



Provided by the author(s) and University of Galway in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite the published version when available.

Title	An edition of Cath Cairn Chonaill with full apparatus and translation, together with a detailed study of its literary and cultural context
Author(s)	Ó hIarlaithe, Aogán
Publication Date	2018-10-19
Publisher	NUI Galway
Item record	<a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10379/15002">http://hdl.handle.net/10379/15002</a>

Downloaded 2024-04-19T23:22:54Z

Some rights reserved. For more information, please see the item record link above.



**An edition of *Cath Cairn Chonaill* with full apparatus and translation, together with a detailed study of its literary and cultural context**

**By Aogán Ó hIarlaithe**

**Submitted for the degree of Ph.D.**

**Old and Middle Irish**

**School of Humanities**

**National University of Ireland, Galway**

**October 2018**

**Supervisor: Prof. Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha**

## **Contents**

Declaration	5
Summary	6
Abbreviations	7
Note on the different recensions and on the numbering of passages	9
Table of correspondences	10
Note on quotations	11
Acknowledgements	12
Introduction	13
Description of the manuscripts	14
Previous editions	16
Relationship of the manuscripts	18
Dating the verse	21
Possibly early Old Irish features of the language	22
Orthography	24
Hiatus	24
The article	24
The noun	26
The adjective	26
The pronoun	27
The verb	27
Metre	28
Assigning a date to the verse: linguistic and metrical criteria	31
Dating the prose: Recension 1	33
Hiatus	34
The article	34
The noun	35
The adjective	36

The pronoun	36
The verb	36
<i>nád vs nach</i>	38
The preposition	39
LU/YBL	39
Content	40
Conclusion	42
Dating the prose: Recension 2	42
The pronoun	43
The verb	43
The preposition	44
Conclusion	45
Editorial methods and choices	45
Editorial notes and presentation of Recensions 1a, 1b and 2	52
Text of Recension 1a	54
Translation of Recension 1a	55
Textual notes on Recension 1a	74
Recension 1b	122
Text of Recension 1b	124
Translation of Recension 1b	125
Textual notes on Recension 1b	146
Recension 2	171
Text of Recension 2	172
Translation of Recension 2	173
Textual notes on Recension 2	196

<i>Cath Cairn Chonaill</i> in the Annals and other sources	219
Introducing Sinech Cró	226
Biography of Sinech Cró	253
Sinech Cró's role in the text	265
Satire and <i>trefocal</i>	281
'Sinech Cró's verse'	286
The message of <i>Cath Cairn Chonaill</i>	296
Appendix I: transcript notes	305
Appendix II: transcript of <i>Cath Cairn Chonaill</i> from LL	308
Appendix III: transcript of <i>Cath Cairn Chonaill</i> from LU	314
Appendix IV: transcript of the fragment from YBL	321
Appendix V: transcript of <i>Cath Cairn Chonaill</i> from Eg	322
Glossaries	330
Bibliography	373

**Declaration**

I, Aogán Ó hIarlaithe, certify that the present thesis is all my own work and that I have not obtained a degree in the National University of Ireland, Galway, or elsewhere on the basis of any of this work.

---

14 October 2018

## **Summary**

The aim of my research has been to edit to modern standards the important Old and Middle Irish king-tale *Cath Cairn Chonaill*. The editorial work is accompanied by full transcripts of the manuscript witnesses on which it is founded, critical apparatus, detailed linguistic and critical analysis, textual annotation, and complete glossary and bibliography. An attempt has also been made to place the text in its appropriate historical, literary and cultural context.

## Abbreviations

*The following abbreviations refer specifically to the text being edited.*

- CCC *Cath Cairn Chonail.*
- Eg The text as it appears in MS Egerton 1782.
- LL The text as it appears in the Book of Leinster.
- LU The text as it appears in *Lebor na hUidre*.
- YBL The text as it appears in the Yellow Book of Lecan.

*The following abbreviations are also used.*

AC Murphy, Denis (ed.), (1896), *The Annals of Clonmacnoise, Being Annals of Ireland from the Earliest Period to A.D. 1408* (Dublin, reprinted Llanerch 1993).

ACC Stokes, Whitley (ed.), (1899), 'The Bodleian Amra Choluimb chille', in *Revue celtique* 20, 30–55, 132–183, 248–89, 400–37.

AFM O'Donovan, John (ed.), (1851), *Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616* (Dublin, second edition, reprinted 1990), 7 volumes.

AI Mac Airt, Seán (ed.), (1951), *The Annals of Inisfallen: MS. Rawlinson B. 503* (Dublin).

AL Atkinson, Robert, Hancock, W. N., Hennessy, W. M., O'Mahony, Thaddeus, and Richey, A. G. (ed.), (1865–1901), *Ancient Laws of Ireland* (Dublin), 6 volumes.

AT Stokes, Whitley (ed.), (1896), 'The Annals of Tigernach', in *Revue celtique* 17, 6–33, 119–263, 337–420.

AU Mac Airt, Seán, and Mac Niocaill, Gearóid (ed.), (1983), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)* (Dublin).

CIH Binchy, D. A. (ed.), (1978), *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin), 6 volumes.

CMCS *Cambridge/Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*.

CS Hennessy, W. M. (ed.), (1866), *Chronicum Scotorum* (London).

DIL *Dictionary of the Irish Language and Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin, 1913–76), consulted at [www.dil.ie](http://www.dil.ie).

EIF Kelly, Fergus, (1997), *Early Irish Farming* (Dublin).

- EIV McCone, Kim, (1997), *The Early Irish Verb: Revised Second Edition with Index Verborum* (Maynooth).
- FA<sup>2</sup> Radner, J. N. (ed.), (1978), *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (Dublin).
- GEIL Kelly, Fergus, (1988), *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin).
- GOI Thurneysen, Rudolf, (1946), *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin, reprinted 2010).
- MG Breatnach, Liam, (1994), 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', in Kim McCone, Damian McManus, Cathal Ó Háinle, Nicholas Williams and Liam Breatnach (ed.), *Stair na Gaeilge* (Maynooth), 221–333.
- MI. The Milan Glosses on the Psalms, Bibl. Ambr. C. 301, in Stokes and Strachan, (1901–3), i, 7–483.
- RC *Revue celtique*.
- Sg. Glosses on Priscian, Codex Sangallensis No. 904, in Stokes and Strachan, (1901–3), ii, 49–224.
- Wb. Glosses on the Pauline Epistles, Codex Paulinus Wirziburgensis, in Stokes and Strachan, (1901–3), i, 499–712.
- ZCP *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*.

### **Note on the different recensions and on the numbering of passages**

In order to begin immediately to read the editions, without having recourse first to the prefatory material, it is necessary to make some observations at the outset regarding the identification of different recensions and the numbering of passages within them. The following outline is rudimentary.

*Cath Cairn Chonaill* is prosimetrum. It basically survives in two recensions preserved in three MSS. What I term Recension 1a is constituted of the prose common to LL and LU and the verse common to LL, LU and Eg. I present Recension 1a in a near-diplomatic edition, based on the text in LL, with variants from LU and Eg in the apparatus. A marginal quatrain and marginal and interlinear glosses from LL also appear in the apparatus. Recensions 1b and 2 are similarly presented, based on the text in LU and Eg respectively. The former contains (linguistically later) material not found in LL, while the latter is a significantly reworked version of the saga. In both of these editions, MS marginalia and interlineation appear in the apparatus.

I have adhered to Stokes' (1901a) division of the text into paragraphs (relevant mainly to Recensions 1a and 1b). Where he employs arabic numerals, I have used roman. Stokes does not number the quatrains of verse, to which I have assigned arabic numerals. To facilitate comparison, correspondences are indicated between the numbering of passages in Stokes and in Recensions 1a and 1b, and between each of Recensions 1a, 1b and 2. A table of correspondences follows this note.

Where the translation of a line of verse is based on a superior reading from another MS, this is indicated in the edited text.

Unless otherwise stated, references to text and translation are to my edition and translation of Recension 1a.

### Table of correspondences

Note that, except for the replacement of arabic with roman numerals, my numbering of the passages of Recension 1b follows that in Stokes' edition (1901a). As §§iii, iv, xiii, xiv, xviii and xxviii of Recension 2 cannot be said to correspond to any of the passages in Recension 1, they do not appear in the following table.

Recension 1a	Recension 1b	Recension 2
§i	§i	§i
§ii	§ii	§ii
	§iii	
§iii	§iv	§v
§iv	§v	§vi
§v	§vi	§vii
§vi	§vii	§viii
§vii	§viii	§ix
§viii	§ix	§x
	§x	
	§xi	§xxix
	§xii	§xxx
	§xiii	§xxxii
	§xiv	
	§xv	§xxxiv
	§xvi	§xxxv
	§xvii	§xxxvii
	§xviii	§xxxviii
	§xix	§xxxvi
	§xx	
§ix	§xxi	§xi
§x	§xxii	§xv
§xi	§xxiii	§xvi

§xii	§xxiv	§xvii
§xiii	§xxv	
§xiv	§xxvi	§xix
§xv	§xxvii	§xx
§xvi	§xxviii	§xii
§xvii	§xxix	§xxi
§xviii	§xxx	§xxii
§xix	§xxxi	§xxiii
§xx	§xxxii	§xxiv
§xxi	§xxxiii	§xxv
§xxii	§xxxiv	§xxvi
§xxiii	§xxxv	§xxvii
	§xxxvi	
	§xxxvii	

### **Note on quotations**

All quotations from medieval texts are italicised and appear in the form in which they are found in the editions from which they are taken.

Other than the provision of a full stop at the end of a passage, I do not interfere editorially. Where the editor furnishes the text with a translation, I provide it. When I am responsible for the translation, I make it known.

## **Acknowledgements**

I salute LL's Hand F, LU's Hand H and Eg's Hand A, who must regrettably remain nameless, and honour their scholarship. Without their industry, there would be no text to edit.

I am deeply indebted to the Irish Research Council whose generous funding enabled me to undertake this project.

It was Prof. Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha who suggested *Cath Cairn Chonaill* as a suitable text to edit and who supervised my research. I gratefully acknowledge her scholarship and expert assistance, and thank her for her advice and encouragement throughout the period of research and writing. She made many corrections and helpful suggestions.

I wish to express my gratitude to the members of my Graduate Review Committee: Dr Jacopo Bisagni, Dr Clodagh Downey and Prof. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín. I benefited greatly from their assistance and advice.

I am very much obliged to the staff of the Hardiman Library, NUI Galway, who were always extremely helpful and courteous. Those in Special Collections, in particular, made it very easy for me to find what I was looking for.

Dr Colm Ó Cuaig and Dr Ken Ó Donnchú provided me with useful references, discussion and help with computing difficulties.

I thank my mother, Máire, for providing me with an environment in which I could devote myself fully to my research for long periods and for proofreading many drafts of the work.

The faults and shortcomings in this thesis are my sole responsibility.

## Introduction

The king-tale *Cath Cairn Chonaill* [hereafter CCC] purports to describe the cause of and aftermath to the battle of Carn Conaill, which occurred near Gort in Co. Galway in 649 (AU). It includes a number of sections in verse that are significantly older than its prose content, which itself contains different linguistic strata. The main protagonists in the battle are the famously generous king Gúaire, son of Colmán, of Uí Fhíachrach Aidni in Connacht (d. 663, AU), concerning whom there are extensive traditions, stretching down into the modern period, in both English and Irish, and the joint-king of Tara Díarmait, son of Áed Sláine, of Brega (d. 665, AU), who is a key figure in many medieval Irish texts. Their interaction with one another subsequent to the outcome of the battle is described in CCC, as well as the interface of secular and religious powers. There are many interesting motifs in the tale, for instance, that of an aggrieved (foster) mother goading her son to military conquest on her behalf, infrequent in Irish literature but common to other traditions. We are told the battle is directly precipitated by the Connachta's theft of Sinech Cró's cattle, Díarmait's erstwhile foster-mother. Sinech's name raises interesting questions about the nature of fosterage in early Irish society. If, as I argue, it derives from the word *sine* 'teat, pap', it may speak to a more widespread occurrence of wet-nursing in fosterage than has often been acknowledged. Gúaire's position as peacemaker and paragon of restraint is one that has garnered relatively little attention from scholars, though it is central to the text and enormously significant. Indeed, judging by the dearth of references in general to the tale in books, journals and articles published in the last hundred years, it appears that even specialists in medieval Irish are often only vaguely familiar with CCC. In short, the production of a modern edition of CCC is of value for literary scholars, historians of medieval Ireland, and readers with a general interest in Irish literature, given the iconic status of Gúaire.

## Description of the manuscripts

There are, to my knowledge, three independent copies of CCC, plus a fragment in a fourth manuscript.

1.

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1339 olim H. 2. 18 al. Book of Leinster (or *Lebor Laighech* for earlier *Lebor na Núachongbála*), facs. pp 276b–277b (hereafter LL). Vellum. Compiled between 1151 and 1224 (Best, 1954, xvii). Four main hands have been identified (designated A, F, T and U: O’Sullivan, 1966, 6–7). CCC was written by Hand F (see collation tables in O’Sullivan, 1966, between 30–1), that of either bishop Find of Kildare or (more probably) his scribe, and considered by O’Sullivan (*ibid.* 7) to be the finest of the hands: ‘[g]enerally F’s is a fine calligraphic hand showing a careful regard for the contrast of thick and thin strokes with good spacing, but not monumental or stiff. The scribe was perfectly at home in the style, exhibiting a wide measure of freedom and flexibility’. It is preceded in the MS by *Echtra Láegaire meic Crimthainn*<sup>1</sup> and succeeded by *Senchas Ailiúin Chobthaig*.<sup>2</sup> When transcribing, I accessed digital images on ISOS.<sup>3</sup>

2.

Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS 23 E 25 (1229) al. *Lebor na hUidre*, pp 115b–117b (hereafter LU). Three hands have traditionally been distinguished (designated A, M and H: Best, 1912, 163–5). The actual dating of these is a cause of some controversy. Best and Bergin (1929, xii–xiii) believe M to have been the Clonmacnoise scribe Máel Muire, killed by raiders in 1106. They were followed by Oskamp (1976, esp. 180). Ó Concheanainn (1974, 284–8), however, argues that the latest of the three scribes, the ‘homelist’ and ‘interpolator’ H, was in fact Máel

---

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Jackson (1942).

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Gwynn (1924, 304–9).

<sup>3</sup> Irish Script on Screen ([www.isos.dias.ie](http://www.isos.dias.ie)), funded by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Muire, meaning that A and M had necessarily done their part of the work at an earlier date than had previously been assumed. Mac Eoin (1994, 41), on the other hand, places H in the middle (or later part) of the twelfth century, meaning that he and Máel Muire could not possibly have been the same person, while Mac Gearailt (2012, esp. 302) agrees with Ó Concheanainn that M and H operated around the same time and that H was significantly the younger of the two, but argues that Máel Muire was not H. To complicate matters, it has been argued more recently that Hand H consists of six distinct hands (Duncan, 2015). If Duncan's findings are to be accepted,<sup>4</sup> our text is written entirely in the hand she designates H4 (see *ibid.* 51; the characteristic features of H4 are described *ibid.* 41–2). H's work in this instance, as often elsewhere, is interpolated *in rasura* (Mulchrone and FitzPatrick, 1943, 3376). It is preceded in the MS by *Síaburcharpat Con Culaind*,<sup>5</sup> with *Comthoth Lóegairi* following.<sup>6</sup> When transcribing, I accessed digital images on ISOS.

### 3.

London, British Library (formerly Museum), MS Egerton 1782, ff 59v–61r (hereafter Eg). A MS of tough and poor-quality vellum dated to 1517 (work possibly began in 1516 and may have continued into 1518). It is written in at least four hands (designated A, B, C and D), all scribes of the Ó Maolchonaire family. Our text is written in Hand A, that of the main scribe, a son of Seán mac Torna Uí Mhaoilchonaire. The majority of the MS was probably written in Clúain Plocáin in Co. Roscommon, but may have been started in Leinster (Flower, 1926, 259–62). Our text makes up part of *Mionannála*. Flower writes (*ibid.* 285) that these are written from the Leinster point of view and are ultimately derived 'from

---

<sup>4</sup> Her views were vigorously contested by Caoimhín Breatnach in a paper presented at the annual *Tionól* in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies on 18 November 2017 (titled 'Hand H in *Lebor na hUidre*: the case against a multiplicity of scribes').

<sup>5</sup> Edited by O'Beirne Crowe (1878).

<sup>6</sup> Edited by Stokes (1887, ii, 562–7).

the lost Annals of Cluain Eidhneach'. When transcribing, I accessed digital images of microfilm provided by the British Library to that of NUI, Galway.

4.

Dublin, Trinity College, 1318 olim H. 2. 16 al. Yellow Book of Lecan, col. 795 (extract) (hereafter YBL). Vellum. Edward Lhuyd toured Ireland in 1699–1700, in which time he 'collected the main body of his Irish manuscripts' (O'Sullivan and O'Sullivan, 1962, 61). He had several of these bound together to form a *codex* now known as the Yellow Book of Lecan. Columns 370–400 of this collection, inscribed by one Ciothruadh mac Taidhg Ruaidh [Mac Fhirbhisigh], have come to be known as the 'Yellow Book of Lecan proper', and originally belonged to the same MS as columns 573–958 (O'Sullivan, 1981, 177), among which our fragment is found. Columns 573–958 were 'mostly written by Giolla Íosa Mac Fhirbhisigh' (ibid. 179). He operated as poet and historian to Ó Dubhda of Tír Fhiachrach (Co. Sligo) in the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries (Ó Concheanainn, 1974, 157). The fragment is preceded in the MS by *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin*<sup>7</sup> and followed by a story about Gúaire and Colmán (patron saint of Kilmacduagh), telling how *Bóthar na Mías* got its name<sup>8</sup> (Abbott and Gwynn, 1921, 105). When transcribing, I accessed digital images on ISOS.

### Previous editions

The diplomatic edition of LL is found in Best and O'Brien (1967, 1214–7). LU is found in diplomatic form in Best and Bergin (1929, 288–92).

Two further modern editions exist. The more often referenced is Stokes (1901a). He bases his edition on LU, providing some of the

---

<sup>7</sup> Edited by Binchy (1963).

<sup>8</sup> Edited by O'Keefe (1904).

variant readings from the other MSS. Discussion of the language is minimal and there is no treatment of the relationship of the MSS or of editorial method. Stokes, as well as several other notable scholars of his generation, produced an astonishing number of editions. Possessed of ‘a justifiable desire to make as many viable texts accompanied by reliable translations as possible available to a wider audience of scholars and enthusiasts, editors of early medieval Irish texts were by and large hardly in a position to apply the rigorous tenets of textual criticism developed around the middle of the nineteenth century by classical philologists such as Karl Lachmann’ (McCone, 1996a, 27, §4.3). Prior to Stokes’ edition, Eg was edited by O’Grady (1892, i, 396–401, trans. ii, 431–7). O’Grady provided no discussion and left most of the verse untranslated.

There is an intriguing reference to another edition in a supplement to O’Donovan (1844), the final page of which contains ‘publications suggested or in progress’. One of these (§VIII) claims Eugene O’Curry was preparing an edition of CCC with translation and notes. Any work he might have done to this end potentially holds the key to some of the cruxes which have eluded my attempts at elucidation. Unfortunately, I discovered this reference at an advanced stage of research and have not yet had time to pursue it.

Séathrún Céitinn drew on CCC in *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*. An account similar to the saga as presented in Recension 2 is edited and translated in Dinneen (1908, 58–65). Versions of the anecdote found in LU, Eg and YBL, involving Gúaire in the church in Inis Celtra with Caimmíne and Cuimmíne (ibid. 68–71 = Recension 1b, §§xi–xx), and the episode in LU recounting the Munster casualties and Díarmait’s eventual burial at Clonmacnoise (ibid. 134–7 = Recension 1b, §§iii–iv) also occur. These do not feature in the discussion of CCC which follows.

## Relationship of the manuscripts<sup>9</sup>

In discussing the relationship of the manuscripts, the verse may usefully be treated in isolation from the prose. While Eg contains what amounts to a different prosal recension from that in LL/LU, its poetry clearly belongs to the same tradition.

Where there are significant points of divergence between LL and LU, Eg tends either to follow the former or to provide a clearly inferior divergent reading. When in agreement against LU, LL/Eg usually give the superior reading.<sup>10</sup> The following examples may be noted. For reasons explained in the textual notes, I consider the reading common to LL/Eg superior to that of LU in the ratio 19:5. The MS readings are provided, preceded by quatrain number to facilitate location in the editions:

<b>LL</b>	<b>Eg</b>	<b>LU</b>
<b>1b</b> <i>uamain</i>	<b>1b</b> <i>uamain</i>	<b>1b</b> <i>úamun</i>
<b>2a</b> <i>leic do</i>	<b>2a</b> <i>lec do</i>	<b>2a</b> <i>leic de</i>
<b>2a</b> <i>naraid</i>	<b>2a</b> <i>naraid</i>	<b>2a</b> <i>mairid</i>
<b>2b</b> <i>nirradais</i>	<b>2b</b> <i>irradais</i>	<b>2b</b> <i>nífiridis</i>
<b>2c</b> <i>choirm</i>	<b>2c</b> <i>coirm</i>	<b>2c</b> <i>cóir</i>
<b>2d</b> <i>dothaideba</i>	<b>2d</b> <i>dotoideba</i>	<b>2d</b> <i>dotathlebá</i>
<b>3a</b> <i>asberthe</i>	<b>3a</b> <i>asberti</i>	<b>3a</b> <i>atberthe</i>
<b>3b</b> <i>aáne</i>	<b>3b</b> <i>aáine</i>	<b>3b</b> <i>anáire</i>
<b>5a</b> <i>móir</i>	<b>5a</b> <i>móir</i>	<b>5a</b> <i>móra</i>
<b>6c</b> <i>bidit</i>	<b>7c</b> <i>bidat</i>	<b>6c</b> <i>biat</i>
<b>6d</b> <i>clerchen</i>	<b>7d</b> <i>clerchen</i>	<b>6d</b> <i>cléirchin</i>
<b>7b</b> <i>úaire</i>	<b>8b</b> <i>úaire</i>	<b>7b</b> <i>na óenuáire</i>
<b>8b</b> <i>écad</i>	<b>9b</b> <i>écad</i>	<b>8b</b> <i>feccad</i>

<sup>9</sup> Ó Concheanainn (1984) argued for the direct derivation of CCC in LL from LU. His arguments in this regard cannot now be supported: see pp 33, 34, 103–4 below.

<sup>10</sup> Doran (2013, 348, n. 12) treats ‘superior readings’ as ‘those which conform most regularly to the proposed date for the rest of the text’. I also include metrically superior readings and those readings which appear to me to make better sense. Admittedly, this final category is highly subjective.

<b>9c</b> <i>inbroga</i>	<b>10c</b> <i>inbrogha</i>	<b>9c</b> <i>moroga</i>
<b>12b</b> <i>ndendgorm</i>	<b>13b</b> <i>dhendghorm</i>	<b>12b</b> <i>ndedguirm</i>
<b>14b</b> <i>fianna</i>	<b>15b</b> <i>fianno</i>	<b>14b</b> <i>fanna</i>
<b>14c</b> <i>decmaing</i>	<b>15c</b> <i>decmuing</i>	<b>14c</b> <i>decmait</i>
<b>15a</b> <i>rosernatar</i>	<b>16a</b> <i>rosernathar</i>	<b>15a</b> <i>dosernatar</i>
<b>15c</b> <i>dias</i>	<b>16c</b> <i>días</i>	<b>15c</b> <i>cétní</i>
<b>15c</b> <i>cíta ric</i>	<b>16c</b> <i>cetarig</i>	<b>15c</b> <i>and arric</i>
<b>15d</b> <i>om.</i>	<b>16d</b> <i>om.</i>	<b>15d</b> <i>agai</i>
<b>15d</b> <i>7diarmait</i>	<b>16d</b> <i>ocus diarmait</i>	<b>15d</b> <i>ladiarmait</i>
<b>16b</b> <i>darís</i>	<b>17b</b> <i>darís</i>	<b>16b</b> <i>dareis</i>
<b>17b</b> <i>sinich</i>	<b>18b</b> <i>sinich</i>	<b>17b</b> <i>Sinech</i>

The reading common to LL/LU is superior to that of Eg in the ratio 11:2:

<b>LL</b>	<b>LU</b>	<b>Eg</b>
<b>3c</b> <i>immide</i>	<b>3c</b> <i>immide</i>	<b>3c</b> <i>gunállí</i>
<b>5b</b> <i>cogrip</i>	<b>5b</b> <i>cogrip</i>	<b>5b</b> <i>ogrip</i>
<b>6b</b> <i>findne fri findne</i>	<b>6b</b> <i>finne fri finne</i>	<b>7b</b> <i>indnae fri hindnae</i>
<b>7a</b> <i>iar réir</i>	<b>7a</b> <i>iar réir</i>	<b>8a</b> <i>om.</i>
<b>7c</b> <i>fo chiunu</i>	<b>7c</b> <i>fo chinu</i>	<b>8c</b> <i>fonatriuna</i>
<b>13d</b> <i>frisacarbaic</i>	<b>13d</b> <i>frisacarbaic</i>	<b>14d</b> <i>gansacarbig</i>
<b>15c</b> <i>isí</i>	<b>15c</b> <i>isí</i>	<b>16c</b> <i>isiat</i>
<b>15d</b> <i>gabair</i>	<b>15d</b> <i>gabair</i>	<b>16d</b> <i>ghabar</i>
<b>16a</b> <i>adnuu</i>	<b>16a</b> <i>adnuu</i>	<b>17a</b> <i>atnuu</i>
<b>16b</b> <i>sinich</i>	<b>16b</b> <i>sinich</i>	<b>17b</b> <i>sínech</i>
<b>16b</b> <i>cocruu</i>	<b>16b</b> <i>cocruu</i>	<b>17b</b> <i>comcruu</i>
<b>17a</b> <i>adnuu</i>	<b>17a</b> <i>adnuu</i>	<b>18a</b> <i>atnuu</i>
<b>17c</b> <i>imochaid</i>	<b>17c</b> <i>imochaid</i>	<b>18c</b> <i>imfochaid</i>

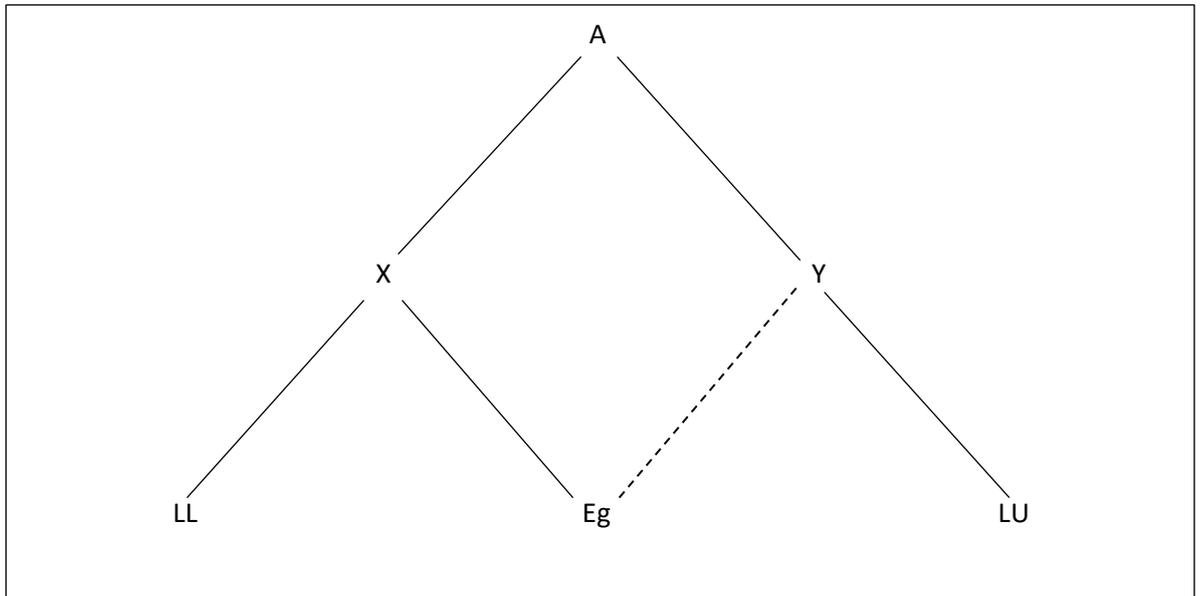
The reading common to LU/Eg is superior to that of LL in the ratio 2:2:

LU	Eg	LL
<b>6d</b> <i>fris tarlais</i>	<b>7d</b> <i>fristarluis</i>	<b>6d</b> <i>fritarlais</i>
<b>14c</b> <i>casal</i>	<b>15c</b> <i>casal</i>	<b>14c</b> <i>caisel</i>
<b>16c</b> <i>nocos</i>	<b>17c</b> <i>nochus</i>	<b>16c</b> <i>nicos</i>
<b>16c</b> <i>fáicebad</i>	<b>17c</b> <i>fuigeba</i>	<b>16c</b> <i>faicéb</i>

The evidence thus presented suggests a close relationship between LL and Eg. The validity of this suggestion is strengthened by the presence of errors common to both MSS in **qq 2d** and **7b**; Eg's variant *gunálli* in **q. 3c**, which appears to be related to the gloss *nó conaill* found at the same point in LL; and the incorporation of what appears as a marginal quatrain in LL, together with both of its accompanying glosses, in the body of the text in Eg (where I number it **q. 6**). Most of the significant differences between LL and Eg may be readily explained as scribal innovation or error. LL/Eg, therefore, represent one branch of the stemma.

Noteworthy in Eg's **q. 6** is the old relative form of the *ī*-preterite (*fiche*), where LL's marginal quatrain has *feras*. In the prose of Recension 2 **§xxvi**, we find an unaugmented *t*-preterite in *at·racht*. At this point in Recension 1a (**§xxii**) and Recension 1b (**§xxxiv**), we find augmented *at·raracht*, where the augment appears to be non-resultative. These two forms, arguably earlier than the corresponding ones in LL, suggest that Eg was not copied from LL.

We will see that some of the LU-only prose, which is later than the prose common to LL and LU, has been adapted by the redactor of the Eg recension. The redactor of Eg (or its exemplar), therefore, appears to have had access to a source from the branch represented by LU. In the following stemma, A represents the archetype:



### Dating the verse

I have assigned arabic numerals to the quatrains of verse to distinguish them from the prose (the passages of which are numbered in roman). LL contains seventeen quatrains in the body of the text, plus a marginal one to which I do not assign a number. As well as two others in a margin, LU contains eighteen quatrains in the body of the text. Of these, **qq 1–17** correspond to the quatrains in LL. I argue that **q. 18** is a late addition (see pp 165–6: neither it nor the aforementioned marginal quatrains will feature in the discussion of the date of the verse which follows). Eg contains eighteen quatrains, which include the seventeen common to LL/LU, as well as a version of LL’s marginal quatrain incorporated in the body of the text. The numbering of quatrains in LL/LU on the one hand and Eg on the other differs after **q. 5**. In the following discussion, references are to the quatrain numbers as employed in Recension 1a/1b.

The quatrains numbered **1–5**, **9–15** and **17** are in the voice of Sinech Cró, while **q. 16** is addressed by Gúaire to her. Regarding style and substance, these fourteen quatrains appear likely to be the work of a single author, an assertion which *may* also be supported by linguistic

dating. In the following examination, I treat them separately from the rest of the verse. When ‘Sinech Cró’s verse’ or ‘Sinech’s verse’ is referred to, therefore, it signifies **qq 1–5** and **9–17**. This is not to say that Sinech is necessarily a historical figure or that she composed the verse: it is in her capacity as their fictive author that I refer to the quatrains in question as Sinech’s. Of **qq 6–8**, the first is in Caimmíne’s voice, the second apparently in the voice of the narrator, and the third in Gúaire’s. These comprise the miscellaneous others I refer to as ‘the rest of the verse’ and which I distinguish from Sinech’s.

Examples provided in the analysis which follows are mostly based on what I deem to be the superior readings, without reference to the variants discussed in the textual notes: e.g. in **q. 2c**, I argue that LL/Eg’s *c(h)oirim* is to be preferred to LU’s *cóir* (for earlier *coïr*). LU’s reading in this instance, therefore, does not feature in the discussion of hiatus. Of course, had LU’s reading been preferred, metrical requirements would entail reading it as an instance of contraction, which would necessarily have entered into the discussion of hiatus.

### **Possibly early Old Irish features of the language**

(a) Genitive singular of u- and i-stems in *-o*.

Examples, confirmed by rhyme, recur throughout the verse. Byrne (1980, 118) finds such rhymes to provide ‘valuable evidence of early date’, while Stifter (2013, 177, §1.4) says ‘the positive presence of etymologically correct *-o* in the manuscript tradition, even in a single witness against all others, should be taken seriously’. McCone (1996b, 142) suggests *-o* merged with *-a* in this position in the early eighth century (idem. 1985b, 87). However, instances of trisyllabic genitive singular forms of u- and i-stems in *-o* rhyming with monosyllables in *-ō* occur in the poems of Blathmac (*circa* 750–70: see Carney, 1964, xix).

It may be noted that conservative forms of personal/place names in final unstressed *-o* have a longer currency than those of

common nouns (see Ó Máille, 1910, 68, §78). Rhymes in *-o* in ‘Sinech’s verse’ are forms of *Díarmait*, *Fergus* and *rúanaid*. As the last-mentioned noun frequently occurs as an adjective in *Díarmait Rúanaid*, it may perhaps constitute a proper noun in the verse in our text.

(b) Initial *mr-* for *br-*.

It is argued on p. 162 that *in broga* (**q. 9c**) represents original *in mrogo*. Based solely on evidence from AU, Ó Máille (1910, 95–6, §103) assigns the period of transition of *mr>mbr>br* to the period 729–834. Stifter (2013, 181–2, §1.10) posits no change in the status of initial *mr-* until, at the earliest, 750.

(c) Final *-th* for *-d*.

In **q. 1d**, LU/Eg have *du(i)nebath* for LL’s *duinebad* (: *cath*). According to Kelly (1973, 2, §4), historical *-th* in unstressed final position had usually become *-d* by the time of the Glosses. Against this, however, Quin (1982, 165) states ‘older *-th* for the usual *-d* is by no means infrequent in the Würzburg glosses’. Stifter (2013, 173, §1.1a) writes ‘while it is almost certain that the change in the *spoken* language had been carried through at the beginning of the 8th century, for almost the first two generations during the century it is hard to be certain as to which of the two spellings should be regarded as the *orthographic* norm, and even thereafter authors apparently had the choice’. Neither can we be certain whether the archetype was likely to have contained *duinebath* or *duinebad*, the exigencies of rhyme providing no guidance here as *th* (a voiceless continuant) and *d* (a voiced continuant) are regularly capable of rhyming in the Old Irish period (Murphy, 1961, 33).

(d) Early disyllabic forms of several adjectives and substantives.

We find accusative plural *biü* in **q. 16c**, dative singular *luü* in **16d**, dative singular *nuü* in **17d** (the citational forms in DIL of the words in question are *beó*, *lúa* and *núa*, respectively).

## Orthography

The orthography coincides, in the main, with what one would expect of an Old Irish text. It may be observed that lenited *f* is omitted once in ‘Sinech’s verse’ (*im(f)ochaid*, **q. 17c**). Confusion of *nn* and *nd* is common throughout. This may readily be explained as scribal.

## Hiatus

In ‘Sinech’s verse’, hiatus is well evidenced in both the nominal (*diäs*, **q. 15c**; *cruü*, **16b, 17b**; *biü*, **16c**; *luü*, **16d**; *nuü*, **17d**) and verbal systems (*cluäs*, **q. 12c**; *at·nuü*, **16a, 17a**; *ata·biü*, **16d**), with no instance of contraction. Stifter (2015, 73) notes hiatus is better preserved in verbal forms than in nouns in the poems of Blathmac, suggesting that ‘to provide the language with a more archaic look, Carney put in more hiatuses [...] in his edition than a philological assessment would warrant’. Carney (1983, 194–5) highlights evidence of contraction of hiatus from *circa* 700 (McCone (1985b, 88) cites the Glosses in support of the view that contraction was underway in the eighth century) until its virtual disappearance around the turn of the eleventh century, while pointing to instances of the employment of contracted forms line-internally, side by side with hiatus forms at the end of lines as required by the metre. Greene (1976, 43) is largely in agreement with Carney’s findings, concluding that the most which may be said on the date of the reduction of hiatus is that by the time *Saltair na Rann* was composed (tenth century), all Irish hiatus words had alternative contracted forms.

## The article

The forms of the article in ‘Sinech’s verse’ are mostly unremarkable. Nominative singular *in cath* occurs in **q. 2b**. It is argued on pp 77–8 that *cath* is neuter in the earliest stratum of our text. If so, *in cath* is an innovation for earlier *a cath*.

There are two instances of the article in the rest of the verse: a monosyllabic form of the genitive singular feminine occurs in **q. 7b** (*na óenúaire*) and a disyllable in the accusative plural masculine in **7d** (*inna tríunu*). Both usages are metrically guaranteed, the choice between monosyllabic and disyllabic forms presumably determined by metrical considerations. Carney notes *inna* is always found in the Irish Gospel of Thomas (*circa* 700), while in Blathmac's poetry *na* is the usual form (*circa* 750–70). Elsewhere, he charts the decline of the disyllabic form from exclusive use in the seventh century to disappearance around 900 (Carney, 1983, 199). Stifter, however, is preparing for publication a study of forms of the article in the Glosses in which he calls into question the validity of using the presence or absence of *inna* as a dating criterion. He finds that, even in Early Old Irish, poets were capable of using monosyllabic and disyllabic forms interchangeably as required by the metre (see Stifter, 2015, 76–7). In this quatrain, we may have just such an example, within the same stanza, of the expedient use of variant forms of the article.

Compared with the two examples of the article in the three quatrains which make up the rest of the verse, it is noteworthy that there are only three examples in the fourteen quatrains which make up 'Sinech's verse'. Kelly (1976, xxxiii), citing observations made by Binchy, notes the near absence of the article in *Audacht Morainn* as a probable sign of antiquity (see, also, Hull, 1968, 51, where the omission of the definite article is considered an archaism associated with early texts). Binchy (1966, 4, §3) bases his observations on the legal text *Bretha Déin Chécht*, on non-legal 'rhetorics' and on older fragments of *Bretha Nemed*, pointing also to its absence in the earliest Welsh poetry, while conceding that a more exhaustive consideration of the evidence is a desideratum. However, Stifter (2013, 193, n. 12) discounts the idea that article-omission is an archaic feature. Showing that the article's presence in the language is ancient, he argues that 'its absence in

archaic style is due to conscious suppression, maybe in imitation of Latin'. His observations do not necessarily compel us to reject article-omission as a dating criterion, as it appears to remain the case that it is a stylistic device employed in texts of a certain vintage. It may also be noted that the definite article is often omitted from early-coined place names (see Mac Gabhann, 2011, 139–40).

### **The noun**

The historically neuter nouns appearing in 'Sinech's verse' are mostly ambiguous as to gender, with no clear examples of an old neuter having taken on masculine or feminine inflection. On the other hand, we find the nominative plural in *-a* of neuter o-stem *crann*, metrically confirmed, in **q. 14b**. When plurality is not indicated by the article, pronominals or numerals, the 'long form' is regular in standard Old Irish (see GOI, §278). Also in **14b**, neuter gender is preserved in the non-palatal final in the accusative singular of s-stem *leth*, and in that of the (arguably) vocative singular of o-stem *duinebath* in **q. 1d**.

U-colouration is usually found where expected: *for crund* (**q. 14d**), *a durn* (**14d**), *i tossuch* (**15b**), none of which is confirmed by rhyme. In **q. 4c**, all MSS agree in providing dative singular *cinn*: while u-colouration is not orthographically expressed here, the reading is at least formally distinct from the nominative/accusative singular (*cenn*). McCone (1985b, 87) notes that u-colouration is well attested in Wb. and often absent in Ml.

