective *aingleach* 'angelic' (*DIL* s.v. *ainglech*), which restores the Classical Irish disyllabic final without interfering with the sense. A speech-rhyme *ainglidhe* : *gainmhidhe*, with loss of lenited *-dh-* and compensatory lengthening, is nevertheless possible. Compare possible spoken form *túrnamh* (22d).

3c *ar an gcrích n-éachtruim* The line is wanting a syllable. Eclipsis following *crích* indicates an accusative rather than dative singular of *críoch*, but an accusative would not be expected following *a-tá ar* (3a), as there is no expression of motion. For some discussion of the use of the accusative following *ar* to express motion see *IGT* i, §§74–5; Eoin Mac Cárthaigh (ed.), *The Art of Bardic Poetry: A New Edition of Irish Grammatical Tracts I* (Dublin, 2014), 102 (ll. 725–7), 238 (n. on ll. 693–5). I cannot resolve the problem.

n-iubhruigh The required alliteration supports the variant *iubhruig* (T), acc. sg. of the *o-ā* adjective *iobhrach* 'abounding in yew-trees', modifying fem. acc. sg. *crích*.

3d *ngainmhigh* Line *d* has an extra syllable. MS *gainmhidhe* is trisyllabic in Classical Irish, e.g. *ngainmhidhe* : *ainglidhe* (*TD* i, 13.5cd); see n. 3b above. The proposed emendation to acc. / dat. singular of the *o-ā* stem adjective *gainmheach*, supplies a disyllabic final and restores the syllable count. Compare *san tseanAfraig gainmhigh* (: *aibhnigh*) *gil* 'in ancient Africa, sandy, bright' (*TD* 1.19c). Nasalization indicates an accusative form, which is problematic; cf. n. 3c above.

4a *toirthe* MS *tortha* has been emended to Classical Irish *toirthe*, nom. pl. of *toradh* (*IGT* ii, §53). Alternatively, the broad medial consonants might support a nom. sg. *toradh* following *iomdha*, as the latter can refer to a substantive in either the singular or plural; see *DIL* s.v. 1. *imdae* (b). While nom. pl. *tortha* occurs in verse, it is it not metrically confirmed, e.g. *tortha uaisle i ngach am air/ crann as uaisle don fhiodhbhaidh* (*DDána* 23.15cd).

4c The line is short a syllable. The addition of poss. adj. 3 sg. fem. *a* 'her' has the support of a primary manuscript (N).

4d *feactha* The line has an extra syllable. The emendation of MS *ag feacadh* to past participle *feactha* (: *teachta*), proposed to me by Damian McManus, restores both the syllable count and rhyme. Trees bowed down under the weight of heavy fruit is a common motif signifying a prosperous reign, e.g. *abhla feactha* (: *teachta*) *is fiarcholla* (*Ir. Syll. Poetry,* no. 70.1ab) 'apple-trees bent and heavily-laden'; *tír nach cleachtan cruas um chrodh, / le cnuas feactar a fiodhbhodh* 'land unused to hardship in the matter of cattle, her wood is bent by nut crop'; see Ronald Black (ed. and trans.), 'Poems by Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13 (1978), 297, q. 28cd.

[a] fiodhbhaidh The addition of the 3 sg. fem. possessive adjective is supported by the sequence of feminine possessive adjectives in the quatrain.

5a *fial* The manuscript form has been retained. Emendation to the older predicative plural *fiala* would not interfere with the metre, though it is not supported by rhyme. For evidence that the poet was familiar with such forms see note at *caomh[a]* (5d). For some remarks see *mín* (5b), *gaoth* (6a).

a brughaidh Emendation of MS *a mbrúghaidh* to the 3 sg. fem. sg. possessive adjective is supported by the context and by the reading in two primary manuscripts (TN).

5b *cúilte* The proposed emendation of *coillte* 'woodland' to *cúilte* 'quilts, coverlets' (*cuilt, cúilt, IGT* ii, §14, 69.7), against the manuscript evidence, restores rhyme with *cúirte*. The adjective *mín* 'smooth' more appropriately describes 'coverlets', and hospitality is traditionally bestowed within the chieftain's court. Compare the praise of the homestead Inis Ceithleann: *roighne an tslóigh mhóirḟeithmigh mhúinte– / cóirighthir dhóibh cúilte clúimh* 'beds of down were prepared for the noblest of the alert, instructed host' (*TD* 11.27cd).

mín The singular form of the adjective has been retained, though the older plural predicative adjective *míne* would not interfere with the metre, e.g. *Míne* (: *fíre*) *a slata saoruaisle* (*IBP*, 5.21d). For a possible indication of the poet's familiarity with older teachings on predicative plurals see *caomh[a]*, n. 5d below.

5c *a ngeall ré* MS *an geall* is taken to be *a ngeall*, with figurative sense *geall* 'prize, palm'; cf. *DIL* s.v. *gell* (b).

daonna MS *daonnacht* 'kindliness' (*DIL* s.v. *doéndacht* (b)) aptly describes a patron's munificence, e.g. *an dáonnacht 's an deaghaithne* (*O'Reilly Poems* 1.18c (l. 71); cf. also p. 248 s.v. *aithne*), but internal rhyme is absent. I have tentatively emended to the adjective *daonna* 'humane, kind' (*DIL* s.v. *doénda* (c)), possibly used substantively as an abstract noun corresponding to *daonnacht*, rather than as substantive *doénda* 'human being' (*DIL* s.v. *doénda* (a)). I have not found examples in bardic verse, though similar pairs of abstract nouns occur, e.g. *ullmha/ ullmhacht* (*IGT* iv, §10; *BST*, p. 283.8, 9). For further remarks on the adjective *daonna*, see note at q. 33d below.

5d *caomh[a]* Internal rhyme requires a disyllabic word. MS *caomh* has been emended to the predicative plural of the *o-a* adjective. Cf. *ABM* 461.5d, where the emendation has been proposed. The relatively rare use of the predicative plural of *o-a* adjectives in bardic poetry suggests the poet's familiarity with older bardic teachings. Compare *caomha* (: *Aodha*) *na cláir ad-chífe* (*DDána* 66.4d). For some discussion see *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §5.6(b). The poet may have used the older predicative plural forms throughout this quatrain. See notes at *fial* (5a), *mín* (5b). Cf. *gaoth* (6b) below. A mix of singular and plural predicative adjectives is also possible.

6a The line has a syllable too many. Emendation to nom. pl. *filidh* (*IGT* ii, §21) restores the syllable count.

gaoth There is not clear metrical support for emending MS *gaoth* to *gaoth[a]*, nom. pl. of the adj. *gaeth* 'wise', though the poet was apparently familiar with the use of the predicative plural. See note at *caomh[a]*, q. 5d above. Cf. *ABM* 461.6a (p. 646).

6b *cai[n]gne* MS *caigne* has been emended to *caingne,* nom. pl. of *caingean* (*IGT* ii, §54) 'suit; dispute', restoring rhyme with *ainnre*. Cf. *ABM* 461.6b. I am aware of one other example of *caigne* (: *airge*), in a poem by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa: *a ngráin chatha a ccaigne síodh / a n-airge flatha a bfairbríogh* (O'Conor Don, fol. 250v, l. 6) 'their hatred of battle, their suits (?) of peace/ their gentility of rule, their excessive power' (translation mine); cf. *ABM* 229.54c. Two examples cited in *DIL* are doubtful. See *DIL* s.v. *cuitchernas*, where *caigne* (*O'Don*. 1010 (H.2.15, p. 16a–b)) has been read as *cainge* (*CIH* ii, 435.28; cf. Breatnach, *A Companion,* 376). The phrase *ar caigne* (*DIL* s.v. *axal*), has been read as *arcaingel* (*CIH* ii, 621.8; cf. Breatnach, *A Companion*, 375).

6c Lit. 'a withholding of their ale is not practised by them'.

7c *go teacht don tiomna* Translation tentative. I have taken the idiom as *teacht do* 'come to', with the sense here 'receiving'. The sense seems to be that the patron's adherents serve loyally until he prepares his final 'will' or

'bequest' (*DIL* s.v. *timne* III), by which they are allocated their due gifts. Such reciprocity is reminiscent of a depiction of a guest house elsewhere: *in cenn do bithré[i]r na mball, na baill do bithréir in cinnt* (K. Meyer, 'Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften', *ZCP* 7 (1910), 297–312, at 298); cf. *DIL* s.v. *ríar*.

7bd *umhla* The rule that a word may not rhyme with a repetition of itself (*BST* §217.1) is observed here, with rhyme between the feminine singular abstract noun *umhla* (*DIL* s.v. *umla*(*e*)) in line *b* and the superlative of the *o-ā* adjective *umhal* (*DIL* s.v. *umal*) in *d*. See, however, *troda* : *troda* (40bd).

8a The line has a syllable too many. MS *atá* has been emended to *tá*, as permitted following *mar* (*SnaG*, Chapter IV, §7.26).

8ab Line *b* has a syllable too many. James Carney has noted instances in poems composed in *snéadhbhairdne* where elision is allowed when the first line of the couplet ends in an unstressed vowel and the subsequent line begins with an unstressed vowel (*Poems Butlers*, pp. 112–13). Lines *ab* have a similar pattern, i.e. *Teamhra* / *a-táid*. Compare *nī fhoil a mhac samhla sunna / ar mhēd a bhronnoidh* (*Poems Butlers* 6.26cd (ll. 549–50)). Such elision across the line boundary seems to reflect the influence of the older usage with regard to this metre, in which the stanza consisted of two lines of twelve syllables (*Poems Butlers*, p. 113). For some possible examples in *crosántacht* see Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 162.

8cd Line *d* has a syllable too many. The poet may allow elision across the line boundary (*fhéile* / *ar sheilbh*). See n. 8ab above.

9a *a díol* The repetition *a-tá a díol* / *a-tá a dhíol* (lines *ac*), with the parallel fem., and then masc., singular possessive adjective, emphasizes the union between the chieftain and the land, *críoch Bharrach*. For some discussion, see my introductory remarks.

9b *toilltear* Emendation of MS *tuíllthear* to *toilltear*, restores rhyme with *roinntear*. See *tuilleam*, *toilleam* (*IGT* iii, §72). Cf. *DIL* s.v. *do-slí*, col. 374.43–5. The present autonomous ending *-t(e)ar* (after *l, n, s*) is distinguished from the ending *-th(e)ar*. See *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §7.3 (p. 398).

9c There is a syllable too many in the line. I have emended to the shortened form of *agus*.

innte Consonance is imperfect. Compare 42c.

oireacht MS *oighreacht* 'inheritance, patrimony' (*DIL* s.v. *eigrecht, oigrecht*) has been emended to *oireacht* 'assembly' (of supporting nobles) (*DIL* s.v. *airecht*), rhyming with *roibheacht*. See also 36c. Emphasis on the *oireacht* recalls Tadhg Mac Dáire Mheic Bhruaideadha's *Mór atá ar theagasc flatha*, where the chieftain is advised to govern his assembly: *Ná fill faobhar do reachta / ó neach d'uaislibh th'oireachta* 'Do not turn the sharp edge of your authority away from anyone of the nobles of your assembly' (E. Nic Cárthaigh, '*Mór a-tá ar theagasc flatha*', 158 (§35)).

10a *bleidhe[adh]* The following eclipsis indicates gen. pl. *bleidheadh*, common in epithets praising a chieftain's generosity, e.g. *Briain na mbleidheadh ndonn* 'Brian of the bright cups' (*AithD.* 17.23a).

10b *neambocht* The riming words *neambocht* : *beannocht* occur elsewhere in verse, e.g. *neambocht* : *bheannacht* (*IBP* 5.8cd); *neambocht* : *beannocht* (T. Ó Donnchadha, *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe* (Dublin, 1931), 13.2cd). The compound is an example of *greim comhfhocail* (*IGT* i, §100), with the 'quasi compounding prefix' *neamh-*, and having two consonants in writing and one consonant for rhyming purposes (pronounced *neamocht*). For some discussion see Mac Cárthaigh, *The Art of Bardic Poetry,* 118 (ll. 960–81), 183–5 (nn. 77, 81–2).

10d *brígh* Emendation of MS *brúgh* to *brígh* restores internal rhyme with *thír* and provides a verbal link to *bríoghmhar* 'powerful' in the opening line of the subsequent prose, i.e. *brígh na mbeannocht* (10d) / *beannocht bhríoghmhar* (Prose A). Such links are a stylistic feature of *crosántacht*. A fruitful patrimony is similarly praised in a poem by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa: *naomhthoradh bríoghmhur beannocht* (*O'Reilly Poems* 25.35d (l. 2956)).

Prose A

Source: an early account of St Patrick's baptism of Aonghus mac Nad Fraoich and the people of Munster occurs in *Bethu Phátraic*; see Kathleen Mulchrone (Dublin, 1939), 118 –19 (ll. 2286–309); cf. Stokes, *Lismore Lives*, ll. 447–60. Key elements of the story are condensed into a single episode in a version of the *vita* in *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 28a25–55); cf. Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Three Middle-Irish Homilies on the Lives of the Saints Patrick, Brigit and Columba* (Calcutta, 1877), 32–5. The prose narrative in *Teallach* corresponds more closely to the latter version, in which St Patrick baptizes Óengus (Aonghus), preaches to him, instructs and blesses the people and blesses the land of Munster: *Bennacht Dé for Mumain / feraib macaib mnaib, / bennacht forin talmain / do-beir tarad daib,* etc. 'God's blessing on Munster, men, children, women / Blessing on the land that gives them fruit ...' (ibid., 32). The blessing is found in the earlier *Bethu Phátraic* (Mulchrone, *Bethu Phátraic*, 128–9 (ll. 2545–73)), but occurs several episodes after the baptism of Óengus. It also occurs in a later stratum of 'The Story of the Finding of Cashel' (ed. Dillon, *Ériu* 16 (1952), 67–8 (§§7–8)). The baptism of Aonghus is also recounted in the late version of *Agallamh na Seanórach* (ed. Ní Shéaghdha, 3 vols (Dublin, 1942–5), i, 58–9), another plausible source, as noted by Pádraig Breatnach, *Téamaí Taighde Nua-Ghaeilge*, 35.

gein shochuir A common attributive genitive (*TD* i, p. lxix), often applied to a chieftain, e.g. *fan ngein sochair Sior Risdeard* 'Under the favoured offspring Sir Richard' (*TD* 17.32b). See *DIL* s.v. *gein* (c) 'that which is born, a person'. Here referring to St. Patrick, and translated 'offspring'.

Aonghusa meic I have emended MS *Aonghus mac* to the gen. sg. form, drawing on both T and N.

do dhá chóige mórgharga The dual form, which is the same as acc. sg. *cóigeadh* (*IGT* ii, §11 (p. 55, l. 3)), is used regularly in place of the older dative plural. It is followed by the dual (also plural) form of the adjective *mórgharga*, as is usual in both verse and prose. See *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §§4.11, 8.3, 5.1.

creidimh chogúsaig Chatoilce The poet's emphasis on the Catholic faith reflects the religious conflicts and mixed loyalties of the period, and the Catholic patron's entanglement in the disputes. Dáibhídh de Barra adhered to Catholicism, but remained loyal to Queen Elizabeth I and refused to join the rebellion. In 1600 Aodh Ó Néill, Earl of Tyrone, and James Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, castigated Dáibhídh de Barra for having been 'seduced to hold with the Queen of England, and to serve against us and the Church'. The Bishop of Cork similarly urged him to join in the 'Catholic action', upon penalty of excommunication; cf. *Cal. Carew Manuscripts*, *1589–1600*, 362 (§354) (13 February 1600).

an Choimhdhe: The spelling of the manuscript has been retained, but the usual spelling is *Coimdhe* (*DIL* s.v. *coimdiu*); cf. *IGT* ii, §21. A form *coimhghe* (with lenited *m*) is noted in *IGT,* where it occurs in only one manuscript (C); see *IGT* ii, §21 (p. 74 n. 19). A later example occurs in Ó Bruadair's verse: *cóimhdhe uim cheathraibh* 'lord most rich in cattle' (*DOB* i, 146.11). The spelling *Coimhdhe* may have arisen through confusion with *coimhghe* 'act of protecting' (*DIL* s.v. *coimge*). The two words occur as rhyming pairs in verse, e.g. *Ar gcoimhghe is daoibh-se budh dluigh / a Choimdhe is a Shaoir-se shein* 'Thou art bound to save me, O Lord, O ancient Creator' (*Dán Dé* 9.28ab). Cf. *maith an choimhdhe* (: *Coimdhe*) *dár gcabhair* (*IBP* 23.3cd).

tugsad ... ar a chumas The 3 sg. masc. possessive adjective (*a chumas*) presumably refers to St Patrick, i.e. 'they gave … for his [St Patrick's] use'. Compare *bud for bar comus a cathcharpait* 'at your disposal'; *do-ratsat in tir fora comos* (*Grail*, 1033) 'they gave the land for his use' (*DIL* s.v. *commus*, col. 399.32–3).

a gcómhachta The acc. pl. of *cumhacht* (*IGT* ii, §25) 'power' is taken in the transferred sense 'dominions'. Cf. *DIL* s.v. *cumachtae*, col. 615.62–3.

áisioch <ur>ramach The collocation occurs elsewhere in verse, e.g. *Mei-se go crithreach corrach / tu-sa áiseach urramach* (*DDána* 80.13ab).

ómhannta I have taken this to be a by-form of *ómánta* 'humble, obedient; bashful, unassuming' (*DIL* s.v.), though I am not aware of other examples with a lenited *-m-*. While not widely attested, two examples occur in the religious prose works of John Carswell, e.g. *go h-umhal ómanta* (l. 2977), *umhal orramach ómanta* (l. 3172); see R. L. Thomson (ed.), *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh* (Edinburgh, 1979). Examples are also found in the religious prose of Seaán Ó Cearnaigh, a native of Leyney, Co. Sligo, e.g. *ómánta*, *fómánta* (Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma: Seaán Ó Cearnaigh's Irish Primer of Religion, Published in 1571* (Dublin, 1994), 27.18, 53.16). See also Tomás de Bhaldraithe, 'Leabhar Charswell in Éirinn', *Éigse* 9 (1958–61), 61–7, at 66. As de Bhaldraithe notes ('Ómánta, fómánta', *Éigse* 9 (1958–61), 171), the words *umhal ómánta* occur together in Carswell. They likewise occur in close proximity in *Teallach*, suggesting that the poet may have been familiar with these religious works or may have had

connections with the region where the word was in use. See de Bhaldraithe's comment (ibid.) on *go hóghmánta* and a conversation with Seán Ó Ruadháin, author of *Pádhraic Mháire Bhán* (Dublin, 1932).

gur thóguibh-siumh an lámh ... ós a cionn uile The use of nom. sg. *lámh* where one would expect acc. sg. *láimh* may be an instance of the prevention of the use of the accusative following the verb due to the sense of an unexpressed verbal noun (*IGT* i, §76). A verbal noun *do chur* might be understood: 'he lifted the hand [to put/ stretch] over them'. Otherwise, emend to fem. acc. sg. *láimh* (*IGT* ii, §192), a reading supported by N.

gur bheannaigh iad idir fhear ⁊ mhnaoi, mhaca ⁊ inghiona The phrasing recalls the verse blessing which directly follows the description of the baptism of Aonghus in the *Leabhar Breac* (source cited above, Prose A). Cf. also Stokes, *Lismore Lives*, ll. 521–33. Comparable blessings occur in other contexts in bardic verse, e.g. *Beannacht chuca, ní cúis nár, / idir fhear is mhnaoi is mhacámh* 'A blessing to them – 'tis no mean cause! – both man and woman and youth' (*IBP* 5.9ab).

⁊ n-eagnamha for (MS fóir) a *n-uaislibh ⁊ a n-árdríoghaibh; buadh bhféile bhfairsionga* These phrases (following *n-einig*) are missing from a transcription of the text from TCD H. 6. 18 (1411) in *ABM* poem 461 (p. 647). I have confirmed that the phrases do appear in this manuscript (T) and all other primary manuscripts.

for a n-uaislibh The dat. pl. *uaislibh* and sequence of phrases with the prep. *for* (also written *fór*) supports the emendation of MS *fóir* to the prep. *for*.

for a bhfíorbhrúghadh[aibh] The second element of the compound (MS *bhfíorbhrughadh*) has been emended to dat. pl. of *brughaidh* (*IGT* ii, §21), which is in keeping with the sequence of datives following the preposition *for*. See also *ABM* 647 (col. a.2), where the emendation has been proposed.

fá sgeith Taken to be the 3 sg. pres. indic. of *sceithid* 'spews; bursts forth', preceded by the prep. *fá (fo, fa)* combined with the relative particle *a*, as Pádraig Ó Macháin has proposed to me. Compare similar images of a 'bursting forth' (*sgeith*) of 'sea-wrack' (*torchar*), signifying the fertile reign of the ruler: *Ag lenmhuin riogh don recht choir / tig a-ris rioghdha an édail / sgeith gach lantora[i]dh re a linn / 's gach leith d'fantolaigh Fheilim* 'But when a king follows a righteous path his reign will ensure the bursting forth of every full fruit – regal the bounty – in every corner of the sloping land of Feidhlim' (McManus, '"The smallest man in Ireland can reach the tops of her trees"', 69).

ann gach MS *ann* for the prep. *i* 'in' often occurs in prose before *gach*; see Ó Cuív, *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma*, 40.9, 46.13, p. 30. For an instance in verse see variant reading *ann gach*, 24a (N).

breath Reference seems to be to the saint's judgement upon Munster. It has been noted that *DIL* s.v. *breth* gives the impression that Classical Modern Irish knows only dat. sg. *breith* as nominative, though *breath* in the sense 'judgement' is standard as nominative in the poetry; see D. McManus, 'Niall Frosach's "Act of Truth": a bardic apologue in a poem for Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas († 1615)', *Ériu* 58 (2008), 133–68, at 154 (§17).

ina clár thorcharthach The idealized landscape of Fermanagh can be compared: *Pardhas Fódla Fir Mhanach*, / *clár téiglidhe torcharach* 'Fermanagh is the Paradise of *Fódla*, a tranquil, fruitful plain' (*TD* 13.1ab).

d' fhoirmhidin I have taken this as *oirmhidin* 'honour' (*DIL* s.v. *airmitiu*). Cf. *más barr é ar a n-oirmhidin* (*Content*. x, q. 15); *airmhidin* (*TSh*, 2742). Presumably here with prosthetic *f-*, or perhaps influenced by *fóiridhin* 'helping' (*IGT* ii, §184).

an Barrach Mór Dáibhídh de Barra is referred to only by the Irish title and not the English dignitary, as noted by S. H. O'Grady (*BLCat*., 1. 557). For some discussion see Introduction ('The Patron').

11a-b *mac Séamuis* Séamas son of Risteard de Barra (i.e. Richard 'of the Rath' in Ibawne), the father of the patron. For some comment on his career see Introduction.

[de Barra] Line *a* has five syllables, and alliteration within the line is wanting. The editorial addition of the surname *de Barra*, against the evidence of the manuscripts, is tentative. Cf. *ABM* 461.11a (p. 647), where the emendation has been proposed. The emendation supplies three syllables wanting in *a* (if this is an 8-syllable line) and linking alliteration between *ab.* Nevertheless, the absence of alliteration within line *a*, required in *snéadhbhairdne* and consistent within the poem (with the exception of 15a), is not resolved. It is also possible that this short line functioned as a kind of exclamatory phrase linking prose to verse, as Mícheál Hoyne suggested to me, noting that the rhyme-like echo *Séamuis / béas* (*ab*) is also of interest here and would no doubt resonate in an oral performance.

11d *call nár chuibhrigh* The subject of the 3 sg. preterite *nár chuibhrigh* is tentatively taken to be Dáibhídh de Barra, whose just reign brings about an abundance of fruit. Compare a similar theme: *barr claon far cuibhrigheadh coill* 'hero who has all hazels beneath his power'; see Lambert Mac Kenna (ed. and trans.), 'Some Irish Bardic poems', *Studies* 41 (1952), 100, q. 10c.

12ab Linking alliteration is lacking here, though alliteration within line *b* occurs as a compensation, and there is an internal rhyme between *a* and *b*. The same pattern occurs in qq. 13ab, 14ab and 16ab. For some remarks see Introduction.

12b *a shúil* The 3 sg. masc. possessive adjective is suggested by the context. Lenition has been supplied, with the support of a primary manuscript (N).

12c *gáirthe* MS *gártha* has been emended to the historical form. According to *DIL*, *gártha* is a late analogical plural of *gáir* 'shout, call' for nom. pl. *gáirthe* (*IGT* ii, §14.18); cf. *DIL* s.v. *gáir*, col. 27.38–40. This instance of pl. *gártha* and other examples which I have found in verse are not metrically confirmed, e.g. *Gártha caismeart agus crot* (*DDána* 68.33a) 'calls of battle-cries and harps'; *beidh gártha troma lá an Luain* 'there will be mournful shouts on the day of Doom' (Énrí Ó Muirgheasa (ed.), *Dánta Diadha Uladh* (Dublin, 1936), 18.7a (p. 150) (translation mine)).

13a–d Translation tentative. The poet portrays the patron as an honorable man (*fear an einigh*) who can indulge in feasting, yet is ready to shed his blood in battle; that is, he can be extroverted or sombre (*duilbhir*), as required by the occasion. It seems that a contrast is intended: the honorable man pours

out drink at a feast; the *duine duilbhir* ‘a sombre, tongue-tied man’ sheds his blood in battle. The poet seems to be saying that the patron is capable of fulfilling both roles. His prowess is not in doubt (q. 14), but his generous, gregarious manner is extolled and defended.

13c *do-bheir dáil a fhuile* I have taken *fuile* (*fola*) to be gen. sg. of *fuil* (*IGT* ii, §§42, 181), following the verbal noun *dá(i)l,* often meaning ‘bestowing’ (of drink) or ‘shedding’ (of blood); cf. *DIL* s.v. *dáilid* (b). I have taken *dáil* in the latter sense, though the poet seems to play on both senses.

13d *duilbhir* The reading in N has been adopted to restore rhyme with *chuirmdhigh*. Lit. ‘slow-of speech’, but here taken to mean ‘reticent’ or ‘unsociable’. The words *duilbhir* / *suilbhir* are often paired, e.g. *dregan is duilbhir i ttreas* / *suilbher ag eagar éicces* (TCD H.5.9 (1381), 32.1cd), ‘a warrior who is sombre in conflict [and] affable in the midst of an array of poets’ (translation mine). Tadhg mac Dáire advises his lord in similar language: *Bíodh gnúis dhorrdha ag dul i ngliaidh / leat, ... is gnúis neamhdhorcha ar fheadh n-óil* ‘Wear a grim face going into battle, ... and a bright face during drinking time’, see Nic Cárthaigh, ‘*Mór a-tá ar theagasg flatha*’, 159, q. 37. Elsewhere a poet playfully advises his patroness to sulk inappropriately at a feast: *bí duilbhir ar feadh bhfleidhe* ‘remain melancholy at the feast’ (*TD* 15.44c).

14*a t’[fh]eacht ar fhoghail* The required alliteration in *a* suggests taking MS *teacht* as *t’[fh]eacht*. Here *feacht* has been taken to mean ‘journey’ or ‘expedition’ (*DIL* s.v. *fecht* (a)). Alternatively, it may be used in the transferred sense ‘(marauding) band’ (*DIL* s.v. *fecht* (d)), referring to adherents who accompany the patron *ar fhoghail* ‘on a raid’.

14c *léir* In later texts *léir* is commonly used predicatively in the sense ‘visible, noticeable’ (*DIL* s.v. *léir*). The phrase *léir i Laighnibh* has been taken as a cheville.

i Laighnibh The allusion to Leinster(men) may not have a particular significance, but the Irish of Leinster joined with the rebels and harried the troops of the Earl of Essex (*AFM*, s.a.1599.31). The subsequent anecdote about the *sionnach* ‘fox’ might recall the plundering *Sionnaigh* ‘Foxes’ of Co. Offaly, in Leinster, but clear evidence is wanting. See note at *sionnach*, Prose B, below.

14d *fear* The stressed noun *fear* ‘man’ or ‘fellow’ is lacking a rhyming counterpart in line *c*. I cannot propose a solution. To whom *fear* refers is uncertain. Perhaps the patron, but it may be an oblique link to the *sionnach* ‘fox’, described in the subsequent prose (B). Cf. also *fear* (15c).

Prose B

For some discussion of satirical associations in the passage see Introduction. There is a curious reference to a game of ‘fox to the hole’ being played in a churchyard in Limerick, during which soldiers on guard were attacked by townsmen; see *Cal. SP Ire. 1600*, 12–4 (§7) (March 1599[–1600]). The association is tenuous, but might bear on the image of the plundering ‘fox’ (*sionnach*) and the overall comic tone.

sionnach The 'fox' seems to be a satirical allusion to Aodh Mág Uidhir (named in 16cd), as *sionnach* is used disparagingly of another Maguire: *Sionnach ar bhréine an Barún!* 'A fox for his stench is the Baron' (reference to Conor Maguire of Enniskillen); see O'Donovan, *The Tribes of Ireland*, 52–3, l. 12 and n. 3. The few references in bardic verse are likewise pejorative, e.g. *A bhrionnaigh ón a bhrionnaigh / do-ní cumann an tsionnaigh / uait-se gach olc do mhéaduigh, / a shaoghail bhréagaigh bhrionnaigh* (*DDána* 4.6) 'Oh deceiver, yes, deceiver, who befriends the fox; on account of you every evil increased, o false, deceitful world' (translation mine). Cf. also satirical portrait of the *sionnach* 'fox' (*TD* 34. 28–9), with a pun on *Sionnaigh* 'Foxes', or Muintir Thadhgáin, who are the target of Tadhg Dall's satire. Early Irish sources portray the fox as a cunning predator (Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* (Dublin, 1998), 188), and *sinnach* is a term of opprobrium in satiric epigrams; see Roisin McLaughlin (ed.), *Early Irish Satire* (Dublin, 2008), 156 (§55). Pejorative connotations are found in the Middle Irish poem *Can as ticc macc léginn,* e.g. *sinnaig imma huaga / ethait bruna bolg* (ed. Thurneysen, *MV* iii, §142). For some discussion see Introduction.

i n-am Aifrinn The allusion recalls celebrations of the Mass among the Irish troops during the Nine Years War: 'Thus O'Donnell remained until the 15th day of August, … and he observed the fast, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, as was his wont; and mass was celebrated for him and the army in general' (*AFM* s.a. 1599.33).

fhīorórdha I take the second element of the compound to be the adjective *órdha* 'golden, resembling gold' (*DIL* s.v. *órda(e)* (b)), perhaps used figuratively in the complimentary sense 'excellent, splendid' (Dinneen, s.v. *órdha*). The context does not support emending to *ortha* 'prayer', though some confusion between *ordha* and *ortha* occurs in the phrase *isin oíni órdai* 'golden Friday'(?); see *DIL* s.v. *orda(e)* (b); (*DIL* s.v. 1. *ortha*).

cáinteach Lit. 'satirical' (*DIL* s.v. *cáintech*), but *cainnteach* 'clattering' (*DIL* s.v. *cainntech*; *IGT* ii, §22), used for the sound of a bell, is the sense here. Compare its use in a wedding *crosántacht* by Ó Bruadair; cf. Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 320, q. 30ab (p. 368n.).

míchéadf[adhach] The final letters are not visible in the manuscript due to smudging and a patched margin, but the variants *mícheádfach* (T), *míchéadfadh* (N) indicate *míchéadfadh* 'ill will, grudge'; cf. *DIL* s.v. *mí-* col. 121.28. I have emended to *míchéadfadhach*, as an adjective paralleling *mailíseach* is suggested by the context. Cf. *DIL* s.v. *cétfadach*.

15a There is a syllable too many in the manuscript. Emendation to the shortened form of the copula restores the syllable count. Alliteration within line *a* is also wanting, though there is linking alliteration between lines *a* and *b*. For some discussion of the comic tone of the phrasing, see Introduction.

15b *is cúis aonaigh* Translation tentative. The lenited stroke above the *n* indicates the gen. sg. of *aonach* 'assembly' or 'fair'. O'Grady (*BLCat*., 558) translates 'it is a cause of convention', and proposes a gathering of poets, chieftains, etc. at an *oenach*. The sounding of the bell seems to be a call to

Mass, however, and I follow Seán Ó Coileáin's suggestion and take *is* as the relative of the copula (lenition of *cúis* being optional). Lit. 'which is the cause of an assembly'. The sense 'commotion' might also come into play. Cf. *déanfaidh sé aonach* 'he will create a scene' (Dinneen, s.v. *aonach*). See *fuarchúis* below.

15c *beanaidh* The verb *beanaidh* 'strikes' suggests the harvesting of nuts by striking them down from branches with sticks, a custom practised in West Cork, as Seán Ó Coileáin informs me. There is a likely echo of the striking of the church bell as a summons to Mass: *do bhí clog fíorbhinn fogharmhongrach ar bhinn an chlogáis i n-áirdtíghe sin do beantaoi i n-am Aifrinn* (Prose B).

15c *fear* Unidentified, but perhaps suggesting *fear an chloigín* 'the bellman' (Dinneen, s.v. *fear*), in this instance the 'fox', who rings the bell. The context suggests an oblique, satirical allusion to Aodh Mág Uidhir, named in the subsequent quatrain (16cd). For a satirical use of *fear* compare *Do bhí ar an fearsoin túth trom* 'There was a stench from that fellow' (*TD* 37.6a), referring humorously to rancid butter. Cf. *giolla* 'lad', referring to the 'fox' (*sionnach*) (*TD* 34. 28–9). See also Introduction (*Aodh Mhág Uidhir)* and n. 14d above.

15c *nónaidh* Emendation to Classical Modern Irish *nónaidh* (*IGT* ii, §201) restores consonance.

15d *cnuas do chraobhaibh* Abundant nut-crops signify the chieftain's righteous rule, or *fír flaithemon*, a prominent theme in the poem; cf. McManus, '"The smallest man can reach the top of her trees"', 106 (§145).

16a–c *Rug a mbí do thart ar thánuibh ... Aodh* I have taken *Aodh* (line c) as the subject of *Rug*, here used in the sense 'caused, brought about'; see *DIL* s.v. *do-beir* I (o). Lit. 'Aodh caused all that there was of thirst upon cattle'. The allusion to 'thirst upon cattle', recalls a class of images associated with *fír flaithemon*, which depict drought-like conditions resulting from extreme summer heat, compelling cattle to wander away from their young in search of water. Compare *táinte ag loighe a leapthaibh tonn* 'herds of cattle take refuge in the sea'; *táin a n-áth sreabha 'na súan* 'cattle [are] slumbering in the river-ford'; see McManus, '"The smallest man in Ireland can reach the tops of her trees"', 97 (§§104, 105). Here, however, the motif seems to be an ironic reference to the burning of lands by Aodh Mág Uidhir, which leaves lands parched and cattle plagued with thirst. Vernam Hull ('Notes in Irish Texts', *ZCP* 29 (1962), 181–91, at 190–1) has noted intriguing references to calves (*laoigh*) being kept from cows as part of a ritual lamentation for the slain hero in the early Irish tale 'The Death of Connla' and in the later *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*. The 'thirst' (*tart*) which plagues cattle (wandering away from their young) might suggest a comparable separation, but I have not found other references to the custom. I thank Ruairí Ó hUiginn for this reference.

16c *Aodh Mhág Uidhir* Most likely a reference to the chieftain of Fermanagh (1589–1600), who joined Aodh Ó Néill on a hosting in Munster in 1599. Ó Néill burned and plundered the lands of the patron, Dáibhídh mac Séamais de Barra, in reprisal for his refusal to join the rebellion; see *AFM* s.a. 1600.10; *Beatha Aodha*, i, 238–41 (§126–7). In a letter from Dáibhídh de

Barra, 'Maguire' is named among those who raided his lands Barrymore (*Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600,* 492–3 (15 February 1599[–1600])). Maguire was wounded in a skirmish with Sir Warham St Leger and died of wounds in March, 1600, near Cork; see *AFM* s.a. 1600.11; *Brit. Lib. Cat*., i, 459–60; *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, i, 238–41 (§127). Aodh Mág Uidhir was a special patron of the poet Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, who expressed fears for Aodh's life during the Munster hosting (*IBP* poem 29). For some discussion see Introduction.

16d *Aodh ós Aodhuibh* The emendation of MS *is* to the preposition *ós* 'above' is suggested by dat. pl. *Aodhuibh*, i.e. 'Aodh above [all other] Aodhs' and has been proposed by McManus and Ó Raghallaigh (*ABM* poem 461, p. 710 n. 16d). Praise of *Aodh* (16c) is reminiscent of the dedicatory quatrains which Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa promised to Aodh Mág Uidhir, for which see P. A. Breatnach, 'A covenant between Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa and Aodh Mág Uidhir', *Éigse* 27 (1993), 59–66. The presence of such a quatrain in *Teallach* is not an argument for Ó hEódhusa's authorship, however, as other poets sought Aodh's patronage. Dat. pl. *Aodhuibh* might refer to the northern chieftains Aodh Ó Domhnaill and Aodh Ó Néill, but a similar phrase is applied to others of that name, e.g. *Tú an t-Aodh ōs gach Aodh eile* 'thou art the Aodh excelling every other Aodh'; see Peter O'Dwyer (ed.), 'A vision concerning Hugh O'Connor († 1309)', *Éigse* 5 (1946), 79–91, at 86, q. 37a. Allusions to *An dá Aodh* 'the two Aodhs' occur in poems by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, e.g. *In dá Aodh dá ttugas tol* (*LBranach* poem 47, l. 4438); *An dá Aodh dob annsa liom* (*LBranach*, poem 60, l. 6082); *In dá Aodh do imthigh uaim* (*LBranach* poem 59, l. 5894). The difficulty in identifying which Aodh is referred to has been noted (*LBranach*, p. 404, s.v. *Aodh*).

17a *fuarchúis* Interestingly, the only other example of the compound which I have found in verse is from Dáibhídh Ó Bruadair's poems: *ag iarraidh taise 's budh fuarchúis dáibh*, where it has been translated 'scant cause' (*DÓB* iii, 224.14); cf. *DIL* s.v. *úar,* compds (a). The echo of *cúis* (19b) seems intentional, suggesting (with satirical intent?) that the ringing of the bell (Prose B), the assembly, the striking down of nuts and the poet's own ramblings all comprise the nonsense.

17c *chá[i]ch* I emend MS *chách* to gen. sg. *cháich*, as suggested by the context.

17d *fáith* I tentatively emend MS *rígh* to *fáith* (: *cháich*) 'seer', used elsewhere in a general sense to praise a chieftain, e.g. *a fhádh eoil gach ealadhna* 'o instructor in every art' (*DMhéigUidhir* 19.14d). Cf. *fáidh, fáith* (*IGT* ii, §112, §38). The emendation is somewhat intrusive, but the scribe may have erroneously written *rígh*, influenced by *rígh* in 18c.

18c *fosadh* The required alliteration supports MS *fosaig*, which has been emended to *fosadh* (: *do-san*). See *IGT* ii, §142.

18d *dleaghair* Emendation of MS *dleaghthar* to *dleaghair* is supported by rhyme with *deabhaidh*. For interchangeable passive forms in some verbs, including *dlighir (-thear) / dleagha(i)r*, see *TD* i, p. lxxix (*dlighim*); *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §7.3 (p. 398).

19c *armthuigh* Consonance is lacking. The context suggests a form of *armaigh*, gen. sg. of the *o-ā* adj. *armach* 'armed' (*DIL* s.v.), used in a complimentary sense for a warrior, e.g. *do threibh Bhríain mheic Eochaidh armuigh* (*O'Reilly Poems* poem 28, l. 3227). Medial *-th-* may arise though the influence of *armthae*, participle of *armaidh* (*DIL* s.v. 1. *armaid*). The long vowels in the rhyming words *díormaibh* : *ríoghnaibh* suggest dialectical lengthening of the vowel in the stressed syllable. For possible traces of the spoken language compare *túrnadh* (22d).

20c The line is wanting a syllable. I have supplied the 3 sg. masc. possessive adjective, which is suggested by lenition of *beōil* in two primary manuscripts.

fichidh falta I emend MS *fiucha* to 3sg. pres. indic. *fichidh* 'seethes' (*IGT* iii, §71), rhyming with *crithir* (*IGT* ii, §163), and followed by *falta*, acc. pl. of *fala* (*IGT* ii, §4). Compare the similar praise of a chieftain: *gus beithrioch fichidh fala, / crithir fheithmhioch iomghona* 'Resentment seethes the fierceness of a bear, a wary flame of slaughter' (*LBranach* poem 50, ll. 4793–4) (translation mine).

21a *seabhac aille* The reading *aille* (TN) is adopted here. Compare *Seabhac aille Esa Ruaidh* 'the hawk of the cliff of Eas Ruaidh' (*DMhéigUidhir* 22.37a, reference from P. A. Breatnach).

gábhadh Rhyme with *bádhadh* supports the emendation to acc. sg. masc. *gábhadh* 'danger' (*IGT* ii, §11 (p. 55)). Cf. *DIL* s.v. *gábud*.

21c *do thaobhadh* MS *do thaobhaibh* 'at the sides/edges' is awkward in the context, and I have not found comparable descriptions in verse. The proposed emendation to the verbal noun *taobhadh* 'drawing near to, approaching' (*DIL* s.v. *taebad*) restores consonance and suits the sense. Lit. 'a quick flame that is hottest for approaching/ drawing near', refering to the heat of the patron's battle-fury, which wards off enemies. Compare the sense 'approaching (in battle)' in the following: *Go mac Seaáin na slegh gcorcra / i gcrúas teannta ní thiad slóigh, / dá bhfaghthur leo é 'na aonur, / 'sé san ghleo ná taobhadh tóir* (Ó Donnchadha, *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe*, 29.2) 'Hosts do not go to the son of Seán of the crimson spears in a hard contest; if he is found by them on his own, let not a pursuing party approach [him] in the conflict' (translation mine). I thank Damian McManus for this example.

21d *bádhadh* MS *báthadh* has been emended to a permissible variant of the preterite passive (*IGT* iii, §71).

22a *Aoife* One of the woman warriors who trained Cú Chulainn in the arts of warfare, e.g. *'Indat mebair-siu itir,' bar Fer Diad, 'isna airigthib gascid danímmís ac Scáthaig & ac Úathaig & ac Aífe?'* '"Do you remember at all" said Fer Diad, "the choice feats of arms which we practised with Scáthach and Úathach and Aífe?"'; see Cecile O'Rahilly (ed. and trans.), *Táin Bó Cualnge from the Book of Leinster* (Dublin, 1967), 222.3089–90; cf. also *in gae Aífe* (ibid., 196.2068–70). I have not found other references to the warrior Aoife in bardic verse, but Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir is likened to Cú Chulainn in similar praise: *buaidh na con 'gun choin oile / 's gan dol ar sgoil Sgáthoighe*

'one hound has the other's virtues, without having gone to Scáthach's school' (*DMhéigUidhir* 17.35cd (ll. 1991–2)).

22b *diúltadh* Rhyme with *túrnadh* (see n. 22d below) is imperfect and medial consonants are not of the same class. Consonance with *fuilngeadh* and a possible rhyme *diultadh* : *turnadh* suggest a short vowel in the stressed syllable, but examples in bardic verse do not confirm vowel quantity, e.g. *do dhiult dá dúil n-ochónaidh* (*O'Hara* 25.2b); *in ghéc nár dhiult re ndámhaibh* (*DMhéigUidhir* 1.43b (l. 174)). Rhymes with a long vowel are inconclusive, e.g. *diúltar : diúltadh* (*DDána* 24.13ab).

22c *fuilngeadh* There is an extra syllable in the line. MS *fuilingeadh* has been emended to preterite passive *fuilngeadh* (*IGT* iii, ex. 441), which restores the required disyllabic final. Lit. '(that) was not endured', i.e. 'unendurable'.

22d *túrnadh* The vowel in the stressed syllable was historically short (*IGT* iii, §55).

23a *Bradán beathadh ban* MS *bheatha* has been emended to gen. sg. *beathadh* (*IGT* ii, §7). I cannot explain the lenition following masc. *o*-stem *bradán* (MS *bradán bheatha bhán*), and have adopted the reading in N.

23b The reading of N, masculine *urradh* (*IGT* ii, §11), has been adopted.

23c *ní fhaghmuid* Emendation to *-fhaghmuid*, 1 pl. dependent form of *do-gheibh* (*IGT* iii, §22) is supported by the context and restores consonance. Cf. *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §7.20.

breith [a] bhuaidh The line is short a syllable. Addition of the poss. adj. 3 sg. masculine is supported by the lenition of *buaidh* and comparable examples from verse, e.g. *Ní fhéd énlaoch a n-am gleóidh / breith a bhuaidh d'áis ná d'aimhdheóin* (*LBranach* poem 48, ll. 4462–3); *Ní bu móide a mhídheithfir, / breith [a] bhuadha a mbeirn gaisgidh* (*LBranach* poem 67, ll. 6766–7) (reference from Pádraig Ó Macháin).

23d *caor chruaidh chomhraig* A eulogistic metaphor referring to a weapon of battle, but also a crafted object apparently consisting of variegated colours, e.g. *tréde neimthigedar cerdai: fige ronn, caer comraic, plett for faebur* 'Three things that constitute an artificer: weaving chains, a mosaic ball, an edge upon a blade' (Meyer, *Triads*, §121), which is glossed: *Raed cruinn go ccomhtharrachtain d'iomat dath ann*' (ibid., p. 39) 'a globular object with converging lines of many colours in it' (translation mine); cf. *DIL* s.v. *cáer*. Compare *in choer comraic i fhuilet .uiii. ndatha* (*Leabhar Breac*, 108b, l. 20) 'the missile in which there are eight colours'. Used figuratively to extol Colum Cille: *in choer comraic rohecradh o thaillnibh ⁊ o danuibh ecsamla in Spirta Nóim* 'the brand of battle set forth with the divers gifts of the Holy Ghost' (*Lismore Lives*, ll. 737–8). The image may be introduced to praise the multifaceted personality and attributes of the patron (qq. 22–23). For some discussion see Introduction.

24c The line has a syllable too many. I have removed the emphasizing suffix *-sa* (MS *damhsa*).

24d *leanb* Emendation to *leanb* (*IGT* ii, §15) restores internal rhyme. Emphasis seems to be, as Damian McManus suggested to me, on the patron's

adaptability, i.e. he can be childlike when among children (24d), regal when among kings (25d).

25c *beag do luighe do-ní ar naomhaibh* Lit. 'small is the amount of swearing on [the] saints that he does'. The context indicates the verbal noun *luighe* 'act of swearing' rather than 'lying' (*IGT* iii, §74). The poet seems to be saying that, as the patron's reign is prosperous, he rarely needs to seek the intercession of the saints for delivery from misfortune. I acknowledge Máire Ní Mhaonaigh's suggestions on the sense of the quatrain.

rí Emendation of MS *rígh* to nom. sg. *rí* restores the syllable count and rhyme (internal).

26c *do-níd* The verb *do-ní* is taken in the sense 'observes, performs' (*DIL* s.v. *do-gní*, col. 289 (xi)). By observing the heavenly bodies, the learned seers of Barrymore discern the customary behaviour of the sun; that is, to shine indiscriminately upon high born and low born. The subsequent prose develops the theme.

[is] a The line is wanting a syllable. The conjunction *is* (for *agus*) has been supplied; cf. *ABM* 461. 26c (p. 648).

fátha The emendation of MS *fádha* to *fátha*, acc. pl. of *fáith* 'seer, prophet', restores internal rhyme with *gnátha*.

fíre MS *fíora* has been emended to the gen. sg. of the noun *fír*e (*DIL* s.v.), restoring consonance. The gen. sg. occurs commonly as an adjective (*DIL* s.v. *fíre*, col. 149.76–8), and could be translated 'true [seers]'.

Prose C

The laws of the sun, which shines on all without regard to status, serve as a model for the patron's equitable, prosperous rule. I cannot identify a particular source of the passage, though references to the omens of heavenly bodies occur frequently in the tale *In Cath Catharda*, where soothsayers (*faithi*) are summoned to discern their meaning (*CCath*., ll. 848–52; 921–7, 1004–7). The tale was known to the poet (see Prose D, note). Prose C shows a particular concern with the rank of poets and entertainers (see notes below).

innte The 3 sg. fem. prep. pron. is taken to refer to *gnúis* 'face', though could refer to fem. sg. *grian* 'sun', personified in the passage.

is cearcall sgeimhealbhreágha MS *sgímheal-* has been taken to be *sgeimheal*. Compare *cearcall theineadh mun dteach / 'n-a sgeimheal leathtrom luaimneach* (*AithD.* 3.18). For its use in a compound compare *co sgíathuib sgemelbrectha* 'edge-speckled' (*Fianaig.* 72.4), cited in *DIL* s.v. *sceimel.*

Óir mar do-<*gh*>*nīdh* The letters <*gh*> are not visible due to wearing on the margin of the manuscript, but non-Classical *do-ghnídh* is suggested by the subsequent parallel phrase *do-ghnídh sé réir ⁊ róthoil*.

toil an rí[o]gh ⁊ an ródhuine, an fhile[adh] ⁊ an ollamhan MS *rígh* and *file* have been emended to Classical Irish gen. sg. *ríogh* and *fhileadh* (*IGT* ii, §21). The use of nominative forms for genitive singular occurs commonly in later non-Classsical prose; cf. *Parl. na mBan*, 243 s.v. *rí*; 219 s.v. *file*. Cf. also *-rí[o]gh* (29a). MS *ollamhuin* shows a similar confusion, where acc. sg. (or nom. pl.) *n*-stem *ollamhuin* is used for gen. sg. *ollamhan*.

óinsídhe I have taken MS *hóinnsuídhe* to be a later plural of *óinseach* 'jongleur' (*IGT* ii, §12), comparable to plural forms found in prose texts; cf. *SnaG* Chapter IV, 366 (§4.9). For later plural formations *-eadha, -aighe, -aí* see *Párl. na mBan*, 161. The pejorative sense of the modifying adjectives suggests a performer of low rank.

annraidhte MS *annráidhte* has been taken to be the plural of *ánradh, ánrath*, also *annradh*, *annrath* (*IGT* ii, §11 n. 1), a 'poet of the second order', which I translate loosely as 'rhymers'. Compare *do scoil ollaimh nó ánraith (: dánboith)* (*IGT* ii, ex. 354), though its pairing with *ollamh* in the latter example indicates a poet of considerable status.

do-ghnídh sé réir ⁊ róthoil an chearrbhaigh mheisgeamhuil ... ⁊ na hóinsídhe úd maille ... ⁊ an <bháird> bhéilbhrisg, etc. The enumeration of poets of various ranks (*ollamh*, *anradh*, *bard*) and lower entertainers, i.e. *cearrbhach*, *óinseach* recalls a description of the different classes attracted to the house of Maol Mórdha Mac Suibhne in a *crosántacht* ascribed jointly to Tadhg mac Dáire and Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn; see Ó Macháin, 'The poetry of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn', 75–8. Compare a similar host of entertainers, e.g. *óinmhid, geócach, cearrbhach* (*Poems Butlers* 19.14–17). A prose passage in Ó Bruadair's wedding *crosántacht* 'Iomdha sgéimh ar chur na cluana' contains a similar enumeration, though *ollamh, cearrbhach* and *óinseach* appear side by side in the account without any particular distinction; see M. Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 173–4, 218–19 (Prose E), 257 (notes on *ollamh, cearrbhach*, *geócach*). For a portrait of poems and lays *i mbéalaibh reacaireadh is ríogh-bhard* 'chanted by [lit. 'on the lips of'] reciters and royal-bards' at a feast attended by nobles and rabble see *DDána* no. 111[Prose], pp. 383–4. Cf. Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair,* 168–70. The topic of poets, bards and entertainers is being examined by Mícheál Hoyne in a forthcoming study.

saith A common later form of *saich* (*DIL* s.v.), influenced by and often in combination with *maith*, and designating one of low rank, e.g. *lán a maith 's a saith dar seirc-ne* (*DDána* 111.40c *(crosántacht)*). Lambert McKenna proposes a development of *saith* 'olc' ('evil, bad') > *íseall* 'low'(?); cf. *DDána*, 599 s.v. *saith*. Cf. *Oraibh idir mhaith is saith, idir urradh is ard-fhlaith* 'On you all noble and humble, chiefs and princes', though *saith* is editorial in the latter example (*Content.* ii, 29.2ab, n.1).

dé féin Rhyming examples in Old, Middle and Classical Modern Irish support the long vowel of MS *dé* 'from him'; see Liam Breatnach, 'On words ending in a stressed vowel in Early Irish', *Ériu* 53 (2003), 133–42, at 135. This example of *dé* in prose is of interest in light of a recent examination of the forms *dé/de* in Classical and Early Modern Irish, and the survival of *dé* (beside the more common *de*) in Late Modern Irish; see M. Hoyne, 'On stressed monosyllables ending in a short vowel', *Celtica* 28 (2016), 186–200, at 188–9, 196.

<mha>t<ha> The final phrase of the prose is only partially legible in A and missing in N. It is legible in T: *mhath=asé an toineach*. I tentatively read *mhatha* 'noble', taking it as dat. pl. (= acc. pl.) of the adjective *maith*

(*SnaG*, Chapter IV, §5.5). Acc. pl. *matha* is elsewhere supported by rhyme, e.g. *Ní aoraim-se acht mná matha* (: *fhlatha*); see O'Donovan, *The Tribes of Ireland*, 40, l. 9. This part of the text may be corrupt, however.

27 Quatrain 27 consists of two (rather than the usual four) lines in ATN. These two lines are missing in L, where they were probably omitted by the later scribe who regarded the quatrain as incomplete. Alliteration in the second line and the internal rhyme *mbear* : *gheal* conforms to the usual metrical pattern in lines *cd* of *Teallach*. I tentatively take them as representing lines *cd* here. This metrical pattern does occur occasionally in lines *ab*, however; see 12ab, 13ab, 14ab, 16ab. For what might be construed as line *b* (MS *asé an t-oineach*) see below.

27b *<is é> an t-oineach* This line is written in the MS as the final phrase of Prose C, but seems somewhat disconnected from what precedes. It is only partially visible in A and is omitted in N. The clearest reading is supplied by T, but the arrangement of the words at the margins of T (i.e. *math=asé* ...) adds to the uncertainty. The manuscript readings suggest that the scribes were confused by their exemplar.

I tentatively propose that line *a* (and perhaps some word(s) at the end of the prose) may have dropped out in the course of transmission, and take *is é an t-óineach* to be line *b* of quatrain 27, possibly misplaced in the manuscript: lit. 'he/it is the generosity', where *é* is taken to refer to the patron, extolled as a paradigm of munificence. I have not found other examples of *an t-oineach* used in the sense 'the generous one', though *is é an t-óglách* (37d) forms an interesting parallel. Metrically, l. 27b conforms to the usual four syllable structure of the short line. The final rhyme *oineach* : *groidheach* (lines *bd*) lends further support, and the rhyming pair occurs elsewhere (*IGT* ii, ex. 1059). The phrase could be an extension of the prose, however, with *oineach* (the final word of the prose) rhyming with *groidheach* (line *b*) of the two line quatrain as Gordon Ó Riain and Mícheál Hoyne suggested to me. Such metrical links at the juncture of prose and verse in *crosántacht* have been noted by Alan Harrison, *An Chrosántacht* (Dublin, 1979), 26–7 (reference from Mícheál Hoyne). The question of intermediate phrases linking prose and verse in *crosántacht*, audible in an oral performance, is being explored by Mícheál Hoyne. Cf. also n. 11a above.

27d *don gheal ghroidheach* The substantive of the adjective *geal* is here applied to the patron, who is extolled as *groidheach* 'rich in horses' (*DIL* s.v. *graigech*), an image of his wealth and generosity to poets. Compare *Leanfad feasda an geal groidheach / an tAodh áluinn Osraigheach* 'I will follow henceforth the fair one rich in horses: fair Aodh of Ossory' (T. Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach* (Dublin, 1942), 177, q. 198ab). Translation mine.

28b *'s é a-dearar* The line has a syllable too many. MS *asé* has been emended to the shortened form of the copula. I have taken the masculine singular pronoun as referring generally to the topic of the quatrain, i.e. the exemplary behaviour of the Barrys.

28a *breath* See note on *breath* (Prose A).

28c *moghadh* MS *moghaidh* has been emended to *moghadh* (*IGT* ii, §21), taken to be genitive plural, though genitive singular *moghadh* is also possible. Cf. *mac moghadh* (*IGT* ii, exx. 566, 790).

29a *airdrí[o]gh* The context suggests gen. sg. *-ríogh* (*IGT* ii, §21).

29b *ní dáil fhaoisimh* I have taken *dál* in the sense 'dispensing, bestowing' (*DIL* s.v. 4. *dál*). Lit. 'it is not a dispensing of respite/ relief', i.e. 'it is a ceaseless / unrelieved bestowing [of hospitality]', translated loosely here as 'it is a demanding task'. The phrase *dál faoisimh* occurs elsewhere, e.g. *do lámh fan ccráoisigh na cearchuill / as dál fáoisimh d'ealchuing é* 'relieves the *a*. of its weight' (?) (*IGT* ii, ex. 876; cf. *DIL* s.v. *alchaing*). The message here seems to be that the chieftain has no respite from the obligation to provide hospitality to the highking and poet – an obligation set out in Prose C. The passage suggests the poet's familiarity with earlier legal stipulations associated with the entertainment of the lord; see *DIL* s.v. *fáes(s)am* (c) 'protection', col. 15.62.

29c *a gcor tar an gcúis-sin* Translation tentative. MS *cur* has been emended to the variant *cor* (*DIL* s.v. *cor*), rhyming with *tol* (see n. 29d below). The verb *cuirid* is used with the prep. *tar* in the abstract sense 'put past' (*DIL* s.v. *tar* III. (e), col. 74.60–8), suggesting 'to put them past that matter/obligation', i.e. 'to exempt them (i.e. the Barrys) from that matter' (?). The Barrys (q. 28) follow the will of the chieftain, which is to maintain poets regardless of rank.

29d MS *toil* is emended to the masculine *u*-stem singular *tol* (*IGT* ii, §95), rhyming with *cor* (line *c*). Here *tol an taoisigh* 'the will of the chieftain' seems to refer to Dáibhídh de Barra's desire that all be treated hospitably.

30a *toil* The notable repetition of *toil* / *tol* (28c, 29a, 29d, 30a, 30c) emphasises the chieftain's obligation to provide hospitality not only to kings and poets (q. 29), but also to lower entertainers and fools (q. 30).

30ad *réir* The later meaning 'hospitality' and 'maintenance of poets' (*DIL* s.v. *ríar* (d), col. 60) suits the context, but the earlier legal sense 'stipulation, demand' (*DIL* s.v. *ríar* (b)) may also come into play.

théid toil Lit. 'who goes the will' (?), tentatively taken to mean 'who heeds /responds to the will' (?). Possibly relevant is the opposite sense of *téighim tar* 'I neglect, I snub' (*O'Hara* 7.22b; p. 383 n. 1350); cf. *Mairg théid tar toil a athar* (*DDána* 40.1a) 'woe to whomever neglects the will of his father'.

30c The permitted variant *riaghal* (*IGT* ii, §§10, 37) restores consonance.

30d *ríobhan* MS *rígbhean* has been emended to gen. pl. *ríobhan*, which restores rhyme with *fíoradh*. See *DIL* s.v. *rígh-*.

31d Alliteration in *d* is wanting. I cannot propose a solution.