### **The adjective**

In 'Sinech's verse', there are three instances of the nominative plural masculine of o/ā-stem adjectives with palatal final (**qq 5a (x 2), 15a**). This is the form which predominates in the Glosses, where there are only three examples of the innovatory nominative plural masculine in

-a (one of which is found in Wb.: see GOI, §351). In **q. 17d**, there is an adverb formed from the independent dative singular of an adjective (*nuü*), a means of forming adverbs that is almost obsolete by the Middle Irish period (see MG, §9.1).

### The pronoun

In ‘Sinech’s verse’, there is one example of a suffixed pronoun (*táthut*, **q. 9b**). The only example of an independent personal pronoun occurs as predicate of the copula (*is í diäs*, **q. 15c**). Otherwise, we find four examples of Class A infixes (*fon·fodair*, **q. 1b**; *na·ráid*, **2a**; *dot·aidleba*, **2d**; *nícos·fáiceb*, **16c**), three of Class B (*at·nuü*, **qq 16a, 17a**; *ata·biü* **16d**), and one of Class C (*náchid·fitir*, **q. 17d**). Usage in all cases is as one would expect in standard Old Irish.

In the rest of the verse, there are two examples of Class A infixes (*rom·buí·se*, **q. 8c**; *dom·bert*, **8d**).

### The verb

Independent forms of historically compound verbs appear in deuterotonic position throughout ‘Sinech’s verse’, with no evidence of transition to simplex.

The old present indicative 1sg. ending is preserved in *at·nuü* (**qq 16a, 17a**). We find the ē-future (*nícos·fáiceb*, **q. 16c**), i-future (*ata·biü*, **16d**), and s-subjunctive (*co·tí*, **5b, 5d**; *do·té*, **9c**; *dá·rís*, **16b**).

There are no examples of the unaugmented preterite in ‘Sinech’s verse’. I am inclined to agree with Mac Eoin’s (1989, 170) observation that ‘the forms with *ro-* appear to be true perfects’ (*ro·chacc*, **q. 11b**; *ro·lá*, **11c**). It is, of course, difficult to tell whether a preterite or a perfect was intended when augmentation occurs in early texts. As Quin (1974, 45) observes, in another context, when interpreting doubtful

verbal forms ‘much depends on one’s assessment of the context and what one considers to be the most appropriate translation’.

The perfective present is found in **qq 12a, 13a** and **15a**. This feature of the language was largely moribund by the Middle Irish period (EIV, 183–5, §4.1: see the note on p. 112 below).

The only example of a deponent verb has no diagnostic value as it retains deponent inflection to the present day (*náchit·fitir*, **q. 17d**).

Deuterotonic forms of compound verbs are likewise found in the rest of the verse. An old 1sg. ending in a deponent verb occurs (*at·lochur*, **q. 8a**). We find examples of the unaugmented t-preterite (*do·arbart*, **7a**; *dom·bert*, **8d**); a ‘true perfect’ in *fris·tarlais* (**9d**); and the preterite passive *i·n·étad* (**8a** > *i·n·étas*).

### **Metre**

Carney considered certain metrical features characteristic of early verse. While the dates he assigns to poetry are often not accepted, usually considered too early, his grouping together of samples of early verse in sections arranged in chronological order remains useful. He states one can find in his list ‘a credible progression in linguistic development from the beginning to the end’, presenting this list as ‘an instrument [...] that can help us to assess the dates of other compositions’ (Carney, 1983, 177–82). I focus here on the metrical features Carney deems characteristic of early poetry, as well as some others identified elsewhere. These belong to a time before the emergence of the rigidity which would characterise *dán díreach*. In this earlier period, ‘[f]or five centuries or more Irish poets followed in a general way certain trends without evolving a rigid system’ (Ó Cuív, 1966, 95).

Carney (1983, 196–7) associates the rhyming of monosyllables in *-ō* with the genitive singular of *i-* and *u-*stems in *-o* with the earliest

*deibide* and considers it ‘definitive of date’. *Deibide* rhymes of the type  $7^x7^{x+2}$  are ‘not permissible’ in later verse (O’Brien, 1952, 158–9; Thurneysen highlights the preponderance of  $7^17^3$  couplets in *deibide* in Ml.: see Murphy, 1961, 66; they also appear in early Middle Irish: see Breatnach, 2008, 6–7). Such rhymes abound in our text and are not confined to the genitive singular of i- and u-stems. Note examples in **qq 1cd** (*cath : duinebath*), **2cd** (*·tá : ·aidleba*), **4ab** (*bó : Fergusso*), **5cd** (*bó : Díarmato*), **10ab**, **11cd** (*bó : rúanado*), **12ab**, **13ab**, **14cd** (*cró : (n)Díarmato*), **13cd** (*Grip : sacarbaic*), **15ab** (*bic : imairic*). In total there are eleven such rhyming pairs in the eleven quatrains of ‘Sinech’s verse’ which are in *deibide*.<sup>11</sup>

In rhymes of the type *mállchobair : fòdair* (**q. 1ab**; the stress has been marked with a *grave* accent while the rhyming portions are in boldface), we see that the *airdrinn* rhyme occurs in the first line of the couplet and the *rinn* rhyme in the second. In his 1983 article, Carney does not treat of this particular type of rhyme. Meyer (1914a, 10–1) says it is ‘well known’ that in *deibide* the shorter ‘rhyme-word must always stand in the first verse of the couplet’. He shows, however, that ‘the stricter rules of metrical composition were not developed all at once; and in the older poetry there are numerous instances to show that greater liberty and licence prevailed’. He enumerates several examples, ‘which would not have been tolerated at a later period’, of *deibide* couplets’ short rhyming word in their second line, among which are these lines from CCC. This feature reoccurs in **qq 9ab** (*timchride : dé*) and **14ab** (*immasech : leth*). Note that in these last two pairs, both of the two features just discussed are found (i.e. the *airdrinn* rhyme in the first line of the couplet, with the pattern  $7^{x+2}7^x$ ). It remains to point out that Thurneysen (1917, 38) suggests separating *mállchobair* into its component elements for the sake of the metre (giving the rhyme

---

<sup>11</sup> Of Sinech’s verse, **qq 1–2**, **4–5** and **9–15** are in *deibide* metre. **Q. 16** is in *rannaigeacht chetharchubaid gairit recomarcach* (see Murphy, 1961, 55, §24), while **q. 17** is in *aí freisligi bec* (see *ibid.* 63, §56). **Q. 3** appears to be in a form of *rannaigeacht*: see pp 89–90 below.

*còbair : fòdair*), a requirement he says is not infrequent in poetry. If Thurneysen is correct in this, we may include this rhyme in the feature discussed next.

Rhyming words of equal syllabic length are, according to Carney, 'common in the oldest *deibide*, and [are], generally speaking, a sign of age' (1964, 114, n. 26; Blathmac does not employ such rhymes). Breatnach (2008, 6–7) considers 'full rhyme' still to be 'appropriate to' 'MidIr versification'; in a poem he deems early Middle Irish, there are twelve examples of full rhyme in 41 quatrains. In 'Sinech's verse', we find one such rhyme (isosyllabic *bic : nGrip*, **q. 5ab**). Another is found in the rest of the verse (*aile : Maire*, **q. 8cd**). Note the isosyllabic rhyme mentioned here occurs in the first couplet of its quatrain, where such a rhyme might be expected to be found in the 'older form' of *deibide* (O'Brien, 1955, 36).

Carney (1983, 194) describes *féigi : Brígi* as 'an incomplete rhyme of a type only found in very early material'. He has 'no hesitation' in dating the poem in question (*Ní car Brigit buadach bith*) to the middle or second half of the seventh century (ibid. 190; McCone (1985a, 34), however, states it may be eighth century). We might compare the 'incomplete' rhymes *brogo : rúanado* (**q. 9cd**), *feit : Díarmait* (**10cd**), *Grip : sacarbaic* (**13cd**), and *·ric : Díarmait* (**15cd**) in 'Sinech's verse'. Of these, **10cd** and **15cd** correspond to the type *fir : galair* found in the poems of Blathmac, of which Carney (1964, xxxii) says '[w]hen a rhyme is sought for a monosyllable consisting of consonant(s) + vowel + consonant(s) there is concern only for the quality of the final consonant' (see, also, Meyer, 1909a, 9: in '*deibide* there is greater freedom of rhyme, amounting sometimes to mere consonance'). Perhaps the rhymes in **qq 9cd** and **13cd** may be compared with this (Boyle and Breatnach (2015, 46, §3c) have disavowed Dillon's (1962, 117, n. 1) view that a pair such as *nglan : Mílead* 'makes a bad rhyme').

In summary, examples of the following early metrical features are found in the verse: the rhyming pattern  $7^x7^{x+2}$ ; the location of the *airdrinn* rhyme in the first line of a couplet; rhyming words of equal syllabic length; a range of ‘incomplete’ rhymes.

### **Assigning a date to the verse: linguistic and metrical criteria**

A range of progressive forms is found in the Glosses (see McCone, 1985b). McCone’s treatment of such forms as early instances of Middle Irish is controversial (see, for example, Breatnach, 2015, 53).

Progressive forms are explained by McCone (1985b, 87) as reflective of speech, the predominating conservative or ‘correct’ forms reflecting a literary standard with which the scribes were intimately familiar.

Where the expected Old Irish quality of vowels in unstressed final syllables is not found, for example, he postulates an accidental lapse into the everyday spoken language.

Most of the verse in CCC consists of *deibide*, a metre preferred by churchmen, according to Carney (1983, 198), ‘because it was easy to write, and a useful mnemonic in teaching [while the] high-class literary men [...] seem to have despised it’. He also finds the latter group ‘disliked vowel rhymes, and used them as little as possible’. By these standards, combined with a general paucity of ornamentation, we can only conclude that most of the verse in CCC was not composed by a sophisticated poet. One recalls Carney’s analysis (1964, xv) of Blathmac’s poetry as written in ‘a simple unpretentious *deibide*, obviously intended for a popular audience’. In such circumstances, one hardly expects excessively rigid adherence to a high-register literary standard, which may have been utilised for a more learned audience, to have been a desideratum of the composer.

The scarcity of ‘progressive forms’, therefore, or ‘sporadic solecisms [...] due to a writer’s mastery of the literary norms rather than to their absence from contemporary speech’ (McCone, 1985b, 86), may

well be a relatively accurate reflection of the spoken language current at the time the archetype was composed. We have seen that the verse is replete with early metrical features. Also, the language is consistently conservative in its features: unstressed final vowels are distinguished; hiatus disyllables are not reduced; neuter gender is evidenced; the nominative plural masculine of o/ā-stem adjectives in a palatal final; adverbial use of the dative singular adjective; historically correct use of infixed, suffixed and independent pronouns; distinction of deuterotonic and prototonic forms of compound verbs; present indicative 1sg. endings in -u; attestation of the ē-future, i-future, s-subjunctive and t-preterite; evidence of deponent inflection; apparent distinction of augmented and unaugmented preterites; and the use of the augmented present. While truly archaic features may not be present in sufficient quantity to support Mac Eoin's dating (1989, 170) of the verse to the beginning of the eighth century, neither does there appear to be any justification for dating it any later than *circa* 800. This comes with the proviso that 'there is no easy answer to the question of the number and variety of stray "archaisms" required to put a text's seventh-century provenance beyond doubt', and that '[c]onsequently a basic Old Irish date is all that can be usually aspired to except in the rare event that firm external dating criteria can be invoked' (McCone, 1996a, 31). Mac Eoin's qualification (1989, 170) of the early date he assigns to the verse should also be noted: regarding the quatrains attributed to Sinech Cró, he concedes that their 'brevity [...] and [...] somewhat formulaic style' may serve to undermine confidence in his assertions. He deems the quatrains I term 'the rest of the verse' to be of insufficient length to attempt to date, suggesting, however, that they may be somewhat later than 'Sinech's verse' (ibid.). His observation on the inadequacy of their length for linguistic-dating purposes is justified.

### Dating the prose: Recension 1

Recension 1 is constituted of the prose common to LL and LU and the verse common to LL, LU and Eg. LU contains (linguistically later) prose not found in LL. What I term Recension 1a is presented in a near-diplomatic edition based on the text in LL. What I term Recension 1b is similarly presented, based on the text in LU. In what follows, references to paragraph numbers are those of Recension 1a unless otherwise specified. In each of the editions, correspondences with the others are clearly marked.

Ó Concheanainn (1984, esp. 214–5) did not assign a date to any part of CCC, whether poetry or prose, but deemed the scribe in LL to have had LU as his exemplar for this and other texts. Having presented his evidence, he declared in respect of the tale that ‘the case for the direct derivation of the LL redaction from LU may be regarded as established’ (ibid. 221). This has been rejected by Herbert (2015, 85), who observes that the sections of CCC unique to LU are all linguistically later than the rest of the narrative. She does not provide a detailed linguistic analysis, however, pointing to verbal forms such as *doreilced* and *atraracht* and the correct use of infix pronouns in assigning a tenth-century date to the prose common to LL and LU. Herbert points to the verbal form *ro idbair* and the independent pronoun *iat* when deeming the ‘LU additions’ to be of the eleventh century (ibid. 87). Mac Eoin (1989, 169–70) is similar to Herbert in treating separately of that which occurs exclusively in LU and that which is common to LL and LU. Restricting his observations to those passages that are common to both codices, he dates the prose to *circa* 900.

Further evidence is offered below in support of Herbert’s identification of the different linguistic strata in the prose in CCC, with due reference to Mac Eoin’s observations. It should also be pointed out that where sections of prose common to LL and LU differ slightly, LL sometimes contains old (though not necessarily older) forms (e.g. a-subjunctive 1sg. *co·tall* in §xiv for innovatory *co·tallur*; ā-preterite *táich*

in **§ix** for present *techid*; *fo·rācaib* in **§iv** for *do·rat*; neuter *a llaä-sin* in **§xix** for masculine *in lā-sin*; t-preterite *as·bert* in **§xvi** for *ro·chan* with augment, loss of reduplication and main-clause lenition).

A final point is that Latin tags are almost completely absent from the tale as it appears in LU, with the single exception noted below. LL, likewise, has very little Latin, though does contain the following: *unde Gúaire d[i]xit* (**§ix**) and the ampersand *et* on two occasions (**§§xxii, xxiii**). Ó Concheanainn (1984, 221) highlights the presence of the Latin *l* symbol in both LU and LL in his evidence for the former being recognised as the latter's exemplar. It may be the case that the common source from which LL and LU derive contained a certain amount of Latin, albeit limited, which the scribe in LL has more faithfully relayed. It must be noted, however, that barred *l* and the *et* ampersand are 'visual diamorphs' which may not necessarily have been 'assigned to a single language in the mind of the author or audience of the manuscript' (see Ter Horst, 2017, 111–2).

### Hiatus

LL provides two instances of a doubled vowel where a hiatus existed historically (*a laä-sin* and *i·taät*, **§§xix, xx**). In both cases, LU presents a contracted form. As *a laä-sin* is a common phrase, the hiatus found there may have become petrified. In the same section, we find genitive singular *laí*, where it is unclear whether we are dealing with a hiatus form to which a length mark has been added or a contracted form. As for *·taät*, Stifter observes that hiatuses may have had a longer currency in verbal than nominal forms (see p. 24 above).

### The article

The neuter singular article occurs only once in the prose in LL, in *a laä-sin* in **§xix** (see preceding paragraph). In LU, *in lā-sin* takes its place. In

the same paragraph, however, we find the neuter article in *a ní-sin*, at which point LL does not employ the article. In the LU-only prose, there is another example of neuter *a* in *a scél-sin* (Recension 1b §xxxvii).

A disyllabic form of the nominative plural article *inna* occurs in the LU-only prose, Recension 1b §xxxvi. In §xxii (= Recension 1b §xxxiv), LL and LU agree in rendering the genitive plural article in a monosyllable.

### The noun

The inflectional forms of historically neuter nouns are usually ambiguous as to gender in the prose. Note, however, LL's aforementioned *laä*. An arguably neuter form is found in *trī thráth* (§iv), with lenition after the cardinal and the endingless plural of originally neuter *tráth* (see note on p. 96). In the LU-only prose, we find neuter *a scél*, preceded in Recension 1b §xxxvii by the apparently masculine *enech dēdenach*, without nasalisation of the initial of the following adjective.

There is non-inflection of o-stem proper nouns in *-án* in LU-only prose in Recension 1b §iii (*sāmud Cīarán* and *Líath Manchān*). These occur in close proximity to an inflected form (*Āedlug mac Commāin*). Thurneysen (GOI, §280.1) deems the treatment of such proper names in *-án* as indeclinable in the genitive to be a feature of the ninth century in particular. However, this treatment is also often found in Middle Irish nouns in *-án*, proper and common (see MG, §5.5).

Nominative in place of accusative plural, common among o-stems standing as object of a verb in Middle Irish (see *ibid.*), is not found (e.g. *ro·thinōil slúagu* and *rō·thinōil Gúairi firu Muman*, Recension 1b, §ii, §iv).

### The adjective

Mac Eoin (1989, 169) highlights the adverbial use of an adjective in the independent dative singular, which he says is a feature of early texts (i.e. *bic*, read *biuc*, §xiv, where it qualifies a verb). Breatnach (MG, §9.1) finds vestiges of such usage in Middle Irish, quoting examples of *bic* used to qualify another adverb.

### The pronoun

There are three examples of Class A infixed pronouns. Only *nos-tairbir* (§xxii) is remarkable, employing the empty preverb *no* to infix a pronoun to a historically compound verb. The Class C infix occurs twice: in §xv, the pronoun's nasalised initial *d* is rendered *n* (*conat-rogbat*). There is an example of a suffixed pronoun in §xii (*cingthe*).

Several examples of independent pronouns occur in LU-only prose, most of which conform to standard Old Irish usage. There are, however, two examples of object pronouns in Recension 1b §v. Note, also, the Middle Irish form of 3pl. *íat* for earlier *é* (Recension 1b §iv).

### The verb

As in the verse, deuterotonic forms of historically compound verbs are generally found in independent position. Exceptions occur in augmented preterites in the LU-only text, where the augment often appears as a preverbal particle rather than an infixed element. Also, in Recension 1b §xxxv, we find independent *tánic*. This might be termed 'contracted deuterotonic', a phenomenon already found in Old Irish. It is not to be confused with the Middle Irish development of forming new simple verbs from the prototonic stems of old compound ones (see Uhlich, 2008, 229, referencing Schrijver (1997b, 113, n. 1), where the distinction is explicated: '[t]here is no clause-initial alternation *do-beir*

vs *tabair* “he brings”, to correspond with clause-initial *do-uc* vs *tuc* “he brought”: the latter pair should be referred to as uncontracted-contracted rather than deuterotonic-prototonic’).

There are numerous survivals of the Old Irish verbal complex: the t-preterite features several times in the prose common to LL and LU (in §i *·alt, as·bert*, §xxii *as·berat, at·raracht*), while in the LU-only prose it is attested three times (all in Recension 1b §iii: *do·rāegart, ro·adnacht, to·bert*), with a single instance of transition to the s-preterite (in Recension 1b §iii *ro·idbair*); LL contains the ā-preterite *táich* (§ix) where LU has the same verb in the present (the replacement of the ā- by the s-preterite occurred at an early stage in the development of *teichid*: DIL s.v.); there is one instance of the s-future in *nīt·ain* (§xiii); the a-future is found in the prose common to LL and LU (*rot·bīa*, in §xii); LL’s a-subjunctive 1sg. *·tall* (§xiv) is the expected Old Irish form, where LU has an innovatory ending; the s-subjunctive is preserved in *co·ndigis* (§xv).

Some innovatory features may be noted: in the prose common to LL and LU we find future *nī·thibre* (§xi; in standard Old Irish, the é of the ē-future ‘was felt to be too indispensable as a future marker to be subjected to syncope’: EIV, 48, §5.2); the LU-only prose contains an f-future in place of an earlier reduplicated s-future (*máidfit* in Recension 1b §viii).

In the sections of prose common to LL and LU and in those exclusive to LU, there is a marked preference for augmented forms of the preterite over unaugmented. As remarked on pp 27–8, it is often difficult to determine whether a preterite or perfect is intended in augmented past-tense forms. While the use of the augment with the preterite in our text may arguably be resultative in some instances, I feel that in general it is not. In Recension 1a, unaugmented preterites are attested for the copula (§xix, §xxii), the substantive verb (§xix), *luid* and its compounds (e.g. §x, §xvii), forms of *as·beir* (e.g. §viii, §xxii), and *táich* (§ix). In the LU-only prose, we also find unaugmented

preterite forms of *do·beir* (Recension 1b §iii) and *do·icc* (Recension 1b §iv, §xxxvii).

Where the augment *ro* appears with historically compound verbs, it is infixes on two occasions in the prose common to LL and LU (in §vii *do·reilced*, §xxii *at·raracht*) and prefixed once (§ix *ro·fon*). There is a further example of an augment infixes to a compound verb in LL (§iv *fo·rácaib*), where LU has perfective *do·rat*. In the LU-only prose, the augment is infixes four times (in three forms of *do·gní* (e.g. in Recension 1b §iii) and in *do·rāegart* (in Recension 1b §iii)) and prefixed five times (*ro·thinóil*, *ro·idbair*, *ro·adnacht*, *ro·dibairc*: the first of these in Recension 1b §ii and §iv; the next two in §iii; the last in §xxxvii).

As Mac Eoin (1989, 169) points out, there are no deponent forms in the prose common to LL and LU but only one example of a historically deponent verb showing active inflection (*nīro·thairise* in §v). The LU-only text contains a further two examples of deponent verbs with active inflection. The first is *ro·sáraig*, in Recension 1b §v. This verb, however, shows active inflection as early as Wb. (see Kavanagh, 2001, 780). The second is seen in two instances of *·laim*, in Recension 1b §iii.

### ***nád vs nach***

According to Mac Eoin (1989, 169), innovatory '*nach for nád* occurs twice'. Thus we find *cid nāch mana* in §xx. Also from §xx, what appears in LU as relative *na-* with suspension stroke is expanded *nach* by Best and Bergin (1929, lines 9716–7: *nach cuinnig nech díb*), presumably Mac Eoin's second example. At this point in LL, however, we find *nad* written in full.

## The preposition

In the prose common to LL and LU, *dar* continues to govern the accusative (*dar Connachtai*, §iii), as does *fri* (*fri hócu*, §iv; *fri nāimtiu*, §v). On the breakdown in Middle Irish of the system of cases previously governed by prepositions, see MG (§5.1).

Regarding *ré*, in one instance LL has the Old Irish masculine 3sg. form *rīam* (§iii) where LU gives Middle Irish *remi* (see MG, §13.23). There is a later form of the simple preposition in the LU-only prose, *rīa* *Dīarmait* (Recension 1b §i). As it is not followed by nasalisation, there may be confusion here with *ría* < *fri*.

## LU/YBL

There is one further passage of prose to consider in Recension 1, found in LU and the YBL fragment, comprising Recension 1b §§xi–xx. This is deemed by Mac Eoin (1989, 169), correctly in my view, to be among the passages that ‘are clearly additions to the text’.

Its notable features are:

- Two unaugmented preterites (*lotár* and *bātar*), alongside one augmented (*do·rónad*, all three in Recension 1b §xi).
- An s-future in *do·idnais* (with Middle Irish stem < Old Irish *do·indnaig*, Recension 1b §xiv).
- The comparative grade of the adjective in place of the superlative (*messo*, Recension 1b §xvi: see MG, §6.15 on this development).
- Independent subject pronouns appear in the LU version of this passage and are *largely* in line with standard Old Irish

usage (see GOI, §406): *ar īat* (Recension 1b §xii, for *ol síat*);  
*ocus tussu* (Recension 1b §xvii, for *os tusa*).

- Nominative plural *gallra* of originally neuter *galar* (Recension 1b §xix).

## Content

We have seen that several linguistic strata may be identified in CCC, and that the earliest of these consists of verse. Sinech Cró is the fictive speaker of most of the poetry in the text, but there are also quatrains attributed to Gúaire and Caimmíne (plus three marginal quatrains). We cannot be sure if the different pieces of verse are from diverse sources or are the work of one author. The two longer pieces, however, addressed by Sinech Cró to Díarmait, have enough in common to suggest common authorship, and may arguably have been composed as a single unit. Gúaire's portrayal in the verse is generally negative, as opposed to his (mostly) positive depiction in the prose. The inconsistent treatment afforded him supports the thesis that different parts of CCC were written at different times. The following are the explicit references to him in the poetry:

- **q. 1:** Sinech bemoans the fear in which she stands of Gúaire. The inspiration of fear was not necessarily a bad thing, military strength being a valued characteristic in a king. That such should be directed against an old woman, however, is less admirable.
- **qq 6, 7:** Caimmíne tells Gúaire he will regret his treatment of a certain cleric, apparently referring to himself. The consequences of Gúaire's actions, he says, will be felt on the battlefield.

- **q. 8:** this grace before meals offered by Gúaire bucks the tendency towards his negative portrayal in the verse. In it he shows humility and an acceptance of his changed circumstances.
- **q. 11:** Gúaire is literally scared shitless.
- **q. 16:** Gúaire threatens Sinech with physical violence. There is no trace of the humility or acceptance shown in **q. 8**.

Together, these references create a less positive image of Gúaire than that given in the prose.

The prose of Recension 1a reflects to a limited extent the negative image of Gúaire presented in the poetry. In some instances, it provides a context for the verse it accompanies. **§i** provides the reason for the fear expressed by Sinech in **q. 1** (the theft of her cows). In **§vi**, Gúaire submits to Caimmíne, but the issue leading to his condemnation in **qq 6–7** appears to remain unresolved. Recension 1a also details Díarmait and Gúaire's *rapprochement*. This is predicated on Díarmait's profound respect for Gúaire's lavish displays of charity, which are dispensed despite a difficult and humiliating position. Therefore, Recension 1a ultimately presents Gúaire in a favourable light, albeit with a chequered past.

Gúaire's rehabilitation from the villain of (most of) the verse to the virtuous (almost saintly) man of the later tradition continues apace in Recension 1b. In the aftermath of **qq 6–7**, Gúaire does indeed become reconciled with Caimmíne. The Uí Fíachrach king is now shown in the church in Inis Celtra, in the company of Caimmíne and Cuimmíne Fota. His sanctity in this passage is on a par with that of his two saintly companions, as their pious deliberations receive heavenly reward. By the time one reaches the last passage in Recension 1b, Gúaire's final act of generosity, the transformation is complete.

The aforementioned **q. 16**, where Gúaire vindictively threatens Sinech's life, stands in stark relief to the prose of both Recension 1a and Recension 1b. There is no trace of this lingering hostility in the prose, and it is suggestive of a tradition regarding the battle, or regarding Gúaire's relationship with Sinech Cró, that is now sadly lost to us. The content of the poetry and prose lends support to the identification of different strata within CCC suggested by the linguistic analysis.

### **Conclusion**

The verbal system in the prose common to LL and LU conforms in large part to that of late Old Irish. The nominal system is also fairly conservative. As such, I am inclined to agree with Mac Eoin's dating of *circa* 900. Mac Cana (1960, 4) has observed that 'the later ninth century and the tenth were precisely the period when hermit literature was proliferating and when the cycle of Guaire was experiencing a rapid expansion'. Simplifications in the verbal and pronominal systems support Herbert's dating of the LU-only prose to within a century of the earlier stratum, i.e. *circa* 1000. The prose common to LU and YBL may be dated to sometime between these strata.

### **Dating the prose: Recension 2**

It has been remarked that Recension 2 is a significantly reworked version of Recension 1, though the verse it contains largely follows LL. The language of the second recension is demonstrably later than the LU-only material in Recension 1b. Some of the more significant dating criteria will be highlighted in what follows. A range of others is treated of in the textual notes.

## The pronoun

The form of the 3sg. masculine pronoun in *7 sē fáen (§xv)* is noteworthy.<sup>12</sup> The independent pronoun appears as subject rather than predicate of the copula once (*ropud fer grádui do Ghūairiu hē* in **§xi**),<sup>13</sup> and stands as subject of an active verb twice (*nī·bīa tū, a·tā tū* in **§xix**).<sup>14</sup>

Apart from apparently petrified infixed pronouns, we find *gurrum·ongthar (§xxiv)* and *fo·ghēbtha (§iii)*. On the other hand, we find the independent object pronoun six times: *tug leiss hē, ro·irlamuigh hē (§xi)*; *ra·āer é (§xii)*; *Nī·tarat [...] é (§xvii)*; *ro·escain [...] ē, ro·gab [...] ē (§xxxvi)*.<sup>15</sup>

## The verb

While univertation is at an advanced stage of development, several deuterotonic forms of historically compound verbs appear (e.g. *at·chím (§iv)*; *at·n·aid (§xvii)*; *do·beirim (§xix)*). Many of these are commonly occurring verbs which maintain deuterotonic forms into the Early Modern period.

The ending in the present indicative 1sg. is always *-im* (*at·beirim-si, tuingim (§iii)*; *at·chím (§iv)*; *do·beirim (§xix)*; *guidim-si (§xxviii)*).<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> The independent pronoun continues to appear in clauses without a verb in Middle Irish (MG, §10.9). Normally one expects the form without *s*, but there are exceptions (ibid. §10.20).

<sup>13</sup> This type of construction is one of the first stages in the Middle Irish breakdown of the system of infixed pronouns. It leads to the rise of constructions like *is fer mé*, with impersonal copula 3sg., rather than earlier *am fer*, with copula declined for person (Greene, 1958, 109–10).

<sup>14</sup> On the emergence in Middle Irish of analytic forms of the verb, see MG, §10.19.

<sup>15</sup> See MG, §10.15.

<sup>16</sup> See EIV, 203–4, §6.1.2.

The present subjunctive 1sg. is always in *-ar/-ur* (*go·fagur* (§iii); *gu·tugur-sa* (§xx); *co·ndernar* (§xxiv)).<sup>17</sup> The s-subjunctive occurs in *co·tí* (§xxviii).

The f- replaces the s-future in *ra·finnfam-ne* (§xvi),<sup>18</sup> attached to the present stem.<sup>19</sup>

We find the s-preterite replacing reduplication in *ro·suid* (§xxiii) and *ro·maid* (§xix). It replaces the t-preterite in *ro·airg* (§xii) and *ro·tairbir* (§xxvi).<sup>20</sup> There are two instances of the spread of the s-preterite 2sg. ending *-(a)is* in *at·bertais* and *ara·ndeburtuis* (both §iv).<sup>21</sup>

There is one instance of the spread of the t-preterite 3pl. ending *-atar* in *do·rōnsatur-som* (§xiii), as opposed to three examples of the s-preterite 3pl. where it is not found (*do·rōnsat* (§xx); *ro·ghabsat* (§xxvii); *ro·chomraigsit* (§v)).<sup>22</sup>

The initial of relative verbal forms is usually lenited in Recension 2:<sup>23</sup> *chuinge* (§iii); *chúid* (§xix); *thinōilfius* (§xxviii).

Middle Irish confusion of preverbal *do* for *ro* occurs twice: *do·ráid* (§iv) and *do·slēcht* (§viii).<sup>24</sup> There are 39 instances of past-tense preverbal *ro*.

## The preposition

In Middle Irish, the cases governed by prepositions become confused.<sup>25</sup> Instances of confusion in the plural are unambiguous: *itir ffacluib*

---

<sup>17</sup> While the zero-ending was still used in the a-subjunctive in early Middle Irish, it was completely replaced by the old deponent 1sg. ending during that period (MG, §12.79).

<sup>18</sup> On the Middle Irish spread of the f-future after a stressed monosyllabic base, see EIV (222, §6.6.2).

<sup>19</sup> *Ro·finnadar* (DIL s.v.) bases its future forms on the stem *finn-* in Middle Irish.

<sup>20</sup> On the Middle Irish spread of the s-preterite, see EIV (209–13, §6.2).

<sup>21</sup> See EIV, 237, §6.9.2 (a).

<sup>22</sup> See EIV, 238–9.

<sup>23</sup> See EIV, 181, §3.2 (c).

<sup>24</sup> See EIV, 196.

<sup>25</sup> See MG, §5.1.

(§xv); *dar a ghrúadaib* (§xix); *Tuc [...] ar Feruib Ērenn* (§xxii);<sup>26</sup> *ag Connachto* (§xiii).<sup>27</sup> The case employed in the singular is less certain. Note, however, two instances of lenition after nouns preceded by prepositions which governed the accusative in Old Irish: *trē brēthir Chaimín* (§vi); *dar ēisi Choluim* (§xxix).<sup>28</sup>

## Conclusion

It is worth bearing in mind the three changes which Ó Catháin (1933, 2–3) considered ‘probably [...] the chief marks of the transition’ from Middle to Modern Irish: the replacement of infixed by independent pronouns; the change from *ro* to *do* as preverbal past-tense marker; and the spread of the 3pl. ending *-atar* in the past. We have seen that the first of these is well advanced in Recension 2, the other two considerably less so. It seems Mac Eoin’s classification (1989, 172) of the language as ‘Modern Irish’ cannot be supported. It might instead be dated to sometime between the language of the LU-only prose and the end of the Middle Irish period (i.e. *circa* 1100).

## Editorial methods and choices

Slotkin (1979, 449) questions what constitutes a new recension:

The problem with the concept of recensions is that the term is often projected from the study of manuscript history into that of literary history. The scribes of Lebor na hUidre, particularly the late interpolator H, take an attitude towards their texts which expresses itself in a desire for completeness. We encounter on occasion the “according to another version . . .” or the more

---

<sup>26</sup> See DIL, s.v. *do-beir* II (b) (iv).

<sup>27</sup> Middle Irish confusion of accusative for dative is less frequent than the reverse (ibid.).

<sup>28</sup> Alternatively, this may be due to the ubiquity of the lenition of the initial of proper names in the genitive in the later language (see Ó Máille, 1910, 44).

literary H's "according to another book . . .". Doublets may arise in this way, either from oral tradition or manuscript tradition; but these doublets must be distinguished from the doublet that arises from performance. Unless we get specific information from the scribe, which is rare, the provenance of doublets will be difficult if not impossible to determine. The character of the doublet and the character of the saga as a whole will have to be taken into account.

Scribes may also add episodes to their texts, and when several manuscripts show essential verbal agreement, an episode more or less in one than the others proves only that the manuscripts are not accurate transcripts of one another, not necessarily that they comprise different recensions. He concludes that scribes probably 'treated saga texts as the multiform oral products they ultimately were' (ibid.).

In presenting CCC, H does not refer to other sources. He provides two explanatory glosses, both to **q. 13**. We have seen that additional passages are supplied by H, or were present in his exemplar, and that these are linguistically later than the prosal material common to LL and LU. Two marginal quatrains, not found in the other two MSS, also accompany the text in LU. LL, on the other hand, contains more frequent, though by no means extensive, glossing, some of which we are told is from another source. I propose that the texts of LL and LU constitute two 'multiforms' of their scribes' originals, while the prose of Eg conforms to Slotkin's definition of what constitutes a new recension: '[w]hen a combination of verbal variety, thematic variety, and overall content exists between manuscripts, we have a case of two recensions of a saga, whatever their origin, existing simultaneously' (ibid.). These cases, however, are to be distinguished from the aforementioned cases in which scribes have treated texts as multiforms. While they may have been reluctant to omit anything from the manuscript before them, they

often had no compunction in adding, rearranging or 'correcting'. In the sense that each scribal production is a kind of multiform of the original,

the entire nature of a critical edition of a saga is a false concept. Surely, the "interpolation" of a late scribe may be traditional, meaningful, and necessary to the tale or that particular scribal performance of the tale. Every saga must be evaluated, and each manuscript of each saga, separately. If our evaluation leads us to suspect that scribes regarded their texts as multiforms, we may treat such a manuscript as if it were a somewhat specialized separate performance (ibid. 449–50).

Chaytor (1945, 1) reminds us that long association with printed matter has imbued the modern reader with 'ideas concerning originality and literary property of which the age of manuscript knew little or nothing, and has modified the psychological processes by which we use words for the communication of thought.' The gulf between the ages of manuscript and print is such that '[w]hen we take up a printed edition of a medieval text, provided with an introduction, a critical apparatus of variant readings, notes and glossary, we bring unconsciously to its perusal those prejudices and prepossessions which years of association with printed matter have made habitual' (ibid.).

The question arises how best to present an edition of CCC, and indeed what constitutes a critical edition. Doran (2013, 346, n. 4) finds that '[i]n the field of Medieval Irish studies, the term "critical edition" is most often used to refer to an edition created on the principles of classical scholarly editing as set forth by Lachmann and his contemporaries – i.e. the "classical method". In contrast, the tendency in other fields is to regard a "critical edition" as any non-facsimile type edition and some recent scholarship in Irish studies reflects this tendency'. The Lachmannian method involves three principal stages of *recensio*, *examinatio* and *emendatio* (see McCarter, 1986, 62). Other

methods frequently employed in medieval Irish studies are the election of a *codex optimus*, or 'best text', and normalisation (see McCone, 1996a, 28–9). Where there are only two variants to choose between, 'the preferred practice of medievalists is to select the text with the superior readings as the base text for the edition' (Doran, 2013, 350). This is also an attractive option where a great many MS witnesses survive, with the default text selected 'to be diverged from only for strong reasons and an apparatus of variant readings is usually supplied' (McCone, 1996a, 28). Normalisation involves the replacement of later forms with earlier ones. 'For obvious practical reasons, Old Irish usage so far constitutes the only viable standard for the normalisation of texts dated rightly or wrongly to the period before c. 900 A.D.', with obvious pedagogic benefits accruing from the resultant text (ibid. 29, §4.4).<sup>29</sup> The parallel-text edition involves the presentation of each of the texts alongside one another, preferably in diplomatic or semi-diplomatic form. Short narratives which survive in a small number of MSS are best suited to this method. It is not often employed in the field of Old and Middle Irish (see Doran, 2013, 353). The eclectic edition is a further possibility, where 'no single manuscript is given precedence, rather individual readings are compared on a case by case basis and the most authorial reading is chosen in each instance for use in the edition' (Smith, 2007, 73, §4.2). 'New Philology', meanwhile, is a response to Lachmannian principles, and

places all its emphasis on the manuscript, 'warts and all' as being the most valid part of the process of textualisation. The quest for an authorial or a reconstructed archetype – a closed text – is rejected in favour of the production of an open text. Thus, the

---

<sup>29</sup> Of editorial principles which permit the restoration of the language to the standard of the Glosses, Ahlqvist (1988, 32) warns: '[g]iven the sometimes rather chaotic nature of Middle Irish spelling, this procedure is not without benefits as far as orthography and phonology are concerned. From a morphosyntactic point of view, however, similar freedoms can have rather serious consequences'.

whole range of variants ranging from scribal errors to instances of rewriting are accepted as being of equal validity (ibid. 72).

This suggests that an observation made in the preface to an anthology concerned with some of the problems surrounding medieval English textual criticism is equally true of Irish: 'we are entering, or indeed living, in a time of editorial pluralism, wherein many different kinds of edition may be produced, on different principles and for different purposes and audiences' (Minnis, 1992, vii). There are both advantages and drawbacks to each of the methods enumerated above, and the one (or ones) an editor chooses to employ for his text depends on that text's unique circumstances and on its editor's point of view (Murray, 2009, 60–1). Mutual exclusion does not necessarily pertain to each of these processes, and some types of edition may be 'capable of some degree of overlap' with others (McCone, 1996a, 28). It may also be possible to identify different sections of a text for which different editorial methods may arguably best be suited (see Uhlich, 2009, 76–7).<sup>30</sup>

When the linguistically later prose sections in LU are stripped away, together with the quatrains of verse not common to LL, LU and Eg, one is arguably left with 'a common fixed core' (see Herbert, 1986, 101). Within this core we find the poetry common to three MSS and the prose, linguistically later than it, common to two. It is not uncommon in prosimetrum that the metre antedate the prose (Murray, 2014, 299). A quick survey of the prose appearing in both LL and LU affirms that the scribes in those two MSS treated the text of their exemplar with great fidelity, the latter scribe adding to but otherwise fairly faithfully

---

<sup>30</sup> Herbert's comments (1992, 54) are relevant to the foregoing: '[i]t is the task of criticism to seek to discover how each individual tale negotiates between past and present, between its participation in a continuous tradition and its role as the creation of an author and of his time. It is evident that there is no single, simple methodological key to this discovery. Rather, all possible critical approaches must be tested. Indeed, as the early Irish story [...] appears as "a palimpsest on which generation after generation has engraved its own layer of messages," so too [...] criticism may require that we "decipher each layer with a different code book."'

relaying what he found there. The evidence of CCC does not accord with Scowcroft's observation (2009, 3) 'that earlier scribes [...] take more liberties in copying than their [...] later counterparts, whose interventions take the form of glosses and interpolations'. The different levels, suggested both by the linguistic analysis and by the treatment afforded Gúaire, clearly show that the 'core' of our text is but 'a single moment in a textual tradition' (see Fellows, 1998, 15), with further moments occurring in Recension 1b, Recension 2 and the versions appearing in *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*.<sup>31</sup> The observation made of another medieval tradition may equally be applied to Irish: 'it might be said that the main culturally determined peculiarity of English textual traditions before Chaucer is the predominant anonymity of authors and the phenomenon of cumulative composition: not so much absence of authorship, indeed, as excess of it' (Jacobs, 1998, 14). Furthermore, 'insofar as scribes take upon themselves the role of authors, we should accord their rewritings the same editorial respect as we do [...] any [...] single named author's' (Fellows, 1998, 17), which is not, of course, to say that scribal errors do not occur. Another observation, however, is also worth noting: '[e]ven where it is anachronistic to postulate an authoritative text, the original version of a literary work acquires a de facto authority by the mere fact of the author's having troubled to compose it, being evidence of a creative intelligence, however mediocre, and of the taste of an intended audience, however uncultivated. It is thus a proper object of study for the historian of literature and its recovery an appropriate task for an editor' (Jacobs, 1992, 69–70).

In the case of CCC, the argument for restoring an archetype with normalised language is strongest for the verse. The strictures of metre would aid in the editorial decision-making process. Furthermore, the division of the extant witnesses of a text 'into three groupings [...] [is]

---

<sup>31</sup> The revision in various ways of the texts that scribes copied was very often completely acceptable to their peers. Indeed, Cétinn *expected* a good scribe to do more than simply transcribe his works *verbatim* (Nic Mhathúna, 2009–10, 235).

the ideal for reconstructing the archetype' (Doran, 2013, 350). One stands on less firm ground, however, with the earliest stratum of prose in our text. As the date I assign to it (*circa* 900) is on the boundary between the Old and Middle Irish periods,<sup>32</sup> the guidance afforded by metre is absent, and there are two MS witnesses rather than three. As such, it may be justifiable to choose a *codex optimus* for this section. The obvious candidate is LL, as it preserves a range of older forms which accord well with the proposed date of the redaction. Finally, there is the prose which appears in LU together with the fragment in YBL, and that which appears in LU only. The former might well be based on a *codex optimus*, the latter presented in semi-diplomatic form.

The preceding approach, though irregular, is one of several which might be employed. I have chosen to present three separate editions of Recensions 1a, 1b and 2. These are in large part faithful to the MSS, and there has been minimal editorial interference by me. This approach may be criticised in the same way as many Middle English editions have been: 'one could say that many editors have not bothered to provide an edition as such, but have simply provided edited transcripts of the extant manuscripts' (Blake, 1998, 68). It does, at least, do little violence to the texts as they have come down to us. Variance, however, has not simply been ignored, bearing in mind that 'where, on the basis of a comparison of the readings of existing versions and an understanding of the known habits of scribes, it is possible to assert with some plausibility what the reading from which the variants derive is likely to have been, it is an abdication of editorial judgement to

---

<sup>32</sup> One might also feel justified in normalising the orthography of Middle Irish in places. At the most basic level, for example, one might standardise the spelling of proper names: a case in point in Recension 1b is Gúaire's name, which appears in the nominative case variously as *Gúari*, *Gúairi*, *Gúaire* and *Gúare*; each of these also occurs without a length mark over the diphthong, giving eight variant renderings of the nominative singular of one word. As long as the editor makes his intentions clear at the outset, it seems uncontroversial silently to render the name with length mark, glide vowel and final -e throughout. Going a step further, one might argue that all unstressed final vowels be rendered -e after a palatal consonant and -a after a non-palatal one, and so on.

refrain from suggesting it' (Jacobs, 1998, 13). It may be true that to 'pass silently over a crux or to be compelled to acknowledge ignorance is to expose the editor's weaknesses in the starkest way' (Edwards and Moffat, 1998, 217). I fear that I have been compelled to acknowledge ignorance on more occasions than I would have thought possible before setting out. I hope, however, that no crux has been silently passed over, and where I can offer an opinion as to what I deem the likely reading from which variants derive, I do so.

### **Editorial notes and presentation of Recensions 1a, 1b and 2**

To reiterate, Recension 1a is constituted of the prose and verse common to LL and LU and the verse common to all three MSS, presented in a near-diplomatic edition based on the text in LL, with variants from LU and Eg. Recension 1b differs from 1a mainly by its inclusion of passages of later prose, and is presented in a near-diplomatic edition based on the text in LU. Recension 2 represents a reworked and modernised version of the tale, still built around the early verse. It is presented in a near-diplomatic edition based on the text in Eg.

Punctuation is mostly editorial. So too is most of the capitalisation, and I am responsible for much of the word separation. Macrons are employed over long vowels which are not marked long in the MSS. On rare occasions, a MS length mark is moved silently to another vowel. On other rare occasions, missing letters are supplied between square brackets, e.g. assimilated *s* in Recension 1a **§xiv** (*ro·gīallais-[s]iu*); the first *i* in *d[i]xit* in Recension 1a **§ix**. Where lenition is expected it is often not found in the MSS. I do not introduce same and the absence of lenition is *usually* not discussed in the notes. Significant variant readings are presented in the apparatus accompanying Recension 1a, to facilitate comparison of the MSS (see Herbert, 1986, 102). The differences in the variant prosal readings in

the MSS are reflected in the translations accompanying each edition. For the verse, however, the translation is based on what is argued in the notes to be the superior reading. In **q. 2a**, for example, the MS readings for LL, LU and Eg, respectively, contain *naraid friss*, *mairid fris* and *naráid fris*. I argue that LL/Eg give the best reading, and this is reflected in the translations to Recensions 1a, 1b and 2. This is made visible in the text of Recension 1b as follows: *mairid fris* [read *na-ráid fris*].<sup>33</sup>

The text in LL is accompanied by one marginal quatrain, above col. a on p. 277 of the MS. The footnote marker directing one to the location of the edited quatrain in the apparatus occurs in the text of Recension 1a at the point of the MS break between pp 276–7. As this quatrain (with variant readings) appears in the body of the text in Eg, it is discussed in the textual notes to Recension 2. On LU’s marginal quatrains, see p. 122.

The system of numbering passages is outlined on p. 9. On my treatment of the material in the MSS, see the transcript notes (pp 305–7).

---

<sup>33</sup> When an editor favours one reading over another, his own personal reading and understanding of the text are liable to influence the decision-making process. Of a decision Kane made between two readings in the A-text of *Piers Plowman*, Hussey (1992, 98) writes: ‘[h]e may well be correct here, but this line does raise one worry I have about the edition, namely that tracing the direction of error, which is of course a necessary operation, is by no means always a simple business and subject, to a greater or lesser extent, to the editor’s view of the content of his text’. This should be borne in mind when, in the verse in particular, I propose the superiority of one reading over another. As I understand the first five quatrains to contain both praise and censure in their treatment of Díarmait, I may be influenced in one way or another concerning some of the variants. If one were to consider these quatrains more uniformly condemnatory, for example, one might well make different decisions.

## Text of Recension 1a

### §i (= Stokes §1 = Recension 1b §i = Recension 2 §i)

Dīarmait mac Áeda Sláne, Sinech Cró rod·n-alt-som.<sup>34</sup> No·bertis  
Connachtaí a bú-si co·tarat<sup>35</sup> imchossaīt móir etir Dīarmait 7 Gúaire  
Aidne. Is and as·bert-si:

### 1 (= Recension 1b q. 1 = Recension 2 q. 1)

A Dīarmait, a mallchobair,  
ūamain<sup>36</sup> Gúaire fon·fodair;  
ar it anmand cloíthe<sup>37</sup> cath,  
tair chucund, a duinebad.<sup>38</sup>

### 2 (= Recension 1b q. 2 = Recension 2 q. 2)

Lēic do<sup>39</sup> Dīarmait, na·rāid<sup>40</sup> friss;  
in cath ní hēol,<sup>41</sup> nī rrādais;<sup>42</sup> [read ní fírdiss]  
dēnaid<sup>43</sup> choirm<sup>44</sup> dō, mār a·tá:  
foīd chucai, doth·aideba.<sup>45</sup> [read dot·aidleba]

---

<sup>34</sup> *LU* rodnalt.

<sup>35</sup> *LU* cotaratsi.

<sup>36</sup> *LU* úamun.

<sup>37</sup> *LU* cluithe; *Eg* claite.

<sup>38</sup> *LU* adunebath; *Eg* aduinebath.

<sup>39</sup> *LU* de.

<sup>40</sup> *LU* mairid.

<sup>41</sup> *Eg* nihord.

<sup>42</sup> *LU* nífirdis; *Eg* irradais.

<sup>43</sup> *LU* denid; *Eg* dena.

<sup>44</sup> *LU* cóir; *Eg* coirm.

<sup>45</sup> *LU* dotathleabá; *Eg* dotoideba.

## **Translation of Recension 1a**

### **§i**

Díarmait son of Áed Sláine, whom Sinech Cró had fostered. The Connachta used to carry off her cows so that she brought about a great contention between Díarmait and Gúaire Aidni. It is then that she said:

#### **1**

O Díarmait, O slow helper,  
fear of Gúaire seizes us;  
as you are not weak at winning battles,  
come to us, O pestilence.

#### **2**

Leave [it] to Díarmait, tell it to him;  
the battle is not known [to him], he is not truly despicable;  
make an ale-feast for him, [it is] great that he is:  
send for him, he will come to you.

**3 (= Recension 1b q. 3 = Recension 2 q. 3)**

'Rúanaid' as·berthe<sup>46</sup> co sē  
fris-seom ar mét a áne;<sup>47</sup>  
indīu is lobrán im Mide<sup>48</sup> <sup>A</sup>  
Dīarmait mac Āeda Sláne.

**4 (= Recension 1b q. 4 = Recension 2 q. 4)**

Trícha tinne, trīcha bó,  
fuirec Cenīuil Ĝerguso; <sup>B</sup>  
īcdaí dartaid i cind gait  
ina fōrreith do Dīarmait. <sup>A</sup>.<sup>49</sup> <sup>C</sup>

**5 (= Recension 1b q. 5 = Recension 2 q. 5)**

Bet fir móir<sup>50</sup> ar maccāin bic  
co·tī ar cobair co<sup>51</sup> Grip; <sup>D</sup>  
bid daim ríatai loíg ar mbó  
co·tí cobair Dīarmata .<sup>A</sup>.<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>A</sup> nó co n-āill [*read* co n-áili]

<sup>B</sup> .i. oīgedecht

<sup>C</sup> .i. ina oēgidecht

<sup>D</sup> ainm eich Dīarmata

---

<sup>46</sup> *LU* atberthe.

<sup>47</sup> *LU* anáire.

<sup>48</sup> *Eg* gunálli.

<sup>49</sup> *Eg om.*

<sup>50</sup> *LU* firmóra.

<sup>51</sup> *Eg o.*

<sup>52</sup> *LU* a diarmait; *Eg* Adiarmait.

**3**

'Powerful' he used to be called until this  
because of the extent of his glory;  
today Díarmait son of Áed Sláine  
is a weakling concerning Mide. <sup>A</sup>

**4**

Thirty flitches, thirty cows,  
[was] Cenél Fergusso's due; <sup>B</sup>  
a yearling bullock at the end of a halter is to be paid  
as entertainment for Díarmait. <sup>C</sup>

**5**

Our little boys will be big men  
by the time our help comes with Grip; <sup>D</sup>  
our cows' calves will be trained oxen  
by the time Díarmait's help shall come.

---

<sup>A</sup> or with timidity

<sup>B</sup> i.e. hospitality

<sup>C</sup> i.e. as hospitality

<sup>D</sup> the name of Díarmait's horse

**§ii (= Stokes §2 = Recension 1b §ii = Recension 2 §ii)**

Ro·hícc<sup>53</sup> ní di·ssi, immorro, in chossaíft.<sup>54</sup>

**§iii (= Stokes §4 = Recension 1b §iv = Recension 2 §v)**

Do·rat Dīarmait láim dar Connachtaí co·raímid rīam for Gūaire Aidne  
co·rogīall·saide dó fri rind claidib.<sup>55</sup>

**§iv (= Stokes §5 = Recension 1b §v = Recension 2 §vi)**

Ar fo·rācaib Cámīne Indse Celtra do Gūairiu<sup>56</sup> nād·gēbad<sup>57</sup> fri hócu. Ar  
ro·boí Cámīne trī thráth<sup>58</sup> oc troscud for Gūaire Aidne.<sup>59</sup>

**§v (= Stokes §6 = Recension 1b §vi = Recension 2 §vii)**

‘Mad cóir la Dīa,’ or Cámīne, ‘in fer fil hi comthairisim frim·sa,  
nīro·thairise fri nāimtiu.’

**§vi (= Stokes §7 = Recension 1b §vii = Recension 2 §viii)**

Do·thāet<sup>60</sup> d’aurgaire.<sup>61</sup> Slēchtaid<sup>62</sup> do Chamīni.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> LU Roíc.

<sup>54</sup> LU *incossaitsin*; *add.* Rothinoil diarmait slúagu 7socaide leis doinriud conacht.

<sup>55</sup> LU Dorat diarmait laim darconachta remi corānic aid|ni. Rothinoil gúairi firu muman dia saigid. Roptar iat so rig tancatár hiforithin gúari .i. cuan mac ennai ri muman 7 cuan mac conaill rí húa fid|gente 7 tolmnach ri húa líathan. Do|ratad iarom cath charnd chonaill etor|ro hillo cengciges corāmid forgúa|ri corrolad ar cend and. imchuan mac énnai rí muman. 7imcuan mac conaill rí húa conaill. 7imtholomnach rig húa líathán.

<sup>56</sup> LU Cāmmini insi celtra issé dorat brethir forgúari.

<sup>57</sup> LU *connágébad*.

<sup>58</sup> LU *tritrath*.

<sup>59</sup> LU *fair*; *add.* imslanaigect hitarathé. ar rosáraig gúari hé.

<sup>60</sup> LU *Dotháet gúairi*.

<sup>61</sup> LU *do aurgairi chammini*.

<sup>62</sup> LU *7sléchtaid*.

<sup>63</sup> LU *dó*.

**§ii**

It availed her, indeed, the complaint.

**§iii**

Díarmait took control of Connacht so that he routed Gúaire Aidni [and] so that he, the aforementioned, submitted to him at sword point.

**§iv**

For Caimmíne of Inis Celtra ordained for Gúaire that he could not withstand warriors. For Caimmíne had been three days fasting against Gúaire Aidni.

**§v**

'If it be right with God,' said Caimmíne, 'the man who stands against me, let him not endure against enemies.'

**§vi**

He comes to prevent [it]. He submits to Caimmíne.

**§vii (= Stokes §8 = Recension 1b §viii = Recension 2 §ix)**

‘Do·reilced int aurchor-sa,’<sup>64</sup> or Cammín.<sup>65</sup> ‘Comlúath sin, danō,’ or Cämmīne, ‘7 do·bērat do réir.’<sup>66</sup>

**§viii (= Stokes §9 = Recension 1b §ix = Recension 2 §x)**

Is dē as·bert Cammīn:

**6 (= Recension 1b q. 6 = Recension 2 q. 7)**

I·mbīat faībra fri faībra

7 findne fri <sup>A</sup> findne,<sup>67</sup>

bidit<sup>68</sup> aithrech, a Gūaire,

clērchēn<sup>69</sup> fri·tarlais<sup>70</sup> tine. [read fris·tarlais tinni]

**7 (= Recension 1b q. 7 = Recension 2 q. 8)**

Īar réir,<sup>71</sup> do·arbart Mac Dé,

fri hathlad úaire,<sup>72</sup> [read na óenúaire]

crīde Gūaire fo chīunu,<sup>73</sup>

inna trīunu fo Gūaire.

---

**<sup>A</sup> In cath I nInis Celtra (= Recension 2 q. 6)**

feras lobur fri nerta; < .i. Camīn > < .i. fri Gūaire >

is ē in lobur bus trén,

is ē in trēn bus techta.

---

<sup>64</sup> LU intirchorsa.

<sup>65</sup> LU cámmīne; add. nichomraim aostud.

<sup>66</sup> LU add duit inlucht máidfit maidm fort .i. doberat do réir duit fochetóir.

<sup>67</sup> Eg oculus indnae fri hindnae.

<sup>68</sup> LU biat; Eg bidat.

<sup>69</sup> LU cléirchin.

<sup>70</sup> LU fristarlais; Eg fristarluis.

<sup>71</sup> Eg om.

<sup>72</sup> LU naóenúaire.

<sup>73</sup> Eg fonatriuna.

### §vii

'This die has been cast,' said Caimmíne. 'That is equally swift then,' said Caimmíne, 'and they will do your will.'

### §viii

It is of it that Caimmíne said:

#### 6

Where blades are wont to be against blades  
and shields against <sup>A</sup> shields,  
it will be regrettable for you, O Gúaire,  
[the] dear cleric against whom you have been severe.

#### 7

According to [His] will, the Son of God subjected,  
at once,  
Gúaire's heart to gentle ones,  
[and] the strong ones to Gúaire.

---

<sup>A</sup> The battle in Inis Celtra

which a weak one fought against strong ones; < i.e. Caimmíne > < i.e. against  
Gúaire >

it is the weak one who shall be strong,  
it is the powerful one who shall have to flee.

**§ix (= Stokes §21 = Recension 1b §xxi = Recension 2 §xi)**

Tāich<sup>74</sup> didiū<sup>75</sup> Gúaire for leith assin chath,<sup>76</sup> 7 a gilla.<sup>77</sup> Ro·gab in gilla  
bratán rīamnaige ro·fon<sup>78</sup> 7 do·rat do Gúaire. Unde Gúaire d[i]xit:<sup>79</sup>

**8 (= Recension 1b q. 8 = Recension 2 q. 9)**

Át·lochur do Dīa i·n·ētað,  
innocht dom feis hénēcað;  
rom·buī·se adaig<sup>80</sup> aile  
dom·bert .uii. mbú Mac Maire.

**§x (= Stokes §22 = Recension 1b §xxii = Recension 2 §xv)**

Do·lluid·seom<sup>81</sup> do gīall<sup>82</sup> fri claideb do Dīarmait.<sup>83</sup>

**§xi (= Stokes §23 = Recension 1b §xxiii = Recension 2 §xvi)**

‘Maith,’ or Dīarmait, ‘cid ara·ndéine Gúaire in roféili<sup>84</sup> ucut?<sup>85</sup> Inn ar Dīa  
fā in ar duine?<sup>86</sup> Mad ar Dīa, do·béra ní innossa. Mad ar duine,<sup>87</sup>  
nī·thibre ol a·tá co feirg 7 luinne.’<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> *LU* techid.

<sup>75</sup> *LU* tra.

<sup>76</sup> *LU* assin cath forleith.

<sup>77</sup> *LU* add irraith.

<sup>78</sup> *LU* rofon.

<sup>79</sup> *LU* conid and asbert gúari.

<sup>80</sup> *Eg* aguid.

<sup>81</sup> *LU* add tra.

<sup>82</sup> *LU* gíallad.

<sup>83</sup> *LU* add intí gúairi.

<sup>84</sup> *LU* inféli.

<sup>85</sup> *LU* add .i.

<sup>86</sup> *LU* daini.

<sup>87</sup> *LU* daíne.

<sup>88</sup> *LU* londusmor.

**§ix**

Then Gúaire fled aside out of the battle, and his servant. The servant procured a line-caught salmon which he cooked and which he gave to Gúaire. Whence Gúaire said:

**8**

I give thanks to God in the matter of that which was obtained,  
a single fish tonight for my repast;  
I have had another night  
[when] the Son of Mary granted me seven cows.

**§x**

He came to submit at [the point of] a sword to Díarmait.

**§xi**

'Well,' said Díarmait, 'what is it for which Gúaire performs that great generosity? Is it on account of God or is it on account of man? If it be on account of God, he will give something now. If it be on account of man, he will not give for he is in anger and vehemence.'

**§xii (= Stokes §24 = Recension 1b §xxiv = Recension 2 §xvii)**

Do·tháet chucu. ‘Ní dam-sa,<sup>89</sup> a Gúaire,’ ol in drúth. Cingthe sechai. ‘Ní dam-sa, a Gúaire,’ ol in clam. ‘Rot·bā,’ or Gúaire. Fo·cheirt a gaó dó. ‘Ní dam-sa,’ or a chēili. Fo·cheirt in scíath, in delg, in mbratt, in criss.<sup>90</sup>

**§xiii (= Stokes §25 = Recension 1b §xxv)**

‘Nīt·ain,’ or Dīarmait. ‘Tair fon claideb, a Gúaire,’ ol Dīarmait.

**§xiv (= Stokes §26 = Recension 1b §xxvi = Recension 2 §xix)**

‘Nī dam,<sup>91</sup> a Gúaire,’ or in cēile Dé. ‘An bic, a Dīarmait,’ or Gúaire, ‘co·tall<sup>92</sup> mo léni dím don chēiliu Dé.’ ‘Maith,’ or Dīarmait, ‘ro·gāllais-[s]iu do Ríg aile, .i. do Mac Dé. Asō mo gāll-sa duit-seo, immorro,’ ol<sup>93</sup> Dīarmait.<sup>94</sup>

**§xv (= Stokes §27 = Recension 1b §xxvii = Recension 2 §xx)**

Sléchtaid-side do Gúaire fo thrí.<sup>95</sup> ‘Nīp ancórai,<sup>96</sup> trá,’ ol Dīarmait, ‘co·ndigis armo chend-sa do Áenuch Thailten,<sup>97</sup> conat·rogbat<sup>98</sup> Fir hĒrend do rí<sup>99</sup> 7 do chind athchomairc dóib.’<sup>100</sup>

**§xvi (= Stokes §28 = Recension 1b §xxviii = Recension 2 §xii)**

Is and as·bert Sinech.<sup>101</sup>

---

<sup>89</sup> LU Nídam.

<sup>90</sup> LU focheird ascíath dó. Nídam-sa or a chēili aile. focheird abrat 7adelg 7acris dó.

<sup>91</sup> LU dam-sa.

<sup>92</sup> LU cotallur.

<sup>93</sup> LU om.

<sup>94</sup> LU om.

<sup>95</sup> LU Slechtaid dano diarmait fo thrí do gúari.

<sup>96</sup> LU anchobrai.

<sup>97</sup> LU tallten.

<sup>98</sup> LU condaragbat.

<sup>99</sup> LU chomarlid.

<sup>100</sup> LU add dogéntar orgúare.

<sup>101</sup> LU Isandsin rochan sinech inmoladsa dodiarmaid.

### **§xii**

He comes to them. 'Something for me, O Gúaire,' said a jester. He steps past him. 'Something for me, O Gúaire,' said a leper. 'You shall have it,' said Gúaire. He grants his spear to him. 'Something for me,' said his fellow. He grants the shield, the brooch, the cloak, the belt.

### **§xiii**

'It will not avail you,' said Díarmait. 'Come under the sword, O Gúaire,' said Díarmait.

### **§xiv**

'Something for me, O Gúaire,' said a client of God. 'Wait a little, O Díarmait,' said Gúaire, 'until I take off my shirt for the client of God.' 'Well,' said Díarmait, 'you have submitted to another King, i.e. to the Son of God. Here is my submission to you, therefore,' said Díarmait.

### **§xv**

He, the aforementioned, prostrates himself three times before Gúaire. 'Let it not be discord then,' said Díarmait, 'so that you may go to meet me at the Fair of Tailtiu, so that the Men of Ireland may take you as king and as chief counsellor to them.'

### **§xvi**

It is then that Sinech said:

**9 (= Recension 1b q. 9 = Recension 2 q. 10)**

Cach mac tigrind timchride,  
tāthut áirle lim-sa dē;  
do·tē dessel in broga,<sup>102</sup>  
laiss fuidell mo rūanada.

**10 (= Recension 1b q. 10 = Recension 2 q. 11)**

Ní for brāigtib dam ná<sup>103</sup> bó  
cloíthir colg mo rūanado;<sup>A</sup>  
is for rīgaib fo·cheirt feit,  
indīu in dubcend<sup>104</sup> la Dīarmait.<sup>B</sup>

**11 (= Recension 1b q. 11 = Recension 2 q. 12)**

Gūaire mac Colmáin in rí  
ro·chacc for croíbu Aidní;<sup>C</sup>  
ro·lá būalta méit chind bó  
ar ūamon mo rūanadó.

**12 (= Recension 1b q. 12 = Recension 2 q. 13)**

Ō ro·brecca brōenán cró<sup>D</sup>  
léni ndendgorm<sup>105</sup> nDīarmato;  
eirred fir cluäs catha,  
ní comtig cen illdatha.

---

<sup>A</sup> .i. claideb

<sup>B</sup> .i. claideb

<sup>C</sup> aliīs ro·théig

<sup>D</sup> in aliīs, Ō ra·tugai casai cró

---

<sup>102</sup> *LU* moroga.

<sup>103</sup> *Eg* nó.

<sup>104</sup> *LU* indiu dubchend.

<sup>105</sup> *LU* ndedguirm; *Eg* dhendghorm.

**9**

Every faint-hearted overlord,  
you have advice from me about him;  
let him come right-handwise about the region,  
my champion's leftovers [shall be] his.

**10**

It is not on the necks of oxen or cows  
[that] my hero's rapier is blunted; <sup>A</sup>  
it is upon kings that it makes a whistling noise,  
Díarmait's 'black-head' today. <sup>B</sup>

**11**

Gúaire son of Colmán, the king  
that has shat on the trees of Aidne; <sup>C</sup>  
he has dropped faeces as big as a cow's head  
for fear of my champion.

**12**

When a shower of blood has speckled <sup>D</sup>  
Díarmait's splendid-hued tunic;  
the outfit of a man who vanquishes battalions  
is not meet without many colours.

---

<sup>A</sup> i.e. a sword

<sup>B</sup> i.e. a sword

<sup>C</sup> in others, he fled

<sup>D</sup> in others, when a gory mantle has covered him

**13 (= Recension 1b q. 13 = Recension 2 q. 14)**

Ō ro·brecca bróenān cró  
brunni gabra Dīarmató;  
usce<sup>106</sup> assa·negar Grip  
ní lūstai fri sacarbaic.<sup>107</sup>

**14 (= Recension 1b q. 14 = Recension 2 q. 15)**

Ō do·lēcther<sup>108</sup> immasech  
cranna fīanna<sup>109</sup> for cech leth;  
nīpo decmaing<sup>110</sup> caisel<sup>111</sup> cró<sup>A</sup>  
for crund a durn<sup>112</sup> Dīarmató.

**15 (= Recension 1b q. 15 = Recension 2 q. 16)**

Ō ro·sernatar<sup>113</sup> gaī bic  
i tossuch a n-immaric,  
is í diäs cíta·ric<sup>114</sup>  
a gabair 7 Dīarmait.<sup>115</sup> A Dīarmait.<sup>116</sup>

---

<sup>A</sup> nó crottball

---

<sup>106</sup> *Eg* *uuscuus*.

<sup>107</sup> *Eg* *gansacarbíg*.

<sup>108</sup> *Eg* *Olégither*.

<sup>109</sup> *LU* *fanna*.

<sup>110</sup> *LU* *nípodecmait*.

<sup>111</sup> *LU, Eg* *casal*.

<sup>112</sup> *LU* *aduirnd*.

<sup>113</sup> *LU* *doseratár*.

<sup>114</sup> *LU* *isí cétní and arric; Eg* *isiat días cetarig*.

<sup>115</sup> *LU* *agai isagabair ladiarmait; Eg* *aghabar. ocus diarmait*.

<sup>116</sup> *LU* *om.; Eg* *Gach mac*.

**13**

When a shower of blood has speckled  
the breast of Díarmait's horse;  
the water with which Grip is washed  
is not to be drunk at the sacrament.

**14**

When are being cast in turn  
warlike spears on every side,  
a gory cloak were not unusual <sup>A</sup>  
on a shaft from Díarmait's fist.

**15**

When the small spears have been arrayed  
at the beginning of their conflict,  
the two that first arrive  
are Díarmait and his horse.

---

<sup>A</sup> or a husk

**16 (= Recension 1b q. 16 = Recension 2 q. 17)**

Ad·nuü, ar Gūare,<sup>117</sup> [*read* At·nuü]

dā·rís<sup>118</sup> Sinich<sup>119</sup> co cruü<sup>120</sup>

nīcos·fāicéb<sup>121</sup> la biü,

ata·biü com luü.

**17 (= Recension 1b q. 17 = Recension 2 q. 18)**

Ad·nuü, or sisi,<sup>122</sup> [*read* At·nuü]

nī·ric Sinich<sup>123</sup> co cruü,

nī·fil ócu 'ca himochaid,<sup>124</sup> <sup>A</sup>

cid nacid nacha·fitir<sup>125</sup> nuü? <sup>B</sup> [*read* cid nachid·fitir nuü]

**§xvii (= Stokes §29 = Recension 1b §xxix = Recension 2 §xxi)**

Luid-seom iarom, int ī Gúaire, do Ōenuch Thailten<sup>126</sup> ar chend Dīarmata,  
7 mīach argait leis dīa thabairt do Feraib hĒrend.

**§xviii (= Stokes §30 = Recension 1b §xxx = Recension 2 §xxii)**

'Maith,' or Dīarmait, 'in fer do·thǣt chucaib. At·ethaid a indili oca thig.  
Is sárugud dam-sa trūag nó thrén<sup>127</sup> do chungid neich cucai.'

---

<sup>A</sup> in aliīs, 'ga imdegail

<sup>B</sup> nó canco to·ractatar

---

<sup>117</sup> *LU* Adnuu ón adnuu; *Eg* Atnuu.

<sup>118</sup> *LU* dareis.

<sup>119</sup> *Eg* sínech.

<sup>120</sup> *Eg* comcruu.

<sup>121</sup> *LU* nocosfáecebad; *Eg* nochusfuigeba.

<sup>122</sup> *LU* Adnuu orsi; *Eg* Atnuu.

<sup>123</sup> *LU* sinech.

<sup>124</sup> *Eg* caimfochaid.

<sup>125</sup> *LU* cidnácifitir; *Eg* cidnaccidfitir.

<sup>126</sup> *LU* talten.

<sup>127</sup> *LU* *add.* isind óenuch.

**16**

I swear it, said Gúaire,  
if I reach Sinech with a hoof  
I will never leave her with the living,  
I will smite her with my kick.

**17**

I swear it, she said,  
he does not reach Sinech with a hoof,  
warriors are not assailing her;<sup>A</sup>  
why does he not know it now?<sup>B</sup>

**§xvii**

He went then, the aforementioned Gúaire, to the Fair of Tailtiu to meet Díarmait, with a bushel of silver to give to the Men of Ireland.

**§xviii**

'Good,' said Díarmait, '[is] the man who comes to you. Ye receive his goods at his dwelling. It is an outrage to me should a weak one or a strong one ask anything of him.'

---

<sup>A</sup> in others, defending her

<sup>B</sup> or because they have not arrived

**§xix (= Stokes §31 = Recension 1b §xxxix = Recension 2 §xxiii)**

Luid-seom didiū co·mbuí for láim Dīarmata for foradaib bít and a llaä-sin.<sup>128</sup> Nī·comtich<sup>129</sup> nech ní chucai-seom. Bá machtad leis-[s]eom ón.<sup>130</sup>

**§xx (= Stokes §32 = Recension 1b §xxxii = Recension 2 §xxiv)**

Medón laí arna bārach:<sup>131</sup> ‘Maith, a Dīarmait,’ ar Gūaire. ‘Epscop do gairm chucum-sa co·tard-sa mo choibsena dó.’ ‘Cid sō?’ ol Dīarmait. ‘Cid nāch mana éca lat-su dam-sa, a Dīarmait, áit i·taät<sup>132</sup> Fir hĒrend, etir thrúag 7 trén, nād·cunnig nech díb ní chucum-sa?’

**§xxi (= Stokes §33 = Recension 1b §xxxiii = Recension 2 §xxv)**

‘Nīrai·gēbthar<sup>133</sup> fort,’ or Dīarmait. ‘Mīach argait duit sundút.’ ‘A·tá argat immorro lim-sa,’ or Gūaire.

**§xxii (= Stokes §34 = Recension 1b §xxxiv = Recension 2 §xxvi)**

At·raracht iarom<sup>134</sup> 7 nos·tairbir assa díb lāmaib. Et as·berat-som ba lethfota a lám ōnd ūair-sin oc rochtain na céli nDé.

**§xxiii (= Stokes §35 = Recension 1b §xxxv = Recension 2 §xxvii)**

Do·gnīat iarom ógsíd, .i. Dīarmait 7 Gūaire. Et<sup>135</sup> ro·gabsat Fir hĒrend in n-í<sup>136</sup> Gūaire do chomairlid 7 do chind athchomairc dóib.<sup>137</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> LU bith isind óenuch.

<sup>129</sup> LU Inlasin tra nichuinnig.

<sup>130</sup> LU anísin.

<sup>131</sup> LU om.

<sup>132</sup> LU hitát.

<sup>133</sup> LU Nírogebthar.

<sup>134</sup> LU immorro gúairi.

<sup>135</sup> LU 7.

<sup>136</sup> LU intí.

<sup>137</sup> LU add. onduairsin triabithu cein robobeó.

### **§xix**

He went then so that he was at Díarmait's side on platforms that are there on that day. Nobody asks anything of him. That was indeed surprising to him.

### **§xx**

At midday the following day: 'Well, O Díarmait,' said Gúaire, 'let a bishop be called to me that I may make my confession to him.' 'What is this?' said Díarmait. 'Is it not a portent to you of my death, O Díarmait, a place in which the Men of Ireland are, both weak and strong, [yet] none of whom asks anything of me?'

### **§xxi**

'You will not be able to be assailed,' said Díarmait. 'A bushel of silver here for you.' 'But I have silver,' said Gúaire.

### **§xxii**

He arose then, and he yields it from his two hands. And they say that one of his arms was longer than the other from that time [from] reaching out to the clients of God.

### **§xxiii**

Then they make a perfect peace, i.e. Díarmait and Gúaire. And the Men of Ireland took the aforementioned Gúaire as an adviser and as chief counsellor to them.

## Textual notes on Recension 1a

### §i

**rod·n·alt·som.** Note the correct use of the Class C infixed pronoun 3sg. masculine in a relative clause.

**No·bertis.** The imperfect implies the repeated theft of Sinech Cró's cattle, emphasising the wrong visited upon her and casting Díarmait's inactivity in starker relief. Note the correct use of the empty preverb *no*, in place of which *ro* and *do* begin to appear in Middle Irish (EIV, 197, §5.3).

**imchossait.** In the prose of Recension 1, intervocalic or final *s* is doubled on eight occasions in one or both of LL/LU. In four of these cases, the doubling is found in both MSS. It may well have been a feature of the archetype. In the verse, there are several other examples of doubled *s* in one or other or both MSS. This feature of our text is a little more common in LL than LU. Thurneysen finds that geminates 'are most frequently written double between a stressed short vowel and another vowel, and also in final position after a stressed short vowel', which is the case in only some cases in CCC, and that *ss* comes to be written less consistently in later sources (GOI, §144; see, also, Feuth, 1983). Meid (2015, 35) suggests that the early practice was to render unlenited *s* as *ss* word-internally between short vowels, word-finally after a short vowel, and after pretonic elements consisting of or ending in a vowel. It may be noted that the orthography of early (before *circa* 900) Hiberno-Latin texts frequently has the 'spellings *s* for *ss*, *ss* for *s*', which has been 'explained as arising from the interchangeability of intervocalic *s*, *ss* in vernacular orthography' (P. A. Breatnach, 1988, 59). Bieler and Carney (1972, 4) have declared doubled *s* in Latin texts an 'obvious "Hibernicism"'. However, it may also appear in 'non-Irish Latin' (Löfstedt, 1965, 102).

**etir Dīarmait 7 Gúaire Aidne.** The headword in DIL (s.v.) contains the variants *eter*, *etir*. In LL, we find *et-* with suspension stroke (repeated in §xx). We also find *et-* with suspension stroke at both these points in the tale in LU, while Eg contains *it-* with suspension stroke in Recension 2 §xv and §xviii. The conjugated preposition 3pl. occurs as *etorro* in Recension 1b §iv, and *et-ro* and *et-ru* in Recension 2 §i and §v, respectively (the hyphen in these forms representing the *ur* superscript hook). Griffith (2016, 55–6), acknowledging that the number of abbreviated examples makes for some uncertainty, has gathered examples of the simple and conjugated preposition in the Glosses, reaching the following conclusion: ‘[t]he tonic variant in all gloss collections is nearly always *etar* [...] On the other hand, the pretonic variant is equally clearly either *eter* (*Wb.*) or *etir* (*Ml.* and *Sg.*)’ (the ratio in *Ml.* and *Sg.* of unambiguous pretonic *etir* to *eter* is 55:0 and 9:2 respectively). The forms present in all recensions of CCC are roughly in accordance with these findings. In the other pretonic examples of *et-* and *it-*, the suspension stroke will be expanded *-ir*.

As this preposition governs the accusative, we might expect nasalisation of the initial of *Aidne*. In Middle Irish, the nominative may be used in place of the accusative in the second of two grammatical objects of a verb preceded by *ocus* (McKenna, 1944, 240, §70b). Jackson (1990, 86, §xxi) identifies this development with the use of nominative for accusative after *ocus* where two nouns follow a preposition governing the accusative.

Aidne is a territory ‘equiv. to d. Kilmacduagh, in bb. Kiltartan, Dunkellin and Loughrea in S.W. corner of GY’ (Ó Riain, Ó Murchadha and Murray, 2003, s.n. *Aidhne* (1)).

## 1a

**Dīarmait.** Thurneysen (GOI, §345.2) explains the name as a compound of negative *dí-* and *format* ‘envy’, a view adhered to by Uhlich (1993, 226), who points out that the name originally contained a hiatus (i.e.

*Diör-* > *Diär-* > *Díar-*). Contraction of hiatus is metrically guaranteed here.

**mallchobair.** Most simple adjectives may 'precede the noun they qualify. In that case [...] they form a compound with it, i.e. remain uninflected, lenite the following initial, and take the stress' (GOI, §363). In translating *cobair*, I follow McKenna's (1919, 69, line 9b) treatment of it as a figurative usage applied to the one who provides help: *teasda cabhair múir Mhaicniadh* 'gone is the guardian of Maicniadh's fort'. Breatnach (2016b, 1–3, 5) has recently discussed 'the phenomenon in Old Irish whereby the same word can be used to denote both an abstract concept and a person who embodies it'. *Cobair* (DIL s.v.) has very variable inflection. Thurneysen (1940, 26) has shown it to have been originally inflected as a feminine t-stem. It occurs twice in **q. 5**, but both examples there are in the nominative singular.

### 1b

**ūamain.** Presumably this form in palatal final *n*, found in LL/Eg but not LU, occurs under the influence of the occasionally attested feminine variant. As this variant seems to be relatively late, it is unlikely to have been contained in the archetype (see DIL s.v. *omun*, *ómun*).

**fon·fodair.** Stokes (1901a, 205) translates 'destroys us', saying that the verb is 'cogn. with Ir. *dar-cabaltith*' (ibid. n. 2). The editors of DIL (s.v. *darcabáltid*), however, find that his explanation of this latter formation 'is wrong', though they follow his translation of the verb in question (s.v. *fo-fodair*; the translation would accord well with a verbal form based on *gáirid/gairid* 'crushes, destroys': DIL s.v. *gáirid*). So does O'Leary (1987, 31), while Mac Eoin (1989, 170) suggests that the verb may be '*fo-geir* ['heats, inflames; (fig.) chafes, irritates, excites': DIL s.v.] with doubling of the preverb'.