32a *an bhean shiubhail* MS *tsiubhail* must be read as *shiubhail* for linking alliteration between lines *ab*. Prefix *t* to *sh* is restricted in Classical Irish to *sh-* '*sonnartha',* that is, when it follows the article directly, e.g. *an tshleagh ghorm* (nom. sg. fem.). It is clear from teachings in *IGT* i, §69, however, where usages such as *bean tsháor* are prohibited, that it was in use in the spoken language (Brian Ó Cuív**,** 'The linguistic training of the mediaeval Irish poet', *Celtica* 10 (1973), 114–40, at 124–5; *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §3.5). The prefix *t-* has similarly

spread to *an bhean tsiubhail*, where the prefix *t-* after *bean* mimics the prefix *t-* following the article *an*. For some discussion see Mac Cárthaigh, *The Art of Bardic Poetry*, p. 96, ll. 652–3; pp. 235–6 (n. 652–3).

32b *aisgidh* MS *aisge* has been emended to acc. sg. fem. *aisgidh* (*IGT* ii, §149) rhyming with *aisdir*.

32c *aithne an iosda[i]dh* MS *íosdagh* has been emended to *iosdaidh*, gen. sg. of *iosdadh* (*IGT* ii, §11 (p. 54.1)), which restores consonance. Lit. 'to know the abode/ lodging', where the sense seems to be that entertainers are well-satisfied and go on their way, without the need to linger within the host's dwelling awaiting hospitality.

33c *ní fheadar cia dhíobh is díogha*: Lit. 'I do not know who /which of them is worse', very likely intended humorously, such ironic praise being common in *crosántacht*. The poet seems to be saying that the Barrys are so alike in their generosity that he cannot discern the worst among them. Compare the similar (though less witty) praise of a family: *nī haithne dhamh dhíobh díogha* (*O'Reilly Poems* 27.13a (l. 3161) 'I know no refuse among them'.

33d *[n]daonda* MS *daonna* has been adjusted for rhyme; cf. *aonda* : *ndaonda* (*DDána* 61.14bd). Eoin Mac Cárthaigh points out (*The Art of Bardic Poetry*, 257 (n. 921–2)) that *dáonna* (< *dáondha*) is common and was presumably accepted as *canamhain*. The form *daonna* occurs in a *crosántacht* by Dáibhí Ó Bruadair; cf. *DIL* s.v *doénda* (c); Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 316 [Prose A]. For its possible use as an abstract noun see *daonna*, n. 5d above.

34*c is fhearr* Editorial lenition following the relative of the copula (*as* / *is*) supplies alliteration in *c*. Such lenition is required according to bardic teaching (*IGT* i, §90; *BST* §199.11), though Ó hEódhusa (*Rudimenta*, 2087–91) adds that it was a choice for the poet (*SnaG*, Chapter IV, §3.2 (g)).

[*io*]*ná* Emendation of MS *ná* to Classical Irish *ioná* supplies the missing syllable. Although *ná* in place of *ioná* is condemned in the Irish Grammatical Tracts (*IGT* v, §12), some examples are found in verse; see *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §5.8; cf. Gordon Ó Riain 'Dán Réitigh le Conchobhar Ruadh Mac Con Midhe († 1481)', in P. A. Breatnach, C. Breatnach, M. Ní Úrdail (eds), *Léann Lámhscríbhinní Lobháin* (Dublin, 2007), 54–75, at 71 n. 27c.

34bd *cridhe* MS *croidhe* has been emended to the permitted variant *cridhe* (*IGT* ii, §2 (39.20)).

dile I have emended MS *dísle* to *dile,* comparative of the adj. *dil* 'beloved', against the evidence of the manuscripts. The rule that *-s-* be present in both rhyming words, is ignored here, but is observed elsewhere in the poem, e.g. *dísle* : *tírse* (31bd); *aisgidh* : *aisdir* (32bd), and vowels in the stressed syllable do not agree in quantity. Rhyming examples in verse also support the emendation, e.g. *na mná is dile* (: *cridhe*) *ar domhan* (*Measgra Dánta* I, 16.10d); *ag so an Fear is dile* (: *chridhe*) *dhuibh* (*Dánta Grádha* 105.7cd).

35a *barr láimhe* Lit. 'top of hand', tentatively taken here to refer to 'victory in combat'.

35c *ní fhagha* MS *bhfágha* has been emended to *fhagha*, 3 sg. dependent present subjunctive of *do-gheibhim / -faghbhaim* 'gets, finds'. Examples of the

apparent 'eclipsis' following *ní* are late, and in Munster have been extended to the *fa-* forms of the verb, e.g. *ní bhfaghaim*, as noted by T. F. O'Rahilly (*Irish Dialects*, 45); cf. *ní bhfagha mé go dtí an brách* (*Dánta Grádha* 78.2d). In Classical Irish verse lenition is found, e.g. *ní fhagha tú a threabh Chaisil* (Lambert McKenna, *Dánta do chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh* (Dublin, 1919), 52.8c). See also *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §3.3. Terence McCaughey has revisited O'Rahilly's study, focusing on the form *ní bhfuil* and arguing that an originally eclipsed form existed long before the fifteenth century and, together with the tendency to semi-vocalize *u-* (not only in Munster but elsewhere in Gaelic) exerted some force on the emergence of forms *ní bhfuair, ní bhfuighidh,* etc. See McCaughey, 'Ní bhfuil', in James Carney and David Greene (eds), *Celtic Studies: Essays in Memory of Angus Matheson 1912–1962* (London, 1968), 72–5 (reference from Ruairí Ó hUiginn).

a dhá n-uimhir uadha Consonance is restored by adjusting MS *uatha* to the permitted variant *uadha*, 3 pl. prep. pron. of *ó* 'from', referring to the Barrys (qq. 33–4). Lit. 'their two numbers of them'. The lenition of *dá* following what I have taken to be the possessive adj. 3 pl. reflects Modern Irish usage, rather than the earlier system *a ndá uimhir*; cf. Osborn Bergin, 'Varia II.', *Ériu* 11 (1932), 146 (§11). One could restore nasalization following the 3 pl. poss. adjective, but both systems are found in Classical Irish verse (*SnaG*, Chapter IV, §8.3).

35d *ruirigh* MS *rúighrí* has been emended to *ruirigh*, nom. pl. of *ruireach* (*DIL* s.v. *ruirech*), rhyming with *uimhir* (line *c*).

ríodha End-rhyme with *síodha* (35b) supports the emendation MS *ríogdha* to the *io-ia* adjective *ríodha* (*DIL* s.v. *rígda*(*e*), *rída*). Compare *ríodha : síodha* (*TD* i, 16.3cd).

36c *an t-oireacht*: MS *an doíreacht* has been emended to masculine *an t-oireacht* (*IGT* ii, §24), referring to the assembly (of supporting nobles (*DIL* s.v 1. *airecht*). See *oireacht*, note on q. 9c. The poet's praise for their winning a 'palm for deeds' suggests a reference to persons of rank, and I fail to find examples of *doíreacht* in bardic verse. See *DIL* s.v. *doírecht* = *doíre* 'bondage' which gives only one late example from Ó Bruadair's verse: *daoireacht meardhána na mac* (*DOB* ii, 136, q. 15c). The initial *d* might be a mistranscription of *t* following the definite article, perhaps influenced by *daor* 'lowborn, serf' in the final lines of Prose C.

37b *dreach* MS *dfeach* is taken to be a scribal error for *dreach* 'face, countenance', which supplies linking alliteration between *ab* and refers in a complimentary sense to the patron. Compare *Brian Mhac Donnchaidh dreach mar ghrís* (*Magauran* 2. 45a). The line-internal alliteration supplied by *d' fheac* would only occur in *b* in conjunction with internal rhyme between *ab*.

37c The line is short a syllable. I cannot propose a solution.

Prose D

The prose passage is not found in N, though N does include the quatrains which immediately follow the prose. The passage appears in all other manuscripts of the poem. The story of Antaeus is drawn from *In Cath Catharda* (*CCath.,* 220–9, ll. 2874–989), the Middle Irish adaptation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*

(Book IV, ll. 586–660). This is a rare reference to Antaeus in Classical Irish verse, though other allusions to *In Cath Catharda* occur frequently in poems of the later bardic period, e.g. *dál an Chatha Chatharda* (*TD* i, 18.17d), *D'úabhar na n-airdríogh n-amhra* / *cuirthear an cath catharda* (*O'Reilly Poems* poem 25, ll. 2885–6); cf. Carney, *The Irish Bardic Poet*, 36. For a discussion of the episode and sources see Introduction.

Anteus mac Tíre Antaeus 'son of of the land', with a possible pun on Irish *mac tíre* 'wolf' (see note below). For a description of this warrior see *CCath*. ll. 2881–989. Elsewhere the name Antaeus appears as *Anteón* (Stern (ed.), 'Über eine Sammlung irischer Gedichte in Kopenhagen', *ZCP* 2 (1899), 361–5 (§36)), the form *Anteón* (*Antheon*) also occurring in French and English versions of the legend; see Quin (ed.), *Stair Ercuil*, p. xxvi (§23). 'Ainntius' is the form in the latter text (*Stair Ercuil*, 122–3), with 'Anntenon' occurring once (ibid., p. xxvi (§23), p. 50, l. 923), though not in the context of the Classical tale of Antaeus.

iollrachtach A slender medial *-r-* is elsewhere supported by rhyme, e.g. *ná i Ráith ilreachtaigh* (: *tirmleapthaigh*) *Eochuill* 'or in the many-shaped castle of Eochall' (*TD* 40.21). Cf. *DIL* s.v. *il* col. 61.28–34, where examples *ilreachtach* 'many-formed' (?); very-frenzied' are cited. The broad *-r-* suggests the influence of Mod. Ir. *racht*; see *DIL* s.v. *recht* 2 'a paroxysm, outburst (of anger, passion)', where examples suggest some confusion of *reacht* 'paroxysm' and *richt* m. 'form' (gs. / npl. *reachta*) (*IGT* ii, §71). Reference seems to be to the twisting paroxysm of Antaeus, comparable, perhaps, to the *riastrad* of Cú Chulainn: *Is and so cétriastartha im Choin Culaind co ndearna uathbásach n-ilrechtach n-ingantach n-anaichnid de* 'the a great distortion came upon Cú Chulainn so that he became horrible, many-shaped, strange and unrecognizable'; see Cecile O'Rahilly (ed. and trans.), *Táin Bó Cúailnge*: *Recension 1* (Dublin, 1976), 68 (ll. 2245–6); cf. *DIL* s.v. 2. *rechtach*.

hAfraice The mark of length (MS *Áfraice*) has been removed, with the support of a primary manuscript (T). Cf. also *san tseanAfraig gainmhigh gil* (*TD* 1.19c), cited n. 3d above. Africa is the geographical setting of the legend of Antaeus (*CCath*, ll. 2872–3). The tale is narrated to the warrior Curio by a native inhabitant of Africa, who explains the origin of the name *Carrac Anteus* 'the Rock of Antaeus' (*CCath*, l. 2888).

mac Tíre Lit. 'son of the land'. Compare *Coraidh ingnad bai isin tir-si gan athair, gan mathair daenna occa ... Anteus mac Terrae a ainm* (*CCath*., ll. 2893–95). A pun on Irish *mac tíre* 'wolf' (*DIL* s.v. *mac* III(a)) is likely, as Antaeus is depicted as a brutish, cave-dwelling strongman who feeds on wild animals (*CCath.,* ll. 2905–911). Cf. n. 38b below. For some discussion see Introduction.

dhuineata The formation *duineata* 'human' is censured as *lochtach* in the Irish Grammatical Tracts (*IGT* i, §95), though its use is acknowledged *(gē chumt[h]ur íad*); see Mac Cárthaigh, *The Art of Bardic Poetry*, p. 116 (ll. 921–2). Mac Cárthaigh (ibid., p. 257 (n. 921–2)) has noted the dearth of examples of *duineata* (and *duineadha*) in poems composed in *dán díreach*. I note an instance

of *duineata* in the opening line of one poem (*dán díreach* / *deibhidhe*): *Dreám dhuineata an dá Dhiarmaid / laoiche uaisle d'fuil fhírfhialbhoig*; it also recurs as a *dúnadh*: *dar leamsa is dream dhuineata* (: *sreabha*), with the latter rhyme suggesting *duineadha* (RIA 23 D 4 (5), fol. 348, ll. 10–11; 354, ll. 7–8). Cf. *ABM* 200.1a, 41d (pp. 262–4).

cleaslúithreacha The compound *cleas* 'feat, trick' + *lúithreach* 'hinge, pivot' is used figuratively to describe the contortions of Antaeus. See *DIL* s.v. *lúthrach,* where an example with slender medial consonants occurs in a poem by Dáibhídh Ó Bruadair: *lúithreach a lúbghort ar ndeagailt* (*DOB* i, 160.12). I have not found examples in bardic verse.

colgladarthacha 'grasping of spear' (?). The second element of the compound is taken to be an adjective formed from *ladar* 'a scoop' and also 'the palm and fingers taken loosely' (Dinneen s.v. *ladar*). Elsewhere with a lenited *-d-,* 'fork or space between the fingers; grip, grasp' (*DIL* s.v. *ladar*). Compare *Tuillidh sí ar lár a ladhra . gallgha 's as lán dí a derna* (*IGT* ii, ex. 967) 'It fits into the middle of his grasp, a foreign spear which fills his palm.'

ēachtmhóra There is no mark of length in the manuscripts, but *éacht* 'slaying' or 'exploit, deed of valour' (*DIL* s.v. *écht*) suits the context.

āithiosacha MS *aitiosacha* is tentatively taken to be *áitheasacha* 'triumphant' (*DIL* s.v. *áithesach*). Alternatively, *aithiseach* 'abusive' (*DIL* s.v. *aithisech*), e.g. *agus arís go bhfuilim / aithiseach tarsna im threabhadh* 'that I am insolent, crooked in my ploughing' (*Content*. i, 16.4bc).

anbhāil MS *anbhail* is taken to be an adjective of vague meaning common in bardic verse in the sense 'mighty' or 'terrible' (*DIL* s.v. *anbáil*).

d'ionnsuíghe Abbreviated in MS A as *dionc* (with a stroke over the *c*), but the reading is clear in T.

churantacht A by-form of *curatacht* 'valour, bravery, warlike action' (*DIL* s.v.). Cf. Dinneen, s.v. *curatacht*, *-ntacht.* An adjective *curanta* occurs in bardic verse: *Iarla garg curanta cródha* 'A warlike earl, heroic and valorous' (William J. Watson (ed.), *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Scottish Gaelic Texts Society 1 (Edinburgh 1937), 122 (14.34a). For exx. in prose see *curanta* 'courageous, valiant'; Cecile O'Rahilly (ed.), *Trompa na bhFlaitheas* (Dublin, 1955), ll. 2324, 2360, *mōrchuranta* 5210.

ó thadhall a mhátharbhunaidh .i. an talamh The phrase echoes the description of Antaeus in *In Cath Catharda* (*CCath*, ll. 2893–99, 2910–12), and in a fragment of *In Cath Catharda* in Advocates MS 72.1.46 (Gaelic MS XLVI), fol. 1r–fol. 1v. For some discussion, see Introduction. The Antaeus episode, with variations, is also found in *Stair Ercuil ocus a bás* (*Stair Ercuil*, 122), but is generally regarded as having been borrowed from *In Cath Catharda* (ibid., xxvi–xxvii (§§23–25); cf. Eric Poppe, '*Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás* – Rewriting Hercules in Ireland', 61–3). The phrasing *tadhall a mat[h]ar bunaidh .i. in talmhan* (*CCath.,* l. 2912); *O no thaidhleadh a thaeb an talmhain ticcid a nert fein do... o mhathair bhunaidh .i. on talmain* (*CCath*., ll. 2899) is not found in *Stair Ercuil,* which reads as follows: '"*Ca hainm in curaid sin?" ar Ercuil. "Ainntius mac Terra .i. mac do geinedh asin talmain gan athair gan mathair collaidhi aigi acht in talam*"' ("What is that

warrior's name"? said Hercules. "Antaeus son of Terra, a son born of the earth only, with no human mother or father."); see Quin, *Stair Ercuil*, 122, ll. 2380–3.

mhátharbhunaidh Lenition of *bhunaidh* indicates a compound consisting of *máthair* (in composition form *máthar*) + *bunaidh*. A rhyming example supports the reading, e.g. *Tír dúthaigh chláir chríchfhionnMhonaidh / dháibh níor dhúthaigh mhátharbhunaidh* (*DDána* 89.6ab).

ina cholmhuin chóimhdhíreach The phrasing occurs elsewhere in *In Cath Catharda*, e.g. *na colamain coimhdírigh* 'upright' (*CCath*., l. 4201).

sloigheadh See *DIL* s.v. *slaidid.* Compare a similar hewing with a sword: *Tuc Trost d'Ílis co mbúaidh. In cloidhem día sloighte slúaigh* 'Tros gave to victorious Ilus the sword by which hosts were hewn down'; see Eoin MacNeill (ed. and trans.), *Duanaire Finn I; The book of the lays of Fionn.* ITS VII (London, 1908), poem xx, pp. 50, 155.

a bhuanleagadh I take this to mean 'his continual lowering down' (to touch the earth, his mother), alluding to the manner in which Antaeus yields to his adversary and falls to the earth, only to arise stronger.

a fhoghluidh MS *foghluid* is nominative singular, though its pairing with nominative plural *escaruid* might support an emendation to nom. pl. *foghlaidhe* (*IGT* ii, §52).

nách ar barr Translation tentative. Lit. 'which is not upon top/ which is not profit', taken here to mean 'which does not benefit'. The general sense seems to be that whatever the enemies do to him, it works to the benefit of his repute for strength and liberality.

théid sin do-san Lit. 'which that goes to him' (?), i.e. 'which that imparts to him' (i.e. to Dáibhídh de Barra) (?). Demonstrative *sin* has been taken as the subject of the relative clause, referring back to *dá mhéid d'imreasain ná d'easaonta ...*'

38a *a thabhairt uaidh* The form *uaidh*, 3sg. masc. of the prep. *ó* 'from', appears in all of the manuscripts and is supported by the syllable count. The transcription *uaidhe* (*ABM* 461.38a (p. 649) has been checked against the manuscript (T) and is an error. Lit. 'his giving from him', which I have taken to mean 'his yielding' or 'surrendering', alluding to Antaeus's frequent falling to the earth (and perhaps obliquely to the patron's 'surrendering' to the Crown).

38b *mhac Tíre* MS *mhaic* is a likely contamination from the following palatal *Tíre*. The patron is being compared to 'Antaeus mac Tíre', described in Prose D.

38c Consonance is lacking.

38cd The poet defends the patron's 'yielding' in battle against those who might defame him. One senses an oblique (and possibly satiric) allusion to the patron's submission to Queen Elizabeth I, to whom he remained loyal throughout the Nine Years' War. Dáibhídh de Barra's visits to Queen Elizabeth and her successor, King James, are noted in another bardic eulogy (undated) addressed to him; see *DDána* 87.18–21.

39a The line has a syllable too many. Emendation to the permitted masculine gen. sg. *an talmhan* (*IGT* ii, §19) restores the syllable count.

39c *ea[n]ghnamh* The proposed emendation of MS *eagnamh* to *ea[n]ghnamh* (*IGT* ii, 28) 'valour, prowess' is required to restore consonance with *boinngheal : fhoighreadh*. T. F. O'Rahilly ('Review of *Irisleabhar Muighe Nuadhad,*1913', *Gadelica* 1 (1912), 297–8, at 297 n. 1) distinguishes *eangnamh* from another word, *eagnamh* 'wisdom' and 'generosity'. O'Rahilly notes that the meaning 'skill at arms, valour' is confined to *eangnamh*. Cf. *DIL* s.v. *engnam*. The poet elsewhere uses *eagnamh* 'wisdom'; see *i n-e<agnomh>* (Prose D).

boinngheal The epithet seems to refer to Antaeus, perhaps influenced by a description of slain foreign warriors: *bonnc[h]osa bana barbardhae* 'barbaric white-soles' (*CCath*., l. 6100), though a complimentary sense is common in bardic verse, e.g. *bhlasda bhonnbhán* 'elegant and white-footed' (*IBP* 17.13d); *fá a bhonn bairrgheal* 'under his white foot' (*IBP* 17.18c).

39d *uair a fhoighreadh* The form *uair* restores alliteration within the line Cf. *TD* i, 9.31b.

40c *hiongnadh* The line is wanting two syllables. Emending to *iongnadh* (*IGT* ii, §§178, 179) adds one syllable.

aga The permissible variant of the prep. pron. 3 sg. masc. *aige* (*BST* §193.35) has been supplied to give improved (but not perfect) consonance.

a cheacht: The line is wanting a syllable and alliteration is absent. I cannot improve upon the text and adhere to the manuscript reading. Classical Irish *aiceacht* (*IGT* ii, §24) would restore the syllable count and alliteration, but with a loss of internal rhyme.

40bd *troda* Rhyme between two identical words is not permitted in bardic verse (*BST* §217.1), and the rhyme *troda* : *troda* involves the gen. sg. of *truid* 'fight, battle' in both *b* and *d*. I cannot offer a solution. Elsewhere the metrical fault *caoiche* is avoided, e.g. *umhla* : *umhla* (7cd).

41a *Carthach* Carthach, an Eóganacht Chaisil king († 1045) and eponymous ancestor ot the Mac Carthys. The allusion may be introduced as a compliment to the patron's maternal kin, i.e. Ellen, daughter of Cormac 'na haoine' MacCarthy Reagh (Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 134). Following the death of Dáibhídh de Barra's first wife, Ellen Roche, he is said to have married, Julia, second daughter of Cormac Mac Carthaigh of Muskerry (ibid., 201; Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, 442). Ellen Roche was still living in 1602; see *Irish Fiants*, iii, 583 (§6700).

41d *n-āithmhín* The imperfect rhyme *dtláithrígh* : *ndaithmhín* and absence of alliteration within line *d* suggests an instance of dittography. The proposed emendation to *n-āithmhín* 'keen and courteous' is supported by both rhyme and alliteration. For the use of the adjective *áith* 'keen, sharp' in compounds compare *tar tuinn anfaidh áithneartmhara* (: *tháirtheachtana*) (*DDána* 89.8bd).

41d *amhra* The emendation of MS *niamhdha* 'brilliant, lustrous' to *amhra* 'wondrous' is tentative, but the lapse in rhyme and absence of alliteration suggests that the text may be corrupt. It is possible, however, that the poet relaxes the rules for rhyme. Compare *tadhall* : *triallann* (43cd).

42c *gheilte* Consonance with *bhfuiltear* : *cluinntear* is imperfect, but compare *innte* (9c), consonating with *tuilltear* : *roinntear* (9bd). I have followed Gordon Ó Riain's suggestion that the manuscript reading might be a compound of *geal* 'bright' + *te* 'warm', although he notes that this does not solve the problem of consonance. A rhyming example refers similarly to the face, e.g. *cúis mo sheirce dod ghruadh ghlan / a sduadh gheilte nar gríosadh* (RIA 23 D 4 (5), 374, ll. 9–10); cf. *ABM* 377.1cd (p. 526).

43a *Críoch ... Barrach* The phrase echoes *críoch Bharrach* (1a), suggesting a *dúnadh*. See n. 43d below.

43b *síthe* The gen. sg. of fem. *ā*-stem *sídh, síth* 'fairy-mound' (*IGT* ii, §39), translated here in the general sense 'wondrous, delightful', could be taken to mean 'of the Otherworld (mansions)'; see *DIL* s.v. 1. *síd, síth*. There is a likely pun on *sídh, síth* 'peace' (*IGT* ii, §38.6; *DIL* s.v. 2. *síd, síth*). Both senses evoke an idealized state associated with *fír flaitheamhon*. For some discussion see Ó Cathasaigh, 'The semantics of *síd*'.

43c Lit. 'It is the desire of every man of all those who journey [away] from it' [i.e. the land of the Barrys].

dá dtriallann uaithe Alliteration is lacking in *c*, and internal rhyme with *tadhall* is absent. I cannot offer a solution. The theme of longing for one's home is expressed elsewhere in bardic verse, e.g. *is buain áil lachan do linn / athadh ó íbh Táil téigim* (*IGT* ii, ex. 351) 'the period of time [in which] I go away from Íbh Tál is [like] depriving a brood of ducks of a pool' (translation mine).

43d *tadhall tríthe* The verb *taidlid* (*IGT* iii, §52) can be used of 'visiting' or 'touching' or 'moving through' (*DIL* s.v. *do-aidlea*). Compare *Ní lamhaid tadhall tríthe / tar a cladhaibh coigcríche* 'They dare not traverse her beyond her boundary dikes' (*TD* 13.11ab). A play on *tadhall* 'touch' recalls the manner in which Antaeus gains strength: *ó thadhall a mhátharbhunaidh .i. an talamh* (Prose D), phrasing drawn from *In Cath Catharda* (*CCath.,* l. 2912), as noted in the Introduction. As the anonymous peer-reviewer has pointed out to me, the *dúnadh* is supplied by *-the* of *tríthe*, here with *Teallach* (1a).

Abbreviations

AithD	Lambert McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, 2 vols, ITS 37, 40 (Dublin, 1939, 1940).
Beatha Aodha Ruaidh	Paul Walsh (ed.), *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill as Leabhar Lughaidh Uí Chléirigh*, 2 vols, ITS 42, 45 (London, 1948, Dublin, 1957).
BLCat.	Standish Hayes O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Library [formerly British Museum]*, vol. 1 (British Museum, 1926).
BST	Lambert McKenna (ed.), *Bardic Syntactical Tracts* (Dublin, 1944).
Cal. Carew Manuscripts	J. S. Brewer and William Bullen, *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth,* 6 vols (London, 1867–73).

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 Records Office,* 7 vols (London, 1867–1912).
CCath.	Whitley Stokes (ed.), 'In Cath Catharda', *Irische Texte* IV/2 (Leipzig, 1909).
Companion	Liam Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, Early Irish Law Series 5 (Dublin, 2005).
Content.	Lambert McKenna (ed.), *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh: The Contention of the Bards*, 2 vols, ITS 20, 21 (London, 1918).
Dánta Grádha	T. F. O'Rahilly (ed.), *Dánta Grádha: An Anthology of Irish Love Poetry 1350–1750* (Dublin, 1926).
DDána	Láimhbheartach Mac Cionnaith, *Dioghluim Dana* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1938).
Dinneen	Rev. Patrick Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla. An Irish-English Dictionary* (Dublin, 1927).
DMhéigUidhir	David Greene (ed.), *Duanaire Mhéig Uidhir: the Poem Book of Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir, Lord of Fermanagh 1566–1589* (Dublin, 1972).
DOB	John C. Mac Erlean (ed.), *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair*, 3 vols, ITS 11, 13, 18 (London, 1910, 1913, 1917).
IBP	Osborn Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry* (Dublin, 1970).
Ir. Syll. Poetry	Eleanor Knott, *An Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry of the Period 1200–1600*, second edition (Dublin, 1957).
Irish Dialects	T. F. O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present* (Dublin, 1932).
Lismore Lives	Whitley Stokes (ed.), *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890).
LBranach	Seán Mac Airt (ed.), *Leabhar Branach: The Book of the O'Byrnes* (Dublin, 1944).
Magauran	Lambert McKenna (ed.), *The Book of Magauran* (Dublin, 1947).
O'Hara	Lambert McKenna (ed.), *The Book of O'Hara: Leabhar Í Eadhra* (Dublin, 1951).
O'Reilly Poems	James Carney (ed.), *Poems on the O'Reillys* (Dublin, 1950).
Párl. na mBan	Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), *Párliament na mBan* (Dublin, 1952).
Poems Butlers	James Carney (ed.), *Poems on the Butlers of Ormond, Cahir, and Dunboyne A.D. 1400–1650* (Dublin, 1945).

RIA Cat.	*Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1926–70).
Stair Ercuil	Gordon Quin (ed.), *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules,* ITS 38 (Dublin, 1939).
TD	Eleanor Knott, *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591)*, 2 vols, ITS 22, 23 (London, 1922–6).
Irish Fiants	*The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns during the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip & Mary, and Elizabeth*, with a New Introduction by Kenneth Nicholls and Preface by Tomás G. Ó Canann, 4 vols (Dublin, 1994).
Triads	Kuno Meyer, *The Triads of Ireland*, Todd Lecture Series 13 (Dublin, 1906).

Margo Griffin-Wilson

University of Cambridge

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR THE *DÁNTA GRÁ*

Abstract

This paper identifies the manuscript sources of the hundred and six *dánta grá* (love poems) edited by Tomás Ó Rathile in *Dánta Grádha* (1926). The contexts of the poems in the earlier manuscript sources (i.e. manuscripts written up to the beginning of the eighteenth century) are discussed, with particular emphasis on those manuscripts in which *dánta grá* and other poems on love or related themes are written together in clusters. Some general observations on the manuscript transmission of the poems are offered also.

Introduction

In the introduction to the 1926 edition of *Dánta Grádha*, Tomás Ó Rathile states that a great many of the poems in this book were taken from five manuscripts, namely RIA MS 23 D 4 (5), RIA MS 23 I 40 (6), TCD MS H. 5. 9 (1381), the Book of the O'Conor Don and BL Add. 40766 (Ó Rathile 1926: viii). Ó Rathile does not specify which of the poems in his book came from these manuscripts and he does not name any other manuscript sources.[1] A number of subsequent studies have included discussion of the manuscript copies of some of the *dánta grá* but we are still lacking in knowledge of the sources for most of the poems.[2] The aim of this paper then is to provide an overview of the manuscript sources for the hundred and six *dánta grá* in Ó Rathile (1926). As I have identified over two hundred separate source manuscripts for the *dánta grá*, it will not be possible at this point to discuss all of them in depth. I will look in some detail at the early sources and then make some general observations on the manuscript sources in their entirety. For later manuscripts, those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, I restrict myself to providing a list with dates, names of scribes and patrons, and places of writing: these are given in Appendix I. A list of the manuscript sources for each individual *dán grá* is given in Appendix II. In the 1970s, Professor Brian Ó Cuív gave a seminar on the *dánta grá* at the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, and I used a handout he gave out at this seminar in the initial stages of this research.[3] I have also included a small

[1]His earlier anthologies of Irish love poetry are similarly lacking in information on manuscript sources. See O'Rahilly (1916) and Ó Rathile (1925).

[2]See, for example, Williams (1979: 79 and 93) on *Dán Grá* (henceforth *DG*) 105 and *DG* 106, Ó Háinle (1985: 10–11) on *DG* 47 and Mac Craith (1989: 43–7) on *DG* 4.

[3]Ó Cuív gives the number of manuscript copies of some of the *dánta grá* and lists the *dánta grá* found in the following manuscripts: BDLM; UCD A 25; BOCD; NLS Adv. 72.1.35; TCD MS H. 5. 9 (1381); RIA MSS 23 M 25–23 M 34 (15–24); Giessen MS 1267; BL Egerton 187;

 ©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

number of early eighteenth-century manuscripts on Ó Cuív's list among the early sources for the *dánta grá* discussed below.

In the five manuscripts named by Ó Rathile and cited above, and in a number of other manuscripts, *dánta grá* are written together in thematic clusters in which it appears that scribes made a deliberate attempt to bring together texts that deal with love. Some of the poems written alongside *dánta grá* in these clusters might also be categorised as love poems but others are miscellaneous in nature. In order to give some sense of the flavour of each of the manuscript clusters, I will provide a brief (and thus necessarily reductive) description of each poem when it is first mentioned in the discussion below. Attention to the arrangement of the *dánta grá* in these clusters provides us with some hints as to how they were perceived when the manuscripts were written. A small number of the hundred and six poems in the 1926 edition of *Dánta Grádha* are not best classified as love poems.[4] For the sake of thoroughness, I have included these in my account; instances of possible genre misidentification will be noted in passing.

Early sources for the *dánta grá*

NLS Adv. 72.1.37 (The Book of the Dean of Lismore)

Dánta Grá 4, 54

The Book of the Dean of Lismore (BDLM) was compiled by Sir James McGregor, the Dean of Lismore, his brother Duncan and a number of other scribes in Perthshire, Scotland between 1512 and 1542 (Meek 1996: 256–7). It is written not in traditional Gaelic orthography and script but rather in secretary hand and in an orthography largely based on Middle Scots, the vernacular of the Scottish lowlands from *c*. 1400 to *c*. 1560 (Meek 1996: 257–9). *DG* 4 by Gearóid Mac Gearailt (Gearóid Iarla) is written on p. 307 and is preceded by the poem *Ohyz is miss in gilli mor* (*Uch, is mise an giolla mór*) in which the poet, Duncan Campbell, 'laments a reversal of fortune' (Gillies 1978: 41). The question of whether *DG* 4 should be regarded as a love poem has been subject to some debate as it is, strictly speaking, a poem about the traits of women.[5] *DG* 4 as it is edited by Ó Rathile depicts women in a positive light but Mac Craith, taking the longer text of the BDLM into account, argues that it is in fact an anti-woman poem (1989: 58).[6] *DG* 4 is followed by *Marrwm di scarre rwmsyt a ryir* (*M'anam do sgar riomsa a-raoir*) by Muireadhach Albanach.[7] Although the latter poem is an elegy, the poet's depiction of his dead wife's

RIA MS 23 D 38 (26); Adv. MS 72.1.36; Rouen MS 1678; RIA MS 23 D 4 (5); BL Add. 40766; RIA MS 23 I 40 (6); TCD MS H. 5. 10 (1382); TCD MS H. 5. 11 (1383); The Red Book of Clanranald. I would like to thank Professor Seán Ó Coileáin for providing me with a copy of Ó Cuív's handout.

[4]For some discussion see Ó Háinle (2000: 47).

[5]See Ó Tuama (1986: 82–4) and Gillies (2016: 258).

[6]On whether Gearóid Iarla is in fact the author of *DG* 4, see Gillies (1977: 50 n. 18), Ó Tuama (1986: 82), Mac Craith (1989: 53–7) and Mac Mathúna (2010: 253–4 and 263–4).

[7]Edited in Bergin (1970: 101–3).

beauty and the expression of his profound sorrow at her parting from him are reminiscent of those *dánta grá* that deal with the loss of a lover.[8] It is, however, very different in tone to DG 4.

DG 54 by Isibeul Ní Mhic Cailín is on p. 292: the speaker in this poem deplores the suffering she has experienced as a result of love and hopes that the man she loved is suffering even more than she is. *DG* 54 is preceded by a poem beginning *Ne eirfee neall reithin royze* (*Ní iarrfaidh Niall reithe ruadh*) by Eóin Mac Muireadhaigh and is followed by various scribblings: there does not appear to be a thematic link between these writings.[9] Looking at the BDLM as a whole, rather than at the immediate manuscript contexts of the two *dánta grá* it contains, may be more fruitful in gaining an understanding of the attitude of its scribes to poetry on love and related matters: Gillies has noted that the BDLM contains 'a spectrum of different "voices" on the general subject of love and sex, marriage and gender' (2016: 258).[10] Of particular interest in the context of the present study is that the BDLM contains other poems on love or related topics by the authors of its two *dánta grá*: these are *Ní bhfuil an t-éag mar a theist* by Gearóid Iarla which tells of 'unattainable love', *A bhean na dtrí mbó* by Gearóid Iarla in which he warns a woman that her looks will not last and *Atá fleascach ar mo thí* by Ní Mhic Cailín on the pain of being separated from her lover (Gillies 2016: 259–60). *Éistibh, a lucht an tighe-se*, a poem 'on the sexual powers of the speaker's chaplain', may also be a composition of Ní Mhic Cailín's but the attribution is uncertain (Gillies 1977: 42).[11] These poems point to the necessity of looking beyond the contents of Ó Rathile's anthologies of love poetry to gain a greater understanding of Mac Gearailt and Ní Mhic Cailín as love poets.

Oxford Laud Misc. 615

Dán grá 15

This vellum manuscript was written in the 'early decades of the sixteenth century' (Ó Cuív 2001: 89–90).[12] It contains a collection of poems associated with Colum Cille and appears to have been compiled for a scholar rather than a patron (Herbert and O'Sullivan 1973: 174). On p. 140 at the very end of the manuscript is written the prayer beginning *A mhic ionmhain mhilis an Athur as treissi no gach righ*; the first line of *DG* 15 is written in a different and unidentified hand on the superior margin of this page.[13] This line is a question and translates as 'how is my only love?'

[8]Cf. Ó Conaire (1995–7), 235.

[9]A transcription of Mac Muireadhaigh's poem is given in Quiggin (1937: 106).

[10]More generally, see Gillies (1977) and Gillies (2016: 262–6).

[11]There are also poems on love and related matters in Gearóid Iarla's *duanaire*. See Mac Niocail (1963), Mac Ateer (1976: 582–90) and Ó Tuama (1986: 84).

[12]Some paper leaves were added later on when the manuscript was bound (Ó Cuív 2001: 88).

[13]I would like to thank Dr Mícheál Hoyne for bringing this to my attention.

NLS Adv. 72.1.2

Dán grá 99
This is a medical compendium assembled by the Beatons of Mull in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. It contains some non-medical texts, including a small amount of verse. The first quatrain of *DG* 99, in which a man informs a woman that he, unlike other men, will not die for her, is written on the margin of fol. 66r. The main text on this page is the gnomic text *Tecosca Cormaic*. Black (2011) suggests that this portion of the manuscript belongs to the sixteenth century.

UCD A 25

Dánta grá 7, 40, 69
UCD A 25 dates from the early seventeenth century – the date of 1628 is given on p. 127 – and belongs to the northern half of Ireland. A number of hands are evident, some of which have not been identified (Dillon, Mooney and de Brún 1969: 50). *DG* 7, which tells of how various personages from Irish tradition discovered love-gestures such as winking, kissing and sighing, is written on p. 126. The text that precedes it in this manuscript, *Ainic misi a Mhór*, is in a different hand and is a long poem of thirty one stanzas in *rannaíocht mhór* in which a man expresses to a woman named Mór the imperilled state he is in as a result of her beauty.[14] The main scribe of this volume, and the scribe of the other two *dánta grá* under discussion here, was possibly Brian Mag Niallghuis who 'may be identical with Bernardus mc Nellus of Glencolumbkille' (Dillon, Mooney and de Brún 1969: 37 and 50). *DG* 40, which tells of the suffering of a man who is in proximity to his beloved but unable to have direct contact with her, is written on p. 177. In the manuscript, *DG* 40 is preceded by *Tógaibh eadrad is Éire* by Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn and followed by *Foraire Uladh ar Aodh* by Maol Sheachluinn na nUirsgéal Ó hUiginn: there is no evident thematic link between these three poems. The text beginning *Dal Naoisi tre Deird[r] e ar ndál* on p. 129 is not found in Ó Rathile's edition of *DG* 69 but it forms part of the longer version of that poem in the Book of the O'Conor Don (see below).[15] In this text, the speaker compares himself and his beloved to famous couples in Irish tradition – Naoise and Deirdre, Cearbhall and Farbhlaidhe, and so on. The romantic tale *Tochmharc Farbhlaidhe*, which tells of the latter couple, is in fact written at the end of this manuscript, beginning on p. 217; Alan Bruford notes that this is a rare example of an Irish romantic tale 'whose principal theme is love' (1966/69: 26). There are also some jottings in Irish and Latin on the topic of love on p. 123 and p. 210. On the whole, UCD A 25 is miscellaneous in its content and while it contains a number of *dánta grá* and other texts that deal with love, there is no evidence of an attempt at thematic compilation. This is typical of those manuscripts which only contain a small number of *dánta grá*.

[14]A description is given by Simms (2010: poem 179).
[15]This is noted by Ní Laoire (1986: 23).

Br MS 6131–3 (the Book of O'Donnell's Daughter)

Dán grá 14

The initial portion of this manuscript contains poems on the O'Donnells of Donegal and was written for Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill, daughter of Aodh mac Maghnais, who died in Louvain before 1633 (Breatnach 2007: 16–17). The rest of the material in the manuscript was written subsequently and includes a quatrain from *DG* 14 written on the inside of the book's cover (Meyer 1908–10: 190). It appears that the entire manuscript was written outside of Ireland, probably in Flanders (O Lochlainn and Walsh 1947: 180). The quatrain from *DG* 14 corresponds to the second in Ó Rathile's edition (1926: 18) and in it, it is stated that a woman deserves to wear only the finest of brooches on her mantle.[16] There is no other love poetry in the manuscript.

The Book of the O'Conor Don

Dánta grá 6, 8, 10, 13, 17?, 28, 33, 34, 38, 39, 42?, 46, 47, 48, 51, 57, 61, 69, 73, 75, 79, 86, 88, 90, 94, 96 (i), 96 (ii), 106

The Book of the O'Conor Don (BOCD) was written mainly by Aodh Ó Dochartaigh in Ostend from January to December 1631 for Captain Somhairle Mac Domhnaill (Ó Macháin 2010: 6).[17] Katharine Simms notes that 'the different categories of poems' contained in the BOCD 'are normally very clearly distinguished from each other' and that this 'categorization is consistently observed' (2010a: 33). Accordingly, the *dánta grá* are written together in two specific sections of the manuscript. The first of these forms part of the opening section of the manuscript that comes before the contents page. Pádraig Ó Macháin has argued that this section may represent a 'trial piece' that was created 'before the greater project of the BOCD proper was embarked upon' (2010: 23). If we accept this view, the BOCD then would represent two separate albeit related manuscript compilations of *dánta grá*. The second section containing *dánta grá* is unfortunately lost but we know of its contents through the original index of the manuscript. Simms proposes that due to its 'invariably light and entertaining' content, it may have been detached deliberately as 'the more immediately readable section' of the larger book (2010a: 33).

The first section of the BOCD that contains *dánta grá* has been labelled 'Love, satire and miscellaneous' by Simms (2010a: 44). I reproduce below an adapted form of Simms's list of poems in this section, leaving out Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn's *Maircc neach do ní derbháile* on fol. 24r and the poems that follow *Cionnus sin a fhir na mbreag* as they do not deal with love in any way, leaving us with a list of twenty-six poems, many of which do.

24r Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, *Ni mé bur naithne, a áos gráidh* (*DG* 47)
24r Idem, *A bhean do ní an truaghpeacadh*
24v Idem, *A bhean croidhe companta* (*DG* 96 (i))

[16]For a transcription, see O Lochlainn and Walsh (1947: 194).
[17]For more on Mac Domhnaill, see Ó hUiginn (2010).

24v Idem, *A fhir croidhe charuimsi* (*DG* 96 (ii))
24v *Trúagh do beatha a bhean areir* (*DG* 73)
24v *Do chuaidh mo shúil tar mo chuid* (*DG* 88)
24v Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, *A mhacaoímh mhaoídheas do shlad*
24v Idem, *A fhir iomtnuidh an aoís téd*
25r *[Ni mair sén do] gnáth* (*DG* 79)
25r Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn, *Fuarus féin im maith ó mhnaoí*
25r *An ccluine mé a mhacaoímh mná* (*DG* 39)
25r Tadhg Ó Cobhthaigh, *Corrach do chodhlus aréir* (*DG* 69)
25v Maghnus Ó Domhnaill, *Maircc do bheir gradh leattromach* (*DG* 51)
25v Maol Muire Ua hUiginn, *Slan uaim don da áodhaire*
25v Brian Mac Griallusa, *Da mbeith méanfhainne a nÉirinn*
25v Cú Chonnacht Ó Cléirigh, *Neimhthinn an galur é an grádh* (*DG* 8)
26 *Trí garrtha as ghnáthach na duanaibh*
26 *Ní chluinim sin a chláirseach*
26 *Aoibhinn duit, a dhuine bhoicht*
26 *Chionuidh ca cion ro bhaoi dhuinn*
26 *Gabhaidh agam, a aos rúin*
26 *Lá dá raibh an tiompánach*
27r *A bhean fuair an falachán* (*DG* 13)
27r *Cia tú fein a mhacaoimh mhná* (*DG* 48)
27r Domhnall mac Dáire Mac Bruaideadha, *Maircc duine bhraitheas é féin* (*DG* 86)
27r *Cionnus sin a fhir na mbreag*

Authorial attribution dictates the ordering of poems at the beginning of this section, where a number of poems by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa are written one after another, but this principle of organisation is not adhered to consistently thereafter: *DG* 73 is anonymous, and while *DG* 88 is attributed to Ó hEódhusa in the only other extant copy, that in Giessen MS 1267 (discussed below), that is not the case here.[18] After the Ó hEódhusa poems, we find a mix of anonymous poems and poems attributed to various poets. I will now turn to the contents of the poems in this section. *DG* 47 is 'a love poem … in which the poet gravely argues that, having been slain by an angelic vision, he must really be dead' (Bergin 1970: 133). In *A bhean do ní an truaghpeacadh*, a man asks a woman to repent for the unspecified *truaghpheaca* (wretched sin) that she has committed and states that it would be a shame for her to end up in hell for such a slight misdemeanour: the man's jesting tone here suggests that he is not entirely serious.[19] *A bhean croidhe companta* and *A fhir croidhe charuimsi* are published as companion pieces in Ó Rathile (1926: 128–9): the male speaker of the first poem accuses his former beloved of having deceived

[18]On the question of whether *DG* 47 is to be attributed to Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa or Cú Chonnacht Ó Cléirigh, see Bergin (1970: 133 and 274) and Ó Háinle (1985: 6–7).

[19]The poem is classified as a love poem by Simms (2010: poem 11). The BOCD text lacks the final accentual verse in Ó Donnchadha's edition (1931: 288).

him, and in the second poem, the woman defends herself.[20] In *DG* 73, the speaker addresses a woman who is more sinful than anyone known to him and laments that she does not have the good sense to repent. This is an example of a so-called *dán grá* that is primarily a moral poem.[21] In *DG* 88, a man despairs of having his love reciprocated. The two Ó hEódhusa poems that follow this, *A mhacaoímh mhaoídheas do shlad* and *A fhir iomtnuidh an aois téd* are entirely unconcerned with the theme of love.[22] In the anonymous *DG* 79, the speaker describes how a woman has beguiled and ruined him and many other men too. *Fuarus féin im maith ó mhnaoí* at first reading might not seem to have any thematic link to the *dánta grá* but some commentators have read it as a *double entendre* poem that describes the speaker's sexual relations with a woman (Ó Macháin 1998: 7; Ní Dhonnchadha 2002b: 380). In *DG* 39, the speaker warns his lover that they must remain apart for now because it is not safe for them to make public their love for one another. *DG* 69 is longer here than in Ó Rathile's edition and contains stanzas in which the two lovers are compared with famous lovers in Irish tradition.[23] *DG* 51, as its first line indicates, treats of unrequited love. This is followed by two non-love poems, although it is interesting to note that these poems do touch upon the not entirely unrelated theme of friendship. In *Slán uaim don dá aodhuire*, the poet expresses his sense of the inefficacy of the written word in reaching the hearts of the two friends whom he addresses: 'créad fá mbeinn re fuairleitribh?/ do-chimid croidhe a chéile' ('Why should I have recourse to cold letters? We see each other's hearts.')[24] In *Da mbeith méanfhainne a nÉirinn*, one poet speaks in affectionate terms to another. The addressee here may in fact be Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa as his Christian name is given in the fourth stanza.[25] *DG* 8 is a twist on the typical depiction of love as an unbearable disease in the *dánta grá*: here, the speaker boasts that he feels better than ever since falling in love with a woman.

Folio 26 is missing from the manuscript and Simms indicates that four of the poems which were on it are not found in any other manuscript: these are *Ní chluinim sin a chláirseach*, *Chionuidh ca cion ro bhaoi dhuinn*, *Gabhaidh agam, a aos rúin*, *Lá dá raibh an tiompánach* (Simms 2010a: 44). *Trí garrtha as ghnáthach na duanaibh* describes 'scenes of battle and revelry in a seaside fortress' (O'Rahilly 1927: 85) and *Aoibhinn duit, a dhuine bhoicht* is a moralizing poem in which a man is reproached for neglecting God due to his mind being occupied by the pains of love.[26] *DG* 13 is a poem in praise of the beauty of a woman; in *DG* 48, the poet beseeches a beautiful woman to

[20]These poems are discussed in the wider context of Ó hEódhusa's *ouevre* by Mac Craith (2006).

[21]Ó Háinle discusses *dánta grádha* 'which only poorly accommodate themselves to … the title' (2000: 47). See also Ó Háinle (2013: 175–7).

[22]See Simms (2010: poems 95 and 67).

[23]See discussion of UCD A 25 above.

[24]Edited in O'Rahilly (1927: 143). On the identity of the two men, which the poet does not dare reveal in the poem, see Sharpe (2013: 267–8). The English translation is mine.

[25]See *ABM* (xi and 190).

[26]This is edited by Ó Donnchadha (1931: 289).

reveal her identity to him; *DG* 86 is a reflection by a man who judges that he is more upset at parting from his lover than she is at parting from him. *Cionnus sin a fhir na mbreag* is described by O'Rahilly as being about 'one whose store of lying promises was inexhaustible' (1927: 76). Simms describes this poem as a didactic poem with a question mark after this label (2010a: 44). In the third quatrain, the speaker addresses the lying man as 'a dhéad geal' ('O white-toothed one'), which, in its suggestion that the speaker has an emotional connection to the liar, gives the poem as a whole a tone of intimacy it might otherwise lack. This poem could be read as one in which a female speaker admonishes a man for the extent of his dishonesty, with the subtext that this dishonesty is in his romantic dealings with women, but it is difficult to be certain.[27] Whatever the case may be, the rest of the poems in this section of the BOCD have no thematic connection to love poetry and they do not need to be described here.

The second section of the BOCD to contain *dánta grá* runs from fol. 415 to the very end of the manuscript and has been labelled as 'Love poems, and miscellaneous' by Simms (2010a: 60). The list that follows is again adapted from Simms (2010a: 60); some of these poems are also found in the earlier section of the BOCD discussed above.

415 *Beag liom mo bheandoct don bhás* (*DG* 10)
415 *Dia a naghaidh na hionmhuine*
416 *A bhean do ní an truagh speacadh*
416 *A fhir do ní an t-éad (DG 94)*
416 *Aithreach damh mo dhiochoisge (DG 61)*
417 *A dhuine chodlus go sáimh (DG 34)*
417 *Mo bennocht mar dligim dheit (DG 33)*
417 *Ní taobhtha dhamhsa riom fein (DG 46)*
418 *Maith gach ní on easurraidh (DG 57)*
418 *Ni saimh iachtacht an aoibhnis*
418 *Aoibhinn duit, a dhuine dhoill (DG 28)*
419 *Mairg duine bhíos antuigseach (DG 75)*
419 *Mairg do bheir gradh leatromach (DG 51)*
419 *A Shlaine ní Flannagáin*
419 *Soraidh slán don oidhche aréir (DG 38)*
420 *Aoibhinn sin, a dhamhain duinn*
420 *Na bi dom buaidhreadh, a bhean (DG 17 or DG 42)*
420 *Do beirim seal re saobhnós (DG 6)*
421 *Ionmhuin aisgidh fuair meisi*
422 *Mor do níd daoine díbh fein*
42[ ] *Tugus gradh don fhuath (DG 90)*
42[ ] *Truagh do bhruid, a bhean*

[27]Cf. *DG* 80 in which a female speaker states that many women have been duped by men's falsity in this sphere.

In *DG* 10, the speaker ridicules living people who say they are dead because of love. *Dia a naghaidh na hionmhuine* is not, to my knowledge, found in any other manuscript. The poem that follows it, *A bhean do ní an truagh speacadh* (*sic*) has been discussed above. *DG* 94 deals with a jealous lover; in *DG* 61, a man expresses his regret that he did not avoid the sight of the a woman; the speaker in *DG* 34 discusses how he suffers for love. Simms (2010a: 60) indicates that *Mo bennocht mar dligim dheit* is not known elsewhere than the BOCD but it is likely to have been a copy of *DG* 33, which begins with the very similar line *Ar mbeannacht mar dhlighim dheit*: this deals again with a suffering lover. In *DG* 46, the speaker suffers so deeply from love that he is unsure whether he is alive or dead; *DG* 57 is again on the pains of love. *Ni saimh iachtacht an aoibhnis* is a lost poem. In *DG* 28, the speaker is suffering so much from seeing the woman he loves that he wishes he were blind; in *DG* 75, the speaker laments that he can see but not touch the woman he desires; *DG* 51 on unrequited love appears here for the second time in the BOCD. *A Shlaine ní Flannagáin* has been edited from the copy in RIA MS 23 D 4 (5) by Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha who describes it as 'a bawdy poem addressed to a named woman which exploits the *double entendre* of words associated with weaving' (1995: 65). In *DG* 38, elsewhere attributed to Niall Mór Mac Muireadhaigh, the speaker regrets that he can no longer be with his lover. *Aoibhinn sin, a dhamhain duinn* is a lost poem. Two *dánta grá*, *DG* 17 and *DG* 42, start with the line *Na bi dom buaidhreadh, a bhean* and it is uncertain which one of these was contained in the BOCD: in *DG* 17, the speaker asks a woman to reciprocate his love and in *DG* 42, the speaker asks the woman he loves to stop tormenting him. In *DG* 6, elsewhere attributed to Laoiseach Mac an Bhaird, the speaker declares his love for a woman named Gráinne, and *Ionmhuin aisgidh fuair meisi* is not found in any other manuscript. *Mor do níd daoine díbh fein*, elsewhere attributed to Fear Feasa Ó'n Cháinte, comprises a series of '[s]trictures on some critics and sciolists of his day' (O'Grady 1926: 555).[28] In *DG* 90, the speaker states that hate is preferable to love as its effects are less deleterious. The final poem here, *Truagh do bhruid, a bhean*, is again not found in any other manuscript.

There is one more *dán grá* in the BOCD – that is, *DG* 106, on fol. 76v, in the section of the manuscript labelled 'Religious and Didactic' by Simms (2010a: 45): it fits better into this category than that of love poetry.[29]

MN C 59 (3 B 30)

Dánta grá 47, 105

The leaves of this manuscript belong originally to a manuscript in the private possession of the Stapletons of Silvermines (Béal Átha Gabhann), Co. Tipperary (Ó Fiannachta 1984: 161, 163; de Brún 1988: 38).[30] These leaves

[28]A text of this poem from BL Add. 29614 is given by O'Grady here.

[29]See Williams (1979: 24) and Ó Háinle (2000: 47).

[30]At an earlier point, this manuscript was classified as belonging to the eighteenth century. See Ó Fiannachta and Ó Maoileachlainn (1968: 102).

were written by Seán Galldubh mac Piarais in 1645 and contain bardic poetry mostly (Ó Fiannachta 1984: 163). *DG* 105, a moral poem, is written on p. 12 (fol. 54). *DG* 47 is written on p. 21 (fol. 59), followed by the poem beginning *A mhacaoimh dhealbhas an dán*: Ó Háinle (1985: 7) has argued that the latter poem was composed in response to *DG* 47. This manuscript also contains the love *aisling* beginning *Meanmach m'aisling a cCraig Léith*.[31]

NLS Adv. 72.1.49

Dánta grá 46, 51
This was written by an unknown scribe *c*. 1618–47 and is a collection of bardic verse (Black 2011). The scribe may have been located in Ulster (Black 1989: 155). *DG* 46 is on fol. 17v followed by *DG* 51.

NLS Adv. 72.1.35

Dánta grá 27, 101
This manuscript is now lost (MacKinnon 1912: 221; Black 1989: 158). It was written in different hands, including that of Edmond Mac Laghlan, in the middle of the seventeenth century – the dates 1654 and 1655 are given – and it contained mostly 'Irish poetry of comparatively modern date' (MacKinnon 1912: 222). MacKinnon provides the texts of three poems from notes he took himself before the manuscript went missing: these include *DG* 27 and *DG* 101 (MacKinnon 1912: 223–4). In *DG* 27, the speaker asks the letter he is sending to his beloved to find out from her whether he will die or suffer forever. I have found no other source for this poem. In *DG* 101, the speaker warns a woman of the futility of beauty: it is thus a didactic poem. The third poem given by MacKinnon is a love *aisling* beginning *Aoibhinn m'aisling ar Loch Ria* (1912: 224–5).

RIA MS A v 2 (744)

Dánta grá 15, 56, 64
The three *dánta grá* in this manuscript belong to the tale *Eachtra Uilliam*, an Irish translation of an English prose version of the Middle-English verse romance *William of Palerne* (O'Rahilly 1949: ix–xi).[32] The poems were added by the Irish translator and they resume the speech or dialogues that precede them (O'Rahilly 1949: xvi). The portion of the manuscript that contains *Eachtra Uilliam* appears to be in a mid-seventeenth-century hand (O'Rahilly 1949: vii). Cecile O'Rahilly proposes that the Irish text 'may go back to the 16th century' (1949: xi); Charles W. Dunn, commenting on O'Rahilly's edition, suggests a *terminus a quo* of 1520–9 (1957: 850). No other manuscript copies of *Eachtra Uilliam* survive but there is evidence that other copies existed in

[31]This has been edited by Ó Fiannachta (1969: 115–18).

[32]For the relationship of the English verse and prose versions to the French original, see O'Rahilly 1949: ix–xi. The location of the poems in Cecile O'Rahilly's edition is as follows: *DG* 15, ll. 1657–88; *DG* 56, ll. 248–91; *DG* 64, ll. 570–621.

the past and one poem from the *Eachtra* was written as an independent piece in a small number of manuscripts (O'Rahilly 1949: vii and 227).[33] The lovers of the *Eachtra*, Meliór and Uilliam, are named amongst other famous lovers from the literary tradition in *DG* 71: Tomás Ó Rathile, then, was not the first person to conceive of a connection between this tale and the *dánta grá*.

NLS Adv. 72.1.48

Dánta grá 76, 86
This seventeenth-century manuscript was written at some point after 1660 by an unidentified scribe who was a contemporary of Niall MacMhuirich (*c*. 1639–1726) (Black 2011). It contains syllabic poetry including *DG* 76, in which the speaker marvels at the quick and immodest mind of his lover, on fol. 4v and *DG* 86 on fol. 23r.

TCD MS H. 5. 28 (1399)

Dán grá 11
An unidentified scribe wrote this manuscript in 1679 and it contains romances and poetry. *DG* 11, in which the speaker diagnoses a woman with love-sickness and conjectures that it is he himself the woman is in love with, is on fol. 188b followed by the love *aisling* beginning *Do mhúsgail mé tar éis luighe aréir go sámh*.[34] Elsewhere, this manuscript contains a number of poems dealing with love: *Tuirseach dhamh ag éirghe lae* (fol. 161b), *Do charas tar aon an Deirdre dhea-ghnúiseach* (fol. 164b) and *Do ghad mo sherc 's do gabhadh mé 'na líon* (fol. 156a).[35]

Giessen Universitätsbibliothek MS 1267

Dánta grá 33, 51, 88, 92, 103
Domhnall Ó hEidirsceoil, likely a Munsterman, wrote this manuscript of miscellaneous content at Louvain in 1684 (Stern 1895: 9–10). *DG* 103 is on fol. 14r: Ó Háinle argues that this is a *memento mori* in which Death speaks to a young woman (2000: 52; 2013: 184) whereas Ní Dhonnchadha reads it as a homoerotic poem in which a female speaker warns a woman not to marry any man (2002b: 413). *DG* 92, a poem on jealousy, is written on fol. 25v and corresponds more closely to the *trí rainn agus amhrán* version of this poem than the longer version in *Dánta Grádha*.[36] In this manuscript, three *dánta grá* are written as one text, attributed to Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa and beginning on fol. 53r: these are *DG* 88 (stanzas 1–3, 5–7), *DG* 33 (stanzas 1, 3, 2, 4–6) and

[33]The three *dánta grá* are not found in any other manuscripts with the exception of the first line of *DG* 15. See discussion of Oxford Laud Misc. 615 above.