One possible solution is that it is a verbal form based on *\*fo-uss-ber-*, with confusion of *d* for *b* evidenced in all of the MSS. Such confusion, not overly surprising where two relatively similar letterforms are involved, would have to have taken place at an early stage in the text's MS transmission. Hollo (2005, 93, §38) says of a similar form occurring in *Fled Bricrenn*:

[i]t is very common to find an *f*, acting as a hiatus marker, inserted between the pretonic and stressed portions of a deuterotonic verb, when the former ends and the latter begins with a vowel [...] The existence of the vb. *do-fúabair* (< *\*to-fo-uss-ber*) would further encourage the production of a form such as *fo-fúabair*.

The presence of an infixed pronoun in *fonfodair*, however, renders such a hiatus marker unnecessary. Another form in *Fled Bricrenn* appears to show a redundant intrusive *f* in an augmented verbal form, where *for-fúaccrad* 'is no doubt influenced by forms of the verb without *ro*' (ibid. 94). While *fo-óbair* 'falls upon, assails, attacks (a person or place)' makes good sense here (DIL s.v. *fúabair*, *fóbair* (a)), if it were the underlying verb both the early confusion of *d* and *b* and an early occurrence of intrusive *f* where no hiatus marker is required would have had to have taken place. Furthermore, its long vowel does not rhyme with the short *o* of *mallchobair* (see Murphy, 1961, 30).

In DIL's (s.v. *omun*, *ómun*) entry on *ómun*, there are only two examples of its use as subject of a transitive verb: *ros-lín oman* ('terror filled them': Atkinson, 1887, 72, line 1121, trans. 315); *nos gébad ule crith 7 uamun* ('trembling and fear would take possession of them all': Windisch, 1880, 179, §14, my translation). In translating the verbal form *fonfodair*, I am inclined to follow the idea of being filled with or seized by fear. This is the meaning I provide in the glossary, though I have been unable to determine the underlying root of the verb.

## 1c

**ar it anmand.** The expected form of the present 2sg. of the copula is *at*. However, in ‘close combination with **air** “for” *a-* sometimes turns into *i-*’ (GOI, §792). It is possible, though unlikely, that the form with *i-* occurs under the influence of 3pl. *it* (Griffith, 2016, 50). It is also possible that 2sg. *it* is a late creation (ibid. 51, n. 35).

*Anmand* consists of *an-* compounded with *o/ā*-stem *fann* ‘weak, lacking strength or power’ (DIL s.v. 2 *fann*). Stokes (1901a, 205) translates ‘since thou art weak’, with intensive prefix, followed by O’Leary (1987, 31: ‘[s]ince you are feeble’). In treating of negative *an-*, Dillon (1944, 95) suggests it was originally followed by nasalisation, this mutation being replaced later by lenition. Leniting intensive *an-* he considers a much later phenomenon (ibid. 99–101), though DIL (s.v. *an-*(c)) provides some examples of its use in Middle Irish. When nasalised, *f* becomes *v = β* (GOI, §236.1). Meanwhile, the symbols for voiced spirants were ambiguous: ‘spirant *m*, a nasal in the articulation of which the lips, instead of being closed, formed a narrow friction channel to produce a nasalized *β*. This sound is not distinguished in writing from the pure nasal *m*’ (GOI, §29; it has been pointed out that this is not, strictly speaking, true, as there was the option of rendering nasal /m/ as <mm>, whereas fricative nasalised *β* was never written so: see ‘GOI Reading Group 12, 9 March 2017’, available at: [http://www.academia.edu/31792027/GOI\\_Reading\\_Group\\_12\\_-\\_9.3.2017](http://www.academia.edu/31792027/GOI_Reading_Group_12_-_9.3.2017) (last accessed 13 March 2017)). Negative *an-* with concomitant nasalisation might explain the unusual orthography of *anmann* (i.e. why it is not rendered *anfann*).

That Díarmait should be presented as militarily powerful rather than especially weak is borne out by his annalistic record. In AU, no other figure in the seventh century emerges victorious from four violent encounters (s.aa. 635 (x2), 649, 654). Nor did he die a violent death, unlike so many of his bellicose contemporaries, succumbing to

pestilence in 665 or 668. Gúaire, by contrast, appears as the loser in two battles, never the victor (s.aa. 627, 649).

**cloithe.** The declaration that Díarmait is *anmann* ‘not weak’ implies that he is *able* to intervene on Sinech’s behalf. The genitive is quite regular ‘[a]s the complement of adjectives, particularly those meaning “able”’ (GOI, §250.2).

Later forms of *clód* (DIL s.v., verbal noun of *cloïd* ‘turns, overthrows’) show a high degree of variation. A u-stem, the historically correct genitive singular is *clótho*. This is the form Carney (1964, 82, §241) restores in the Blathmac poems for MS *cloita*. One does not expect to find palatal *t* here: *ā* prevented ‘palatalisation of the following consonant by any unsynopated vowel, even *i*, in the next syllable’ (McCone, 2000, 186), and *ō* had a comparable effect on the palatalisation of a following consonant (see McCone, 1997, 304–5, 308–9). On this basis, and on that of the relative conservatism of u-stem nominal inflection elsewhere in the verse, *clótho* might be employed in a restored text.

**cath.** A masculine u-stem, according to DIL (s.v. 1 *cath*). In standard Old Irish, the genitive singular of monosyllabic u-stems ends in *-o/-a*, the genitive plural in *-(a)e*. In Middle Irish, the form of the u-stem genitive plural is generally the same as that of the nominative singular (MG, §5.8). Thurneysen (GOI, §309) states that the inflectional similarity to their o-stem counterparts of u-stems lacking ‘*u*-quality’, of which *cath* is one, led to early confusion between the two classes. Thus, genitive dual (neuter) *da Loch* (rather than *da Locho/a*) is taken by the editors of Broccán’s Hymn as one indicator of a date of composition later than the early part of the ninth century (Stokes and Strachan, 1901–3, ii, xxxviii–xxxix). Breatnach (1987, 77) suggests the genitive plural (neuter) *drécht* ‘would seem to be in keeping with a date in the late eighth century’. There is some confusion of u- and o-stems, at least

in the genitive singular, as early as Wb. (McCone, 1985b, 90). Thurneysen (GOI, §309) also wrote that confusion was aided by ‘the existence of doublets of the same word, a masculine *u*-stem beside a neuter *o*-stem’ (e.g. *fis* ‘knowledge’ with genitive singular forms *fis(s)* and *fesso/a*). While compound personal names with *cath* as their second element could show either *u*- or *o*-stem inflection (e.g. genitive *Donnchaid* beside *Donnchado/a*), it seems that this was a late development (Uhlich, 1993, 131, §99). One option, so, is to consider genitive plural *cath* an early example of the confusion of *u*- and *o*-stems.

Later on in the verse, we find accusative plural *catha* (**q. 12c** : *ildatha*), the expected ending of accusative plural neuter *u*-stems in Old Irish. Of *dath* ‘colour’, DIL (s.v. 1 *dath*) states that ‘n pl. *dath* [...] points to neuter gender’. Hull (1949, 94) finds *dath* to have been of variable gender in the Old Irish period. Hogan (1892, 218, 225) includes both *cath* and *dath* in his collection of neuter nouns. Perhaps *cath* has neuter inflection in the verse in CCC (compare neuter genitive plural *drécht*, without inflectional ending, above). Its forms in Wb. are ambiguous as to gender (see Kavanagh, 2001, s.v., where the noun is assigned masculine gender). Stifter’s forthcoming article on zero-endings of the genitive plural of neuter *u*-stems may cast further light on this issue (referenced in Stifter, 2015, 98, n. 170). Finally, the fact Old Welsh *cat* and Middle Welsh *cad* were feminine (Matasović, 2009, s.v. *\*katu-*) may lend some support to the contention that *cath* was originally neuter.

An (admittedly unlikely) alternative to reading *cath* as genitive plural is to take it as predicate of the copula with inverted word order (i.e. read *it cath clótho anmann* ‘you are a fighter that turns back very weak ones/ones that are not weak’; compare *in cath-amra*, translated ‘the famous fighter’, in Gwynn, 1903, 64.2). Alliteration, which is not a prominent feature of our poem but which we find here in *cath* and *clótho* (indeed this might be considered complex alliteration: see Sproule, 1987, 185–6), is common when a genitive precedes its head noun (Carney, 1983, 201), and Thurneysen states anastrophe may be

taken to great lengths in verse (GOI, §250.1; he gives this remarkable example: *Márta for slúaig saithiu for for saithiu slúaig Márta* ‘on the swarm of the host of March’). This reading anticipates the later reference (**q. 12c**) to Díarmait as *fer cluäs catha*.

## 1d

**chucund.** Early examples of lenition of the initial of conjugated prepositions are found in Ml. and Sg., though not Wb. This becomes the norm in Middle Irish, though examples without lenition can occasionally still be found (see MG, §13.7; McCone (1985b, 88–9) suggests the lenited initial was ‘arguably a feature of colloquial speech by the eighth century’). In her MA thesis, Jongeleen (2016) posits two inconclusive hypotheses for the emergence of lenited initials in conjugated forms of *co* and *tar*. The first (ibid. 34–9) involves lenition through ‘prepositional constructions’ (where a preposition alters the meaning of a verb with which it is closely connected, giving it a figurative connotation). The second (ibid. 40–1) involves lenition of destination (she acknowledges that this theory suffers from heavy reliance on forms of *co*, which ‘always expresses destination and especially so in the context of verbs of motion’).

In Recension 1a of our text, there are seven conjugated forms of *co*: *tair chucund* (**q. 1d**); *foīd chucai* (**q. 2d**); *do·tháet chucu* (§**xii**); *do·thāet chucaib* (§**xviii**); *is sárugud dam-sa trūag nó thrén do chungid neich cucai* (§**xviii**); *nī-comtich nech ní chucai-seom* (§**xix**); *epscoip do gairm chucum-sa* (§**xx**). In the final two examples, forms with (orthographically) unlenited initial appear in Recension 1b (§§**xxxi**, **xxxii**). If these are taken as representative of the archetype, the earliest prosimetric stratum of CCC arguably contains a sample of four examples of conjugated *co* with lenited initial and three without. When tested against Jongeleen’s hypotheses, we see that in both instances where a ‘prepositional construction’ is involved (forms of *con-diëig co*), lenition is absent. The aspect of destination is stronger in the other five

examples, in four of which lenition is found (LU's *cucum-sa* occurs after a verbal noun rather than a finite verb).

Jongeleen points out (*ibid.* 25) that Pedersen (1898, 332, §19) and Thurneysen (GOI, §233) posit that 'the lenition of adverbs is of the same post-verbal origin as object lenition'. Interestingly, where conjugated forms of *co* directly follow a finite verb in our sample, its initial is always lenited. Where it is separated from the verb or follows a verbal noun, its initial is unlenited.

**a duinebad.** It is impossible to say with certainty whether *a* is to be read as the preposition 'out of' or the vocative particle. Stokes (1901a, 205) translates 'out of the manslaying', followed by O'Leary (1987, 31). O'Grady (1892, i, 396), however, chooses the alternative, supplying lenition where none is found in any of the MSS: *tair chucainn a dhuinebath* (he neglects to translate it: see *ibid.* ii, 431). The editors of DIL (s.v. *duineba(d)*) also treat the noun as vocative. As punctuation is not imposed in the diplomatic editions of the Book of Leinster or *Lebor na hUidre*, I cannot know how their editors interpreted it. Nor does the inflectional form cast light on the issue: as this o-stem was originally neuter (DIL s.v. 1 *bath*), the vocative and dative singular were formally identical. If the form is interpreted as vocative, the non-palatal final suggests the survival of neuter gender in the verse. If dative, it is of no evidential value as neutral quality of final *-th/d* is to be found after *a* in the dative singular of o-stems (GOI, §170(a)).

DIL (s.v.) defines *duineba(d)* as 'mortality, destruction of life (esp. caused by disease or epidemic)'. It states that the noun may be used figuratively of a person, giving as examples this line and one from the Book of Fenagh: *Bid he in duinebad co nim | Int Oed Engach a Cruachuin* 'He'll be the poisonous pestilence | This Aedh Engach from Cruachan' (Hennessy, 1875, 374–5). Áed Engach is 'the prophesied one', who 'surpasses all who have come before him in physical appearance, in exemplary traits, in potential'; his advent manifests itself

in ‘the prosperity of the country’; he ‘will rule/free Ireland; he will win battles and be victorious over the foreigners; he is the deliverer [...] who unfetters Ireland’ (Ó Buachalla, 1989, 201–2, 204, 208). The appellation, applied to him, can hardly be other than positive, and Áed Engach is seen in this poem to inflict on his enemies a fate similar to that suffered by Gúaire’s forces at Carn Conaill. It seems to me that Sinech looks to Díarmait as deliverer. This makes better sense than translating ‘come to us out of the epidemic’. In this quatrain then, if my reading is correct, the lexical items placed in the vocative alter from neutral to critical to laudatory.

## 2a

**Lēic do Díarmait.** Confusion of *de* and *do* occurs from an early stage (GOI, §831B). In conjunction with the former, the verb has the meanings ‘desists/abstains from’; with the latter it can mean ‘leaves to or for, entrusts to; allows (to do, have, etc.)’ (DIL s.v. *léicid* II (e) and (f), respectively). It seems the audience is being instructed not to pressure Díarmait, who may not know the full extent of their travails; they are asked rather to trust him and honour him with a feast, after which he may be prevailed upon to act on their behalf. LL/Eg’s reading, therefore, makes better sense than LU’s *de*. Note that in the previous quatrain Díarmait was being addressed. The switch from referring to him in the second person to the third is perfectly normal (see Ó Baoill (1990) and Sims-Williams (2005)).

Stokes (1901a, 205) translates ‘[l]et Diarmait alone’. No preposition is employed in the examples in DIL (s.v. *léicid* I (e)) in which *léicid* has this meaning (e.g. *leic a oenur*), though *lig do X* has this meaning today.

**na-rāid friss.** Stokes (1901a, 205) translates ‘speak not to him’, taking the verb as negative imperative with its object in the next line. A reading with the empty preverb *no* and 3sg. neuter infix (i.e. ‘tell it to

him’) chimes better with line **d** of this quatrain (where it is stated that if sent for, Díarmait will come).

## 2b

**in cath ní hēol.** Stokes (1901a, 204) takes *in cath* as the object of the verb in the previous line. I am inclined to treat *in cath ní (h)éol* as a copular clause with irregular word order (i.e. read *ní (h)éol in cath [do Díarmait]* ‘the battle is not known [to Díarmait]’: according to Mac Cana (1973, 95), such a divergence from normal word order ‘is typical of early Irish verse usage’; a comparable example from those he supplies is *bríathar Tassaig nīrbu gō* ‘Tassach’s word was not false’). There are further examples in the verse in CCC of the stylistic device of locating the verb other than at the head of its clause (e.g. **1b** *ómun Gúairi fon·fodair*; **3a** *Rúanaid as·beirthe co ssé*). As stated above, I take this quatrain to mean that Díarmait is ignorant of the straits in which the complainant finds herself.

It is questionable whether aspiration of the initial of *éol* would have been represented by *h* in the archetype. Although the negative copula 3sg. does aspirate a following vowel, this was not the function of the grapheme *h*: ‘[t]hough the letter *h* was merely graphic, Old Irish had also a spoken *h* [...] for which, however, there was no symbol; the use of Latin *h* to represent it dates from the Mid. Ir. period’ (GOI, §25; Thurneysen highlights circumstances in which the letter was employed. How exactly to interpret word-initial *h* is still a matter of some debate: see Schrijver, 1997a).

**nī rrādaís.** The MS reading in Eg is *irradais*. If LL/Eg contain a verbal form, it appears to be the preterite 3sg. relative of W2 *rádid* (i.e. *rádis*), with the neuter indefinite pronoun as antecedent, giving a possible translation ‘that which he said [is not known]’. McCone points out that though the citational form in DIL is *rádid*, the verb originally had a non-palatal stem-final consonant which became palatalised by analogy with

mainstream W2 verbs as early as the Old Irish period (see EIV, 27–8, and McCone, 2000, 146). The form of the imperative 2sg. in the previous line (*na·ráid*) suggests that this change had already taken place by the time our poem was written. It is more likely, however, that a glide vowel was introduced there in the course of the text's MS transmission than that the uncommon form *rádais* for *ráidis* is as a result of scribal interference. Furthermore, we have seen on p. 30 that *rádais* could rhyme with *friss* in our text, as rhymes where only the quality of the final consonant are taken into consideration appear permissible. Another possibility is to take *ní* as the negative particle and the verb as 2sg., the doubled *r* representing nasalisation due to a masculine infix (i.e. 'you did not tell him').

Alternatively, the editors of DIL have interpreted (*n-*)*irradais* as the genitive singular of *aurradus* 'native law; leadership' (DIL s.v. *aurradus* (d)). If the nasalisation present in LL were justified, the genitive would have to be taken as object of neuter *cath* (see pp 79–80), giving a reading, with normalised word order, of *ní eól in/a cath (n-)irradais* 'he does not know of the battle for leadership/of native law'. It is not entirely clear, however, what this means. Perhaps there is an implication that Díarmait's failure to support his foster mother is symptomatic of an unfamiliarity with or lack of respect for his legal duty to her. Alternatively, the *n* of *nirradais* may have inadvertently been added by a scribe who took *-radais* as a verbal form.

LU, however, seems to provide the superior reading (see p. 147).

## 2c

**dēnaid choirm.** In both Ml. and Sg., lenition may be found after any verbal form (GOI, §233). It is also found in Blathmac's poetry, e.g. *[r]osn-ír thír as deg din bith* '[h]e endowed them with the best country in the world' (Carney, 1964, 32–3, line 381). The offer of ale or, more likely, of an invitation to an ale-feast places Díarmait under a further obligation (on the motivations for the giving of gifts in early societies

see O’Leary, 1984). Finally, Sinech’s offer of *coirm* to Díarmait evokes images of the ale of sovereignty offered by a female figure to a would-be king in mythology (see Irslinger, 2017, esp. 52–73). While Stokes (1901a, 205) follows LU (‘[d]o right (?) to him as he is’, suggesting that the ale in LL/Eg is ‘to give Diarmait what is called in English “Dutch courage”’ (ibid. n. 6)), it seems to me that the reading in LL/Eg has more to recommend it (further to this, see pp 147–8).

According to DIL (s.v.), *cuirm* was originally a neuter i-stem before taking on neuter n-stem inflection. It is unclear to which category the form in our text belongs. If it had become an n-stem by the time the verse was composed, its formal identity with the nominative singular suggests it had retained neuter inflection.

The 2pl. imperative is in contrast to the 2sg. employed in lines a (x2) and **d** of this quatrain (**2d** also contains a 2sg. infix). Poetic licence presumably allows for such a switch between numbers when the poet addresses an audience. Sims-Williams (2005, 319) finds ‘that person-switching was already well established in Gaelic poetry by the tenth century, both as an acceptable figure (for some poets) and as a fault (for others)’. His survey, however, is restricted to instances of shifting between the second and third persons singular.

**mār a·tá.** Mac Eoin (1989, 170) includes ‘*ma ra-tá*’ among a list of examples of correct usage of infixed pronouns in the verse in CCC, and it is tempting to read ‘if he can have it’, with dative infix and *ro* of possibility. However, the root \**ta-* resists augmentation (EIV, 145, §3.1). Stokes (1901a, 205) translates ‘as he is’, interpreting the form as the conjunction *mar* with the substantive verb. Not found in the Glosses, this conjunction was, apparently, ‘common from the tenth century’ (Bergin, 1946, 142, n. 1; Mac Eoin (1977, 23) writes that the monosyllabic form of *immar* is not found before *Saltair na Rann* (tenth century); see, also, O’Rahilly, 1971, 125–9). This suggests it may have been an uncommon feature of the language of the (late?) ninth century.

It may be better, in light of the apparent date of the verse, to take this as the substantive verb with the adjective *már* in a cleft sentence (i.e. [*is*] *már a-tá* ‘[it is] great that he is’), supplying the reason for the proposed ale-feast in Díarmait’s honour. Kelly (1976, xxxi, §5) writes that the variants *már/mór* are both found in Ml.

If my reading of the form in question is correct, it is, perhaps, odd that none of the three scribes rendered the adjective with *o/ó*. Note, also, that in none of the MSS is a length mark provided: in each case the form is rendered with *m* followed by the *quia* mark.

## 2d

**chucai.** Note non-palatal /g/, also evidenced in Eg. The corresponding form in LU, with glide vowel lacking, is ambiguous as to the quality of the consonant. Under the influence of 3sg. feminine *cuice*, the older 3sg. masculine form tended later to be replaced by *cu(i)ci* (McCone, 2000, 166).

**doth·aideba.** A form of *do·aidlea* (DIL s.v.). The omission of the *l* of the root (*\*to-ad-ell-*) seems to be an error common to LL and Eg. DIL has no examples of any form of this verb (or of later *taidlid*) from which the letter *l* is absent. The *f* of the f-future is often voiced to *b* after an unstressed vowel (EIV, 41, §2.1). Palatal and non-palatal variants of postvocalic *f/b* may be found (e.g. *·aidleba/·aidlibea*: *ibid.* 42).

The lenited *t* of the infix (only found in LL) possibly occurred under the influence of lenited short forms of the possessive 2sg. which may appear before vowels (although after a preposition ending in a vowel the reduced *t* of the possessive is never lenited: GOI, §439).

## 3a

**Rúanaid.** *Cóir Anmann*, a Middle Irish work on personal names, deals at some length with this appellation (see Arbuthnot, 2007, 38–9, §135, trans. 112–3).

**co sē.** Breatnach (2003, 133) posits that ‘there are no grounds for postulating a category of words ending in a short stressed vowel in Old Irish’, including Middle Irish also in this analysis (ibid. 139). Hereafter, such forms will silently be provided with a macron unless noteworthy.

### 3b

**ar mét.** Apparently the usual Old Irish nominative singular of this feminine noun is *mét*, genitive *méite* (DIL s.v. *méit*, *mét*), suggesting *ā*-stem inflection. Thurneysen lists the noun among others that, ‘except for their genitive in *-e*, are indistinguishable from *i*-stems in the singular’ (GOI, §294(b)). Stifter (2006, 372, s.v.) classifies *méit* as a ‘short’ *i*-stem. However one classifies it, the noun seems likely to have had a palatal final in the accusative or dative singular in the archetype. Which case we are dealing with is impossible to say: where *ar* means ‘because of’ it may be followed by either (DIL s.v. 1 *ar*).

**a áne.** Where LU has *a náire*. Both *áine* and *náire* are permitted by the metre. The former may mean ‘splendour, glory’ (DIL s.v. 1 *áine*). *Náire* derives from *nár*, the primary meaning of which is ‘noble, magnanimous’, secondarily coming to mean ‘bashful’ (DIL s.v. 1 *nár*). There is little to recommend one reading over the other, though LL *usually* offers the superior.

### 3c

**indiu is.** Note that the metre requires elision of the vowel of the copula (see note on p. 110).

**im Mide.** The choice is between reading *i mMide* or *im Mide*. Stokes (1901a, 205) translates ‘in Meath’. The dative of this *io*-stem (DIL s.v. 2 *Mide*) would read *Midiu*. As this quatrain appears to be in *rannaigecht* metre (see below), the quality of the final vowel cannot help identify the superior reading. However, I think the sense favours a reading meaning

‘concerning Meath’. As Síl nÁedo Sláine were associated with Brega, it is plausible to regard Mide as the region Gúaire raided and the place to which Sinech Cró belonged. This suggests that Mide and Brega are distinct regions in our text (in some ‘documents Mide is used in a restricted sense to exclude Brega’: Walsh, 1940, 508). Militating against the suggestion that Díarmait was fostered in Mide is the tradition that his foster father was Lommainech king of the Mugdorna (Mac Shamhráin and Byrne, 2005, 200). Roughly corresponding to the modern-day barony of Cremorne in east Co. Monaghan (Ó Mórdha, 1971–2, 432), it seems unlikely that Gúaire would be depicted as raiding a territory so far afield for cattle. However, as it was normal for children of high status to be given into fosterage to several families (GEIL, 90), traditions involving two distinct periods of fosterage could easily have existed. There is some evidence to suggest it was not uncommon for the fosterer to be chosen from the mother’s kin (Bitel, 1996, 96–8). The *Banshenchas*, the Middle Irish account of the mothers of kings, says the following: *Eithne ingen Brenaind do Chondachtaib, bean Aeda Slaine [...] mathair a se mac .i. Diarmaid [...]* (Dobbs, 1931, 181). There is no evidence to link Sinech with this Eithne, though if she were of the Connachta it would, at least, provide her with a geographic location readily amenable to raiding by Gúaire. In a tale embedded in *Mionannála* directly before CCC, Díarmait’s fosterer is afforded such a pedigree. There we are told Muirenn wife of Ragallach son of Úatu was his foster mother (O’Grady, 1892, i, 396; trans., ii, 431), associating a period of Díarmait’s fosterage with Uí Briúin Aí of central Connacht (see Byrne, 1973, 234–5, 299–300). In adult life, Díarmait’s military career was centred west of the Shannon (E. Bhreathnach, 2014, 61). Perhaps the ties of artificial kinship gained confederates for him there.

The gloss *l conaill* may be related to the variant found in Eg (*gunálli*). I suggest reading *co n-áili*. The dative singular of *iā*-stem *áile* ‘timidity’ fails to provide rhyme with *Sláine* (if the date I assign to the verse is correct). It does, at least, make better sense than *áille* ‘beauty’

(both *áili* and *áilli* give consonance; as the *ll* of the latter occurs after a long vowel, it may accord with *n*: Murphy, 1961, 32). As for *Mide* : *Sláine*, the difference in vowel quantity means that the rules of consonance in disyllables (see *ibid.* 34) are not met. I therefore consider the quatrain to be in *rannaigeacht* metre, obviating the need for either *Mide* or *áili* to rhyme with anything. Finally, as the scribe had access to more than one source, the similarity of this gloss to the reading in Eg makes it likely that that gloss represents an alternate reading from another source.

#### 4a

**Trícha tinne, trícha bó.** As ‘the carcass of a bovine was simply too large to serve as an immediate and efficient source for the consumption of meat on a domestic scale,’ the killing of large animals necessitated ‘the development of social institutions that can facilitate the efficient consumption of large quantities of meat.’ One such was that of *cáe* ‘coshering’, the provision in winter of hospitality for a lord and his retinue. As ‘the carcasses of large animals tend to be hierarchical in terms of the quality of meat from different parts [...] [f]ormalised feasting [...] needs to be inclusive in terms of the rank of the participants [...] as persons of different status would have needed to be present to consume the meat’ (McCormick, 2009, 405). The volume of meat suggested for Díarmait’s *fuirec* would require a large number of people to consume it, probably over several days. Simms (1978, 74) writes that ‘a full-scale royal [...] progress might strain the resources not only of a single guest-house but of a small village. Certainly [...] *Críth Gablach* spoke of the prosperous *bóaire* as “ready to receive king or bishop [...] from the road”, but it also described twelve persons as the appropriate retinue for [...] a *rí* [...] The more exalted kings brought a correspondingly larger train of followers’. Binchy (1940, 20, n. 5) notes a rule from a later commentary which ‘may have applied in the earlier period also’: *[n]í uil áiream dáimhe for cae do rigaib* ‘[t]here is no limit

to a king's suite on a coshering'. No contemporary kings were more exalted than Díarmait.

The number thirty may in itself be significant. It is the quantity of cows mentioned several times with regard to pledges and compensation in the canonical text of *Di Gnímaib Gíall* (CIH 1756.04: *ARSUID TRICHU MBUAIR BERUR* 'it stipulates thirty cattle which are carried away') and in the commentary to it (CIH 1755.18–20, 1755.28–31, 1755.35–38, 1756.04–07, 1756.14–16, 1756.21–27, 1758.33–37; citations and translation from Healy, 2017). While it is not to be understood that a *fuirec* is related to the pledges and compensation treated of in this tract, the number 'thirty' may have a certain legal significance.

#### 4b

**fuirec.** It seems that *fuirec* (DIL s.v.), used especially of a provision for feeding or entertaining, may appear as a technical term used of a due.

**Cenīuil Ferguso.** I do not know of this appellation being applied elsewhere to Síl nÁedo Sláine. Byrne (1973, 90, 280–1) writes that Fergus Cerrbél was Áed Sláine's grandfather and Díarmait mac Cerbail his father. In his analysis of the rise to prominence of Clann Cholmáin, however, Mac Shamhráin (2000, 94–5) suggests Fergus Cerrbél represents a confusion, occurring in the eighth century or later, of two figures, i.e. Cerball son of Fergus. Fergus was thus Áed Sláine's great-grandfather.

#### 4c

**īcdaí.** Stokes (1901a, 205) translates 'was paid'. The verbal of necessity (i.e. *íccthai*), however, seems more fitting than the preterite passive (i.e. *íccthae*). I understand the line to portend the loss of face that would accrue from Díarmait's continued inactivity (and possible subsequent subjection to satire).

**dartaid.** DIL (s.v.) describes this animal as a ‘heifer or a bull calf’. Kelly (see EIF, 60–1) deems the term more likely to cover ‘the period of a castrated male’s life between its first and second birthdays’, while acknowledging the interpretation is problematic.

**i cind.** The *u* of the dative singular of *o*-stems is well attested elsewhere in the verse (e.g. **q. 14d** for *crund*, **15b** *i tossuch*). The form here is, at least, clearly distinct from nominative *cenn*.

**gait.** Stokes’ (1901a, 205) treatment of *gait* as genitive singular of *ā*-stem *gat* ‘taking away, theft’ (presumably this is the implication of his ‘of the prey’) is unjustified. Feminine verbal nouns (*gat* being verbal noun of *gataid*) were among the first nouns to take the form of the dative singular in place of the nominative, owing to the frequent appearance of the verbal noun with preceding preposition (see McCone, 1985b, 91). A distinction was maintained, however, between nominative and genitive singular.

The underlying form can only be *o*-stem *gat* ‘a withe; halter’ (DIL s.v. 1 *gat*). There are a number of references in the literature ‘to livestock being tied or restrained by a twisted willow withe (*gat*)’ (EIF, 384). The image of a single cow (or calf) at the end of a halter provides a striking contrast to that of the thirty cows suggested in the previous couplet as having previously been considered befitting provisions for Díarmait’s entertainment. The difference in the status of kings for whom such contrasting tributes are offered is equally stark (the *dartaid* appears to have been the smallest unit of value expressed in terms of cattle: EIF, 60–1). There may be a satirical element to the proffered yearling bullock.

## 5b

**ar cobair co Grip.** Glosses in LL/Eg inform us that Díarmait’s horse was called *Grip* (*ainm eich Díarmata* in LL: the absence of nasalisation

after originally neuter *ainmm* suggests it is inflected as masculine). According to Stokes (1901a, 205, n. 5), ‘the true reading is certainly *Crip*, alliterating with *cobair*’. Alliteration, however, is not so marked a feature of the poetry as to necessarily reach this conclusion. Rhyme, on the other hand, is to be expected. *Crib* ‘swift’ does not rhyme with *bic* (historically the word, frequently confused with *crim*, appears to have ended with lenited *b* rather than *p* = /b/: Nic Bhloscaidh, 2013, esp. 228), while *grip* ‘swift’ does. As *co* ‘with’ nasalises, however, *co ngrip* is expected, and one can see how nasalised *c* might be rendered *g*. One could read *co grip* as adverbial, *co* ‘to’ not causing nasalisation. The idea of the slow process of boys growing to men and calves to oxen does not sit well, however, with use of ‘quickly’. Neither is this a regular means of forming adverbs in Old Irish, though it later comes to predominate. As all MSS repeat the spelling in *g*- in a later quatrain (13), in which neither alliteration nor nasalisation is a consideration, I take *Grip* to be the horse’s name. Speed was a valued quality in a horse, and there are others in Irish literature so named (EIF, 92). In *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin*, Díarmait’s horse is also called *Grip* (see Binchy, 1963, 9).

## 5d

**cobair Díarmata.** A genitive ‘qualifying an abstract noun which functions as verbal noun of a transitive verb [...] is nearly always objective; the agent is expressed by **do** with the dative case, less frequently by **la** with the accusative (or **ó** with the dative)’ (GOI, §250). Uhlich (2012, esp. 940, 952–3, §§4, 14) has shown that abstract verbal nouns which do not have ‘the [normal] functions of the verbal noun’ use *la* to express the agent and *do* to express the object. The sense of *cobair Díarmata* requires us to understand Díarmait as agent, i.e. ‘Díarmait’s help [for another]’ rather than ‘help for Díarmait’. In place of the genitive, therefore, one might here expect to find a construction with possessive pronoun such as *ar cobair do Díarmait* ‘Díarmait’s help for

us'. Note that in *ar cobair* in **q. 5b**, the possessive expresses the object of the verbal noun.

Díarmait's name at the end of this quatrain echoes its earlier use at the beginning of **q. 1a**, providing this first poem with a *dúnad*. This appears to be the type of closure termed *saigid* 'full approach', whereby the full word is repeated (see Henry, 1962–4, 92).

## §ii

**di-ssi.** It has been observed that words in Old and Middle Irish do not end on a short, stressed syllable (see p. 88). It is unclear, however, whether the emphatic suffix might render *dí*'s long vowel short. We may compare the apparent contrast between the unemphatic and emphatic forms of the 1pl. pronoun, *sní* and *snisni* respectively. The emphatic form of the 3sg. feminine is not found in the Glosses, though it later occurs as *sis(s)i*, as against unemphatic *sí*. On the other hand, emphasis does not appear to impact on vowel length in the 3sg. masculine: *é* and *é-som* (GOI, §405; of interest to the discussion here is the emphatic 2sg. with stressed vowel marked for length in Recension 1b: see the note on *Ocus túsu* on p. 159). The dichotomy between the vowel quantity in Modern Irish forms such as *sí* and *sise* does not help. Breatnach (2003, 139) suggests it has been assumed certain words in Old Irish ended in a short, stressed vowel because of the corresponding Modern Irish forms. Elsewhere he writes (2016a, 195) that the later sources 'must always be subordinate to the early ones, and the temptation to substitute conclusions drawn from modern sources for analysis of the Old and Middle Irish sources must be avoided'. A study of the emphatic forms to determine vowel quantity is a desideratum. Because of the uncertainty of the vowel quantity in the stressed element in *di-ssi*, I do not supply a macron in the edition.

### §iii

**co-raīmid.** *Maidid* regularly forms a reduplicated preterite. Simple verbs, however, replace reduplication with diphthongisation when an augmented reduplicated preterite becomes ‘dependent and prototonic’ (EIV, 131, §3.3; Greene (1976, 36–7) refers to this as the ‘morphological equivalent of reduplication’). The vocalism of the diphthong employed is quite variable (see EIV, 131 and the range of forms in DIL s.v. *maidid*).

**co-rogiāll-saide.** It is difficult to determine where the stress falls here (i.e. in deciding whether to read *co-rogiāll* or *coro-giāll*). In standard Old Irish, ‘[p]reverbial *ro* as augment converted lexically simple verbs into deuterotonic *ro:V* and prototonic *C:roV* quasi-compounds in independent and dependent position respectively’ (EIV, 158; V = verb, C = simple or composite conjunct particle). This effect of *ro* on a following simple verb made it prone ‘to analysis as a conjunct particle rather than a preverb’ during the Old Irish period, implying ‘dependent *C-ro:V*’ (ibid.). As MS *corogiāll* occurs in close proximity to *coraimid*, I am inclined to treat its *ro* as a preverb. It accordingly takes the stress in prototonic position. The effect of the process just described on a form such as *coraimid* would be to make its diphthongisation unnecessary (a helpful example of this verb in the 3pl. is found in Stifter, 2006, 255, with innovatory *níro-memdatar* taking the place of *ní-róemdatar*).

In Old Irish, the unstressed form of the masculine anaphoric pronoun is normally *side*. *Saide* occurs because of the non-palatal final of the preceding verbal form. An early example of this development is found among the Glosses on the Carlsruhe Beda: *nitiagat saidai* ‘these go not’ (Stokes and Strachan, 1901–3, ii, 12.33).

**fri rind claidib.** The practice of submitting at the point of a sword is more fully described in Recension 2 (§xv). Note there is no mention of the point of a sword in LU.

## §iv

**Cámīne Indse Celtra.** For an account of this saint, see Ó Riain (2011, s.n. *Caimín of Inishcaltra*). Holy Island is described by Grogan (2003, 9–13).

**trī thráth.** The cardinal number *trí* lenites in the nominative and accusative neuter (Strachan, 1949, 24; note that neuter *trí<sup>L</sup>* represents a late merger with the masculine cardinal for earlier *tre<sup>L</sup>*: McCone, 1993, 55–6). U-stem *tráth* was originally neuter (DIL s.v.). Lenition, absent from LU, and zero-ending in the plural suggest the noun was still neuter in the archetype. Note, however, that both these features spread in the Middle Irish period to other environments (see MG, §§8.4, 8.7).

**oc troscud for Gūaire Aidne.** Fasting was a means of exerting moral pressure on a defendant of high status. The Old Irish sources do not specify how long the plaintiff fasted (GEIL, 182). This apparently was a ‘vestigial remnant of an extremely archaic usage rooted in primitive magic and dating from an era when the sole remedy available to a suitor of humble rank was a threatened fast unto death beside the residence of his more powerful adversary [...] But in the course of centuries, as the primitive belief in the magic properties of fasting faded, this drastic remedy underwent a radical transformation, and already in pre-Christian Ireland the “fast unto death” had been attenuated to a ritual hunger-strike from sunset to sunrise’ (Binchy, 1975, 23). Caimmíne’s fast, therefore, appears to have been a relatively lengthy one by late standards but very short by earlier mores. Note the word used is the native one, applicable to ‘coercive’ fasting, rather than the Christian Latin loan *aín(e)*, used of the ascetic practice (Binchy, 1982, 169–70).

## §v

**comthairisim.** A masculine u-stem (DIL s.v. *tairissem*). As the Old Irish vowel quality in closed final unstressed syllables is usually found

throughout the text, an ending such as LU's *-sem* might be expected. Verbal noun of *con-tairisedar* (DIL s.v.), it anticipates the innovatory form of *do-airissedar* which follows.

**nīro-thairise fri nāimtiu.** Stokes (1901a, 209) translates 'shall not stand fast', taking the verbal form to be the future 3sg. of the innovatory simple verb *tairisid*. In that case, the *f* of the f-future would have to have been omitted from all three MSS (a similar form is found in Recension 2). It is more likely the *ā*-subjunctive.

## §vi

**Do-thāet.** A frequently occurring Middle Irish form of *do-tét* (EIV, 195).

**Sléchtaid do Chamīni.** Zimmer (1884) finds that Irish monks of the eighth and ninth centuries differed from their continental counterparts in their devotional practice by often prostrating themselves rather than genuflecting. In the Glosses, the verb *sléchtaid* 'kneels, bows down, prostrates (oneself); submits' (from Latin *flectere* 'to bend, bow': DIL s.v.) is used of participial forms of *procidere* 'to fall prostrate, collapse' (Ml. 115a1, 115a3) and *conruere* 'to fall down, collapse' (Ml. 115a10). The act of lying prone is apparent from the following: *lilsit .i. slechtfait fuachossa* 'they will lick, i.e. they will prostrate themselves beneath his feet' (Ml. 89d14; the Latin leaves no doubt that it is the ground which is being licked: *terram lingent*); and *corruslechtsais fochossa* 'so that they might prostrate themselves beneath his feet' (Ml. 89d15). That the verb in question may be of more general application is clear from this usage of its verbal noun: *issi briathar glunæ 7 chos a filliud fri slechtan 7 issi briathar choirp dano intan roichter do dia ocslechtan 7 chrosigill* 'the word of the knees and of the legs is the bending of them in prostration, and the word of the body, moreover, is when it is extended to God in prostration and cross-vigil' (Ml. 138a2). The actual physical action involved is often unclear in later attestations (e.g. in *Saltair na Rann*: see

Stokes, 1883, lines 2169, 3467, 3610, 6995). The following, however, is unambiguous: *[i]s ann sin batar na drúdi 7 an naighthi for lar oc prostráit 7 oc slechtain do Mac Dé* '[t]hen the magi were with their faces on the ground in prostration and lying down before the Son of God' (Hogan, 1895, 66, §88). Finally, it seems that the act of prostration could be quite a strenuous one, as evidenced by the Middle Irish account of an intemperate bishop who faints from the exertion (see Boyle, 2013, 25, §6, and 36–7).