[34]See Vendryes (1931: 45–6) and Doan (1980: 16–19).

[35]Edited respectively in de Brún, Ó Buachalla and Ó Concheanainn (1971: 58–60 and 43–4) and in Mhac an tSaoi (1950: 155–6).

[36]Edited in Ó Baoill and Ó Dochartaigh (1996: 20).

DG 51 (stanzas 1–3, 7). The attribution of (parts of) *DG* 33 and *DG* 51 to Ó hEódhusa here is spurious.

TCD MS H. 5. 9 (1381)

Dánta grá 2, 3, 13, 33, 41, 42, 62, 74, 81, 82, 83
Three or more different scribes had a hand in writing this manuscript which is dated to *c.* 1684: one of the three gives his name as Turlough O'Reilly.[37] No location is given but it is likely that the scribe belonged to the O'Reillys of Breifne (modern-day County Cavan).[38] I will look first at the cluster of *dánta grá* and other thematically related verse that begins on p. 73. This cluster is preceded by an acephalous copy of the religious poem *Triúr atá ag brath ar mo bhás*.[39]

73 *Mairg táobhas ben mo dhiaigh* (*DG* 82)
73 *Aoibhinn an galar grádh mna* (*DG* 2)
73 *Ná bí dom bhuaidreadh a bhean* (*DG* 42)
74 *Ar mbeannacht mur dhligheam dheit* (*DG* 33)
75 *Buadheartha an giolla e an grádh* (*DG* 62)
77 *Mithe dhamh fuireach go mín*
79 *Mo chion dar lucht abarrthach* (*DG* 74)
81 *A chiúin bhean na nurfholt*

In *DG* 82, the speaker warns that women's love is fleeting and in contrast to this, the speaker of *DG* 2 proclaims that love for a woman is a beautiful disease. The speaker of *DG* 42 asks a woman whose love has tormented him to keep away from him; the speaker of *DG* 33 claims that he is dying from love of a woman who is indifferent to him; the speaker in *DG* 62 again complains of how he suffers from love. *DG* 62 contains five quatrains as in Ó Rathile's edition and not seventeen as stated in the manuscript catalogue.[40] It is followed by a poem beginning *Mithe dhamh fuireach go mín* which is not included in the catalogue description: this is a poem in mixed syllabic and accentual verse in which each verse is connected by the linking alliterative device of *conchlann*. This poem treats of 'unhappy love' (Flower 1926: 171). In *DG* 74, the speaker tells a woman that he wishes the rumours circulating of a love affair between them were true. *DG* 74 is followed by *A chiúin bhean na nurfholt*, a verse in accentual metre in which a man addresses a woman who has said he is not worthy of her love. This is followed on pp. 81 and 82 by some other verses and miscellaneous scribblings, some of which deal with the topic of women.

There are a number of *dánta grá* in other parts of this manuscript as well as some other poems that touch on love or related topics. *DG* 13, a poem in praise of a woman's hair, is written on pp. 10–11. *DG* 41 begins on p. 27: this

[37]Abott and Gwynn (1922: 236).
[38]See Gwynn (1921/3: 1).
[39]See O'Rahilly (1927: poem 75).
[40]Abbott and Gwynn (1922: 237).

is now understood to be not a love poem but a professional praise poem in which the poet adopts the conceit of a woman who is torn between loving two men (Carney 1955: 259). It is preceded in the manuscript by an Ossianic lay, *Aoibhin do chaithim an bhliadhain*, in which Diarmuid Ó Duibhne of the Fianna boasts of his amorous success with women.[41] Two stanzas of a 'half illegible' love song are written on p. 96 (Abbott and Gwynn 1922: 238) and in the poem beginning *Tugas do mhnaoi grádh* on p. 113, a man announces his urge to tell the world of his love for a woman. The last two quatrains of this poem are illegible. *DG* 81 begins on p. 137: here, an apologue is used to explain the ending of a love relationship (Ó Caithnia 1984: 190). *DG* 81 is followed without a break by a version of *DG* 83, another *dán grá* that uses an apologue, here to express the idea that women's promises of fidelity are not to be trusted (Ó Caithnia 1984: 193). The text of *DG* 83 here is quite different to Ó Rathile's version. The pages that follow this contain again some miscellaneous verse on women, some of which is difficult to decipher. There is a copy of *DG* 3 on p. 151: in this poem, the speaker rebukes those who portray women in a negative light.

BL Egerton 187

Dán grá 101
This was written in 1686 by Uilliam Ó Loingsigh, a scribe of the Ó Neachtain circle, in Dublin: he lived in Dublin where 'he seems to have learnt his not impeccable Irish' (Flower 1926: 19). There is a copy of *DG* 101 on fol. 31 in the manuscript. This poem is rightly a moral poem, not a love poem: the manuscript as a whole is taken up with poetry including a number of other moral poems.

RIA MS 23 D 38 (26)

Dánta grá 78, 91
Uilliam Ó Duinnín wrote this in Dublin in 1688 for a man named Toirdhealbhach Ó Domhnaill. There is a series of anonymous poems in this manuscript on pp. 53–67: this begins with *DG* 78, in which the speaker praises a kiss he received from another man's wife, followed by *DG* 91 in which the speaker regrets that he no longer spends his time wooing as he once used to. There are no other poems that deal with love in this manuscript of miscellaneous content.

TCD MS H. 5. 3 (1375)

Dán grá 19
Cormac McPharlane wrote this manuscript in the years 1696–8. It contains poetry mostly: *DG* 19, an echo poem on love, is on p. 70 and in a colophon

[41]The manuscript text is 'largely illegible' (Abbott and Gwynn 1922: 237). For an edition of this lay, see Ó Siochfhradha (1941: 274).

after it, the scribe indicates that he was copying from an original which he had difficulty reading.[42]

NLS Adv. 72.1.36

Dánta grá 38, 55, 99, 102
This was written *c*. 1690–99 by Eoghan Mac Gilleoin (Hugh MacLean) of Kilchenzie, Kintyre for a man named Colin Campbell and contains poetry and some prose tales (Black 2011). *DG* 102, rightly a moralizing poem, begins on fol. 82v and finishes at the foot of fol.83r. *DG* 55, in which the speaker asks a messenger to tell a woman of his love, appears in the manuscript twice: on fol. 85r and on fol. 114v. The copy of *DG* 55 on fol. 85 is followed by *DG* 38. *DG* 99 is on fol. 93v.

RIA MS 23 D 4 (5)

Dánta grá 9, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 32, 36, 37, 38, 47, 57, 59, 60, 67, 68, 70, 80, 83, 84, 85, 89, 97, 98, 105, 106
The scribe of this manuscript is unidentified but O'Rahilly states that his spelling suggests he was a Munsterman; the manuscript is dated to the seventeenth century (O'Rahilly et al. 1926–70: 30). This manuscript contains more *dánta grá* than any other, most of which are written in four particular clusters within the manuscript, suggesting that the ordering of texts within the manuscript was to some extent based on thematic considerations. Other organising principles are also evident, however: there is, in particular, a tendency to write poems of unknown authorship one after another.

The first cluster of *dánta grá* is on pp. 52–65 within a larger grouping of anonymous poems from pp. 29–72.[43] It is interesting to note that the first *dán grá* in this cluster, *DG* 83, has a similar opening line to the two non-love poems that precede it in the manuscript, namely *Mairg rug ar an aimsirsi* and *Mairg do chuaidh re ceird ndúthchais*.[44] This cluster of *dánta grá* and other poems dealing with love runs as follows:

52 *Mairg do ní cumann ris na mnaibh* (*DG* 83)
55 [Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn], *An tusa an bhean do bhí sonn*
59 *Aoibhinn duit, a dhuine dhoill* (*DG* 28)
60 *Na bí dom buaidreadh, a bhean* (*DG* 17)
61 *Uch fa ríor, ón uch fa ríor* (*DG* 68)
62 *Fuar do féin an croidhe tinn* (*DG* 20)
63 *A Dhuibhghil, an ccloin tú an gháir*

[42]For discussion of *DG* 19 and the echo as a literary device, see Mac Craith (1989: 62–74).

[43]The authors of a number of these poems have, however, been identified from elsewhere by the cataloguer.

[44]The first of these is classified as a satire by Simms (2010: poem 1289). The second is known to have been composed by Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh and deals with 'the downfall of the poetic order' (Bergin 1970: 120).

64 *Leathtrom so, a inghean Úghna* (*DG* 60)
65 *Mor mo ghalur do ghrádh mná* (*DG* 23)

The text of *DG* 83 here is quite different to that of O'Rahilly's edition but the overall message of the poem, a warning to men not to confide in or trust women, remains the same. *An tusa an bhean do bhí sonn* is a love *aisling* and has features in common with the *dánta grá* (Knott 1922: lxiii). *DG* 28 and *DG* 17, mentioned earlier on in this paper, are both love poems. In *DG* 68, a man expresses the confused state he is in as a result of love's disease; *DG* 20 again deals with the suffering caused by love. The poem beginning *A Dhuibhghil, an ccloin tú an gháir* comes from the romantic tale *Bás Cearbhaill agus Farbhlaidhe* which was composed at some point between *c.* 1406 and 1555 (Ní Laoire 1986: 23).[45] At the point in the tale where this poem occurs, Farbhlaidhe's lover Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh remembers nothing about her, having imbibed a drink of forgetfulness, and he is wedded to another woman. While the wedding feast is taking place, Farbhlaidhe sneaks into Cearbhall's sleeping chamber with her foster-mother Duibhghil: in the poem, she expresses her anguish at hearing the clamour of the wedding and she curses any woman who will give credence to a man after her apparent betrayal by Cearbhall.[46] The story of Cearbhall and Farbhlaidhe was widely known and is referred to in a number of poems, including *DG* 69 (Ní Laoire 1986: 23). In *DG* 60, a woman named Eisibéal Stívín is reproached for the damage she has done to both the speaker in the poem and a man named Maghnas Ó Caoimh: it is not entirely certain if we are to take it at face value as a love poem or whether the love triangle depicted here stands as a metaphor for some other sort of relationship.[47] *DG* 23 is yet another poem on the pains of love.

A second cluster of love poems is found on pp. 124–38: these are written again within a larger grouping of anonymous poems running from pp. 117–40. The cluster of love poems is as follows:

124 *Seachnuig súil ní nách faiceann* (*DG* 84)
124 *A bhean na ccíoch ccorrsholus* (*DG* 32)
129 *Ar craig aluinn na n-eas mín*
130 *Neart Rí gréine ron cabhair*
131 *Gabh mo theagasg, a bhean bhán*
133 *Maith gach ní on easurra* (*DG* 57)
134 [Mac-con Ó Cléirigh], *A bhean na lurgan loime* (*DG* 97)
135 *Dlighthear díograis d'éanmhnaoi uaim*
136 [Maolmuire Ó Huiginn], *Slán uaim don dá aodhuire*
137 *Dubh Ruis do bo ríogha a ghnúis*

[45]Bruford (1966/9: 26–7) remarks that *Tochmarc Fearbhlaide* is a rare example of a romantic tale whose main theme is love and notes that it is 'based on known Old Irish sources, and owes nothing to continental romance'.

[46]See the edition by Ní Laoire (1986: 49–50).

[47]Cf. Mac Craith (1989: 174) who suggests that the poem may be a 'píosa spraoi' i.e. a playful poem not to be taken literally.

DG 84 deals with the end of a love affair. *DG* 32, a love poem, in this manuscript is longer than the text in *Dánta Grádha* and corresponds to an earlier edition of that poem published by O'Rahilly (1913: 239–43). In the notes to this edition, O'Rahilly states that the poems as it stands in RIA MS 23 D 4 (5) is probably 'not in its original form', due to the lack of a *dúnadh*. He furthermore suggests that the poem would gain by being divided into three parts (1913: 242). This suggestion does not correspond to the changes he made to the text in *Dánta Grádha*: there, he has left out stanzas 16–23 which give a list of great men – Ovid, Alexander the Great, Diarmuid Ó Duibhne and Conall Gulban – who were led astray by women, and stanza 28 which O'Rahilly thought to be an interpolation as it is in a different metre to the rest of the poem (1913: 243). *Ar craig aluinn na n-eas mín* and *Neart Rí gréine ron cabhair* have not been been published. The first of these is of the love *aisling* type: the speaker sees a fairy woman (*sioguidhe*), praises her beauty and states that this sight would make an old man young again. In the second poem, the speaker asks God 'to protect him from woman's love which he puts alongside other great dangers: the devil and worldliness' (Ó Cuív 1980: 78). The latter poem is thus moralizing poetry rather than a love poem, as is the poem that follows it, *Gabh mo theagasg, a bhean bhán* in which a woman is warned not to think too highly of her beauty.[48] Before *DG* 57, a couplet from *Gluais a litir go Lunndain* is written and then cancelled: the full poem is found on p. 98 in the manuscript.[49] *DG* 57 is a love poem but the status of *DG* 97 is less certain: it is classified as a satire by Simms (2010: poem 18) and Caball argues that it is 'a vituperative poem on [a man's] separation from his wife' that reveals his 'disdainful attitude to the Established Church' (1993: 90). *Dlighthear díograis d'éanmhnaoi uaim* is a poem 'for a loved one who surpasses all other women' (Ó Cuív 1980: 78). *Slán uaim don dá aodhuire*, discussed above, is not a love poem.

Some digression is necessary to demonstrate that the last poem in the list above is of thematic relevance. It is an elegy and may form part of a lost romantic tale which 'perished in the sixteenth or seventeenth century' (Ó Cuív 1954: 326). In later manuscripts, a newer version of the romance tale is placed as an introduction to the elegy: Ó Cuív suggests that this version preserves 'the gist' of the earlier tale, being 'probably based on old traditions' (1954: 326). The story as we have it depicts the healing power of the love relationship that develops between Mis, who has lost her mind after witnessing the slaying of her father, and Dubh Ruis. Although the elegy that is placed after this tale is attributed to Mis herself in a number of manuscripts (O'Rahilly 1950: 383), it is clearly uttered from the point of view of a male speaker.[50] There is a brief reference to Mis in stanza 19 of the elegy but Dubh Ruis's irresistibility to womankind as a whole is treated in more detail than any love relationship he

[48]Edited in Williams (1979: 58–9).

[49]This is edited in Bergin (1970: 151–3). The cancelled couplet corresponds to the first two lines of stanza 20 in the edition.

[50]This is noted in Ní Dhonnchadha (2002: 238).

might have had with Mis.[51] *Dubh Ruis do bo ríogha a ghnúis* is incomplete in RIA 23 D 4 (5) due to loss of a leaf: the manuscript copies of this text vary in the number of stanzas and their order (McKenna 1919: 83), so it cannot be assumed that the full text of RIA 23 D 4 (5) corresponded exactly to McKenna's edition. What remains of the poem in this manuscript has but a tenuous link to the love poems that precede it but it is not unreasonable to assume that the scribe was aware of the wider tradition concerning Dubh Ruis's love relationship with Mis and that this might have influenced his placing of the poem at the end of a cluster of poems dealing mostly with love.

The third cluster of *dánta grá* in this manuscript is less clearly defined in that it contains a good deal of non-love poetry too. Most of the poems here are anonymous but a number have authorial attributions.

212 Conchubhar Ó Dálaigh Cairbreach, *A Shiobhán, daingnidh ar ndáil*
213 *A chompáin, coimhnig meisi*
213 *Tre cheannarraic lucht fearainn is maoine is stóir*
214 *Truagh do thoisg, a fhir na scéal*
214 *Mairg do dhuine, mairg do neoch*
215 Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird, *An sgitheach thú, a mhacaoimh mná* (*DG* 70)
216 Muiris mac Dháibhí Dhuibh, *A ógáin, ón a ógáin* (*DG* 106)
217 idem, *Sguir dod tshuirghe, lean dod leas* (*DG* 105)
219 *A fhir dhéanta pleidi re bruinnealluibh stáit*
219 *A shaoghail, ón a shaoghail*
219 *A shaoghuil bhreaguidh ní fhuil eifeacht ann do chor*
220 *D'fhágbhas an saogal séadach*
221 *Aghuidh gach droichsgeoil amach* (*DG* 9)
223 *Ní hadhbhur seargtha go seirc* (*DG* 67)
224 *Da mudh dubh an fhairrge*

It is interesting to note that the poem at the beginning of the list above, *A Shiobhán, daingnidh ar ndáil* by Conchubhar Ó Dálaigh Cairbreach, is a petition to a female patron in which the the language of love relationships is used to express the bond between patron and poet.[52] This poem is followed by a love poem beginning *A chompáin, coimhnig meisi*.[53] The next three pieces deal with miscellaneous topics. *Tre cheannarraic lucht fearainn is maoine is stóir* is a verse in accentual metre on financial matters; *Truagh do thoisg, a fhir na scéal* depicts a person's response to receving an anguishing piece of news from a visitor, a response not entirely different to the suffering wrought by love upon the body in love poems;[54] *Mairg do dhuine, mairg do neoch* warns

[51]See McKenna (1919: 75–8). Dubh Ruis's desirability to women is mentioned in stanzas 10 and 17.

[52]See *ABM* (poem 21).

[53]Edited by Breatnach (2004: 140) and Ní Dhonnchadha (1994: 117–18).

[54]See O'Rahilly (1927: poem 34). The speaker does not know whether he is dead or alive, he cannot distinguish opposites, and so on.

against inhospitableness.[55] In *DG* 70, the speaker in an exaggerated tone asks a woman if she is not satisfied with the large number of men she has already killed with her beauty. *DG* 105 and *DG* 106 are both moral poems.[56] This verse in accentual metre beginning *A fhir dhéanta pléide le bruinnealaibh stáit* warns of the moral danger of seducing women.[57] The three pieces that follow this all deal with the concept of renunciation of the world. The first of these, *A shaoghail, ón a shaoghail* is by Fear Feasa Ó'n Cháinte.[58] The quatrain in accentual metre beginning *A shaoghuil bhreaguidh ní fhuil eifeacht ann do chor* is included as part of Ó'n Cháinte's poem in the catalogue description but I treat it here as a separate piece as there is a *dúnadh* at the end of the last quatrain in syllabic metre in *A shaoghail, ón a shaoghail*. In *D'fhágbhas an saogal séadach*, a man warns people not to hold on to worldly wealth. In *DG* 9, the speaker pokes fun at those who say they are dying from love; in *DG* 67, the speaker complains of the suffering caused to him by love. The two quatrains in accentual verse beginning *Da mudh dubh an fhairrge* deal with women, arguing that women's evil is so great that it would be impossible to ever express it fully.[59] The poems that follow have nothing to do with love or women.

The fourth and final cluster of love poems in this manuscript run from p. 383 to p. 403:

383 *Baoghal dí lá an bhreitheamhnuis* (*DG* 59)
384 *Ní mé bhur n-aithne, a aos gráidh* (*DG* 47)
386 *Iommhain, a bhean, h'óirneamh fhuilt* (*DG* 25)
387 *A bhean atá lán dom f[h]uath* (*DG* 85)
388 *Mairg duin dar dhán* (*DG* 37)
389 *Fada ag seargadh sinn* (*DG* 36)
389 *Mairg dara galar grádh baoth* (*DG* 22)
390 *Déanam fan moine so soir*
391 *Saobh do chiall, a chroidhe leamh* (*DG* 21)
392 *Soradh slán don oidhche a réir* (*DG* 38)
392 *Mo dheaghchnú gan cheilt tú go ccuirthar mhe a ccré*
393 *Sí mo ghrádh, ón sí mo ghrádh* (*DG* 18)
393 *Ni dhéan iomarca ar dhuine ar bheith míthreórach*
394 *Tugus mo thoil do dhías bhan*
395 *Tugus féin mo ghrádh ar fhuath* (*DG* 89)
395 *Ní mheallfa tú mhisi, a bhean* (*DG* 98)
397 *Cumann fallsa grádh na bhfear* (*DG* 80)
397 *Tuirseach mhe dod chomannsa*
398 *Uch, a bhreac, do bhás*
399 *Fuaras fríth is misde mhe*
400 *Ag amharc bacholl sallta na ccámdhlaoi mbuídhe*

[55]Edited by Breatnach (2004a: 196).
[56]See Williams (1979: 24).
[57]Edited by O'Rahilly (1925a: 23).
[58]Edited by McKenna (1938: 14–15)
[59]Edited by O'Rahilly (1921: 17).

In *DG* 59, a man loves a woman who is indifferent to him; *DG* 47 was discussed above; in *DG* 25, the speaker would be happy to die for the love of a woman. In *DG* 85, the speaker reminds a woman who now hates him that she once loved him; in *DG* 37, the speaker regrets that he ever saw the woman for whom he has unrequited love; in both *DG* 36 and *DG* 22, the speakers tell of the damage love has wrought upon them. *Déanam fan moine so soir* is a love poem in which a woman entices a young man to accompany her into a grove.[60] In *DG* 21, the speaker regrets that he ever trusted his foolish heart which has led him astray: the manuscript text contains two extra quatrains left out of Ó Rathile's edition.[61] *DG* 38, mentioned earlier, is a love poem. *Mo dheaghchnú gan cheilt tú go ccuirthar mhe a ccré* is a single verse in accentual metre which deals with the same theme as *DG* 38, that is to say, the sorrow of parting from a lover. *DG* 18 once more deals with the suffering caused by love. *Ni dhéan iomarca ar dhuine ar bheith míthreórach* is another single verse in accentual metre: here, the speaker appears to express his equanimity in the face of hardship. In *Tugus mo thoil do dhías bhan*, the speaker declares that he is torn between two women with whom he has fallen in love to the point that his heart has split in two. In *DG* 89, a man has changed from loving a woman to hating her; *DG* 98 is a moral poem in which the speaker condemns those who would choose love over the possibility of going to heaven; in *DG* 80, a female speaker condemns men for their deceit in amorous matters. *Tuirseach mhe dod chomannsa* deals not with love but with a friendship that has fallen apart.[62] *Uch, a bhreac, do bhás* and *Fuaras fríth is misde mhe* are both in a mix of syllabic and accentual verses linked by the device of *conchlann*: the first of these deals with the loss of a cow and the second is a love *aisling* in which the speaker tells of his suffering due to love.[63] *Ag amharc bacholl sallta na ccámdhlaoi mbuídhe* appears to be a verse in praise of a woman's beauty. The poems that follow these do not have any connection with love.

There are a number of other poems that deal with love in this manuscript, outside the clusters identified above. A poem connected with the romantic tale *Tochmharc Farbhlaidhe* is written on p. 71: this is the poem beginning *Uchán do lámh, a Dhuibhghil* in which Cearbhall expresses his sorrow that Duibhghil has been injured whilst enabling his continued contact with his lover Farbhlaidhe.[64] This is followed on p. 72 by *Slán le simeannrug Airt Óig* in which a male speaker 'has given up philandering to devote himself to the love of one faithful woman'.[65] Finally, there is a copy of the poem *A Shláine ingean Fhlannagáin*, discussed above, on p. 92 of the manuscript.

[60]Edited by Ní Dhonnchadha (1994: 116–17).

[61]These are probably later accretions to the original poem as there is a *dúnadh* at the end of O'Rahilly's edited text.

[62]O'Rahilly (1927: poem 24).

[63]My edition of this text is forthcoming.

[64]This poem is found in manuscripts both as an independent text and within some copies of the romantic tale. See Ní Laoire (1986: 16–17). For an edition, see Ní Laoire (1986: 73–4). See also the discussion of UCD A 25 above.

[65]Edited by Ó Cuív (1980: 78) who emends the word *simeannrug* in the first line to *sibheanradh* 'merry-making, pleasantry'.

BL Add. 40766

Dánta grá 1, 7, 10, 13, 35, 40, 41, 46, 52, 57, 71, 72, 74, 75, 87, 92, 104
This manuscript was '[w]ritten probably in the barony of Magherastephana, Co. Fermanagh, at the end of the [seventeen]th cent[ury]' and the scribe, who did not give his name, 'was no doubt a dependant of the Maguires of that region' and 'perhaps, particularly attached to Máire Ní Raghallaigh, wife of Rudhraighe Óg Mag Uidhir, called [fif]th Lord Enniskillen' (Flower 1926: 161).[66] Flower proposes that the manuscript may even have been written for Máire Ní Raghallaigh (1926: 162).[67] The contents of the manuscript are miscellaneous and it contains many poems on the Maguires and the O'Reillys.[68] A cluster of *dánta grá* begins on fol. 22b:

22b *Ni táobhtha dhamhsa riom féin* (*DG* 46)
23b *Maith gach ní on esurruigh* (*DG* 57)
24b *Trúagh mo dháil le deich laithibh* (*DG* 40)
25 *Aóibhinn a leabhráin do thríall* (*DG* 1)
26 *Mealltar ben le begán téad* (*DG* 72)
27 *Mairg duine bhíos antuigsech* (*DG* 75)
28 *Th'aire riot, a mhacáoimh mná* (*DG* 104)
28b [Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa], *Ionmholta maluirt bhisigh*
29b *Do cuireadh bréag ar an mbás* (*DG* 35)
31 *Beag liom mo bennocht don mbás* (*DG* 10)

DG 46, *DG* 57 and *DG* 40 deal with suffering caused by love. In *DG* 1, the speaker is separated by distance from his beloved and he wishes that he were about to travel towards her as is the book he addresses in the poem. In *DG* 72, the speaker regrets that he cannot play music as it is, he states, a highly effective way of seducing women. In *DG* 75, as mentioned above, the speaker regrets that he cannot have the woman he desires. *DG* 104 is a poem of admonishment in which a woman is warned to hide her beauty so as not to attract amorous advances. Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa's *Ionmholta maluirt bhisigh*, unattributed in this manuscript, seems out of place here in terms of theme: this poem 'deals in a good-humoured manner with the effect upon men of letters of the convulsions of society' (Bergin 1970: 127).[69] In *DG* 35, the speaker states that death is not as terrible a thing as people say and he salutes the woman who brought death upon him: this is a reversal of the

[66]I exclude from the discussion here a small number of texts in the manuscript which were added by Proinsias Ó Casaide in the late eighteenth century. See Flower (1926: 162).

[67]It is intriguing to consider that one of the main manuscript sources for the *dánta grá* may have been written for a woman given that modern critics tend to see the *dánta grá* as reflecting the interests of men. For an overview, see Nic Eoin (1998, 140–50). Such analysis, invaluable as it is, reflects the concerns of modern-day women, however, and has little to say about how women before the advent of feminism might have responded to the *dánta grá*.

[68]See also Carney (1950: vii and ix). For a poem that appears to have been composed for Máire Ní Raghallaigh, see Carney (1950: 233).

[69]For Ó hEódhusa's relationship with the Maguires of Fermanagh, see Carney (1967).

usual association between love and suffering that we find in the *dánta grá*. *DG* 10, discussed above, again pokes fun at those who claim to be dying from love.

Another loose cluster of *dánta grá* and poems dealing with related themes begins on fol. 44b:

44b Toirdhealbhach Ó Conchubhair, *Slán ma do phósadh*
44b *A bhen nach glacann mo ghrádh*
47b *A fhir éadmhuir aga mbí ben* (*DG* 92)
48b (Toirdhealbhach Ó Conchubhair, *A óga do ghlac na hairm*)
50b ([Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn], *Slúagh seisir thainic dom thigh*)
51b *A bhen fúair an falachán* (*DG* 13)
52 *Feach féin an obairsi, a Áodh* (*DG* 41)
55b *Sgéal ar dhíamhuir na suirghe* (*DG* 7)
56b *Mochion dar lucht abarrthaigh* (*DG* 74)
57 *A bhen éaras imtheacht liom* (*DG* 71)
58 *Trúagh nach misi mac Donnchaidh*
58b Tadhg Ó Ruairc, *Goinim thú, a náoidh bheg shíar*

Slán ma do phósadh is a wedding *crosántacht* composed by Toirdhealbhach Ó Conchobhair on the occasion of the wedding of Domhnall Óg Mág Aonghusa (d. 1659) and Sorcha Nic Uidhir (Griffin-Wilson 2010: 412–13): this epithalamium deals with sexual matters in a frank manner, encouraging the wedding couple to consummate their marriage, and also functions as a blessing upon their union (Griffin-Wilson 2010: 421–33).[70] *A bhean nach glacann mo ghrádh* is a dialogue poem in *rannaíocht mhór* in which an old man attempts to woo a young maiden.[71] These two pieces, then, have some thematic overlap with the love poems that follow them in the manuscript. In *DG* 92, mentioned before, the speaker gives advice to a jealous husband. The next two poems are not love poems: *A óga do ghlac na hairm* is a 'satirical poem … attacking cowardly and plundering officers on the Irish side in the wars of 1641' (Flower 1926: 168) and *Slaugh seisir táinig dom thigh* is a satire on members of the O'Hara clan (Knott 1922: xxxi and 278–80). These two poems are followed by a series of five *dánta grá*: *DG* 13 on a beautiful woman; *DG* 41, a praise poem that uses the metaphor of a woman torn between two lovers (see discussion above); *DG* 7, a history of the discovery of various acts of love; *DG* 74, in which a man wishes a rumoured love affair were true; *DG* 71, in which a man attempts to convince a woman to run away with him, citing famous couples from tradition who did likewise. *Trúagh nach misi mac Donnchaidh* also deals with love: in this poem, the speaker laments that he and his lover are not like Cearbhall and Farbhlaidhe in the romantic tale *Tochmharc Farbhlaidhe*.[72]

[70]For a diplomatic edition of this text with English translation, see Griffin-Wilson (2010: 436–41).

[71]See Flower (1926: 132).

[72]The text of BL Add. 40766 is given in Ní Laoire (1986: 24–5).

Goinim thú, a naoídh bheg shíar might also be classified as a love poem, being one 'in which the sports of love are … likened to the moves in a game of backgammon' (Flower 1926: 169).[73]

Aside from these two clusters in which love poems feature prominently, a small number of poems that deal with love or related topics are written separately in various parts of the manuscript. *DG* 87, spoken by a lover who has been deceived, begins on fol. 9. *DG* 52, featuring a despondent lover, is on fol. 66b.[74] *Ní chodlann an dobhrán donn* on fol. 79 tells of a lover who cannot sleep due to jealousy.[75] There is a copy of *Mithe dhamh fuireach go mín*, also found in TCD MS H. 5. 9 (1381) and discussed above, on fol. 85 here.

Rouen MS 1678

Dánta grá 9, 96 (i), 101

Rouen MS 1678 was written by an unidentified scribe in Co. Fermanagh at the end of the seventeenth century and it has much material in common with BL Add. 40766 and BL Egerton 127, two other manuscript sources for *dánta grá* (Vendryes 1928: 298–9). It contains mostly poetry. *DG* 101 is on pp. 60–1. There is a small cluster of poems on love in this manuscript, beginning on p. 215 with *Goinim thú, a náoidh bheg shíar* by Tadhg Ó Ruairc, followed by *DG* 9 and *DG* 96 (i).[76] The manuscript also contains the love *aisling* beginning *Do mhúsgail me tar eis luighe aroeir go sáimh* and the erotic poem *Fir an toighe ag seilg san sliabh* by Domhnall Mac Cárthaigh who composed *DG* 30 and *DG* 44.[77] The poem beginning *Do radas searc shíor don mhnaoi re ráidhtior cúach* is described by Vendryes in his catalogue as a 'pièce érotique' (1928: 303) but he later and rightly concluded that the woman in this poem is in fact a symbol for Ireland (1931: 45).

TCD MS 1355 H. 4. 14 (1355)

Dán grá 45

This manuscript was written by a number of scribes in the seventeenth century: dates between 1685 and 1700 are given. It contains tales and poems: *DG* 45, an *aisling* love poem, is written on p. 204.

RIA MS 23 I 40 (6)

Dánta grá 8, 33, 34, 39, 49, 50, 52, 53, 61, 63, 65, 77, 96 (i), 96 (ii), 97

Little is known about the production of this manuscript: it may have been written around 1700 and the scribe's spelling suggests that he came from County

[73]For an edition and discussion, see Greene (1955).

[74]The text here is in the form of *trí rainn agus amhrán* unlike O'Rahilly's edition which consists of the three syllabic quatrains only. See Ó Baoill and Ó Dochartaigh (1996: 107).

[75]Edited Ó Cuív (1972: 240).

[76]I.e. the first of the two poems edited by O'Rahilly as *DG* 96. Ó Ruairc's poem is mentioned in the discussion of BL Add. 40766 above.

[77]For the former, see the discussion of TCD MS H. 5. 28 (1399) above and for the latter, see Ó Buachalla 2013: 330–5).

Offaly or thereabouts (O'Rahilly et al. 1926–70: 38). Most of the *dánta grá* it contains are in one cluster, as follows:

38 *Fada leam an la amárach*
39 Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, *A dhuine na heasláinte*
41 idem, *A bhean chroidhe chompanta* (*DG* 96 (i))
42 idem, *A fhir chroidhe c[h]aruimsi* (*DG* 96 (ii))
42 *Coir foighide re ferg nDe*
45 *Deacuir tagra re treise*
46 *Aithreach damh mo dhíochoisge* (*DG* 61)
46 *Ní tinn galar acht gradh ruin* (*DG* 65)
47 *Meinic sin, a ghealltanuis*
48 *A dhuine chodhlas go sáimh* (*DG* 34)
48 *Ar mbeannacht mar dhlighim dhuit* (*DG* 33)
49 Maghnus Ó Domhnaill, *Croidhe lán do smuaintighthibh* (*DG* 52)
49 idem, *Dar leam is galar é in grádh* (*DG* 50)
50 idem, *Croidhe so dá ghoid uainne* (*DG* 49)
50 idem, *Goirt anocht dereadh mo sgél* (*DG* 53)
50 *Mór mhilleas an mheanma bhaoth* (*DG* 63)
51 *An ccluine mé, a mhacaoimh mna* (*DG* 39)
52 *Cara 7 eascara in fhearg*

In the eulogy *Fada leam an la amárach* the speaker uses the language of love poetry to describe his sorrow at his imminent departure (O'Rahilly 1927: poem 16). After this, we find three poems attributed to Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa. The first of these, *A dhuine na heasláinte*, is not a love poem by any means: in this poem an unwell man is advised of the diet and habits that will restore him to health.[78] *DG* 96 (i) and *DG* 96 (ii), giving a man and a woman's view of a love relationship, are written together here as was the case in the BOCD (see above). *Coir foighide re ferg nDe* and *Deacuir tagra re treise* are respectively a religious poem and a poem of petition and do not have any apparent thematic link with the *dánta grá* that surround them here.[79] *DG* 61, discussed above, gives voice to a disappointed lover and *DG* 65 depicts a man who is tormented by pangs of love. In *Meinic sin, a ghealltanuis*, a patron who does not deliver on his promises is reprimanded: this, again, has no thematic link to the *dánta grá*.[80] The next eight poems, four of which are by Maghnas Ó Domhnaill, are all found in O'Rahilly's anthology and all of them deal with aspects of the suffering caused by love. In the final poem above, *Cara agus eascara in fhearg*, it is argued that quarelling strengthens the bond of love rather than weakening it and the poet details his falling out and subsequent reconciliation with Máire, the daughter of a man named Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir. Bergin (1970: 167) gave this poem the title 'A lover's quarrel' but this is not to be

[78]This text is given in *ABM* (poem 10).
[79]See *ABM* (poems 109 and 155).
[80]See O'Rahilly (1927: poem 20).

taken literally: Damian McManus has argued that it is not a love poem but rather a poem on the bond between poet and patroness.[81]

Apart from this cluster, the manuscript contains a small number of other texts that are of interest in the context of this study. The first quatrain of *DG* 77, on a jealous husband, is written amongst a collection of miscellaneous quatrains on p. 30. *DG* 97 is written on p. 71.[82] On p. 73, a quatrain from *DG* 8 beginning *Cuid do dheire báid os tuinn*, which gives the name of a woman in code, is written as a loose quatrain.[83]

Siena G. IX. 50

Dán grá 101

The contents of this manuscript indicate that it may have been written in South Tipperary in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (Dooley 1991: 83). All three scribes who wrote in the manuscript are unidentified. It contains a large amount of syllabic poetry, including *DG* 101 on fol. 71r.

TCD MS H. 5. 10 (1382)

Dánta grá 7, 19, 106

This was written by Shane O'Sullivan in 1703 (Abbott and Gwynn 1921: 240). It is a miscellaneous volume containing mostly poetry, including three *dánta grá*. *DG* 19, an echo poem on love's torment, is on p. 17. This is surrounded by poems which deal with love or which give praise to women. These are *Cia an ealta ógban-so ad-chiam* in praise of three daughters of an O'Brien on p. 16 and the love *aisling* beginning *A laoidh, a dhaoine, an síltí go méarainn buan* beginning on p. 19.[84] The text of *DG* 7, on p. 75, contains verses in accentual metre between some of the syllabic quatrains: this version of the poem is also found in some other later manuscripts. *DG* 106 is written on p. 147: this, as noted before, is a moral poem. Elsewhere in the manuscript, we find a copy of *A bhean nach glacann mo ghrádh* on p. 155 and the poem *A naoi bheag neart-mhar do leathnaigh an ciach fám chlí* on p. 70.[85] In the latter poem, a poet expresses the effects of a woman's beauty upon his mind: Ó Cuív, however, takes this to be a praise poem, not a love poem (1986: 112).[86]

TCD MS H. 5. 11 (1383)

Dán grá 2

This manuscript of religious tracts and poems was written by Domhnall O'Reilly circa 1704 (Abbott and Gwynn 1922: 243). *DG* 2 is on p. 17 here.

[81]See McManus (forthcoming).

[82]See discussion of RIA MS 23 D 4 above.

[83]This quatrain is decoded by Ó Mainín (1958: 43).

[84]These are edited by Ní Cheallacháin as part of the *oeuvre* of Pádraigín Haicéad (1962: poems 28 and 2). On the lack of evidence for the attribution of the latter poem to Haicéad, see Breatnach (1989: 72).

[85]For the first of these, see the discussion under BL Add. 40766 above.

[86]The poem is edited in Ó Cuív (1986: 112–14).

RIA MSS 23 M 25 – 23 M 34 (15–24)

Dánta grá 50, 105, 106
These ten manuscripts were all originally one manuscript of miscellaneous content which was written by Eoghan Ó Caoimh in the years 1684–1707, partly while travelling throughout counties Cork and Kerry (O'Rahilly et al. 1926–70: 63; Ó Conchúir 1982: 33–6). *DG* 50, on love's disease, is written on p. 267. *DG* 106 is on p. 352 in the manuscript and *DG* 105 is on p. 522: these two poems are moral poems, not love poems. The poem *Dubh Rois do ba ríoghdha a ghnúis* from the romantic tale of Mis and Dubh Ruis is on p. 285.[87]

MN B 8

Dán grá 11
Héinrí Ó Carraic/Mac Carrtha wrote this in Sligo in the years 1701–8. It contains poetry and a copy of Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's *Cuimre*.[88] *DG* 11 is on p. 3 in the manuscript and ends with an extra verse in accentual metre. The quatrain on p. 5 in this manuscript beginning *Fadogh seirce fearg an ghráidh* and attributed to Feidhlim Ó Headhra deals with friendship rather than love.

The Red Book of Clanranald

Dánta grá 38, 66
The Red Book of Clanranald was written in South Uist from *c*. 1686 to 1727 and mostly by Niall MacMhuirich (*c*. 1637–1726) (Gillies 1987: 42; Thomson 1987: 186; Black 1989: 156). It contains a great deal of historical material and some poetry, including copies of *DG* 38 and *DG* 66.[89] It also contains a love poem in mixed syllabic and accentual metres with the linking device of *conchlann* between each quatrain: this poem begins with the line *Aoibhinn an galar e an grá* and, as its first line indicates, it deals with the suffering caused by love.[90]

Vendryes Irish manuscript

Dánta grá 3, 26, 99, 100, 101
This manuscript was formerly in the private possession of Joseph Vendryes and is now stored in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (de Brún 1988: 32 and 69). It was written by Pól Ruillis/Paul Rutledge at the beginning of the eighteenth century: the date 1714 is given for one of the texts it contains (Vendryes 1931a: 236–8) and it seems that Ruillis was living in northern France at the time of writing (ibid. 239). Vendryes was of the opinion that Ruillis copied pieces in English, French and Irish from various sources into this manuscript for his own

[87]See discussion of RIA MS 23 D 4 (5) above.
[88]On the latter, see Ó Muraíle (2002: 266–7).
[89]The texts of these are given in Cameron, McBain and Kennedy (1894: 289–91).
[90]Cameron, McBain and Kennedy (1894: 288–9).

use and amusement (1931a: 241). We find the following cluster of *dánta grá* beginning on p. 233:

233 *Cia thú fein a mhaccaoimh mna* (*DG* 101)
234 *Leig diot h'airm, a maccaoimh mná* (*DG* 26)
235 *Ni bhfuighe misi bás duit* (*DG* 99)
235 *Céud slán iomraidh do na mnáibh* (*DG* 3)

A small number of loose quatrains are written among these poems and they are followed on p. 237 by a poem in praise of a woman beginning *A stát bhean úr na ttromfholt taisfhréamhach*. Separately, the accentual verse beginning *Do bheirimse faem bréithir dá mbáití an sluagh*, found at the end of *DG* 100, is written as a loose quatrain on p. 305.

Conclusion

Some of the *dánta grá* express the amorous sentiments of the poems' speakers and their experiences of love, and others present more abstract or generalised arguments on love. In most cases, the impetus for their composition is unknown to us, as is the degree to which they are to be taken as sincere, but the fact of their survival in manuscripts suggests that the poems had a resonance beyond the circumstances of their composition and earliest performances. In some of the early sources discussed above, we find quatrains from *dánta grá* written in marginal positions – literally, in the case of NLS Adv. 72.1.2 and metaphorically, in the case of Br MS 6131–3 where a quatrain from a *dán grá* is written inside the manuscript's cover. Most of the early sources contain one or a small number of *dánta grá*: these are generally written amongst texts of different kinds but occasionally, we find small clusters of two or more love poems in these manuscripts. We might take the larger clusters of *dánta grá* in manuscripts compiled for people such as Somhairle Mac Domhnaill, Máire Ní Raghallaigh (or a relative of hers), and the unknown patrons of Ó Rathile's other three named manuscripts as representing a new trend that emerged in the seventeenth century, but given the great loss of Irish manuscripts after the destruction of the Gaelic order, it is not inconceivable that such clusters also existed in other manuscripts now lost.[91] It is also possible that the compilers of the five named manuscripts might have had access to such sources for their own work: the separate clusters of *dánta grá* we find in RIA MS 23 D 4 (5), for example, hint that the compiler may have had access to a number of separate sources over a period of time. These five manuscripts come from different and distant locations – one was written in Munster, another in Fermanagh, another in Breifne, another the Irish Midlands and another in Ostend for an Ulsterman by an Ulsterman: this suggests that Ó Rathile's named manuscripts represent a widely spread interest. The Book of the Dean of Lismore is a unique manuscript in many respects but the bulk of the

[91]On this destruction, see Ó Corráin (2011–12). Ó Rathile alludes to this in his introduction, mentioning that the great majority of Irish love poems were lost forever with the destruction of the Irish manuscripts ('nuair a dineadh an léirsgrios ar lss. na Gaelge') (1926: viii).

evidence we have at this stage points to the poetry it contains as representing the wider Gaelic tradition of both Scotland and Ireland rather than a separate development in Scotland or a once-off literary experiment carried out by the Dean and his collaborators.[92] There are only two *dánta grá* in it that feature in Ó Rathile's anthology but, as discussed above, it contains many other poems that deal with love and related topics and might thus be regarded as a sixth substantially-sized compilation of such poetry and an indicator that interest in compiling such material existed also in the sixteenth century. It is interesting to note that *DG* 27, *DG* 54, *DG* 55 and *DG* 76 are found only in Scottish manuscripts. *DG* 27 may have come from Ireland (see discussion of NLS Adv. 72.1.35 above) and it is already known that the composer of *DG* 54, Isibeul Ní Mhic Cailín, was a Scottish woman but the evidence of the manuscripts also suggests that *DG* 55 and *DG* 76, both poems of unknown authorship, may belong to that country.[93]

The *dánta grá* are never labelled as such in the manuscripts: the term *dán grá* is not, to my knowledge, found in any manuscript and may have been coined by Ó Rathile himself. It first appears as the title of his 1916 anthology and is apparently a direct translation of the English 'love poem', a term Ó Rathile had used in earlier writings referring to the poems that would later become known as *dánta grá*.[94] It seems likely that Ó Rathile was also influenced in his choice of title by Douglas Hyde's *Abhráin Ghrádha Chúige Connacht* which appeared in 1893.[95] There are a number of different terms that appear to refer to love poems in Irish texts but they are not widely attested. I have found two instances of the term *laoidh chumainn*, the plural form of which Ó Rathile used as the title for his 1925 collection of love poems. In the opening line of *DG* 95, a man asks a woman to remember the *laoidh chumainn* (poem of love/affection) he has composed for her (*Meabhraigh mo laoidh chumainn-se*). This term is also used in a story in Keating's *History of Ireland*. Here, the *laoidh chumainn* is composed by a woman: Moiriath, the daughter of a west Munster king composes a lay to express her love for Maon, later known as Labhraidh Loingseach, and sends the harper Craiftine to France to sing this lay for her beloved:

> Agus is é ní da dtáinig a bhréagadh ón bhFraingc go hÉirinn, grádh éagmaiseach tug Moiriath inghean Scoiriath ríogh críche bhFear Morc i n-iarthar Mumhan dó, ar méid na clú is na dteastas

[92]For discussion of this question, see Gillies (2016: 262–6). His point that the contrast between the apparent bawdiness of some of the poems in the BDLM and their Irish equivalents is due to Ó Rathile's particular conception of what constitutes a love poem is worth reiterating here (2016: 264). That said, I have yet to find a poem as explicit as Duncan Campbell's *Bod bríoghmhor atá ag Donncha* (Gillies 1983: 66–7) in the Irish manuscripts!

[93]Niall Mór Mac Muireadhaigh, to whom *DG* 38 is attributed, was, of course, also a Scotsman: *DG* 38, like many of the *dánta grá* that appear in Scottish manuscripts, also circulated in Irish manuscripts.

[94]See Mac Craith (1989: 15–17) for excerpts of some of Ó Rathile's writings on the *dánta grá* prior to 1916.

[95]Hyde included a number of *dánta grá* in this collection and noted the difference between them and the love songs which made up the bulk of his volume. For discussion, see Mac Craith (1989: 12–13).

> do bhí air. Ollmhuighthear lé Craiftine Cruitire, oirfideach do bhí fán am soin i nÉirinn, ré dul 'n-a dhiaidh don Fhraingc agus iomad do ghréithribh geanamhla leis mar aon ré **laoidh chumainn** 'n-ar nocht sí díoghainne a dioghraise do Mhaon ; agus sinnis port síthbhinn ar a chruit ar rochtain na Fraingce do Chraiftine an tan ráinig mar a raibhe Maon; agus gabhais an **laoidh chumainn** do rinne Moiriath inghean Scoiriath do Mhaon.
>
> 'And the way in which he was allured from France to Ireland was that Moiriath daughter of Scoiriath, king of the territory of Feara Morc in west Munster, conceived a violent passion for him on account of the greatness of his name and fame. She equipped Craiftine the harper, a musician who was in Ireland at the time, that he might go after him to France with many love-presents, together with a love lay in which she set forth the intensity of her passion for Maon; and when Craiftine arrived in France, he played a very sweet tune on his harp when he came to where Maon was, and he sang the love-lay which Moiriath daughter of Scoiriath had composed for Maon.' (Dinneen 1908: 164–5)

In the anonymous poem *Dlighthear díograis d'éanmhnaoi uaim* found in RIA MS 23 D 4 (5), the speaker refers to the poem he is composing for the woman he loves as a *duain díograis*:

> Ag so ar nduain diograis dibh
> a sduaig is miontaisi meoir.[96]
>
> 'This is my poem of affection to you
> O lady whose fingers are gentlest and most delicate.'

The term *duain chumainn* is listed by the poet Seán Ó Gadhra (fl. 1722) as one of a number of types of poems a professional poet would have been expected to be able to compose, but it is not clear whether *cumann* here refers to love, friendship or alliance, all three being concepts covered by its semantic range.[97]

Most of the later manuscript sources listed below only contain one or a small number of *dánta grá*. Those which contain large clusters of *dánta grá* are copies of earlier manuscripts, not independent compilations. These are Hyde MS 56, MN C 87 (b), RIA MS 12 F 8 (888) and UCC T lvii (a) from RIA MS 23 D 4 (5) and UCC M 55 from BL Add. 40766.[98] Forty-two of our later manuscripts are the work of members of the Ó Longáin family of scribes and their associates.[99] We have copies of seventeen different *dánta*

[96]RIA MS 23 D 4 (5), p. 135.

[97]For discussion of this term as used by Ó Gadhra, see Ní Dhonnchadha (2002b: 295) and Ó Macháin (2013: 155–8).

[98]Some other later manuscripts also contain texts from early ones but I omit such details here.

[99]Tadhg Ó Cuarthnáin, Seán Ó Muláin, Eoghan Tóibín, Tadhg Ó Conaill and Seán Ó Cuarthnáin were all friends of Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin's. For more on Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin's contacts with other scribes, see Ó Conchúir (1982) and Ní Úrdail (2000).

grá in the hand of Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin.[100] In two manuscripts of his, he wrote a number of *dánta grá* together. In RIA MS F vi 2 (253), written in 1813 for a man named Seán Ó Connughadh and of whom little else is known, Ó Longáin wrote a number of *dánta grá* and thematically related poems together with a prefatory note to the effect that they are 'light poems suitable for young readers' (O'Rahilly et al. 1926–70: 661). Whether this view is to be taken as a reflection of that of earlier centuries is, however, doubtful. Again, in MN M 2, written in 1818 for the Catholic bishop of Cork, Seán Ó Murchú, a number of *dánta grá* and other poems on women are written together on pp. 212–32.[101] Such thematic arrangements are a rarity in the later sources, however. Many of the manuscripts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were written by 'manuscript men' or non-professional scribes often working in less than ideal circumstances, but in the nineteenth century, we begin to find copies of *dánta grá* in manuscripts written by people who were able to receive a stronger degree of support for the labour of copying Irish manuscript materials, through literary or antiquarian societies or academic institutions or on account of their privileged position in society.[102] These include John O'Daly, member of the Celtic Society and the Ossianic Society; Nicholas Kearney, one-time member of the Ossianic Society; the antiquarians Standish Hayes O'Grady and Eugene O'Curry; the scholar John O'Donovan; Seamus Goodman, Professor of Irish in Trinity College Dublin from 1879 onwards; W.S. O'Brien, Irish Nationalist MP; Pól Ó Longáin, employed by the Royal Irish Academy from 1854 onwards. It must be stressed that, in the case of most of these scribes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whatever their background or their means, love poetry was far from their central preoccupation and there is no sense that they saw it as a particularly important or revelatory part of the literary remains of earlier ages. That said, the later manuscript sources are not without importance. The earliest copies of twelve of the *dánta grá* are found in these, namely *DG* 5, *DG* 12, *DG* 16, *DG* 24, *DG* 30, *DG* 31, *DG* 43, *DG* 44, *DG* 58, *DG* 93 and *DG* 95, the earliest copies of which are in eighteenth-century manuscripts, and *DG* 29 which first appears in a nineteenth-century manuscript. The latter poem is attributed to an Uilliam Ruadh whom Ó Rathile (1926: 148) suggests may be Uilliam Rua Mac Coitir (*c.* 1690–1738): the late dates of the manuscript sources do not preclude this possibility.

Ó Rathile generally based his editions on good early manuscript copies of the poems, the texts of which were then normalised in accordance with the editorial practices of his time.[103] In a small number of cases, he has made more substantial changes to the manuscript texts, changes that could not be made silently by a modern-day editor. The most striking examples are *DG* 69 and *DG* 21 from which stanzas have been excised and *DG* 43, where the layout

[100]These are *DG* 5, 6, 7, 14, 16, 19, 24, 26, 31, 58, 66, 83, 86, 92, 100, 105 and 106.

[101]Ó Murchú was an important patron and supporter of the Irish language. See Ó Conchúir (1982: 222–4).

[102]For an account of the 'manuscript men', see de Brún (1972).

[103]On the development of editorial approaches to syllabic verse, see Mac Cárthaigh (2010: 36–7).

of quatrains in the sole manuscript copy is different to that of the edition (see Appendix II below). Many of the poems have rather complex manuscript traditions and while many of the later copies may be shown to be corrupt and thus unhelpful in resolving problems in earlier texts, they cannot be dismissed out of hand. A curious omission from Ó Rathile's list of *dánta grá* poets (1926: 148) is Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird to whom *DG* 70 is attributed in RIA MS 23 D 4 (5). Mac an Bhaird flourished around the first quarter of the seventeenth century (Hoyne 2011: 59–60) and I see no reason to doubt this attribution. Some of the later manuscripts give other authorial attributions not found in Ó Rathile's anthology but I have not recorded these here as they are likely to be spurious.

The present-day conception of the *dánta grá* as a distinct literary genre is very much coloured by Ó Rathile's choice of poems for inclusion in his collections: there are other poems in the manuscripts discussed above (and in other manuscripts not discussed in this paper) that might also be thought of as belonging the the category of *dánta grá*. In some of the manuscripts, we also find poems from romantic tales transmitted along with *dánta grá*: I would contend that this shows that there is a certain porousness between genres and that prose and prosimetric texts must also be taken into account when we seek to understand how people thought about love in early modern Ireland. I have noted instances of non-love poems within the clusters discussed above that share thematic links with the *dánta grá*: these include poems that deal with related topics such as sex, friendship or sexual morality, or poems that use language and imagery typical of the *dánta grá* for purposes other than discussing love or expressing amatory sentiments. These poems certainly have no place in an anthology of love poetry but they remind us that the *dánta grá* are best read as forming one part of the wider literary experience of poets, patrons and audiences.

Appendix I: later manuscript sources for the *dánta grá*

For further information on these manuscripts listed below, the reader is referred to de Brún (1988). In some late manuscripts, such as NLI G 200 (a), quatrains from *DG* 82 and *DG* 83 and occasionally other poems are combined. I have generally not noted such composite texts in the description below and have categorised these texts by the poem from which their opening quatrain comes.

Aber A 7 (NLW MS 414D), Tomás Mac Eochagáin, after 1824: *DG* 16 (p. 156).
Aber A 23 (NLW MS 5341A), Risteárd Mac Gearailt, 1768: *DG* 83 (p. 41).
Aber A 25 (NLW MS 5343C), unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 19 (p. 22).
BC, Mícheál Mac an Bhaird, Melvin, Co. Leitrim, 1823–8: *DG* 5 (p. 38), *DG* 45 (p. 100); *DG* 45 (p. 102).[104]
Bel XXXIII, A, Roibeard Mac Ádaimh copying from a manuscript of 1844: *DG* 14 (p. 4).
BL Add. 18749, Donnchadh Mag Oireachtaigh for Samuel Coulter of Carnbeg near Dundalk, Co. Louth, 1792: *DG* 14 (fol. 18).
BL Add. 34119, Laurence McNally, Ratoath, Co. Meath, 1765: *DG* 83 (fol. 40).
BL Eg. 122, Finghín Ó Scannail, nineteenth century: *DG* 45 (fol. 89 b), *DG* 99 (fol. 90b.), *DG* 19 (fol. 136).
BL Eg. 127, Muiris Ó Gormáin, 1775: *DG* 92 (fol. 14b), *DG* 94 (fol. 14 b), *DG* 77 (fol. 14b), *DG* 2 (fol. 15), *DG* 14 (fol. 16), *DG* 101 (fol. 31b), *DG* 90 (fol. 36).[105]
BL Eg. 128, Muiris Ó Gormáin, 1748–9: *DG* 102 (fol. 112), *DG* 103 (fol. 112b).
BL Eg. 146, Edward O'Reilly, nineteenth century: *DG* 45 (fol. 97b).
BL Eg. 155, Fearghal Ó Raghallaigh, probably of Co. Meath or Co. Cavan, 1790–6: *DG* 44 (fol. 82), *DG* 77 (fol. 83 b), *DG* 101 (fol. 134b).
BL Eg. 158, Séamus Ó Broin, Cork, 1736–9: *DG* 1 (fol. 46b).
BL Eg. 161, various unidentified scribes, Ulster, 1778–88: *DG* 14 (fol. 21), *DG* 92 (fol. 22b), *DG* 94 (fol. 23b), *DG* 77 (fol. 40),[106] *DG* 2 (fol. 40b).
BL Eg. 174, Pádraig Ó Doibhlin of Meath for Conn Ó Néill, first half of the eighteenth century: *DG* 101 (fol. 39).
BL Eg. 178, Séamus Mag Oireachtaigh, probably at Ballintober, Co. Roscommon, 1782: *DG* 90 (fol. 4), *DG* 3 (fol. 4).
BL Eg. 192, Séamus Mag Uidhir in Sligo for Tadhg Ó Baoighealláin, 1729: *DG* 77 (fol. 11b).
BL Eg. 211, Seán Ó Murchú na Ráithíneach, Cork for Muiris Ó Conchúir, 1758: *DG* 105 (fol. 9b).
Car 2 (MS 2.395), John O'Daly, 1848: *DG* 106 (p. 43), *DG* 11 (p. 67), *DG* 50 (p. 75), *DG* 105 (p. 99), *DG* 11 (p. 224).

[104]This is the manuscript catalogued by Nilsen (1985: 3–12) and now held in Boston College, Massachusetts.
[105]*DG* 77 here begins with the line *Gach maith o neamh go lár.*
[106]*DG* 77 here begins with the line *Gach maith ó neamh go lár.*

Cam 10 (Add. 3085), (a), Art Mac Bionighacht/Mac Bionamhacht, 1831–2: *DG* 82 (fol. 4r), *DG* 83 (fol. 4v).
Cam 13 (Add. 4182), Tadhg Ó Cuarthnáin, Cork, 1825: *DG* 24 (p. 62), *DG* 7 (p. 152), *DG* 7 (p. 167).
Cam 34 (Add. 6532), (f), Standish Hayes O'Grady, nineteenth century: *DG* 50 (fol. 2v).
Cam 38 (Add. 6558), Standish Hayes O'Grady, mid-nineteenth century: *DG* 1 (p. 137).[107]
Cam 48 (Add. 7089), Standish Hayes O'Grady, *c.* 1850–1: *DG* 106 (p. 22), *DG* 11 (p. 81), *DG* 83 (p. 308).
CC1, Eoghan Ó Comhraí, Dublin, 1846 for Father Mathghamhain Ó Caolaí: *DG* 30 (p. 80).
CF 5, Éamann Ó Mathghamhna. *c*. 1842: *DG* 106 (p. 65), *DG* 105 (p. 68).
CF 8, Pól Ó Longáin for Father Muiris Cinnefic, 1842: *DG* 105 (p. 130).
DeBr 2, unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 103 (p. 18).
Don 1, Ó Murchaidh (firstname unknown), *c*. 1777: *DG* 82 (p. 134).
Dun 2, Tomás Ó hÍceadha of Ballygray, Co. Tipperary, nineteenth century: *DG* 83 (p. 208).
Hyde MS 56, John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry, nineteenth century: *DG* 83 (p. 24); *DG* 28 (p. 31); *DG* 17 (p. 32); *DG* 20 (p. 34); *DG* 60 (p. 36); *DG* 23 (p. 39); *DG* 83 (p. 93); *DG* 28 (p. 96); *DG* 17 (p. 97); *DG* 68 (p. 97); *DG* 20 (p. 98); *DG* 60 (p. 99); *DG* 23 (p. 100); *DG* 84 (p. 136); *DG* 32 (p. 136); *DG* 57 (p. 141); *DG* 97 (p. 141); *DG* 106 (p. 191).
HW, unidentified scribe, 1813: *DG* 45 (p. 42).
KI 5, Daniel Fullerton alias Mac Cloy(e), Corkey, Loughguile, Co. Antrim, 1755: *DG* 105 (p. 47).
Liv 12079M, Maolmuire Mac Paralán, 1776–7: *DG* 5 (p. 104).
Mad 180, Tadhg Mac Aogáin, 1836–7: *DG* 31 (p. 105), *DG* 7 (p. 127), *DG* 5 (p. 131).
Mal A, Uilliam Ó Cléire of 'Ráithín', *c*. 1763: *DG* 24 (p. 38).
Mal K, unidentified scribe, eighteenth or nineteenth centuries: *DG* 2.[108]
ML 11, unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 78 (p. 117), *DG* 91 (p. 119).
MN B 6, unidentified scribe, possibly from Ossory, late eighteenth to early nineteenth century: *DG* 4 (p. 33), *DG* 5 (p. 33), *DG* 7 (p. 75), *DG* 83 (p. 83).
MN C 21 (3 A 21), Séamus Ó Muraidheagh/Jacobus Murry, 1729: *DG* 8 (p. 5).
MN C 25 (3 A 24), (a), Seon Lloyd, Limerick, 1773: *DG* 8 (p. 14).
MN C 49 (3 B 18), Domhnall Ó Briain, *c*. 1789: *DG* 105 (fol. 10b).
MN C 71, (c), unknown scribe of the nineteenth century: *DG* 1 (item 22).
MN C 72, (4), Richard Ryan, Dungarvan, 1767: *DG* 105 (p. 7).
MN C 74, (c), James Scanlon, Astee, Co. Kerry for Peadar Ó Conaill in Dublin, 1788:[109] *DG* 16 (p. 3).
MN C 74, (g), (5), Diarmuid Ó Drisceoil, 1763: *DG* 69 (fol. 2a).

[107]This text is copied from Hardiman (1831: 343)
[108]The pages are unnumbered in the catalogue description.
[109]The poem was enclosed with a letter sent by Scanlon to Ó Conaill.

MN C 74, (i), Giolla Bríde Mac Bruadhigha, 1718: *DG* 8 (p. 15).
MN C 87, (b)/(2 G 13), Eoghan Ó Comhraí, 1841–60: *DG* 106 (p. 441), *DG* 105 (p. 441), *DG* 9 (p. 444), *DG* 67 (p. 445), *DG* 59 (p. 535), *DG* 47 (p. 536), *DG* 25 (p. 537), *DG* 85 (p. 538), *DG* 37 (p. 538), *DG* 36 (539), *DG* 22 (p. 540), *DG* 21 (p. 541), *DG* 38 (p. 541), *DG* 18 (p. 542), *DG* 89 (p. 543), *DG* 98 (p. 544), *DG* 80 (p. 544).
MN C 92, (g), unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 104 (p. 3).
MN C 95, Peadar Ó Conaill, *c*. 1784: *DG* 100 (p. 121).
MN C 102 (k), Uilliam Ó Cearmada, 1789: *DG* 93 (p. 58).
MN M 2 (3 C 2), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin, Cork for Dr Seán Ó Murchú, Bishop of Cork, 1818: *DG* 24 (p. 213), *DG* 16 (p. 213), *DG* 31 (p. 217), *DG* 26 (p. 220), *DG* 66 (p. 221), *DG* 100 (p. 225), *DG* 58 (p. 225), *DG* 5 (p. 226), *DG* 83 (p. 227), *DG* 86 (p. 230).
MN M 4 (3 C 4), Peadar Ó Longáin, 1818: *DG* 19 (p. 365).
MN M 6 (3 C 6), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin and Eoghan Tóibín, 1818:[110] *DG* 83 (p. 404), *DG* 6 (p. 432).
MN M 7 (3 C 7), Peadar Ó Longáin, 1818: *DG* 86 (p. 16).
MN M 9 (3 C 9), Seán Ó Muláin, Cork, *c.* 1818: *DG* 5 (p. 209), *DG* 29 (p. 222).
MN M 10 (3 C 10), Eoghan Tóibín, Cork, 1817: *DG* 5 (p. 317).
MN M 11 (3 C 11), Seán Ó Muláin for Bishop John Murphy, Cork, 1817: *DG* 19 (p. 267).
MN M 13 (3 C 13), appendix, Domhnall Ó Súilleabháin, Maynooth, *c*. 1818: *DG* 16 (p. 5), *DG* 101 (p. 341).
MN M 14 (3 C 14), Seán Ó Muláin and Pól Ó Longáin, *c.* 1820:[111] *DG* 11 (p. 255), *DG* 5 (p. 285).
MN M 57 (3 F 5), (a), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in various locations, 1785–9: *DG* 19 (p. 35).
MN M 57 (3 F 5), (c), Séamus Ó Cinnéide, 1789: *DG* 105 (p. 200).
MN M 70 (3 F 18), Tadhg Ó Conaill, Cork, *c*. 1820: *DG* 106 (p. 46), *DG* 105 (p. 51).
MN M 72 (3 F 20), Tadhg Ó Conaill, Cork, 1822: *DG* 106 (p. 161), *DG* 105 (p. 163).
MN M 84 (4 A 10), Seán Ó Murchú na Ráithíneach, Co. Cork, 1738–47: *DG* 106 (p. 137), *DG* 105 (p. 261).
MN M 85, Donnchadh Rua Mac Conmara, 1758: *DG* 11 (p. 64).
MN M 86 (4 A 11), (a), Eamon Ó Cearmhic/Kerby, 1775–6: *DG* 92 (p. 13), *DG* 83 (p. 15), *DG* 7 (p. 22).
MN M 89 (4 A 14), Tadhg Ó Conaill, nineteenth century: *DG* 105 (p. 137).
MN M 94, Seán Ó Cuarthnáin, Cork, 1820: *DG* 19 (p. 24), *DG* 26 (p. 285), *DG* 31 (p. 366), *DG* 5 (p. 374).
MN M 95 (4 B 1), Seán Ó Murchú na Ráithíneach in Carrignavar, Co. Cork for Seán Builléad, 1754–5: *DG* 83 (p. 31).

[110]Ó Longáin wrote *DG* 6, Tóibín *DG* 83.
[111]Ó Muláin wrote *DG* 5, Ó Longáin *DG* 11,

MN M 96 (4 B 2), Pól Ó Longáin and Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin, Cork, *c*. 1817 : *DG* 106 (p. 270), *DG* 105 (p. 272).
MN M 107 (4 B 10), unidentified scribe, eighteenth century: *DG* 99 (p. 255).
MN M 111 (4 B 14), Seán Ó Finúcain for Seán Ó hAnnracháin, 1764–8: *DG* 8 (p. 14).
MN MF 9, Aodh Ó Néill, Newry, Co. Down, 1802–3: *DG* 2 (p. 11), *DG* 14 (p. 16), *DG* 101 (p. 67), *DG* 90 (p. 76).
MN R 97 (3 G 14), Mícheál Ó Raghallaigh, Ennistimon, Co. Clare, 1827–46: *DG* 8 (p. 513).
Ms Longfellow 5709 (Section C), nineteenth century, unknown scribe, 1813: *DG* 45 (p. 42).[112]
NLI G 38, Muiris Ó Gormáin, eighteenth century: *DG* 101[113] (p. 71).
NLI G 82, Seán Mac an tSaoir/John Carpenter, Dublin, 1744–5: *DG* 82, *DG* 86, *DG* 45.[114]
NLI G 122, Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, England, *c*. 1849: *DG* 19 (p. 188).
NLI G 127, Richard Tipper, 1713–15: *DG* 30 (p. 271).
NLI G 140, Matha Ó Troidhthe/Matthew Troy, 1724–40: *DG* 42 (p. 562).
NLI G 193, Domhnall Ó hUiginn, Drumcliff, Co. Clare, 1774–1813: *DG* 8 (p. 67).
NLI G 200 (a), Peadar Ó Gealacáin, 1828–39: *DG* 82 and *DG* 83 (p. 261),[115] *DG* 104 (p. 294).
NLI G 210, Seán Ó hAnnracháin, Honeypound, Co. Limerick, 1811: *DG* 8 (p. 1).
NLI G 234, Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, 1841: *DG* 16 (p. 99).
NLI G 319, Mícheál mac Peadair Ó Longáin, eighteenth to nineteenth centuries: *DG* 66 (p. 114).
NLI G 351, Muiris Ó Conchúir, Cork, 1758–64: *DG* 5 (p. 97).
NLI G 360, Eoghan Tóibín, Cork, 1815: *DG* 7 (p. 163).
NLI G 403, Tomás Ó hÍceadha, 1845–9: *DG* 8 (p. 171).
NLI G 429, Seán Ó Murchú na Ráithíneach, Cork, 1721–25: *DG* 19 (p. 27).
NLI G 433, Mícheál mac Peadair Ó Longáin, eighteenth to nineteenth centuries: *DG* 31 (p. 98), *DG* 100 (p. 124), *DG* 66 (p. 168), *DG* 14 (p. 168).
NLI G 436, Séamus Ó Fithcheallaigh, Rossinver, Co. Leitrim, 1823–8. *DG* 45 (p. 194).
NLI G 454, Miles O'Reilly, 1822: *DG* 83 (p. 224).
NLI G 470 (b), M. Ó Moráin, 1768: *DG* 5 (p. 13), *DG* 24 (p. 14).
NLI G 501, Tadhg Ó Ceallaigh, Cloghaunbeg, Moyarta, Co. Clare, 1793–6: *DG* 8 (p. 134)
NLI G 560, unidentified scribe, possibly of the late eighteenth century: *DG* 83 (p. 95).
NLI G 819, Seán Ó Dreada, 1820: *DG* 29 (p. 96).

[112]Catalogued by Nilsen (1985: 15–17). This is held in Longfellow House, Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
[113]The catalogue description states incorrectly that this is *DG* 48 (Ní Shéaghdha 1961: 50).
[114]These are written with other verse as one text on pp. 167–9.
[115]Quatrains from both poems are combined in one text.

NLI G 1121, Muiris Ó Riagáin, Doneraile, Co. Cork, *c.* 1817–27: *DG* 19 (p. 184), *DG* 5 (p. 185).
NLS Adv. 50.1.12, nineteenth century: *DG* 54 (fol. 145a).
NLS Adv. 72.3.2, written in Ireland for Dr Donald Smith, then surgeon with the Black Watch in Enniskillen, 1798: *DG* 16 (p. 15).
NLS Adv. 72.3.11, Rev. Donald Mackintosh, nineteenth century: *DG* 55 (p. 128), *DG* 55 (p. 181), *DG* 102 (p. 216), *DG* 99 (p. 226), *DG* 38 (p. 230).[116]
PB 9, Seán Lloyd for Seán Ó Callanáin, Cork, 1775: *DG* 93 (p. 90).
RIA MS 4 A 46 (1427), Diarmuid Ó Briain, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny, 1793: *DG* 4 (p. 7), *DG* 5 (p. 7).
RIA MS 12 E 22 (722), Pádraig Ó Riada, 1754: *DG* 86 (p. 89).
RIA MS 12 E 24 (907), John O'Daly, Dublin, 1845: *DG* 100 (p. 254).
RIA MS 12 E 25 (908), James Nolty/Seamus Mac a Nolltaidhe probably of Co. Meath, 1772: *DG* 83 (p. 103).
RIA MS 12 F 8 (888), a transcript of RIA MS 23 D 4, possibly by Eugene O'Curry, nineteenth century: *DG* 83 (p. 8), *DG* 28 (p. 11), *DG* 17 (p. 12), *DG* 68 (p. 12), *DG* 20 (p. 13), *DG* 60 (p. 14), *DG* 23 (p. 15), *DG* 84 (p. 53), *DG* 32 (p. 53), *DG* 57 (p. 58), *DG* 97 (p. 59), *DG* 70 (p. 115), *DG* 106 (p. 116).
RIA MS 23 A 17 (358), the scribe may be John Cullinan or John Haly, nineteenth century: *DG* 8 (p. 11).
RIA MS 23 A 45 (629), Muiris Ó Gormáin, 1745: *DG* 14 (p. 6), *DG* 92 (p. 7), *DG* 94 (p. 7), *DG* 2 (p. 67).
RIA MS 3 B 9 (73), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin, Ballybrack, Co. Cork for Henry Joseph Heard, 1810–14: *DG* 7 (p. 95), *DG* 31 (p. 247), *DG* 26 (p. 283), *DG* 66 (p. 285), *DG* 24 (p. 291), *DG* 16 (p. 369).
RIA MS 3 B 38 (251), Peadar Ó Gealacáin, 1853: *DG* 12 (p. 175), *DG* 95 (p. 179).
RIA MS 3 C 12 (625), Eoghan Ó Comhraí, nineteenth century: *DG* 8 (p. 39), *DG* 48 (p. 41).
RIA MS 23 A 12 (231), unidentified eighteenth-century scribe probably from Ballyspillane, barony of Barrymore, Co. Cork: *DG* 100 (p. 7 and p. 9).
RIA MS 23 A 27 (385), Mícheál Ó Mathúna, Astee, Co. Kerry, 1822–3: *DG* 93 (p. 1).
RIA MS 23 A 35 (193), Mícheál Ó Mathúna, Astee, Co. Kerry, 1822–7: *DG* 93 (p. 65).
RIA MS 23 B 24 (498), unidentified scribe, *c.* 1837: *DG* 6 (p. 288).
RIA MS 23 B 31 (646), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in 'Magh Ratha' for Uilliam Ó Duinnín of 'Cnoc an Bhile', 1824: *DG* 105 (p. 361).
RIA MS 23 B 35 (300), unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 16 (p. 21).
RIA MS 23 B 36 (389), Tadhg Mac Cártha for Fr Ryan of 'Teampall Uachtarach' and 'Drom Bán', Co Tipperary, 1820: *DG* 105 (p. 40).
RIA MS 23 B 38 (30), Séamus Ó Murchú at 'Droitchiod Ceann-puill', 1778–9: *DG* 105 (p. 13), *DG* 7 (p. 60), *DG* 86 (p. 130), *DG* 5 (p. 132), *DG* 11 (p. 144), *DG* 4 (p. 272).

[116]These poems are copied from NLS 72.1.36.

RIA MS 23 C 10 (941), Pól mac Mhíchíl Uí Longáin at Knockavilly, Co. Cork for Uilliam Ó Duinnín, nineteenth century: *DG* 92 (p. 243).
RIA MS 23 C 21 (672), Eoghan Caomhánach at 'Cluainín' near Slievenamon and 'Mount Celtieman' near Clonmel, 1816–17: *DG* 6 (p. 10), *DG* 83 (p. 118).
RIA MS 23 C 30 (783), Uilliam Ó Cearmada, probably of Kerry, 1785–9: *DG* 50 (p. 272).
RIA MS 23 D 13 (151), Seón Mac Solaidh, 1713: *DG* 30 (p. 35).
RIA MS 23 D 16 (506), unidentified scribe, eighteenth or nineteenth century: *DG* 102 (p. 185), *DG* 103 (p. 189), *DG* 92 (p. 189).
RIA MS 23 D 25 (962), Peadar Ó Féichín in Cork for his friend Seán Bhailís (John Walsh), 1768: *DG* 83 (p. 17).
RIA MS 23 E 9 (527), Conchúir Óg Ó Máille, 1807–8: *DG* 93 (p. 196), *DG* 50 (p. 232).
RIA MS 23 E 12 (769), Nicholas O'Kearney, *c.* 1846: *DG* 16 (p. 229).
RIA MS 23 E 14 (125), Seán Ó Dálaigh in Dublin in 1846: *DG* 106 (p. 153), *DG* 50 (p. 160).
RIA MS 23 E 16 (491), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin at various locations, 1797–1808: *DG* 24 (p. 34), *DG* 86 (p. 147), *DG* 92 (p. 263).
RIA MS 23 G 10 (974), Séamus Brún and Pádraig Brún, 1807–23: *DG* 100 (p. 176).
RIA MS 23 G 20 (211), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in various places in counties Cork, Kerry and Limerick, 1786–1814: *DG* 14 (p. 177), *DG* 100 (p. 180), *DG* 26 (p. 235).
RIA MS 23 G 21 (917), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin at various locations, 1795–1828: *DG* 26 (p. 354), *DG* 66 (p. 355).
RIA MS 23 G 23 (256), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin at 'Carraig Annuis' near Macroom, Co. Cork, 1794–9: *DG* 26 (p. 166), *DG* 7 (p. 190), *DG* 31 (p. 198), *DG* 5 (p. 202), *DG* 106 (p. 295), *DG* 105 (p. 297).
RIA MS 23 G 24 (257), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin at various places in counties Cork and Limerick, 1795–1833: *DG* 19 (p. 61), *DG* 83 (p. 136), *DG* 6 (p. 287), *DG* 58 (p. 432).
RIA MS 23 G 27 (492), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin at various locations, 1794–1837: *DG* 106 (p. 256), *DG* 105 (p. 258).
RIA MS 23 H 15 (946), Ríghrí Mac Raghnaill, Castletownroche, Co. Cork, 1768–79: *DG* 5 (p. 121), *DG* 19 (p. 266), *DG* 7 (p. 266).
RIA MS 23 H 30 (714), unidentified scribe, eighteenth to nineteenth centuries: *DG* 50 (p. 123), *DG* 19 (p. 123), *DG* 100 (p. 124).
RIA MS 23 H 39 (985), Peadar Ó Conaill for Theophilus Ó Flannagáin in Dublin, 1787: *DG* 16 (p. 53).
RIA MS 23 I 1 (126), Richard Tipper of Castleknock, Co. Dublin, early eighteenth century: *DG* 44 (p. 130), *DG* 83 (p. 137).
RIA MS 23 I 20 (409), John McCarthy, 1755: *DG* 5 (p. 122).
RIA MS 23 I 25 (412), Seán Ó Cinnéide for Aindrias Ó Maoldomhnaigh, 1752: *DG* 93 (p. 14).
RIA MS 23 K 9 (192), Mícheál Ó Mathúna, Astee, Co. Kerry, 1821: *DG* 93 (p. 59).

RIA MS 23 K 25 (179), Maolsheachlain Ó Comhraí of Limerick, *c.* 1818: *DG* 105 (p. 32).
RIA MS 23 L 10 (552), unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 16 (p. 99).
RIA MS 23 L 13 (787), Peadar Ó Conaill, *c.* 1782: *DG* 8 (p. 155).
RIA MS 23 L 27 (556), Seán Ó Cinnéide, 1737–8: *DG* 8 (p. 89).
RIA MS 23 L 32 (111), Richard Tipper of Michelstown, Castleknock, Co. Dublin, 1716–17: *DG* 8 (p. 1), *DG* 5 (p. 32).
RIA MS 23 L 35 (858), Peadar Ó Conaill in Corca Bhaiscinn, Co. Clare, 1782: *DG* 100 (p. 111).
RIA MS 23 M 16 (308), Aindrias Mac Mathúna, 1767–76: *DG* 9 (p. 93), *DG* 105 (p. 194), *DG* 97 (p. 200), *DG* 28 (p. 213).
RIA MS 23 M 23 (340), unidentified scribe, eighteenth century: *DG* 77 (p. 154).
RIA MS 23 N 12 (488), Mícheál mac Peadair Ó Longáin, *c.* 1763: *DG* 7 (p. 205).
RIA MS 23 N 13 (249), Mícheál mac Peadair Ó Longáin, eighteenth century: *DG* 19 (p. 194).
RIA MS 23 N 15 (490), Mícheál mac Peadair Ó Longáin, 1740–*c.* 1781: *DG* 16 (p. 127), *DG* 58 (p. 132).
RIA MS 23 N 18 (981), Tomás Ó Dumhluing, eighteenth century: *DG* 100 (p. 223).
RIA MS 23 N 33 (565), Nicholas Kearney, *c.* 1851: *DG* 82 (p. 12).
RIA MS 23 N 35 (210), Peadar Ó Longáin, *c.* 1846: *DG* 106 (p. 183), *DG* 105 (p. 190).
RIA MS 23 O 35 (55), Brian Ó Fearraghail in various places in Co. Galway, 1772–8: *DG* 82 (p. 33), *DG* 90 (p. 36), *DG* 3 (p. 37), *DG* 92 (p. 39), *DG* 82 (p. 174 and p. 181).
RIA MS 23 O 73 (1382), Tomás Ó hÍceadha, counties Waterford and Tipperary, 1814–30: *DG* 6 (p. 159), *DG* 83 (p. 226).
RIA MS 23 P 14 (690), unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 45 (p. 259), *DG* 99 (p. 265).[117]
RIA MS 23 Q 2 (571), Edward O'Reilly, nineteenth century: *DG* 101 (p. 94).
RIA MS 23 Q 3 (572), possibly written by James Hardiman, nineteenth century: *DG* 45 (p. 64), *DG* 99 (p. 68).
RIA MS 24 A 6 (1009), nineteenth century manuscript: *DG* 100 (p. 476).[118]
RIA MS 24 A 7 (574), Tadhg Mac Cártha, 1818: *DG* 5 (p. 128).
RIA MS 24 A 34 (1064), Tadhg Mac Aogáin, 1836–7: *DG* 31 (p. 13), *DG* 7, (p. 43).
RIA MS 24 B 7 (325), W.S. O'Brien, nineteenth century: *DG* 106 (p. 51).
RIA MS 24 B 26 (242), Uillaim Ó Cléire of 'Rathaoin/Rathéen', 1760–63: *DG* 5 (p. 187).
RIA MS 24 B 29 (579), Tadhg Ó Donnabháin, Cork, 1785–8: *DG* 5 (p. 137), *DG* 83 (p. 142).
RIA MS 24 B 33 (594), possibly Pádraig Ó Dálaigh of 'Glanuir' *c.* 1849: *DG* 1 (p. 460).

[117] Both poems are accompanied by an English translation.
[118] This is a newspaper cutting.

RIA MS 24 C 11 (274), Seosamh Ó Longáin, *c.* 1849: *DG* 6 (p. 200).
RIA MS 24 C 23 (319), W.S. O'Brien, nineteenth century: *DG* 11 (p. 1).
RIA MS 24 C 24 (316), W.S. O'Brien, nineteenth century: *DG* 83 (p. 159).
RIA MS 24 C 39 (1169), unidentified scribe, eighteenth century?: *DG* 45 (p. 73).
RIA MS 24 C 56 (1186), Tomás Ó Conchúir and possibly John O'Daly:[119] *DG* 5 (p. 532), *DG* 24 (p. 533), *DG* 6 (p. 631).
RIA MS 24 L 2 (117), section (f), unidentified scribe possibly of the eighteenth century: *DG* 19 (p. 4).
RIA MS 24 L 4 (119), unidentified scribe of the eighteenth century: *DG* 19 (p. 12).
RIA MS 24 L 5 (9), Seán Ó Conaill, 1764: *DG* 105 (p. 38).
RIA MS 24 L 37 (67), unidentified scribe of Munster origin, possibly during the second decade of the nineteenth century: *DG* 4 (p. 255), *DG* 5 (p. 256).
RIA MS 24 L 38 (789), Diarmuid Ó Riain, *c.* 1786–7: *DG* 5 (p. 72).
RIA MS 24 M 4 (601), Seán Ó Dreada, Cork, 1836: *DG* 29 (p. 173).
RIA MS 24 M 30 (612), a member of the Ó Longáin family of scribes, eighteenth-nineteenth centuries: *DG* 19 (p. 86).
RIA MS 24 M 43 (639), Seán Ó Dálaigh, Dublin, 1848–51: *DG* 50 (p. 17).
RIA MS 24 P 29 (1074), Toirdhealbhach Mag Uidhir, 1789 and Labhrás 'Oháran' at Dublin for Toirdhealbhach Mag Uidhir: *DG* 16 (p. 235), *DG* 43 (p. 352), *DG* 95 (p. 355), *DG* 12 (p. 355).
RIA MS 24 P 49 (1412), (a), Pádraig Ó hIfearnáin, *c.* 1846–8, Limerick: *DG* 8 (p. 70).
RIA MS A iv 2 (27), Seán do Niadh, partially in Macroom, Co. Cork, 1751–7: *DG* 7 (p. 93 a.).
RIA MS B i 2a. (1079), verses on a letter written by Charles O'Conor, eighteenth century: *DG* 90 (Section I, item 5).
RIA MS E iv 1 (751), unidentified scribe, eighteenth century: *DG* 83 (p. 62).
RIA MS E iv 3. (11), Aindrias Mac Cruitín in Moyglass, Co. Clare, 1727: *DG* 8 (p. 4).
RIA MS E v 5 (203), Pól Ó Longáin in Cork for Séamus de Róiste, 1819: *DG* 14 (p. 354), *DG* 100 (p. 356).
RIA MS F ii 3 (255), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin and Peadar Ó Longáin for Séamus de Róiste, Cork, 1820: *DG* 106 (p. 128), *DG* 105 (p. 137), *DG* 106 (p. 249).
RIA MS F iii 1 (265), Peadar Ó Longáin for Séamus de Róiste of Cork, 1820: *DG* 6 (p. 318).
RIA MS F v 3. (34), Henri Mac an tSaoir in Dublin, 1788: *DG* 92 (p. 45), *DG* 94 (p. 46), *DG* 14 (p. 186), *DG* 90 (p. 220), *DG* 103 (p. 351).
RIA MS F v 5. (36), Henri Mac an tSaoir in Dublin, 1787: *DG* 101 (p. 174).
RIA MS F vi 1 (252), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin, *c.* 1820: *DG* 106 (fol. 149r), *DG* 105 (fol. 151v).

[119] Ó Conchúir wrote *DG* 5 and *DG* 24 and O'Daly is possibly the scribe of *DG* 6. RIA MS 24 C 56 (1186) is a bound collection of portions of manuscripts and miscellaneous pages belonging to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

RIA MS F vi 2 (253), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in Carraig na bhFear, Co. Cork, 1813 for Seán Ó Connughadh: *DG* 7 (p. 130), *DG* 66 (p. 159), *DG* 26 (p. 160), *DG* 92 (p. 367), *DG* 6 (p. 368), *DG* 5 (p. 369), *DG* 100 (p. 370), *DG* 58 (p. 371), *DG* 31 (p. 371), *DG* 14 (p. 575).
RIA MS G vi 1 (37), Henri Mac an tSaoir in Dublin, 1787–8: *DG* 83 (p. 214).
SM HM4543, Tadhg Ó Conaill, 1827: *DG* 86 (p. 44), *DG* 5 (p. 117), *DG* 31 (p. 128), *DG* 26 (p. 129), *DG* 83 (p. 160).
TCD MS H. 1. 17 (1291), Hugh O'Daly for Dr. Sullivan, 1755: *DG* 83 (fol. 112a), *DG* 3 (fol. 117b), *DG* 81 (fol. 122a), *DG* 102 (fol. 160).
TCD MS H. 2. 5 (1296), Desmond O'Conor, eighteenth century: *DG* 5 (p. 343), *DG* 33 (p. 344).
TCD MS H. 4. 10 (1351), unidentified scribe; eighteenth century but *DG* 11 is in a later hand to the rest of the contents: *DG* 11 (p. 100).
TCD MS H. 4. 15 (1356), Stephen Rice, 1727–8: *DG* 18 (p. 506), *DG* 69 (p. 506), *DG* 93 (p. 502).
TCD MS H. 4. 19 (1360), Hugh O'Daly, *c*. 1742: *DG* 19 (p. 13), *DG* 7 (p. 76), *DG* 106 (p. 168).
TCD MS H. 4. 20 (1361), Tadhg Ó Neachtain, 1725–9: *DG* 5 (p. 66), *DG* 90 (p. 242).
TCD MS H. 5. 19 (1391), unidentified scribe, eighteenth century: *DG* 16 (p. 1).
TCD MS H. 6. 7 (1411), Donnchadh Ó Conaill, Gurteen, Killathy, Co. Cork, 1737: *DG* 7 (p. 3); *DG* 86 (p. 44); *DG* 105 (p. 364).
TCD MS H. 6. 11 (1415), Henry O'Brien, 1754: *DG* 100 (p. 26).
TCD MS H. 6. 14 (1418), Peadar Ó Féichín, Blarney, Co. Cork for Toirdhealbhach Ó hAnnracháin of Cork, 1770: *DG* 83 (p. 100), *DG* 5 (p. 279).
TCD MS H. 6. 15 (1419), Maurice Newby, 1714–5: *DG* 13 (p. 30).
TCD MS H. 6. 21 (1423), James Chambers, 1774–81: *DG* 6 (p. 148).
UCC M 32, Thomas Haly, eighteenth to nineteenth centuries: *DG* 5 (p. 70).
UCC M 34, Séamus Goodman in Trinity College, Dublin, 1880: *DG* 5 (p. 150).
UCC M 40, Cathal Ua Tucaoidh, Co. Wexford, 1824: *DG* 105 (p. 239).
UCC M 55, Peadar Ó Gealacáin, Co. Meath, 1825: *DG* 87 (p. 11), *DG* 92 (p. 100), *DG* 40 (p. 111), *DG* 1 (p. 113), *DG* 75 (p. 114), *DG* 35 (p. 117), *DG* 10 (p. 120), *DG* 46 (p. 156), *DG* 57 (p. 158), *DG* 72 (p. 159), *DG* 52 (p. 163), *DG* 7 (p. 185), *DG* 74 (p. 188), *DG* 71 (p. 189), *DG* 13 (p. 219), *DG* 41 (p. 264).
UCC M 63, Domhnall Mac Consaidín of Ennis, Co. Clare, 1855–9: *DG* 1 (p. 182), *DG* 50 (lch 430), *DG* 19 (p. 568).
UCC T i, Seán Ó Muláin, Cork, 1795–*c*.1807: *DG* 58 (p. 138).
UCC T iii, unidentified scribe, eighteenth century: *DG* 5 (p. 18).
UCC T xxi, possibly by Pól Ó Longáin, *c*. 1834: *DG* 19 (p. 72).
UCC T xxxvii, Brian Ó Ruairc, Conray, Co. Leitrim, 1841–2: *DG* 5 (p. 310).
UCC T xlv, Piaras Móinséal/Mansfield, Doneraile, Co. Cork, 1814: *DG* 50 (p. 64)
UCC T lvii (a), unidentified scribe, no date: *DG* 83 (p. 4), *DG* 28 (p. 7), *DG* 17 (p. 8), *DG* 68 (p. 8), *DG* 20 (p. 9), *DG* 60 (p. 10), *DG* 23 (p. 11).
UCC T lix, Michael Kirby, Listowel, Co. Kerry, *c*. 1841: *DG* 93 (item 4).
UCC T 5, Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, Dublin, 1895: *DG* 19 (p. 219).

UCC T 6, Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, 1896–8: *DG* 92 (p. 29).
UCD A 23, Labhrás Mhac Analladh/Laurence McNally, 1763–4: *DG* 82 (p. 16).
UCD A 33, possibly Seón Lloyd, eighteenth century: *DG* 8 (p. 107).
UCD F 1, Pádraig Feiritéar, 1889: *DG* 93 (p. 293).

Appendix II: manuscript sources for individual *dánta grá*

The manuscript copies of all 106 poems in Ó Rathile's 1926 edition of *Dánta Grádha* are listed here. The manuscripts for each indivdual poem are given in chronological order from earliest to latest. The number of copies of each *dán grá* is given in square brackets.

***DG* 1** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); BL Eg. 158 (1736–9); UCC M 55 (1825); UCC M 63 (1855–9); RIA MS 24 B 33 (*c*. 1849); Cam 38 (mid-19th c.); MN C 71 (19th c.). **[7]**

***DG* 2** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); TCD MS 1383 (*c*. 1704); RIA MS 23 A 45 (1745); BL Eg. 127 (1775); BL Eg. 161 (1778–88); MN MF 9 (1802–3); MAL K (18th or 19th c.). **[7]**

***DG* 3** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); Vendryes MS (*c*. 1714); TCD MS H. 1. 17 (1755); RIA MS 23 O 35 (1772–8); BL Eg. 178 (1782). **[5]**

***DG* 4** NLS Adv. MS 72.1.37 (1512–42); RIA MS 23 B 38 (1778–9); RIA MS 4 A 46 (1793); MN B 6 (late 18th–early 19th c.); RIA MS 24 L 37 (1810s?). **[5]**

***DG* 5** RIA MS 23 L 32 (1716–17); TCD MS H. 4. 20 (1725–9); RIA MS 23 I 20 (1755); RIA MS 24 B 26 (1760–3); NLI G 351 (1758–64); TCD MS H. 6. 14 (1770); NLI G 470 (1768); Liv 12079M (1776–7); RIA MS 23 H 15 (1768–79); RIA MS 23 B 38 (1778–9); RIA MS 24 L 38 (*c*. 1786–7); RIA MS 24 B 29 (1785–8); RIA MS 4 A 46 (1793); RIA MS 23 G 23 (1794–9); TCD MS H. 2. 5 (18th c.); UCC T iii (18th c.); MN B 6 (late 18th–early 19th c.); UCC M 32 (18th–19th centuries); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); MN M 10 (1817); MN M 2 (1818); MN M 9 (1818); RIA MS 24 A 7 (1818); RIA MS 24 L 37 (1810s?); MN M 94 (1820); MN M 14 (*c*. 1820); NLI G 1121 (*c*. 1817–27); SM HM4543 (1827); BC (1823–8); Mad 180 (1836–7); UCC T xxxvii (1841–2); UCC M 34 (1880); RIA MS 24 C 56 (18th & 19th c.). **[33]**

***DG* 6** BOCD (1631); TCD MS H. 6. 21 (1774–81); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); RIA MS 23 C 21 (1816–7); MN M 6 (1818); RIA MS F iii 1 (1820); RIA MS 23 O 73 (1814–30); RIA MS 23 G 24 (1795–1833); RIA MS 23 B 24 (*c*. 1837); RIA MS 24 C 11 (*c*. 1849); RIA MS 24 C 56 (18th & 19th c.). **[11]**

***DG* 7** UCD A 25 (*c*. 1628); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); TCD MS 1382 (1703); TCD MS H. 6. 7 (1737); TCD MS H. 4. 19 (*c*. 1742); RIA MS A iv 2 (1751–7); MN M 86 (1775–6); RIA MS 23 N 12 (*c*. 1763); RIA MS 23 H 15 (1768–79); RIA MS 23 B 38 (1778–9); RIA MS 23 G 23 (1794–9); MN B 6 (late 18th–early 19th c.); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); RIA MS 3 B 9 (1810–14); NLI G 360 (1815); Cam 13 (1825); Cam 13 (1825); UCC M 55 (1825); Mad 180 (1836–7); RIA MS 23 A 34 (1836–7). **[20]**

***DG* 8** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); RIA MS 23 L 32 (1716–17); MN C 74 (1718); RIA MS E iv 3 (1727); MN C 21 (1729); RIA MS 23 L 27 (1737–8); MN M 111 (1764–8); MN C 25 (1773); RIA MS 23

L 13 (*c*. 1782); NLI G 501 (1793–6); UCD A 33 (18th c.); NLI G 193 (1774–1813); NLI G 210 (1811); MN R 97 (1827–46); RIA MS 24 P 49 (*c*. 1846–8); NLI G 403 (1845–9); RIA MS 23 A 17 (19th c.); RIA MS 3 C 12 (19th c.). **[19]**

***DG* 9** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Rouen MS 1678 (end 17th c.); RIA MS 23 M 16 (1767–76); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[4]**

***DG* 10** BOCD (1631); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[3]**

***DG* 11** TCD MS 1399 (1679); MN B 8 (1701–8); MN M 85 (1758); RIA MS 23 B 38 (1778–9); TCD MS H. 4. 10 (18th c.?); MN M 14 (c. 1820); Car 2 (1848); Car 2 (1848); Cam 48 (*c*. 1850–1); RIA MS 24 C 23 (19th c.). **[10]**

***DG* 12** RIA MS 24 P 29 (*c*. 1789); RIA MS 3 B 38 (1853). **[2]**

***DG* 13** BOCD (1631); TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); TCD MS H. 6. 15 (1714–15); UCC M 55 (1825). **[5]**

***DG* 14** Br MS 6131–3 (after 1633); RIA MS 23 A 45 (1745); BL Eg. 127 (1775); BL Eg. 161 (1778–88); RIA MS F v 3 (1778); BL Add. 18749 (1792); NLI G 433 (18th –19th c.); MN MF 9 (1802–3); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); RIA MS 23 G 20 (1786–1814); RIA MS E v 5 (1819); BF XXXIII (after 1844). **[12]**

***DG* 15** Laud Misc. 615 (early 16th c.); RIA MS 744 (mid-17th c.). **[2]**

***DG* 16** RIA MS 23 H 39 (1787); RIA MS 23 N 15 (1740–*c*. 1781); MN C 74 (1788); RIA MS 24 P 29 (*c*. 1789); NLS Adv. 72.3.2 (1798); TCD MS H. 5. 19 (18th c.); RIA MS 3 B 9 (1810–14); MN M 2 (1818); MN M 13 (*c*. 1818); Aber A 7 (after 1824); NLI G 234 (1841); RIA MS 23 E 12 (*c*. 1846); RIA MS 23 B 35 (19th c.); RIA MS 23 L 10 (19th c.). **[14]**

***DG* 17** BOCD (1631)?; RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[6]**

***DG* 18** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); TCD MS H. 4. 15 (1727–8); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[3]**

***DG* 19** TCD MS 1375 (1696–8); TCD MS 1382 (1703); NLI G 429 (1721–5); TCD MS H. 4. 19 (*c*. 1742); RIA MS 23 H 15 (1768–79); MN M 57 (1785–9); RIA MS 24 L 4 (18th c.); RIA MS 23 N 13 (18th c.); RIA MS 24 L 2 (18th c.?); RIA MS 24 M 30 (18th–19th c.); RIA MS 23 H 30 (18th–19th c.); MN M 11 (1817); NLI G 1121 (*c*. 1817–27); MN M 4 (1818); MN M 94 (1820); RIA MS 23 G 24 (1795–1833); UCC T xxi (*c*. 1834); NLI G 122 (*c*. 1849); UCC M 63 (1855–9); UCC T 5 (1895); Aber A 25 (19th c.); BL Eg. 122 (19th c.). **[22]**

***DG* 20** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[5]**

***DG* 21** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 22** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 23** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[5]**

***DG* 24** MAL A (*c*. 1763), NLI G 470 (1768); RIA MS 23 E 16 (1797–1808); RIA MS 3 B 9 (1810–14); MN M 2 (1818); Cam 13 (1825); RIA MS 24 C 56 (18th & 19th c.). **[7]**

***DG* 25** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 26** Vendryes MS (*c*. 1714); RIA MS 23 G 23 (1794–9); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); RIA MS 23 G 20 (1786–1814); RIA MS 3 B 9 (1810–14); MN M 2 (1818); MN M 94 (1820); SM HM4543 (1827); RIA MS 23 G 21 (1795–1828). **[9]**

***DG* 27** NLS Adv. 72.1.35 (*c*. 1654–5). **[1]**

***DG* 28** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); RIA MS 23 M 16 (1767–76); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[7]**

***DG* 29** MN M 9 (1818); NLI G 819 (1820); RIA MS 24 M 4 (1836). **[3]**

***DG* 30** RIA MS 23 D 13 (1713); NLI G 127 (1713–15); CC 1 (1846). **[3]**

***DG* 31** RIA MS 23 G 23 (1794–9); NLI G 433 (18th–19th c.); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); RIA MS 3 B 9 (1810–14); MN M 2 (1818); MN M 94 (1820); SM HM4543 (1827); Mad 180 (1836–7); RIA MS 23 A 34 (1836–7). **[9]**

***DG* 32** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.). **[3]**

***DG* 33** BOCD (1631); Giessen MS (1684); TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); TCD MS H. 2. 5 (18th c.). **[5]**

***DG* 34** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[2]**

***DG* 35** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[2]**

***DG* 36** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 37** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60) **[2]**

***DG* 38** BOCD (1631); NLS Adv. 72.1.36 (*c*. 1690–99); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Clanranald (*c*. 1686–1727); MN C 87 (1841–60); NLS Adv. 72.3.11 (19th c.). **[6]**

***DG* 39** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[2]**

***DG* 40** UCD A 25 (*c*. 1628); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[3]**

***DG* 41** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[3]**

***DG* 42** BOCD (1631)?; NLI G 140 (1724–40). **[2]**

***DG* 43** RIA MS 24 P 29 (*c*. 1789).[120] **[1]**

***DG* 44** BL Eg. 155 (1790–6); RIA MS 23 I 1 (early 18th c.). **[2]**

***DG* 45** TCD MS 1355 (*c*. 1685–1700); NLI G 82 (1744–5); RIA MS 24 C 39 (18th c.?); HW (1813); MS Longfellow 5709 (1813); BC (1823–8); BC (1823–8); NLI G 436 (1823–8); BL Eg. 122 (19th c.); BL Eg. 146 (19th c.); RIA MS 23 Q 3 (19th c.); RIA MS 23 P 14 (19th c.). **[12]**

***DG* 46** BOCD (1631); NLS Adv. 72.1.49 (*c*. 1618–47); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[4]**

***DG* 47** BOCD (1631); MN C 59 (1645); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[4]**

***DG* 48** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 3 C 12 (19th c.). **[2]**

[120]The initial two quatrains of the poem as found in Ó Rathile's edition are written vertically on the page, followed by the first quatrain of *DG* 9. The rest of the poem, beginning with the third quatrain of Ó Rathile's edition, is written horizontally on the same page. The poem is catalogued under the first line of the horizontal portion of the text, viz., *Truagh nach e codhla mo chaoidh*.

***DG* 49** RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[1]**

***DG* 50** RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); RIA MSS 15–24 (1684–1707); RIA MS 23 C 30 (1785–9); RIA MS 23 H 30 (18th–19th c.); RIA MS 23 E 9 (1807–8); UCC T xlv (1814); RIA MS 23 E 14 (1846); Car 2 (1848); RIA MS 24 M 43 (1848–51); UCC M 63 (1855–9); Cam 34 (19th c.). **[11]**

***DG* 51** BOCD (1631); BOCD (1631); NLS Adv. 72.1.49 (*c*. 1618–47); Giessen MS (1684). **[4]**

***DG* 52** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); UCC M 55 (1825). **[3]**

***DG* 53** RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[1]**

***DG* 54** NLS Adv. MS 72.1.37 (1512–42); NLS Adv. 50.1.12 (19th c.?).[121] **[2]**

***DG* 55** NLS Adv. 72.1.36 (*c*. 1690–9); NLS Adv. 72.1.36 (*c*. 1690–9); NLS Adv. 72.3.11 (19th c.); NLS Adv. 72.3.11 (19th c.). **[4]**

***DG* 56** RIA MS 744 (mid-17th c.). **[1]**

***DG* 57** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.). **[6]**

***DG* 58** RIA MS 23 N 15 (1740–*c*. 1781); UCC T i (1795–*c*. 1807); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); MN M 2 (1818); RIA MS 23 G 24 (1795–1833). **[5]**

***DG* 59** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 60** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[4]**

***DG* 61** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.). **[3]**

***DG* 62** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684). **[1]**

***DG* 63** RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[1]**

***DG* 64** RIA MS 744 (mid-17th c.). **[1]**

***DG* 65** RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[1]**

***DG* 66** Clanranald (*c*. 1686–1727); NLI G 319 (18th–19th c.); NLI G 433 (18th–19th c.); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); RIA MS 3 B 9 (1810–14); MN M 2 (1818); RIA MS 23 G 21 (1795–1828). **[7]**

***DG* 67** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 68** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[4]**

***DG* 69** UCD A 25 (*c*. 1628); BOCD (1631); TCD MS H. 4. 15 (1727–8); MN C 74 (1763). **[4]**

***DG* 70** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.). **[2]**

***DG* 71** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[2]**

***DG* 72** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[2]**

***DG* 73** BOCD (1631). **[1]**

***DG* 74** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[3]**

***DG* 75** BOCD (1631); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[3]**

***DG* 76** NLS Adv. 72.1.48 (after 1660). **[1]**

***DG* 77** RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); BL Eg. 192 (1729); BL Eg. 127 (1775); BL Eg. 161 (1778–88); BL Eg. 155 (1790–6); RIA MS 23 M 23 (18th c.). **[6]**

[121]The NLS Adv. 50.1.12 text derives from NLS Adv. MS 72.1.37 (Mackechnie 1973: 23).

***DG* 78** RIA MS 26 (1688); ML 11 (19th c.). **[2]**

***DG* 79** BOCD (1631). **[1]**

***DG* 80** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 81** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); TCD MS H. 1. 17 (1755). **[2]**

***DG* 82** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); NLI G 82 (1744–5); UCD A 23 (1763–4); Don 1 (*c*. 1777); RIA MS 23 O 35 (1772–8); RIA MS 23 O 35 (1772–8); RIA MS 23 O 35 (1772–8); Cam 10 (1831–2); NLI G 200 (1828–39); RIA MS 23 N 33 (*c*. 1851). **[10]**

***DG* 83** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN M 95 (1754–5); TCD MS H. 1. 17 (1755); BL Add. 34119 (1765); Aber A 23 (1768); RIA MS 23 D 25 (1768); TCD MS H. 6. 14 (1770); RIA MS 12 E 25 (1772); MN M 86 (1775–6); RIA MS 24 B 29 (1785–8); RIA MS G vi 1 (1787–8); RIA MS 23 I 1 (early 18th c.); RIA MS E iv 1 (18th c.); NLI G 560 (late 18th c.?); MN B 6 (late 18th–early 19th c.); RIA MS 23 C 21 (1816–7); MN M 2 (1818); MN M 6 (1818); NLI G 454 (1822); SM HM4543 (1827); Cam 10 (1831–2); RIA MS 23 O 73 (1814–30); RIA MS 23 G 24 (1795–1833); NLI G 200 (1828–39); Cam 48 (*c*. 1850–1); Dun 2 (19th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 24 C 24 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[32]**

***DG* 84** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.). **[3]**

***DG* 85** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 86** BOCD (1631); NLS Adv. 72.1.48 (after 1660); TCD MS H. 6. 7 (1737); NLI G 82 (1744–5); RIA MS 12 E 22 (1754); RIA MS 23 B 38 (1778–9); RIA MS 23 E 16 (1797–1808); MN M 2 (1818); MN M 7 (1818); SM HM4543 (1827). **[10]**

***DG* 87** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[2]**

***DG* 88** BOCD (1631); Giessen MS (1684). **[2]**

***DG* 89** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 90** BOCD (1631); TCD MS H. 4. 20 (1725–9); BL Eg. 127 (1775); BL Eg. 178 (1782); RIA MS 23 O 35 (1772–8); RIA MS F v 3 (1778); RIA MS B i 2a. (18th c.); MN MF 9 (1802–3). **[8]**

***DG* 91** RIA MS 26 (1688); ML 11 (19th c.). **[2]**

***DG* 92** Giessen MS (1684); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); RIA MS 23 A 45 (1745); BL Eg. 127 (1775); MN M 86 (1775–6); RIA MS 23 O 35 (1772–8); BL Eg. 161 (1778–88); RIA MS F v 3 (1778); RIA MS 23 E 16 (1797–1808); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); UCC M 55 (1825); UCC T 6 (1896–8); RIA MS 23 D 16 (18th or 19th c.); RIA MS 23 C 10 (19th c.). **[14]**

***DG* 93** TCD MS H. 4. 15 (1727–8); RIA MS 23 I 25 (1752); PB 9 (1775); MN C 102 (1789); RIA MS 23 E 9 (1807–8); RIA MS 23 K 9 (1821); RIA MS 23 A 27 (1822–3); RIA MS 23 A 35 (1822–7); UCC T lix (*c*. 1841); UCD F 1 (1889).[122] **[10]**

[122]In MN C 102, RIA MS 23 E 9, RIA MS 23 K 9, RIA MS 23 A 27, RIA MS 23 A 35, UCC T lix and UCD F 1, *DG* 93 forms part of the poem beginning *An bhean do b'annsa liom fán ngréin* which is attributed to Piaras Feiritéar in some manuscripts. For a text of this type, see Dinneen

***DG* 94** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 A 45 (1745); BL Eg. 127 (1775); RIA MS F v 3 (1778); BL Eg. 161 (1778–88). **[5]**

***DG* 95** RIA MS 24 P 29 (*c*. 1789); RIA MS 3 B 38 (1853). **[2]**

***DG* 96 (i)** BOCD (1631); Rouen MS 1678 (end 17th c.); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[3]**

***DG* 96 (ii)** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[2]**

***DG* 97** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); RIA MS 23 M 16 (1767–76); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.). **[5]**

***DG* 98** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 99** NLS Adv. MS 72.1.2 (second half of 16th c.); NLS Adv. 72.1.36 (*c*. 1690–99); Vendryes MS (*c*. 1714); MN M 107 (18th c.); BL Eg. 122 (19th c.); NLS Adv. 72.3.11 (19th c.); RIA MS 23 Q 3 (19th c.); RIA MS 23 P 14 (19th c.). **[8]**

***DG* 100** Vendryes MS (*c*. 1714); TCD MS H. 6. 11 (1754); RIA MS 23 L 35 (1782); MN C 95 (*c*. 1784); RIA MS 23 A 12 (18th c.); RIA MS 23 N 18 (18th c.); NLI G 433 (18th–19th c.); RIA MS 23 H 30 (18th–19th c.); RIA MS 23 G 20 (1786–1814); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); MN M 2 (1818); RIA MS E v 5 (1819); RIA MS 23 G 10 (1807–23); RIA MS 12 E 24 (1845); RIA MS 24 A 6 (19th c.). **[15]**

***DG* 101** NLS Adv. 72.1.35 (*c*. 1654–5); BL Egerton 187 (1686); Rouen MS 1678 (end 17th c.); Siena G. IX. 50 (late 17th to early 18th c.); Vendryes MS (*c*. 1714); BL Eg. 174 (first half of 18th c.); BL Eg. 127 (1775); RIA MS F v 5 (1787); BL Eg. 155 (1790–6); NLI G 38 (18th c.); MN MF 9 (1802–3); MN M 13 (*c*. 1818); RIA MS 23 Q 2 (19th c.). **[13]**

***DG* 102** NLS Adv. 72.1.36 (*c*. 1690–9); BL Eg. 128 (1748–9); TCD MS H. 1. 17 (1755); RIA MS 23 D 16 (18th or 19th c.); NLS Adv. 72.3.11 (19th c.). **[5]**

***DG* 103** Giessen MS (1684); BL Eg. 128 (1748–9); RIA MS F v 3 (1778); RIA MS 23 D 16 (18th or 19th c.), DeBr 2 (19th c.). **[5]**

***DG* 104** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); NLI G 200 (1828–39); MN C 92 (19th c.). **[3]**

***DG* 105** MN C 59 (1645); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); RIA MSS 15–24 (1684–1707); TCD MS H. 6. 7 (1737); MN M 84 (1738–47); KI 5 (1755); BL Eg. 211 (1758); RIA MS 24 L 5 (1764); MN C 72 (1767); RIA MS 23 M 16 (1767–76); RIA MS 23 B 38 (1778–9); MN M 57 (1789); MN C 49 (*c*. 1789); RIA MS 23 G 23 (1794–9); MN M 96 (*c*. 1817); RIA MS 23 K 25 (*c*. 1818); RIA MS F ii 3 (1820); RIA MS 23 B 36 (1820); MN M 70 (*c*. 1820); RIA MS F vi 1 (*c*. 1820); MN M 72 (1822); UCC M 40 (1824); RIA MS 23 B 31 (1824); RIA MS 23 G 27 (1794–1837); CF 8 (1842); CF 5 (*c*. 1842); RIA MS 23 N 35 (*c*. 1846); Car 2 (1848); MN C 87 (1841–60); MN M 89 (19th c.). **[30]**

(1934: 109–112) and for further commentary on accretions to this poem, see Dinneen (1934: 63–4) and Nic Mhathúna (2007: 30–31).

***DG* 106** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); TCD MS 1382 (1703); RIA MSS 15–24 (1684–1707); TCD MS H. 4. 19 (*c*. 1742); RIA MS 23 G 23 (1794–9); MN M 96 (*c*. 1817); RIA MS F ii 3 (1820); RIA MS F ii 3 (1820); MN M 70 (*c*. 1820); RIA MS F vi 1 (*c*. 1820); MN M 72 (1822); RIA MS 23 G 27 (1794–1837); CF 5 (*c*. 1842); RIA MS 23 E 14 (1846); RIA MS 23 N 35 (*c*. 1846); Car 2 (1848); Cam 48 (*c*. 1850–1); MN C 87 (1841–60); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 24 B 7 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.). **[22]**

Abbreviations

Aber	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
Bel	Central Public Library, Royal Avenue, Belfast
BC	Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts
Br	Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Brussels
Car	Cardiff City Library
Cam	Cambridge University Library, England
CC	St Kieran's College, Kilkenny
CF	St Colman's College, Fermoy
DeBr	Irish manuscripts in the possession of Pádraig de Brún
Don	St Patrick's College, Armagh
Dun	Dunington Manuscripts[123]
Hyde	Douglas Hyde Collection, National University of Ireland, Galway
HW	Henry Wordsworth Ms, Cambridge, Massachusetts
KI	King's Inns, Dublin
Liv	University Library, Liverpool
Mad	Madison, Wisconsin
Mal	St Malachy's College, Belfast
ML	St Mel's College, Longford
MN	Maynooth University
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
PB	de Barra Collection[124]
Siena	Biblioteca Communale, Siena
SM	Henry E. Huntingon Library, San Marino, California
UCC M	Murphy Collection, University College Cork
UCC T	Torna Collection, University College Cork
UCD A	The Franciscan Collection now housed in UCD
UCD F	Patrick Ferriter Collection

Bibliography

Abbott, T.K. and Gwynn, E.J. 1922: *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin).

[123] Most recently reported to be in the possession of the late Edgar M. Slotkin (Slotkin 1991: 56).
[124] See Ó Fiannachta (1978: 135).

Bergin, Osborn (ed.) 1970: *Irish Bardic Poetry: Texts and Translations Together with an Introductory Lecture* (Dublin and London).

Black, Ronald I. M. 1989: 'The Gaelic manuscripts of Scotland', in William Gillies (ed.), *Gaelic and Scotland: Alba agus A' Ghàidhlig* (Edinburgh), 146–74.

—, 2011: *Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland* <https://www.isos.dias.ie/>, accessed 2 November 2016.

Breatnach, Pádraig A. 1989: 'Roinnt amhrán ar comhfhoirm ón seachtú haois déag', *Éigse* 23, 67–79.

—, 2004: '*A chompáin coimhnigh meise*', *Éigse* 34, 140.

—, 2004a: '*Mairg do dhuine mairg do neoch*', *Éigse* 34, 196.

—, 2007: 'Repertoria Manuscriptorum Collegii S. Antonii', in P. A. Breatnach et al. (eds), *Léann Lámhscríbhinní Lobháin/The Louvain Manuscript Heritage* (Dublin), 3–20.

Bruford, Alan 1966/1969: 'Gaelic Folk-tales and mediaeval romances: a study of the Early Modern Irish "romantic tales" and their oral derivatives', *Béaloideas* 34, 1–284.

Caball, Marc 1993: '*The Gaelic Mind and the Collapse of the Gaelic World*: An Appraisal', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 25, 87–90.

Cameron, Alexander, McBain, Alexander and Kennedy, John (eds) 1894: *Reliquiae Celticae: Texts, Papers and Studies in Gaelic Literature and Philology*, vol. 2 (Inverness).

Carney, James 1950: *Poems on the O'Reillys* (Dublin).

—, 1955: *Studies in Irish Literature and History* (Dublin).

—, 1967: *The Irish Bardic Poet: A Study in the Relationship of Poet and Patron as Exemplified in the Persons of the Poet Eochaidh Ó hEoghusa and his Various Patrons, Mainly Members of the Maguire Family of Fermanagh* (Dublin).

de Brún, Pádraig 1972: '"Gan beannta buird ná binse": Scríobhaithe na Gaeilge, *c.* 1650–1850', *Comhar* 31/11, 15–20.

—, 1988: *Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge: Treoirliosta* (Baile Átha Cliath).

de Brún, Pádraig, Ó Buachalla, Breandán and Ó Concheanainn, Tomás (eds) 1971: *Nua-Dhuanaire Cuid I* (Baile Átha Cliath).

Dillon, Myles, Mooney, Canice, and de Brún, Pádraig 1969: *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Franciscan Library Killiney* (Dublin).

Dinneen, Patrick S. (Ua Duinnín, Pádraig) 1908: *The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating, D.D.*, Part II, ITS 8 (London).

—, 1934: *Dánta Phiarais Feiritéir maille le Réamh-Rádh agus Nótaí* (Baile Átha Cliath).

Doan, James E. 1980: 'The poetic tradition of Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh', *Éigse* 18/1, 1–24.

Dooley, Ann 1991: 'An Irish manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena', *Éigse* 25, 81–90.

Dunn, Charles W. 1957: '[Review of] *Eachtra* Uilliam', *Speculum* 32/4, 849–52.

Flower, Robin 1926: *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol 2 (London).

Gillies, William 1977: 'Courtly and satiric poems in the Book of the Dean of Lismore', *Scottish Studies* 21, 35–53.
—, 1978: 'The Gaelic poems of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (I)', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13/1, 18–45.
—, 1983, 'The Gaelic poems of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (III)', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 14/1, 59–82.
—, 1987, 'The books of Clanranald', in D.S. Thomson (ed.), *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (Oxford), 42.
—, 2016: 'The dánta grá and the Book of the Dean of Lismore', in M. Boyd (ed.), *Ollam: Studies in Gaelic and Related Traditions in Honor of Tomás Ó Cathasaigh* (Madison, NJ; Teaneck, NJ), 257–69.
Greene, David 1955: '*Un joc grossier* in Irish and Provençal', *Ériu* 17, 7–15.
Griffin-Wilson, Margo 2010: *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair* (Dublin).
Gwynn, E. J. 1921/23: 'Tomás Costelloe and O'Rourke's wife', *Ériu* 9, 1–11.
Hardiman, James 1831: *Irish Minstrelsy, or Bardic Remains of Ireland: with English Poetical Translations*, vol 1 (London).
Herbert, Máire and O'Sullivan, Anne 1973: 'The provenance of Laud Misc. 615', *Celtica* 10, 174–92.
Hoyne, Mícheál 2011: 'A bardic poem to Diarmaid Ó Conchubhair Donn (†1600)', *Ériu* 61, 59–93.
Hyde, Douglas 1893: *Abhráin Ghrádha Chúige Connacht or Love Songs of Connacht* (Dublin).
Knott, Eleanor 1922: *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591)*, vol. 1, ITS 22 (London).
—, 1957: *Irish Syllabic Poetry 1200–1600 with Selections, Notes and Glossary* (Dublin).
Mac Ateer, Séamus M. 1976, 'Gearóid Iarla, poète irlandais du XIVe siècle d'origine normande et son œuvre', *EC* 15, 577–98.
Mac Cárthaigh, Eoin 2010: 'The making of Tadhg Dall's editor' in P. Riggs (ed.), *Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn: Historical and Literary Context*, ITS Subsidiary Series 21 (London).
Mac Craith, Mícheál S. 1989: *Lorg na hIasachta ar na Dánta Grá* (Baile Átha Cliath).
—, 2006: 'Fun and games among the jet-set: a glimpse of seventeenth-century Gaelic Ireland', in J. F. Nagy (ed.), *Memory and the Modern in Celtic Literatures*, CSANA Yearbook 5 (Dublin), 15–36.
Mackechnie, John 1973: *Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in Selected Libraries in Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1 (Boston).
MacKinnon, Donald 1912: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and Elsewhere in Scotland* (Edinburgh).
Mac Mathúna, Séamus 2010: 'An fhilíocht a leagtar ar Ghearóid Iarla i Leabhar Fhear Maí: iontaofa nó bréagach', in A. Burnyeat et al. (eds), *Bile ós Chrannaibh: A Festschrift for William Gillies* (Tigh a' Mhaide, Brig o' Turk, Perthshire), 245–70.
Mac Niocail, Gearóid 1963: 'Duanaire Ghearóid Iarla', *Studia Hibernica* 3, 7–59.