### 6a

**faībra.** DIL lists *fáebar* as a masculine o-stem, noting however this instance of nominative plural *fáebra*. The only attestation from the Glosses is ambiguous as to gender, and the word may have been neuter at the time the verse was composed.

### 6b

**fri findne.** It is unclear how to analyse *findne/finne*. DIL (s.v. ? *finnén*) suggests it is a plural form of *finnén*, diminutive of *finn*. The examples Thurneysen gives of this rare suffix suggest o-stem inflection (e.g. *cuilén* 'pup': see GOI, §272; he asserts that diminutives normally retain the gender of the simplex (GOI, §270), but masculine *ailén* is based on feminine *ail*). If *finnén* is both the underlying form and an o-stem, its ending in a vowel in the nominative/accusative plural suggests it is neuter. In *grinnénu* (< *grinne* 'bundle'), the only example of a plural form of *-én* in GOI, syncope is resisted.

The suffix *-ne* may also have a diminutive function (e.g. *cattne* 'little cat' and *faoisne* 'little crab': Marstrander, 1910, 377 and n. 2; some of the examples in GOI (§274.5) appear to be singulative, e.g. *foiltne* 'rib of hair'). It is more likely that the form in question is a diminutive in *-ne* than in *-én*. As the gender of simplex *finn* is uncertain, it is unclear whether *finne* is an *iā-* or an *io-*stem. If composed before the falling

together of final unstressed vowels, *findne* (read *finni*) is likely an *iā*-stem accusative plural (: *tinni*).

Alternatively, *iā*-stem *-(a)(i)ne* might be considered. Normally used to form abstracts, it could apparently also be used with collective force (GOI, §262.3: the only example given is *feochuine* ‘ravens’ from *fiäch*).

## 6d

**fri-tarlais.** In prose, a preposition may combine with the relative particle *(s)a<sup>N</sup>* ‘to express the relation of the antecedent to the remainder of the relative clause’. The vowel of the relative particle is elided before the copula when it constitutes a syllable, sometimes before the substantive verb, and before infixed pronouns. In poetry, elision may occur before other verbs too (e.g. *ní fris-tarddam* ‘something to which we can give’: GOI, §492). As *fri* originally ended in a vowel, the form of the particle with *s*, as in LU/Eg, is required.

**tine.** Read *tinni*. DIL (s.v. *teinne*) contains several examples with initial *ti-* of this feminine abstract from *tend*.

## 7b

**fri hathlad úaire.** A mistake common to LL/Eg, LU’s article and prefix *óen-* are required by the metre.

## 7c

**críde Gúaire.** Since *críde* is the object of the verb, nasalisation is expected to follow even if it is no longer being inflected as a neuter (this continues to be so in Middle Irish: MG, §4.12).

**fo chíunu.** Read *ciúini* (if the quatrain was written before the falling together of unstressed final vowels). Presumably, the sense is that Gúaire will submit to the ‘quiet/gentle ones’, comprising the religious

community he has offended. The upshot of his submission is the exalted position to which he is elevated later in the tale. Note that DIL (s.v. ? *ciunu*) suggests reading *giunu*, accusative plural of the verbal noun of *gonaid* ‘pierces’.

## §ix

**bratán rīamnaige.** Stokes (1901a, 213) translates ‘a salmon [caught] with a line’. *Ríamnach* is related to *ā*-stem *rúaimnech* ‘a long hair; a fishing-line’ (DIL s.v. *rúaimnech*). References to weir-fishing and net-fishing are more numerous in early Irish sources than to line-fishing (see EIF, esp. 290), which is more commonly associated with fishing for trout than any other fish (*ibid.*).

**ro·fon.** A leniting relative clause with *bratán* as object-antecedent. Note the simple verb from earlier *fo·noí*, the prototonic stem of which later changes from *fon-* to *fuin-* (DIL s.v. *fo·noí*). Apparently, the verbal root originally meant ‘kindles, lights’, the development occurring on the principle that “‘to cook’ is normally defined as “to prepare food for eating by means of heat” (Lindeman, 1998, 173).

## 8

A version of this quatrain appears in a late hand in AU (s.a. 649) in the entry on the battle of Carn Conaill:

*Is buide lemm in etad*  
*domm [fh]éis hinocht h[ó]e[nfh]ecad*  
*biid ind adaich aile*  
*dom·beir secht mbu m. Maire.*

## 8a

**i·n·ētad.** The prepositional relative *i<sup>N</sup>* always appears without the relative particle *-(s)a<sup>N</sup>* (GOI, §492). The verb is preterite passive 3sg. of

*ad·cota* (DIL s.v.). One might expect a perfective form here, but the root *\*ta-* resists augmentation (see note on *mār a·tá*, pp 86–7). In the later language, this form is found with ‘[t]he -s variant of the pret. pass. suffix’, i.e. *·étas* (see EIV, 232, §6.7 (f)).

## 8b

**hénēcad.** In Sg. 4a6, *æcath* glosses Latin *hamus* ‘hook’. It is identified in DIL (s.v. *écath*) as the word found here. Distinct from *éic* ‘fish’, *écad* could apparently mean that which was used to bait the hook *or* what was caught on it (see McManus, 1988, 139: *ecad .i. saith ecca .i. biad n-ecca .i. pisci* ‘fish-hook/bait i.e. sufficiency of a fish i.e. food of a fish i.e. pisci[s]’). The form in our text does not appear to be genitival, presumably standing in apposition to the previous line’s prepositional relative.

## 8c

**rom·buī·se.** Perhaps AU’s *biid* represents an absolute form of the imperfect (see, for example, Ó hAodha, 1989, 311, line 8d).

## §x

**do gíall.** For LU’s *dogíallad*. In §xiv (= Recension 1b §xxvi), Díarmait offers Gúaire *mo gíall-sa* ‘my submission’. The examples in DIL (s.v. 2 *gíall* (b)) of *gíall* rather than *gíallad* representing the verbal noun of *gíallaid* are late. This and the later attestation appear to provide early evidence of *gíall* acting as verbal noun.

## §xi

**in roféili.** Possibly innovatory, where LU has *inféili*, as intensive *ro-* is originally only found in composition with adjectives. It comes to be used with nouns in Middle Irish (DIL s.v. 2 *ro*).

**Inn ar Dīa fā in [...].** ‘In alternative questions “is it ... or ...?”, **in** may be used before each member [...] More often, however, the second alternative is introduced by (leniting) **fa, fá, ba** [...] **bá**’ (GOI, §464). Here, however, *both* concessive *fá* and interrogative *in* precede the second alternative (for like examples, see DIL s.v. 1 *fa, ba, fo* (b)).

**ar duine.** LU has *ardaini*. Either alternative is possible. Use of *duine* (DIL s.v.) in the singular referring to mankind in general was common.

**nī-thibre.** In Old Irish, the *é* of the *ē*-future ‘was felt to be too indispensable as a future marker to be subjected to syncope’ (EIV, 48, §5.2). Optional syncope, which had been confined to *-dig(é)n-*, spread to other common verbs in Middle Irish (ibid. 222–3).

## §xii

**in drúth.** Stokes (1901a, 213) translates ‘the jester’. This figure has not previously appeared in the tale, nor does he appear again. ‘[T]he article is often used to indicate an individual person or thing that is determinate for the speaker (or author) but hitherto unknown to the characters of the narrative and to the hearer (or reader)’ (GOI, §470; this example from the *Táin* is well known: *co-n-acca ara chind in fer* ‘he saw a (lit. “the”) man in front of him’).

The term *drúth* ‘can refer both to the congenital idiot [...] and the professional entertainer who earns a living by imitating him [...] the *drúth* might also provide entertainment by telling stories or composing satirical verse’ (GEIL, 65). It is unclear if we are dealing with the ‘congenital idiot’ or the entertainer. The suggestion in Recension 2, where the *drúth* is *dā muinntir* ‘of his [i.e. Díarmait’s] household’, is that it is the latter. ‘Jesters, *drúith*, were considered part of a king’s entourage’ (Poppe, 1993, 148).

**Cingthe.** The suffixed pronoun has an adverbial function here, according to Breatnach (1977, 80, 91). Mac Mathúna (1977–8, 222) says the ‘whole question of supposedly weakened pronouns, be they in the so called adverbial or proleptic categories, be they “dummy” objects, or be they like the apparently functionless *-it*, requires thorough investigation. Nonetheless, the probability is that such uses of the pronoun initially at least carried a semantic load such as a telic aspectual property implying attainment of the terminal point of a situation.’

**Rot·bīa.** Forms of the substantive verb with the stem *\*bi-* use *ro* rather than *no* to infix pronouns (GOI, §776). This is innovatory for an earlier construction with suffixed pronoun: ‘*r-a-m-bia* “he will have” [...] is due to the replacement of the Early Irish type *beth-iumm* “I shall have” by the Classical Old Irish type *ro·m-bia*’ (Cowgill, 1987, 3, §III.A (i)).

**in delg.** Originally a neuter s-stem, *delg* later takes on masculine o-stem inflection. Perhaps one might expect *\*in ndelg*, with nasalisation after the accusative singular article. Stifter (2006, 57, §9.1.5), however, outlines ‘a very odd counter-rule against nasalization’ which I have not seen noted elsewhere: ‘when a word that ends in *n* and that causes nasalization on the following word (especially the accusative singular article and the interrogative particle *in<sup>N</sup>*.) comes to stand in front of a word beginning with *d*, the nasalization is not expressed’.

### §xiii

**nīt·ain.** Cited by Ó Concheanainn (1984, 220) in support of his thesis that CCC’s LL scribe had LU as his exemplar. Best and O’Brien (1967, line 36075) render this ‘*ni tam*’, identified by Ó Concheanainn as an error for LU’s s-future 3sg. with 2sg. infix (*nitain*). However, it seems to me that the MS reading in LL is, in fact, *nitain* (see Image 1). The scribe appears to have imagined the letters as constituting a single

orthographic unit. We clearly find word-internal *t*. In the final three minim strokes, there is a greater distance between the first and second than between the second and third, suggesting *-in*. Images 2 and 3 show three examples of what might be rendered *ní dam(-sa)*, occurring in close proximity to *nitain*. In both examples in Image 2, the pronoun and the conjugated preposition appear to be treated as distinct orthographic units, though not in the one in Image 3. In both instances where *m* is not represented by an m-stroke, there is a relatively short distance between its first two minims. Finally, in Image 4 there is an example of the article, occurring at the end of the line before the one in which *nitain* occurs.

Image 1:

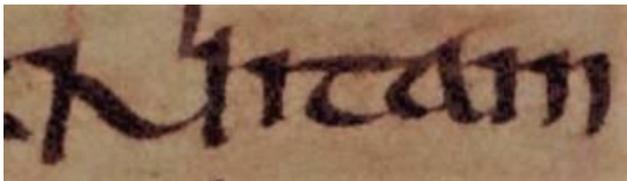


Image 2:

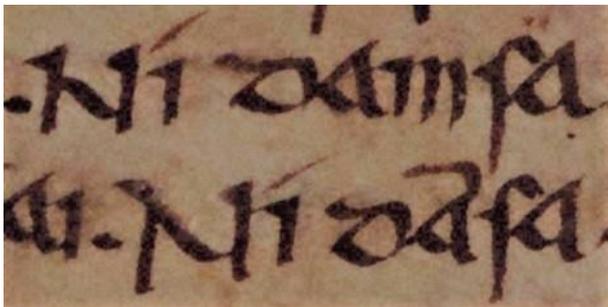


Image 3:

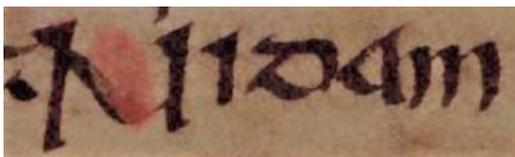


Image 4:



**Tair fon claideb.** Apparently, one comes under the sword ‘in token of submission’ (DIL s.v. *fo, fa, fá* I (a)).

#### §xiv

**in cēile Dé.** This term may be used simply of the poor, and in Recension 2 this character becomes *in bocht*. Though the genitive of a proper noun extends definiteness to the head noun (GOI, §470), it is not unusual for the article to precede *cēile Dé* in the literature. ‘There are instances [...] of words normally determinate in themselves taking the article for no apparent reason’ (e.g. *din Mumu* ‘from Munster’: GOI, §472). Breatnach (2016a, 199–200, §§23–6) gives examples from Old Irish verse of a head noun preceded by the article which is co-referential with the genitive of a definite noun following after a line break, a phenomenon which becomes more frequent in Middle Irish (ibid. 201). Roma (2014, 138, §16) identifies five examples in Ml. of the type of construction we find in our text (e.g. *inna mmessidechtae dæ:* [(P)[Det N[NGdef]]]; P = Preposition, Det = Determiner, N = Noun, G = Genitive case, def = definite genitive noun: ibid. 132, n. 1). Against this are 254 occurrences of [(P)[N[NGdef]]] (e.g. *briathar dæ:* ibid. 137, §2). She contrasts the behaviour of ‘singular nouns which can have an inherently definite meaning’ (e.g. *deacht*), which may appear with or without the article, with ‘proper names such as [...] *Día* [...] which have unique reference and never take the article’ (ibid. 148–9; note, however, Wb. 10d37: *dothaidbsiu indæe infolngithi* ‘to manifest the hidden God’, which Roma seems to have overlooked).

**Asō.** According to DIL (s.v. *asso*), this is composed of *a* ‘out of’ and *so* ‘this’. While *a* governs the dative, some of the entries in DIL suggest *assó* is followed by the accusative (e.g. *asso id n-irchomail duit; ausu duit int suil nalaind sin*). Its first element, in fact, seems to be *\*aicc*, an imperative form of *ad·cí* (see Breatnach, 1976, 222–3). As the demonstrative is stressed, I supply a macron (see p. 88, above, regarding Breatnach’s claim that words in Old Irish could not end on a short, stressed vowel). It should be noted, however, that in none of the examples in DIL (s.v. *asso*) is the final vowel marked for length.

### §xv

**ancórai.** Negative *an-* with the abstract of *coir*. Nasalisation rather than lenition originally followed negative *an-* (Dillon, 1944, 95). If this were an earlier formation one would expect *écórae* (cf. *étrom* < *an* + *trom*).

**do Áenuch Thailten.** On the historical Fair of Tailtiu, see Binchy (1958) and Swift (2000). It is significant that Gúaire will be appointed *comairlid* and *cenn n-athchomairc* at such a symbolic institution.

**conat-rogbat.** The conjunction *co<sup>N</sup>* + 2sg. infix + *ro* + subjunctive 3pl. of *gaibid*. After *co<sup>N</sup>*, a Class C infix is expected (GOI, §413.1). The 2sg. may be rendered *-dat-*. In our text, nasalised *d* is presumably rendered *n* (on rare occasions, the nasalising consonant appears without the base consonant in Middle Irish: see MG, §4.10).

**Fir hĒrend.** Ó hUiginn (2015, 25, n. 44) has argued for the consideration of *Fir Éreñn* as a proper noun relating to the Irish as a distinct race, the initials of which he capitalises. Herbert (2007, 92) observes that this collective comes often to denote the followers of a leading monarch in *Lebor na hUidre*.

**do rí 7 do chind athchomairc.** The suggestion that Gúaire will be king is a slip, where LU has the correct reading in *do chomairlid* (Recension 1b §xxvii). Later on, in §xxiii (= Recension 1b §xxxv), both MSS agree in presenting Gúaire as an acceptable *counsellor* to the Men of Ireland. The dual roles of *comairlid 7 cenn n-athchomairc* suggest ‘an adviser, jurisconsult or even judge of appeal’ (Etchingham, 1999, 212). It has been suggested that a king would have consulted such an office holder regularly (Jaski, 2000, 50). *Tecosca Cormaic* recommends that this member of the king’s household be chosen with care: *ní bad cenn athchomairc duit fer dotcadach* ‘do not let [...] an unfortunate man [be] your adviser’ (Meyer, 1909b, 50–1, §34). I know of no other case in which an individual is said to be *cenn n-athchomairc* to Irishmen in general.

## 9a

**Cach mac tigrind timchríde.** Stokes (1901a, 215) translates ‘[e]very faint-hearted son of a lord’. He observes, however, that *mac tigrin* seems to have the same meaning as Breton *mach-tiern* (ibid. n. 1). In ‘The lament for Cuimmíne Fota’, dated to *circa* 700 (Byrne, 1980, 111), the phrase *mac tigerna* occurs (io-stem *tigerna* is a well attested noun, while the form *tigern* appears generally to be restricted to compounds: DIL s.vv.). Byrne (1980, 118) emends to *macthigern*, a compound otherwise unattested in Irish, corresponding to Welsh *mechdeyrn* ‘high-king, overlord’. The first element of the Welsh term has been analysed as either *mech* < *\*maks-* < *\*mag-si-* ‘great’ or *mach* ‘bond, surety’ (*Geiriadur Prifysgol* s.v. *mechdeyrn*). Byrne (ibid. 118) suggests the (hypothetical) Irish term may have fallen out of use during the Old Irish period due to confusion of its first element with *mac* ‘son’ (homonymous *mac* means ‘a bond, surety’: DIL s.v. 2 *mac(c)*).

Perhaps the author of our poem understood the meaning of *macthigern*, and one might consider restoring it. It seems, however, to have been reformulated as *mac tigrin* at an early stage of the MS

transmission: in all three MSS, there is clearly a space between the two elements, and the initial of the second, which appears to be inflected as a genitive singular o-stem, is unlenited. As such, I treat *mac tigirn* as a fixed term meaning ‘overlord’, with the qualifying adjective agreeing in case with the element *mac*. If *timchríde* were qualifying genitive *tigirn*, we would expect unmetrical *timchrídi*. Regarding this adjective, when a suffixless adjective is formed by composition of adjective and noun, the adjective is usually the second element, e.g. *folt-buíde* ‘yellow-haired’. However, the adjective may occasionally be placed first, e.g. *nocht-chenn* ‘bare-headed’ (GOI, §344).

### 9c

**do-tē dessel.** When the verb *do-tét* is used transitively with *dessel*, it is unclear whether the latter is in the accusative or the dative (DIL s.v. *do-tét* (f)).

**in broga.** For earlier *in mrogo*, which was arguably in the archetype (see p. 162).

### 9d

**fuidell.** All three MSS show an ending in *-ll*. *Fuidel* (DIL s.v.) ‘remnant’ is often written *fuigell* in later MSS and is sometimes confused with *fuigell* ‘judgement’. It is unclear whether the *-ll* of *fuidell* is old or taken from *fuigell* (see Schrijver, 1995, 322 (c)). As lenited *d* and *g* begin to fall together in Middle Irish, particularly when palatal (MG, §3.18), perhaps the translation ‘judgement’ might be considered.

### 10

A version of this quatrain appears in O’Clery’s Glossary under the headword *DUIBHGEANN*, .i. *cloidheamh, amhail dhearbhas an rann so* ‘a sword, as this verse shows’:

*Ní for bhraighdibh damh na bó  
promthar colg mo ruanadhó  
for braighdibh riogh focheard feid  
a nítha duibhgeann ag Diarmaid (Miller, 1870, 406).*

Ó Cléirigh cites ACC as a source for his glossary (ibid. 354). Owing to the similarity of the quatrain as it appears in O'Clery's Glossary and in the preface to ACC, it seems possible the latter was Ó Cléirigh's source for this verse. In the prefatory material to ACC, the following is written of the quatrain: *[a]r « colgg » 7 « dubcenn » duo nomina gladii sunt isin tsengoeideilg, ut poeta dicit '[f]or colg and dubchenn are two names for « sword » in the Old-Gaelic, ut poeta dicit'*. The verse follows:

*Ni for braigtib dam na bo.  
fromthair colg mo ruanado,  
for bráigtib rig focheird feit.  
indi duibcenn ic Diarmait (ACC, 276–7).*

### 10a

**bráigtib.** DIL (s.v. 1 *brága*) states the noun was 'later' inflected as feminine, without clarifying its original gender. Thurneysen lists *brága* as masculine (GOI, §326.1).

### 10b

**cloíthir.** The absolute passive 3sg. non-relative ending of H3 *cloid* is *-(a)ithir*, that of the passive 3sg. relative *-(a)ither* (see EIV, 80, §6.1). The disyllabic ending entails loss of hiatus and diphthongisation with *i* (see ibid. 28–9, §3; 81, §6.4). The non-relative ending is regular where the antecedant is neither felt as subject nor object of the relative clause (Strachan, 1949, 137, §7).

**colg.** Glossed *claideb* ‘a sword’, the word *colg* (DIL s.v.) may be used of any pointed or piercing instrument, and more specifically of a small sword or rapier. The idea that it may have been a small sword might derive from its original meaning ‘spike, prick’, and the word may be older in Irish than *claideb* (see Kelly, 1971, 194–5). To form a contrast with the gloss, I translate ‘rapier’.

### 10c

**fo-cheirt.** As the antecedent is neither felt as subject nor object of the relative clause, the lenition is probably due to scribal interference.

### 10d

**indiu in dubcend.** I take it that elision is present. Murphy (1961, 39) states that, while rare and non-compulsory in Old Irish, an unstressed vowel may be elided when preceded by another vowel. Note that the article appears to be masculine *in*, where neuter *a* might be expected. Perhaps (elided) *a<sup>N</sup>* came to be rendered *in*, i.e. *indiu indubcend* for original *indiu andubchenn*. Compare Eg’s *inimairig* for *animairic* in Recension 2 q. 16b, where the 3pl. possessive with nasalisation was apparently reinterpreted in transmission as the article (see p. 210).

The glossing of *dubchenn*, in an infrequently glossed text, and the inclusion of this quatrain in ACC and O’Clery’s Glossary suggest that this was and continued to be a word of some interest (so too *colg*, which is also glossed in LL). DIL (s.v. *dub*) states that *dubchenn* is the name of a sword that later comes to be used in poetic language of swords in general. To contrast with the gloss, I translate ‘black-head’.

Ó Gealbháin’s interpretation (1991, 128, §29) of the line as it appears in ACC is surely erroneous: ‘*indi dubcend oc Diarmait [...]* “the two black-headed horses of Diarmait”’.

## 11

A vituperative quatrain contained in a praise poem. Ó Cuív (1977, 125–8) discusses the infrequently appearing *dán leath*: the ‘capacity of professional Irish poets to dispense praise or censure according to their whim or as circumstances seemed to require is well known.

Occasionally a poet combined panegyric with satire, lauding one person and criticizing another’.

### 11a

**Gūaire mac Colmáin in rí.** Byrne (1973, 240) notes that the regnal lists do not record Gúaire’s accession to the kingship until the death of his brother Laidgnén in 655, six years *after* the battle of Carn Conaill. He deems it likely this brother’s claim to the kingship is genuine and suggests Gúaire’s defeat may have led to a ‘temporary loss of kingship giving rise to stories that he had toyed with the idea of entering the religious life’.

### 11b

**ro·chacc for croíbu Aidní.** All MSS agree in providing relative lenition after (apparently) perfective *ro*. In an article on the *geilt* of Irish tradition, including discussion of the perching on trees that was a characteristic trait, Ó Riain (2014, 180, n. 27) writes that this line ‘might reasonably be interpreted as conveying the idea that Guaire first had to perch on the trees before being in a position to perform the action imputed to him’.

*Ro·chacc* is glossed *alís ro théig*. It is difficult to make sense of the verb here. *Téigid* ‘heats; grows warm’ hardly seems appropriate. If the *e* were short, one might understand it as an innovatory form of *teichid*, which develops an s-preterite at an early stage (DIL s.v.). I adopt this meaning in my translation.

### 11c

**méit chind bó.** DIL (s.v. *méit, mét* III (b)) states that where *mé(i)t* is used adverbially to mean ‘as big as’, it may be the accusative that is employed. None of the examples cited there, however, displays nasalisation of the following initial (see, especially, *méit gamlías* and *méit eich*). In one instance, lenition is displayed (*méit chore*). I take it that in our text, therefore, *méit* is either nominative or dative. DIL (ibid.) also states that the substantive which follows *méit* in this construction appears in the accusative or later the genitive. In our text, all MSS agree in presenting *cenn* in the genitive.

### 12a

**Ō ro·brecca.** Here and in the opening line of **qq 13** and **15**, we find augmented forms of the present indicative. Apart from the imperative, any tense or mood of the verb in Old Irish may be augmented with resultative or potential force (EIV, 91, §2.1; infrequent in Old Irish, the augmented present was largely moribund by the Middle Irish period as the augment had lost its semantic value: ibid. 183–5, §4.1). As it is rare, these examples of the augmented present are noteworthy. Its use denotes habitual anterior completion of a subordinate action (see EIV, 101–2, §3.2.3). Where perfective presents are found after the conjunction *ó* in the *Apgitir Chrábaid*, its editor is unsure whether or not the feature is an archaism (Hull, 1968, 51).

A marginal gloss precedes the quatrain: *in aliis o ratuga casai cró*. Unfortunately, its meaning is unclear. Presumably, *casai* should read *casal*, perhaps anticipating *caisel cró* in **q. 14c**. The verb *may* be a form of *tuigithir* ‘covers’ (DIL s.v.), with *ro* and a 3sg. masculine infix. As denominal verbs tend to lose deponent inflection before deverbal ones (see Griffith, 2014, 63, 69), this one is a candidate for an early switch to active inflection (it has active inflection in *M’airiuclán hi Túaim Inbir*: Stokes and Strachan, 1901–3, ii, 294.14; forms of the compound *in-tuigethar* ‘covers, clothes’ (DIL s.v.) show active inflection in Ml. and

Sg.). A further problem is velar *g* in place of palatal; however, its verbal noun does, at least, show variation between velar and palatal guttural (DIL s.v. *tugae, tuige*). My translation is tentative.

### 12b

**ndendgorm.** As this *o/ā*-stem adjective is accusative singular feminine, palatalisation of its final consonant cluster, as in LU, is expected. In compound adjectives, *gorm* ‘can indicate “fiery” or intensified colours’ (Trindade, 1986, 154). As a colour, it may be defined as a ‘deep or dark blue’, and not ‘green’ (see Ní Dhonnchadha in Mannion, 2017, 157–8; the colour blue has connotations of sovereignty in early Ireland: EIF, 263; it is also worth bearing Stancliffe’s observation (1982, 28) in mind, that the medieval ‘Irish did not divide up the colour spectrum precisely as we do. In particular they seem to have been more concerned with differences in tone, and less concerned with differences between (say) green and blue, or blue and purple’).

### 12c

**catha.** The ending *-u* is expected in the accusative plural of masculine *u*-stems, whereas neuter nouns have *-a*. All three MSS read *catha*, confirmed by rhyme (see also pp 79–80).

### 12d

**ní comtig cen illdatha.** Díarmait’s standing is clearly elevated after the battle, as the splendour of his raiment reflects (see EIF, 263).

### 13b

**brunni gabra.** All the MSS agree in not nasalising the initial of the noun in the genitive. As either the singular or plural of the head noun can mean ‘chest’ (DIL s.v. *bruinne* (a)), *brunni* appears to be accusative plural. Irregularly declined *gabor/gabair* ‘a horse (esp. a white one), a mare, mainly confined to poetic language’ is usually treated as an *i*-stem

(DIL s.v. 2 *gabor*). Note that in **q. 15d**, the nominative singular is rendered in a palatal final in LL/LU. The horse was a prestigious animal associated with men of high rank, and white horses were apparently the most sought after (EIF, 89–90).

### 13c

**assa·negar.** *Nigid* is a S1a-type verb. Among these, '[v]erbs with short *i* as their root vowel lower this to *e* before non-palatal consonants' (EIV, 29, §4.1 (a)). The preposition *a* may be used after verbs of bathing and washing to indicate what something or someone was washed in or with (DIL s.v. 7 *a* III (c)).

### 13d

**ní lūstai fri sacarbaic.** Stokes (1901a, 215) translates 'is not clear for the Sacrifice', adding 'i.e. is not fit for mixing with the sacramental wine' (ibid. n. 5). Hull (1956, 260–1) points out that this interpretation is based on LU's gloss *ni glan* 'it is not clear', which he deems explanatory rather than literal. O'Grady (1892, ii, 434), meanwhile, renders the line 'may not be drunk at the Sacrifice'. Hull (1956, 260–1) shows that although this interpretation is closer to the mark than Stokes', the MS form cannot be the present subjunctive passive 3sg. Instead, he interprets *lūsta* (earlier *lūstai*) as a gerundive based on the stem *lūs(s)-*, originally the suppletive perfective s-subjunctive stem of *ibid* 'drinks', saying the 'phrase *ni lūsta* may [...] be translated "it is not to be drunk" or "it must not be drunk"'.

Hull (ibid. n. 8) states the 'only important difference' between the readings in LL/LU and Eg is the preposition employed. LL/LU's *fri* seems appropriate: 'denoting the occasion [...] on or from which something takes place' (DIL s.v. *fri* VI (b)). Perhaps Eg's *gan* 'without' suggests that the water could be cleansed and made potable during the ritual of the sacrament.

#### 14a

**Ō do-lēcther.** The previous two and the following quatrain begin with *ó* and perfective present. This conjunction may be used with the (non-perfective) present when ‘the action of the *ó*-clause is simultaneous with that of the main clause’ (DIL s.v. 2 *ó* I (c)).

#### 14b

**for cech leth.** *For* governs the accusative here, as dative *leith* would fail to provide rhyme. Note that in **§ix**, we find dative *for leith*.

#### 14c

**caisel cró.** LU/Eg have *casal cró*. An early Latin borrowing, *casal* ‘is attested as a fully acclimatised Irish word as early as the seventh century’ (Byrne, 1973, 64). None of the examples in DIL (s.v. *casal*) give the nominative singular with palatal *s*. Here the term is glossed *† crotball* (‘husk (of nut), bark (of tree)’; DIL s.v.; the variant *crotal* exists, and the phrase *crotal cró* ‘husk of gore’ is attested).

#### 15a

**ro-sernatar.** For S3 *sernaid*, one expects *·serntar* in the dependent present passive 3pl. (in the 3sg., ‘a vowel originally standing in the second syllable is nearly always elided; elision often occurs, too, in the 3pl.’: GOI, §579). The extra syllable found in all of the MSS is required by the metre. Compare independent passive 3pl. *sernatar* (CIH 1291.26), and *sernaighther* (CIH 755.12).

#### 15b

**a n-immaric.** This verbal noun may have o- or *ā*-stem inflection (DIL s.v. *immairecc*). Here it is an o-stem.

### 15c

**diäs.** Díarmait and his horse. According to DIL (s.v. 2 *días* (a)), this noun is usually used of persons only, while *dede* is used of things. It may be better to consider *diäs* to refer to living things (in *Messe ocus Pangur Bán* it refers to poet and cat: see Murphy, 1956, 2, q. 3b). It is interesting that in Modern (Donegal) Irish, *beirt* may be ‘applied to animals and things as well as to persons’ (Dinneen, 1927, s.v. *beirt*).

**cíta·ric.** Adverbial *cita-* may be used with verbs in relative clauses (DIL s.v. *ceta-*, *cita-*). Breatnach (MG, §9.2) says its use becomes rare in Middle Irish.

### 15d

**Díarmait.** Recalling Díarmait’s name in the vocative at the beginning of **q. 1a**, this may provide the verse with a *dúnad*. If so, it suggests that the first and second poems spoken by Sinech were composed as a single unit. This makes it more likely that **qq 6–7** were later additions, as well as Recension 1b **q. 18**.

### 16a

**Ad·nuü.** Cited in DIL s.vv. *ad-noí* ‘entrusts’ and *as-noí* ‘vows’. The sense seems to require understanding it as the latter, with neuter infixed pronoun (i.e. read *at·nuü*, the form found in Eg).

### 16b

**dā·rís.** During the course of the Middle Irish period, *día* ‘if’ comes to be rendered *dá*. Mac Gearailt (2009, 85–6) suggests the earlier form may persist until the early eleventh century. Note there are examples of *día* in Recension 1b **§§iii, xxxvii**.

**co cruü.** Greene (1983) has shown several words were confusedly included in DIL s.vv. 1 *cró* and 1 *crú*. In untangling the entries found

there, he finds (ibid. 2–3) that *cruë* (found DIL s.v. 1 *cró* I (h)) originally meant ‘hoof’, later coming to mean ‘horseshoe’, and that this word (and not *cró* ‘enclosure’) was originally a disyllable. I take its use in our text as a figurative reference to Gúaire’s foot.

### 16c

**nīcos·fāicéb.** The strengthened form of negative *nícon/nicon* often takes the place of *ní/ni* in principal clauses (GOI, §861). In Wb., this form is not used before infixed pronouns, but it may be so used in Ml. (GOI, §420). Interestingly, Lambert (2014, esp. 123) posits a semantic difference between *ní* and *nícon*. He suggests the latter, frequently appearing with verbs in the future (as here), present subjunctive and perfect, implies ‘that a long-lasting negation was understood’. Gúaire threatens Sinech with death, a long-lasting outcome indeed! To emphasise its possible semantic distinctness, I translate ‘never’ rather than ‘not’.

**biü.** Accusative plural of o-stem *béo* ‘living being’. A more literal translation is ‘with living ones’.

### 16d

**com luü.** DIL (s.v. 1 *lúa*) expresses doubt as to whether early *lue* was disyllabic. It seems it was, and after contraction hypercorrect forms like *láu* and *lúa* occur by analogy with other words with hypercorrect *au* for *u* (Uhlich, 1995, 40–2).

### 17c

**nī·fil ócu.** Note that *·fil* is followed by the accusative (see GOI, §780).

**’ca himochaid.** A compound of *oc* and possessive with aphaeresis of the preposition’s initial, followed by the verbal noun of *\*imm-fo-saig* (DIL s.v. *imfoichid*, *imfochaid*). The sense seems to favour interpreting

the possessive as feminine. However, concomitant aspiration would block the elision required to make the line metrical. As for the form of *imfóchaid*, in early MSS lenited *f* may occasionally be omitted in writing. Examples normally occur where a leniting pretonic element and a word with initial *f* are written without a word break (perhaps the author considered this verbal noun's *im* to be such an element, as it must be unstressed in order that elision may take place and render the line metrical; of course, this entails understanding the possessive as masculine). Infrequent examples are also found in compounds (GOI, §231.7). As both LL and LU omit the lenited *f*, it seems that it may well have been absent from the archetype. I am inclined to treat the possessive as feminine and understand the line to be hypermetric.

It is glossed *in aliis ga imdegail* 'in others, defending her'. Perhaps the implication is that Sinech does not now need warriors to defend her as Gúaire is no longer capable of harming her.

### 17d

**cid nacid nacha·fitir.** The reading is hypermetric, the doubled negative particle appearing to be a case of dittography. The form *cid* may be explained as the neuter stressed interrogative pronoun (see GOI, 286, §456(a), and DIL s.v. 1 *cía* II (b)). It does not combine with verbs but rather takes absolute relative forms (GOI, §459). Note that the first instance of the negative particle appears to have a neuter infixed pronoun, and the second a feminine one. A generic neuter infix, as found in Eg, makes good sense.

The interlinear gloss (MS *nó cancotorac tatar*) is likely to be 3pl. preterite/perfect of *do·roich* 'reaches, arrives' (i.e. read *cenco do·rochtatar* 'though/because they have not arrived').

**nuü.** The dative singular of *nuë* used adverbially (on the near-total restriction of its adverbial use to verse, see Bieler and Carney, 1972, 54, §440).

### §xvii

**Luid-seom iarom, int ī Gúaire.** This construction has recently been discussed by Kobel as an exception to Griffith's (2008) conclusion that a *nota augens* may not agree with the subject of a third-person verb in Old Irish where an overt subject is present. Kobel has shown that this is not the case when the overt subject is a proper name preceded by article and deictic particle (see Kobel, 2015). She states that here 'the overt subject is used to bring Gúaire back into focus after Sinech Cró's recital of a praise poem to Díarmait' (ibid. 172).

### §xviii

**At-ethaid a indili oca thig.** Stokes (1901a, 217) translates 'ye seize his cattle at his house'. As well as 'seizes', this verb may mean 'gets', frequently 'in sense gets (payment, gift, satisfaction, etc.)' (DIL s.v. *at-etha*). As the tale is predicated on Gúaire's seizure of Sinech Cró's cattle, and this passage follows closely on his generous treatment of a series of supplicants, this latter meaning seems fitting.

### §xix

**bít.** Stokes (1901a, 217, n. 2) suggests reading this as the imperfect 3pl. of the substantive verb (*bítis*). Absolute forms of the imperfect, however, are very rare, and I have not encountered any in prose. I think it is more likely to be the consuetudinal present 3pl. (Old Irish *bíit*), used as historical present. Mac Cana (1994, esp. 127–30) has shown that the substantive verb was generally incompatible with historical-present usage in Old Irish. He highlights, however, three examples in which the consuetudinal present appears as historical present with active-durative function. Could this durative function imply that the mounds or platforms in question were used during the fair?

The following MS readings show that the scribes of LL and LU interpreted their texts differently at this point:

**LL**

*forforadaib bít and allaasin. Nicomtich nech ní chucaiseom.*

**LU**

*forforadaib bith isindóenuch. Inlasin tra nichuinnig nech ní cucasom.*

In the former MS, both punctuation and capitalisation suggest that *allaasin* ends one sentence, while in the latter *Inlasin* appears to begin the next.

**Ilaä-sin.** While vowels can potentially be doubled to indicate length, instances of doubled vowels in the prose in our text occur in words that historically contained a hiatus (also *·taät* in §xx).

**Nī·comtich.** Derived from older *con·diëig*, the prototonic forms of which are ‘problematical in the extreme’ (McCone, 1994–5, 156). A compound of *\*com-di-saig-*, the examples cited in DIL (s.v. *con·diëig*) with stressed *com-* in prototonic position are almost all from the Old Irish period. Note that at this point in LU we find *·chuinnig*.

**chucai-seom.** The form of the emphatic particle suggests the conjugated preposition ends in a front vowel, as in Old Irish.

**§xx**

**arna bārach.** The first element consists of *íar<sup>N</sup>* with 3sg. possessive (DIL s.v. *bārach* (b)). Hamp (1983, 54) writes that the ‘expression for “tomorrow” is an accusative of goal \*“(into) such-and-such a future time”’.

**éca.** Genitive singular of *éc*. In its earliest usage in Irish, it is probably a *plurale tantum* (Ó hUiginn, 2016, 8).

### §xxi

**Nīrai·gēbthar fort.** *Gaibid for* may mean ‘assails, attacks’ (DIL s.v. *gaibid* V (e) (1)). I understand the augment to indicate possibility here. Its form is unusual (LU has expected *ro*).

### §xxii

**nos·tairbir.** Note the use of *no* to infix a pronoun to a historically compound verb (for earlier *dos·(n)airbir*). Presumably the feminine infix refers back to *míach*, originally a neuter o-stem which later acquired feminine inflection (DIL s.v.). In §§xvii and xxi we encountered nominative *mīach argait* without nasalisation.

**rochtain.** Middle Irish verbal noun of *roichid* (< Old Irish *ro-saig*: DIL s.v. *rochtain*).

### **Recension 1b**

The editorial method is as outlined on pp 52–3. The text in LU is accompanied by two marginal quatrains, written across the top of p. 116 of the MS. The footnote marker directing one to the location of the edited quatrains in the apparatus occurs in the text of Recension 1b at the point of the MS break between pp 115–6. These quatrains are discussed *at the end* of this recension's textual notes.



## **Text of Recension 1b**

### **§i (= Stokes §1 = Recension 1a §i = Recension 2 §i)**

Cath Cairnd Chonaill, rīa Dīarmait mac Āeda Sláni for Gūari Adni.

Dīarmait mac Āeda Sláne, Sinech Cró rod·n-alt. No·bertis Conachtai a  
bú-si co·tarat-si imchosaīt móir etir Dīarmait 7 Gūaire Aidne. Is and  
as·bert-si:

### **1 (= Recension 1a q. 1 = Recension 2 q. 1)**

A Dīarmait, a mallchobair,  
úamun Gúare fón·fodair;  
ár it anmand cluīthe cath,  
tair chucund, a dunebath.

### **2 (= Recension 1a q. 2 = Recension 2 q. 2)**

Lēic de Dīarmait, mairid fris; [read Léic do Dīarmait, na·ráid fris]  
in cath nī héol, ní fīrdís;  
dēnid cóir dó, mār a·tá: [read dénaid choirm]  
foīd chuci, dot·athlebá.