McManus, Damian forthcoming: 'Celebrating the female: eulogies, elegies and addresses to noblewomen in late medieval Ireland', in Mícheál Hoyne and Síle Ní Mhurchú (eds): *Proceedings of the Dánta Grádha Symposium*.

McKenna, Lambert [Mac Cionnaith, Láimhbheartach] 1919: *Dánta do Chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh: The Religious Poems of Aonghus Fionn Ó Dalaigh* (Dublin and London).

—, 1938, *Dioghluim Dána* (Baile Átha Cliath).

Meek, Donald E. 1996: 'The Scots-Gaelic scribes of late medieval Perthshire: an overview of the orthography and contents of the Book of the Dean of Lismore', in J. H. Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style, 1513–1542: Essays on the Court of James V* (East Linton), 254–72.

Meyer, Kuno 1908–10: 'A collection of poems on the O'Donnells', *Ériu* 4, 183–90.

Mhac an tSaoi, Máire 1950: 'Filíocht den tseachtú aois déag', *Celtica* 1, 141–57.

Murphy, Gerard 1939–40: 'Notes on Aisling Poetry', *Éigse* 1, 40–50.

Nic Eoin, Máirín 1998: *B'ait leo Bean: Gnéithe den Idé-eolaíocht Inscne i dTraidisiún Liteartha na Gaeilge* (Baile Átha Cliath).

Ní Cheallacháin, Máire 1962: *Filíocht Phádraigín Haicéad* (Baile Átha Cliath).

Nic Mhathúna, Deirdre 2007: *Filíocht Phiarais Feiritéar: Cnuasach Dánta*, vol 1, unpublished PhD thesis, University College Cork.

Ní Dhonnchadha, Máirín 1994: 'Two female lovers', *Ériu* 45, 113–19.

—, 1995: 'The Poem Beginning *A Shláine Inghean Fhlannagáin*', *Ériu* 46, 65–70.

—, 2002: 'Gormlaith and her sisters, *c.* 750–1800', in A. Bourke et al. (eds), *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing IV: Irish Women's Writing and Traditions* (Cork and New York), 166–249.

—, 2002a: 'Courts and coteries I, 900–1600', in A. Bourke et al. (eds), *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing IV: Irish Women's Writing and Traditions* (Cork and New York), 358–457.

—, 2002b: 'Courts and coteries II: *c.* 1500–1800', in A. Bourke et al. (eds), *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing IV: Irish Women's Writing and Traditions* (Cork and New York), 358–457.

Ní Laoire, Siobhán 1986: *Bás Cearbhaill agus Farbhlaidhe* (Baile Átha Cliath).

Nilsen, Kenneth E. 1985: 'Three Irish manuscripts in Massachusetts', in Paul Jefferiss and William J. Mahon (eds), *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 5 (Cambridge, MA), 1–21.

Ní Shéaghdha, Neasa 1961: *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland*, Fasc. 2 (Dublin).

Ní Úrdail, Meidhbhín 2000: *The Scribe in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Motivations and Milieu* (Münster).

Ó Baoill, Colm and Ó Dochartaigh, Cathair (eds) 1996: *Trí Rainn agus Amhrán: Cnuasach Filíochta* (Béal Feirste).

Ó Buachalla, Breandán 2013: 'Dán le Mac Cárthaigh Mór', in S. Ó Coileáin et al. (eds), *Séimhfhear Suairc: Aistí in Ómós don Ollamh Breandán Ó Conchúir* (An Daingean), 330–5.

Ó Caithnia, Liam P. 1984: *Apalóga na bhFilí, 1200–1650* (Baile Átha Cliath).
Ó Conaire, Breandán 1995–7: '[Review of] *Lorg na hIasachta ar na Dánta Grá* by Mícheál S. Mac Craith', *Studia Hibernica* 29, 231–7.
Ó Conchúir, Breandán 1982: *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí 1700–1850* (Baile Átha Cliath).
Ó Corráin, Donnchadh 2011–12: 'What happened Ireland's medieval manuscripts?', *Peritia* 22–23, 191–223.
Ó Cuív, Brian 1954: 'The romance of Mis and Dubh Ruis', *Celtica* 2, 325–33.
—, 1972: 'Fear an éada', *Éigse* 14/3, 240.
—, 1980: 'A reformed lover', *Celtica* 13, 78.
—, 1986: 'Deascán filíochta', in S. Watson (ed.), *Féilscríbhinn Thomáis de Bhaldraithe* (Baile Átha Cliath), 111–18.
—, 2001: *Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford College Libraries*, vol. 1 (Dublin).
Ó Donnchadha, Tadhg 1931: *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe* (Baile Átha Cliath).
Ó Fiannachta, Pádraig 1969: 'Two love-poems', *Ériu* 21, 115–21.
—, 1978: *Clár Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge: Leabharlanna na Cléire agus na Mionchnuasaigh*, vol. 1 (Baile Átha Cliath).
—, 1984: 'Leathchúpla: Leabhar Mhuintir Ghaill Dhuibh', *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad*, 161–6.
Ó Fiannachta, Pádraig and Ó Maoileachlainn, P. 1968: *Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Choláiste Phádraig Má Nuad*, Fasc. V (Má Nuad).
O'Grady, Standish Hayes 1926: *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol I (London).
Ó Háinle, Cathal G. 1985: 'Flattery rejected: two seventeenth-century Irish poems', *Hermathena* 138, 5–27.
—, 2000: '*Congaibh ort, a mhacaoimh mná* (DG 103): Content and Form', *Éigse* 32, 47–58.
—, 2013: *Ceann Faoi Eite* (Baile Átha Cliath).
Ó hUiginn, Ruairí 2010: 'Captain Somhairle and his books revisited', in P. Ó Macháin (ed.), *The Book of the O'Conor Don: Essays on an Irish Manuscript* (Dublin), 88–102.
O Lochlainn, Colm (ed.) and Walsh, Paul 1947: *Irish Men of Learning: Studies* (Dublin).
Ó Macháin, Pádraig 1998: *Téacs agus Údar i bhFilíocht na Scol* (Baile Átha Cliath).
—, 2010: 'An introduction to the Book of the O'Conor Don', in P. Ó Macháin (ed.), *The Book of the O'Conor Don: Essays on an Irish Manuscript* (Dublin), 1–31.
—, 2013: '"One glimpse of Ireland": the manuscript of Fr Nicolás (Fearghal Dubh) Ó Gadhra, OSA' in Raymond Gillespie and Ruairí Ó hUiginn (eds), *Irish Europe, 1600–1650: Writing and Learning* (Dublin).
Ó Mainín, Mícheál 1958: 'Tuilleadh discréide', *Irisleabhar Muighe Nuadhat*, 43.
Ó Muraíle, Nollaig 2002: *The Celebrated Antiquary: Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (c. 1600–1671): His Lineage, Life and Learning* (Maynooth).

O'Rahilly, Cecile 1949: *Eachtra Uilliam: An Irish Version of William of Palerne* (Dublin).
O'Rahilly, Thomas F. [Ó Rathile, Tomás] 1913: '*A bhean na gcíoch gcorr-sholus*', *Gadelica: A Journal of Irish Studies* I, 239–243.
— (ed.) 1916: *Dánta Grádha: An Anthology of Irish Love Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Dublin, Belfast, Cork and Waterford).
— (ed.) 1921: *Dánfhocail: Irish Epigrams in Verse* (Dublin).
— (ed.) 1925: *Laoithe Cumainn* (Baile Átha Cliath agus Corcaigh).
— (ed.) 1925a: *Búrdúin Bheaga* (Baile Átha Cliath).
— (ed.), 1926: *Dánta Grádha: An Anthology of Irish Love Poetry (A.D. 1350–1750)* (Dublin and Cork).
— (ed.), 1927: *Measgra Dánta: Miscellaneous Irish Poems*, 2 vols (Dublin and Cork).
—, 1950: 'Varia II: Lost legends of Mis and Dubh Ruis', *Celtica* 1, 382–4.
O'Rahilly, Thomas F. et al. (eds) 1926–70: *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, 8 vols, Dublin.
Ó Siochfhradha, Pádraig [An Seabhac] 1941: *Laoithe na Féinne* (Baile Átha Cliath).
Ó Tuama, Seán 1986: 'Gearóid Iarla: "The first recorded practitioner"?', in S. Watson (ed.), *Féilscríbhinn Thomáis de Bhaldraithe* (Baile Átha Cliath), 78–85.
Quiggin, E.C. 1937: *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore with a Catalogue and Indexes* (Cambridge).
Simms, Katharine 2010: *Bardic Poetry Database*, <https://bardic.celt.dias.ie/>, accessed 2 November 2016.
—, 2010a: 'The selection of poems for inclusion in the Book of the O'Conor Don', in P. Ó Macháin (ed.), *The Book of the O'Conor Don: Essays on an Irish Manuscript* (Dublin), 32–60.
Sharpe, Richard 2013: 'Varia IV: Maolmhuire Ó hUiginn's poem *Slán uaim don dá aoghaire*', *Éigse* 38, 267–8.
Slotkin, Edgar M 1991: 'Two Irish literary manuscripts in the Mid-West', *Éigse* 25, 56–80.
Stern, Ludwig Christian 1895: 'Notice d'un manuscrit irlandais de la Bibliothèque universitaire de Giessen', *Revue Celtique* 16, 8–30.
Thomson, Derick S. 1987, 'Niall MacMhuirich', in D.S. Thomson (ed.), *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (Oxford) 186–7.
Vendryes, J. 1928: 'Description du manuscrit irlandais de Rouen Nº 1678', *RC* 45, 298–311.
—, 1931: 'Deux poèmes amoureux du XVIIe siècle', in J. Fraser et al. (eds), *Irish Texts* 1 (London), 45–7.
—, 1931a: 'Un manuscrit irlandais inédit', *RC* 48, 235–80.
Williams, Nicholas (ed.) 1979: *Dánta Mhuiris mhic Dháibhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt* (Baile Átha Cliath).

Síle Ní Mhurchú

University College Cork

HUMFREY WANLEY, BISHOP JOHN O'BRIEN, AND THE COLOPHONS OF MAEL BRIGTE'S GOSPELS

Abstract

Mael Brigte's scribal colophons in BL MS Harley 1802 allow the writing to be dated to 1138 in Armagh. This was recognized in 1713 by Humfrey Wanley, whose study of the manuscript was remarkable in its time. It was also worked out by Bishop O'Brien, who saw the manuscript in the British Museum in 1767. Wanley relied on manuscripts from James Ware's collection, in his day owned by the Hon. James Brydges. O'Brien took his chronology from the annals compiled for him by Fr John Connery and known as the Dublin Annals of Inisfallen. His own copy is now TCD MS 1281, and a high proportion of the sources for the compilation is represented by MSS 1281 and 1292. The first colophon in particular is more than evidence of date, however: it is testimony to the view from the primatial see on the killing of the devout king of all Ireland, Cormac Mac Carthaig.

The Gospels of Mael Brigte, now BL MS Harley 1802, came to the notice of scholars at an early date. A small book, handsomely written in a fluent Insular hand of the twelfth century, it has commanded attention for its text of the gospels, its extensive Latin gloss, especially on St Matthew, its citing an Irish commentator Man(chanus), its interlace initials and evangelist symbols, and its colophons, marginalia, and poems in Irish.[1] In its old text and its irregular quiring, it is in many ways a throwback to earlier days of manuscript production, a reflection of conservatism in Ireland, and yet a product of its time. The scribe Mael Brigte was proud of his skill and, in particular, of the minute hand he used when seeking to fit copious commentary into the margins of a small page. If he was himself selecting passages for inclusion, we must regard him as the compiler as well as the scribe, and we may wonder why the commentary tails off as it does after the first gospel. His references to his teacher Mael Ísu, in Irish, in the same minute hand, raise questions about his school that we cannot answer. The occasional quatrains written in margins

*Warm thanks to Pádraig de Brún and Diarmaid Ó Catháin for comments on a draft of this paper, and to Liam Breatnach, Ruairí Ó hUiginn, and Pádraig Ó Riain for answers to questions. I am grateful also to Damien Burke (Jesuit Archives), Andrew Dunning (BL), Sophie Evans (RIA), and Mary Lombard (UCC) for helpful responses to my requests.

[1]Several individual pages of the manuscript have been reproduced many times in print over the last two hundred years. The most visually interesting can be seen now at the website of the British Library. A bibliographical note at the end of this paper provides a round-up of earlier studies.

©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

spring mostly from his scriptural study, though not invariably. A few longer poems likewise reflect religious studies, and he appears to have planned the space for their inclusion alongside the gospel text. Written in Armagh in 1138, the manuscript exemplifies the skilful penmanship of Latin books made and used in Ireland in that period, of which it is a rare survivor, and shows the interaction of Latin and the vernacular on the same page. One of its religious poems carries an internal signature by Ua Maíl Chonaire, associated with a recent *senchaid* to the kings of Connacht, Néide Ua Maíl Chonaire, who died in 1136, and whose only known poem is a versified king-list. The manuscript is rich in interest, and no published description adequately reflects this.

The manuscript was first described in print in a work published in 1708 by Père Richard Simon (1638–1712); the writer thought it was about eight hundred years old when he saw it.[2] John Toland (1670–1722), raised in Inishowen, was the first Irishman to write about the book; he sought to justify the same early date from one of its Irish colophons. He later translated these colophons into Latin for Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726), pioneer of palaeography. Wanley was the first to work out the date of the manuscript as 1139, using manuscripts that had once belonged to Sir James Ware (1594–1666), which he consulted in the hands of the Honourable Mr James Brydges (1673–1744). What has been generally overlooked is that Dr John O'Brien, *alias* Seán mac Thomáis Uí Bhriain (1701–1769), bishop of Cloyne and Ross, repeated the exercise, drawing on sources in his own possession. He dated the manuscript to 1138 and with good reason. These results show what could be achieved by scholars even without ready access to full texts of the more important Irish annals. Their success is all the more remarkable when one knows that those chronological mainstays, the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Inisfallen, are defective at the critical years. The Revd Dr Charles O'Conor (1764–1828), who in 1814 was himself engaged in publishing a Latin edition of the annals, came to the same result as O'Brien, though it cannot be proven that he did so independently.[3] He also argued that the colophon served to vindicate the reliability of the annals themselves. When Robin Flower described the manuscript in the British Museum catalogue, he was well apprised of Wanley's impressive discussion but unaware of O'Brien's. Citing O'Donovan's edition of the Annals of the Four Masters, he drily dated the writing to 1138 with no hint at his predecessors' work.[4]

[2][Richard Simon], *Bibliothèque critique, ou Recüeil de diverses pièces critiques, dont la plûpart ne sont point imprimées, ou ne se trouvent que très-difficilement, publiées par Mr de Sainjore qui y a ajouté quelques notes*, 4 vols (Paris, 1708–10), i, 271–5.

[3]Charles O'Conor, *Rerum Hibernicarum scriptores veteres* (Buckingham, 1814–26), vol. i, *Prolegomena ad Annales*, cxli–cxlv (the last of three sequences of roman page-numbers). He itemized ten datable facts and asserted that they could all be dated from the annals, concluding that in 1138, and in no other year, all the entries find agreement. He had the fourth colophon engraved, but he makes no direct reference to the work of Wanley, which he must surely have used.

[4]S. H. O'Grady and Robin Flower, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, [1889–92]–1926), ii, 431–2. O'Curry's description from 1849 had already provided the reference (BL MS Add. 43376, fol. 36).

Paris, The Hague, and London

From Wanley, Flower knew that Père Simon had seen the manuscript in the Bibliothèque du Roi, in the Rue Vivienne, Paris, and that it was one of several books stolen from the library in 1707 by a renegade priest, Jean Aymon (1661–*c*. 1734). Despite his own position as a curator of manuscripts in the national library in London, Flower did not seek to discover anything about its history in the Bibliothèque du Roi, whose early catalogues were easily available. It had been catalogued there in 1682 as Regius 4583 by Nicolas Clément (1647–1712), keeper of the royal library, the very man whose confidence was won in 1706 by Aymon and who was so badly deceived. Clément described the manuscript in few words, 'Euangelia IV characteribus Saxonicis scripta'.[5] He listed it among the older manuscripts of the collection kept by the brothers Pierre Dupuy (1582–1652) and Jacques Dupuy (1591–1656), which was brought by them into the king's library in 1645, then still housed at Rue de la Harpe in the Latin Quarter, and under their wills it became part of the royal collection in 1657.[6] In a catalogue made by Jacques Dupuy it was described as 'Quatuor euangelistae; literis Saxonicis, in 8°'.[7] How the book came into their hands is not known, but it does not appear among the manuscripts inherited from their father Claude Dupuy (1545–1594).[8] For the present we can say no more than that it reached the brothers' hands in France no later than 1645, but closer investigation into the growth of their collection may yet allow a narrower dating. It may be mere coincidence that another manuscript made at Armagh in the twelfth century, now Bodl. MS Laud Misc. 460, had been in France for some time before it came into the hands of Archbishop William Laud, not later than 1633.[9] Their late medieval provenance can only be a matter for speculation.

In treating the manuscript as Saxon, Père Simon, if he wrote the description himself, followed the available catalogues. One of these described the manuscript in these terms: 'Codex scriptura Saxonica exaratus, cum aliquot notulis Saxonica lingua editis, circiter annorum mille'.[10] Supposing that the passages written in Irish were 'en langage Saxon' – the writer knew nothing of either, as Wanley observed – he read the words in the four colophons, 'Or(áit) do Mælbrigte' as (pray for) 'dom Ælbrigte', which he took

[5]H. Omont, *Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1908–13), iii, 410.

[6]Suzanne Solente, 'Les manuscrits des Dupuy à la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 88 (1927), 177–250, at 190, 193. Manuscripts from this collection have long been referred to by editors as *codices Puteani*.

[7]Omont, *Anciens inventaires*, iv, 203 (MS Dupuy 174).

[8]It does not appear in the catalogue of his books from 1595 (J. Delatour, *Les livres de Claude Dupuy d'après l'inventaire dressé par le libraire Denis Duval, 1595. Une bibliothèque humaniste au temps des guerres de religion* (Paris, 1998)).

[9]R. W. Hunt, 'Introduction', *Laudian Manuscripts* (1858), reprinted with Additions and an Historical Introduction (Oxford, 1973), xvi–xvii.

[10]Quoted without context as a description given by the Benedictines, presumably colleagues of Mabillon from Saint-Germain-des-Prés, by Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits* (Paris, 1868–81), i, 331n.

for an Old English name. Wanley himself was aware that the writer was not necessarily Père Simon *lui-même*. A note at the end of the preceding essay in Simon's book tells us, 'Ce Discours & les deux autres qui suivent ont été trouvez parmi les papiers de Monsieur Justel en Angleterre'.[11] Ours is thus the middle one of three essays here associated with Henri Justel (1620–1693). He was a Huguenot who anticipated that the Edict of Nantes would be revoked and left France as early as 1681, seeking help from Henry Compton, bishop of London.[12] With his support, Justel became keeper of the royal library at St James's Palace. He corresponded with Dr Thomas Smith (1638–1710), keeper of the Cottonian Library, and with Dr Isaac Vossius (1618–1689), canon of St George's Chapel, Windsor, and Wanley knew him to be well acquainted with ancient manuscripts.[13] The note appears to me incompatible with the content of the three essays. The first of them concerns William Cave's *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria* (1688), but it was written in Paris, where, it says, English imprints were very dear. The last refers to 'vos Anglois' (pp. 279, 280), in connexion with a Greek manuscript sent to the English king by Cyrillus Lucaris (1572–1638), which can be identified as the Codex Alexandrinus (BL MS Royal 1 D. v–viii), presented to King Charles I, yet it is dated 'A Paris 1692'. Our essay deals with a manuscript in Paris. Is one to suppose that Justel wrote it in England from notes or in Paris before leaving France? How did these papers come into Père Simon's hands? It makes no sense to attribute these essays to Justel, nor can we explain the note. The essays were published by Simon in 1708, but already the ancient manuscript had left the royal library.

The theft of manuscripts by Jean Aymon in May 1707 is a familiar part of the history of the library.[14] He was a Frenchman, a priest who had changed his religion, married, and was living in the Hague at this time. Here in 1709 he

[11]Simon, *Bibliothèque critique*, i, 270.

[12]H. Brown, 'Un cosmopolite du Grand Siècle: Henri Justel', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 82 (1933), 187–201, at 198.

[13]Bodl. MS Smith 46 (*SC* 15653), pp. 251–424, comprises nearly seventy letters from Justel to Smith, 1677–86. Wanley wrote, 'I could hardly have believed that the Learned Father Simon has so little Experience in old MSS as to make so trivial Observations. Surely Mr Justel above mentioned must needs have known better: since he brought a good parcel of exceeding Antient & Valuable Manuscripts into the Bodleyan Library at Oxford, and others I have seen in private Hands' (sig. 11Q 2va). These manuscripts, presented in 1675, have the numbers 3685–91 in Wanley's catalogue, *Catalogi Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1697 [*recte* 1698]), numbers retained in the Summary Catalogue. The books include three volumes of ecclesiastical canons, *saec*. vi/vii (Bodl. MS e Musaeo 100–102) [*CLA* 2. 255], one ninth- and one tenth-century book, and two more recent manuscripts (*Summary Catalogue*, i, 119; ii, 729–32).

[14]Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, i, 329–32, or, at greater length, B. Hauréau, *Singularités historiques et littéraires* (Paris, 1861), 286–324. In 1766 the British Museum received among the books and manuscripts of Dr Thomas Birch 'Mémoire de quelques manuscrits très-importants qui sont dans le cabinet du sieur Aymon, ministre françois à la Haye' (BL MS Add. 4249, pt 4, now bound in MS Add. 4254). Birch's papers include a number of letters to Harley and Wanley containing offers for the disposal of manuscript collections.

lent our manuscript to the Irishman John Toland, who recognized it as coming from Ireland and carrying texts in Irish as well as the gospels in Latin:[15]

> Be pleas'd to understand, that in the beginning of the same year, 1709, I discover'd at the Hague a manuscript of the four Gospels (then lately brought from France) all written in Irish characters, which were mistaken for Anglosaxon, but yet the whole text in the Latin tongue. Some little thing in Irish itself is here and there mixt among the notes, which are very numerous, and other passages in the Irish language occur also elsewhere.

Another visitor in the Hague was Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734), bibliophile and collector, who saw the book in Aymon's keeping on 29 January 1711. He took notes on the items he was shown, knowing that some had been stolen from the Bibliothèque du Roi, and in this case knowing also what Père Simon had published about it.[16] Aymon by now knew that the book was Irish, and Uffenbach went away with the impression that it contained 'die vier Evangelisten lateinisch mit einer Glossa interlineari Hibernica' as well as what he calls a *catena patrum* in the margins. He knew that the writer, whom he calls 'Donyel Brighte', had entered his name at the end of the book:

> The Author says in the Irish text that he had written and compiled these Gospels by order of 7 Irish Kings or Princes, whose names he mentions. Mr Toland has decifered and translated this, and delivered to M. Aymon, whom he assured, that considering the Chronology and time of the Reign of these Kings, this Codex must exceed the age of 900 years.

Seven living kings were indeed named in the final colophon, but Toland has imputed to them a role not implied by the Irish text.

In 1711 Toland returned to London, where he was a protégé of the queen's minister Robert Harley (1661–1724), by now earl of Oxford. Harley was by this date collecting manuscripts seriously, and Toland obviously spoke about this Irish manuscript with Harley and his librarian, Humfrey Wanley, on more than one occasion. Influenced no doubt by Toland, Wanley already wrote of our manuscript as, 'litteris, ut opinor, Hibernicis'. Purchase was immediately

[15] John Toland, *Nazarenus: or Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity* (London, 1718), p. x. Alan Harrison, 'John Toland and the discovery of an Irish manuscript in Holland', *Irish University Review* 22 (1992), 33–9, provides a fuller context for Toland.

[16] Z. C. von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland, und Engelland*, ed. J. G. Schelhorn (Ulm, 1753–4), iii, 478–80. I quote from an English rendering made for the trustees of the British Museum by Mr Stegmann, Berlin, 1760, BL MS Add. 5338 (now annotated with Harleian numbers), whence it was printed in *Gentleman's Magazine* 102 (Jan.–June 1832), 30–32. The editor, C. N., drew attention to Wanley's daybook in BL MS Lansdowne 771 (published in 1966), and to two letters from Aymon, addressed to Mr Stubbs and to Dr Drummond, among Wanley's in-letters, BL MS Harley 3777, fols 38, 40 (nos 96, 97); these letters are dated 10 and 11 August 1716.

in his mind, and, under the impression from Toland that it was nine hundred years old, he thought to offer twenty guineas for it. Aymon also had a gospel-book in uncial letters, which was no doubt yet more attractive to Wanley.[17] With a view to acquiring these and other manuscripts from Aymon, Wanley wrote to Philip Stubbs (1665–1738), a London clergyman who was visiting The Hague, 2 July 1712, sending a list of the items desired and tips on how to persuade Aymon to sell cheaper than he might otherwise have done.[18] Further correspondence followed. The last letter to Stubbs bears the date 20 November 1712, ending, 'With hourly prayers for your safe return with the Cargo'.[19] On receiving the books, Wanley drew up brief descriptions: the first, undated, refers to 'books lately bought in Holland', the second, dated 10 January 1712/13, 'books lately brought from Holland'.[20] The books had reached London at the end of 1712 or the very beginning of 1713. Wanley's first description shows that he realised that the writer's name was 'often therein expressed' and further hoped to identify him as author of the commentary.

HUMFREY WANLEY'S DISCUSSION

It is likely that Wanley's further inquiries followed straightaway. His research must have taken some time, but it was undertaken to satisfy his curiosity and to understand his employer's manuscripts. Early in this process he had a Latin translation made by Toland of the Irish colophons, no doubt already aware through Toland that they provided a means to dating the writing of the book.[21] While Wanley had no concern to make his findings public, Toland went into print, referring to 'the Irish manuscript of the Gospels which I have happily discovered'. He appended a lengthy account of ancient Irish Christianity, 'unfettered by priestcraft', to his controversial religious essay, *Nazarenus*, in which (as S. H. Daniel puts it in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*) 'he proposed that the ancient Celtic beliefs revealed in an Irish manuscript of the four gospels captured the true spirit of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam'.[22]

[17]The former Regius 4582, now BL MS Harley 1775 (*saec*. vi$^{2/4}$, Italy) [*CLA* 2. 197]. This manuscript had come from the collection of Cardinal Mazarin into the Royal Library.

[18]P. L. Heyworth, *Letters of Humfrey Wanley, Palaeographer, Anglo-Saxonist, Librarian* (Oxford, 1989), 265–8 (no. 123). Here our manuscript is said to be written 'Litteris, ut opinor, Hibernicis', though he had not yet seen it. The edition excluded letters addressed to Wanley, thereby missing much of interest and in some cases the means to understand the correspondence. There are, for example, eight letters from Stubbs to Wanley, the first of them dated 23 January 1712/13, the last 9 February 1721/2 (BL MS Harley 3781, fols 138–147, nos 88–95).

[19]Heyworth, *Letters of Humfrey Wanley*, 276–8 (no. 129).

[20]These deal with fourteen manuscripts, among which ours is no. 12; they have been kept with the relevant drafts of Wanley's letters, BL MS Add. 70484 (formerly Loans 29/259), no. 37).

[21]Harrison, 'John Toland and the discovery of an Irish manuscript', 38, seems to involve himself in Toland's sense of exclusion, 'there is no record of any communication between Wanley and Toland', 'Wanley would likely have suppressed such evidence'. Yet Harrison knew (p. 39) that Wanley's description of the book refers openly and freely to his contact with Toland.

[22]John Toland, *Nazarenus: or Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity* (London, 1718). *With an account of an Irish Manuscript of the Four Gospels* (London, 1718), Letter 2, p. 8. In a note at p. 15, Toland indicates that he wrote this essay in 1709, when he had the manuscript in his own keeping 'above half a year'. When publishing, in 1718, he added that 'the book is come into

The essay on Irish Christianity was composed, Toland indicates, in 1709, when he first saw the book and before he had discussed it with Wanley. It was not published until 1718, by which date the manuscript had been some years in the Harleian collection and Wanley's description lay in fair copy in the catalogue, which remained unpublished until 1759.

Wanley soon had the opportunity to take further advice, this time from someone he refers to as John Conry. William O'Sullivan identified him with John Conry, who would later own some manuscripts and at least one printed book from the library of Roderick O'Flaherty (1629–1716).[23] Some of his manuscripts were described by William Nicolson in Dublin in 1724, and in 1731 books were sold to Charles O'Conor and Dr John Fergus.[24] O'Sullivan acutely observed that Wanley's references to Mr Brydges' manuscripts dated his description no later than October 1714, when Brydges succeeded as Baron Chandos and immediately afterwards was made earl of Carnarvon.[25] He inferred that Wanley composed his description in 1713–14 and that Conry was in London in that year. This may well identify him also with 'Seón ó Mulchonri', who translated three protestant sermons into Irish for publication in London in 1711.[26] O'Sullivan further speculated that Conry sold an Irish manuscript to Wanley for his master's library, now BL MS Harley 432, twenty leaves from a sixteenth-century copy of *Senchas Már*.[27] Wanley certainly discussed that

England, being purchas'd by the Earl of Oxford' (p. 16n). The account is also sometimes catalogued as a separate publication, *An Account of an Irish manuscript of the Four Gospels; with a summary of the ancient Irish Christianity,* [. . .] *and the reality of the Keldees* [. . .] *against the two last Bishops of Worcester* (London, 1718) [ESTC (English Short Title Catalogue) N46645], but this represents the same printing, and its quire-signatures show that the sheets were printed for the book.

[23]William O'Sullivan, 'The Irish manuscripts in Case H in Trinity College', *Celtica* 11 (1976), 229–50, at 235, and with references, 'The Book of Domhnall Ó Dubhdábhoireann: provenance and codicology', *Celtica* 23 (1999), 276–99, at 278.

[24]William Nicolson, *Irish Historical Library* (Dublin, 1724), 243–6; Richard Sharpe, *Roderick O'Flaherty's Letters to William Molyneux, Edward Lhwyd, and Samuel Molyneux, 1696–1709* (Dublin, 2013), 170–78. Edward D'Alton, *King James's Irish Army List 1689* (Dublin, 1855, second ed. 1860), ii, 540–46, uses the person named by Nicolson as a link between John Conry (d. 1672) and the ancestors of Sir John Conroy (1786–1854), 1st baronet. This is erroneous. Sir John's grandfather, John Conry (1704–1769), was much too young, and his father was Fear Feasa Ó Maoil Chonaire (1661–1746) (E. Curtis, 'The O'Maolconaire family', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 19 (1940–1), 118–46; and family papers now in Balliol College, K. Hudson and J. Jones, *The Conroy Papers* (Oxford, 1987), 23).

[25]William O'Sullivan, 'A finding-list of Sir James Ware's manuscripts', *PRIA* 97C (1997), 69–99, at 76.

[26]*Seanmora ar na priom phoncaibh chreideamh ar na ttaruing go Gaidhlig. Sermons on the principal points of religion, translated into Irish* (London, 1711) [ESTC T47236]. The first sermon was by John Richardson (1669–1747), rector of Annagh, who visited London in 1711; the second preached before William III (1689) by Archbishop John Tillotson (1630–1694), translated by Philip Mac Brádaigh (*c.* 1650–*c.* 1719); and three further sermons of William Beveridge (1637–1708), bishop of St Asaph, *ar na gcur i ngaidhlig le Seón ó Mulchonri* (N. J. A. Williams, *I bPrionta i Leabhar: Na Protastúin agus Prós na Gaeilge 1567–1724* (Dublin, 1986), 104–18, 173–5). The Irish text was printed in the Moxon fount by Eleanor Everingham (see below, n. 38).

[27]O'Sullivan, 'Book of Domhnall Ó Dubhdábhoireann', 278; no provenance was known to C. E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani* (London, 1972). Thomas O'Sullivan spent many hours with Harley 432 at Harley's house in Dover Street during March–June 1720, citing it for what we

manuscript with Conry, referring to it as 'an antient Transcript of the Book of Cloin, in Munster, with a Collection of Laws, as Mr Conry told me'.

Conry provided Wanley with a second translation of Mael Brigte's colophons, again in Latin, which he set out side by side with Toland's. Wanley also had further conversation with Toland after meeting Conry, since at one point he tells us that, regarding the existence of a kingdom of Airgialla, 'Mr Toland told me that Mr Conry was utterly mistaken'. Of course, Conry was correct, but Toland was vigorously opinionated.

Wanley undertook extensive research among the manuscripts of Sir James Ware, which had been bought by Brydges in 1709.[28] Here he found primary manuscripts of Irish annals as well as voluminous notes and abstracts. Although the books had been catalogued, so that he could easily decide which books might help him, he mentions two major problems. He refers to 'my want of proper books, and the imperfectness of several that I saw, especially in the Library of the Honourable Mr Brydges, where four or five (principal Books for this occasion) were imperfect in the very places where I wanted their Help'. We know that Brydges II, the Annals of Ulster, now Bodl. MS Rawlinson B. 489, has a lacuna after fol. 50v (AD 1131), resuming at fol. 51r (AD 1151), due to the loss of four leaves. And Brydges XXVI, the Annals of Inisfallen, now Bodl. MS Rawlinson B. 503, has similarly lost leaves between fol. 36v (AD 1130) and fol. 37r (AD 1139). Wanley does not refer directly to either: they lacked the years he most wanted and had lost them already before the books were bound for Ware. He also complains about 'the indiscreet method used by divers of the Old Irish Annalists, of omitting the number of the Year, to signify the same by a k (standing I suppose for the kalends of January)'. He says he counted *k*s when seeking to derive a year from the Annals of Boyle, and he must have done the same in the so-called Continuation of Tigernach's Annals, Bodl. MS Rawlinson B. 488, fols 19r–26v, which continue the work beyond the year 1088, when Tigernach stopped. Faced with such difficulties, he made

know as the Pseudo-Historical Prologue to *Senchas Már* in his *Dissertation* (1722), pp. clxxx–clxxxiv (n. 30 below), and he returned to it again in May–June 1723, his many visits being recorded in Wanley's daybook, where the manuscript is referred to by its shelfmark 39 B 17 or simply as 'the old Irish MS'. He drew up a description, presented on 18 June 1723, which caused Wanley to rewrite his own brief description (original at MS Add. 45702, fol. 128r; revised text on facing page and in the printed catalogue). Soon after this Wanley gave him 'a gratuity from my Lord' (C. E. Wright and R. C. Wright, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley* (London, 1966), 68). Brief description by O'Grady, *Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, i, 146–7; L. Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin, 2005), 24, situates its contents. A. J. Fletcher, *Drama and the Performing Arts in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland. A Repertory of Sources and Documents from the Earliest Times until* c. *1642* (Woodbridge, 2000), 68, records the name of the scribe as Gilla na Naem Ó Deoráin (fol. 14r), the place of writing as Inch St Lawrence (Co. Limerick), and dates it from the note (fol. 19v) referring to the death of Seán Mac Fhlannchadha (*AFM* s.a. 1578).

[28]The private purchase from Lawrence Hyde, earl of Rochester, was known by June 1709 (C. H. Collins Baker, *The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos* (Oxford, 1949), 65). O'Sullivan, 'Finding-list', 76, incorrectly refers the undated Bateman catalogue to this occasion. That auction catalogue was drawn up for a sale intended to take place in January 1702/3; it was cancelled, because Clarendon's brother, the earl of Rochester, bought the library (Sharpe, *O'Flaherty's Letters*, 214n).

wider use of Ware's abstracts, and he concluded that Conry's interpretation was the more reliable and was decisively supported by the annalistic record.

Wanley refers to his own description as 'a First Draught, and even that for the most part, putt down in the midst of hurry & disturbance; and without my ever Reading over what I have at any time before written'. This is disingenuous. What we have is a fair copy in the fifth volume of his handwritten catalogue, now BL MS Add. 45705, fols 183r–212r. The extent of subsequent revision is very limited, so that the real drafting is no longer visible. It is worth observing that Wanley wrote a fair Irish hand, though he was unable to extend contractions.

At a later date, in the 1720s, Wanley would talk with others interested in Irish antiquities. Dermot O'Connor, translator of Keating, whom he met in 1721, did not earn his respect, and the daybook treats him more as a tourist than a student.[29] He considered Thomas O'Sullivan, a regular visitor to Harley's London house in Dover Street between 1720 and 1726, 'a very learned gentleman, & the best skilled in the Irish Antiquities of any man I ever knew'.[30] The daybook frequently records his studying in the library. On his second recorded visit, 13 February 1719/20, Wanley noted, 'Mr O'Sullevan came to assist me in interpreting some Irish sentences'. They may already have been discussing Mael Brigte's Gospels, here cited by shelfmark, since his daybook records, 29 February 1719/20, 'Mr O'Sullevan brought me the remarks he had made upon my Dissertation upon the MS 93 C 29, written in the fifth volume of the shorter catalogue'.[31] A few days later the remarks were withdrawn for correction and the addition of quotations, and on 15 March 'Mr O'Sullevane came and delivered his papers to me much augmented'.[32]

[29]On Dermot O'Connor, see D. Ó Catháin, 'Dermot O'Connor, translator of Keating', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 2 (1987), 67–87. 'Mr Jeremy [*Diarmaid*] O'Connor' first called at Lord Oxford's house on 3 January 1720/21, having heard that there were Irish manuscripts in his library, when he was shown MS Harley 1802 (*Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, 80). Visiting the next day, he was shown the fifteenth-century Register of St Saviour's Chantry, Waterford, BL MS Harley 3765, now edited by N. Byrne and M. Byrne (Dublin, 2013).

[30]*A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts, purchased by authority of Parliament for the use of the Publick; and preserved in the British Museum* (London, 1759–62), under MS 432 (quoted by Flower, *Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, iii, 16). There are three letters from O'Sullivan to Wanley between 5 July 1722 and 26 March 1726, BL MS Harley 3781, fols 152–5. O'Sullivan published a *Dissertation* of some 16,000 words prefixed to *Memoirs of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde* (London, 1722), pp. cxvii–clxxxiv, noted for its description of a bardic school at Cahir (B. Ó Cuív, *Éigse* 9 (1958–61), 263–9), and more than a year later a short pamphlet against O'Connor's translation of Keating. The disputes surrounding O'Connor's work are discussed by Alan Harrison, *Ag Cruinniú Meala: Anthony Raymond (1625–1726), Ministéir Protastúnach agus Léann na Gaeilge i mBaile Átha Cliath* (Dublin, 1988). Diarmuid Ó Murchadha has provided an alternative view of O'Sullivan as a forger of historic manuscripts, intended for sale to Wanley, 'Is the O'Neill–MacCarthy letter of 1317 a forgery?', *Irish Historical Studies* 23 (1982–3), 61–7, discussing items now bound as BL MS Add. 34727, fols. 159r–162v, 268r–269v (Flower, *Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii. 624–7).

[31]*Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, 31. The reference to the shorter catalogue leads to BL MS Add. 45705, fols 183–212. Wright and Wright note (p. 63n) that this volume was completed in summer 1717.

[32]*Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, 32–4.

O'Sullivan's notes have not been found, and only one significant change to the Irish is marked in the fair copy. It appears to have been the fair copy as corrected that was printed in 1759.

Wanley's elaborate description occupies four folio sheets in that first printed catalogue of the Harleian Library, thirty-one columns of text.[33] It is a dazzling example of his investigative skills, well worth re-reading. After quoting at length the description by Simon, he goes through it point by point, beginning by doubting Simon's dating which Toland had taken up with enthusiasm:

> But as to its being at least 800 years old, I must beg his pardon. When Mr Toland first spoke of it to me (for I had the first Notice of this & the other MSS bought of Mr Aymon from him) he said it was 900 years old: and upon the large account he gave of its rarity, joined to 900 years Antiquity, I presently offered 20 guineas for it. As I remember, Mr Aymon's Catalogue (which was drawn up by Mr Toland) represented it as 800 or 900 years old: but when I saw the book it self, I knew well by the Character (having before seen much of the same sort) that it could not be near so antient. In some other Conversations I had with Mr Toland (concerning divers foreign Libraries, and the chief MSS in them) he told me that he could prove this MS to be 900 years old, by some Notes at the Ends of the Evangelists, which shew it to have been written AD 805, to which I could in no wise consent, because I saw the Hand was far newer than that time. Afterwards, when I saw Mr Toland again, he confessed that his Memory had failed him as to the Antiquity of the book, inasmuch as Cormac Mac Carthaig (or the Smith's son) was not killed AD 805 but AD 905, so that the Book was but 800 years old: but to this I could not assent, for the reason above mentioned.
>
> Among the Reguli whose Names appear in the said Notes, I found (fol. 60) mention of Tairdelbach hua Briain (or Tirlough o Briain) but could not easily believe that this was that Prince, (mentioned by O Flaherty) who died AD 1086, because in my Eye the Hand seemed yet newer. I therefore resolved to satisfie myself about its Antiquity; because if I could ascertain the Date, it would be a Standard to judge other Books by. The Result of this Enquiry will appear lower, and the Proofs shall be brought forth, whereupon I ground my opinion, that this book was written in or about 1139.

[33] *A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts*, sig. 11Q–11T, amounting to sixteen unnumbered pages. This is accessible (as images 1019–1034) by subscription through Eighteenth-Century Collections Online. The same text was reprinted in *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1808–12), ii, 229–43, which is freely available in Google Books. The centrality of this catalogue to subsequent discussion has meant that Wanley's dating has lingered, for example, in the work of H. H. Glunz or C. R. Dodwell.

Having enunciated the principle that a datable manuscript serves to inform other palaeographical judgements, he considers nineteen points arising from Simon's account before describing the contents of the manuscript itself, with some comments interspersed. He mistakes the first Irish poem for a Hebrew–Latin–Irish glossary (art. 5, fol. 5v).[34] The second he correctly describes as a poem concerning the twelve apostles (art. 12, fol. 9v).[35] Thomas O'Sullivan would transcribe and translate this poem in August 1720, though his copy remains untraced.[36] Neither observation required Wanley to understand the language. He noted what he took for an early feature in the commentary:

> Before I dismiss this antient Irish Hand, I take Leave to observe that the writer of the Notes in fol. 7. lin. penult. calls St Luke *Lucanus*, according to the antient Custom of the Irish; and many of our antient English Saxons who derived their Learning from them. I have seen divers Copies of the Gospels, where the same name hath occurred: and spoken at large concerning it in my description of the Cottonian Gospels Nero D. 4. Printed in Dr Hickes's Thesaurus.[37]

He goes on to pick out a few later notes in the margins, 'in the Newer & English Hand', some of which cite authorities later than 1139, and judges the writer: 'This man seemeth to have been a mere Grammarian'. Wanley also observed that he 'hath often rased off the old Notes, that he might put the numbers of the chapters in their place'. This stubby thirteenth-century hand, defiling too many pages, shows that the book was still used long after its maker's time. Wanley further wrote two columns on Manchanus, named in the commentary, drawing on James Ware, who gave him a date from the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Tigernach, and adding an entry from a calendar of saints in Mr Brydges' manuscript XXXIX, abstracts made by Ware himself, now BL MS Add. 4788. After discussing Manchanus, he turns to the matter of the date and the colophons:

> These being written for the greatest part in the Irish Tongue, I procured a Translation of them from Mr Toland, which he readily

[34]Misled, no doubt, by lines such as *malgalad nuntius nertgárg* (l. 2) or *galgalad deuotus dian* (l. 10). Whitley Stokes, 'The Irish verses, notes, and glosses in Harleian 1802', *RC* 8 (1887), 346–69, at 346, 348.

[35]Stokes, 'The Irish verses', 350, 352. Names such as *Pól apstal*, *Iacob Andreas*, and others would have been recognizable to Wanley, even if his interpreters had not read the poem for him.

[36]*Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, 63, under 10 August 1720, 'Mr O'Sullevane brought his copie of the old Irish Poem, about the 12 Apostles, extant in the MS 93 C 29, fol. 9b, with a double Latin version of the same, one in verse, being stricter to the Original, the other in Prose, being looser & more explanatory'.

[37]Wanley refers to his 300-page catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, included with its own preface and title-page (1705) in George Hickes's *Thesaurus linguarum ueterum Septentrionalium* (Oxford, 1703–5), at p. 251, commenting on the Lindisfarne Gospels.

> gave me from the book itself. I afterward shewed this Translation to one Mr Conry, an Irish-man then in England, who had some knowledge of the Antient Irish, & having compared Mr Toland's Version with the MS did not altogether approve thereof, but at my Request gave me another Version of the same words: both which Versions follow.

Toland's notes were pasted into the fair copy (fol. 204) but not Conry's. The remaining ten columns of this description are devoted to interpreting the translations of the Irish colophons, which were printed using the Moxon Irish type, presumably now held by John Everingham.[38] Wanley's commentary seeks to test their facts against sources for dates in Irish history among Ware's collections, then held by Brydges, and among manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, at this date in Essex Street.

Wanley's procedure was to present the four colophons and then to test first Toland's and next Conry's interpretation against such sources as he could find. The first brief colophon follows the end of Matthew's Gospel (fol. 60v):

> Or(áit) do Maelbrigte qui scribsit hunc librum. Is mór in gním Cormac mac Carthaig do marbad o Tairdelbach Ua Briain.
>
> 'Prayer for Mael Brigte who wrote this book. It is a great crime that Cormac Mac Carthaig was killed by Toirdelbach Ua Briain.'
>
> A Latin version has been added on the leaf: 'Est magna admiratio mea Cormachum mac Cairthe occisum esse a Tairdeluacho O Brien', which J. T. Gilbert attributed to Bishop O'Brien. Toland's version was adrift: '[L]ismoriae, quando Cormacus Cardaigi occidebatur a Tirdelvaco filio Briani', but he perhaps knew that Cormac had lived in the monastery at Lismore. Conry had it correct: 'Cormacum Mac Cartheum interemptum Terdelvacho o Brian magnum est facinus'. Others did not take into account the usage of *gním* as a wicked act, a crime. O'Curry imputed disapproval to the adjective rather than the noun, 'Tis a terrible deed Cormac Mac Carthy to be killed by Torlogh O'Brien'.[39] Petrie took the words simply as, 'Great the deed, Cormac Mac Carthaig to be killed by Tairdelbhach O'Brien', while Stokes gave a more positive impression with an

[38]The punches were made by Joseph Moxon in 1680 (Dermot McGuinne, *Irish Type Design* (Dublin, 2010), 53–7). A fount of type was made for Robert Everingham and was in use in his printing-shop until 1712, when his widow Eleanor reprinted William Daniel's Irish version of the Book of Common Prayer. The printer to the British Museum was Dryden Leach, Crane Court, Fleet Street. One wonders whether he had taken his forme the short distance to Everingham's printing-shop in Dean Street, Fetter Lane, to set up the few lines of Irish. It is unlikely that an Irish fount was cast for this purpose, and there is no sign of other Irish printing in London at this date; this example escaped E. R. McC. Dix and S. Ua Casaide, *List of books, pamphlets, &c., printed wholly, or partly, in Irish from the earliest period to 1820* (Dublin, 1905).

[39]BL MS Add. 43376, fol. 35; W. Reeves and E. O'Curry, 'On an Irish manuscript of the four gospels in the British Museum', *PRIA* 5 (1850–3), 45–67, at 61.

exclamation mark: 'Great is the deed! Cormac son of Carthach to be killed by Toirdelbach descendant of Brian'.[40]

Toland's thesis set out to defend the idea that the manuscript was eight hundred years old. He argued away the name Cormac Mac Carthaig, turning him into Cormac mac Cuilennáin.[41] His reasons for this are nominally that the description of Cormac in the fourth colophon as *rígescop Muman* could only refer to Cormac, who died as king-bishop of Munster in 908, and substantively because this supported his wish to push the date of the manuscript as far back as he could. Wanley corroborated the dating of Cormac mac Cuilennáin but refused to allow Toland's argument. It is not clear that Conry constructed any thesis for the date of the manuscript, but, unlike Toland, he did not argue away anything that the colophons stated. Wanley therefore identified Cormac Mac Carthaig with 'Cormacus rex Momoniae', mentioned by Ware as the founder of a monastery at Cork in 1134.[42] He further found the entry in the Continuation of the Annals of Tigernach, in an old manuscript, Brydges MS III, fol. 23, which we can recognize as now Bodl. MS Rawlinson B. 488: *Cormac mac Maic Carthaig do marbad do Toirdelbach O Briain .i. da cliamuin ⁊ da cairdes Crist ⁊ da altraind a fill .i. indsaigtheach Erenn uile ⁊ ri Leithe Moga co comlan*. He was able to transcribe this but could not extend the contractions, and he commented (without mention of Toland or Conry), 'I am sorry that I am not able to interpret this whole Note'. Even so, a near complete translation was printed, which in the fair copy is written as an addendum on the facing verso; I suspect the sentence may have been translated by Thomas O'Sullivan. The English reads: 'Cormac Mac-Carty was killed by Tirlough O Briain; that is, his Son in Law, & Gossip [*godfather*], & Foster-Child; [*gap*] a King of Leithe Moga (i.e. the Half of Ireland Southwards) intirely'. Wanley refers the entry to the year 1138, though the manuscript gives no actual dates. He also found the equivalent entry in the Annals of Boyle, a manuscript in the Cottonian Library: *Cormac mac Cartaich ri Desmuman occisus est a Tordelbuch u Briain*, 'the year, as I gess by counting the k, is 1138 or 1139'. The modern editor agreed with him.[43] The death of Cormac mac Muiredaig

[40]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*, *TRIA* 20 (1845), 308; Stokes, 'The Irish verses', 359.

[41]George Petrie refuted what he perceived as a similar desire among late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century antiquaries to reassign Cormac's Chapel at Cashel from Cormac Mac Carthaig in 1134 to Cormac mac Cuilennáin in the tenth century, and he quoted several texts of annals to prove his point (Petrie, *Round Towers*, 287–8).

[42]James Ware, *De Hibernia et antiquitatibus eius disquisitiones*, 2nd ed. (London, 1658), 228. This is the edition used by Wanley. Ware sources the founding of an Augustinian abbey of St John near Cork by Cormac *c.* 1134 to 'MS. Barri al. Finbarri'. He thought to equate this with the 'monasterium Ibracense' mentioned as Cormac's foundation by Bernard of Clairvaux, *Vita S. Malachiae*, §18.

[43]BL MS Cotton Titus A. xxv, fol. 22v. Edited by A. M. Freeman, 'The annals in Cotton MS Titus A. XXV', *RC* 41 (1924), 301–30; 42 (1925), 283–305; 43 (1926), 358–384; 44 (1927), 336–361. This entry appears in *RC* 42 (1925), 286.

Meic Carthaig in 1138 was and remains the key date for the writing of the manuscript.

The second colophon is entered at the end of Mark's Gospel (fol. 86r); Wanley had nothing to say about this one but quoted it none the less:

> Or(áit) do Maelbrigte qui scribsit hunc librum.
>
> 'Prayer for Mael Brigte who wrote this book.'

The third colophon is entered at the end of Luke's Gospel (fol. 127v), and in it the scribe records his age and makes a link with a recent event:

> Or(ait) do Maelbrigte qui scribsit h(unc) l(ibrum). In xx^{o}uiii^{o} anno aetatis suae. In dara bliadain iarsin goethaig moir sein.
>
> 'Prayer for Mael Brigte who wrote this book in the twenty-eighth year of his age. This was the second year after the great storm.'
>
> Toland's version of the Irish phrase read: 'secundo anno ab aedificatione magnae domus'. Conry endorsed this.

Wanley's attempt to contextualize this false interpretation of the colophon relied on Ware's *Antiquitates*, referring to the rebuilding of the church of Down by Bishop Malachy in 1137.[44] Flower found the great storm entered by the Four Masters under 1137, while James Kenney independently noted the great storm in the underlying Annals of Lough Key under the same year.[45] The latter were probably following the Annals of Ulster.

The fourth and most elaborate colophon appears at the end of John's Gospel (fol. 156v):

> Or(áit) do Maelbrigte hua Maelúanaig qui scribsit hunc librum .i. in nArd Macha. Ocus in naimsir Donnchatha hua Cerbaill ardríg Airgiall roscríbad .i. i mbliadain dano se side deac for Kalainn Enair .i. isin bliadain romarbad Cormac mac Cardaig rigescop Muman ⁊ hErenn archena inna aimsir. Ateat so immorro rígra[[d]] hErenn isinn amsir sein .i. Murcertach mac Nél Ua Lochlaind Ailiuch. Cú Ulad mac Conchobuir ríg Ulad. Murchath Ua Maelseachlaind ríg Mide. Diarmait Mac Murchada rig Lagen. Conchobor Ua Briain rig Muman. Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair rig Connacht. + Gilla Meic Liac mac meic Ruadri \.i. mac ind <fh>ir dana do ib Birnn./ hi comarbas Patraic.

[44]Wanley cites Ware, *De Hibernia et eius antiquitatibus*, 195 [*recte* 295, a misprint in the edition].

[45]J. F. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, i: *Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929), 648n, referring to this entry: 'A tremendous storm of wind on the day before the festival of the Sprinkling of the Water' [Rogation Sunday] (W. M. Hennessy (ed.), *The Annals of Loch Cé*, Rolls Series 54, 2 vols (1871), i, 136–7).

> Bennacht ar cach oen legfas frisin lebursa, gebed pater ar anmain in scribneda uair is mor ha hoether etir corp ⁊ tráctad ic [[*erased*]].
>
> 'Prayer for Mael Brigte Ua Maeluanaig, who wrote this book, i.e. in Armagh. And it was written in the time of Donnchad Ua Cerbaill high king of the Airgialla, i.e. the year when the Kalends of January fell on the sixteenth day of the moon, i.e. the year in which Cormac Mac Carthaig was killed, who was king-bishop of Munster and of Ireland generally in his time. These are the kings of Ireland in this time, i.e. Muirchertach mac Néill Ua Lochlainn of Ailech, Cú Ulad mac Conchobair king of Ulaid, Murchad Ua Maelseachlainn king of Mide, Diarmait Mac Murchada king of Laigin, Conchobor Ua Briain king of Munster, Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair king of Connacht. Gilla Meic Liac son of <Diarmait> son of Ruaidri, \i. son of the man of art to the Uí Birnn,/ in the coarbship of Patrick.
>
> Blessing on each one who will read by means of this book, he shall recite Our Father for the soul of the scribe, for great is his labour both text and commentary in [[the writing]].'

The colophon is clear to read, but the syntax of the final blessing is not. Petrie translated it, 'A blessing on everyone who shall let this book pass [*without censure*], let him repeat a *Pater* for the soul of the scribe, for it stands much in need of indulgence both in its text and commentaries'.[46] O'Curry was clearly influenced by this: 'A blessing on every one who will pardon the faults of this book, let him say a *Pater* for the soul of the scribe; for it much requires indulgence both in text and commentaries'.[47] Stokes, however, translated it: 'A blessing on every one who shall read from this book! Let him repeat a *Pater noster* for the soul of the scribe, for great is the labour [*othar*] in writing it, both text and commentary'.[48] The problem is the word *frisin*. Petrie and O'Curry took the verb as *legaid*, which can be transitive or intransitive, 'melts, dissolves', imputing to it a sense not otherwise attested and a construction not found elsewhere. Stokes more plausibly took it for *légaid* (the scribe is not scrupulous with marks of length), 'reads', but again the construction with *fri* is not attested elsewhere.

Wanley devoted some space to Airgialla, the territory in which Armagh lies, and he found the death of Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, king of Airgialla, in the Annals of Boyle about AD 1167.[49] King Cormac he had already found, but he did not know that in the Annals of Lough Key, followed by the Four Masters, he was called *espuc righ nÉrenn*, which would have answered Toland.[50] Both Toland and Conry misunderstood the reference to the state of the moon on the first of January, leaving Wanley with no reason to test

[46]Petrie, *Round Towers*, 308.
[47]O'Curry, 'On an Irish manuscript of the four gospels', 63.
[48]Stokes, 'The Irish verses', 359.
[49]Freeman, 'The annals in Cotton MS Titus A. XXV', *RC* 42 (1925), 289, s.a. 1168.
[50]See below, n. 116.

this point. Years were identified in Ireland by the ferial and the lunar epact of 1 January, and the sixteenth of the moon corresponds to the year 1138, as spelt out in the Annals of Lough Key, according to the practice regularly seen at this period in the Annals of Ulster, the underlying source. Wanley was unable to trace Cú Ulad mac Conchobair, though Cú Ulad mac Conchobair Chisénaig meic Duinn Sléibe was indeed king of Ulster between 1131 and his death in 1157.[51] Murchad Ua Maelseachlainn he found in the Annals of Boyle, when he was murdered in 1143.[52] Diarmait Mac Murchada he found in the same annals 'about AD 1141' and in a range of other sources. He found Conchobar Ua Briain as king of Munster in the Continuation of the Annals of Tigernach in, as he counted it, 1138.[53] For Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair there was, as he put it, 'more evidence', citing Ware's translation of the Annals of Ulster, Brydges XLIX, at the years 1127 and 1128, and on more than one occasion what he treats as the Irish text of the Annals of Ulster, Brydges XXIX, and provides a copious note. Finally his note on Gilla Meic Liac draws on the Annals of Boyle, the Annals of Ulster, and other sources, and includes a discussion of Mael Brigte's word *comarbas*, 'coarbship', which Wanley understood correctly, drawing both on Ware and on Spelman's *Glossarium* (where the entry under *corba* relied on information provided by Ussher). In all this Wanley drew on the following unprinted sources from Ireland:

In the Cottonian Library:

> Titus A. xxv, the Annals of Boyle, quoted in Irish on several points.
>
> Domitian A. xviii, art. 10, Irish annals from 948 to 1407, cited as 'Annal. Hibern.', and quoted in Latin for entry under 1167.

In Mr Brydges' library:

> MS III, 'in Continuatione Annalium Tigernachi', now Bodl. MS Rawlinson B. 488, quoted in Irish.
> MS XV, now Bodl. MS Rawlinson B. 504, cited as 'Annals of Ireland', is a copy of the Register of Tristernagh.
> MS XXIX, now untraced, cited as 'collections from the Ulster Annals', in which AD 837 appears at fol. 1v, quoted in Irish.
> MS XXXVI, now BL MS Add. 4787, cited as Annales Inisfallenses.

[51]'Cú Uladh Ua hEochadha, king of Ulster, died in Downpatrick' (*AT* s.a. 1157. 5). He had succeeded Ragnall Ua hEochada, who fell in battle in 1131 (*ALC* s.a.).

[52]Freeman, 'The annals in Cotton MS Titus A. XXV', *RC* 42 (1925), 286.

[53]Whitley Stokes (ed.), 'The Annals of Tigernach: the continuation, AD 1088–AD 1178', *RC* 18 (1897), 150–97, at 161.

MS XXXIX, now BL MS Add. 4788, cited for a catalogue of Irish saints (fol. 83), and for the collection of Thady Dowling (fol. 157r).

MS XLIV, now BL MS Add. 4791, cited for excerpts from a manuscript of the abbey of Boyle, and again, fol. 164v, 'which seemed here to cite the Cottonian MS Titus A. xxv' (i.e. the Annals of Boyle), 167v (again shared with Titus A. xxv); cited for list of archbishops of Armagh (fol. 79v).

MS XLVII, now BL MS Lansdowne 418, transcripts made for Ware, 1638, cited for Annales Lagenienses, fol. 19.

MS XLIX, cited as a recent transcript or translation of the Ulster Annals or simply as Ulster Annals, in English, with years (fols. 63v, 68v, &c.); also for the poem, *Caiseal cathair Cland Modha*, 'Ex libro Balinrotens. fol. 39' [*sic*, Book of Ballymote, fol. 38v] (though noting, 'This same place is cited in another of Mr Brydges's MSS. Vol. XV. Fol. 65'). English translation of the Annals of Ulster, ends in 1131; Ware leaves five leaves blank and starts again in 1156. The translation was attributed to Tuileagna Ó Maoil Chonaire by John O'Donovan (*AFM*, i, p. xxxiv).

What stands out here is, in reference to Cormac Mac Carthaig, that 'his death is also remembered to have been at AD 1139 in a copy of the Ulster Annals, with Mr Brydges'. The Annals of Ulster in Brydges II, now Rawlinson B. 489, have and had a lacuna here. Wanley, however, quotes the Annals of Ulster in Irish, s.a. 1153, 1162, from Brydges XXIX, and he paraphrases in Latin an entry from 1174. The passage from 1162, allowing for Wanley's mistranscription, is found in the authoritative manuscripts, *AU* s.a. 1162. 5, *Argain Gall Athacliath la Diarmait mac Murchada ⁊ nert mór do ghabail forro, amail na rogabad reime o cein móir* 'Pillaging of the Foreigners of Áth Cliath by Diarmait Mac Murchada and great sway was obtained over them, such as was not obtained before for a long time'. It is therefore significant that he has quoted an entry from 1153, a year missing from both extant manuscripts of the Annals of Ulster, 'Terdelbach ua Concub(air) Airdri Connacht &c.', though one could have wished for a more revealing quotation.[54] Ware's own description of MS XXIX reads, 'Rerum Hibernicarum Annales, ab anno salutis 431. usque ad initium anni 1172. sub quo tempore Hibernia Anglici Juris facta est, Henrico nostro secundo Regnante. Per Iacobum Waraeum equit. aur. Accessit continuatio usque ad finem regni Henrici 2 (*sic*). Per eundem authorem, in fol(io)'. In other words, it was Ware's own compilation.[55] The later description

[54]The Annals of Lough Key, which might otherwise have provided a control at this point, are missing between 1138 and 1170 (Hennessy, *The Annals of Loch Cé*, i, 140). Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair features in *AFM* s.a. 1153 but not the title *ardrí Connacht*.

[55]James Ware, *Librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca Iacobi Waræi catalogus* (Dublin, 1648), 9. Reprinted by O'Sullivan, 'Finding-list', 79, where his n. 56 mentions Wanley's citing this as collections from the Annals of Ulster and that copies of the continuation still exist,

by Edmund Gibson uses the same title, adding that the language was Latin.[56] Why Wanley associated this manuscript with the Annals of Ulster is not apparent. His mentioning the entry regarding the death of King Cormac was directed at saying that it appeared under the year 1139 where his counting of *k*s had led to 1138. Its wording, we may presume, revealed no more than what he had already found in other sources, and its assignment to the wrong year reflects upon Ware's compiling. This must reassure us that he did not have access to a source that would have closed the lacuna in our text of the Annals of Ulster. Its AD-heading, however, probably explains why Wanley took 1139 as the year of writing rather than 1138.

In his final column he makes some fun of Toland's theory, now proven to be wrong, and sums up:

> I must believe that the book was written AD 1139. I had indeed much rather to have found it 800 years old, which would undoubtedly have raised its value; but as it is, it is a standard for the Irish hand of that age; as also one of the most authentic copies of the Latin gospels, which they have sent forth from that Island.

The result was an outstanding achievement, given the resources available to Wanley, the lack of any prior work regarding the relationship of different Irish annals, and his very limited previous experience with either Irish manuscripts or Irish history.[57]

BISHOP O'BRIEN'S DISCUSSION

The same colophons were discussed with the same aim by Dr John O'Brien, Seán mac Thomáis Uí Bhriain (1701–1769), bishop of Cloyne and Ross, in his *Focalóir Gaoidhilge-Sax-Bhéarla, or An Irish–English Dictionary* (Paris, 1768). This discussion seems to have passed largely unnoticed by those who have written about Mael Brigte's Gospels.[58] What he brought to the task in hand was different copies of what he suggests were different annals, though we shall see that his source goes back to the same key evidence supporting Wanley's dating. O'Brien arrived at 1138 as the year of writing, and, though he makes no reference to Wanley, it seems likely that he reached this result more as a correction than entirely independently. His discussion is important

---

extending from 1169 to 1272, i.e. the last year of Henry III's reign. Ware's MS XXIX, however, remains untraced and its first part unrecognized elsewhere.

[56] *Catalogi manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1697 [1698]), ii, pt 2, p. 6.

[57] As long ago as 1698, however, he had no hesitation in saying, 'I have been to Gresham College Library, where the books in the Picts Language prove to be Irish' (Heyworth, *Letters of Humfrey Wanley*, 93, no. 47; R. Sharpe, 'In quest of Pictish manuscripts', *Innes Review* 59 (2008), 145–67). When he was first acquainted with the Irish language is not known.

[58] The passage in the dictionary was quoted, however, by Petrie, *Round Towers*, 305, and by J. T. Gilbert, *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland* (1874–84), p. xxi. It was more recently cited by Cormac Ó Cuileanáin (see n. 83), 148n, as providing a reading from 'the Annals of Inisfallen'.

evidence for his ability to use the books available to him to a good antiquarian purpose. It is also, and perhaps more surprisingly, *prima facie* evidence that he had visited the British Museum in its first few years' existence. His *Focalóir* was printed in Paris, after he had left Ireland for the last time in 1767. In seeking funds to pay for printing, as early as 1764, he mentions that he had arranged

> for the composition of an Irish dictionary under my supervision by persons learned in the language and antiquities of Ireland. The work has been completed for two years but has remained unpublished for lack of funds.[59]

Two men have been identified as O'Brien's learned assistants in this work: Mícheál mac Peadair Uí Longáin and Seán Ó Conaire, Father John Connery.[60] Despite this statement, however, we cannot regard O'Brien's contribution as merely one of supervision, for there are many first-person references, and the essays at the head of each letter of the alphabet display a governing mind as well as an authorial voice.[61] That voice was surely O'Brien's own. We should also not allow this statement, made in applying for funds to print the book, to limit our understanding of the final stages of the work. The rich introduction was evidently written in 1768, since a work there referred to as 'published last year at London', James Parsons's *The Remains of Japhet*, appeared in October 1767.[62] Revision was still going on as the sheets were being worked off by the printer, something we can infer from the extended entry on several families, inserted by association with the word *mac* but added at the end of the letter M.[63] This is one

[59]Memorial on the verso of a letter to Cardinal Giuseppe Maria Castelli (1704–1780), dated at Cloyne, 20 November 1764, composed in French but published only in English by F. M. Jones, 'The Congregation of Propaganda and the publication of Dr O'Brien's Irish Dictionary, 1768', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5th ser. 77 (1952), 29–37, at 32.

[60]Proinsias Mac Cana, *Collège des irlandais Paris and Irish Studies* (Dublin, 2001), 99.

[61]A lively picture of the bishop is provided by Diarmaid Ó Catháin, 'An Irish scholar abroad: Bishop John O'Brien of Cloyne and the Macpherson controversy', in P. O'Flanagan and C. G. Buttimer (eds), *Cork History and Society* (Dublin, 1993), 499–533. My colleague David Cram has on hands a discussion of ideas about the letters of the alphabet in Ireland at this time, in which O'Brien's views will be considered. It is an unusual lexicographer who will say, 'I know no language that can express in one word the full meaning of either of these Irish words, *leas*, *ainleas*' (O'Brien, *Focalóir*, 13a). The references to Hebrew, sometimes specifically citing Buxtorf or Opitius, to Arabic, and to Greek suggest linguistic study far beyond skill in Irish.

[62]O'Brien, *Focalóir*, p. xxxi. K. I. D. Maslen and J. Lancaster, *The Bowyer Ledgers. The Printing Accounts of William Bowyer Father and Son* (London, 1991), 364 (§4682), show that the job was filed as complete in the first half of October. The author James Parsons (1705–1770), who paid for the printing, says he grew up in Ireland, 'and there attained to a tolerable knowledge in the very ancient tongue of that country, which enabled me to consult some of their manuscripts, and become instructed in their grammatical institutes' (*Remains of Japhet*, p. vii).

[63]O'Brien, *Focalóir*, 359–60 (sig. Yy4–Yy4v): 'Note. Having not had time to insert at the word *mac* in this letter some family-names which begin with that monosyllable, [. . .] we shall therefore observe in this place [. . .]'. The passage gives prominence to the Mac Carthy family, 'the most illustrious of all those families whose names begin with *mac'*, 'kings of south-Munster, whose capital was Cork'. The lemma *mac* has a brief entry at p. 335 (sig. Tt4), three sheets before. The printer is likely to have been setting up and working off one quarto

of many long historical entries, and we may well deduce from it that they were added in the last stage of O'Brien's drafting. Reference to Mael Brigte's Gospels comes in just such an entry under the lemma *Curmac*, where O'Brien writes:

> In an old valuable manuscript of the four Gospels in Latin written in Irish Characters, first belonging to the Kings Library at Paris (where Père Simon ignorantly judged it written in the Saxon Character) but now to be seen in the British Musaeum at London, the following marginal remark in old Irish is found at the end of the Gospel of S. Mathew, p. 60: is mòr in gnim Cormac mac Càrthaig do mharbhad o Thordealbach O Briain; i. e. 'the Killing of Cormac Mac Carthy by Turlogh O Brien is a very surprizing act'.[64]

If O'Brien had seen the manuscript, it would appear he had seen it in the British Museum, which first opened its doors to the public at Montagu House in London in January 1759. There is no secure evidence that he was in London between then and the notional completion of the dictionary, two years before the date of his memorandum written late in 1764. The only time when we know the bishop was in London was in August and September 1767.[65] Visits before 1759 are irrelevant.[66] It is not unlikely that he passed through London in 1764, when he visited the Continent, but his route is not actually known.[67] Records kept by the Museum show that on 11 September 1767 'Mr Obryan, a Gentleman of Ireland known to Dr Morton', requested leave to use the reading

sheet in a week. Under the word *ua* (p. 500), O'Brien referred ahead to his note on various illustrious families, which occupies pp. 512–16, at the end of the last letter of the dictionary.

[64]O'Brien, *Focalóir*, 154–5, under the lemma, 'Curmac, or Cormac, surnamed *Muigh-theamhna*', that is Cormac Mac Carthaig.

[65]A letter from Dr John Curry (d. 1780) to Charles O'Conor (1710–1791), of Belanagare, dated 11 August 1767, mentions that 'Dr O'Brien was in town [*Dublin*] but is gone to London' (quoted by B. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí 1700–1850* (Cork, 1982), 219, from RIA MS Stowe B. i. 1–2, cat. 1159–60); it was probably on the strength of this that O'Conor in turn wrote to the Chevalier Thomas O'Gorman (1732–1809), about to depart for London and then Paris, that 'he is now in London, and it would be happy if some third person could be found to bring you and him together and lay the foundation of historical friendship between you' (R. E. Ward et al. (eds), *Letters of Charles O'Conor* (Washington, DC, 1988), 199–201, no. 166, dated 1 September 1767). They had in fact been genealogical advisors to contending branches of the O'Brien dynasty, who from about 1758 sought to recover the attainted title earl of Thomond: O'Gorman was advisor to Charles O'Brien (1699–1761), 6th viscount Clare (on whom GEC, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, 13 vols (London, 1910–59), iii, 253–4), and his infant heir Charles, while Bishop O'Brien was adviser to Daniel O'Brien (1683–1759), earl of Lismore, his widow Margaret, and their heir James Daniel O'Brien (1736–1780).

[66]O'Brien must have travelled between Ireland and France many times. He could no doubt have got a sea-passage from Cork to a French port, but it is clear that in 1767 he chose to go through London, and he may have done so on earlier occasions. Before the opening of the museum, however, the Harleian manuscripts had been inaccessible for more than thirty years.

[67]He wrote letters from Brussels in June and August 1764 (J. Coombes, *A Bishop of Penal Times: The Life and Times of John O'Brien, Bishop of Cloyne and Ross* (Cork, 1981), 75, 82).

room and two weeks later on 25 September leave was given.[68] Charles Morton was the keeper of manuscripts, and we may guess that Mr O'Brien did not go out of his way to identify himself as a Catholic bishop in London. His knowledge of Père Simon's comments need not surprise us: he had lived many years in France and had studied in Paris. None the less, we should have to suppose that he had himself made the join between Simon's discussion and the Harleian manuscript, and it may be easier to believe that he had come to Simon's observations by reading Wanley's description, printed in 1759 and distributed in 1763. His rendering of this first colophon, however, bears more relation to the version written on fol. 60r, 'est magna admiratio mea', than to either of the versions printed by Wanley, which gives us some assurance that he had actually seen the manuscript.[69] The bishop goes on:

> At the end of the book appears the following Irish note,
>
> 'O'ràid do Mael-brigte O Mael-uanig qui scripsit hunc librum in Ardmach is an bliain ro marbad Cormac mac Càrthaig Ri-Eascop Muman, a tàid seo siòs na Riogra an Éreann san aimsir so; i.e. Muircheartach mac Néil an Aliuch; Cuullad mac Concúbhair Ri Ullad; Murcha ua Maeleachluind Ri Midhe; Diarmaid mac Murcha Ri Laigean; Concúbhar O Briain Rig Muman; Tordealbac O Concubar Rig Conact; Giolla mac Liag mac Rugrigh a cco-morbus Patraig', i.e. Pray for Mael-brigte Ua Mael-uanaig who wrote this book at Armagh in the year that Cormac Mac Carty the Royal Bishop of Munster hath been killed, the following personages are Kings in Ireland at this same time, i.e. Mortogh mac Néil King of Ailiuch or Ulidia; Cú Ulladh mac Concubhair King of Ulster; Morragh ua Maeleachlain King of Meath; Diarmuid mac Murcha King of Leinster; Conchúbhar O Brien King of Munster; Torlogh O Concubhair King of Connaught; & Giolla mac Liag mac Rugrigh, successor of St Patrick at Ardmagh.
>
> It is to be noted, that this writer had no other foundation for stiling Cormac Royal Bishop of Munster than because he had repaired the Cathedral Church of Cashel & two Churches at Lismore, & was otherwise reputed a man of a pious & holy life which is the Character S. Bernard gives of him in his book *De uita Malachiae*, according to Malachy's reports to him concerning Cormac, to whom he was Doctor & Director during his retreat at Lismore after his dethronement by the faction of his brother Donogh. By virtue

[68]Morton's official diary has 'Mr O'Brien a gentleman of Ireland known to C. Morton requests admission to the reading room for six months. Sept. 11, 1767. C.M.' (BL MS Add. 45871, fol. 64v); Committee Minutes, 25 September 1767, show that leave was granted to four readers on this occasion, and such permissions lasted six months. The name O'Brien does not appear under earlier years. My thanks to Peter Williams, British Museum Central Archive, for searching the records.

[69]Gilbert, *Facsimiles*, p. xxi, went so far as to associate this addition with Bishop O'Brien himself.

> of these marginal remarks of the writer of that inestimable manuscript, I have been able to furnish the Keepers & Overseers of the British Musaeum with a note, whereby the antiquity of that manuscript is ascertained and fixt at the year 1138. This Cormac mac Carthaig was deposed by his younger brother Donogh assisted by Turlogh O Connor K. of Connaught an. 1127, & shut up in a Monastery at Lismore. But before the end of the same year, he was restored to the crown of Desmond by Concúbhar O Brien, & Donogh was exiled to Connaught. Vid. Annal. Innisfallen. ad an. 1127. This fact of Cormac's being restored by Concubhar O Brien is mentioned by S. Bernard *in uita Malachiae* chap. 3. But the particular reason of Maelbrighte's surprise at the act of Turlough O Brien towards Cormac mac Carty, was because he was Cormac's son in law, & his Gossip, besides his having been bred up from his earliest days at Cormac's Court, according to the friendly custom of the Irish Princes who often educated each others children for riveting mutual confidence & good harmony. The fact of these severall ties of friendship between Turlough & Cormac, is attested in the Annals of Innisfallen at the year 1138, where it is said, that Turlough was Cliamhain, Cairdios Chriost, & Altrom of Cormac mac Carthy, i.e. his son in law, his gossip, & his foster-child. The Chronicon Scotorum & the continuator of Tigernach attribute the fact to Turlough alone, without any mention of O Connor Kerry; but the authors of the Annals of Inisfallen are more to be credited as they wrote in the very Center of Kerry.

Unlike Wanley, the bishop has an overview of King Cormac's career, having read his annals more continuously and knowing also what Bernard of Clairvaux's *Vita S. Malachiae* has to say.[70] He has interpreted the colophon less fully than Wanley, resting his case entirely on the dates discoverable for Cormac, for which he has drawn on entries under the years 1127 and 1138 in what he calls the Annals of Inisfallen.[71] The facts under 1127 may indeed be read in the Annals of Inisfallen, but that source is missing for 1138.[72] The original manuscript of these annals is now Bodl. MS Rawlinson B. 503, which was available to Wanley, being MS XXVI in Mr Brydges' collection. If Wanley had handled this, he does not cite it, but in any case the loss of leaves means that there is a lacuna in this manuscript between 1130 and 1159. Since the

[70]Bernard of Clairvaux, *Vita S. Malachiae*, §9, which begins, 'Inter regem australis Mumunie, que est Hibernie pars, et germanum eius orta simultate, et fratre facto superiori, rex pulsus regno confugit ad episcopum Malchum' (J. Leclercq (ed.), *Sancti Bernardi Opera* (Rome, 1957–77), iii, 317); older editions, such as *PL*, lack the word *australis*.

[71]Fr James Coombes, *John O'Brien*, 79, says that the compilers gave the work no title whatsoever and were therefore not responsible for the confusion with the medieval Annals of Inisfallen. This is not strictly correct. O'Brien several times refers to the Annals of Inisfallen alongside those of Tigernach and Chronicum Scotorum, e.g. *Focalóir*, pp. xl–xli, 256, and he sometimes cites those of Inisfallen alone (pp. 122, 192 (AD 1155, in the lacuna of *AI*), 193, 194, 360, 463).

[72]S. Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Dublin, 1951), 294.

manuscript is still in Sir James Ware's crested binding, we can be certain that these leaves were already missing.[73] The manuscript had passed from Brydges' estate by auction in 1747 to Dr Richard Rawlinson (1690–1755), before going into the Bodleian library under his will in 1756.[74] It should not be supposed that O'Brien had seen it there.[75] None the less it appears that a copy derived from it was available in his immediate circle.

This brings us to the complicated business of the so-called Dublin Annals of Inisfallen, a work much copied.[76] The bishop certainly owned what is now TCD MS H. 1. 7 (1281), part 1, the archetype in the handwriting of Father John Connery, Seán Ó Conaire, with added inscriptions in the handwriting of his near kinsman Séamus Ó Conaire, 'Ségan Ó Conaire scripsit san blighan 1765', 'Sgriobhtha le Ségan Ó Conaire san bhFrainc'. Neither date nor place of writing is secure.[77] Another, much abridged, version in Connery's own hand is now part of RIA MS 23 C 11 (cat. 764), pp. 57–64 (which opens with the heading, 'Here Inisfallen begins'), and continued, pp. 109–234. This is one of several books that have Connery's name in Latin stencilled in them as a mark of ownership.[78] A third, incomplete, copy, Maynooth, MS Renehan 64,

[73]B. Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish-Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Dublin, 2001), 204, 206; R. I. Best and Eóin Mac Neill, *The Annals of Inisfallen, reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript with a descriptive introduction* (Dublin, 1933). In this manuscript the original hand reaches the year 1092; eighteen different contemporary hands continue, each adding a few entries down to 1120. The twentieth had entered ten years' annals from 1121 to 1130, where the chasm intervenes. The years from 1159 to 1174 were entered by a different hand, and seven further hands appear in the later twelfth century. All this would have been of great interest to Wanley, but his ignorance of Irish may have prevented his studying the book.

[74]*A Catalogue of the large and valuable library of James duke of Chandos, which will be sold by auction by Mr Cock* [. . .] *12th of March 1746–7* [ESTC T97566], lot 268. Dr Rawlinson's annotated copy of the sale catalogue is also in the Bodleian, Mus. Bibl. III 8º 44.

[75]The Bodleian Library has records that show when outside readers were admitted to the library (Library Records e. 534, Admissions Register for External Readers, 1683–1833) and what manuscripts were delivered to readers (Library Records e. 559–60, Entry Books, 1752–8, 1758–69). During the period between the arrival of the Rawlinson manuscripts in the library in 1756 and O'Brien's death, the only Irish reader admitted was Richard Kirwan (1733–1812), who signed the admissions book 15 October 1761, and nothing about his career or his interests connects him to Bishop O'Brien. Although Rawlinson manuscripts were not catalogued by the library for many years after they arrived, the Entry Books show that they were produced for readers on occasions in the period we are concerned with, but nothing in the Entry Books sheds light on our inquiry.

[76]These manuscripts, and many descendants, are listed by Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail, *Cath Cluana Tarbh. The Battle of Clontarf*, ITS 64 (London, 2011), 267–72. For an important discussion see also M. Ní Úrdail, 'Annála Inse Faithleann an ochtú céad déag agus Cath Chluain Tarbh', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 20 (2005), 104–19, and 'Some observations on the "Dublin Annals of Inisfallen"', *Ériu* 57 (2007), 133–53.

[77]These notes at the beginning and end of the copy were added by his kinsman, Séamus Ó Conaire (Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 50, 323 n. 85). The likely circumstance is during 1773–4, after Seán's death and before Séamus sold MSS 1281 and 1292. The stated date of writing may very well be an approximation; whether the writer and his materials were even in France in 1765 may be doubted. The note at the end was then elaborated by Charles O'Conor, who dates his own note 1775.

[78]'Joannes Connery', appearing at the top of what was the front page of MS 23 C 11; it appears also at the end of MS 23 C 12, p. 109, and MS 23 C 23, p. 223.

pp. 143–93, is in the hand of Séamus Ó Conaire. The purpose of these abridged copies is not clear. This work has no title in the bishop's copy, but it long went under the misleading name of the Annals of Inisfallen. It was once supposed that it was transcribed from the medieval manuscript.[79] Connery's Annals (as they might be more perspicuously titled) are no straightforward copy but a much-interpolated compilation, which leans more heavily on the Annals of Tigernach and its Continuation than on the Annals of Inisfallen. In 1845 John O'Donovan denounced the work as a literary forgery, 'manufactured by the Rt Reverend John O'Brien, employing Conry, or Mulconry, to arrange the language for him'.[80] He had the bishop's copy in front of him in Trinity College and for comparison Dr Charles O'Conor's printed text from the Rawlinson manuscript and a copy of part of that manuscript provided to him by Eugene O'Curry. Father Connery was obviously close to the bishop, chaplain or secretary as well as literary collaborator, and someone who merits more attention than he has received.[81] His compilation was first studied by Cormac Ó Cuileanáin, who preferred to see it as 'a short history of Ireland in simple language fully supplied with dates'.[82] He identified many of Connery's sources, though what he printed does not allow one to see from what the entry under 1138 was put together. Nine unpublished works were identified in addition to several printed sources, and the copies Connery used are in some cases still extant:[83]

[79]Theophilus O'Flanagan, in a letter to Dr Thomas Wright, MD, dated 15 January 1803, refers to the Dublin text as 'a copy perfected under the direction of the Rev. Dr O'Brien, Roman Catholic bishop of Cloyne and Ross, from the original MS on vellum in the Bodleian Library' (pasted at the front of RIA MS 23 F 9 (cat. 1194); Mac Airt, p. viii).

[80]O'Donovan, in a letter to J. H. Todd, 23 December 1845, now bound in TCD MS H. 1. 7 (1281); summarized in the catalogue of Irish manuscripts and quoted by Ó Cuilleanáin (see n. 83), 184–5. O'Conor's text was not reliable in detail, but O'Curry had copied 'the first stave of \the original book of/ the Annals of Innisfallen' (interlined for precision). Coombes, *John O'Brien*, 79, reproached O'Donovan for his criticism, which was already muted in the form there quoted; O'Donovan actually wrote, 'both Dr O'Brien and Mr Conry were *very very* bad Irish scholars, and men of very little honesty'.

[81]He was treated along with Séamus Ó Conaire by Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 50–53; Roibeard Ó hÉanna fills out detail and prints a sermon in Irish, written in Connery's own hand in Maynooth, MS Renehan 76 ('Alumnus de chuid Choláiste na nGael, Páras', *Irisleabhar Mhá Nua* 1989, 103–149). The website ainm.ie gives his dates as *c.* 1739–1773. Ó Conchúir found a notice of his death at the beginning of July 1773, but his date of birth needs clarification. The date 1739 is counted back from his signing the *lost* exemplar of an item in RIA MS 23 K 34 (cat. 622), p. 107, at Ballinterry, the bishop's house, in 1761, aged twenty-two, which is now unverifiable. Coombes, *John O'Brien*, 79, identified him with the Revd John Conry, who graduated DD in Paris in 1732. His nearness to episcopal business is illustrated by RIA MS 23 C 12 (cat. 375), written by John Connery, 1757, with contributions by Séamus Ó Conaire, 'a cCluan Colmaon' [*Cloyne*]; tipped in at the front is a letter concerning a marriage dispensation, evidently sent to the bishop ('any of your Lordship's vicars'), from Edmund Dwyer, Churchtown, 22 February 1762, because Connery used the back of the letter for his notes.

[82]C. Ó Cuileanáin, 'Bishop Seán Ó Briain', in Tadhg Ó Murchú, *Faiche na bhFilí, Carraig na bhFear. Cuimhneachán* ([Tralee], 1962), 41–8, at p. 43.

[83]C. Ó Cuileanáin, 'The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen, i. Na hAnnála i MS H. 1. 7, TCD', in Séamus Pender (ed.), *Féilscríbhinn Torna* (Cork, 1947), 183–202. Ó Cuileanáin had counted the number of entries derived from different sources, claiming to have sourced 95 per cent of Connery's 'pieces' (*giota*). For the detail behind this one must consult his *Annála Inse*

420 pieces	Annals of Tigernach with Continuation	TCD MS 1292, pt 3
200	Annals of Inisfallen	*not known to survive*
170	*Chronicum Scotorum*	TCD MS 1292, pt 4
85	*Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*	TCD MS 1292, pt 2
60	*Leabhar Oiris*	*not identified*
45	*Leabhar Muimhneach*	TCD MS 1281, pt 2
30	*Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*	*not identified*
15	*Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib*	*not known to survive*
10	*Cath Cluana Tarbh*	*not identified*

To these can be added:[84]

Leabhar Iris Chloinne Uí Mhaoil Chonaire	TCD MS 1292, pt 1

Among these sources are the two other sets of annals, to which the bishop himself refers here, both in his own library, namely the Continuation of the Annals of Tigernach and *Chronicum Scotorum*. His referring to their briefer entries under 1138 and his praising his Inisfallen annalist suggests a critical awareness of their relative strengths and weaknesses.

What O'Brien called 'Chronicon Scotorum', then in his own library, is now TCD MS H. 1. 18 (1292), fols 162r–216v, a facsimile copy made by Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh a little before 1650.[85] It is the more surprising to find that in the manuscript of *Chronicum Scotorum* there is again a lacuna, this time between 1135 and 1141, though in this case not due to loss of leaves.[86] The words quoted from his supposed Inisfallen text by O'Brien derive from the Continuation of Tigernach in Bodl. MS Rawlinson B. 488, fols 22r–26v, which does not provide AD dates:

> Cormac mac Maic Cairrthaig do marbad do Tairrdelbach O Briain .i. da cliamuin ⁊ da cairdes Crist ⁊ da altraind a fill .i. indsaigtheach Erenn uile ⁊ rí Leithe Moga co comlan.

Fáithleann i mBaile Átha Cliath: Díoglaim annála, AD 250–1320, as H. 1. 7, Coláiste na Tríonóide, Áth Cliath, unpublished PhD thesis, UCC, 1944. Where the manuscript used by Connery is unknown, 'not known to survive' indicates that extant copies can be eliminated from consideration, while 'not identified' allows the possibility that the copy exists among the surviving copies.

[84]Ní Úrdail, 'Some observations', 140–1.

[85]Nollaig Ó Muraíle, '*Chronicum Scotorum*: some problems relating to its later transmission' (forthcoming). My thanks for sight of a draft.

[86]In this case there is no physical chasm. The text stops in the middle of the column, leaving the verso blank; a different scribe has begun on the next recto in 1141 (W. M. Hennessy (ed.), *Chronicum Scotorum*, Rolls Series 46 (London, 1866), 336, 338). It is to be noted that the years entered in the margin of the translation do not correspond to those in the text; Hennessy's 1131 = *CS* 1135, 1130 = *CS* 1134, and so on.

> [*Stokes translates*:] 'Cormac son of Mac Carthaig was treacherously killed by Toirdelbach Ó Briain, his father-in-law [*or* son-in-law], gossip, and fosterer. He was the attacker of the whole of Ireland and king of Leth Moga completely.'[87]

The bishop owned a seventeenth-century copy of this, now TCD MS H. 1. 18 (1292), fols 113r–161v, which was made from the original, most likely for Sir James Ware himself. Already in the seventeenth century it was bound with *Chronicum Scotorum*, and both works were annotated with Anno Domini dates and other notes by Roderick O'Flaherty.[88] O'Brien was proud to mention his owning O'Flaherty's copy of these works as well as what he called 'a perfect and authentic copy' of the Annals of Inisfallen.[89] Connery also kept his own notes from Tigernach.[90] These crucial words had already been read by Humfrey Wanley in the original manuscript, cited as Brydges III. The bishop's English translation uses the same words for Toirdelbach's relationships to Cormac as we have quoted from Wanley's description as printed, though we have supposed that the translator was Thomas O'Sullivan. One may suspect, therefore, that O'Brien had followed the catalogue.[91] It is worth emphasising how far MS H. 1. 18 (1292) speaks directly about Connery's work, not only because it contains two of the main sources, Tigernach and

[87]Stokes, 'The Annals of Tigernach', *RC* 18 (1897), 157. The passage can be found at fol. 146r in O'Brien's copy of the text, TCD MS H. 1. 18 (1292). Stokes translated *cliamain* as father-in-law and added a note, 'for father read son'; the word is not specific, meaning a male relative by marriage. This annal is presumably the source behind Keating's words in *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*: *Da éis sin do marbhadh Cormac Mac Carrthaaigh rí Mumhan i bhfeill lé Toirrdhealbhach Ó mBriain, i. a chliamhain féin is a cháirdeas Críost* 'After that Cormac Mac Carthaigh king of Munster was treacherously slain by Toirrdhealbhach O Briain, that is his own son-in-law [*sic*] and gossip'; ed. D. Comyn and P. S. Dinneen, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn. The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating DD*, ITS 4, 8, 9, 15 (London, 1902–14), ii, 310–11).

[88]Sharpe, *O'Flaherty's Letters*, 400–1. The copy of Tigernach carried the old pagination 40–137, *Chronicum Scotorum* 234–334. In both cases the page-numbers are at the centre of the top margin, written in brackets, and with even numbers on the recto, sufficient similarity to think that they were at that time bound together with other texts similarly paginated.

[89]'M. de C.' (*Monseigneur de Cloyne*) [J. O'Brien], 'Mémoire au sujet des Poëmes de M. Macpherson', *Journal des scavans* (May–December 1764), 277–92, 353–417, 537–55, 604–617, and 845–57, at 607; Ó Catháin, 'An Irish scholar abroad', 528 n. 61. Eugene O'Curry, who cited the passage in his *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin, 1861), 65–6, preferred to attribute the article to 'the Abbé Connery'.

[90]RIA MS 23 C 11 (cat. 764), pp. 77–108, is part of Tigernach's Annals in Connery's hand; at p. 77, he noted, 'The copy of Tighernnach began at page 40 & ended at page 131', and these are the old page-numbers at the top of the pages in TCD MS H. 1. 18 (1292) (n. 88 above). Also RIA MS 24 K 22 (cat. 1056) is a copy of Tigernach made by Connery; notes here show that 'Monsieur l'Abbée Connery' was in Paris in February 1771. This copy passed through Betham's hands (p. 2), but I suspect that it had belonged to the Chevalier O'Gorman, who may have acquired it in Paris, and was bought with others of his manuscripts by Betham, who sold them to the RIA in 1831. Another copy of both Tigernach and *Chronicum Scotorum*, made by Séamus Ó Conaire, and now RIA MS 23 P 5 (cat. 686), certainly came to the Academy by this route.

[91]His *Focalóir* provides a limited means of testing, He defined 'cliabhuin' as 'son-in-law' (p. 104), *cairdeas* as 'a Gossip' [*godfather, baptismal sponsor*], adding the phrase, 'càirdios Criost, a sponsor to one's child at baptism' (p. 77), and *altra* only as foster-father (p. 21). He included the noun *ionnsaightheach* 'an aggressor' (p. 307), which had baffled Wanley's translator.

Chronicum Scotorum, but also because Connery's hand is to be seen here and there in the two other texts in the manuscript. The first, *Leabhar Iris Chloinne Uí Mhaoil Chonaire*, is a seventeenth-century genealogical compilation (now fols 3r–13v), in the handwriting of Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair (1625–1698).[92] The second is a copy of *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, made in 1721 by Aindrias Mac Cruitín for Tadhg mac Seáin Meic Mhathghamhna, in which the text has been corrected by Connery in several places. All four works were used in the compilation of Connery's Annals. The two key manuscripts, H. 1. 7 (1281) and H. 1. 18 (1292), evidently remained in Connery's hands after the bishop's death in Paris in 1769. And after Connery's death in 1773, Charles Vallancey bought them in May 1774 from 'Mr Connery', very likely Séamus Ó Conaire.[93] They were sold to Trinity College two years later.[94] Meanwhile they were on loan to Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, from November 1774 through 1775.[95] It is a measure of their perceived usefulness that the first English translation was made from MS 1281 by O'Conor's scribe Brennan, apparently within this period; within a few years this had been plagiarized by Theophilus O'Flanagan at the college in 1783.[96] Muiris Ó Gormáin also made an English version, which can hardly be much later than Brennan's.[97]

The essential point for Bishop O'Brien was that the Continuation of Tigernach and, supposedly, *Chronicum Scotorum*, bound with it, lacked 'any mention of O Connor Kerry; but the authors of the Annals of Inisfallen are more to be credited as they wrote in the very Center of Kerry'. He quoted too little for his point to be clear. Another collection of Munster-centred annals, now known as Mac Carthaigh's Book, provides the additional detail under the year 1138:

> Cormac mac Muireadaigh Mic Carrthaigh ri an da cuigeadh don Muman ⁊ imcosnuideac Leithe Modha uile, duine is craibhtighi ⁊ is calmu ⁊ dob fear um biadh ⁊ um edac, iar cumdac tempuill

[92]Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 51, listing Connery's notes on Ó Bruadair's text. Although Ó Bruadair was a Cork scribe, he has no entry in Ó Conchúir's catalogue because he died before 1700.

[93]John Connery was elected honorary member of the Dublin Society's antiquarian committee on 4 January 1773, six months before his death. A note in their minute-book, RIA MS 24 E 7 (cat. 1260), shows that on 3 May 1774 Vallancey paid 'Mr Connery' £9 2s. 0d. for manuscripts from Bishop Ó Briain. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 266 n. 356, noted that Seán Ó Conaire was dead at the time, but we may conjecture that the vendor was Séamus Ó Conaire, who certainly handled these books (Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 50). On 3 September 1774 Vallancey wrote to Charles O'Conor, mentioning that texts in these two books had come into his hands (RIA MS Stowe B. i. 2, in a confused sequence by date; quoted by O'Sullivan (n. 94), 242).

[94]William O'Sullivan, 'The Irish manuscripts in Case H in Trinity College Dublin catalogued by Matthew Young in 1781', *Celtica* 11 (1976), 229–50, at 243, notes that the college paid £5 16s. 6d. for two Irish manuscripts in the June quarter of 1776 and thinks this 'most likely' refers to MSS 1281 and 1292.

[95]Note signed by O'Conor at the front of MS 1281. The book remained in O'Conor's hands in 1775, the date on his note under the ostensibly scribal note at the end of Connery's Annals.

[96]The first is now RIA MS 23 F 9 (cat. 1194), Irish and English facing in Brennan's hand. The second, represented first by BL MS Egerton 98–99 (O'Grady, *Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, i. 15), is a parallel text, written in 1783, with the same translation claimed by the young Theophilus O'Flanagan, who over the years made or offered to make copies for various patrons.

[97]RIA MS 24 D 11 (cat. 1050). I have not made extensive comparisons between the two versions.

> Cormaic a Caisil ⁊ da teampoll deag a Lis Mor, do marbhadh do Diarmaid tSugac mac Mathghamhna I Concubuir Ciarraighi ⁊ do ua Tailcin a feall ar furalimh Toirrdealbhaigh mic Diarmada ua Briain ana tigh fein a Muigh Tamnac.[98]
>
> 'Cormac son of Muiredach Mac Carthaig, king of the two provinces of Munster, and defender of all Leth Moga, the most pious and valorous of men, the best for food and for clothing, was, after building the church of Cormac at Cashel and twelve churches at Lismore, treacherously killed by Diarmait Súgach, son of Mathgamain Ua Conchobair Ciarraige, and Ua Tailcín, at the instigation of Toirdelbach son of Diarmait Ua Briain, in his own house at Mahoonagh.'

Tomás Ó Fiaich long ago showed that Mac Carthaigh's Book should be counted among the sources of Connery's Annals, albeit it was not among those identified by Ó Cuileanáin.[99] Here, however, there is no mention of Toirdelbach's triple relationship to Cormac. In MS 1281, under 1138, we find that Connery has merged the accounts from the Continuation of Tigernach and from Mac Carthaigh's Book. It must be said that he botched the merger, breaking the sentence at the wrong point and attaching Toirdelbach's description as 'indsaigtheach Erenn uile ⁊ rí Leithe Moga co comlan' to Conchobair Ua Briain, named in the next entry in the Continuation of Tigernach:

> Cormac mac Muireadhaigh mic Cairthigh mic Saorbhreithigh mic Doncha mic Ceallachain Caisil, Righ Deasmhumhan & iomchosnamhach Mumhan uile, & an duine ba craibhthidhe & ba calama, & ba fearr fá bhiadh & fá eadach, iar ccumhdach teampuill Choramaic a cCaisiol, & da theampul [*sic*][a] a Lios mór, do mharbhadh le Diarmaid Sugach ua Conchubhair Chiaruidhe air fhaosaimh Thoirdhealbhaigh ua Bhriain a chliamhain, & a cháirdios Chriost, & a altrom a bhfeall.
>
> Conchubhar ua Briain airdrigh Leithe Mogha, go hiomshlán & ionnsaightheach Éirionn uile an tan san.[100]
>
> [a] The source leads one to expect *dá theampul deag* here; the omission is reflected in O'Brien's use of this text.

[98]Mac Carthaigh's Book, ed. S. Ó hInnse, *Miscellaneous Irish Annals* (Dublin, 1947), 26–7. This edition appeared too late to be used by Ó Cuileanáin. The manuscript is now NLI MS G 6, fols 1–12 + MS G 5, fols 9–24 (*saec*. xv/xvi). The two volumes in which it is now bound were bought by Sir Thomas Phillipps from a London dealer, Thomas Thorpe, in 1836. Where it had been before then is not apparent. There are, however, no notes or alterations in Connery's hand to prove that he had used this manuscript.

[99]Tomás Ó Fiaich, 'The contents of Mac Carthaigh's Book', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5th ser. 74 (1950), 30–9. He considered the possibility that Connery had used the extant manuscript (p. 39) but preferred to allow that he had used a different copy rather than conclude that his copying was as inaccurate as a comparison suggested. None the less he acknowledged Connery's 'most glaring corruptions' (p. 35). Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail has recently discussed Mac Carthaigh's Book as bearing a close relation to Connery's Annals (Ní Úrdail, 'Some observations', 148–9).

[100]TCD MS H. 1. 7 (1281), fol. 35r. The non-scribal note in Latin in the outer margin here is in the same hand as a note against the death of Diarmaid O Briain, s.a. 1120 (fol. 32r).

> [*Translated by Brennan*, RIA MS 23 F 9 (cat. 1194) [1843 Hodges & Smith 133], fol. 121r] 'Cormac son of Muireadhach son of Carthach son of Saorbhreithach \Justinus/[a] son of Donogh son of Ceallachan Cashil King of Desmond, & a Man who had continual contention for the sovereignty of the entire province of Munster as his right, & the most pious, most brave, & most liberal[b] of victuals & cloathing, of all the Momonian princes, after having built or repaired the Church called from him Teampall Chormaic in Cashel & two churches in Lismore, was treacherously murdered by Diarmaid Sugach[c] O'Conor Kerry at the instigation of Turlough O'Brien, who was his own son-in-law, gossip, and fosterchild.
>
> Conor O'Brien was supreme monarch of Leath Mogha, & also invaded, reduced, & required hostages and obedience from all the other princes of Ireland as sovereign of the whole kingdom at this period.'[101]
>
> [a] *om. BL MS Egerton 99, p. 33* [b] generous or liberal *Eg.*
> [c] \merry/ *added in Eg.*
>
> [*Translated by Muiris Ó Gormáin*, RIA MS 24 D 11 (cat. 1050), p. 93] 'Cormuck mac Muiredy ma Carthy, son of Saorbrethach, son of Donough, son of Ceallaghan Cashell, K. of [–Munster] /Desmond\, protector of all Munster, the most devout, and valiant, and the most free and liberal, of victuals, of cloaths, having erected a church in Cashel, and two at Lismore, was killed by Dermot Sugach O'Connor Kerry, he being instigated thereto by Terlag O'Brien his son in law, and his Gossop.
>
> Connor O Brien chief K. of \all/ Leath-mogha at that time.

Shortened text in Connery's hand:

> Cormac mac Muireadhaigh mic Cairthigh mic Saorbhreithigh mic Doncha mic Ceall(achain) Caisil do marbhadh air oideas & air fhaosam Thoirdhealbhaigh ua Bhriain & a cháirdios Chriost, & altrom a bhfeall. Conchubhar ua Briain airdrigh Leithe Mogha & ionnsaightheach Eirionn uile an tan san.[102]

[101]The hand was identified as Brennan's by John O'Donovan in a note at the front of the manuscript, and the dating to the time of O'Conor's borrowing the Irish manuscript was inferred by Ní Úrdail, *Cath Cluana Tarbh*, 268, 271. Other copies of this translation are BL MS Egerton 99 (ad 1783), pp. 33–4 (with trivial variations), and later, RIA MS 12 O 8 (cat. 1049) [1856 Hardiman 547], pp. 127–8, and NLI MS G 166 [1869 Todd 1434].

[102]RIA MS 23 C 11, pp. 152–3.

Connery's reading here explains Bishop O'Brien's saying 'two churches at Lismore', where Mac Carthaigh's Book had 'twelve churches'. To complicate matters, however, *da theampull* is the reading in another set of annals, edited around this date, which survives in a manuscript written by another assistant of O'Brien, Mícheál mac Peadair Uí Longáin; here Mac Carthaigh's Book was followed more closely, but the extended line of ascent was already included:

> Coramac mhéic Cáirthe mc Muiréadh(aigh) mc Cáirthicc mc Saoirbhreithicc mc Doncha mc Ceallacháin Caisil, rígh dá chóige Múmhan ⁊ iomchosnamhach leatha Modha uile agas an duine badh cráibhthídhe ⁊ badh callmha ⁊ b(adh) fearr fá bhia ⁊ fá eadach iar ccúmhdach teampuill Choramaicc a cCaisiol, ⁊ da theampull a Liosmór do mharbh(adh) do Dhiarmaid Súgach Ó Connchubhair ionna thigh féin [a Magtamnach] \a Muighetheamnach/ ar oideas Toirrdealbhaigh mhic Diarmada uí Bhriain.[103]
>
> [*Translated by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin*, NLI MS G 305 (once owned by Sir William Betham), p. 90] 'Charles mc Murry mc Carthy, king of Munster & the most devout valiant generous & hospitable man of his contemporaries, built a church in Cashel & 12 [*sic*] in Lismore killed by Dermot O'Connor in his own house at Mathavnach at the instigation of Terence O'Brian.'[104]

It is possible that Ó Longáin's text was the intermediary between Mac Carthaigh's Book and Connery, but it was Connery who merged this with the entry from Tigernach. The words quoted by O'Brien and the mention of Ua Conchobair Ciarraige are found *together* only in Connery's Annals. This, then, despite its untitled status in the prime manuscript, is what the bishop meant by the Annals of Inisfallen.[105] Whether it is the same as the bishop's 'perfect and authentic copy' may be debated: although the medieval Annals

[103]These annals have been referred to as MacCurtin's Annals of Inisfallen, and copies are listed by Ní Úrdail, *Cath Cluana Tarbh*, 87–8, 272–5, but the name goes back no further than a note by Seosamh Ó Longáin in reaction to what O'Curry had said in his description of a later Ó Longáin copy, RIA MS 23 N 3. The earliest witness, in the hand of Mícheál mac Peadair Uí Longáin (d. 1770), is now in the Jesuit Archives, Leeson Street, Dublin, MS IL 1 (*Leabharlanna na Cléire*, ii, 70–76), part (c); this entry at p. 30 has the year 1138 in the margin. This book was evidently bound for Bishop O'Brien, whose episcopal arms were embossed on the original leather cover. It comprises six parts, most of them in Mícheál mac Peadair's hand, mostly in Irish but also with passages in Latin and in English, with his signature and the date 1759 in part (b), p. 18; part (d), however, a mere two leaves of genealogical matter, and a page in part (f) too, are in the handwriting of John Connery himself.

[104]Another copy of the same translation, made by John Windele, in RIA MS 12 I 5 (cat. 1110) [1855 Windele 21], p. 299. The reading '12' suggests that there was a better copy available to Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin.

[105]This goes against Ó Cuileanáin's observation, 'The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen', 190–1, that references to the Annals of Inisfallen in O'Brien's *Focalóir* generally point to the text as found in Rawlinson B. 503.

of Inisfallen have been identified as contributing many entries to Connery's compilation, no trace has emerged of any working transcript from the original.[106] The paragraph under discussion may offer a clue as to why O'Brien was keen to transfer the name of Inisfallen to Connery's Annals: it offered a local authority in support of his own interest in Munster.

Connery has taken his main information in this entry from his usual source at this period, the Continuation of Tigernach, merging it with Ó Longáin's text. Cormac's line of descent was derived from *Leabhar Muimhneach*, as noted by Cormac Ó Cuileanáin.[107] Cormac's title, king of Desmond and defender of all Munster, against which Ó Cuileanáin noted 'gan foinnse', surely came from Mac Carthaigh's book, as did the following words, attributed by Ó Cuileanáin to the compiler himself, 'is dócha', on the basis of the entry for 1127. But the editing of these sources was a two-stage process, in which Ó Longáin used *Leabhar Muimhneach* and Mac Carthaigh's Book, and Connery used Ó Longáin. A study of Connery's work cannot avoid analysing Ó Longáin's sources in parallel with his.

These considerations open a small window on Bishop O'Brien's remarks. First, when and where had he become aware of MS Harley 1802 and its colophons? He appears to have made the acquaintance of Dr Morton and been admitted to the reading room in 1767. His saying, 'I have been able to furnish the Keepers & Overseers of the British Musaeum with a note', suggests that he had provided the note while he was in London. If he knew Wanley's essay – and it is surely likely that Morton showed him the Harleian catalogue printed under his oversight – he was providing a correction of one year, arrived at by using annals in his own collection to control those used by Wanley. Inquiries in the British Library have not discovered the note itself.[108] His discussion of the colophons cannot have been framed without access to Connery's Annals, which we may suppose he had with him in London and Paris. Father Connery's work provided a convenient means to discover the year of Cormac Mac Carthaig's death. The extended entry under the name *Curmac* in the *Focalóir*, therefore, is one of several historical entries that O'Brien himself was adding to the dictionary as he prepared it for the press in Paris in 1768.

[106]It must surely be supposed that there was a seventeenth-century copy, comparable with those in MS 1292, made before Ware's books had left Ireland. If so, however, it is curious that Roderick O'Flaherty, who had access to Ware's working manuscripts, nowhere shows any knowledge of the Annals of Inisfallen.

[107]*Annála Inse Fáithleann i mBaile Átha Cliath*, 148n, citing simply *LM*. For reference to Diarmaid Súgach, however, he adds a page-number citation to Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach* (Dublin, [1941]), 408. The difficulty of relating this edition to the manuscript that Connery used is not small (P. Walsh, 'An Leabhar Muimhneach', *Irish Historical Studies* 3 (1942–3), 135–42). The simple line of ascent from Cormac is found in near-contemporary form in the Book of Leinster, *LL* 320 b 1 (M. A. O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1962), 362).

[108]My thanks to Dr Andrew Dunning (BL) for his help in searching the department's internal copies of the catalogue.

MAEL BRIGTE'S PERSPECTIVE FROM ARMAGH

Wanley had worked hard to date Mael Brigte's Gospels, undertaking extensive reading in print and manuscript, including the investigation of texts he could not understand. The effort he went to reflects the curiosity that Mael Brigte's colophons had aroused in him, but his aim was solely to date the manuscript and thereby to set a yardstick for dating other manuscripts from Ireland. He was not interested in early-twelfth-century Irish history. If he had spent an extra hour with Bernard of Clairvaux's *Life of St Malachy*, he might have realised that Bernard says a good deal about the career of Cormac Mac Carthaig, though Bernard was so sparing in his use of names that Wanley would have found it difficult to interpret.[109] It would still have been impossible for him to appreciate just how unusual that career was. Bishop O'Brien was much better versed in Irish history, and as bishop of Cloyne he took a close interest in the history of Desmond. We may wonder a little at his version of the first colophon, 'the Killing of Cormac Mac Carthy by Turlogh O Brien is a very surprizing act'. He builds on it, saying that 'the particular reason of Maelbrighte's surprise at the act of Turlough O Brien towards Cormac mac Carty' was their complex relationship by marriage, baptismal sponsorship, and fosterage. Now, Mael Brigte very likely did know about these relationships, but his colophon registers more than surprise, more even than revulsion at such domestic treachery.

The fact that Mael Brigte at Armagh memorialized Cormac's death is very significant. We know little enough about him. F. J. Byrne has wondered whether he were the same Mael Brigte named many times in the margins of Bodl. MS Laud Misc. 460, a late-twelfth-century copy of Gregory's *Moralia* on Job from Armagh.[110] His teacher Mael Ísu was perhaps that Mael Ísu who kept the calendar as well as the library at Armagh and who died on the eve of Good Friday, 19 March 1136.[111] Was Mael Ísu perhaps also an annalist? Donnchadh Ó

[109]Cormac is named only once in the *Vita* at §18, *Ibi occurrit ei Cormarcus rex*; for the rest one must understand who is referred to as *rex*. Wanley cited this work from *Sancti Bernardi Claraeuallensis abbatis* [. . .] *opera omnia* (Paris, 1632), col. 1937, but he drew on it only with reference to the hereditary coarbship of Armagh (§19 in our editions), for which the same source was referred to briefly in Spelman's *Glossarium Archaiologicum* (London, 1626, 1687). The same passage would be cited by Toland, *Nazarenus*, 30, in his argument against clerical celibacy.

[110]F. J. Byrne, *1000 Years of Irish Script. An Exhibition of Irish Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries* (Oxford, 1979), 15. Bodl. MS Laud Misc. 460 has the words *Emanuel a Maelbrigte* in the upper margin of three pages and the name as *Mael* on many other pages. Its Armagh origin is indicated by a note referring to parchment, *ar roloisced dia rolosced Ard Macha* ('for it was burnt when Armagh was burnt'). Episodes of burning are too frequent at Armagh for this to date the book, but its script is more than a generation later than that of Harley 1802; Byrne dated it only as twelfth-century. The identification appears implausible.

[111]At fol. 13r, *Line moite* [for *m'aite*] *hi tus ind lethinig, i. mic intacairt Tuignetha. Rob cennais Dia for anmain Maelissu* pater 'a line of my teacher is at the beginning of this page, i.e. Mac an tSacairt of Tynan. God be gentle to Mael Ísu's soul. *Pater noster*'; at fol. 24v, *Maelissu roben in line tossaigh súnd, ó ó ó mihi et sibi* 'Mael Ísu cut off the line at the beginning here, o o o for me and for him'. *AFM* s.a. 1136. 8, *Maol Iosa mac Maol Cholaim, primh-challadóir Arda Macha, a primh-crióchaire ⁊ a leabhar-coimhédaigh, d' écc iar n-aithrighe thoghaidhe aidhche aeini an chésta* 'Mael Ísu mac Maíl Choluim, chief keeper of the calendar of Armagh, its chief

Corráin has observed that annalists, 'who rarely moralize, uniformly express shock at his death, and this Armagh gospel-book, written in 1138, bears the contemporary comment, *Is mór in gním Cormac mac Carthaig do marbad ó Toirdelbach Hua Briain*'.[112] Shock perhaps goes too far: they use the phrase *a bhfeall* 'treacherously'. Now, it is extremely rare to find a political colophon.[113] Marie Therese Flanagan has seen the Armagh scribe's interest as a reflection of the strong understanding between King Cormac and Bishop Malachy, Mael Maedóc Ua Morgair.[114] The young Malachy had spent time in the church at Lismore before being made bishop of Connor, and it was to Lismore and to King Cormac that he later withdrew. Cormac himself spent some time in the church at Lismore in 1127 when driven from his throne, but within a matter of months he was restored as king of Desmond by Toirdelbach Ua Briain and his brother Conchobar. It was at Lismore in 1129 that Malachy's patron from Armagh, Archbishop Celsus, Cellach mac Aeda meic Maíl Ísu, died and was buried under the auspices of King Cormac. Malachy was elected to succeed him, but within five years he withdrew to the church of Down in 1137, to be succeeded by Archbishop Gelasius, Gilla Meic Liac mac Diarmata, who was Mael Brigte's archbishop at the time of writing. The colophon mentions him at the end, but Mael Brigte's attention is on the rulers of Ireland, not the head of his own church. In the years between 1127 and his untimely death in 1138 Cormac had achieved something quite remarkable.[115] Descended from the Eoghanachta, former rulers of Cashel and all of Munster, his brother Tadhg was the first of his lineage to become king in more than a century and it was he who established Desmond as a kingdom. After a turbulent succession, Cormac defeated all his rivals, raising himself to be king of Munster and eventually and briefly recognized as king of Ireland, so that Mael Brigte could truthfully

antiquary (?) and librarian, died, after good penance, on the night of Good Friday'. The connexion was made by Gilbert, *Facsimiles*, p. xx. The note in the lower margin at fol. 13r may indicate that Mael Ísu was part of the family of Mac an tSacairt, of Tynan (Co. Armagh), rather than 'son of the priest of Tynan'. Brief comment by H. Pettiau, 'The officials of the church of Armagh in the early and central middle ages to AD 1200', in A. J. Hughes and W. Nolan (eds), *Armagh History and Society* (Dublin, 2001), 121–86, at 133–4, 172. The titles are unique (as also was this in *AU* s.a. 1042. 6: *Mael Petair Ua hAilecan, fer leighinn ⁊ toisech mac leighinn Aird Macha* 'Mael Petair Ua hAilecáin, lector and master of the students of Armagh').

[112]D. Ó Corráin, '*Caithréim Chellacháin Chaisil*, history or propaganda?', *Ériu* 25 (1974), 1–69, at 59.

[113]The classic work on free-ranging colophons and marginalia, Charles Plummer's 'On the colophons and marginalia of Irish scribes', *PBA* 12 (1926), 11–44 (also separately, 1–34), using Stokes's texts, cites our colophon 2 (p. 11 n. 2), and colophon 1 (p. 39 n. 2), referring there to two other 'public events', which in fact bear no real comparison, nor do examples of public events in marginalia (pp. 24–5). Plummer also quotes one of the marginal notes referring to Mael Brigte's teacher Mael Ísu (p. 18 and n. 3).

[114]M. T. Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 2010), 209–10.

[115]The most thorough survey of the evidence for his rise to power is Henry A. Jefferies, 'Desmond: the early years, and the career of Cormac Mac Carthy', *JCHAS* 88 (1983), 81–99. Cormac finds an appropriate place in a longer narrative in M. T. Flanagan, 'High-kings with opposition, 1072–1166', in D. Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland*, i: *Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), 899–933, at 918–29.

say of him, 'who was king-bishop of Munster and of Ireland generally in his time'. The compound *rígescop* is not recorded in *DIL*. Later annals used the phrase *espuc righ nÉrenn*, 'bishop of the kings of Ireland' (with eclipsis after genitive plural), which is not perspicuous.[116] O'Brien explained 'royal bishop' as a king who established churches. The phrase caused Petrie to ask whether Cormac was really a bishop, and he went so far as to associate him with a crosier from Cashel.[117] Cormac was the builder of Cormac's Chapel at Cashel, the first major romanesque church in Ireland.[118] He forged links with Germany.[119] He was the patron of an ancestral history that provided a model for his perception of his rule.[120] In framing a constitutional agenda for future kings of Cashel, he envisaged a coronation, following election after the manner of the German emperor by the electoral nobles of Munster.[121] From the

[116]Hennessy, *Annals of Loch Cé*, i, 138–9, *Cormac mac Mhég Carrthaigh aird righ Des Muman ┐ espuc righ nErenn ina reimhes, ar crabadh, ar thidhnacul séd ┐ maoine do chleirchibh ┐ chellaibh, ┐ ar iarmart neglusdagdha a lebhruibh, & a naidhmibh, do Dia ┐* [. . .] *do thuitim a meabhuil la tuadh Mumain; & bennacht le anmuin* 'Cormac, son of Mac Carthaigh, chief king of Des-Mumha, and bishop-king of Erinn in his time as regards piety, and the presentation of jewels and valuables to clerics and churches, and ecclesiastical riches, in books and utensils, to God, and [. . .] fell in treachery by the people of Tuadh-Mumha; and a blessing be with his soul'. These annals break off two lines later, where several leaves are lost from the manuscript. The Four Masters' entry reads: [*AFM* s.a. 1138. 5] *Corbmac mac Muireadhaigh meic Carthaigh, righ Deasmhumhan, ┐ espucc righ Ereann ina réimheas ar thiodhnacal séd, ┐ maoine do chléircibh ┐ ceallaibh, fear leasaighthe tuath ┐ ecclas, do mharbhadh ina thigh féin i f-fioll lá Toirrdhealbhach mac Diarmada Uí Bhriain, ┐ lá dá mhac Uí Conchobhair Ciarraighe*, translated by O'Donovan: 'Cormac son of Muireadhach son of Carthach, king of Desmond, and bishop of the kings of Ireland for bestowal of jewels and wealth upon the clergy and the churches, an improver of territories and churches, was killed in his own house by treachery by Toirdhealbhach son of Diarmaid Ua Briain and by the two sons of O'Conchobhar Ciarraighe'.