### **3 (= Recension 1a q. 3 = Recension 2 q. 3)**

'Rúanaid' at·berthe co ssē  
fris-seom ar mēt a náire; [read a áine]  
indīu is loibrānd im Mide  
Dīarmait mac Āeda Sláne.

### **4 (= Recension 1a q. 4 = Recension 2 q. 4)**

Trīcha tinne, trīcha bó,  
furec Cenēoil Fergusso;  
ícdai dartaíd hi cind gait  
inna forreith do Dīarmait. a.

## Translation of Recension 1b

### §i

The battle of Carn Conaill, [gained] by Díarmait son of Áed Sláine over Gúaire Aidni.

Díarmait son of Áed Sláine, whom Sinech Cró had fostered. The Connachta used to carry off her cows so that she brought about a great contention between Díarmait and Gúaire Aidni. It is then that she said:

### 1

O Díarmait, O slow helper,  
fear of Gúaire seizes us;  
as you are not weak at winning battles,  
come to us, O pestilence.

### 2

Leave [it] to Díarmait, tell it to him;  
the battle is not known [to him], he is not truly despicable;  
make an ale-feast for him, [it is] great that he is:  
send for him, he will come to you.

### 3

'Powerful' he used to be called until this  
because of the extent of his glory;  
today Díarmait son of Áed Sláine  
is a weakling concerning Mide.

### 4

Thirty flitches, thirty cows,  
[was] Cenél Fergusso's due;  
a yearling bullock at the end of a halter is to be paid  
as entertainment for Díarmait.

**5 (= Recension 1a q. 5 = Recension 2 q. 5)**

Beit fir móra ar macáin bic  
co·tí ar cobair co Grip;  
bit daim ríata laíg ar mbó  
co·tí cobair Dīarmato. a Dīarmait.

**§ii (= Stokes §2 = Recension 1a §ii = Recension 2 §ii)**

Ro·íc ní di·ssi, immorro, in cossaīt·sin. Ro·thinōil Dīarmait slúagu 7  
socaide leis do inriud Conacht.

**§iii (= Stokes §3)**

Is sed, iarom, ludi Dīarmait oc techt hi Conachta co Clūain Maic Nōis.  
Do·rigēnsat, iarom, sāmud Cīarán cona n·abaid, .i. Áedlug mac  
Commāin, etla fri Dīa fair co·tísad slán d'·inchaib a coraigechta·som.  
Ro·idbair in rī, iarom, Tóim nEirc cona fodlaib feraind, .i. Líath Manchān,  
amal fót for altóir do Dīa 7 do Chīarán, 7 to·bert tēora trísti for rīg Midi  
dīa·cathed nech dīa muntir cid <sup>A</sup> dig n·usci n·and. Conid de sin nā·laim  
rí Midi a ascin 7 nā·laim nech dīa muntir a bíad do chathim. Is de sin,  
danō, do·ráegart Dīarmait a adnacul hi Clūain Maic Nōis, conid iarom  
ro·adnacht inti.

---

<sup>A</sup> Mac Dā Certa cecinit:

Gort moccu Cirb, cruth rod·gāb, [read rod·bág]  
ní adas nach Mumanchlár;  
hi·fil galand ro·soí dath,  
'dīrsan son,' ar Talomnach.  
Rí Dā Chonchend, rī Dá Chī,  
do·cer hi rroí Cendfotai;  
a·tá a lecht isind fān  
int í mac Conaill Chūān.

## 5

Our little boys will be big men  
by the time our help comes with Grip;  
our cows' calves will be trained oxen  
by the time Díarmait's help shall come.

### §ii

It availed her, indeed, that complaint. Díarmait assembled hosts and multitudes for an invasion of Connacht.

### §iii

It is thus, then, that Díarmait went into Connacht to Clonmacnoise. Then Cíarán's congregation with their abbot, i.e. Áedlug son of Commán, made supplication to God for him that they might go safely by virtue of their guarantee. Then the king granted Túaim nEirc with its shares of land, i.e. Líath Mancháin, as 'a sod upon altar' to God and to Cíarán, and he inflicted three curses on the king of Mide should anyone of his followers consume even <sup>A</sup> a drink of water there. So it is because of that, that the king of Mide did not dare to see it or that anyone of his followers did not dare to consume his food [there]. It is because of that, then, that Díarmait announced his burial in Clonmacnoise, so that afterwards he was buried there.

---

<sup>A</sup> Mac Dá Cherda recited:

The Field of Corb's kin, in the way that one has boasted it,  
no Munster field is suitable;  
in which there is a champion who has died,  
'sad this,' said Talamnach.

The king of Dá Chonchenn, the king of Dá Chí,  
he has fallen in the battle of Cennfotae;  
his grave is in the hollow,  
the aforementioned Cúán son of Conall.

**§iv (= Stokes §4 = Recension 1a §iii = Recension 2 §v)**

Do·rat Dīarmait lāim dar Conachta remi co·ránic Aidni. Ro·thinōil Gúairi firu Muman dīa saigid. Roptar īat·so rīg tāncatár hi fōrithin Gúari, .i. Cūān mac Ēnnai, rī Muman, 7 Cūān mac Conaill, rí hÚa Fidge, 7 Tolomnach, rī hÚa Líathán. Do·ratad īarom cath Charnd Chonaill etorro hi llō Cengciges co·ráemid for Gúari co·rrolad ār cend and. Im Chūān mac Ēnnai, rí Muman, 7 im Cūān mac Conaill, rīg hÚa Conaill, 7 im Tholomnach, rīg hÚa Líathán.

**§v (= Stokes §5 = Recension 1a §iv = Recension 2 §vi)**

Cámmīni Insi Celtra, is sé do·rat brēthir for Gúari conná·gébad fri ócu. Ár ro·boí Cámmīni trī trāth oc troscud fair im slānaigect hi·tarat hé. Ar ro·sáraig Gúari hé.

**§vi (= Stokes §6 = Recension 1a §v = Recension 2 §vii)**

‘Mad cóir la Dīa,’ ar Cámmīne, ‘in fer fil hi comtairisem frimm·sa, níro·thairise fri námtiu.’

**§vii (= Stokes §7 = Recension 1a §vi = Recension 2 §viii)**

Do·tháet Gúairi do aurgairi Chammmīni 7 sléchtaid dó.

**§viii (= Stokes §8 = Recension 1a §vii = Recension 2 §ix)**

‘Do·reilced int irchor·sa,’ or Cámmīne, ‘nī·chomraim a ostud. Comlūath sin, danō,’ for Cammmīni, ‘7 do·bērat do réir duit in lucht máidfit maidm fort, .i. do·bērat do réir duit fo chētóir.’

**§ix (= Stokes §9 = Recension 1a §viii = Recension 2 §x)**

Is dē as·bert Cammmīn:

#### **§iv**

Díarmait took control of Connacht until he reached Aidne. Gúaire assembled the men of Munster to attack him. These were the kings who came to help Gúaire, i.e. Cúán son of Éndae, king of Munster, and Cúán son of Conall, king of Uí Fídgeinte, and Talamnach, king of Uí Líatháin. Then the battle of Carn Conaill was fought between them on Pentecost [Sun]day so that Gúaire was defeated and a slaughter of heads took place there. Including Cúán son of Éndae, king of Munster, and including Cúán son of Conall, king of Uí Chonaill, and including Talamnach, king of Uí Líatháin.

#### **§v**

Caimmíne of Inis Celtra, it is he who promised Gúaire that he would not withstand warriors. For Caimmíne had been three days fasting against him concerning a guarantee under which he had placed him. For Gúaire had violated it.

#### **§vi**

‘If it be right with God,’ said Caimmíne, ‘the man who stands against me, let him not endure against enemies.’

#### **§vii**

Gúaire comes to prevent Caimmíne and submits to him.

#### **§viii**

‘This die has been cast,’ said Caimmíne, ‘I am not able to hold it back. That is equally swift then,’ said Caimmíne, ‘and the ones who will defeat you will do your will for you, i.e. they will do your will for you at once.’

#### **§ix**

It is of it that Caimmíne said:

**6 (= Recension 1a q. 6 = Recension q. 7)**

I·mbíat fáebra fri fáebra

7 finne fri finne,

biät aithrech, a Gūairi, [read bidit aithrech]

cléirchīn fris·tarlais tinne.

**7 (= Recension 1a q. 7 = Recension 2 q. 8)**

Īar réir, do·arbart Mac Dē,

fri athlad na óenúaire,

crīde Gūaire fo chinu,

inna trīnu fo Gúaire.

**§x (= Stokes §10)**

‘Troisc lim-sa, danō,’ for Gúaire fri Cammīn, ‘fri Dīa co·tarda itchi dam.’

**§xi (= Stokes §11 = Recension 2 §xxix)**

Lotár ĩarom a trīur isin n-eclais, .i. Cammīni 7 Gūairi 7 Cummīni Fota.

Eclas mór do·rónad la Cammīn, is inti batar. Batar ĩarom na clérig oc tabairt a chobsena for Gúari.

**§xii (= Stokes §12 = Recension 2 §xxx)**

‘Maith, a Gūair[e],’ ar ĩat, ‘cid bad maith lat do līnad na ecaisi-sea hi·tám?’

**§xiii (= Stokes §13 = Recension 2 §xxxi)**

‘Ropad maith lim a llān di ōr 7 d’argut, 7 nī ar saint int sáegail acht dīa thidnacul, ar m’anmain, do náemaib 7 ecaisib 7 bochtaib in domain.’

## 6

Where blades are wont to be against blades  
and shields against shields,  
it will be regrettable for you, O Gúaire,  
[the] dear cleric against whom you have been severe.

## 7

According to [His] will, the Son of God subjected,  
at once,  
Gúaire's heart to gentle ones,  
[and] the strong ones to Gúaire.

## §x

'Fast with me, then,' said Gúaire to Caimmíne, 'against God that he may grant me a request.'

## §xi

Then the three of them went into the church, i.e. Caimmíne and Gúaire and Cuimmíne Fota. A great church which was built by Caimmíne, it is in it that they were. Then the clerics were hearing Gúaire's confession.

## §xii

'Well, O Gúaire,' they said, '[with] what would you like to fill this church in which we are?'

## §xiii

'I would like its fill of gold and of silver, and it is not for worldly greed but to distribute it, on behalf of my soul, to saints and churches and the poor of the world.'

**§xiv (= Stokes §14)**

‘Do·rata Dīa fortacht duit, a Gúaire,’ ar ĩat. ‘Do·bérthar in talam duit do·idnais ar t’anmain 7 bát nimidech.’

**§xv (= Stokes §15 = Recension 2 §xxxiv)**

‘Is bude lend,’ or Gúaire. ‘Ocus túsu, a Chammīni,’ or Gúaire, ‘cid bad maith lat día līnad?’

**§xvi (= Stokes §16 = Recension 2 §xxxv)**

‘Ropad maith lim a līnad do sáeth 7 galur 7 cech aingcis bád messo do duni combad formo chorp do·bērtais uli.’

**§xvii (= Stokes §17 = Recension 2 §xxxii)**

‘Ocus tussu, a Chummīne,’ or Gúaire, ‘cid bad maith lat día līnad?’

**§xviii (= Stokes §18 = Recension 2 §xxxiii)**

‘Ropad maith lim a llán di lebraib, .i. dīa tudecht do áes léging 7 do sílad brēthre Dē hi clúasaib cach duine, día thabairt a lurg Díabail dochum nimi.’

**§xix (= Stokes §19 = Recension 2 §xxxvi)**

Ro·fírtha trā uli a n-imrāti dóib. Do·ratad in talam do Gúaire. Do·ratad ecna do Chummīn. Do·ratá sóetha 7 gallra for Cammīne connā·dēochaid cnāim dē fri araile hi talam, acht ro·legai 7 ro·lobai ri aingces cech galair 7 cach threblaiti.

**§xx (= Stokes §20)**

Co·ndēochatar ule dochum nimi lía n-imrātib.

**§xiv**

'May God give you help, O Gúaire,' they said. 'The earth which you will bestow on behalf of your soul will be given to you and you will be secure of heaven.'

**§xv**

'We are grateful,' said Gúaire. 'And you, O Caimmíne,' said Gúaire, '[with] what would you like to fill it?'

**§xvi**

'I would like its fill of illness and of disease and of every ailment which would be worst for a person so that it would be on my body that they would all be inflicted.'

**§xvii**

'And you, O Cuimmíne,' said Gúaire, '[with] what would you like to fill it?'

**§xviii**

'I would like its fill of books, i.e. for them to accrue to clerical students and to spread the word of God in the ears of every person, to bring him from the Devil's path to heaven.'

**§xix**

Then all of their intentions were realised by them. The earth was given to Gúaire. Learning was given to Cuimmíne. Illnesses and diseases were given to Caimmíne so that no bone of him went with another in [the] ground, but it dissolved and decayed on account of the difficulty of every disease and of every tribulation.

**§xx**

So that they all went to heaven on account of their intentions.

**§xxi (= Stokes §21 = Recension 1a §ix = Recension 2 §xi)**

Techid trā Gúaire assin cath for leith, 7 a gilla, i rráith. Ro·gab in gilla  
bratān ríamnaige. Ro·fon 7 do·rat do Gúari. Conid and as·bert Gúari:

**8 (= Recension 1a q. 8 = Recension 2 q. 9)**

At·lochur do Dīa i·n·ētað,  
innocht dom feis óenfēccad;  
rom·buī-se adaig aile  
dom·bert secht mbú Mac Maire.

**§xxii (= Stokes §22 = Recension 1a §x = Recension 2 §xv)**

Do·lluid-seom, trā, do gíallad fri claideb do Dīarmait, int í Gúairi.

**§xxiii (= Stokes §23 = Recension 1a §xi = Recension 2 §xvi)**

‘Maith,’ or Dīarmait. ‘Cid ara·ndéni Gúairi in féli ucut, .i. inn ar Dīa fá inn  
ar daīni? Mád ar Dīa, do·béra nī innossa. Mad ar daíne, nī·thibre ol a·tá  
co feirg 7 londus mōr.’

**§xxiv (= Stokes §24 = Recension 1a §xii = Recension 2 §xvii)**

Do·thæ̃t chucu. ‘Ní dam, a Gúaire,’ ol in drūth. Cingthe secha. ‘Nī dam-  
sa, a Gúaire,’ or in clam. ‘Rot·bā,’ or Gúaire. Fo·cheird a goo dó. ‘Ní  
dam-sa,’ or a chéli. Fo·cheird a scíath dó. ‘Nī dam-sa,’ or a chéli aile.  
Fo·cheird a brat 7 a delg 7 a cris dó.

**§xxv (= Stokes §25 = Recension 1a §xiii)**

‘Nīt·ain,’ or Dīarmait. ‘Tair fón claideb.’

### **§xxi**

Then Gúaire flees aside out of the battle, and his servant, into an enclosure. The servant procured a line-caught salmon. He cooked [it] and he gave [it] to Gúaire. So it is then that Gúaire said:

### **8**

I give thanks to God in the matter of that which was obtained,  
a single fish tonight for my repast;  
I have had another night  
[when] the Son of Mary granted me seven cows.

### **§xxii**

Then he came to submit at [the point of] a sword to Díarmait, the aforementioned Gúaire.

### **§xxiii**

'Well,' said Díarmait. 'What is it for which Gúaire performs that generosity, i.e. is it on account of God or is it on account of people? If it be on account of God, he will give something now. If it be on account of people, he will not give for he is in anger and great displeasure.'

### **§xxiv**

He comes to them. 'Something for me, O Gúaire,' said a jester. He steps past him. 'Something for me, O Gúaire,' said a leper. 'You shall have it,' said Gúaire. He grants his spear to him. 'Something for me,' said his fellow. He grants his shield to him. 'Something for me,' said his other fellow. He grants his cloak and his brooch and his belt to him.

### **§xxv**

'It will not avail you,' said Díarmait. 'Come under the sword.'

**§xxvi (= Stokes §26 = Recension 1a §xiv = Recension 2 §xix)**

‘Ní dam-sa, a Gúaire,’ for in céli Dé. ‘An bic, a Dīarmait,’ or Gúaire,  
‘co-tallur mo lēne dím don chēle Dē.’ ‘Maith,’ or Dīarmait, ‘ro·gāllais-  
[s]iu do Ríg aile, .i. do Mac Dé. Assō mo gāll-sa duit-siu, immorro.’

**§xxvii (= Stokes §27 = Recension 1a §xv = Recension 2 §xx)**

Slēchtaid danō Dīarmait fo thrí do Gúari. ‘Níp anchobrai, trá,’ or  
Dīarmait, ‘co·ndigis armo chend-sa do Áenuch Tallten, conda·ragbat Fir  
hĒrend do chomarlid 7 do chind athchomairc dóib.’ ‘Do·géntar,’ or  
Gúaire.

**§xxviii (= Stokes §28 = Recension 1a §xvi = Recension 2 §xii)**

Is and sin ro·chan Sinech in molad-sa do Dīarmait:

**9 (= Recension 1a q. 9 = Recension 2 q. 10)**

Cach mac tigirn tímraidi,  
tāthut airle lim-sa dē;  
do·thē desell mo roga, [read in broga]  
leis fudell mo rúanado.

**10 (= Recension 1a q. 10 = Recension 2 q. 11)**

Ní for brágtib dam nā bó  
clóthir colg mo rúanado;  
is for rīgaib fo·cheird feit,  
indīu dubchend la Dīarmait.

### §xxxvi

'Something for me, O Gúaire,' said a client of God. 'Wait a little, O Díarmait,' said Gúaire, 'until I take off my shirt for the client of God.' 'Well,' said Díarmait, 'you have submitted to another King, i.e. to the Son of God. Here is my submission to you, therefore.'

### §xxxvii

Then Díarmait prostrates himself three times before Gúaire. 'Let it not be a lack of speech then,' said Díarmait, 'so that you may go to meet me at the Fair of Tailtiu, so that the Men of Ireland may take you as an adviser and as chief counsellor to them.' 'It will be done,' said Gúaire.

### §xxxviii

It is then that Sinech recited this panegyric to Díarmait:

#### 9

Every faint-hearted overlord,  
you have advice from me about him;  
let him come right-handwise about the region,  
my champion's leftovers [shall be] his.

#### 10

It is not on the necks of oxen or cows  
[that] my hero's rapier is blunted;  
it is upon kings that it makes a whistling noise,  
Díarmait's 'black-head' today.

**11 (= Recension 1a q. 11 = Recension 2 q. 12)**

Gúaire mac Colmāin in rī  
ro·chacc for craībiu Adní;  
ro·lá búalta mēit cind bó  
ar ómon mo rūanadó.

**12 (= Recension 1a q. 12 = Recension 2 q. 13)**

Ō ro·breca bróenán cró  
léni ndedguirm nDíarmató; [read léini ndennguirm]  
erred fir cluäs catha,  
nī comtig cen ildatha.

**13 (= Recension 1a q. 13 = Recension 2 q. 14)**

Ō ro·breca bróenan cró  
brunni gabra Dīarmató;  
usce asa·negar Grip<sup>A</sup>  
ní lūsta fri sacarbaic.<sup>B</sup>

**14 (= Recension 1a q. 14 = Recension 2 q. 15)**

Ō do·lēicter immasech  
cranna fanna for cach leth; [read cranna fíanda]  
nípo decmait casal cró  
for crund a duirnd Dīarmató.

**15 (= Recension 1a q. 15 = Recension 2 q. 16)**

Ō do·sernatár gaī bic [read Ó ro·sernatar]  
hi tossuch a n-imairic,  
is í cétní and ar·ric [read is í diäs cíta·ric]  
a gaī is a gabair la Dīarmait. [read a gabair 7 Díarmait]

---

<sup>A</sup> .i. ech Dīarmata

<sup>B</sup> nī glan

**11**

Gúaire son of Colmán, the king  
that has shat on the trees of Aidne;  
he has dropped faeces as big as a cow's head  
for fear of my champion.

**12**

When a shower of blood has speckled  
Díarmait's splendid-hued tunic;  
the outfit of a man who vanquishes battalions  
is not meet without many colours.

**13**

When a shower of blood has speckled  
the breast of Díarmait's horse;  
the water with which Grip is washed <sup>A</sup>  
is not to be drunk at the sacrament. <sup>B</sup>

**14**

When are being cast in turn  
warlike spears on every side,  
a gory cloak were not unusual  
on a shaft from Díarmait's fist.

**15**

When the small spears have been arrayed  
at the beginning of their conflict,  
the two that first arrive  
are Díarmait and his horse.

---

<sup>A</sup> i.e. Díarmait's horse

<sup>B</sup> it is not clean

**16 (= Recension 1a q. 16 = Recension 2 q. 17)**

Ad·nuü ón, ad·nuü, [read At·nuü]  
dā·reis Sinich co cruü, [read dí·a·rís]  
nocos·fáecēbad la biü, [read nicos·fáiceb]  
ata·biü com luü.

**17 (= Recension 1a q. 17 = Recension 2 q. 18)**

Ad·nuü, or sī,  
ní·ric Sinech co cruü, [read Sinich]  
nī·fil òccu 'cá imochaid;  
cid náci·fitir nuü. [read cid nachid·fitir nuü]

**18**

Dīarmait Rúanaid, maith in rī,  
forbrid ar cách trīa lunn;  
forbrid ar cach n·óen co gnáth,  
in rí co·cuir bróen ar cách. c.

**§xxx (= Stokes §29 = Recension 1a §xvii = Recension 2 §xxi)**

Luid-seom iarom, int ī Gūairi, do Áenuch Taltan ar cend Dīarmata, 7  
míach argit leis dí·a thabairt do Feraib hĒrend.

**§xxx (= Stokes §30 = Recension 1a §xviii = Recension 2 §xxii)**

'Maith,' or Dīarmait, 'in fer do·tháet chucaib. At·ethaid a innili oca thig.  
Is [s]árugud dam-sa trúag nó trén isind óenuch do chuingid neich cuci.'

**§xxxi (= Stokes §31 = Recension 1a §xix = Recension 2 §xxiii)**

Luid-seom didū co·mboí for láim Dīarmata for foradaib bīth isind  
óenuch. In lā·sin, trā, nī·chuinnig nech ní cuca-som. Bá machdad leis-  
[s]eom a n·í·sin.

**16**

I swear it, indeed, I swear it,  
if I reach Sinech with a hoof,  
I will never leave her with the living,  
I will smite her with my kick.

**17**

I swear it, she said,  
he does not reach Sinech with a hoof,  
warriors are not assailing her;  
why does he not know it now?

**18**

Powerful Díarmait, the king [is] good,  
he prevails over all through his vehemence;  
customarily he prevails over everybody,  
the king who causes everyone sorrow.

**§xxxix**

He went then, the aforementioned Gúaire, to the Fair of Tailtiu to meet Díarmait, with a bushel of silver to give to the Men of Ireland.

**§xxx**

'Good,' said Díarmait, '[is] the man who comes to you. Ye receive his goods at his dwelling. It is an outrage to me should a weak one or a strong one at the fair ask anything of him.'

**§xxxi**

He went then so that he was at Díarmait's side on platforms that are there at the fair. On that day, then, nobody asks anything of him. That was surprising to him.

**§xxxii (= Stokes §32 = Recension 1a §xx = Recension 2 §xxiv)**

‘Maith, a Dīarmait,’ or Gūare. ‘Epscop do gairm cucum-sa co·tard-sa mo choibsena dó. ‘Cid sō?’ or Dīarmait. ‘Cid nách mana éca let-so dam-sa, a Dīarmait, áit hi·tát Fir hĒrend, etir trūag 7 trēn, nād·cuinnig nech díb ní chucum-sa?’

**§xxxiii (= Stokes §33 = Recension 1a §xxi = Recension 2 §xxv)**

‘Níro·gēbthar fort,’ or Dīarmait. ‘Mīach argait duit sunnút.’ ‘A·tá airget immorro lim-sa,’ ol Gúairi.

**§xxxiv (= Stokes §34 = Recension 1a §xxii = Recension 2 §xxvi)**

At·raracht immorro Gúairi 7 nos·tairbir assa díb lāmaib. 7 as·berat-som ba lethfota a lám ónd úair-sin oc rochtain na céli nDé.

**§xxxv (= Stokes §35 = Recension 1a §xxiii = Recension 2 §xxvii)**

Do·gnīat ĩarom ógsid, .i. Dīarmait 7 Gūaire. 7 ro·gabsat Fir hĒrend int í Gúairi do chomarlid 7 do chind athchomairc dóib ónd ūair-sin trīa bithu cēin robo béo.

**§xxxvi (= Stokes §36)**

Bá maith, ĩarom, int í Gúairi. Is dó do·ratad, tría rath féli, in bó co n-aīb ítha 7 inna sméra ‘sind fulliuch.

**§xxxii**

'Well, O Díarmait,' said Gúaire, 'let a bishop be called to me that I may make my confession to him.' 'What is this?' said Díarmait. 'Is it not a portent to you of my death, O Díarmait, a place in which the Men of Ireland are, both weak and strong, [yet] none of whom ask anything of me?'

**§xxxiii**

'You will not be able to be assailed,' said Díarmait. 'A bushel of silver here for you.' 'But I have silver,' said Gúaire.

**§xxxiv**

Gúaire arose then and he yields it from his two hands. And they say that one of his arms was longer than the other from that time [from] reaching out to the clients of God.

**§xxxv**

Then they make a perfect peace, i.e. Díarmait and Gúaire. And the Men of Ireland took the aforementioned Gúaire as an adviser and as chief counsellor to them forever from that time, as long as he was living.

**§xxxvi**

The aforementioned Gúaire was well then. It is to him was given, by virtue of [his] generosity, the cow with liver of fat and the berries at the end of winter.

**§xxxvii (= Stokes §37)**

Is é do·róni in firt n-amra hi Clūain Maic Nóis díá·rucad-som dīa adnacol  
dī. Tánic in drúth dīa saigid 7 ro·gab ālgais dē, im athchuingid fair.

Do·rat-som a lāim darsin forbaid immach 7 ro·gab lán a duirnd don  
ganium 7 ro·dībairc i n-uch[t] in drūad co·nderna bruth óir dé. Conid  
hé-sin enech dēdenach Gūairi. Conid cath Diarmata 7 Gūairi Adni a scēl-  
sin anúas.

### §xxxvii

It is he who performed a wonderful miracle in Clonmacnoise when he was taken there for his burial. A jester came towards him and made a demand of him, concerning a repeated request of him. He put his hand out over the winding sheet and he took the fill of his fist of the sand and he cast [it] in the breast of the jester [lit. druid/poet] so that it became a lump of gold. So that that is Gúaire's last bounty. So that that story from above is the battle of Díarmait and Gúaire Aidni.

## Textual notes on Recension 1b

### §i

#### **Cath Cairnd Chonaill, rīa Dīarmait mac Āeda Sláni for Gūari Adni.**

LL neither provides the tale with a title nor mentions the place name *Carn Conaill*. In LU, *cath Cairn Chonaill* is again referred to in §iv.

The victor in a conflict may be expressed by *ré<sup>N</sup>/ríá<sup>N</sup>* and the vanquished by either *for* or *fri*. These are usually preceded by a verb (e.g. '[u]sed like "brissid" in the idiom: maidid (in cath, etc.) re (ria) A for B (*the* battle) breaks before A on B = A defeats B': DIL s.v. *maidid* I). However, the formula may also occur with a noun in the absence of a verb (e.g. *cath Formāili rīm for Conall* 'he won the battle of F. over C.': DIL s.v. 6 *ré, ría* II (d)). The preposition meaning 'before, in front of' is usually rendered *ré<sup>N</sup>* in Old Irish, with occasional attestations of *ría<sup>N</sup>*. In Middle Irish, *ría<sup>N</sup>* is the form usually found (see MG, §13.23). In the Middle Irish period, *ré<sup>N</sup>/ría<sup>N</sup>* sometimes becomes confused with *fri<sup>H</sup>* (DIL s.v. 6 *ré, ría*). The absence of nasalisation of the initial of *Díarmait* suggests such confusion may have taken place here.

O'Donovan (1851, i, 260, n. x) situates Carn Conaill 'in the territory of Aidhne, which was coextensive with the diocese of Kilmacduagh, in [...] Galway. This place is probably that now called Ballyconnell, in the parish of Kilbecanty, near Gort'. He is followed by Fahey (1893, 20, 116), Stokes (1894, 481), Gwynn (1913b, 558) and Mac Niocaill (1972, 97). Ó Riain, Ó Murchadha and Murray (2008, 67) attest to the probability of this assignation.

**co-tarat-si.** The feminine emphatic suffix, absent from LL, stresses that Sinech's subsequent actions rather than Gúaire's cattle-raiding precipitate the ensuing conflict.

### 1d

**dunebath.** Where LL has *duinebad* (on the impossibility of deeming one reading superior to the other, see p. 23).

## 2a

**de.** LL's *do* is to be preferred: see p. 83.

**mairid fris.** The construction *mairid fri* does not appear to make sense. This verb has W1 and W2 variants (i.e. it may appear as *maraid* or *mairid*: DIL s.v. *maraid*). At some point in this version of our text's MS transmission, a scribe might have mistakenly added a third minim stroke to an *n*, changing *naraid* to *maraid* (later rendered *mairid*).

## 2b

**in cath nī héol, ní firdis.** Stokes (1901a, 205) translates part of this line 'nothing truly small is known', taking *in cath* as object of the verb at the end of the previous line. The word at the end of this line is a compound of *fír*, which may be used with intensive force of abstracts (DIL s.v. 1 *fír* I (a) and (b)), and *diss* (DIL s.v.). Perhaps a translation such as 'a truly despicable thing/act is not known' might be possible, i.e. 'we do not yet know that Díarmait has committed the despicable act of abandoning us to our fate; give him the benefit of the doubt, send for him and he will come to our aid'. As argued on p. 84, however, I consider *héol* to be predicate of the copula here and *in cath* its subject. I understand *ní firdis* to be a simple and brief negative copular statement, 'he is not truly despicable'.

## 2c

**dēnid cóir.** The metre would require that *cóir* (< *coir* 'right, justice') be monosyllabic. The nominal and verbal systems in the verse contain ten instances of hiatus, metrically confirmed, where one would expect to find it historically. If LU were to give the better reading here, it would be the only instance of contraction of hiatus in 'Sinech's verse'. This cannot be taken as evidence for preferring LL/Eg over LU, however, since hiatus and contracted forms may be found alongside one another

over a long period, as the metre requires. However, I feel that LL/Eg's reading makes better sense (see pp 85–6).

### 3a

**at·berthe.** A neuter infix became petrified in forms of *as·beir* (EIV, 172–3). LL/Eg's reading without the pronoun likely preserves an older form present in the archetype.

### 3b

**náire.** See the note on *a áne*, p. 88.

### 5a

**móra.** While elision would allow for reading *beit fir móra ar macáin bic*, LL/Eg clearly give the better reading.

### §ii

**Ro·thinōil.** Note the main-clause lenition after preverbal *ro*, as well as simplex *tinóilid* for Old Irish *do·inóla*.

**socaide.** I take this as plural, as *slúagu* is plural. Formally, however, it could be singular or plural.

### §iii

**Is sed, iarom, ludi.** The copula, with neuter pronoun as predicate, may be used adverbially with verbs of motion 'anticipating the following route, destination, etc.' (DIL s.v. 1 *ed* VI). Simple (i.e. non-emphatic) 3sg. forms of the independent pronoun may have an initial *s* in Middle Irish (MG, §10.20; see also *ibid.* §10.12). Of the neuter pronoun in that period, Breatnach (*ibid.* §10.13) writes '[is] in abairtí [ionannais] amháin a mhaireann [sé] sa MG [...] Is féidir é a úsáid mar fhaisnéis réamhthagrach in abairtí den déanamh *copail + (s)ed + briathar coibhneasta* ag tagairt do chlásal ainm bhriathartha'.

**hi Conachta.** Note that *i*, where motion is implied, governs the accusative, as in standard Old Irish.

**Clūain Maic Nōis.** LU is the only one of the MSS to mention Clonmacnoise (here and in §xxxvii). This has led to the reasonable assertion that the LU revision of the tale ‘shows evident signs of Clonmacnoise provenance’ (Herbert, 2015, 87; note, however, that Ó Floinn (1998, 87–8) considers the recording of Gúaire’s burial at Clonmacnoise to have been contemporary). It appears to have led to the earlier association of CCC as a whole with the site (see, for example, Byrne, 1973, 240: ‘the saga of the Battle of Carn Conaill [...] was evidently composed at Clonmacnoise’). E. Bhreathnach (2003, 99–100) cautions against attempting too rigidly to identify a single locale in which medieval Irish MSS were compiled. We must similarly take care not to assume that a text with different linguistic strata is the product of one location or of redactors with a single agenda.

**Áedlug mac Commāin.** The monastery’s eighth abbot (see Kehnel, 1997, 248; d. 652, AU).

**co-tísad.** The *s*-subjunctive survives in this verb into the Middle Irish period, though by then it may be based on the root *tíag-* (DIL s.v. 1 *téit*).

**Ro-idbair.** For Old Irish *ad-robart*, perfect 3sg. of *ad-opair* (DIL s.v.). This verb may appear in vernacular charters in direct translation of formulae employing verbs like *immolāre* ‘to sacrifice, offer’ in Latin Celtic charters. Other phraseology employed in vernacular charters that appears to be the result of direct translation, and which is similar to elements of the formula found in this section of CCC, includes *do Día ocus do Cholum Cille* for *Deo et sancto*, and *mallacht* for *maledicetur* (see Davies, 1982, 268–9). A feature of insular Celtic charters is that the MS source tends to be much later than the date of the transaction recorded.

They use past tense and third person, where European charters use present and first, and may record information which is suspect or corrupt. The charters 'do not claim to be issued by the authors of the grants; they are intended as narrative records of occasions when transactions were performed, either on the land itself or – frequently – before the altar' (ibid. 261–2). Literary, narrative and annalistic are more numerous than documentary sources (Flanagan, 2005, 3).

**Tóim nEirc.** According to O'Donovan (AFM, i, 261, n. a), the original name of the site of the ruins of the old church of Lemanaghan.

**Líath Manchān.** The Registry of Clonmacnoise records Lemanaghan as an Uí Maíl Séchnaill grant, its lands having probably come under St Cíarán's authority in the eleventh century (see Kehnel, 1997, 227–9). Kehnel (ibid. 84–5, §2.3.20) acknowledges the tradition linking SílnÁedo Sláine with the grant of this land. She notes the dynasty was excluded from the kingship of Tara from the late seventh century, but that it provided a king again in the middle of the tenth, 'a very suitable time for the insertion of the gloss in the Clonmacnois annals'. E. Bhreathnach (2003, 100) agrees that this passage 'reflects the tenth-century interests of SílnÁedo Sláine', as opposed to their rivals and contemporary overlords, Clann Cholmáin. She identifies 'a clear political message: one branch of the Uí Néill, SílnÁedo Sláine—to whom Diarmait mac nÁedo Sláine ([...] a patron of Clonmacnoise) belonged and who had lost out politically to another, Clann Cholmáin, to whom the more important kings, Máel Sechnaill and Flann Sinna (both patrons of Clonmacnoise) belonged—continued to assert rights of land-ownership and burial at the monastery'.

**fót for altóir.** DIL (s.v. 1 *fót* (d)) explains that this is 'land given to the church (probably from the symbolic custom of delivering a sod)'.

**tēora trísti.** Note correct use of the feminine form of the numeral.

**dīa·cathed nech [...] cid dig n-usci.** *Cía* ‘although, even if’ with the present subjunctive 3sg. of the copula may be used ‘in the sense of “even”’ (GOI, §909). If the copular element of *cid* were still felt, one would expect a noun in the nominative to follow. Instead, *deog* is object of *caithid*.

**nā·laim.** A form of the negative particle found in relative clauses in Middle Irish (< *nád*), it appears sporadically even in Old Irish (Ó hUiginn, 1987, 179). From the late Old Irish period, preposed elements other than a nominal may be followed by a relative clause. This later becomes regular (Ahlqvist, 1978, 71–2).

**ascin.** Metathesised form for earlier *a(i)csin*.

**do·ráegart.** In the augmented t-preterite of *\*to-ad-gair* (see DIL s.v. *do-accair*), *ro* might be expected to follow *ad* in standard Old Irish (for a positional hierarchy of preverbs, see EIV, 90). In a compound such as this, however, prevocalic *ro* may be introduced at an early stage (see *ibid.* 151).

**a adnacul hi Clūain Maic Nōis.** Herbert (2015, 88) notes that royal burial ‘as an indicator of prestigious church-state alliance seems to have become particularly marked from the eleventh century’, and that retrospective claims to kings’ graves were not uncommon. She asserts that the claim that both Díarmait and Gúaire were buried at Clonmacnoise grants them parity of esteem (*ibid.* 87). Imhoff (2016, 87–8) finds that this episode and the later account of Gúaire’s burial fit into a ‘general interest in burial that is displayed in early medieval Irish literature [...] in which supposedly secular figures and their burials are endowed with religious motifs and concerns’.

**ro·adnacht.** For Old Irish *ad·ranacht*.

### §iv

**remi.** LL has Old Irish *ríam*. On the Middle Irish generalisation of *rem-* or *rom-* as the root on which all persons of conjugated *ré/ría* are based, see MG (§13.23).

**Roptar iat-so.** Note the plural form of the copula (one might expect singular copula with plural pronoun in late Middle Irish: see Breatnach, 2015, 58).

**fōrithin.** *Fo·reith*'s Middle Irish verbal noun (DIL s.v. *fóirithin*).

**Cūān mac Ēnnai, rī Muman.** Byrne (1973, 241) remarks that Cúán mac Ēnnai's death is recorded in the Annals in 641. In the genealogies, Amalgaid is named as his father (see O'Brien, 1962, 253; Ó Muraíle, ii, 2003, 550–1, §604.5). The LL regnal lists tell of *a éc nō a marbad i cath Carn Conaill* (O'Brien, 1962, 360).

**Cūān mac Conaill, rī hÚa Fidgente.** This Cúán's father's name is elsewhere given as Amalgaid (Ó Muraíle, 2003, ii, 594, §634.6), perhaps in confusion with the previously discussed Cúán. Ó Coileáin (1974, 123) notes that Cúán mac Conaill is not mentioned in AI, but that the death of another Uí Fídgeinti king, Crundmáel mac Áedo maic Óenguso Lappae, is recorded under the same year as the battle of Carn Conaill. He deems Crundmáel's obit likely to be reliable, declaring 'it virtually certain that Cúán mac Conaill was not king in the year of the battle' (idem. 1981, 132).

Ó Coileáin (1974, 98) mentions one 'Cuanu mac Cailchíne, king of Fir Maige Féne, whom we have seen described as uterine brother of Guaire, and who appears as his ally in the saga of the battle of Carn Conaill', citing in support of this Stokes' edition (ibid. n. 43). He does

*not*, however, appear there. Perhaps the literary account of the plundering of Carn Cuilinn, in which Cuanu and Gúaire are intimately involved but certainly not allied (see *ibid.* 121–2), has led to confusion.

**Tolomnach, rī hÚa Líathān.** This figure is absent from the genealogies. Byrne (1973, 241) considers the great distance separating Gúaire from the territory of Uí Líatháin almost enough to preclude their involvement, suggesting however the possibility of the participation of one Talamnach (a rare name) of Corco Baiscind. Ó Coileáin (1974, 116–8) also doubts the involvement of the figure under discussion. Like Byrne, he suggests Talamnach of Corco Baiscind may have been substituted. He then suggests a further substitution, opining that the latter Talamnach ‘has replaced Rónán (m.) Dícolla m. Fergusa Tuile of Uí Liatháin to whom all the evidence points as the original Uí Liatháin representative in the saga of battle’. Ó Coileáin adduces evidence that Rónán belongs to the set of characters central to the Gúaire cycle, and that, like the two Cúáns, he is related by marriage to Mór Muman (seemingly ‘a basic requirement of the Munster kings involved in the saga’). That Talamnach does not seem to be an Uí Líatháin name, ‘added to the fact that Rónán fits in terms of time and associations, leads [Ó Coileáin] to believe that he figured in an earlier form of the Carn Conaill saga. At least it explains why an Uí Liatháin king was regarded as an appropriate participant in the battle’.

One obvious deficiency of Ó Coileáin’s argument that Rónán figured among the participants in an earlier form of CCC is that *no* Munster participant whatever is mentioned in the earliest extant form of the tale. A Talamnach is mentioned in one of the marginal quatrains accompanying the saga in LU, appearing also in the entry for the battle in AU. This co-occurrence, combined with the linguistically late arrival of the Munster contingent to the text, inclines me to believe that *somebody* of this name may have been involved in the battle or an early version of the saga.

**cath Charnd Chonaill.** In Middle Irish, the initial of a noun in the genitive between a masculine one in the nominative and another in the genitive may be lenited (MG, §4.4). One expects a palatal final in *carn*'s genitive singular.

**hi llō Cengciges.** The form, gender and inflection of *Cingciges* are variable (DIL s.v.). Here, it has not yet taken on the later genitive ending in *-ise*.

**ār cend.** The editors of AU (s.a. 970) take it that *ár cenn* involved literal decapitation: *[s]loghad la righ nUlath [...] coro ort Conndere 7 co fargaibh ár cenn* '[t]he king of Ulaid [...] made an expedition [...] and sacked Connaire, leaving a great many beheaded there'. It seems that in medieval Irish literature, 'decapitation is frequently an act of humiliation for the enemy as well as his kingroup' (Imhoff, 2016, 80). Archaeological evidence corroborates the literary evidence that beheading occurred in medieval Ireland. In the cemetery at Owenbristy, Co. Galway, for example, in use from the sixth to the tenth century, seven out of seventy-nine inhumation burials had been decapitated (E. Bhreathnach, 2014, 65–6).

**Im Chūān mac Énnai, rí Muman.** Standing in apposition to *Cúán, rí* should have a palatal final *g* in the accusative. Note that *ríg* is the form it takes in the mention of the two kings directly following.

**im Cūān mac Conaill, rí hÚa Conaill.** Earlier referred to as king of Uí Fidgeinti. Presumably the reference here is to Uí Chonaill Gabra, one of their two principal branches (see Byrne, 1973, 296).

## §v

**is sé.** Non-emphatic 3sg. forms of the pronoun may have an initial *s* in Middle Irish (MG, §10.20, also §10.12).

**im slānaigect.** The following information, giving the cause of Caimmíne’s anger, is absent from LL. The language is demonstrably later than that of Recension 1a. No further detail of the legal guarantee or security which Gúaire purportedly violated is given.

Gúaire falls foul of Mochuille in that saint’s Life. Eventually he repents, renounces his throne and makes over to the saint all the land surrounding his monastery. Afterwards, Gúaire becomes known for his generosity (Poncelet, 1898, 144–9, §§8–14).

**hi-tarat.** A conservative verbal form: the ‘3sg. augm. pret. *do:rat, -tarat* apparently first gives way to *-tart, -tard* [...] just after the OIr. period’ (EIV, 140–1, §2.5).

### §viii

**int irchor-sa.** For LL’s *intaurchorsa*. In the previous paragraph, both MSS agree in giving *airgaire* with initial *aur-*. ‘Words formed from the preposition/preverb *air* “before, for” are well known for the variation which they exhibit in the vocalic initial from the Old Irish period onwards’ (Ó Maolalaigh, 2003, 163). Ó Maolalaigh (2003, 25–6) notes that Thurneysen considered such variation to be dialectal (Ahlqvist (1988, 25–6) casts doubt on some of Thurneysen’s comments, including those on this feature, regarding dialect in Old Irish).

**nī·chomraim.** Stokes (1901a, 209, n. 2), in what he terms a ‘guess’, suggests reading *chobrain*, presumably a Middle Irish form of *cobraithir* ‘helps, protects’. DIL (s.v. ? *comraim*) suggests *chumcaim*, presumably a Middle Irish present 1sg. form of *con·icc*, medial *r* representing the augment. Pokorny (1921, 109) has written that forms such as prototonic *·cumaing* with root *-ing* or *-ang* are only found where the preverb *con* immediately precedes the verbal root. He recognises the existence of the closely related verbal form *ní comraic*. Whether the

augment has any semantic force here or if it occurs under the influence of *con·ricc* is unclear.

**a ostud.** Stokes (1901a, 209, n.2) analyses this as *fostad* ‘holding back, detaining’, lenition reducing *f* to zero (see note on ‘*ca himochaid*, p. 117–8).

**in lucht máidfit maidm.** On the Middle Irish use of plural verb with singular collective, see MG (§14.2). The *f-* in place of the *s-*future is innovatory (see EIV, 220–2, §§6.6.1–2). Note, also, the non-relative form of the *f-*future 3pl. *Máidfit maidm* is a *figura etymologica*, examples of which may occasionally still be found in Middle Irish (MG, §14.8).

#### 6c

**biät aithrech.** LL/Eg give *biditaithrech/bidataitrech*. Either reading better renders the future 3sg. copula with infix and predicate.

#### 6d

**cléirchīn.** LL/Eg’s *-én* is older than *-ín* (GOI, §272).

#### §§xi–xx

The fragment found in YBL consists only of these paragraphs involving Gúaire, Caimmíne and Cuimmíne Fota. To facilitate comparison, I have imposed the corresponding paragraph numbers from Recension 1b.

#### §xi

*Feachtus do Gúairi Aidne 7 do Chumaíne Fota 7 do Chamíne Indsi  
Celtra isind n-eclais Indse Celtra, eclas mōr do-rōndad la Camíne.  
Bādar-som didū oc tabairt a n-anmchairdeasa for Gúaire.*

**§xii**

*'Maith, trā,' or Gūairi, 'cid bid maith lat do līnad na hecalsa hi-tām.'*

**§xiii**

*'Robad maith lim a llān di ōr 7 argat, 7 nībo ar saint in domain acht dīa tidlucad, ar m'anmain-se, do nēobaib 7 ecalsaib 7 bochtaib.'*

**§xiv**

*'Do-rada Dīa fortacht duid, a Gūaire. Do-bērthar in talam do-idnais ar th'anmain 7 biad nime.'*

**§xv**

*'Is buidi lem,' or Gūairi. 'Et tusa, a Chamīne,' ar Gūaire, 'cid bad maith lat dīa līnad?'*

**§xvi**

*'Robod maith lim a llān do tsāeth 7 galur 7 cech aingcis badit meso do duine combad form chorp do-bērdais uile.'*

**§xvii**

*'Et tuso, a Chumāine,' or Gūaire, 'cid bid maith lat indi?'*

**§xviii**

*'Robad maith lim a llān di leabraib .i. dīa tuidecht do ōes lēigind 7 do sīlad brēithri Dē i cluasaib cach duine, dīa tabairt do lurg Dīabail dochum in Choimded.'*

**§xix**

*Ro-fīrtha trā a n-imrāiti. Da-radad ecna do Chumāin. Do-radad in talam do Gūaire. Do-radad sāetha 7 galra do Chamīne conā-dechaid cnāim dē fri araile i talam, acht ro-leghai 7 ro-lobai ro hances cach galur.*

**§xx**

*Conda-dechadar a nem uile līa n-imrāte ina n-eclais. Finit.*

An adaptation of this passage appears in the (Middle) Irish Life of Colm Cille (see Herbert, 1988, 229, §30), where the hagiographer 'shows no

reluctance about adapting his materials to suit his own purposes', in this instance 'apparently rewrit[ing] an incident in a Columban setting' (ibid. 197–8), with different *dramatis personae*. It also appears in various other places (see Stokes, 1890, 303–4).

### §xi

**Lotár.** The Middle Irish tendency to lengthen the vowel of certain personal endings is especially prevalent in *Lebor na hUidre*. It occurs mainly in active endings of the shape consonant + vowel (+/- final consonant). Endings of the type *-tár* do not survive in Modern Irish. McCone writes it 'is difficult to know what to make of this tendency to write a length mark over *a*' (EIV, 178, §2.4). Note, also, *bát* in §xiv and §xvi, and *do·ratá* in §xix (all Recension 1b).

**isin n-eclais [...] Eclas mór.** Note the accusative following *i* where movement is implied, as in Old Irish. This noun may have *i-*, *ī-* or *ā-*stem inflection (DIL s.v. *eclais, eclas*). We see here accusative singular with palatal and nominative singular with non-palatal final, suggesting it is a *ā-*stem. In the next section, genitive singular *na ecailsi-sea* occurs.

**Cummīni Fota.** See Ó Riain (2011, s.n. *Cuimín Fada*).

**a chobsena.** A feminine *n-*stem from Latin *confessio* (DIL s.v. *cobais*), genitive singular/plural in non-palatal *-n* is to be expected (compare Modern Irish *coibhse*, genitive *coibhsean*: Ó Dónaill, 1977, s.v.). I can offer no explanation for this form in a final vowel. Note that in §xx (= Recension 1b §xxxii), Gúaire seeks a bishop *co·tard-sa mo choibsena dó*, adopting the plural where one might anticipate the singular.

**oc tabairt [...] for Gúari.** In Middle Irish, *do·beir for* may mean 'confers upon', where *do·beir do* would have been found in Old Irish (DIL s.v. *do·beir* II (b) (iii)).

## §xii

**na ecailsi-sea.** Note the presence of a secondary vowel between the liquid and the preceding consonant here and in the dative plural in §xiii (as opposed to the nominative and accusative singular without anaptyxis in §xi: see GOI, §112; after syncope, *l*, *n* and *r* standing between consonants became vocalic: for an examination of the consonants on either side of the anaptyctic vowel, see Griffith, 2007).

## §xiii

**ar m'anmain.** In Old Irish, this noun was always inflected as an n-stem in the plural but only occasionally so in the singular (DIL s.v. *ainim(m)*). Note also the non-palatal word-internal consonant cluster. *Anaim* appears to be a later form (see GOI, §333.4).

## §xiv

**do-idnais.** Stokes (1901a, 211, n. 2) analyses this as the s-subjunctive, DIL (s.v. *do-indnaig*) as a Middle Irish s-future. As the verbs on either side are future forms, DIL appears to be correct.

**bát.** The suffixation of a pronominal element to forms of the copula is a Middle Irish innovation (MG, §12.194).

**nimidech.** Variant form of *neimedach* (DIL s.v.).

## §xv

**Ocus túsu.** Note the length mark in the emphatic form of the pronoun. Breatnach (MG, §10.20) writes '[s]a dara pearsa uatha [...] tá malartú idir an guta fada in *tú* agus an guta gearr in *tussu* le mír threise [...] tá seo cinnte óna mhinicíocht is a scríobhtar an síneadh fada in *tú*, agus ón -ss- in *tussu*'. The form found here, with vowel marked for length and single *s*, is of interest to the discussion of the vowel quantity of the stressed 3sg. feminine form *di-ssi* on p. 94.

### §xvi

**nesso.** ‘Already in the Félire [...] comparative forms are more numerous than superlative’ (GOI, §366.3). This development becomes even more prevalent in Middle Irish (MG, §6.15).

**formo chorp.** In Old Irish, the form of the possessive found in YBL, with elided vowel, would be expected here (see GOI, §439).

### §xix

**ro·legai 7 ro·lobai.** Two examples of the innovatory s-preterite 3sg. with the conjunct ending of the present 3sg. The opposition between augmented preterite and unaugmented present in Middle Irish meant this innovation was not a cause of ambiguity. It does not survive in any dialect today and appears likely to have belonged to the literary rather than the spoken language (EIV, 236, §6.9.1 (c)).

**ri.** A Middle Irish form of *fri*.

**cach threblaiti.** One expects *cach* to be inflected for the genitive singular feminine, without lenition of the following initial.

### §xx

**lía n-imrātib.** Note that *la* is followed by the dative. It governs the accusative in Old Irish.

### §xxi

**Techid.** For LL’s ā-preterite. While this is potentially as old, it is more likely a scribe employed the present in place of the preterite at some point in MS transmission than the reverse. Though the ā-preterite continues to be found in early Middle Irish, it becomes very rare (MG, §12.56). That the verb here is closely followed by three perfects, on the face of it, hardly supports my suggestion the form in LL is more likely to

have belonged to the archetype than that in LU. It seems that verbs of motion were the most likely to have been employed in the historical present in medieval Irish tales (Tristram, 1983, 16). Furthermore, there is no shortage in the literature of usages of the historical present in the sequence ‘Pres...Pret’ (ibid. 8–9). However, van Loon (2014, esp. 256–8, 261) has convincingly argued that the preterite rather than the historical present is far more likely to be used where an action is deemed to have been completed before another takes place. The likelihood the fish Gúaire later dines on was caught *after* he fled rather than *while* he was fleeing supports the assertion *táich* appeared in the archetype.

**i rrāith.** Stokes (1901a, 213, n. 1) suggests this is a variant of *do ráith* ‘only’, defined in DIL (s.v. *ráith* II) as ‘at once’. I think it more likely to mean ‘into a fort, enclosure’ (DIL s.v. 2 *ráth, ráith*), where Gúaire could eat his salmon unobserved.

## 8b

**óenfēccad.** On the development of prosthetic *f*, see MG (§3.21).

## §xxii

**int í Gúairi.** Not found in LL. Kobel (2015, 172) writes that the additional information here is ‘in parentheses and serves to highlight the appropriate character’. See note on p. 119.

## §xxiii

**londus mōr.** *Lonnus* (DIL s.v.) is very often coupled with *ferg*. Perhaps this association occasioned its employment in place of LL’s *luinne*.

## §xxvi

**co-tallur.** Where LL has *cotall*. See p. 37.

### §xxvii

**anchobrai.** LL's *ancórai* is to be preferred. *Cobrae* 'speech, conversation' does not make good sense, whether in composition with the negative or the intensive prefix.

**conda·ragbat.** The final *t* of the infix is omitted. See the note on the corresponding form in LL (p. 106), where its initial *d* is absent.

### §xxviii

**ro·chan.** An innovatory form, with (apparently non-resultative) augment, main-clause lenition and loss of reduplication. LL's t-preterite *as·bert* seems more likely to have belonged to the archetype.

### 9a

**timcraidi.** An innovatory form of *críde* with non-palatal *cr-* (> *croidhe*).

### 9c

**mo roga.** Unmetrical, as the genitive of indeclinable *rogu, roga* 'choice' fails to provide rhyme. LL's *in broga* (or rather original *in mrogo*) is better. As words in *mr-* often acquired an epenthetic consonant in their transition to anlauting *br-*, there may have been an intermediary stage of development *in mbrogo* (see Ó Máille, 1910, 95–6). Such a form may have given rise to the *mo* found here.

### 10d

**indīu dubchend.** Note the absence of the article, rendering void the questions regarding elision and its gender raised on p. 110.

### 11d

**ar ómon.** Note the long vowel for LL/Eg's diphthong. Diphthongisation of *ō* to *úa* had apparently taken place by the middle of the eighth century, though not for all words (Ó Máille, 1910, 76, §89). Even where

it had taken place, both forms continued in use alongside one another (ibid. 74, §87). This, Ó Máille states, may have been due to dialect, and *ō* appears to have later reasserted itself in some places. Stifter (2013, 176–7, §1.3) finds that these conclusions with regard to the breaking of *ō* to *úa* are ‘probably as close as we can currently get to a dating’.

#### 14b

**fanna.** LL/Eg’s *fñanda* is more appropriate than *fann* ‘weak, soft’.

#### 14c

**decmaít.** Where LL/Eg have *decmaing/decmuing*. The variant *decmaic* existed as early as the late eighth century (DIL s.v. *decmaing*). The rendering in final *t* may be put down to scribal error.

#### 14d

**duirnd.** O-stem *dorn* (DIL s.v.) has a variant spelling *dornn/dornd*. The dative singular with palatal final is a later innovation.

**do·sernatár.** Where LL/Eg have augmented forms of *sernaid*. A verbal form based on *\*to-sern-* or *\*di-sern-* is, to my knowledge, otherwise unattested (no such form appears in Watkins (1958), a study of ‘*sernaid* and related forms’). This reading probably represents Middle Irish confusion of *do-* and *ro-* (see EIV, 190).

#### 15c

**is í cétní.** Clearly corrupt, as the feminine predicate fails to agree with the neuter subject. LL/Eg’s adverbial *cita-* may account for the *cét-* of *cétní*, the singular substantive apparently referring to both Díarmait and his horse.

**ar·ric.** In place of forms of *ro·icc* in LL/Eg.

### 15d

**a gaī is a gabair la Dīarmait.** The line is hypermetric.

### 16b

**dā·reis Sinich.** Stokes (1901a, 216–7) employs this reading, translating ‘if Sinech reach a fold’. The verbal form, however, appears to be present subjunctive 2sg. of *reithid* ‘runs’ (in transitive use ‘causes to run or move’ (DIL s.v. *reithid* II)). His translation suggests the subjunctive 3sg. of *ro·icc*, though the *s* of the s-subjunctive is not to be expected in the 3sg. conjunct ending. Stokes also appears to ignore the accusative form of Sinech’s name. LL’s reading makes better sense.

### 16c

**nocos·fāecēbad.** In Middle Irish, *nícon* is weakened to *noco* at an early stage (DIL s.v. *nícon*). The line is hypermetric. LL’s *nīcos·fāicéb* has the expected future 1sg. prototonic form of *fo·ácaib*. The extra syllable found here (and in Eg) appears to be innovatory. Perhaps it occurs under the influence of the future 1sg. absolute ending *-et/-at* which developed in Middle Irish (see EIV, 227, §6.6.5).

### 17a

**or sī.** The defective verb *ol* is always proclitic, with any following element taking the stress (Quin, 1960, 96).

### 17b

**Sinech.** LL/Eg’s accusative *Sinich* is correct.

### 17d

**náci·fitir.** The infix pronoun is potentially 3sg. feminine or 3pl. (usually *-a-*). In this instance, Eg provides the superior reading.

## 18

This quatrain is only found in LU and looks like a late addition. It provides the second of the poems attributed to Sinech with a *dúnad*, *cách* at the end of **q. 18d** recalling *cach* at the beginning of **q. 9a**. It has been observed, however, that **q. 15d** may provide a *dúnad* (see p. 116). **Q. 18** contains several features that are (potentially) younger than what we have come to expect from the rest of the poetry attributed to Sinech. None of these alone would justify positing a later date of composition. Taken together they may.

### 18a

**in rī**. The article occurs twice in this quatrain. Its infrequent occurrence in ‘Sinech’s verse’, three times in fourteen stanzas, is discussed on pp 25–6 (**qq 2a, 10d, 11a**: the second attestation is uncertain). On the face of it, **q. 18** appears to differ stylistically from **qq 1–5** and **9–17**.

### 18b

**forbrid**. Old Irish *for·beir* is later reconfigured, based on the prototonic stem, as simple *foirbrid* or *forbraid* (EIV, 192). Both the simple verb, repeated in the following line, and the Old Irish compound are metrically permissible.

### 18c

**co gnáth**. Adverbial *co gnáth* is a structure which becomes the norm in Middle Irish (*co* + adjective = adverb). Although uncommon in Old Irish, we find one example in Wb. (*co mmaith* 7b15) and several in Ml. (McCone, 1985b, 90; see also GOI, §381). The usual way of making an adverb from an adjective in Old Irish would be metrically equivalent (i.e. by combining it with the article in the dative singular).

## 18d

**co·cuir.** The simple verb *cuirid* in place of *fo·ceird* or *do·cuirethar* is the most significant of the progressive forms in this quatrain, as the metre would not allow for emendation to Old Irish *co·cuirethar*.

## §xxxix

**bīth.** Stokes (1901a, 217, n. 2) suggests this may be genitive singular of *bí* ‘threshold’, used of an entrance. In a note on p. 119, I have argued that LL’s *bīt* is consuetudinal present 3pl. of the substantive verb used as historical present. I consider that to be the superior reading.

## §xxxv

**int í.** LL’s *in n-í*, with nasalising accusative article, is to be preferred.

**trīa bithu.** A commonly attested Middle Irish variant of *tre*, with diphthongisation of the vowel (see MG, §13.26). Note that it governs the accusative, as in standard Old Irish.

**céin.** A conjunction used in temporal clauses, derived from the accusative singular of *cían* ‘long time’ (GOI, §892).

## §xxxvi

**do·ratad.** Note the singular verb with plural subject.

**in bó co n-aīb ítha.** Gwynn (1926, 68–9) relates this cow and the request for berries in winter to two of the unreasonable demands made of the king in *Tromdám Gúaire*. Old Irish *óa* ‘liver’ becomes *áe* in Middle Irish (DIL s.v. 1 *óa*). As Gwynn remarks, the ‘plural is curious’.

## §xxxvii

**do·róni.** This verb’s augmented preterite active stem (*do·ri(n)gne*, *·derna*) may be used with passive meaning and the augmented preterite

passive stem (*do·rónad*, *·dernad*) with active meaning into the period of Early Modern Irish. Ultimately, however, the forms with *do·rón-* disappear (EIV, 233–4, §6.8).

**dī.** Referring to Clonmacnoise. Originally a masculine i-stem, *clúain* later takes on feminine inflection (DIL s.v. 1 *clúain*).

**in drúth.** I translate ‘a jester’. In later literature, *drúth* may also mean ‘a poet’, possibly by confusion with *druí*, a dental stem which originally means ‘druid, magician’ but comes to mean ‘poet, learned man’ (DIL s.vv. 2 *drúth* (b) and *druí*). Indeed, our *drúth* is later referred to in this very paragraph as genitive *in drūad*. He goes on to make a demand (*áilges*) of Gúaire. The word *áilges* was particularly associated with poets (DIL s.v. *áilges* (a)). As there are elements of this and the previous paragraph that appear to be related to the events recounted in *Tromdám Gúaire*, a poet making an unreasonable demand of the king hardly seems out of place here. One might consider translating ‘a poet’.

**athchuingid.** This may simply imply asking or requesting, but originally means ‘act of asking again’ and is occasionally used importunately (DIL s.v. 2 *athchuingid*).

**darsin forbaid.** Stokes (1901a, 219) translates ‘over the ground’. Gwynn (1926, 70–1) has shown, however, that *forbad* means ‘covering’ in general and ‘winding sheet’ in particular.

**don ganium.** Read *den ganium*.

**ro·dibairc.** A simple verb formed from the prototonic stem of *do·bidci* (see DIL s.v.).

**co-nderna bruth óir dé.** Stokes (1901a, 218) emends to *co nderna[d]*. I quote Poppe (1993, 148, n. 12): ‘Tomás Ó Cathasaigh has pointed out to me that Stoke’s emendation to pret. pass. *dernad* is unnecessary, as this is an example of the Middle Irish impersonal usage of *dogní X de Y* “Y becomes X”’.

**cath Dīarmata 7 Gūairi Adni.** The second name given to the battle in LU. It is twice called *cath Cairn(d) Chonaill*, in §§i and iv.

### First marginal quatrain

Also found in AU (s.a. 649):

*Gort maicc Chuirb cruth ron·gabh  
niadas nach mumanch[l]ar,  
a fuil gallan ro·soí dath,  
dursan son, a Thalamhnach.*

The field of Corb’s son is thus –  
Something that sets every plain in Munster alight –  
A standing-stone has become the colour of blood:  
That is lamentable, Talamnach.

### a

**Gort moccu Cirb.** Stokes (1901a, 206, n. 5) renders this ‘Gort maic Cu-cirb’. I do not understand his ‘Cu-cirb’. DIL (s.v. *maccu, moccu*) states that *moccu* belongs solely to the Old Irish period and is always used in apposition to a preceding proper noun (occasionally a place name) and followed by another in the genitive. *Gort* is a common place-name element, and one associated with Gúaire in *Gort Inse Gúaire* (there is, however, no evidence to link this place name with *Gort moccu Cirb*). The noun which follows *moccu* is often the name of a people’s reputed prehistoric ancestor (Byrne, 1995, 42). Byrne (ibid.) declares the latest

text in which the appellation is correctly employed to be *Féilire Óengusso*, dated by Ó Riain (2006, 97–8) to 829–33.

**cruth rod-gāb.** An augmented preterite form of *gaibid* is unmetrical. While a final stressed long vowel may rhyme with its unstressed short counterpart (Murphy, 1961, 31), vowel length, otherwise, is normally identical (ibid. 30). The metre seems to demand taking *gab* as *bág*, a metathesised form of *bágaid* ‘declares; boasts’ (Best and Bergin (1929, 289) render it *gáb*).

*Cruth* ‘form, shape’ may be used adverbially or as a quasi-conjunction (DIL s.v. 1 *cruth*). When a noun is used as a conjunction, it may be followed by either a nasalising relative clause or a principal clause (GOI, §876). A nasalising clause may also be expected when an adverbial antecedent ‘designates the manner or degree of the content of the relative clause’ (GOI, §498). Here, as in most situations, a principal clause may take the place of a nasalising one (GOI, §505). Note, however, the reading in AU appears to employ a nasalising clause.

## b

**ní adas nach Mumanchlár.** Thurneysen includes the predicative adjective *adas* among several which are invariably followed by the accusative (GOI, §249.5). *Clár* (DIL s.v.) was originally a neuter o-stem and one might expect *na Mumanchlár* here (see DIL s.v. 1 *nach*).

## c

**hi·fil.** Stokes (1901a, 206, n. 5) has ‘Ni fil’. The MS clearly has *hifil*.

**galand.** DIL (s.v. *galann*) suggests this noun may be related to ā-stem *gal* ‘warlike ardour, valour’, but with n-stem inflection. If it is an n-stem, it appears to be neuter. *·fil* governs the accusative even in Middle Irish (see MG, §12.191), which entails a palatal final in masculine/feminine singular n-stems.

## Second marginal quatrain

**a**

**Rí Dā Chonchend, rī Dá Chī.** Hogan (1910 s.vv.) suggests *Dá Chonchenn* is a territory in Uí Líatháin patrimony in Munster and *Dá Chí* may be a reference to *Dá Chích Anann*. The territory of Uí Líatháin is in east Cork (see the map in Byrne, 1973, 172–3), while the Paps are in east Kerry. As *dá* nasalises in the genitive neuter in standard Old Irish, perhaps we should read *rí Dá Conchenn*. It lenites in the genitive masculine/feminine. It is hard to know if the lenition in *rí Dá Chí* is justified, as the form underlying *Cí* is unclear (if it is indeed a form of *cích*, the gender remains uncertain: see DIL s.v. 1 *cích*).

**b**

**rroí.** Apparently disyllabic in the earliest verse (DIL s.v. 2 *róe*), the metre requires a contracted form here. Greene (1976, 32, §2.2.1) shows that reduction of hiatus occurred in this word at an early stage.

**Cendfotai.** The compound *cennfota* ‘long-headed’ as an element of personal names usually qualifies a given name (e.g. Fergus Cennfota: AU 585). There is an Ailill Cennfota in Cúán mac Conaill’s genealogy, apparently his great-great-grandfather (see O’Brien, 1962, 232; Ó Muraíle, 2003, ii, 594, §634.6). Whether he is the person referenced here seems impossible to determine.

## **Recension 2**

As mentioned on pp 15–6, what I term Recension 2 occurs as a portion of the larger work *Mionannála*. In *Silva Gadelica*, O’Grady edits the larger work. CCC constitutes most of the entry for the year 649. His text, therefore, is not an edition of CCC as such. My readings are based on the MS, and there are a great many differences between them and O’Grady’s. These differences are too numerous to be worth listing. Some of the more significant ones are mentioned in the textual notes. The editorial method is as outlined on pp 52–3.

## **Text of Recension 2**

### **§i (= Recension 1a §i = Recension 1b §i)**

Hi sechtmad blíadain flatha in Dīarmata-sa do·rónad tinól les  
d'indsaighid Gūaire Aidhne arna imcháined co mór ō hSinigh Chró ar  
mbrith a bó do Gūairi Aidne, 7 is ed at·beirith-si fri Dīarmuit Rūanaid oc  
tabairt immchosaīti eturro 7 Gūaire:

### **1 (= Recension 1a q. 1 = Recension 1b q. 1)**

A Dīarmait, a mallcobair,  
ūamain Gūairi fon·fodair;  
ar it anmann claīte cath,  
tair chugainn, a duinebath.

### **2 (= Recension 1a q. 2 = Recension 1b q. 2)**

Lēc do Dīarmait, na·ráid fris;  
in cath, nī hord i·rradais; [read ní éol, ní fírdiss]  
dēna coirm dó, mār a·tā:  
foīdh chuga, dot·oideba. [read dot·aidleba]

### **3 (= Recension 1a q. 3 = Recension 1b q. 3)**

'Rúanuid' as·berti co sē  
fris-sium ar mét a áine;  
indīu is loibrān gu n-álli [read im Mide]  
Dīarmait mac Āedha Sláini.

### **4 (= Recension 1a q. 4 = Recension 1b q. 4)**

Trīcha tinni, trīcho bō,  
fuirec Chinīl Ferguso;  
īcdai dartaid hi gcinn gait  
inna forreith do Dīarmait.

## Translation of Recension 2

### §i

In the seventh year of his reign, an assembly was made by the same Díarmait to attack Gúaire Aidni after he was greatly censured by Sinech Cró after the carrying-off of her cows by Gúaire Aidni, and this is what she used to say to Díarmait Rúanaid, bringing about a contention between him and Gúaire:

#### 1

O Díarmait, O slow helper,  
fear of Gúaire seizes us;  
as you are not weak at winning battles,  
come to us, O pestilence.

#### 2

Leave [it] to Díarmait, tell it to him;  
the battle is not known [to him], he is not truly despicable;  
make an ale-feast for him, [it is] great that he is:  
send for him, he will come to you.

#### 3

'Powerful' he used to be called until this  
because of the extent of his glory;  
today Díarmait son of Áed Sláine  
is a weakling concerning Mide.

#### 4

Thirty fitches, thirty cows,  
[was] Cenél Fergusso's due;  
a yearling bullock at the end of a halter is to be paid  
as entertainment for Díarmait.

## 5 (= Recension 1a q. 5 = Recension 1b q. 5)

Bet fir mōir ar macāin big

go·tī ar cobuir ō Grip; <sup>A</sup> [read co nGrip]

bid daim rīata láigh ar mbó

co·ti cobuir Dīarmató. A Dīarmait.

## §ii (= Recension 1a §ii = Recension 1b §ii)

Ro·ícc ní di·ssi, trā, in chossaīt·sin. Rānuic Dīarmuit Rúanuid cona  
ślūaghuib gu Sinuind. Ro·buī, danō, tinál mōr hi[c] Gūairi Aidhne ara  
chinn.

## §iii

Ro·chuir, danō, Gūairi Cuimīn Fota mac Fīachnu, comarba Brénaind,  
d'ínnsaigid Dīarmata do chuinngid cairdi cetri n·ūair .xx.it fair cin  
tuidecht tar Sinuinn sīar. Is ann, immorro, do·ralo Dīarmuit do  
Chuimīn, arin clēith oc let na Sinna. Ocus ro·rāid Cuimmīn a aithascc  
fris. Ro·frecart, donō, Dīarmuit go subach forbálid ocus ro·rāid: 'nī mōr  
na·cuinge, 7 cīamad ní bud moo no·chuingidfithea fo·ghēbtha.' 'Mās ed,  
danō,' ar Cuimmīn, 'impa connicci in mbrūach alltarach.' 'At·beirim·si  
mo brēthir óm, a chind egna 7 crāpaid hÉrinn,' ar Dīarmait, 'na·rag for  
cúla nó go·fagur síd nó cath.' 'Tair, donō,' ar Cuimmīne, 'gunige in  
mbrūach ale.' 'Tuingim do Dīa,' ar Dīarmuit, 'dā·tecmuightea·sa ní is  
faiti sair dam, nī·ticfuinn dar do sárugud fría rē na cairdi·sin chuinge.'

---

<sup>A</sup> .i. nōmen eqī Dīarmata

## 5

Our little boys will be big men  
by the time our help comes with Grip;<sup>A</sup>  
our cows' calves will be trained oxen  
by the time Díarmait's help shall come.

### §ii

It availed her, then, that complaint. Díarmait Rúanaid arrived at the Shannon with his hosts. However, Gúaire Aidni had a great assembly awaiting him.

### §iii

Gúaire then sent Cuimmíne Fota son of Fíachna, successor of Brendan, to Díarmait to request of him a truce of twenty-four hours without coming west over the Shannon. It is there, then, that Díarmait met Cuimmíne, on the hurdle midstream of the Shannon. And Cuimmíne relayed his message to him. Then Díarmait joyously [and] very gladly answered and he said: 'what you ask is not great, and if it were something greater you asked for you would get it.' 'If so, then,' said Cuimmíne, 'turn to the other bank.' 'I give my word, indeed, O head of Irish learning and piety,' said Díarmait, 'that I shall not go back until I should procure peace or battle.' 'Come, then,' said Cuimmíne, 'to the other bank.' 'I swear to God,' said Díarmait, 'if you should have met me further to the east, I would not speak of disobeying you for the duration of the truce which you ask.'

---

<sup>A</sup> the name of Díarmait's horse

## §iv

Bātur an dís ann sin go matin, in rí 7 in cléirech. Is ed, danō, do·ráid Cuimīne fris-sium: ‘is ingnum lem-so, a rī, do choscraidi-si hi cathuib 7 hi gcuimlinguib, 7 ūaitech 7 ētchi int slúaig-si at·chīm ogat, ūair cidh imdo in slūag-sa is rolīa int slūaigh fuil at aghaid. Iss āille, donō, 7 is socraidhe go romór.’ ‘Nach·fetruidh-si, a chlērigh,’ or Dīarmuit, ‘nach ar līn nā cruth bristur cath, acht amail is āil ra Dīa. Et, donō, amail at·beirid-si ar slūaigh-ne do beth dodelb, nocha n-īat na crotha cāemu brissius cath acht na cridhida crúaidhe. Et, danō, nī hi ndoīnib namā sin acht i n-anmannuib ali. Ūair cid int aénmacc tíri, marbuid 7 taiffnid trēt imdu na caīriuch, 7 nī namā acht taiffnith na táinte bó 7 marbuid ilimdo díb. In sēigh, danō, 7 in sebac taiffnith na hēonu cidit mō 7 cidit āille a ndat-sium.’ ‘A rī,’ ar Cuimīn, ‘cīa fāth ara·ndeburtuis-[s]i conid mar is āil ra Dīa bristur cath?’ ‘Cid ōn, a clērig, nach fír conid in tī’ca·mbí in fírinni brissius ar fer na brēgi nó na hainbfírinni? Ūair Críst, amail at·bertais-[s]i, is úaitidh ro·buī i nd-aghaid Díabail 7 na n-lúdaidi 7 gid eadh ar aī is dō-sam robud calmu ūair iss aici ro·buī in fírinni. Is lōr dam-sa, didiū, in slúagh fuil acum i nd-aguid Conacht, ūair iss īat a·tā ar ainbfírinne.’

## §v (= Recension 1b §iv)

Ro·chomraigsit, trā, Conacht[a] im Gūairi 7 Dīarmait Rūanaid cona slūagh 7 ra·ferad cath crúaid fēochuir fīchdo eturru. Ar aī, trā, ra·membuith in cath for Gūairi 7 ro·marbad ár Conacht ann 7 ár Fer Muman imman dā Chūān tāngatur ‘na socraide.

#### **§iv**

The two were there until morning, the king and the cleric. This, then, is what Cuimmíne said to him: 'it is remarkable to me, O king, your success in battles and in contentions, with the paucity and the unattractiveness of this host of yours which I see, for although this host is numerous, the hosts which oppose you are far greater. It is more splendid, besides, and it is very much more seemly.' 'Do you not know, O cleric,' said Díarmait, 'that it is not because of numbers or appearance that a battle is won but as God desires? And, moreover, as you say that our hosts are unsightly, it is not the fair forms that win a battle but the hardy hearts. And, moreover, it is not of people only that that is true but of other animals. For the lone wolf, he kills and he hunts the abundant flock of sheep, and not only that but he hunts the herds of cows and he kills a great many of them. The hawk, furthermore, and the sparrow hawk hunt the birds though they be more numerous and though their colour be more splendid.' 'O king,' said Cuimmíne, 'why did you say that it is as God desires that a battle is won?' 'What is that, O cleric, is it not true that it is the one who is wont to have the truth that defeats the lying or the unrighteous man? For Christ, as you said, it is alone He was against the Devil and the Jews. Nevertheless, on account of this it is He who had courage for it is He who had the truth. It is enough for me, then, the host which I have against the Connachta, for it is they who are unrighteous.'

#### **§v**

The Connachta, then, along with Gúaire encountered Díarmait Rúanaid with his host, and a hard, fierce, furious battle was fought between them. On account of this, then, Gúaire was defeated, and a slaughter of the Connachta occurred there and a slaughter of the Men of Munster, along with the two Cúáns who came in alliance with them.

**§vi (= Recension 1a §iv = Recension 1b §v)**

Trē brēthir Chaimín, trā, ra·brissiuth in cath-sin for Gúairi. Ūair ra·buī Caimín trī trāth 'na throsgud for Gúaire.

**§vii (= Recension 1a §v = Recension 1b §vi)**

Dīa·ndebairt Caimín: 'mad cōir la Día, in tí fil hi ccomthairisium frimb-so, nīro·thairissiu fría nāimtiu.' Conid ann at·bert int aingel re Caimín in-sō, co·nndebuirtt:

**6 (a marginal quatrain in Recension 1a)**

In cath i nInis Celtra

fiche lobur <sup>A</sup> fa nerta; <sup>B</sup> [read fri nerta]

is hē in lobur bus trēn,

is hē in trēn bus techta.

**§viii (= Recension 1a §vi = Recension 1b §vii)**

Tānicc, donō, Gúaire ocus tug a óghrēir do Chaimmín 7 do·slēcht dō.

**§ix (= Recension 1a §vii = Recension 1b §viii)**

'Nī·fuil festa,' ar Caimín, 'a chumang dam gin būaid do brith dot nāimtib dít acht chena iss comlūath sain 7 do·bērat do réir féin duit.'

**§x (= Recension 1a §viii = Recension 1b §ix)**

Conid ann is·pert Caimín:

---

<sup>A</sup> .i. Caimín

<sup>B</sup> .i. Gúaire

## §vi

[It is] because of Caimmíne's word, then, that Gúaire was defeated. For Caimmíne was three days fasting against Gúaire.

## §vii

Of which Caimmíne said: 'if it be right with God, the one who stands against me, let him not endure against enemies.' So that then the angel said this to Caimmíne, and said:

## 6

The battle in Inis Celtra  
which a weak one <sup>A</sup> fought against strong ones; <sup>B</sup>  
it is the weak one who shall be strong,  
it is the powerful one who shall have to flee.

## §viii

Then Gúaire came and gave satisfaction to Caimmíne and submitted to him.

## §ix

'It is not now,' said Caimmíne, 'in my power not to let your enemies be victorious over you, nevertheless that is equally swift and they will do your will for you.'

## §x

So that then Caimmíne said:

---

<sup>A</sup> i.e. Caimmíne

<sup>B</sup> i.e. Gúaire

**7 (= Recension 1a q. 6 = Recension 1b q. 6)**

I·mmbīat fōebra fri fāebra

ocus indnae fri hindnae, [read finni fri finni]

bidat aitrech, a Ghūairi,

clērchēn fris·tarluis tinne.

**8 (= Recension 1a q. 7 = Recension 1b q. 7)**

Do·arbart Mac Dé, [read Íar réir, do·arbart Mac Dé]

fri hathlath úaire, [read na óenúaire]

crīde Gūairiu fona trīuna, [read fo chíunai]

inna triúna fo Ghúaire.

**§xi (= Recension 1a §ix = Recension 1b §xxi)**

Ro·tech, danō, Gūairiu Aidne assin chath remrāte iar cor áir a

muinture. Et tānuig a āenur co manistir mbicc hi·rraibiu āenbannsgāl

crāibdiuch 7 ra·buī in bansgāl higa fīarfuiġhe dē cūich hē. It·pert Gūaire

ropud fer grādui do Ghūairiu hē. ‘Is trūag linn,’ ar sī, ‘in rí·sin is mō

dércc 7 eniuch i nnĒrind do bith hi madmmuim rīa nāimtib 7 dergár a

muinture do cur.’ Et ro·chūaid in bannsgāl connigi in sruth comfocraīb

ar cenn uiscuus dar cossu inn āeghead tánuig dā hinnsaigith.