[117]Petrie, *Round Towers*, 306–9, starting from O'Brien's phrase 'royal bishop', which was supported by John Lanigan. He further discussed the annal-entries with *espuc righ* (referring to Lough Key as Kilronan) and concluded that Cormac took an episcopal staff. Petrie himself had bought the head of a crosier, found at Cashel, and referred to it as Cormac's Crosier. It is now dated considerably later: discussed by John Bradley, 'The sarcophagus at Cormac's Chapel, Cashel, co. Tipperary', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 26 (1984), 14–35, and Monica Nevin, 'The finding of the Cashel crosier', *JRSAI* 125 (1995), 131–4.

[118]Discussion of the annalistic sources for the consecration of Cormac's Chapel in 1134 starts with George Petrie, and the architectural literature is extensive. Modern statements with references to older discussion are Tadhg O'Keeffe, 'Lismore and Cashel: reflections on the beginnings of romanesque architecture in Munster'. *JRSAI* 124 (1994), 118–52, and Roger Stalley, 'Design and function: the construction and decoration of Cormac's Chapel at Cashel', in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century. Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), 162–75. There is a plea for more history with the architecture by Tadhg O'Keeffe, 'Romanesque scholarship and Cormac's Chapel', ibid. 257–69.

[119]Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Cashel and Germany: the documentary evidence', in Bracken and Ó Riain-Raedel, *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth* Century, 176–217. Other contributors to this volume have much to say on the wider context in Irish church-history.

[120]Ó Corráin, '*Caithréim Chellacháin Chaisil*', dates the writing of this account of tenth-century history to a time when Cormac was secure as king of Munster, 1129 × 1132. The work refers to the coronation of the king of Munster with a royal diadem (§7, ed. A. Bugge (Christiania, 1905), pp. 4, 61).

[121]Attention was drawn to this fragment of evidence by F. J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* (London, 1973), 191, with no source reference. The text was printed by T. Ó Raithbheartaigh, *Genealogical Tracts* (Dublin, 1932), 182 (§172), citing Book of

point of view of Armagh, Cormac in the 1130s appeared to represent a perfect settlement of the Irish church, now taking a national view, and an Irish monarchy that looked to follow Continental ways and break away from the constant infighting that was the usual run of events in Irish politics.[122] Cormac had overtaken Toirdelbach Ua Briain who had brought him out of monastic exclusion to rule Desmond. In 1137 Toirdelbach and his brother Conchobar had invaded Leinster in support of Diarmait Mac Murchada, but they were turned homewards after a meeting with King Cormac at Waterford. Resentful of his high power, Toirdelbach plotted Cormac's murder, and normality returned. The close relationships between Cormac and Toirdelbach are stated only in the Continuation of Tigernach and from there in Connery's Annals. *Cliamain* is ambiguous between father-in-law, son-in-law, or other relationship by marriage, but *cairdes Críst* I find only as gossip, godfather or -mother, not as godson, and *altra* or *altrom* 'foster-father' is not interchangeable with *dalta* 'foster-son' or *comalta* 'foster-brother'. Toirdelbach was the senior in this complex of family bonds, so translators Thomas O'Sullivan and John O'Brien, Brennan and Ó Gormáin, have erred in making him the junior, with only Stokes on the right track. It is surely unusual to find two people connected by the triple links of marriage, gossipred, and fosterage—links named together in the Statute of Kilkenny in 1366.[123] Over a period of twenty or thirty years Toirdelbach stood sponsor at Cormac's baptism, fostered him as a child, gave

Lecan, [p.] 458d [now facs fol. 181Vd21; D. Ó Corráin, [Review of Byrne], *Celtica* 13 (1980), 150–68, at 162, compares RIA MS Stowe C. i. 2 (cat. 1234), 44Vb5. Byrne thought a date before the building of Cormac's Chapel inconceivable and a date after Cormac's death unlikely, providing the narrow date-range, 1134 × 1138; comment by Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'German influence on Munster church and kings in the twelfth century', in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas. Studies in Honour of Francis John Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), 323–30, at 328–9.

[122]Comparison may be made with the idea that the church, perhaps specifically the primatial church at Armagh, had equally seen in Brian Bóraimhe the hope of a unified, imperial monarchy. Although the statement describing him as *imperator Scotorum*, entered in 1005 in the Book of Armagh, was written by his own *anamchara* Mael Suthain (*AI* s.a. 1031), none the less it represents an alignment of primatial and imperial interests. More tangible is the fact that his body was taken to Armagh for an imperial burial after his death at Clontarf (*AU* s.a. 1014).

[123]H. F. Berry, *Statutes and Ordinances, and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland: King John to Henry V* (Dublin, 1907), 430–69 (§2, p. 430): *Item ordiné est et estabilé que nul alliaunce par mariage compaternitée nurtur de enfantz concubinaunce ou de †caise* [*v.l. caif*] *ne de altre manere desormes soit fait parentre Engloyes et Irroies de un partie ne de altre parte* 'Also, it is ordained and established, that no alliance by marriage, gossipred, fostering of children, concubinage or by amour, nor in any other manner, be henceforth made betweeen the English and Irish on the one side or on the other side'. The preferred text follows the two Carew manuscripts, Lambeth Palace, MS 603, fol. 165v, and MS 608, pt 2, fol. 1v (both *saec.* xvii); the older copy in BL MS Cotton Titus B. xi (*saec.* xvi^2), fol. 129v, has modernized the French much more but has preserved the Irish-derived *caif*, not for *caomh* as Berry suggested, but from *coibche* 'bride price', clearly used of an informal relationship, as noted by E. J. Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindshenchas* (Dublin, 1903–35), iv, 433–4, who compares a passage of Latin from the early 15th century, *nullus . . clericus uel laycus teneat mulieres aut concubinas sub nomine cayf alias choghie* (W. Reeves, *Acts of Archbishop Colton* (Dublin, 1850, p. xvi; D. A. Chart, *The Register of John Swayne, Archbishop of Armagh* (Belfast, 1935), 11; K. Simms, 'The legal position of Irishwomen in the later middle ages', *Irish Jurist* 10 (1975) 96–111, at 101).

him his daughter in marriage. In war and politics, he played his part in raising up Cormac, and then he treacherously destroyed him and the prelates' hope of a peaceful and godly monarchy in Ireland.

Our sources for these events are difficult. The framework is provided by the annals, but for the vital years the reliable Annals of Ulster and of Inisfallen are wanting; we have to trust that the Annals of Lough Key and after them the Annals of the Four Masters have repeated the Annals of Ulster from a complete copy. In another sequence of twelfth-century annals in what has been called Mac Carthaigh's Book, we have seen a local account of Cormac's killing, in which Toirdelbach had instigated the crime but it was carried out by Diarmait Súgach Ua Conchobhair and the obscure Ua Tailcín in what we can take to mean Cormac's own house at Mahoonagh (Co. Limerick). Cormac, indeed, was named as Cormac Muighe Thamnach in later entries.[124] Diarmait was a son of Mathgamain Ua Conchubair, king of Ciarraige, who had died in the same year; his own career may be followed until his death in 1154.[125] Early sources from the Continent are still more difficult. St Bernard's *Life of St Malachy* has no clear chronology and very few names. It must be read in the light of the annals, and what it adds may be more hagiographical overlay than narrative. It was in any case written only after Malachy's own death at Clairvaux in 1148. Cormac Mac Carthaig appears in another source of a similar date, *Visio Tnugdali*, a traditional otherworld vision, composed by an Irish expatriate at Regensburg in 1149, in which the writer sees Cormac in paradise: the king enjoyed his throne, his courtiers, and the liturgy, but he was still in purgatorial punishment for a few hours each day because of his adultery and *quia iussit comitem interficere iuxta Sanctum Patricium et preuaricatus est iusiurandum* 'because he ordered that the count (*comes*) be killed next to Saint Patrick and transgressed against his oath'.[126] The site of the killing is a matter of guesswork and the implied perjury unexplained. On the supposition that these facts were known to the expected audience, we may guess that *iuxta Sanctum Patricium* refers to a site in Cashel, perhaps the famous *Lecc Pátraic*, 'Patrick's Stone', rather than to the archiepiscopal church at Armagh,

[124]Mac Carthaigh's Book, s.a. 1151. 3, and on many subsequent occasions until his grandson's death, s.a. 1206, ed. Ó hInnse, 32, 84. Bishop O'Brien names him so (above, n. 64). Mahoonagh was in the cantred of Killeedy, which was reckoned as part of Desmond (P. MacCotter, 'The cantreds of Desmond', *JCHAS* 105 (2000), 49–69 (at p. 61). My thanks to Kenneth Nicholls for his advice on this point. MacCotter, 'The rise of Meic Carthaig and the political geography of Desmond', *JCHAS* 111 (2006), 59–77, provides valuable contextual discussion.

[125]Mathgamain's death is the first event under 1138 in the Annals of Lough Key, Cormac's the fifth (Hennessy, *Annals of Loch Cé*, i, 138). Both rulers were distinguished, in the same words, for their bestowing treasure and gifts (*sét ocus maíni*). Diarmait Súgach's death, after much tribulation, MacCarthaigh's Book, s.a. 1154. 2, ed. Ó hInnse, 36.

[126]B. Pfeil, *Die Vision des Tnugdalus Albers von Windberg mit einer Edition der lateinischen Visio Tnugdali aus Clm 22254* (Frankfurt, 1999), 44–6. A visionary text cannot be read in the same way as an annal. If this were a significant political killing, however, the annalists did not record it. Cormac's brother Donnchad Mac Carthaig and Conchobar Ua Briain were also in paradise; Tnugdal recognized them, *Isti duo uiri erant in uita sua multum crudeles, et inter se inuicem inimici*, but his angelic guide explained how they had repented before death (ibid. 43–4).

where Mael Brigte studied and wrote.[127] The identity of the *comes* has not been recovered. What high rank below the king of Munster might have been meant by *comes* 'count' is not apparent; this is its only occurrence in the *Visio*.

Scholars have not gone to the colophons in Mael Brigte's Gospels as a historical source, but they are a contemporary record, and they reflect the perspective of someone in Armagh in 1138. At the end of Matthew's Gospel, Mael Brigte wrote, 'It is a great crime that Cormac Mac Carthaig was killed by Toirdelbach Ua Briain', but with no explicit indication that he has chronology in his mind. This was the latest grave news, entered as such in his colophon. At the end of St Luke's Gospel, he was minded to date his work but by reference to the great storm, remembered all over Ireland. Perhaps he reached this point in his copying around the first anniversary of the memorable event. When he came to add his final colophon, he set out to provide a year, doing so by reference to the king in that part of Ireland where he wrote, Diarmait Ua Cerbaill, king of Airgialla, and the usual chronological data for the year AD 1138. After that he mentions again the killing of Cormac as marking the year and goes on to give a survey of the rulers of Ireland now, starting in the north with Muirchertach mac Néill Uí Lochlainn of Ailech and Cú Ulad mac Conchobair, king of Ulaid; continuing southwards along the eastern side of Ireland with Murchad Ua Maelseachlainn, king of Mide, and Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Laigin, till he reached the south, Conchobar Ua Briain, king of Munster, and returns up the western side of the country with Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht. None was now king of Ireland. Written at least ten years earlier than the *Life of St Malachy* and very likely earlier than any of our annals, Mael Brigte's colophon does not merely date his manuscript. It records a reaction in the primatial see to an event more than three hundred kilometres to the south, when inter-dynastic politics in Munster had removed the king-bishop, the man on whom the church had fixed its hopes for a new politics.

[127]It was Aubrey Gwynn who first proposed that context demanded a location at Cashel and who further guessed that the words designated an otherwise unknown altar of St Patrick in the cathedral church. The name of Patrick was attached to a recognized stone at Cashel, *Lecc Pátraicc*, from at least as early as the writing of the early Middle Irish *Bethu Phátraic* (ed. K. Mulchrone (Dublin, 1939), 118; P. Ó Riain, 'When and why *Cothraige* was first equated with *Patricius*', *ZCP* 49/50 (1997), 698–711, at 704–5. On the subject of Patrick and Cashel, E. O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin, 1861), 623, recalled the repeated oath of the Munster king, Feidlimid mac Crimthainn, 'by Patrick's Stone that is in Cashel', *dar a Lic Pátraic atá a cCaisil* (C. Breatnach (ed.), *Ceasacht inghine Ghuile* (Maynooth, 1996), §§ 1, 6, 7, 9: *Dar in Leic Phádraig fil i gCaiseal*), and a prophetic poem from TCD H. 3. 17 (1337), col. 835. The modern Irish name for the Rock of Cashel, *Carraig Phádraig*, is not attested before Keating.

BIBLIOGRAPHY CONCERNING MAEL BRIGTE'S GOSPELS

DESCRIPTION, SCRIPT, DISCUSSION: *Bibliothèque critique, ou Recüeil de diverses pièces critiques, dont la plûpart ne sont point imprimées, ou ne se trouvent que très-difficilement, publiées par Mr de Sainjore* [P. Richard Simon] *qui y a ajouté quelques notes*, 4 vols (Paris, 1708–10), i. 271–5. — [Humfrey Wanley and others], *A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts, purchased by authority of Parliament for the use of the Publick; and preserved in the British Museum* (London, 1759–62), sig. 11Q–11T, repr. as *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1808–12), ii, 229–43. — Charles O'Conor, *Rerum Hibernicarum scriptores veteres* (Buckingham, 1814–26), vol. i, *Prolegomena ad Annales*, pp. cxli–cxlv. — William Reeves (1815–1892), then librarian of Armagh, published an account of the Latin texts together with the Irish texts transcribed and translated by Eugene O'Curry, 'On an Irish manuscript of the four gospels in the British Museum', *PRIA* 5 (1850–3), 45–67. — P. F. Moran, 'Biblical manuscripts of the early Irish church', *The Atlantis* 5 (No. 9, 1870), 69–121 (at 113–14) — E. A. Bond and E. M. Thompson, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, Palaeographical Society (London, 1873–94), pt 1, pl. 212 [codicology, insular contractions]. — S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les prèmiers siècles du moyen âge* (Paris, 1893), 387 [brief bibliography back to Toland]. — W. M. Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script* (Oxford, 1921), 40 ['late symptoms' in the abbreviations]. — S. H. O'Grady and Robin Flower, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, [1889–92]–1926), ii, 428–32. — J. F. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, i: *Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929), 648 (§483). — A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts* c. *700–1600 in The Department of Manuscripts: The British Library* (London, 1979), §644 [brief notice]. — D. N. Dumville, 'Corpus of Gaelic manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Celtic Essays* (Aberdeen, 2007), ii, 83–90 (§35) [brief notice]. — D. Ó Corráin, *Clavis litterarum Hibernensium. Medieval Irish Books and Texts (c. 400–c. 1600)* (Turnhout, 2017), ii, 833–5.

FACSIMILES: L. Gougaud, 'Répertoire des fac-similés des manuscrits irlandais', *RC* 35 (1914), 415–430, at 425–6, gives a folio-by-folio list of earlier reproductions. — O'Conor, *Rerum Hibernicarum scriptores*, vol. i, p. cxliv, pl. vi [fol. 156v]. — C. P. Cooper, [Appendices to a Report on Rymer's *Foedera*] (London, [1837, 1869]), App. A, pl. xvi [fols. 128r, 156v]. — J. O. Westwood, *Palaeographia sacra pictoria* (London, 1843–5), 'no. 18' [nos. 4, 5, 6, three details]. — J. O. Westwood, *Fac-similes of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts* (London, 1868), 93–4. — J. T. Gilbert, *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland* (1874–84), pp. xx–xxi, and pl. 40–42 [fols 9v, 50r (scribal slip); 10r, 60r, 127v, 128r; 13r, 156v, with transcriptions; follows Reeves and O'Curry]. — E. A. Bond and E. M. Thompson, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, Palaeographical Society (London, 1873–94), pt 1, pl. 212 [fol. 87r, with transcription]. — E. M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* (London, 1893), 243 [fol. 127v, from Gilbert.] — E. H. J. Reusens, *Éléments de paléographie* (Louvain, 1897–9), 51–2 [from

Thompson]. — *Recueil de fac-similes à l'usage de l'École des chartes* (Paris, 1890–1901), pt 2, no. 351 [fol. 87r]. — F. G. Kenyon, *Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1900), no. 18 [fol. 128r]. — F. Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie: 100 Tafeln in Lichtdruck* (Freiburg, 1903–7), pl. 83a [fol. 128r]. — Flower, *Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, iii, pl. 1 [fol. 9v]. — F. Henry and G. Marsh-Micheli, 'A century of Irish illumination (1070–1170)', *PRIA* 62C (1962), 101–64, at 148–52, and pl. 26–7, 43. — F. Henry, *L'Art irlandais*, 3 vols (Paris, 1963–4), iii, 65–7, and pl. p. 78, no. 10, pp. 86–9, and English edition, *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period 1020–1170 AD* (London, 1970), 47–8, 63–4, 68, 96, 120–21.

TEXT OF THE GOSPELS: Kenney, *Sources*, 648, tells us that Bentley used the siglum *W* for the text of Harley 1802. This arcane fact was surely repeated from Frederick Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Text of the New Testament*, 4th ed. (London, 1894), ii, 77, where it appears in his list of Latin manuscripts. Scrivener, however, provides an explanation, ibid. 204–210, discussing the work of the famous Richard Bentley (1662–1742) towards a Greek and Latin New Testament, which was never finished; at p. 208 he cites a note by B. F. Westcott in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 17. 14, Bentley's copy of the Maurist Vulgate, *S. Hieronymi opera*, i (Paris, 1693), which identified a dozen Latin manuscripts collated by Bentley and the sigla by which they are cited in his extensive collations. The shelfmark is now Adv. bb. 2. 1, and Bentley's own notes there describe W as 'codex 4 Euang. 700 annorum 4to scriptura Hibernica. Biblioth. Harleianae; sed facto subreptus ex Biblioth. Regis Galliarum'. Bentley was for some years keeper of the Royal and Cotton manuscripts and knew Wanley well. One may wonder whether *W* referred to Wanley, albeit Bentley chose not to follow his dating but something nearer to Toland's. Bentley's use of Harley 1802 represents its accessibility more than his appraisal of its critical value or textual interest. — Two centuries later, Hans Glunz observed, 'the original text of the book is typically Irish', *History of the Vulgate in England* [see below], 212. — Theodor Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum. Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 28 (Munster, 1935), p. xxxvi, no. 6 [listed as 'mit römischen Perikopennotizen am Rande']. — Bonifatius Fischer, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 13 (Freiburg, 1988–91), i, 17* [Hz, latest in a class of twenty-two Irish or British witnesses to the gospel text]. The next most recent witnesses date from the tenth century.

LATIN GLOSS: John Toland, *An Account of an Irish manuscript of the Four Gospels; with a summary of the ancient Irish Christianity* (London, 1718) [written 1709; see above, n. 22], with contextual discussion by A. Harrison, 'John Toland and the discovery of an Irish manuscript in Holland', *Irish University Review* 22 (1992), 33–9. — Flower, *Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, 429. — M. R. James, *Latin Infancy Gospels* (Cambridge, 1927), 99–100 [further citations from *Liber de infantia*]. — A. Bludau, 'Namen der

Namenlosen in den Evangelien', *Theologie und Glaube. Zeitschrift für den katholischen Klerus* 21 (1929), 273–93, p. 276 [not seen]. — H. H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon* (Cambridge, 1933), 211–13, 221, 328–41 (§23) ['a copy of the notes an Irishman had taken in one of the French schools', proposing that the scribal gloss reflected the new learning of the Paris Schools in the 1130s; 'Euangelia iiii ideo sunt', fol. 9r]. — Bernhard Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *Sacris erudiri* 6 (1954), 189–281 at 274–9 (appendix, 'Die "Man"-Glossen (Manchianus?) des Evangeliars London BM 1802'); repr. in his *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1966–81), ii, 205–273, at 270–73 [dated the Man glosses to the ninth or tenth century]. — J. F. Kelly, 'A catalogue of early medieval Hiberno-Latin biblical commentaries 2', *Traditio* 45 (1989–90), 393–434, at 403–4 [§63]. —Jean Rittmueller, 'The Hiberno-Latin background of the Matthew commentary on Mael-Brigte Ua Maeluanaig', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 1 (1981), 1–8. — Jean Rittmueller, 'The gospel commentary of Mael Brigte Ua Maeluanaig and its Hiberno-Latin background', *Peritia* 2 (1983), 185–214 [argued that the scribal gloss drew largely on Hiberno-Latin scriptural work from the seventh century]. — Jean Rittmueller, 'Postscript to the Gospels of Mael Brigte', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 215–18. — C. D. Wright, 'Hiberno-Latin and Irish-influenced commentaries, florilegia, and homily collections', *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture. A Trial Version* (Binghamton, NY, 1990), 87–123 (§20). — Patrick McGurk, 'An edition of the abbreviated and selective set of Hebrew names found in the Book of Kells', in F. O'Mahony (ed.), *The Book of Kells. Proceedings of a conference* (Aldershot, 1994), 102–132 [fols. 4v–5v, Mt only, cited as Hz; just two out of eleven copies from Ireland date from after AD 800] — Olivier Szerwiniack, 'Des recueils d'interpretations de noms hébreux chez les irlandais et le wisigoth Theodulf', *Scriptorium* 48 (1994), 187–258, at 193, and McGurk and Szerwiniack, *Scriptorium* 50 (1996), 117–22. — Jennifer O'Reilly, 'The Hiberno-Latin tradition of the evangelists and the Gospels of Mael Brigte', *Peritia* 9 (1995), 290–309 ['Euangelia iiii ideo sunt', fol. 9r, with no mention of Glunz's text]. — Jean Rittmueller (ed.), *Liber questionum in euangeliis*, CCSL 108F (Turnhout, 2003) [a source used in the scribal gloss]. — Jean Rittmueller, 'Matt. 10:1–4: the calling of the twelve Apostles: the commentary and glosses of Máel Brigte úa Máeluanaig (Armagh, 1138) (London, British Library, Harley 1802, f. 25v–26v). Introduction, Edition, Translation', in G. Guldentops, C. Laes, G. Partoens (eds.), *Felici curiositate. Studies in honour of Rita Beyers* (Turnhout, 2017), 55–69.

MANCHANUS: The 'Man' glosses represented citations from an earlier authority in the marginal gloss on this manuscript. Identification of 'Man' lacks secure confirmation and has been swayed by views of the dating of the glosses themselves by comparison with other biblical comment. James Ussher, *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates* (Dublin, 1639), 969, referred to *uir sanctus et sapiens nomine Manchenus*, adding that Archbishop Richard

Fitz Ralph was said to have written a Life of St Manchan, patron of seven churches of Augustinian canons. James Ware, *De scriptoribus Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1639), 26, noted that Henry FitzSimon had attributed to Manchianus the *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* that was printed among the works of St Augustine, and Ware identified him with Mainchéne, abbot of Min Droichit, Co. Offaly, who died in *AU* s.a. 652, and whose death was also recorded by Tigernach; Wanley cited this passage with reference to Harley 1802. Toland, *Irish Christianity*, 14, asked, 'Who is Manchanus? a writer illustrious in this collection, concerning whom, though there may be many of this name, I have my own conjectures', which he kept to himself. William Nicolson, *Irish Historical Library* (Dublin, 1724), 100, cites Ussher, Ware, and Toland, but adds that Wanley had revealed to him Toland's conjecture, 'that Manchanus was a corruption of Monachanus, and that the Man whose praises are in his four Gospels was a Canon Regular of Monaghan'. — Reeves, 'On an Irish manuscript of the four gospels in the British Museum', *PRIA* 5 (1850–53), 60. — W. Stokes, 'The glosses in Harleian MS 1802', *The Academy* 31 (1887), 345–6 [fol. 49r, Mt 24:20–21], 398 [correction]. — M. Esposito, 'On the pseudo-Augustinian treatise *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*', *PRIA* 35C (1919), 189–207, pp. 196–8, 202 [author of *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* refers to Manchanus]. — M. Esposito, 'A seventh-century commentary on the Catholic Epistles', *Journal of Theological Studies* 21 (1919–20), 316–18 [commentator refers to 'Manchianus' as teacher]. — Flower, *Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii. 429 [favours St Manchán of Lemanaghan, Co. Offaly, d. 665]. — M. Esposito, 'Notes on Latin learning and literature in mediaeval Ireland 1', *Hermathena* 20, no. 45 (1929), 225–60, at 250–51. — Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte' (as above) [dated the work of Manchanus to the ninth or tenth centuries]; Aidan Breen s.n. 'Manchán', *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), treats both persons under one entry.

INTERLACE INITIALS AND EVANGELIST SYMBOLS: Indexed under Evangelists by W. de G. Birch and H. Jenner, *Early Drawings and Illuminations. An introduction to the Study of Illustrated Manuscripts* (London, 1879), 121. — E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1916), 255–6, pl. 215–16 [fols. 86v, 60v, 10r]. — J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1911), 82 ['especially feeble and ugly']. — Françoise Henry and Geneviève Marsh-Micheli, 'A century of Irish illumination (1070–1170)', *PRIA* 62C (1962), 101–64, at 148–52, and plates 26–7, 43; Françoise Henry, *L'Art irlandais*, 3 vols (Paris, 1963–4), iii, 65–7, and pl. p. 78, no. 10, pp. 86–9, and English edition, *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period 1020–1170 AD* (London, 1970), 47–8, 63–4, 68, 96, 120–21. — J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 1 (London, 1978), 89–90 (§77). — C. R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West 800–1200* (New Haven, CT, 1993), 92–3, 414 [endnotes].

COLOPHONS, MARGINALIA, AND POEMS IN IRISH: Wanley [as above]. — *Focalóir Gaoidhilge-Sax-Bhéarla, or An Irish–English Dictionary* (Paris, 1768),

154–5. — O'Conor [as above]. — 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*, *TRIA* 20 (1845), 290–91, 308–312. — The Irish poems and colophons were catalogued by Eugene O'Curry in 1849 (BL MS Add. 43376, fols 34–36). O'Curry may have provided the Irish texts to the scribe Ioseph Ó Longáin, who included a copy of them in a manuscript made 1848–50 for John Windele in Cork, RIA MS 24 B 27 (cat. 645), pp. 407–428. — Relying on O'Curry for the Irish texts and translations, William Reeves published the Irish poems and sundry scribal quatrains entered in the margins, 'On an Irish manuscript of the four gospels in the British Museum', *PRIA* 5 (1850–53), 45–67. — W. Stokes, *Irish Glosses. A Medieval Tract on Latin Declension* (Dublin, 1860), 40, 60, 68n, 131. — W. Stokes, 'The glosses in Harleian MS 1802', *The Academy* 31 (1887), 345–6, 398. — W. Stokes, 'The Irish verses, notes, and glosses in Harleian 1802', *RC* 8 (1887), 346–69. The poems are *Aurilius humilis ard* (fol. 5v), *Becca na delba* (fol. 9v), *Eól dam aided Crist na cét* (9v), two quatrains of *Ben romarbsat fir gaba* (fol. 11v), beginning *Coic mile mar incath*. Brian Ó Cuív has edited *Becca na delba acht delb Dé* and *Eól dam aided Crist na cét* as a single poem with double *dúnad* in M. Mac Conmara and E. Ní Thiarnaigh (eds), *Cothú an Dúchais. Aistí in Ómós don Athair Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire* (Dublin, 1997), 136–48. No other copy is known of this poem on the Apostles composed in early Middle Irish. The poet names himself, *anmain húa máelconaire*. Nearest of the family in date is Néide Ua Maíl Chonaire (Flower, *Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, 430), whose chief poem is a catalogue of names, tracing the ancestry of Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair (1088–1156), *Eól dam seisir* (NLI G 131) (ed. D. Ó Cróinín, '*Eól dam seiser cloinne Cuinn*: the fortunes of a twelfth-century Irish syncretistic poem', in Sarah Sheehan, Joanne Findon and Westley Follett (eds), *Gablánach in Scélaigecht. Celtic Studies in Honour of Ann Dooley* (Dublin, 2013), 198–219). The common formula *Eól dam* occurs at the transition point in our Ua Maoil Chonaire's poem, moving from the apostles' hair and beards to their martyrdoms.

RICHARD SHARPE

Faculty of History, Oxford

REVIEWS

Clavis Litterarum Hibernensium: *Medieval Irish Books and Texts* (c. *400*–c. *1600*), Corpus Christianorum Claves. Donnchadh Ó Corráin. Brepols, Turnhout, 2017. 3 vols, clx + 1910pp. €695 for subscribers to *Corpus Christianorum*, €875 for others. ISBN 978-2-503-54857-9.

The idea of a single scholar producing a three-volume companion to the entirety of medieval Irish textual culture seems like a concept from the nineteenth or early twentieth century, that is, the age when disciplines were first established and delineated, when taxonomy and classification ruled, and when humans were not yet so dizzyingly disorientated by overwhelming flows of information that the possibility of knowing everything about a particular subject could seem utterly out of reach. *Clavis Litterarum Hibernensium* is what medieval Irish studies should have had a century ago, but has only now been given. Indeed, it is perhaps ironic, in our current age of digital editions and online collaborative projects, that a single-authored, 2,000+ page, hardback monument to the printed page presents us with one of the greatest leaps forward that our discipline has ever achieved. Here, at long last, is our canon.

Professor Ó Corráin opens this work by describing it as:

> ... an attempt at a broad if necessarily incomplete and austere survey of writing in Ireland and by the Irish elsewhere in Europe, principally in Latin and Irish (Gaelic), from Late Antiquity to the end of the middle ages. The purpose is to provide, as far as possible, a panorama of the written work of the Irish in that long period and to form an opinion of the extent and quality of Irish literary achievements. This is a difficult undertaking. (p. vii)

This characterisation, while understated, gives some impression of the extent of Ó Corráin's scholarly undertaking. Later in his preface, he writes again of the sheer enormity of the task he faced in compiling and ordering the information:

> It is difficult to put together a work of this kind because the necessary research has not been done, and essential reference works not compiled. There have been many brilliant individual studies by outstanding scholars in the past century and more but the large-scale surveys, lexicons, and collaborative works that delimit a discipline, survey its terrain, and make its materials available to workers in the field, and to students of comparative literature and non-specialist readers, are almost uniformly lacking, mainly for want of institutional and financial support. What follows is, in effect, a programme for Irish medieval studies. (p. xiii)

 ©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

For all Ó Corráin's modesty – his admission of faults, limitations and omissions – this is a breathtakingly ambitious work, and there are few scholars with the intellectual means to have produced it. It is nothing less than an attempt to catalogue the entire literary and scholarly output of medieval Ireland. As such, it lays the foundations for our self-definition as a discipline and shows us how much there is still to be done and how much is yet to be understood at even the most basic level. There are some notable omissions, explained in the preface, such as administrative documents, charters, chancery records, ecclesiastical registers and Old Norse inscriptions. Notwithstanding this, it can fairly be said that these three volumes truly give an overview of medieval Irish textual culture: historical, literary, scientific, pedagogical, juridical and devotional texts, in prose and poetry, in Latin and Irish, and later in French. Each individual numbered item – and there are 1,366 in total – required an extraordinary amount of selection and judgement, of palaeographical, textual, bibliographical and/or historical research, and of analysis. This is truly a *magnum opus*. Ó Corráin's 'panorama' is constructed from thirty-two chapters:

1. Epigraphy, Writing, Form and Image
2. Early Codices in Ireland and Britain
3. *Biblica*
4. *Patristica*
5. Hagiography, Hagiology, Hymnology and Liturgy
6. Irish Books and Authors Abroad, I: Columbanus, Luxeuil and Bobbio
7. Irish Books and Authors Abroad II: Echternach, Fulda, St Gall, Würzburg
8. Irish Scholars Abroad, III: Works and Manuscripts
9. Irish Scholars and Greek in the West
10. Latin Grammatical Tracts
11. Computus
12. Hiberno-Latin Writers and Texts
13. Penitentials
14. Canon Law
15. Synodal Legislation and Monastic Rules
16. Irish Latin Manuscripts, Principally Tenth to Twelfth Century
17. Tenth- to Twelfth-Century Latin Texts and Authors
18. The Vernacular Laws
19. Annals
20. Genealogies
21. Early Irish Manuscripts: Glosses and Texts
22. Major Vernacular Codices, Literary and Historical
23. Earliest Vernacular Literary Texts
24. The Poet-Scholars, I: Early-Medieval Poetics and Poetry
25. The Poet-Scholars, II: Learning, Wisdom and Prophecy
26. The Poet-Scholars, III: Irish Classical Poetry
27. Medieval Vernacular Narrative Prose
28. Historicist and Historical Vernacular Texts: Verse, Prose, and Prosimetrum

29. *Classica*
30. Foreign Medieval Literature: Translations and Adaptations
31. Medicine and Science
32. Books and Texts Mainly of the Anglo-Irish

These are followed by an index of manuscripts; an index of texts, authors and scribes; an index of incipits; and concordances with the major pre-existing reference works, such as Kenney's *Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical*, Lapidge and Sharpe's *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature*, and Migne's *Patrologia Latina*.

As the categories above suggest, the ordering of information is not necessarily consistent: in some cases sources are ordered by genre, in others by date and in others still by language. But any consistent system would create as many problems as it resolved, and so the onus must be on users to learn to navigate these volumes and in this the various indices will be of the greatest assistance. Chapter 22 ('Major Vernacular Codices') offers manuscript context which is separate from, but cross-referenced to, the discussions of the texts themselves which are preserved within each particular manuscript; of course it is not ideal that text is in many cases separated from context, but the thorough cross-referencing is enormously helpful. Needless to say, within the thirty-two broad chapters are many more sub-divisions, and each individual source is listed as a numbered item; it is worth discussing a few examples in order to understand how Ó Corráin has constructed his guide and what it has to offer the researcher. I begin with the largest chapter of volume three, that is, Chapter 27 'Medieval Vernacular Narrative Prose', which alone comprises more than 260 pages. As Ó Corráin notes in his preface,

> Medieval Irish vernacular literature is very large, the most extensive and the earliest in medieval Europe. It is the least known. It is not yet fully mapped: many texts await an *editio princeps*, most are not satisfactorily edited, many are untranslated, and nearly all are too little studied. (p. xi)

This state of affairs is all too clearly obvious as one peruses here item after item of prose or prosimetric narrative literature for which there is little or no secondary literature, or no edition or translation published in the last hundred years, occasionally punctuated by a well-known text like *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (§1103) or *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (§1120), for which the secondary literature stretches over many pages. Regarding all of these narratives, whether oft-studied or entirely neglected, Ó Corráin in his preface highlights just some of the fundamental questions that remain to be answered:

> Who wrote these texts and why, who read them, how were they received, who were the arbiters of taste, what were their purposes and their status within the lives of the cultural and political

> elite – these are questions that may lead the next generation of scholars to a better understanding. Meanwhile, I have simply and practically arranged the texts alphabetically. (p. xii)

And so he has, from *Acallam na Senórach* (§955) to *Verba Scáthaige* (§1127), in each case offering a verdict on the date of the narrative; an incisive synopsis of the plot; the incipit; details of the manuscript(s) in which the text survives; a list of editions and translations; key references from library catalogues, survey works, etc.; and a bibliography of secondary literature. This alphabetical arrangement of prose and prosimetric narrative literature rejects the anachronistic and often unhelpful division by modern scholars into arbitrary 'cycles', while avoiding any premature conclusions about how the literature might be arranged alternatively, whether by date or by genre. Closer examination of the bibliographies of secondary literature, in which works are cited in chronological order, allows us to follow scholarly fashions. There are notable gaps as well as occasional flurries of interest in particular texts: clearly *Acallam na Senórach* is having its moment in the spotlight – in spite of the lack of satisfactory editions of the various recensions of the text – and on the whole it would appear (perhaps worryingly, perhaps inevitably) that the greatest factor in spurring scholarly interest in any given text is the publication of an English translation.

By contrast, Chapter 7 'Irish Books and Authors Abroad II' orders its information by manuscript provenance, beginning with Echternach, and proceeding to Fulda, St Gall and Würzburg. Within the section pertaining to each of those centres, a selection of key manuscripts with Irish connections is discussed, with references again to editions, translations, library catalogues and secondary literature. At the end of each sub-section, cross-references are given to any other manuscripts from the same centre that are discussed elsewhere in the book. Again, the cross-referencing and indices facilitate navigation. However, for a major source such as the St Gall Priscian, the listing for the manuscript itself (§380) in the section on St Gall manuscripts gives only a few lines of information, before referring the reader to the listing for the text of the St Gall Priscian (§805), which can be found in Chapter 21 'Early Irish Manuscripts: Glosses and Texts', in between the ninth-century Milan Priscian (§804) and the eleventh-century Dublin Priscian (§806). Faced with these sorts of editorial choices, the reader simply has to dive into the textual landscape of Ó Corráin's mind and be thankful for the clear maps and signposts which are provided.

In light of my own research interests, I was immediately drawn to Chapter 3 '*Biblica*', which consists of 149 rich and meaty pages. It begins with a list of extant Irish manuscripts of Old and New Testament biblical texts, before moving on to exegesis and biblical commentaries, largely ordered by the biblical book with which the study or commentary is concerned. Interestingly, this brings Latin and vernacular exegetical texts side by side in an illuminating way and, in terms of the volume of surviving material, provides a reminder of the centrality of the Psalms to early Irish culture. Ó Corráin then moves

onto biblical apocrypha, again dealing with sources in both Latin and Irish. However, it is unclear how the term 'apocrypha' is here defined, and a rather miscellaneous collection of texts are gathered together, some of which are not apocrypha in the standard biblical sense but would perhaps be more accurately defined as vernacular translations or adaptations of biblical stories (for example, the 'David and Goliath' and 'Death of Absalom' stories which are gathered with other Davidic items in §117). The apocryphal texts on the Apostles, which comprise §§148–166, would have benefited from references to Aideen O'Leary's 2013 book, *Trials and Translations: The Latin Origins of the Irish Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (Aberdeen, 2013), which has something to add to almost every item. The eschatological texts which comprise §§169–79 show the positive impact of the recent interest in medieval Irish eschatology, centring on the *De Finibus* project at University College Cork. By contrast, the spare bibliographical entries for much of the rest of the chapter show the sheer volume of work which needs to be done on exegetical texts, commentaries, biblical homilies and related sources. This chapter alone offers hundreds of possibilities for potential research projects for postgraduate and postdoctoral scholars. However, this is contingent upon universities producing students who are sufficiently well-trained in languages, textual criticism and palaeography to be able to undertake such important but difficult endeavours.

By its very nature, this book was out of date before it appeared in print. The stream of scholarly publication flows unceasingly on, and already books and articles from the past year render some of the entries outdated. But does this matter? There will no doubt be much discussion of how this book could have been presented differently: it could have been an updateable online database, it could have been an open access resource rather than three bulky printed volumes that are prohibitively expensive for all except wealthy individuals and well-resourced libraries. But there are already open-access, online bibliographical resources for medieval Irish, such as the DIAS Bibliography of Irish Linguistics and Literature, or the CODECS site of the Van Hamel Institute in Utrecht. This work is something different, and it is, I think, something highly symbolic. Celtic Studies is very much a discipline under threat, as is the study of medieval Latin and particularly Hiberno-Latin. Medieval Ireland exists on the fringes of the discourse on medieval European history, if it receives any notice at all. For a discipline to be taken seriously, it needs to be able to define itself. For a discipline to progress, it need to know what needs to be done. For a discipline to justify itself to the powers-that-be, and ensure its own continuation, it needs to have a sense of its own value and importance. Thus, the publication of Ó Corráin's work under the auspices of the monumental *Corpus Christianorum* series is significant on a number of levels. First and foremost, it says that medieval Ireland's literary output counts amongst the great works of western literature from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: it stands alongside the likes of Augustine of Hippo and Gregory the Great, Paschasius Radbertus and Peter Abelard, Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus the Confessor. It says that works in Irish can and should be read alongside those in Latin and Greek. Furthermore, it reflects Ó Corráin's view,

expressed most stridently on p. xii of his preface, that generations of scholars of medieval Irish literature have been distracted by misguided notions of Indo-European mythology and Dumézilian essentialism, rather than studying medieval Irish literature as the European literature that it is and as the product of a thoroughly Christian intellectual élite. The format of this publication places medieval Irish literature firmly within the European canon.

Donnchadh Ó Corráin often signs off emails with the phrase 'prospere procede', from Psalm 44:4–5, which reads:

> *Accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum, potentissime.*
> *Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende, prospere procede,*
> *et regna, propter veritatem, et mansuetudinem, et justitiam;*
> *et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua.*
>
> Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty.
> With thy comeliness and thy beauty set out, proceed prosperously, and reign, because of truth and meekness and justice: and thy right hand shall conduct thee wonderfully.

With *Clavis Litterarum Hibernensium*, Professor Ó Corráin has provided us with a weapon which future generations can use in order that our discipline can proceed prosperously. He has given us a mighty gift indeed. For the next generation of scholars, it remains for us to pursue truth, armed with the wisdom and knowledge that Ó Corráin has encapsulated in this work. This is scholarship at its best, but it is also a powerful symbol and a call to arms. There is much for us to do.

ELIZABETH BOYLE

Maynooth University

Studies in Irish Mythology. Grigory Bondarenko. Curach Bhán Publications, Berlin, 2014. ix + 287 pp. €35. ISBN 978-3-942002-15-8.

Grigory Bondarenko's *Studies in Irish Mythology* is a collection of sixteen essays discussing matters of Irish mythology as well as Slavic and Indic mythology in comparison to the Irish material. While there is no overarching theme other than that suggested by the title, the following Irish texts receive the greatest amount of attention: *Airne Fíngein, Dindšenchas Érenn*, and *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*. Furthermore, there is an emphasis on kingship and the treatment of space and time in medieval Irish literature, as well as on aspects of cosmology and numerology. The book also has a philological component in that it provides editions and translations of several poems and prose pieces. Bondarenko is well-placed for this type of comparative work: he gives insights into the scholarship of Russian medievalists and Celticists whose work has informed his own, and makes available their scholarship, in distilled form, to a non-Russian-speaking readership.

The description on the back cover states that '[s]ome chapters of this book were published previously in different periodicals and proceedings of conferences'. While this practice may seem puzzling to some readers, it is promised that those chapters were 'reworked and updated' for the present volume. This is not quite accurate. Thirteen of the sixteen chapters in the book have already appeared elsewhere, which leaves three new chapters. One of the three new chapters in the collection, Chapter 11, 'Roads and knowledge in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*', actually appeared simultaneously in *Celtic Cosmology* (ed. Jacqueline Borsje *et al*., Toronto, 2014) though neither version acknowledges the existence of the other. Upon closer examination, the changes undertaken by Bondarenko are mostly cosmetic, being limited to the odd explanatory paragraph here and additional reference there. Indeed, I cannot say that the new versions provide any new insight beyond what the original versions achieved. While some typographical errors in the original versions have been rectified, I am afraid to say that as many new errors have appeared in the new versions, something which could easily have been avoided with rigorous proof-reading. Since much of the material in this book has already been reviewed (in reviews of the original volumes in which it appeared) in my review I will place greater emphasis on the new material in the book.

The first new chapter in Bondarenko's book offers a new edition and discussion of the poem on the famous tree *Eó Rossa*, which has survived in the Book of Leinster (199b–200a) and in the Yellow Book of Lecan (col. 330). The author's statement that the text is 'from the *Dindṡenchas*' needs to be refined. In *LL*, the poem occurs as part of a prosimetric article between the poem on Mide attributed to Aed úa Carthaig (*MD* ii, 42–5) and the prose section on Ceilbe. In YBL, the poem forms part of an independent text relating the destruction of famous trees during a storm in AD 665, but this text has no connection to the *Dindṡenchas* found in the same manuscript in cols 401–36. Indeed, unless we count the example in *LL*, Eó Rossa does not form part of *Dindṡenchas* C, the prosimetric version, at all. But Bondarenko is right in pointing out the absence of that poem from Gwynn's *Metrical Dindshenchas*, since Gwynn did include other poems found exclusively in *LL*. While Bondarenko's focus is clearly on the Christian imagery and the literary interpretation of the poem, some more textual and linguistic discussion would have been helpful. In his commentary on the poem, Bondarenko notes '[t]he comparatives employed in the tree's description [...] (functioning as superlatives) [...]' (p. 76), referring to the phrases *saeriu crannaib* and *cāemiu dossaib.* This wording seems a little misleading: Bondarenko is not referring to the form of the comparative in *–(i)u* gradually replacing the Old Irish superlative in *–em*/*-am*, but to the comparative having the semantic force of a superlative in constructions like those given above. He translates them accordingly as 'noblest of the trees' and 'fairest of the bushy trees' (p. 71). Since no date was given in P. L. Henry's earlier edition of the poem, I would have been interested to know how old Bondarenko thought the poem was, especially in comparison to the syllabic poem on Eó Mugna and Eó Rossa in *LL*.

The second new chapter is called '*Búaid Cuinn rígróit rogaidi*—an alliterative poem from the *Dindšenchas*'. The poem is incorporated into the prose section of the prosimetric article on Slige Dala,[1] an article which survives in *Dindšenchas* Ba and in *Dindšenchas* C (as per Thurneysen's division). Bondarenko supplies a first edition and translation of this poem (pp. 132–6), which had been omitted by Gwynn and by Stokes from their respective editions. He also gives a stemma of all the manuscripts which contain it. As we are dealing with yet another alliterative poem, its date and place within the *Dindšenchas* – especially given that it has never been edited before – are of importance. Yet I found Bondarenko's dating of the poem the most confusing aspect of this chapter. While he begins by emphasing the archaic nature of the *rosc* and its surmised 'archaic' metre, and mentions linking alliteration as a feature of seventh-century texts, he later (p. 130) states that '[s]ome features in the poem point to a Middle Irish date (approximately the 10th century).' But further on again, he concludes (p. 154):

> There are several examples in the poem, where its lexical material resembles that of the metrical *dindšenchas*, to which corpus the poem formally belongs. On the other hand, our alliterative poem contains some archaic forms, and its contents do not repeat or coincide with the syllabic version. It may be argued, that the *rosc* in its present form was composed at the same time as the syllabic poem (12th c.), but the source (X) used by the poet for its composition (or written fixation?) differs from the variant originated in *AF*.

First of all, linking alliteration is not a feature exclusive to seventh-century poetry, or indeed Old Irish poetry; in fact, traces of it persist, as James Carney stated, into Bardic verse (Carney 1981: 252). Furthermore, while there is consistent internal alliteration in the poem, there are only four instances of linking alliteration in 37 lines. Bondarenko then claims that the poem is Middle Irish. If that is the case, then I cannot agree with the automatic expansion of manuscript R's *Tem-* as an *i*-stem genitive *Temra* in l. 15. While both *Temra* and *Temrach* were allowed according to metrical requirements beyond the Old Irish period, it should be noted that those variants of the poem which give the word *plene* write it as *Temrach*. The same guttural form *Temrach* (corroborated by variants) appears again in l. 23, and the noun is generally treated as a guttural stem elsewhere in the *Dindšenchas* (e.g. *MD* i, 36 (l. 98), metrically confirmed). Finally, Bondarenko's conclusion that the *rosc* is from the twelfth century and was composed at the same time as the syllabic poem on Slige Dala seems surprising as he has not presented us with a discussion

[1]This placename is correctly spelt *Slige Dala,* not **Slige Dála*, as given in Hogan's *Onomasticon* (Hogan 1910: 613), and in the *Triads* (Meyer 1906: 6–7). See the rhyming pair *Dala*: *mara* in an example in *ochtfoclach mór* (Thurneysen 1891: 94). My thanks to Liam Breatnach for this reference.

of the latter. Even more surprising is his statement that the 'contents do not repeat or coincide with the syllabic version', meaning that he sees no overlap between *Búaid Cuinn* and the syllabic poem. But in his discussion of *Búaid Cuinn*, Bondarenko not only discusses its connection to *Airne Fíngein*, but also to the syllabic poem. The two texts essentially tell the same story, and I would not exclude the possibility that *Búaid Cuinn* could have been one of the sources of the syllabic poem. Further research is needed here.

The following chapter, 'Roads and knowledge in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*' looks at the actions of the doomed king Conaire in spatial terms. Specific focus is placed here on Conaire's movements on the famous roads, Slige Chúalann, Slige Assail, and Slige Midlúachra, as well as his movements towards, and away from, the centre Tara. In quasi-Proppian fashion, Bondarenko lists all the instances of knowledge or absence thereof which are connected with the three roads (pp. 156–7). The use of maps (pp. 162 and 170) helps to visualise the king's movements. Bondarenko (p. 174 n. 27) states that, at the time of publication, Ralph O'Connor's monograph on *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (O'Connor 2013) was not available to him, but that he discussed some aspects of the work with O'Connor.

There are some problems with Bondarenko's book which are not specific to any given chapter. The first is a near-complete lack of cross-referencing. At best, this will lead to confusion as to why the same text or topic keeps being reintroduced. For instance, the figure of Conn Cétchathach, who is the subject of Chapter 9, 'Conn Cétchathach: the image of ideal kingship in Early Medieval Ireland', and to a lesser extent, of Chapters 8 and 10, is reintroduced in Chapter 15, 'Swineherds in Celtic Lands' (p. 208): 'The *dindṡenchas* mention a certain Odba, the royal swineherd of a legendary high-king of Ireland, Conn Cétchathach, who was also a distinguished hunter of deer and birds.' The famous tree Eó Rossa, which is the subject of Chapter 6 (discussed above), is reintroduced in the final chapter of the book (p. 231): 'I mean the wonderful ancient tree variously called in the different manuscripts in *AF Eó Rossa* or *Eó Mugna*.' In Chapter 16, Bondarenko discusses the connection between Eó Rossa and Fintan mac Bóchra; in Chapter 6 no mention is made of Fintan. While this is somewhat cumbersome, in other cases, information given can be completely contradictory. For example, in his chapter on *The Finding of the Táin*, Bondarenko mentions 'the seventh-century alliterative poem "Eó Rossa" from the *dindṡenchas*' (p. 178). As discussed above, Bondareko has edited that same poem in Chapter 6, where he does not give any clear indication of date. Bondarenko says that druids and *filid* are the same in Chapter 1, 'Hiberno-Rossica: "knowledge in the clouds" in Old Irish and Old Russian', but in Chapter 12, 'Oral past and written present in "The Finding of the *Táin*"', he mentions their 'presumed opposition' (p. 175). On this subject, Kim McCone's *Pagan Past and Christian Present*, at the very least, should have been cited (McCone 1990).

The word *Dindṡenchas*, when referring to the corpus, is variously spelt with upper-case, then with lower-case *d*, and sometimes with *sh*, sometimes with *ṡ*, and now it is spelt with *nd*, now with *nn*. Sometimes it is italicised,

sometimes not. In general there seems to be very little engagement with the textual aspects of the *Dindṡenchas*, which, even if the work's emphasis is literary rather than philological, are necessary for context. I also find myself wondering about the use of certain highly charged terms in the book, e.g. 'archaic', 'autochthon', 'historical', 'shamanic', 'microtext/megatext', etc. In Chapter 3, 'Authochthons and Otherworlds in Celtic and Slavic' (pp. 27–42), Bondarenko discusses the Túatha Dé Danann as autochthons even though *Cath Maige Tuired* as well as *Lebor Gabála* describe their arrival in Ireland from abroad. I also cannot understand what is meant by an 'oral druidic text' (p. 4) or 'the traditional pre-written corpus of place-lore' (p. 45).

On the whole, more recent scholarship should have been consulted – especially since the book's objective was to present an updated version of previous research. For instance, in Chapter 15, 'Swineherd [*sic*] in Celtic Lands', Bondarenko gives the date of *Buile Shuibhne* as thirteenth century. Since O'Keeffe's dating has since been revised, research by Pádraig Ó Riain (Ó Riain 1974) and Gearóid Mac Eoin (Mac Eoin 1989: 120) should have been cited here, and Alexandra Bergholm's more recent monograph on the tale (Bergholm 2012). But there is also older scholarship which should have been consulted, e.g. on p. 72, in a discussion of a poem ascribed to Cináed úa hArtacáin in *LL*, the poet's obit is given as 987, which is the incorrect date given by Lucius Gwynn in his edition of the poem. Thurneysen in his *Heldensage* (Thurneysen 1921: 608) and Gerard Murphy (Murphy 1952: 151, 152) give the correct date 975, as does John Carey in his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Furthermore, the poem in question could not have been written by Cináed, as both Thurneysen (1921: 608) and Murphy point out (Murphy 1952: 155 n. 7). On archaic metres, there is much more scholarship to cite than just Watkins's article from *Celtica* 6 (Watkins 1963). When discussing comparisons between the *Iliad* and the *Táin*, Brent Miles's recent monograph should have been consulted (Miles 2011).

It is unfortunate that so many errors and inaccuracies mar this diverse and promising book, which has such a uniquely broad and interdisciplinary outlook. The Celto-Slavic comparisons are interesting although they offer no more insight beyond the thematic similarities between the texts compared. And, as Matthias Egeler has pointed out in his own review of the book (Egeler 2016: 237), there should be a clear distinction between a historical approach and a typological approach, especially as far as the comparative material is concerned. A second edition of the book should therefore have a stronger and clearer methodological framework and some of the content should be reorganised completely: I would suggest publishing all the material which is even loosely associated with Conn Cétchathach as one monograph – and all the material on *Airne Fíngein* should be included here. This way, the *Dindṡenchas* and its relationship to *Airne Fíngein* can be explored further and more important textual groundwork covered. I would leave all Hiberno-Slavic comparisons for another publication so that, as Bondarenko states in his introduction (p. vii), the reader has indeed an 'integral text' before their eyes.

References

Bergholm, Alexandra 2012: *From Shaman to Saint: Interpretative Strategies in the Study of Buile Shuibhne* (Helsinki).

Borsje, Jacqueline, *et al*. (eds) 2014: *Celtic Cosmology: Perspectives from Ireland and Scotland* (Toronto).

Carney, James 1981: 'Linking alliteration (*fidrad freccomail*)', *Éigse* 18/2, 251–62.

Egeler, Matthias 2016: Review of Grigory Bondarenko, *Studies in Irish Mythology*, *ZCP* 63, 235–8.

Hogan, Edmund 1910: *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin).

Mac Eoin, Gearóid 1989: 'Gleann Bolcáin agus Gleann na nGealt', *Béaloideas* 30, 105–20.

McCone, Kim 1990: *Pagan Past and Christian Present* (Maynooth).

Meyer, Kuno 1906: *The Triads of Ireland* (Dublin).

Miles, Brent 2011: *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge).

Murphy, Gerard 1952: 'On the dates of two sources used in Thurneysen's *Heldensage*', *Ériu* 16, 145–56.

O'Connor, Ralph 2013: *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel* (Oxford).

Ó Riain, Pádraig 1974: 'The materials and provenance of *Buile Shuibhne*', *Éigse* 15/3, 173–88.

Thurneysen, Rudolf 1921: *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Halle).

Watkins, Calvert 1963: 'Indo-European metrics and archaic Irish verse', *Celtica* 6, 194–249.

Marie-Luise Theuerkauf

Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

A Dictionary of Irish Saints. Pádraig Ó Riain. Four Courts, Dublin and Portland, 2011. 660 pp. €58.50. ISBN 978-1-84682-318-3.

This wonderful publication is the first of its kind in the modern era. One has to journey back to John O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Irish Saints*, a multi-volume work published during the 1870s, and incomplete to boot, to find a predecessor. Needless to say, the present volume is vastly superior to that earlier publication. In the preface the author makes clear that this project is the work of many, albeit intermittent, years of labour. As readers we may rejoice in this publication in the sense 'better late than never'. Many such ambitious projects have been cruelly cut short by the unfortunate demise of their author. Thankfully, this is not the case with Professor Ó Riain.

In his introduction the author lists the main sources he has used, primarily saints' lives, martyrologies, calendars, and saints' genealogies. Under the heading 'Modern Sources' the author presents a highly illuminating assessment of the value of the contribution of the great John O'Donovan when working for the Ordnance Survey. O'Donovan, it appears, was greatly interested in the subject of local devotion to the saints and a keen recorder of ecclesiastical traditions.

The reader should note the author's editorial policy. Only saints whose devotion was well-established in Ireland are included, omitting, to take one example, the great Columbanus of Bobbio. Only saints who flourished before the year 1200 are included, thus excluding those well-known Catholic martyrs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The reader is advised to pay particular attention to the author's policy on language, especially in relation to his keywords, rendered not in Early or Middle Irish nor Modern Irish, but in Classical Irish.

The author follows a general pattern in his treatment of each *sanctus*. Name, associated church or parish, feastday, Lives if available, genealogy, association with other saints, pattern of cult diffusion, date and day of death, survival of associated relics, associated miracles: this is the pattern followed. The study of Irish hagiology features very many saints, many of whom have left little or nothing by way of history or traditions. Often only the saint's feastday and church will be known, and so they will be of limited value to a project such as this. Yet Professor Ó Riain has still managed to fill 660 pages with accounts of very many saints, and this work is a credit to his labours.

Something of the complexity of such a project may be uncovered in its treatment of the Colmáns. Somewhere it has been stated that there were 212 Irish saints bearing this name, 'little dove'. Among the various pet forms generated, so Ó Riain tells us, are *Colla*, *Comma*, *Conna*, *Canna*, *Camma*, all of which could be further extended by use of various prefixes and suffixes such as *mo-*, *do-*, *-óg*, *-ín*, *-án*, and so on. The author manages to have something of interest to say regarding no less than fifty-seven of these saints. The first and last of these will give some flavour of the work. The first is Colmán of Achadh Í, perhaps Fahy in Co. Galway. He is known only from the saints' genealogies, where he is linked to the Ciarraighe, a trans-provincial people who gave their name to Co. Kerry but who also had branches in mid Connacht. (The local diocesan patron, Brendan of Clonfert, is also stated to have been of the Ciarraighe, but Ó Riain shows this to be incorrect. Brendan was a member of the Altraighe people, traditional enemies of the Ciarraighe). The final Colmán is Colmán Uamhach 'of the cave'. He is not to be confused with Colmán son of Leinín, patron of Cloyne 'of the caves'; rather he appears to have been an historical personage, a scribe of Armagh who died in 725. His hypocoristic or 'pet' name was Mochonóg Uamhach 'my Conóg of the cave'.

As one would expect, all the main saints feature. Patrick gets six pages while Brigit of Kildare gets three. All diocesan patrons feature, from Finbarr of Cork (a particular favourite of the author) to Mel of Ardagh (from whom the actor Mel Gibson is named; his father had local roots). Length of treatment varies according to the surviving source material. Fíonán Cam of Offaly and Kerry gets three pages while his namesake, Fíonán Lobhar 'the leper' of Swords and Carlow gets just half a page. Many female saints are included, a refreshing feature in light of the misogyny of so much of Irish historiography. One such is Attracta or Athracht of Killaraght, Co. Sligo, who merits more than a full page. Several foreign saints who laboured in Ireland are noted. Ródán 'of the Franks' founded Shankill, Co. Roscommon, while there are

several Saxon or English saints, such as Gerald of Mayo and Beircheart of Tullylease, Co. Cork. The missionary bishop and rival to Patrick, Palladius, also receives expert treatment, reflecting the almost total lack of any trace of devotion to him in Ireland, unlike in neighbouring Scotland, where he is remembered in sources such as the Breviary of Aberdeen (which gives him an Egyptian origin!). The geographical coverage of this dictionary does indeed extend over all of Ireland. Note for example the various Seanachs who occur. These hail from Aghagower, Co. Mayo, Coolcor, Co. Longford, Monasterevin, Co. Kildare, Clonfad, Co. Westmeath, Kilshannig, Co. Cork, and Derrybrusk, Co. Fermanagh.

A particularly valuable element of the dictionary are the indices. An index of civil parishes whose church appears in the text locates them within their relevant barony and county. The civil parish system is, essentially, the descendant of the Anglo-Norman parish system. Recent scholarship, including my own, leans more and more to the conclusion that many churches of this colonial parish system were in fact 'inherited' from a pre-existing 'proto-parish' system, and one is struck, reading this index, by just how many of these medieval parish churches had native Irish patrons. The following index is that of 'Other Places', that is, non-parish locations associated with saints. The next index is headed 'Index of Alternative (mainly Anglicized) Names'. This index is of great value in that it records modern forms of saints' names as used colloquially or traditionally in local veneration in modern times, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Note for example the usage of Canice for Cainneach of Aghaboe and Kilkenny, and of Barry for Finbarr or Fionnbharr of Cork. Then we have an index of subjects. In this we note such entries as 'Blessing. *Passim*' and 'Brewing. See Meascán.' In the text on this saint (in which the name is written without the *fada* on the *a*) we learn that he was Saint Patrick's brewer and is associated with a church in Derry called, suitably enough, 'Donnybrewer'. Finally we have an index of feastdays, a virtual modern martyrology most fitting for the scholar who has given us our only history of the Irish martyrology. These various indices emphasize the breadth of this work and the great scholarship of its author. Its value as a reference work cannot be overstated.

This volume should be of particular interest to those who might consider themselves to be 'parish historians'. It is to be regretted that many such today are mere pedlars in folklore with neither the understanding nor training required to grasp the complex issues involved in the study of the saints. This book is essentially a scientific reference work, and should merit the respect such works are due. If one were to advise the 'parish historian' as to the chief merits of this work one could mention two elements of the dictionary among several: the summaries of saints' lives and the genealogical filiations of the various saints. These elements, once properly understood and contextualised, provide valuable information for parish historians. In general one gets a sense from this work that the author has achieved the delicate balance needed to write a reference work of value both to the scholar and the educated layman.

The author does not shy away from describing episodes of euhemerization, that is, the controversial belief which sees pre-Christian divinities 'recreated' as Christian saints by the early Church. Ó Riain describes two dozen examples of this process, most significantly in the case of Brigit of Kildare, 'probably ..... the pre-Christian cult of the Celtic divinity Brigantia'. The author is clearly aware of the controversial nature of such views, at least among non-scholars, and deals with the subject sensitively. Note for example the case of Gobnait of Ballyvourney, Co. Cork. Here Ó Riain hints at, rather than states outright, his view that she is ultimately a pagan divinity. In my recently published *A History of the Medieval Diocese of Cloyne* (Dublin, 2013) I have gone further, and advanced the position that Gobnait never existed as a person, and is in fact a female version of the cult of the Celtic divinity Gobniu, god of metalworking and healing. That this opinion was subsequently denounced (politely) from the altar reminds me of the controversy surrounding the reception of Professor Ó Riain's work on Finbarr forty years ago, as described below. (Have I therefore 'finally arrived' as a scholar?)

Professor Ó Riain is the author of many books and articles on the subject of the saints of Ireland over a career spanning several decades. He has never shied away from controversy, and has been brave in pioneering new interpretations and concepts of his subject, and the present work contains many examples of three of these in particular. One has only to recall his difficulties in Cork during the 1970s, when his fresh interpretation of the life of Fionnbharr or Finbarr, Cork's patron saint, met with some resistance, both lay and ecclesiastical. His conclusion here was that Finbarr of Cork was merely a double, or offshoot of the *Wanderkult* of Finnian of Moville, Co. Down. He has widely interpreted hagiography by this theory of cult diffusion, and has often presented it in a manner which is hard to dispute. In some cases, however, I would not share his conclusions, as for example in his identification of Canice or Cainneach of Kilkenny with Columba of Iona.

The author in all dealings with saints' Lives has held to the position that these in general are of late date, usually post-Norman, as for example is his position on the so-called 'O'Donoghue collection of Lives', dated by Kenny, Sharpe, and Sperber to the eighth century but by the author to no earlier than the twelfth century. It seems clear that these lives contain certain archaisms but in their final form are indeed as late as the author claims. The issue of course is the question of whether these lives are entirely of late date or if they are rewritings partly based on older texts or incorporating older material. Professor Ó Riain's position is at once both very cautious and a challenge to historians to be very careful when dealing with hagiography. No doubt this debate will run and run.

A third position adopted by the author in more recent years is the suggestion that many of our saints' lives were composed in priories of Augustinian canons during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This seems to be largely based on the proximity of the main church foundations as recorded in hagiography to such canonries. These Augustinian foundations are widely scattered throughout Ireland and it is not hard to find one near most churches mentioned

in hagiography, suggesting that this position may be too facile. Yet my own continuing researches into the lands of the medieval Irish Church have revealed a phenomenon whereby one finds the bulk of these canonries established on a portion of the chief termon lands of the pre-Invasion Church, sometimes comprising half, sometimes less. It seems clear that these 'new' or 'reformed' canons were largely men of the 'Old Church' who would certainly have been well-versed in their local hagiography. Once again this area has great potential for debate and further research.

The author is himself well-aware of 'the imperfections that attend all such endeavours' in compiling this dictionary. This, of course, is good news for the researcher and scholar in this area, for the dictionary is of great direct value to the scholar not merely for what it contains, but also indirectly for what it omits, since complete comprehensiveness in an endeavour such as this is well-nigh impossible. My own researches in this area are essentially an adjunct to my primary area of interest, the structures and lands of the Early Irish Church, and I would not compare my forays into the author's area of expertise with his own major corpus of work in this area. The following examples do however suggest the existence of other avenues and other methodologies for adding saints to the author's collection.

One of the difficulties facing the author here was those single references to patron saints in those parts of Ireland, especially in South Munster, where the main sources fail us by providing little or no coverage. Such references cry out for further investigation. While we meet with many Ronáns in the dictionary we find no reference to Ronán, the patron saint of the parish of Skull, Co. Cork, as described in 1381.[2]

Sometimes saints occur in the dictionary in situations where one can add further detail or query reputed cases of cult diffusion. Take for example Acobhrán son of Bóchra, of Achadh Rathain, an obsolete place-name near Cloyne, Co. Cork. Prof. Ó Riain indicates that he is a double for another Acobhrán of Kilrush in either Clare or Kildare, yet no evidence is given for this. An obsolete place-name on Great Island (near Cloyne), Kilvokery, appears to commemorate the saint's mother, Bóchra, while the saint is also, under the form Keverne, found in Cornwall in a dedication first recorded in the tenth century.[3]

This Cornish connection leads on to another saint of interest to me, Iath or Ia of Killeagh in east Cork, whom one will not find in the dictionary. This omission is, of course, in keeping with the author's own methodology and is here offered as an example of how one may continue to make a contribution outside of such self-imposed limitations. This placename first occurs as early as the 1180s.[4] Breton hagiography of the late thirteenth century tells of an Irish saint, Fingar or Gwinear, who settles in Brittany, then returns to Ireland, before finally going to Cornwall with a group of companions, including Ia and

[2]Genealogical Office MS 192, p. 221.
[3]Paul MacCotter, *A History of the Medieval Diocese of Cloyne* (Dublin, 2013), 10.
[4]Ibid., 9, 219.

her brothers, Erc and Euny. Contemporary Cornish material records the name of the patron of Fowey parish as *Barriani* or *Fimbarri*, and it is clear that these references are to Finbarr of Cork. Fingar/Fimbarr/Gwinear is patron of the parishes of Fowey and Gwinear, the latter, significantly, lying centrally on the Land's End peninsula among a group of churches dedicated to Iath and her brothers (and thus in the nearest part of Cornwall to Cork). The life of Fingar tells how Iath arrived late for the departure to Cornwall and how an ivy leaf enlarged itself miraculously and ferried her across the sea to her companions. Details from a lost Cornish life of Iath herself also survive. These tell of how she was a nobleman's daughter from Ireland who landed at Hayle in pursuit of 'Barry', and got the local lord to found a church at Pendinas. That we are dealing here with Finbarr of Cork and Iath of Killeagh is confirmed by a reference in the thirteenth-century *Betha Bharra* to one Bishop Libur of Cill Iath as one of Finbarr's followers, and the implicit claim on the church of Cill Iath by that of Cork. Nennius's *Historia Brittonum*, which can be dated to around AD 800, as well as the Irish *Cormac's Glossary* of a century later, both indicate the belief that centuries earlier the Uí Liatháin (in whose territory Imokilly lay) had settled in western Britain, particularly in Cornwall and Devon. In this pattern of ecclesiastical dedications and hagiography we must therefore have a memory, however garbled, of a remarkable nexus of connections between Cork, Imokilly, Cornwall and perhaps even Brittany. Iath's chief church, of which she was the eponym, was St. Ives, where her tomb could once be seen, and her feastday was February 3. She was also patron of the chapel of Troon in Camborne and near both churches are found holy wells dedicated to the saint. Recent excavations have dated the oldest level at Troon to the tenth century. The large parish of Plouyé (= 'parish of Yé' or Iath) in Brittany must also be named from Iath, although this dedication is now forgotten there. Her memory lives on in Cornwall today, where the Anglican parish of Lanivet and the Catholic parish of St. Ives bear her name. The rich irony here is that Iath is completely unknown in the parish of Killeagh, surely her oldest foundation.

Professor Ó Riain's *Dictionary of Irish Saints* is to be welcomed as a wonderful addition to the published corpus on this subject, and one wishes him many further years of scholarly productivity. *Ad multos annos*.

PAUL MACCOTTER

University College Cork

Sacred Histories: A Festschrift for Máire Herbert. Edited by John Carey, Kevin Murray and Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh. Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2015. xxv + 423 pp. €55. ISBN: 978-1-84682-564-4 (hardback).

A review of Máire Herbert's seminal work, *Iona, Kells and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba* (Oxford, 1988), stated both that it was an 'exemplary' study of hagiography and that it would be required reading for students of early Irish history (Ó Cathasaigh 1990: 192, 195). The title of the volume under review and much of its contents reflect this broad reach of

Herbert's work. Not only do the substantial number and excellent quality of the chapters in this work demonstrate the high regard of the contributors for Herbert as a scholar, but the many kind asides at the beginnings of these pieces show her role as a valued friend, teacher and mentor to so many within and without her own specific field. This festschrift is well deserved and its editors present it with an attention to detail which makes it a smooth and enjoyable read.

A list of the honorand's publications is given at the beginning of this volume, which demonstrates the many and diverse fields to which Herbert has contributed. This is followed by thirty-three contributions which likewise prove this point. The majority of these are in English but there are also several chapters in Irish, including a poem that is presented by Hutton and which heads the list of contributions. The remainder of the chapters are arranged by alphabetical order of the authors' names and fall into several key categories, most notably literature, history and hagiography. There are several editions, most of which treat poetry from the late medieval to early modern period, including P. Breatnach's edition of two poems by women, Flahive's thorough edition of a Fenian 'relic lay' and Nic Cárthaigh's edition of a poem by Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh. An edition by Ó Macháin of *Ceasta Fhíthil* includes a very worthwhile commentary on the genre of wisdom literature and Simms' edition of a group of unusual verses relating to Colum Cille that are attributed to spirits returned from the dead contains a detailed historical study that suggests the circumstances behind the composition of these verses. Earlier medieval texts are similarly represented in this volume: a short passage from a legal text is edited and expertly discussed by Kelly and there is an edition of the poem *Senchas Gall Átha Clíath* by Boyle and L. Breatnach, which is a wonderful example within a single article of everything that an edition can and should be. A perceptive discussion of the context of this poem, as well as a careful commentary that includes notes, indices, the manuscript text and an analysis of the language, accompany the edition and translation and will no doubt be revisited several times by those interested in central-medieval hagiography, pseudo-history and the history of Dublin and its environs. Other authors present texts which hail from a later period, such as de Brún's edition and discussion of a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century song and Ó Conchúir's presentation of verses on the famine of 1739–40. As already suggested, many of the editions included in this volume are far more than simple editions of a text; they also provide commentaries that demonstrate how a particular text can add to our understanding of a historical period, such as Ó Conchúir's and Simms' offerings, and/or add colour and depth to how we conceive of different themes, images and genres within the literature produced in Ireland over a long period of time, as is the case with the contributions by Flahive, Nic Cárthaigh and many of the others listed above.

To balance the editions, there are many chapters studying literary aspects of texts, several of which reflect Herbert's own interest in literature that features saints or religious themes. In addition, many honour Herbert's observation that such texts 'are also to be placed in association with other forms of contemporary writing', which is cited approvingly by Flahive (p. 139). Thus, there is a

consideration of keening in the poems of Blathmac by Bergholm and of the paradigm of monasticism presented by the figure of Librán in Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*, as detailed by Ritari. Alongside these are Downey's notable and attentive discussion of both how a scribe could influence a text and the relationship between poetry and prose in different versions of *Aided Muirchertaig Meic Erca*, and Ní Mhaonaigh's contribution on the image of Hector in Irish literature. This last chapter also demonstrates the influence of the political present informing the image of the past within Irish texts, a theme which has come across in much of Herbert's writing. Aspects of this approach are seen as well in Charles-Edwards' investigation of the dating of Recension I of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, in which he argues against previous proposals and gives the text an eighth-century date, although with the likelihood that some elements have a seventh-century derivation. Several very good observations on the process and difficulties attendant on contextual dating are present in this article, such as the necessity to distinguish between 'a historical situation taken to be what a given text is about' and 'a historical situation with which a contemporary might compare an older text' (p. 99). Whether Charles-Edwards' dating suggestion will be accepted is yet to be seen, but this article certainly shines skilfully directed new light on an old question.

Additionally, geographical diversity appears in the selections discussing literature, and in some cases language. This is demonstrated by Oliver and Adolph's piece tracing the use and meaning of Old English *meowle* and Murray's reconsideration of the dating of evidence reflecting the Irish symbol of submission in which one king enters another's house, which in turn bears on the date of the Welsh *Branwen* and thus the rest of the *Mabinogi*. A broad geographical range is also seen in Carey's comparison of rare otherworld journeys by women in *Tochmarc Becfola* and Marie de France's *Yonec*. This last complements other articles throughout the volume in examining the role of women in texts and thereby overlaps with many of the honorand's own publications. Yet another article that stretches across geographical distance and time is that of Sims-Williams, which traces the connections between the classical Lupercalia and the evolution of the notion of leprechauns through the interpretation of this festival and its revellers by Christian writers. Discussion of Classical compositions appears elsewhere in the volume: Griffin-Wilson reveals classical influence on later works, alongside hagiography, in her clear and insightful chapter discussing Antaeus and St Patrick in the prose apologues accompanying a bardic poem. As was the case with the editions presented by the contributors to this volume, chapters on more modern literary topics prove that Herbert's influence has been felt by those whose interest lie not solely in the medieval world. A case in point is Coughlan's discussion of two poems by Máire Mhac an tSaoi written in the last decades of the twentieth century. Such chapters add to the volume as a whole not only in the high degree of scholarship with which they are presented, but additionally through the parallels that are discernible in the authors' treatment of medieval and modern literature, such as concerns with intertextuality and genre.

Hagiography and saints' cults have a central place throughout the volume, which is unsurprising given how greatly Herbert's research has contributed to those fields, and many of these bridge the gap between literary and historical studies. Many of the pieces already mentioned relate to hagiography in one way or another and for some, like Ritari's article mentioned above, it is the main focus. This is likewise the case with the offerings by Ó Cathasaigh, who discusses the genealogical preamble proceeding the Life of Declán, Lambkin, whose article on migration deals primarily with the later Life of Colum Cille by Manus O'Donnell, and O'Reilly, who discusses an episode in an earlier Columban text, Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*. This last details the title saint's visit to Clonmacnoise and O'Reilly deftly situates this much-discussed episode within a wider scriptural framework that well suits Adomnán's exegetical and hagiographical interests and knowledge. There is only one contribution, by Mac Conmara, that deals primarily with apocrypha, a field on which Herbert made a significant mark, in which the author gives a catalogue and commentary on early apocryphal and biblical texts in Ireland.

Hagiography as viewed from a more historical context also takes a prime position in this volume. Muhr's study of the *paruchia* of the little-known saint Lúrach demonstrates the considerable amount that can be achieved regarding the history and influence of a saint who has no Life or other major texts associated with him. Ó Dochartaigh also discusses the cult of a saint, that of Thecla, and she asks whether this international saint had a presence in Ireland. Ní Chatháin presents a catalogue of bells associated with Irish saints that in particular is concerned with the native names for these objects. Ó Riain reaches beyond the shores of Ireland to examine the source of the Irish elements in the Life of the Italian saint Cataldo, as does Mac Craith in his piece on connections between early modern Irish chieftains and the Veil of Veronica. We are furthermore reminded of Herbert's contribution to Scottish history by Broun, whose re-examination of *Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Ríata* brings new ways of envisioning this important text. Bhreathnach presents a study of the memorandum in the Book of Durrow and, last but by no means least, Mac Eoin presents an informative study of the family of Maol Muire and its scribal affiliations. This is particularly interesting for considering education, family professions and ecclesiastical connections with individual families over a long period of time and it sheds light on the history of Clonmacnoise and its centre of learning.

This collection is impressive, providing many matters of interest to a wide range of readers, reaching from the earliest written documents pertaining to Irish history right up to poetry of the twentieth century and going beyond Ireland's shores to take in much of the rest of the Celtic world as well as Italy and other parts of Europe. There are only two minor complaints. One is that some of the chapters are too short to fully develop an argument. However, this is understandable and forgivable as the substantial number of contributors no doubt limited the length of submissions. Rather it is hoped that many of the authors (or other scholars) might return to some of the subjects discussed in the pages of this volume. The second shortcoming is the lack

of an index. While perhaps not seen as necessary for a volume that lacks a strong thematic focus such as a conference topic behind it, an index would have been beneficial both in order to highlight topics shared between different articles, of which there are many, and, of course, to assist researchers looking for specific subjects. These, however, are minor complaints and this volume will assuredly be valued on many shelves. No doubt its individual chapters will inform future studies on a wide variety of topics.

REFERENCE

Ó CATHASAIGH, Tomás 1990: Review of Máire Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry: The history and hagiography of the monastic* familia *of Columba*, *Éigse* 24, 192–5.

SARAH WAIDLER

Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh: Munterloney Folktales. Irish Tradition from County Tyrone. Collected and edited with introduction, notes and glossary by Éamonn Ó Tuathail. Translated by Seosamh Watson. Foreword by Séamas Ó Catháin. Folklore notes by Kelly Fitzgerald. Comhairle Bhéaloideas Éireann/ An Cumann le Béaloideas Éireann. Dublin, 2015. liv + 335 pp. €20. ISBN 978-0-9565628-6-9.

When Dr Wilhelm Doegen, Director of the Lautabteilung of the Prussian State Library, was engaged by the Royal Irish Academy (1928–31) to record native speakers of Irish in those areas in which the language still endured, he was able record material from no fewer than eighteen of the country's thirty-two counties. Many of his informants were by then quite elderly and in several cases were the last native speakers of Irish in the districts from which they came. With their passing, in the decades that followed, the final vestiges of the inherited local dialects were lost in twelve further counties with the result that the present-day *Gaeltacht* is confined to areas in only a third of the number of counties from which Doegen had recorded native speakers.

Tyrone, along with Derry, Antrim, Armagh and Cavan was one of five Ulster counties in which the local dialects of Irish were to be lost after 1931, at which point Doegen and his assistant, Karl Tempel, commenced their work in the province. In September of that year they recorded material from four speakers of Tyrone Irish at sessions held at the Queen's University of Belfast and in Letterkenny Courthouse in Co. Donegal. Given the subsequent fate of Irish in Tyrone, these recordings, available on the Royal Irish Academy's Doegen Records Web Project (www.doegen.ie) and also published in *Ulster Gaelic Voices* (Ní Bhaoill 2008), are invaluable. Further and quite detailed background information on the speakers from Tyrone and on those from other parts of Ulster who were recorded by Doegen has been provided by Dr Ciarán Ó Duibhín on the website: http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/~oduibhin/doegen/index.htm.

Shortly before Doegen visited Ulster, Éamonn Ó Tuathail, Professor of Irish at Trinity College Dublin, had embarked on collecting folktales and traditions in Tyrone. On six visits made between 1929 and 1932, he succeeded in recording a considerable body of traditional material from several speakers, two of whom, Eoin Ó Cianáin (1857–1937) and Jane Nic Ruaidhrí (*c.* 1881–1962) were also recorded by Doegen. To the material he himself collected, Ó Tuathail added texts from some other sources: a number of items from a collection made earlier in the century by Fr Cornelius Short, curate of Termonmaguirk (1904–18) which was transcribed in a phonetic system based mainly on English orthography, and a folktale together with a collection of proverbs that had been collected by a certain Peadar Mac Culadh and were published in the *Ulster Herald* (27 January 1906, 15 February and 14 March 1908).

The results of Ó Tuathail's work – tales, songs, poems, proverbs, charms and miscellaneous other items of Tyrone folk tradition – were subsequently published by the Irish Folklore Institute in the volume *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh. Munterloney Folk-tales* (Dublin, 1933), a volume to which Séamas Ó Duilearga appended some summaries and brief notes in English.

Eoin Ó Cianáin provided Ó Tuathail with by far the greater part of his material: over 40 of the 67 sections in the collection were transcribed in total or in part from his recitation. Ó Tuathail recorded the bulk of this material on a dictaphone and having transcribed his recordings would check his text with Ó Cianáin so as to ensure as high a degree of fidelity as was possible. Jane Nic Ruaidhrí, from whom Ó Tuathail collected the song 'An sagart deas', was the youngest of the four speakers recorded by Doegen. She subsequently was visited in 1950 by Heinrich Wagner who collected material from her (Stockman and Wagner 1965: 46), and in the following year by Proinsias Ó Conluain who brought with him the Raidió Éireann mobile recording unit (Ó Conluain 1989: 113–14, 116–17). By the time of her death she was one of the very last native speakers in Tyrone, and although she claimed her competence in the language was diminished by the time Ó Conluain met with her (Ó Conluain 1989: 113), Wagner, who had visited her some months previously, described her as 'a fluent speaker with a rich vocabulary' (Stockman and Wagner 1965: 46). Brian Ó Cearbhalláin, on the other hand, who contributed a number of shorter narratives to the collection, was in his mid-eighties by the time he met Ó Tuathail, having been born around the time of the Great Famine.

While the focus of Ó Tuathail's interest lay in the folk material he had collected, he was also mindful of the fact that the Irish in which this material had been related to him held no small interest for dialectologists and for others whose interest may have been purely linguistic. Accordingly, he used a system of orthography that reflected features of the dialect in his transcriptions (current standard forms enclosed in brackets), e.g. ionn (*ann*), fuaidh (*chuaigh*), aghad (*agat*), duid (*duit*), baertha (*buartha*), tiôgha (*teanga*), go bhfuí (*go bhfaighe*). He also provided an invaluable linguistic introduction to the dialect of Munterloney – based mainly on the speech

of Ó Cianáin – comparing and contrasting it throughout with features found in other dialects of Ulster, in particular the better-known dialects of neighbouring Donegal. A glossary to the texts and a list of Tyrone words and phrases added to the value of the work.

Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh (*SML*) was well received (Murphy 1934) and while the collection of the folk material presented in it may not always have the same broad range as that of material collected from areas in which spoken Irish was much more robust, its importance as a source for Ulster Irish and folk tradition has long been recognised. Sadly, it has been out of print for many years.

A reprint of this work would of itself have been most welcome, but this new edition adds considerably to the 1933 volume. Apart from Ó Tuathail's original text, introduction, notes, and appendices, Séamas Ó Catháin has provided a foreword in which he discusses the background and context of *SML*, drawing on the correspondence between Ó Tuathail and Séamas Ó Duilearga, now housed in the National Folklore Collection in University College Dublin, and also making use of the latter's diaries found in the same repository. The notes Ó Duilearga provided on the tales and other items of tradition in the work have been added to by Kelly Fitzgerald, while the map of Munterluney printed in this edition will be of benefit to those not familiar with the area. The inclusion of photographs of scenes from Munterluney, also taken from the National Folklore Collection, is likewise welcome. The main addition to this volume, however, is Seosamh Watson's translation into English of the Irish text published by Ó Tuathail. Watson's flowing translation is faithful to the Irish original and will be of benefit not only to those who do not have a command of Irish, but also to some speakers of Irish who might experience difficulty reading texts in Ó Tuathail's unconventional orthography.

SML was followed by other publications on Tyrone Irish. Heinrich Wagner had visited Tyrone in 1950, and based his information for point 66 of his *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* on material he transcribed from Peadar Ó hEachadh of Creggan. Further material that he collected from Ó hEachadh and from other speakers at that time he subsequently published in collaboration with Gerard Stockman (Stockman and Wagner 1965). A list of Tyrone words and phrases, possibly collected by Seán Mac Airt (1918–59), was published by Hughes (1994). A fuller discussion of these and other sources will be found in Ó Baoighill (2000, 2009).

Although the last native speakers of Tyrone Irish have passed away, this new edition of *SML* will introduce new generations to some of the linguistic and folk-literary heritage of Munterluney It should also serve to remind us that even in those areas where native dialects of Irish have been lost, through the far-sighted labours of people such as Ó Tuathail and Wagner, those who organised the Doegen project and others, much material has been collected and preserved as voice recordings or in print form, and still has much to tell us about the history and development of the language and its traditions.

References

Hughes, A. J. 1994: 'A phonetic glossary of Tyrone Irish', *ZCP* 46, 118–63.
Murphy, G. 1934: review of *SML*, *Béaloideas* 4, 100–2.
Ní Bhaoill, R. (ed.) 2008: *Ulster Gaelic Voices. Bailiúchán Doegen 1931* (Belfast).
Ó Baoighill, P. 2000: 'The Irish language in Tyrone', in H. Jeffries and C. Dillon (eds), *Tyrone: History and Society. Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin), 665–96.
Ó Baoighill, P. 2009: *Padaí Láidir Mac Culadh agus Gaeltacht Thír Eoghain* (Dublin).
Ó Conluain, P. 1989: 'The last native Irish-speakers of Tyrone', *Dúiche Néill. Journal of the O'Neill Country Historical Society* 4, 101–18.
Stockman, G. and Wagner, H. 1965: 'Contributions towards a study of Tyrone Irish', *Lochlann* 3, 45–236.
Wagner, H. 1958–69: *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* (Dublin).

Ruairí Ó hUiginn
Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

The Qualities and Origins of the Welsh Vowel [ɨ]. Iwan Wmffre. Curach Bhán Publications, Berlin, 2013. xx + 172 pp. €25. ISBN: 978-3-942002-12-7.

The work under review presents a highly valuable, wide-ranging study of the phonetics and phonology of Welsh dialects, with a particular focus on the typologically unusual contrast between three (or six, depending on how one counts!) high vowels. The work offers up both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective on the data by an accomplished dialectologist with huge experience of fieldwork (not least for the Welsh Dialect Survey), and will be of significant interest to specialists in Welsh dialectology, Brythonic historical phonology, and general linguistics. The author's main points can be summarized as follows:

- In Northern Welsh, the short ('lax') variant of /ɨ/ is phonetically very close to or identical with the short ('lax') variant of /i/ (the one traditionally transcribed as [ɪ]). This fact has to be taken account of when interpreting traditional dialectological descriptions, particularly those conducted by fieldworkers with a Southern Welsh background.
- It is useful to distinguish between a 'weakly rounded' high central vowel [ɨ] (to which type the realization of stressed long /ɨ/ in Northern Welsh belongs) and an unrounded high central [ɪ], in addition to a rounded central [ʉ] and a lax front [ɪ] as stipulated by the IPA; in addition, all these vowels can have 'lax' (i.e., lowered and centralized) and non-syllabic varieties, for all of which the author suggests transcription symbols.
- The author proposes a diachronic scenario for the development of the high vowels in Brythonic that is different from those suggested by Jackson

(1953) and McCone (1996). In particular, he dates the rise of the 'new quantity system' (i.e. the establishment of predictable vowel length according to consonantal context) to a much later date than usually allowed. On the other hand, he offers a scenario for the development of the short high vowels of Brythonic that involves a much earlier merger of several vowels as [ɪ] compared to Jackson's and McCone's scenarios, which both postulate a relatively long period with a rich system of central vowels.

The book contains a wealth of information about the synchronic status and diachronic development of many relevant features of Welsh, much of it unavailable elsewhere, and is therefore a very valuable source. This should always be borne in mind even if in the following I express a number of disagreements with the author's proposals or interpretations.

Chapter 1 briefly surveys the vowel systems of modern Welsh dialects and outlines some of the notational devices traditionally used in the literature. It also introduces the 'double slash' notation, used in previous works by the author, whereby, say, '//e//' refers to *e*-type vowels irrespective of their length and/or tense/lax specification (i.e. [eː], [ɛ], and, where applicable, also [e] and [ɛː]). This is a highly useful device, since the status and phonological relevance of both length and tenseness in Welsh are contested. The author spends some time on the fact that generally long vowels are seen to be 'tense' and short vowels are seen to be 'lax'. Sources are in fairly unanimous agreement about this with respect to South Welsh varieties, but, as discussed in this chapter, this is less clear for Northern Welsh. In particular, there is some evidence for the existence of lax tense vowels [ɛː] and [ɔː] in Northern Welsh, both in descriptions and in the Welsh Dialect Survey (Thomas 2000). Even so, the author claims, tense variants predominate even in North Welsh (p. 7). Here, it would have been useful to give the actual numbers from the Welsh Dialect Survey material.

The author then introduces 'the problem of /ɨ/' (§3), discussing both the fact that its target pronunciation is difficult to acquire for speakers of other languages and perhaps even of other dialects of Welsh. The author gives here a number of examples showing that South Welsh speakers may hypercorrectly use /ɨ/ even where Northern Welsh has /i/; I confess the relevance of these examples is less clear to me, given that such hypercorrection surely has to do with the simple fact of /i/ and /ɨ/ having merged in the south (and the speakers having difficulty undoing the merger), rather than with any particular complexity inherent to the /ɨ/.

The author then goes on to discuss the dialectal limits of /ɨ/, paying particular attention to claimed attestations of /ɨ/ in South Welsh dialects (§§4–5). It is suggested that such claims do not represent survivals of historical /ɨ/, but instead have to do either with a more general lowering of word-final unstressed vowels (which affects both /i/ and /u/), as in some Glamorgan varieties, or with attempts by informants to accommodate to a Northern Welsh-speaking fieldworker, as with Glyn Jones's work with Breconshire speakers.

Chapter 2, 'The actual realizations of /ɨ/', contains an exhaustive discussion of the phonetic reality behind the spellings <y>, <i> and <u> in Northern

Welsh, set against a typological background. The phonetics of the tense //u// are discussed in a short section (§6), which also contains some preliminary information on the poorly understood regional variation in the realization of this vowel in North Wales. The much longer section on lax <u> (§7) argues that lax <i> and lax <u> in Northern Welsh are very similar phonetically both to each other and to south Welsh lax [ɪ], as well as the English KIT vowel (using the terminology of Wells 1982). Evidence to this effect is adduced from English loanword adaptation (where KIT can be adapted as both <i> and <u>), examples from existing auditory accounts, and a large meta-study of traditional descriptions, many of which come with vowel diagrams charting the position of vowels in the phonetic space: the author rejects criticism of such diagrams (based apparently on auditory or even proprioceptive impressions). Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, he does not mention the acoustic study by Mayr & Davies (2011), who achieve a very similar result, in that short //i// and short //ɨ// are, for North Welsh speakers, quite similar acoustically, and indeed some speakers in their study did not appear to make a distinction between them.

The chapter also contains some highly pertinent and intriguing observations regarding the all-too-often neglected matter of vowels in unstressed final syllables. As the author notes, in most if not all dialects of Welsh high vowels (including //ɨ// in North Welsh) are realized as lax in final closed syllables and as tense word-finally.[5] In the case of //ɨ//, he claims that the difference between tense [ɨ] (as in *gwely* 'bed') and lax [ɪ] (as in *melyn* 'yellow') appears to be less perceptible to speakers (and fieldworkers) with a Northern Welsh background than to those with a Southern background — and conversely, that Northern Welsh speakers have less of a problem distinguishing between the [ɪ] of *melyn* and the [ɪ] of *melin* 'mill' compared to South Welsh speakers. He claims that this is due to the fact the vertical dimension in vowel space (i.e. the 'tenseness' distinction between [iː] and [i], [eː] and [ɛ] etc.) is more salient in the south, whereas in the north it is less important than the 'horizontal' distinctions of relative frontness. This accords well with the fact that, as noted above, the tenseness distinction between short and long vowels is not as securely attested in traditional descriptions of North as of South Welsh. This is a good example of a specific claim that could be tested using perceptual experimentation.

After a very brief discussion of the non-syllabic ('glide') versions of the relevant vowels, the author moves on to a typological discussion of high central vowels in other languages, including Irish, Swedish, Norwegian and Russian. This is a welcome ambition, inasmuch as, as far as I am aware, no such comparison has been attempted before. However, the discussion in this chapter unfortunately leaves a lot to be desired. The examples the author adduces are, in order, <ao> in Connemara Irish, the long and short <u> of Eastern Norwegian and Central Swedish, the Swedish 'Viby-*i*', and Russian <ы>. In all of these cases the discussion deserves further comment.

[5]He also claims, with reference to unpublished work, that word-final //e// and //o// are phonetically lax [ɛ ɔ], despite many descriptions claiming the opposite; this is also shown acoustically by Iosad (2017).

With respect to Connemara Irish , the author claims that <ao> is pronounced as a raised version of IPA [iː], which he proposes to transliterate as [ɪː], adducing examples such as *caora*, *lao*, *gallaoireach*, *saothrú*, *caoch*, and others. His sources are De Bhaldraithe (1945) and the transcriptions in LASID (Wagner 1958–69). The author transcribes the sounds as a monophthong [ɪː] distinct from [iː], even though he also mentions the coarticulatory effect of surrounding consonants described by De Bhaldraithe. This seems to me to undermine the credibility of the account: after all, as acoustic studies have reliably shown (see notably Ní Chiosáin and Padgett 2012), Irish long [iː], especially in the neighbourhood of a broad consonant, cannot be described as a monophthong because of the strong formant transitions, and moreover that these transitions may be strong enough that the quality of the vowel even at the midpoint is not necessarily identical to that of long [iː] when no broad consonants influence it. The coarticulation is exemplified in fig. 1 (taken from a Munster Irish speaker from West Kerry pronouncing *coim*), where the second formant (the second dotted line from bottom) of a long [iː] shows significant influence from the preceding velar, so that the target state (the steady state at about 2,500 Hz) is only just about reached by the midpoint of the vowel.

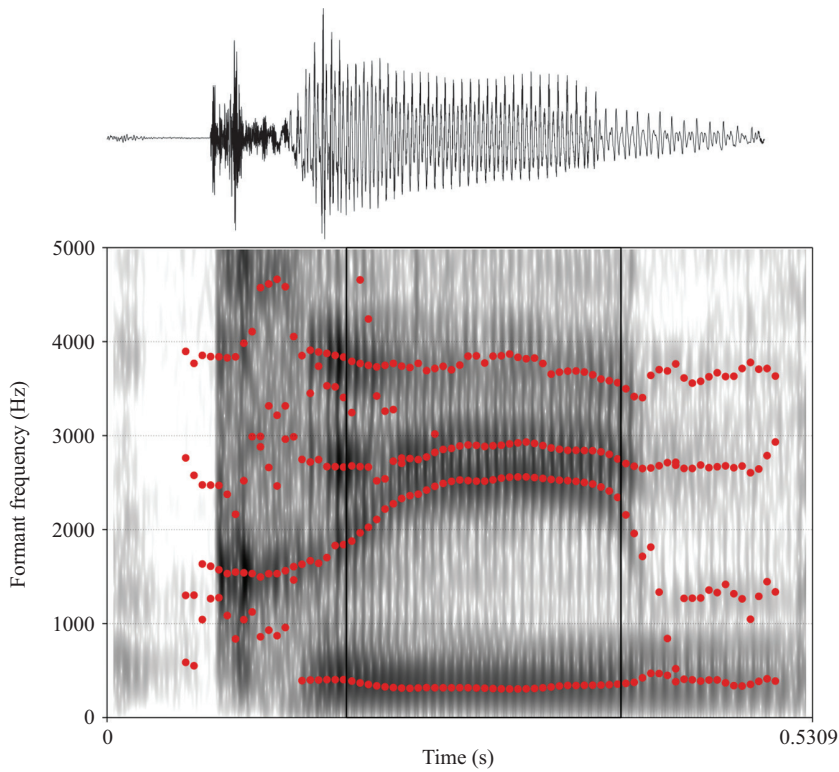


Fig. 1: Coarticulation of long [iː] in Irish.

Much the same criticism applies to the author's treatment of the Russian <ы>; he describes it as variable in quality, but suggests that the canonical realization is a short variant of the same sound he ascribes to Connemara Irish <ao> and transcribes as [ɪ]. Once again, it has long been known that Russian <ы> is phonetically not a monophthong but instead represents almost exactly the same vowel as <i> on which are superimposed strong formant transitions signalling the velarization of the preceding consonant; see, for instance, the results of acoustic studies by Keating (1987) and Padgett (2001).

A particularly detailed discussion is devoted to the high vowel systems of Norwegian and Swedish (pp. 50–63). Although clearly relevant to the issues, it would seem that this section would benefit from more engagement with specialist literature, as it relies to a not insignificant extent on pedagogical materials, impressionistic descriptions, Internet sources such as Wikipedia articles (and even Wikipedia talk pages) and YouTube clips (and comments on them), whilst reference to literature, particularly instrumental studies, is rather limited. In some cases this leads to unfortunate problems and oversimplifications. For instance, on p. 51 the high vowel system of Norwegian is given as [iː yː ʉː uː] for the long vowels and [ɪ ʏ ʊ̟ ʊ] for the short vowels, with a reference to Kristoffersen (2007: p. 12) (itself a paperback reprint of Kristoffersen 2000); there is, however, no vowel chart on p. 12 of Kristoffersen (2007); a list is given on p. 13, but it does not indicate any quantitative difference between long and short high vowels. The formant plots given by Kristoffersen on p. 17 do appear to indicate a difference at least between [yː] and [ʏ]. Moreover, the author treats (Eastern) Norwegian and (Central Standard) Swedish as representing a homogeneous variety of North Germanic, with reference to the notion of 'Central Scandinavian' (Haugen 1976); however, it is not at all clear that such a generalization is warranted with respect to the pronunciation of the high vowels: indeed, Kristoffersen (2007: 14–15) provides a discussion making it clear that significant variation in these systems has been described in the literature both within Norwegian and between Norwegian and Swedish. The author also discards the description of Swedish in his source (the illustration of the IPA for Swedish in the IPA handbook), which shows a qualitative difference between long and short *i* and *y*, on the basis, in part, of comments on the Wikipedia talk page. However, this would appear to be premature: numerous reputable sources, while acknowledging that the Swedish short [ɪ] is not as centralized as its English or German counterparts, nevertheless note a qualitative difference in this case: see, for instance, Riad (2014: §2.2), with references to phonetic studies, or Bruce (2010: 118). In other words, while the author may be right in seeing long and short [i] and [y] as less qualitatively distinct than, say, in English, it is not clear that there is *no* quality distinction at all.

The author also dedicates a significant amount of space to the discussion of the 'buzzed' Swedish vowel [iᶻ] (the so-called *Lidingö-i*, or *Viby-i*), claiming that it is identical to Northern Welsh [ɨ] – a very interesting claim that, however, would need to be confirmed experimentally. It is clear that *Viby-i* shares some acoustic properties with Welsh [ɨ], notably a lowered second

formant; however, as Bruce (2010), among other sources, discusses, it may be that only some instances of that vowel can be described as central. Overall, it must be concluded that although a typological discussion of Welsh central vowels is surely an important desideratum, much more remains to be done in this field.

The synchronically oriented portion of the book ends with a suggestion to revise the IPA to reflect the author's findings (§11). The author is well aware of the tentative nature of his conclusions; even so, he is clearly not alone in finding the current IPA provisions unsatisfactory, at least for Welsh: Mayr & Davies (2011) also call for the introduction of a symbol for the centralized counterpart to [i̞] (i.e. [ɪ]), given that it is clearly different from [i̝] in Northern Welsh. It is less clear that the cross-linguistic phonetic variation described by the author should be served by a proliferation of IPA symbols: after all, separate symbols tend to be used in the IPA only for distinctions that can be demonstrated *within* a language. This can indeed lead to deleterious consequences, such as the use of 'lax' symbols [ɪ] and [ʏ] for Swedish short vowels, which highlights the difference vis-à-vis their long counterparts [iː yː] but runs the risk of conflating them with '[ɪ]' and '[ʏ]' in, say, English, from which they are different. Nevertheless, it is less obvious that such cross-linguistic distinctions should really motivate the introduction of separate symbols. This is a serious point, not just from a purely organizational perspective of stewarding the IPA standard, but also conceptually. Specifically, reifying a difference using separate IPA characters assumes the existence of a universal standard of cross-linguistic phonetic categories against which individual languages can then be compared to identify each particular phone – an assumption that can be very problematic indeed (for extensive discussion, see Ladd 2014).

Chapter 3 ('Historical development') focuses on the diachrony of high vowels in Brythonic Celtic. The author offers a new perspective on both the development of high vowels specifically, and of the vowel systems of Brythonic varieties in general, and this chapter represents an important advance in many relevant respects. In particular, the author presents an analysis of the developments that postulates a simpler inventory of central vowels than existing proposals by Jackson (1953) and McCone (1996).[6] In particular, he strongly rejects the existence of an intermediate stage **i̞* for the product of *i*-affected short **u* and **o* in Cornish and Breton, preferring instead to see the *i*-affected high back vowel (a lax [ʉ]) directly changing into [ɪ] (and then merging with the Proto-Brythonic short **i*, with subsequent lowering to *e*). The discussion here is very interesting, although it would have been easier to follow if example words and etymologies were given throughout, rather than sporadically (as on p. 102). The author also offers an important update of Jackson's (1967) account of the relationship between Welsh and Breton vowels (particularly the Breton *o* <> Welsh *w* correspondence) in §18.

[6]The author does not mention the recent account of the Brythonic vowel developments by Schrijver (2011).

The discussion is set within the broader context of developments of the Brythonic vowel system. In particular, the author discusses the date of the unrounding of Welsh **u*: whilst much previous work assumes that it was a rounded vowel in Middle Welsh (either [y] or [ʉ]), it is less clear when this unrounding happened. The author adduces evidence from metalinguistic comments and spelling that it was rounded until at least the 16th century, and offers some very tantalizing hints that it may have survived even until the 1800s in parts of Wales, although the issue clearly requires further research. This discussion is very valuable, even if one could take issue with some of the argumentation: for instance, the author's example of potential confusion between [ʉ] and [ɪ], which he adduces to posit a perceptual closeness of the two vowels to motivate Old Welsh spellings with <i> of words that would have [ʉ], is unfortunate: he mentions Irish English [ʃʉd] 'should' being misheard as [ʃɪd], but given that *should* is a function word, it is not clear that we are not dealing here with an unstressed, or restressed, [ʃəd] misheard as having the very centralized KIT vowel characteristic of Northern Irish English.[7] The author also suggests that the adaptation of the name of Bristol (Old English *Brycgstow*) with Old Welsh *ou* demonstrates that the glide in the OW diphthong must not have been fronted; however, one could well imagine that even a diphthong like [oɥ] or [oʉ̯] could be used for [ow] if it was the *closest* match available in the native system rather than an *identical* one.

After providing some important examples showing a relationship between *e* and historical short *i* (i.e. [ɪ]) in §14, the author moves to a discussion of the diphthongs <ae, oe>, which contrast in modern Welsh with diphthongs with a high glide. He argues that the glides in these diphthongs underwent a lowering to [e], with the entire sequence then becoming disyllabic and merging with historical hiatus sequences [ae ɔɛ] (as in *maës* 'field') — the claim is that this merger supports the proposal that its outcome was disyllabic, although this does not seem logically necessary. These disyllables then undergo a variety of developments in dialects, including loss of the second element, a reversal of the change with the second element becoming a glide again, and a shift whereby the [e] becomes the syllable nucleus (as in south-western Welsh *wês* for *oes* 'is.interrogative' or Breton dialectal *kwad* for *koad* 'forest'). This is an interesting proposal and it is to be welcomed that the history of these diphthongs is considered in concert with the developments of the high vowels, but the author does not appear to engage with all the sources of potential evidence. In particular, the claim that historical diphthongs in items such as *daear* 'ground' became disyllabic sequences ([daear]; p. 78) appears to require treating them as exceptionally proparoxytonic: after all, we do know that stress rules tend to treat sequences with hiatus regularly (as evidenced by final stress in modern words that descend from hiatus sequences like *Cymráeg* 'Welsh language', *cyfléus* 'opportune'), so we would expect [daear] and the like to be stressed [daˈe(ː)ar] unless it was marked as exceptional, but it is not clear whether such exceptions would be tolerated. It would also seem that positing a disyllabic

[7]Thanks to Warren Maguire for discussion of this example.

sequence is not necessary to explain outcomes like *we* for *oe*: such 'syllabicity shifts' can happen with diphthongs too, witness examples like breaking in West and North Germanic: PGmc **gebō* 'gift', Old English *giefu*, *geofu* with various falling dipthongs, but Old Norse *gjǫf*, with no suggestion of disyllabicity at any point. (See also Band-Dijkstra 2015 for metrical issues with this analysis.)

In §16 the author provides a valuable discussion of the evidence for the rise of the so-called 'new quantity system', whereby there is a deterministic relationship between the length of stressed vowels and the quality of the following consonant, characteristic of the vast majority of modern Brythonic varieties, setting it within the context of developments discussed elsewhere in the book. The basic claim is that the establishment of this system in Welsh at least must be dated to a much later date than normally assumed, with the modern systems only taking shape in the 16th century. This is a very welcome discussion of a subject that has not received substantial attention in the literature. It is, however, rather difficult to follow, in particular because a key distinction – that between 'distinctiveness' and 'salience' (both of which can belong to either consonants or vowels at different stages) is nowhere explained in detail. This makes it difficult to evaluate the evidence for the changes involving consonant and vowel distinctiveness and salience listed on p. 84. The phonemic status of length in Welsh vowels is a subject that has attracted considerable attention from specialists in phonology (e.g. Thomas 1966; Wells 1979; Jones 1984; Iosad 2017), and a discussion of the criteria used to establish 'distinctiveness' would have been useful here.[8]

Evidence for the reduction of 'consonantal salience' in the Middle Welsh period comes from the erosion of the *trwm ac ysgafn* rhyming rule in unstressed final syllables, i.e. the appearance of admonitions to avoid rhymes such as *calon* (earlier *calonn*) : *afon*; this is tentatively dated to the 13th century. What is not made clear, however, is the exact relationship between the loss of the geminate-singleton distinction for sonorants in unstressed ultima and the status of the same distinction in stressed ultima (where it is preserved in all modern dialects) and in stressed penultima (where it is preserved in South Welsh). The discussion here suffers also from a lack of attention to the fact that whilst length is not *distinctive* in North Welsh penultima (i.e. pairs such as *cannu* 'bleach' : *canu* 'sing' are homophonous), the post-tonic *consonant* is normally realized with length (much as it is in South Welsh after short vowels in stressed penultima), hence [kanːɨ] rather than [kanɨ] (p. 91); see, for instance, Williams (1999); Webb (2011). The author rightly notes on p. 89 that consonant length 'tends to be ignored' in transcriptions, but his own inconsistent practice in this respect makes the evaluation of many claims more difficult.

An interesting question is raised by the author's description (p. 90) of references by historical linguists to a 'half-long' [ə] in words like *llydan*

[8]Relatedly, the author never explains the significance of transcriptions given in bold type; this is obviously meant to be different from both (narrow?) phonetic transcriptions given in square brackets and (presumably) taxonomic phonemic ones given in slanted brackets; however, the level of detail given in the bold-type representations differs across the book, and the representation of detail such as consonant length appears inconsistent.

'broad' as a 'surprising mistake': he insists that /ə/ in Welsh is 'never long'. However, this claim may need to be nuanced. It is of course true that /ə/ in Welsh does not have a phonologically long counterpart in the way that [ɪ] has a long counterpart [iː] with which it alternates. However, references to a half-long [əˑ] appearing in contexts where vowels are otherwise long can be found in descriptions produced by experienced dialect specialists such as Awbery (1986). That [ə] can indeed be somewhat longer in 'long' contexts such as those before voiced stops or sonorants appears plausible, given the widespread tendency for vowels to be longer before voiced consonants (e.g. Keating 1984). This can be illustrated in figure 2, which shows duration of [ə] in comparison with [i] in a corpus of acoustic data from 8 speakers of South Welsh. It demonstrates that, on average, [ə] before a voiceless stop is about as long as [ɪ] in the same context; but [ə] before a sonorant (where it is phonologically short) is appreciably longer than contrastively short [ɪ] before a sonorant, although not as long as a contrastively long [iː] in the same position. It is thus quite possible that descriptions referring to 'half-length' for [ə] at least in some positions are not as far off the mark as the author suggests. Moreover, the author also argues that /ə/ cannot be long because it is derived exclusively from unstressed vowels that cannot be long; and yet in §19 he proposes just such a scenario whereby medieval Welsh **ʊ*, deriving from short **u* in a stressed final syllable, is able to undergo lengthening and tensing to [uː] during the establishment of the modern quantity system (i.e. in words like *cŵn* 'dogs').

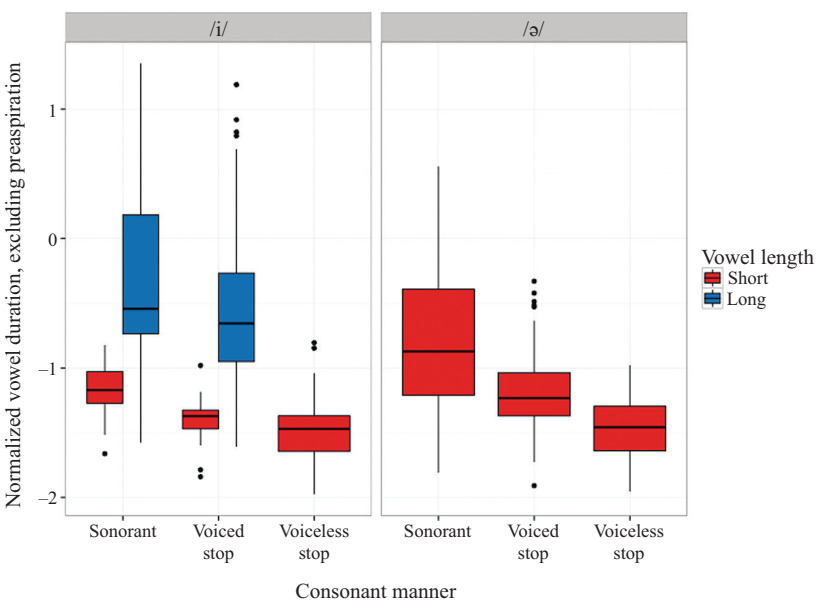


Fig. 2: Duration of [ə] and [i] in South Welsh.

Although most of the arguments are presented in an understandable manner, they are sometimes difficult to follow. This is not surprising given their often intricate nature, but it is not helped by numerous forward references or odd ordering choices: for instance, the author repeatedly refers to a 'fudged merger' (meaning a merger of two sounds whose outcome is some kind of phonetic compromise between the two), but only explains it in footnote 185 on p. 112 (of 128 pages of main matter). The presentation of posited sound changes would have benefited immensely if example items and historical derivations were given alongside the discussion in §17 rather than at the very end of that section and in §18. Similarly, the discussion of the typology of high vowels in §10 would have been much easier to follow if the proposed distinctions and symbols, which are collated in a straightforward table at the end of the section, had been presented upfront rather than introduced ad hoc as and when needed in the discussion. On the other hand, the final section (§20), which reiterates the main arguments and conclusions of the book, is very welcome, as are the appendices, in particular Appendix 1, which lists a large number of extant dialect descriptions together with the origin of the fieldworkers and (in the case of University of Wales dissertations) supervisors – this will be invaluable for anyone dealing with these sources.

The book is nicely typeset (even though it must have presented a formidable typographic challenge) and well edited, despite a small number of slips: for instance, on p. 4 Norwegian is given as the example of a language with backing of long low vowels (i.e. a distinction between /a/ and /ɑː/) – this seems to be a slip for Swedish, since in Norwegian both long and short *a* is generally [ɑ]; on p. 13 [gɨːra] is given as an example of [ɨ(ː)] for 'orthographic <i>' despite the spelling *geiriau*; on p. 94, the commentary on fig. 32 mentions the vowel /ɛː/, which is absent from that figure.

As the length of this review alone indicates, this is a highly original and thought-provoking book. The author is to be congratulated on raising a plethora of interesting questions, and the union of systematic descriptions of modern dialects with various kinds of written evidence, including manuscript spellings, metalinguistic comments, and borrowings between English and Welsh is surely the only correct approach to tackling important questions surrounding the phonological developments in the period between Old Welsh and the modern dialects, where numerous gaps still remain in our knowledge. I can also only endorse the author's call for more controlled, instrumental studies of Welsh dialects – especially now, with the advent of easily available technology and free, easy-to-use acoustic analysis software such as Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2016), the time is ripe for an updating and elaboration of the rich mine of traditional descriptive sources available for Welsh. In the meantime, scholars will do well to turn their attention to the many issues raised by this important contribution.

References

Awbery, Gwenllian M. 1986: *Pembrokeshire Welsh: A Phonological Study* (Llandysul).

Band-Dijkstra, Linus 2015: Review of Wmffre, *The Qualities and Origins of the Welsh Vowel [i]*, in *Kelten: Mededelingen van de stichting A. G. van Hamel* 67, 16–17.

Boersma, Paul & Weenink, David 2016: *Praat: Doing Phonetics by Computer.* http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat.

Bruce, Gösta 2010: *Vår fonetiska geografi: Om svenskans accenter, melodi och uttal* (Lund).

De Bhaldraithe, Tomás 1945: *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge, Co. Galway* (Dublin).

Haugen, Einar 1976: *The Scandinavian Languages: An Introduction to their History* (London).

Iosad, Pavel 2017: 'The phonologization of redundancy: Length and quality in Welsh vowels', *Phonology* 34(1), 121–62.

Jackson, Kenneth Hurlstone 1953: *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh).

Jackson, Kenneth Hurlstone 1967: *A Historical Phonology of Breton* (Dublin).

Jones, Glyn E. 1984: 'The distinctive vowels and consonants of Welsh', in Martin J. Ball and Glyn E. Jones (eds.), *Welsh Phonology: Selected Readings* (Cardiff), 40–64.

Keating, Patricia 1984: 'Phonetic and phonological representation of stop consonant voicing', *Language* 60(2), 286–319.

Keating, Patricia 1987: 'Acoustic study of Russian vowel allophones', *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 81, Supplement 1, S67–S68.

Kristoffersen, Gjert 2000: *The Phonology of Norwegian* (Oxford).

Ladd, D. Robert 2014: *Simultaneous Structure in Phonology* (Oxford). doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199670970.001.0001.

Mayr, Robert and Davies, Hannah 2011: 'A cross-dialectal acoustic study of the monophthongs and diphthongs of Welsh', *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 41(1), 1–25. doi: 10.1017/S0025100310000290.

McCone, Kim 1996: *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change* (Maynooth).

Ní Chiosáin, Máire and Padgett, Jaye 2012: 'An acoustic and perceptual study of Connemara Irish palatalization', *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 42(2), 171–91.

Padgett, Jaye 2001: 'Contrast dispersion and Russian palatalization', in Elizabeth V. Hume and Keith Johnson (eds.), *The Role of Speech Perception in Phonology* (San Diego),187–218.

Riad, Tomas 2014: *The Phonology of Swedish* (Oxford).

Schrijver, Peter 2011: 'Old British', in Elmar Ternes (ed.), *Brythonic Celtic: From Medieval British to Modern Breton*, Münchner Forschungen zur Historischen Sprachwissenschaft 11 (Bremen), 1–84.

Thomas, Alan R. 1966: 'Systems in Welsh phonology', *SC* 1, 93–127.

THOMAS, Alan R. (ed.) 2000: *The Welsh Dialect Survey* (Cardiff).
WAGNER, Heinrich 1958–69: *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* (Dublin).
WEBB, Kelly 2011: 'The realisation of stress in Welsh English', in *Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Hong Kong*, 2106–9.
WELLS, John C. 1979: 'Final voicing and vowel length in Welsh', *Phonetica* 36(4–5), 344–60.
WELLS, John C. 1982: *Accents of English*, vol. 1 (Cambridge).
WILLIAMS, Briony 1999: 'The phonetic manifestation of stress in Welsh', in Harry van der Hulst (ed.), *Word Prosodic Systems in the Languages of Europe*, Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 20 (Berlin), 311–54.

PAVEL IOSAD

University of Edinburgh

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.

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–).

 ©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

GPC Online	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, online ed. (www.geiriadur.ac.uk).
GMW	D. Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1964).
GOI	Rudolf Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin, 1946).
IEW	Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols (Bern, 1959–69).
IGT	Osborn Bergin (ed.), 'Irish Grammatical Tracts', supplements to *Ériu* 8 (1916), 9 (1921–3), 10 (1926–8), 14 (1946) and 17 (1955).
Ir.	Irish.
ISOS	*Irish Script on Screen* (www.isos.dias.ie).
ITS	Irish Texts Society.
JCHAS	*Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* (1892–).
JCS	*Journal of Celtic Studies*.
JRSAI	*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*.
LEIA	*Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (Dublin and Paris, 1959–).
LL	R. I. Best, O. Bergin, M. A. O'Brien and A. O'Sullivan (eds), *The Book of Leinster*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1954–83).
LModIr	Late Modern Irish.
LU	R. I. Best and O. Bergin (eds), *Lebor na hUidre/Book of the Dun Cow* (Dublin, 1929). Where necessary, the hands of the three scribes may be distinguished as *LU*(*A*), *LU*(*M*) and *LU*(*H*).
M	Middle (in combinations MIr, MW, MBr, MCo etc.).
MD	Edward Gwynn (ed.), *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, Todd Lecture Series 8–12 (Dublin, 1903–35).
Ml.	The Milan Glosses on the Psalms, Bibl. Ambr. C. 301, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), i, 7–483.
Mod.	Modern (in combinations ModIr, ModW, ModBr, ModCo etc.).
MV	Rudolf Thurneysen (ed.), 'Mittelirische Verlehren', *Irische Texte* III.1 (1891), 1–182.
NLI	National Library of Ireland.
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
NLW	National Library of Wales.
O	Old (in combinations OIr, OW, OBr, OCo etc.).
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy.*
PRIA	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.*
QUB	Queen's University Belfast.
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*.