At·connuircc in mbratān mōr issind uscuus 7 nīr·fēt a marbad

gu·táinnicc d’innsaigid ind oīged buī acce. Tāinic iarum Gūairiu immach

7 ro·briss góilmach in bratān co tricc issind uscuus 7 tug leiss hē istech

7 ro·irlamuigh hē. Et rug a buidi ra Dīa bith ar óenbratān ind oidhcui-

sin 7 gu·mbātar .x. mairt aici aguid .ii. oculus do·rōne in rann:

7

Where blades are wont to be against blades  
and shields against shields,  
it will be regrettable for you, O Gúaire,  
[the] dear cleric against whom you have been severe.

8

According to [His] will, the Son of God subjected,  
at once,  
Gúaire's heart to gentle ones  
[and] the strong ones to Gúaire.

§xi

Then Gúaire Aidni fled from the aforementioned battle after the slaughter of his followers. And he came on his own to a small monastery in which there was one pious laywoman and the woman asked him who he was. Gúaire said that he was a trusted servant to Gúaire. 'We regret,' she said, 'that king of the greatest charity and honour in Ireland being routed by enemies and the slaughter of his followers.' And the woman went to the nearby stream to fetch water [to pour] over the feet of the guest who came to her. She saw a big salmon in the water and she was not able to kill it, so that she came to the guest that she had. Then Gúaire came out and he quickly broke the salmon's jowl in the water and he brought it in with him and he prepared it. And he gave thanks to God that he had one salmon that night, though he had had ten cows another night and he made the quatrain:

**9 (= Recension 1a q. 8 = Recension 1b q. 8)**

At·lochar do Dīa a·n-étad [read i·n-étad]

anocht dom feiss ēinécad;

rom·buī-si aguid aile

dom·bert secht <sup>A</sup> mbuú Macc Maire.

**§xii (= Recension 1a §xvi = Recension 1b §xxviii)**

Ro·airg, dan[ó], Dīarmuit, asa haithle in madma, Connachto, 7 do·rat ícc

a bō don chaillig ra·āer é, .i. do Šinich Cró. Conid aire sin ro·chan

Síniuch Crō:

**10 (= Recension 1a q. 9 = Recension 1b q. 9)**

Gach mac tigirn timcraidhi,

tāthad airle lim-sa dē;

do·thāet deissiul in brogha, [read do·té]

leis fuidill mu rūanodó.

**11 (= Recension 1a q. 10 = Recension 1b q. 10)**

Nī for brāigtip damh nó bō

claítur colg mo rūanadho;

is for rīghuib fo·cert feid,

indīu in duibgen <sup>B</sup> la Dīarmaid.

**12 (= Recension 1a q. 11 = Recension 1b q. 11)**

Gūairi mac Colmáin in rī

ro·chac for crāeba Aidhní;

ro·lā būalto mét chinn bō

ar ūaman mo rūanadó.

---

<sup>A</sup> nó deich

<sup>B</sup> .i. gladius

**9**

I give thanks to God in the matter of that which was obtained,  
a single fish tonight for my repast;  
I have had another night  
[when] the Son of Mary granted me seven cows. <sup>A</sup>

**§xii**

Then Díarmait devastated the Connachta after the defeat, and he gave compensation for her cows to the old married woman who had satirised him, i.e. to Sinech Cró. So it is on account of that that Sinech Cró recited:

**10**

Every faint-hearted overlord,  
you have advice from me about him;  
let him come right-handwise about the region,  
my champion's leftovers [shall be] his.

**11**

It is not on the necks of oxen or cows  
[that] my hero's rapier is blunted;  
it is upon kings that it makes a whistling noise,  
Díarmait's 'black-head' <sup>B</sup> today.

**12**

Gúaire son of Colmán, the king  
that has shat on the trees of Aidne;  
he has dropped faeces as big as a cow's head  
for fear of my champion.

---

<sup>A</sup> or ten

<sup>B</sup> i.e. a sword

**13 (= Recension 1a q. 12 = Recension 1b q. 12)**

Ō ro·brecca brāenán crō  
lēni dhendghorm Dīarmató;  
errad fir chloüs catha,  
nī coimtigh gin ildatha.

**14 (= Recension 1a q. 13 = Recension 1b q. 13)**

Ō ro·breca brāenán cró  
bruinni gabra Dīarmato;  
uuscuus asa·neghur Grip<sup>A</sup> [read uisce]  
nī lūsta gan sacarbig. [read fri sacarbaic]

**15 (= Recension 1a q. 14 = Recension 1b q. 14)**

Ō légither imasech [read Ó do·léicther]  
cranno fīanno for gach leth;  
nīpa decmuing casal crō  
for crunn a durn Dīarmato.

**16 (= Recension 1a q. 15 = Recension 1b q. 15)**

Ō ro·sernathar gaī big  
hi tosuch in imairig, [read a n-immairic]  
is īat días ceta·rig [read is í diäs cíta·ric]  
a ghabar ocus Dīarmait. Gach mac.

---

<sup>A</sup> .i. nōmen eqī Dīarmata

**13**

When a shower of blood has speckled  
Díarmait's splendid-hued tunic;  
the outfit of a man who vanquishes battalions  
is not meet without many colours.

**14**

When a shower of blood has speckled  
the breast of Diarmait's horse;  
the water with which Grip <sup>A</sup> is washed  
is not to be drunk at the sacrament.

**15**

When are being cast in turn  
warlike spears on every side,  
a gory cloak were not usual  
on a shaft from Díarmait's fist.

**16**

When the small spears have been arrayed  
at the beginning of their conflict,  
the two that first arrive  
are Díarmait and his horse.

---

<sup>A</sup> i.e. the name of Díarmait's horse

### §xiii

Do·rōnuth ar sin comurle ag Gūaire ocus ag Connachto in cathugud beus do·géntais nó in brāighdi do·bērtais do Dīarmuit 7 Gūairi do gīallad do rinn gaī dó. Et is sī·sidhee comurli do·rōnsatur·som. Tāinic iarum Gūaire d'innsaigid Dīarmato. Ra·gab, donō, in chaillech na runno remrāti hi fiadnuse Gūaire. Is ann ra·ráid Gūaire:

### 17 (= Recension 1a q. 16 = Recension 1b q. 16)

At·nuü,

dā·rīs Sínech com cruü [read dí·a·rís Sinich co cruü]

nochus·fūigēba la biü, [read nicos·fáiceb]

ata·biü com lúü.

### §xiv

Is ann is·pert·si:

### 18 (= Recension 1a q. 17 = Recension 1b q. 17)

At·nuü,

nī·ricc Sínich co cruü,

nī·fil ōccu 'ca imfochaid;

cid naccid·fitir nuü?

### §xv (= Recension 1a §x = Recension 1b §xxii)

Īar sain, trā, ro·gīall Gūairi do chinn chlaidim do Dīarmait. Is hē in gīallad·sin, .i. rinn in ghaī nō in chloidim do thabuirt i mbēl itir ffiacuib in neich no·gīallus ann 7 sē fáen.

### **§xiii**

A council was convened after that by Gúaire and the Connachta [to see] whether they would still give battle, or give hostages to Díarmait and that Gúaire would submit to him at the point of a spear. And that, the aforementioned, is the counsel they chose. Then Gúaire came to Díarmait. Then the woman recited the aforementioned quatrains in Gúaire's presence. It is then that Gúaire said:

### **17**

I swear it,  
if I reach Sinech with a hoof  
I will never leave her with the living,  
I will smite her with my kick.

### **§xiv**

It is then she said:

### **18**

I swear it,  
he does not reach Sinech with a hoof,  
warriors are not assailing her;  
why does he not know it now?

### **§xv**

After that, then, Gúaire submitted at the point of a sword to Díarmait. It is that submission, i.e. to take the point of the spear or the sword in [the] mouth, between [the] teeth, of the one who submits then and he prostrate.

**§xvi (= Recension 1a §xi = Recension 1b §xxiii)**

Ind ūair buī Gūairi amluid sin is·pert Dīarmuit: ‘ra·finnfam·ne indoso,’ ar sē, ‘ind ar Dīa nó ind ar adhbclos chenu do·gnī Gūairi ind enech mōr·so.’

**§xvii (= Recension 1a §xii = Recension 1b §xxiv)**

Ra·irāil ar drūth dā muinntir 7 ar bocht clam trúag nī d’iarruid ar Gūaire. ‘Ní dam·sa, a Gūairi,’ ol in drūth. Nī·tarat Gūairi dā uíd é. ‘Nī dam·sa,’ ar in clam. Do·bert a delcc oir dō, ar nī·rabo innmus ali aci. Tēt ūad in bocht. Tig fer do muinntir Dīarmata i ndeguid in boicht 7 beirid in delg ūad 7 do·beir do Dīarmuit. Tig in bocht arīs go Gūairi go gerānach 7 innisid dō in delg do brith ūad 7 tig cride Gūaire fair 7 at·n·aid a cris co n·ōr don bocht 7 imtidhig in bocht. Ticc fer do muintir Dīarmata ‘na degaid ocus beirid in criss úad 7 at·n·aid do Dīarmuit.

**§xviii**

Ticc in bocht doridisi gu Gūairi 7 Gūaire fāen 7 rinn claidim Dīarmato itir a fīacluib.

**§xix (= Recension 1a §xiv = Recension 1b §xxvi)**

Et ot·connuirc in mbocht go tursech. Ro·maid sruth mōr dēr dar a ghrúadaib. Ro·fiarfuid Dīarmait de·sium: ‘in ara thrōghi lat beth fom chumachtain·si chíid?’ ‘Do·beirim mo brēthir,’ ar Gūairi, ‘nach aire acht ar thrógi lemm in bocht uut.’ Is ann sain ra·ráid Dīarmait: ‘ērig,’ ar sē, ‘7 nī·bīa tū fom cumachtain·si, ūair a·tā tū fo smacht Rīgh is ferr indū·sa, .i. fo smacht Rīg Nimi 7 talmun, 7 nī·bīa smacht ūaim·siu fort. Acht chena, nā·hairg dam muintir mo máthar.’

### **§xvi**

When Gúaire was so, Díarmait said: ‘we shall know now,’ he said, ‘if it is for God or for vainglory, then, that Gúaire maintains this great reputation.’

### **§xvii**

He instructed a jester from his followers and a leprous, wretched poor person to ask something of Gúaire. ‘Something for me, O Gúaire,’ said the jester. Gúaire did not pay attention to him. ‘Something for me,’ said the leper. He gave his golden brooch to him, for he had no other wealth. The poor person goes from him. A man from Díarmait’s followers comes after the poor person and takes the brooch from him and gives [it] to Díarmait. The poor person comes to Gúaire again complainingly and tells him of the brooch being taken from him and Gúaire takes pity on him and he gives his golden belt to the poor person and the poor person goes away. A man from Díarmait’s followers comes after him and takes the belt from him and gives it to Díarmait.

### **§xviii**

The poor person comes to Gúaire again, with Gúaire prostrate, and the point of Díarmait’s sword between his teeth.

### **§xix**

And he saw the sorrowful poor person. A great stream of tears gushed over his cheeks. Díarmait asked him: ‘is it because being under my power is misery for you that you cry?’ ‘I give my word,’ said Gúaire, ‘that it is not because of that but because I pity that poor person yonder.’ It is then that Díarmait said: ‘arise,’ he said, ‘and you will not be under my power, for you are under the power of a King Who is greater than I, i.e. under the power of the King of Heaven and earth, and I shall not have power over you. Except, moreover, do not devastate my mother’s people.’

**§xx (= Recension 1a §xv = Recension 1b §xxvii)**

Do·rōnsat amlaid síd Díarmait 7 Gūairi 7 a·dubuir Dīarmuit ris-sium:  
'tair do Ōenuch Tailltean gu·tugur-sa mo tigernus duit hi fīadnuisi Fer  
nĒrinn.' Conad amluid sin ro·comallad brīathar Chaimín.

**§xxi (= Recension 1a §xvii = Recension 1b §xxix)**

Tēit iarum Gūairi do Ōenuch Tailltin 7 mīach arcuit lais dā fōduil do  
Feruib Ērinn.

**§xxii (= Recension 1a §xviii = Recension 1b §xxx)**

Tuc, immorro, Dīarmait ar Feruib Ērinn nāro·lamuir trūagh nó trén díb  
ní do chuingid for Gūaire issin ōenach.

**§xxiii (= Recension 1a §xix = Recension 1b §xxxi)**

Ro·suid iarum Gúairi for láim Dīarmata, i farrad rīg hĒrinn, issind  
āenach. Dā lá dó amlaid sin.

**§xxiv (= Recension 1a §xx = Recension 1b §xxxii)**

In tres laa, is ann a·dubuir Gūairi fri Dīarmuit: 'epsgob chugam,' ar sē,  
'co·nndernar m'faīsitin dō 7 gurrum·ongthar.' 'Can ōn?' ar Dīarmuid.  
'Bás im chomfocus,' ar Gūaire. 'Canus tuici-si ón?' ar Dīarmuit. 'Nī  
hannsa,' ol Gūairi, 'Fir hĒrind i n-ōeninadh 7 gan trūagh díb dom  
athchuingid.'

**§xxv (= Recension 1a §xxi = Recension 1b §xxxiii)**

'Nī·tairmesgfaighter im chách hi fecht-sa ní do chuingid fort-sa,' or  
Dīarmuit. 'Ag·sō míach arcuid ūaim-si duit.' 'Acc,' or Gūaire, 'a·tā arccut  
co lōr agum fēin.'

### §xxx

Díarmait and Gúaire made peace thus and Díarmait said to him: ‘come to the Fair of Tailtiu that I may give you lordship over me in sight of the Men of Ireland.’ So it is thus that Caimmíne’s word was fulfilled.

### §xxxi

Then Gúaire goes to the Fair of Tailtiu with a bushel of silver to distribute to the Men of Ireland.

### §xxxii

Then Díarmait compelled the Men of Ireland, whether weak or strong, not to dare ask anything of Gúaire at the fair.

### §xxxiii

Then Gúaire sat beside Díarmait, the king of Ireland himself, at the fair. Two days he spent like that.

### §xxxiv

[On] the third day, it is then that Gúaire said to Díarmait: ‘[send] a bishop to me,’ he said, ‘that I may make my confession to him and that I may be anointed.’ ‘What is this?’ said Díarmait. ‘Death [is] close to me,’ said Gúaire. ‘How do you know this?’ said Díarmait. ‘Not difficult,’ said Gúaire, ‘the Men of Ireland in one place and no pitiable one among them begging of me.’

### §xxxv

‘Nobody will be hindered henceforth from asking something of you,’ said Díarmait. ‘Here is a bushel of silver for you from me.’ ‘No,’ said Gúaire, ‘I myself have enough silver.’

**§xxxvi (= Recension 1a §xxii = Recension 1b §xxxiv)**

At·racht Gūaire iar tain 7 ro·tairbir do chāch asa dhíb lámaib. Et at·berat·som robud lethfota in dara lám dó hica sínedh ar ammus na mbocht ón ūair·sin.

**§xxxvii (= Recension 1a §xxiii = Recension 1b §xxxv)**

Et tug Dīarmait a chend i nd·ucht Gūaire 7 ro·ghabsat Fir hĒrind uile do ōenchind comurle Gūaire ō sin ammach.

**§xxxviii**

Ba romōr, trā, la Connachta einich Gūaire ocus ba mōr lēo no·thidnuiccith do crud dar tír immach. Ra·bātur 'ca rádh ra Caimín Innsi Celtra tairmescc in tidhnucuil·sin imbi. At·bert Caimín: 'nī·thairmuscib·su imme, acht chena guidim·si in Cuimde co·tī dā śíl nech thinōilfius ō Feruib hĒrinn himuig na·tibro·sum himach.' 7 iss ed ōn roo·comallad ūair do·rat mac Lonán ara dán ō Feruib Ērinn ní nach lugha nā a·tucc Gūairi immach.

**§xxxix (= Recension 1b §xi)**

Is hē in Gūairi·sin ro·buī lá i nInis Celtra issind eclus 7 Cuimín Fota ocus Caimín: egluis mōr ōn do·rōnuth la Caimín dar ēisi Choluim.

**§xxx (= Recension 1b §xii)**

'Crēd dāmad maith lat a llán agat issind ecluisi, a Gūairi?' ol Cuimín Fota.

**§xxxi (= Recension 1b §xiii)**

'Ní hannsa,' ol Gūairi. 'Robud maith lium a llán ōir ocus aircit acum, 7 nī dá thaiscith acht dā tidnucol ar m'anmuin do bochtuib 7 adailgnechaib in Cuimded.'

### **§xxxvi**

Gúaire arose then and bestowed on all from his two hands. And they say that one of his arms was longer than the other from that time from extending it to the poor.

### **§xxxvii**

And Díarmait put his head on Gúaire's breast and all of the Men of Ireland took Gúaire as [their] one head of counsel from then on.

### **§xxxviii**

The Connachta, then, deemed Gúaire's generosity very excessive, and resented what he bestowed of wealth beyond the territory. They were saying to Caimmíne of Inis Celtra to restrain that generosity of his. Caimmíne said: 'I will not restrain him, but indeed I pray the Lord that one should come of his progeny who will gather [as much] from the Men of Ireland as he will give away.' And it is thus it was fulfilled, for Lonán's son brought, on account of his craft, something not less from the Men of Ireland than that which Gúaire distributed.

### **§xxxix**

It is that [same] Gúaire who was in the church in Inis Celtra one day, and Cuimmíne Fota and Caimmíne: that great church which was built by Caimmíne in Colum's place.

### **§xxx**

'Of what would you like to have the church full, O Gúaire?' said Cuimmíne Fota.

### **§xxx**

'Not difficult,' said Gúaire. 'I would like to have it full of gold and silver, not to hoard it but to distribute it for my soul for the Lord's poor ones and needy ones.'

**§xxxii (= Recension 1b §xvii)**

‘Ocus tusa, a Chuimín,’ ol Gūairi, ‘cid dīamadh maith lat a llān do bith acat?’

**§xxxiii (= Recension 1b §xviii)**

‘Robud maith lium,’ ol Cuimīn, ‘a lān do leabruib do bith occum 7 a tuidhecht do āes lēghinn coro·forchantais in ciniuth dāendo.’

**§xxxiv (= Recension 1b §xv)**

‘Ocus tusa, a Chaimín,’ ol ĩat-sum, ‘cid dīamad maith lat a lān ocat?’

**§xxxv (= Recension 1b §xvi)**

‘Nī annsa. Robud maith liumm a lān do sāeth 7 do ghalur fam curp,’ ol Caimín, ‘conā·dicsigh cnāim re chēle i talmain dīm.’

**§xxxvi (= Recension 1b §xix)**

Do·righni Dīa amluid sin, .i. do·rat Dīa in sāeghul go himdo du Gūaire, ocus ba suīdh ecnu 7 forcetuīl Cuimīn, acht chena nī·raibi rath forcetail for Chuimīn. Ō ro·escain Mu Chuta Liss Mōir ē trīa forcetul a muintire fēin ina fīadnuisi isin methil co·mbātar ‘na test. Co·nndebert Mo Chuta: ‘cid mōr a sāethar forcetail Cuimīn,’ ar sē, ‘nī·rab liaa andās bó māel odhur i mmbūale na·tibra trít forcetal ōnt sāegul. Caimín, immorro, ro·gab tene buirr ē 7 nī·dechaid cnāim dīa chnāmuib ra chēli hi talmuin.

**§xxxii**

‘And you, O Cuimmíne,’ said Gúaire, ‘of what would you like to have it full?’

**§xxxiii**

‘I would like,’ said Cuimmíne, ‘to have it full of books, that learned folk might resort to them so that they might teach the human race.’

**§xxxiv**

‘And you, O Caimmíne,’ they said, ‘of what would you like to have it full?’

**§xxxv**

‘Not difficult. I would like to have it full of illness and disease on my body,’ said Caimmíne, ‘so that no bone of me should go into the earth with another.’

**§xxxvi**

God did thus, i.e. God gave worldly goods abundantly to Gúaire, and Cuimmíne was a paragon of wisdom and teaching, but Cuimmíne did not prosper in teaching afterwards. For Mo Chuta of Lismore cursed him for instructing his own followers in the work team in his presence, so that they were witnesses [against Mo Chuta]. So Mo Chuta said: ‘though Cuimmíne’s work of teaching be great,’ he said, ‘may there not be more [profit] of worldly goods which you get from your teaching than a hornless, dun cow in a byre.’ Then inflammation beset Caimmíne and not one of his bones went into the ground with another.

## Textual notes on Recension 2

### §i

**Hi sechtmad bliadain flatha.** In Old Irish, the ordinal *sechtmad* declines as an *o/ā*-stem adjective (see GOI, §395). Therefore, dative singular feminine *sechtmad* might be expected. Later, however, its form becomes invariable (DIL s.v. 1 *sechtmad*).

**in Dīarmata-sa.** The determiner is used as Díarmait appears as a peripheral figure in the previous portion of *Mionannála*, where we are told Muirenn wife of Ragallach son of Úatu was Díarmait's foster mother (O'Grady, 1892, i, 396; trans., ii, 431). Ragallach, who killed Gúaire's father, was a rival of Gúaire for hegemony in Connacht. Byrne suggests the setback suffered by Gúaire at Carn Feradaig may have enabled Ragallach's kingship of Connacht. He ruled until his death in 649 (see Byrne, 1973, 239, 246, 299).

**ō hSinigh Chró.** Agency of a verbal noun may be expressed by *ó<sup>L</sup>*, a later usage than that of *do*, the preposition normally found in this position in Middle Irish (DIL s.v. 1 *ó* VI (b)); indeed, it is found just after this: *ar mbrith a bó do Gūairī*). In Middle Irish, lenited *s* is normally written with the *punctum*, as in later Old Irish. It may also appear, however, with the grapheme *h* before or after the *s* (MG, §2.7).

Note the lenited initial in *Chró*. In §xii of this recension we find delenition (or lenition which is not expressed orthographically) in *do Šinich Cró*, while nominative *Sinech Cró* occurs in §i of Recensions 1a and 1b. According to Thurneysen (GOI, §231.3), there is no lenition 'of *c* (and doubtless *g*) after *-ch*, *-g'*. Pedersen (1898, 332), considering conjugated forms of *co* to be regularly lenited in Middle Irish, argued that *oenlæch cucund* in the Book of Leinster is due to delenition of homorganic consonants. In the later language, however, lenition may take place in this environment. Both Dinneen (1908, 58) and Bergin (1910, 42) give nominative *Sineach Chró* when editing *Céitinn*.

**at·beirith-si.** There are frequent examples of final *-th* for *-d* throughout Recension 2 (e.g. *ra·brissiuth*, §vi; *Do·rōnuth*, §xiii). I take *-si* to be the feminine emphatic suffix (as found in Recension 1a at this point: *as·bert-sí*) rather than the subject pronoun *sí*, though there is a clear space in the MS between *atbeirith* and *si*. Breatnach (MG, §10.19) suggests analytic forms of the verb first arose from assimilation of emphatic *-si* and the pronoun *sí*. Perhaps the form of the suffix may explain the verbal ending in a palatal final (i.e. for *·beired*).

## 2b

**nī hord.** This reading with *ord* ‘order’ does not appear to make good sense. Perhaps the following *irradais* could be taken as genitive of *aurradus* ‘native law’ (i.e. read *ní (h)ord irradais in cath* ‘the battle is not an ordinance of native law’), though this is doubtful.

## 2c

**dēna.** The 2sg. where LL/LU have the 2pl. This is metrically permissible, and the three other examples of the imperative in this quatrain are 2sg.

## 3c

**gu n-álli.** See pp 89–90.

## 4a

**trīcho.** The earlier form of *trícha*. The medial vowel may originally have been short (Wagner, 1977, 4, §7). Though masculine, the nominative singular is followed by nasalisation in one archaic poem (*trícha n-airech*), perhaps due to an originally neuter Indo-European form (ibid. §5).

## 5b

**ar cobuir ō Grip.** The preposition suggests the horse will be the agent of the anticipated help rather than its rider. The reading in LL/LU is clearly to be preferred.

## §ii

**hi[c] Gūairi.** Presumably a Middle Irish form of the preposition *oc*, with *-c* dropped before *G-*.

## §iii

**Ro·chuir.** Simplex based on *fo·ceird*'s unaugmented dependent present stem (EIV, 201, §5.5.3).

**Cuimīn Fota mac Fīachnu.** Fīachna was, according to one tradition, also Cuimmíne's grandfather, having impregnated his sister Rím in a drunken encounter (see Ó Riain, 2011, s.n. *Cuimín Fada*). In Recension 2, this saint is usually referred to as *Cuimín*, rarely *Cuimíne*. *Cuimmíne*, *Cuimmín*, *Caimmíne* and *Caimmín* are all hypocoristic forms of *Colum*, those in *-ín* later than those in *-íne* (Ó Riain, 2016, 45).

**comarba Brénaind.** Note the absence of nasalisation after accusative *comarba*, in what may be a fixed phrase which resists mutation.

**cairdi cetri n-ūair .xx.it.** *Cairde* (DIL s.v.) was originally neuter, later having either masculine or feminine inflection. As lenition does not follow its genitive singular here, I take it as feminine. In Old Irish, the expected genitive feminine of *cethair* is *cethéora*, masculine *cethri*. The feminine is sometimes still found in Middle Irish, but the masculine ultimately replaces it (MG, §8.5). The palatal final in the genitive plural of *ā*-stem *úa(i)r* is hardly to be expected, while the genitive of *fiche* might also be expected to end in a non-palatal consonant.

**arin clēith.** O’Grady (1892, ii, 432) translates ‘on a raft’. *Ā*-stem *clíath* may refer to a type of hurdle, the placing of which on riverbeds facilitated convenient crossing (EIF, 393). This appears to be the meaning here, as recognised by the editors of DIL (s.v. *clíath* (d)) who translate ‘bridge’.

**na Sinna.** As *Sinna* is a feminine n-stem, it is unclear why *-n(n)* does not appear as an inflectional ending. However, one gets genitive *Sinna* from an early period (e.g. in the name *Flann Sinna*).

**aithascc.** A form between regular *aithesc* and variant *athasc* (see DIL s.v. *aithesc*). Preserved here is a fuller form (*aithe-*) of the prepositional component *aith-* which is usually found in close composition preceding a consonant (see GOI, §824A).

**Ro·frecart.** An innovatory form for Old Irish *fris·rogart*, based either on the prototonic stem or the verbal noun of *fris·gair*. Note the t-preterite is still employed. In this verb’s preterite, however, ‘archaisms (often deliberate) [may] occur beside late forms’ (DIL s.v. *fris·gair*).

**na·cuinge.** The simplex of *con·diëig* based on its verbal noun. Relative *a<sup>N</sup>* sometimes appears as *na<sup>N</sup>*. It is followed by absolute/deuterotonic forms of the verb in Old Irish, later by conjunct/prototonic (DIL s.v. 4 *a*). Another example occurs in this recension in §**xxviii** (*na·tibro·sum*).

**cīamad.** The conjunction *cía* sometimes nasalises the copula. Bergin (1938, 206, n. 2) explains this form as ‘modelled on *diambad*’.

**ní bud moo.** In Middle Irish, the pattern of neuter pronoun *ní* + relative copula + comparative grade of adjective may be employed in adverbial use (MG, §6.14). Sometimes, in that period, a long vowel may be

indicated by doubling. All the examples of this feature gathered by Breatnach (ibid. 229, §2.8) are monosyllabic.

**no·chuingidfithea.** Old Irish *con·diëig* develops, when simplified, a number of variant forms which may take either the f- or ē-future (see DIL s.v. *con·diëig*). Note the use of the Old Irish empty preverb *no* to make the secondary future with a simple verb in independent position.

**fo·ghēbtha.** The verbal root's lenited initial appears to express infixation of an object. In the later language, the preverb *do* comes to replace *fo* here (DIL s.v. *fo·gaib, fo·geib*).

**Mās ed.** Middle Irish form of *má* 'if' with the present 3sg. copula (in Old Irish, *mas(s)u* or *masa*: DIL s.v. 3 *má, ma* B (a)).

**in mbrūach alltarach.** Nasalisation of the initial of an adjective following an accusative noun would be expected in Middle and Early Modern as well as Old Irish. See, also, *gunige in mbrūach ale*, later in this paragraph, and *trēt imdu* in §iv.

**crāpaid hÉrinn.** When its second syllable is not represented by a suspension stroke, the genitive of *Ériu* is rendered *Érinn* rather than *Érenn* in Recension 2 (six times). This form is also found in *Lebor na Cert* (mid-eleventh century: see Murray, 2013, 79–81), where there are rhyming examples of genitive *Érinn* with palatal final (ibid. 90–1). Note, also, *.xx.it* (= genitive *fichit*) and *Ōenuch Tailltin* in §iii and §xxi of this recension respectively.

**na·rag.** For Old Irish *nad·reg*. The final *-d* of the negative relative particle is lost in Middle Irish, giving *na/ná*, while a petrified neuter infix leads to the development of innovatory *nach/nách*. Both *na/ná*

and *nach/nách* ‘alternate freely with each other in Middle Irish texts’ (Ó hUiginn, 1987, 179).

**nó go·fagur.** Old Irish *na co* was used with the subjunctive to join a conditional to a negative main clause with the meaning ‘unless’. At a relatively early stage, *nó co* came to replace *na co* and the meaning began to change to ‘until’. During the course of the Middle Irish period, it comes to be used with affirmative main clauses and the indicative (DIL s.v. *no co, na co, nó co*). Followed in our text by the subjunctive, it appears to be at a transitional stage of development. The verbal root *fag-* is due to the Middle Irish tendency to drop *b* after certain consonants (see EIV, 224; subjunctive 1sg. of *fo·gaib*).

**gunige in mbrūach ale.** Late form of the preposition *connicci* ‘as far as, to’ (originally from the conjunction *co<sup>N</sup>* with a form of *ro·icc*: DIL s.v. *con(n)icci*).

**Tuingim do Dīa.** On this oath formula, see Ó hUiginn (1989).

**dā·tecmuightea-sa.** The conjunction *día* becomes *dá* as *-ía* changes to *-á* in unstressed words in Middle Irish (MG, §3.24).

**fría.** A variant form of *fri*.

#### §iv

**dís.** Note the contraction of hiatus (see DIL s.v. 2 *días*).

**ingnum.** An infrequently occurring variant of *ingnad* (DIL s.v. *ingnad, ingnam*).

**choscraidi-si.** This poorly attested word is *coscraige* ‘victoriousness’. Middle Irish confusion of *g* and *d* is most frequent when the consonant is palatal (MG, §3.18).

**is rolīa int slūaigh.** Apparent retention of the Old Irish nominative plural masculine article (one expects Middle Irish *na slúaig* or *na slúaga*). Later in this paragraph, we get accusative plural *slúaigh-ne*. Note the plural subject with singular copula (see MG, §2.4).

**Nach-fetruidh-si.** Díarmait addresses the saint in the 2pl. here and with *at-beirid-si* below.

**nach ar lín nā cruth bristur cath, acht amail is āil ra Dīa.** A similar sentiment is imputed to Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill during the Nine Years’ War: *ro raidh [...] gurbo seinbhriathar o chein mháir nach ar líon óg brister cath acht tri nert an Choimdedh* ‘he declared [...] that there was an old-time saying, that it was not by the number of soldiers the battle is broken but by the power of God’ (Walsh, 1948, 220–1; see, also, O’Donoghue, 1921–3, 47, §18, a poem of ‘advice to a prince’ which is earlier than Recension 2: *ni ar lín óc brister cath*).

**ra Dīa.** One of several instances in Recension 2 of *la* being rendered *ra*. *La* and *fri* come to be confused, and *fri* may be rendered *ri*, *re* or *ra* in Middle Irish (DIL s.v. *fri*).

**do beth dodelb.** The verbal noun of the substantive verb may be used with a following predicative nominative where the copula would ordinarily be expected (GOI, §817). As an *ā*-stem, expect dative singular *beith*.

**na crotha cāemu brissius cath.** The 3sg. relative verb with plural antecedent is a development not usually found in early Middle Irish but which later comes to dominate (MG, §14.3).

**crídhida.** To distinguish it from the singular, a dental suffix develops in the plural of io-/iā-stems after the falling together of final unstressed vowels (ibid. §5.9).

**cid.** The conjunction involved comes to be used very vaguely in the later language (DIL s.v. 2 *cía* I (c)).

**taiffnid.** Based on the verbal noun of *do-seinn* (DIL s.v.).

**na táinte.** Probably originally an ā-stem, *táin* (DIL s.v.) shows considerable inflectional variation. It may be found as an i-, ī-, t- or k-stem. Here it inflects as a t-stem.

**In sēigh [...] 7 in sebac taiffnith.** In order to show that two different types of bird are mentioned here, I translate *sebac* ‘sparrow hawk’ (see EIF, 189). Note the singular verb with two subjects.

**in tī.** The Old Irish deictic particle with the article (*int í*) begins to be realised as *in tí* in Middle Irish (MG, §10.26). It is unclear how exactly it is realised in Recension 2 as a line break separates *in* and *tī*. It occurs again in §vii, written in the MS as a single unit.

**hainbfirinni.** For Old Irish *ainfirinne*, medial *b* representing nasalisation. See note on *ar it anmand*, p. 78.

**at·bertais-[s]i.** With the same innovatory preterite 2sg. ending as found earlier in this paragraph in *·ndeburtuis*. Alternatively, it might be an innovatory form of the present 2pl., with absolute for conjunct

ending (i.e. *at·bertai-si*; on this development, see MG, §12.16). Díarmait has twice addressed Cuimmíne in the 2pl. in this paragraph.

**i nd-aghaid.** Nasalisation of an initial vowel is sometimes rendered *nn* or *nd* in Middle Irish (MG, §4.10).

**ar aī.** Meaning ‘on account of, because of’, it is followed either by a noun in the genitive or a verbal clause (DIL s.v. 3 *aí* I).

### §v

**Ro·chomraigsit.** The simplex of *con·ricc* is based on its verbal noun.

**ra·ferad.** On Middle Irish confusion of *ro* and *ra*, see MG (§11.1).

**ra·membuith.** An unusual rendering of *ro·memaíd*. Perhaps word-internal *-mb-* may be related to the Middle Irish confusion of lenited *b/m* (see MG, §3.20). This confusion is discernable in DIL (s.v. *maidid*), where there is a good deal of variation between word-internal *b* and *m*. None of the many forms there, however, contains internal *-mb-*.

**ro·marbad ár.** Perhaps a quasi-*figura etymologica*, with *ár* in place of *marbad*. On the use of a verb with an etymologically unrelated verbal noun as a stage in the decline of and eventual abandonment of the *figura etymologica*, see Ó hUiginn (1983, 131–2). Note, however, that *ár* is not a verbal noun.

### §vi

**trē brēthir Chaimín.** While short in Old Irish, *tre*’s vowel appears to be long in Middle Irish (see MG, §13.26).

## §vii

**fría nāimtiu.** Either the preposition compounded with possessive 3sg. or the Middle Irish form of the simple preposition. I treat it as the latter, as at this point in Recension 1 we find *fri nāimtiu*.

**at·bert int aingel re Caimīn.** The following quatrain is marginal in LL. It does not appear to be attributed to an angel there.

## 6a

**i nInis Celtra.** Neither after dative or nominative *Inis* is it to be expected that *Celtra*'s initial be lenited (i.e. *\*(i n)Inis Cheltra*), as delentition takes place in the following environment: 's+fricative clusters were reduced to s+stop clusters as part of the general facultative tendency [...] in Gaelic to defricativise one of the members of continuous+continuous clusters' (see Ó Maolalaigh, 2016, 91, who says this observation had been previously unreported). A familiar example occurring word-internally is in the compound *coiscéim*.

## 6b

**fiche.** Where LL has *feras*, a relative form of *feraid*, Eg preserves this old *ī*-preterite 3sg. relative of *fichid*.

**lobur fa nerta.** Glosses in LL/Eg agree in identifying Caimmíne as the *lobur* and Gúaire with the *nerta*. Note neuter o-stem *nert*'s retention of neuter inflection (: *techta*). LL's *fri* is more appropriate than *fo*.

## 6d

**techta.** Stokes (1901a, 209) translates the line 'tis the strong that shall be put to flight'. He declares this interpretation a 'guess', taking *techta* as passive participle of *teichid* used as if the verb were transitive (ibid. n. 1). DIL (s.v. 1 *techta*) treats the form as verbal of necessity of *téit*, an interpretation I follow.

## §ix

**acht chena.** Used in introductory phrases in the meaning 'however, nevertheless' (DIL s.v. 1 *acht* II (I)). The second element is the 3sg. masculine form of *cen*.

**comlūath sain.** In Middle Irish, the *s* of the demonstrative pronoun *sin* is sometimes treated as non-palatal following a word ending in a non-palatal consonant (MG, §10.24). See also *ann sain* in §xix.

## 7b

**indnae fri hindnae.** Where LL/LU have forms of *finni fri finni*. Io-stem *indnae* 'generally in pl. weapons, spears' (DIL s.v. 1 *idna*, *indna*) also makes good sense. In standard Old Irish, the final *-u* of the accusative plural would be unmetrical. The date of the quatrain, however, is uncertain.

## 8c

**fona trīuna.** The article, absent from LL/LU, makes the line hypermetric. *Trīuna* may be a case of dittography, the word reoccurring in the following line. I believe LL/LU provide the superior reading. The sense here, however, is attractive (i.e. Gúaire will submit to those in a position of authority (Díarmait and his forces), who will in turn submit to him).

## §xi

**īar cor áir a muinnture.** The phrase *cor áir* occurs elsewhere in Irish literature (e.g. *go mbeithmís féin ar an magh | ag cur áir ba ccolamhnach* 'that we ourselves might have been on the plain slaughtering your Column-men': Murphy, 1933, LXVI.22; read *bar ccolamhnach*). Later in this paragraph we find relatable *dergár a muinnture do cur*.

**ra·buī [...] higa ġiarfuighe dē.** Note the verbal noun has adopted prosthetic *f* (on its Middle Irish spread, see EIV, 199, §5.4), but later metathesis has not yet taken place (see DIL s.v. *íarfaigid*). In Old Irish, *íarmi·foich* was usually followed by *do* of the person inquired of, replaced in part by *de* in Middle Irish (DIL s.v. *íarmi·foich* (a)).

The structure here seems unusual, i.e. substantive verb + *oc* + possessive 3sg. masculine + verbal noun + conjugated preposition 3sg. masculine. It would be simpler to employ the past 3sg. of the verb followed by conjugated preposition (i.e. *íarmi·foacht/ro·(f)íarfaig dē*).

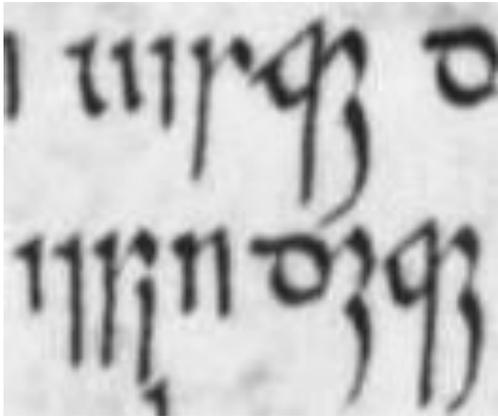
**cūich.** Predicative genitive of the interrogative pronoun, with the Middle Irish meaning of ‘who’ rather than ‘whose’ (see MG, §10.28).

**fer grádui.** U-stem *grád* qualifying *fer* (‘trusted or confidential servant’: DIL s.v. *2 grád* ?), not to be confused with o-stem *grád* ‘degree, rank’ (DIL s.v. *1 grád*).

**is mō dérc 7 eniuch.** On the comparative grade in place of the superlative, see note on *nesso*, p. 160. In Old Irish, the genitive follows the superlative while the dative follows the comparative. Though *eniuch* resembles the dative singular, I take both it and *ā*-stem *dérc* to be genitive plural.

**uiscuus.** An unusual form such as this reoccurs twice in this paragraph and again in **q. 14c** (Recension 2). An explanation eludes me. O’Grady renders it *uisce*. The MS readings follow, with the figure 3 representing the *us* symbol and MS *q* restored for what I render *cu* in the transcripts: *uisq3; 3q3* (x2); *u3q3*. That MS 3 represents the *us* symbol rather than something ligatured to *q* appears to be confirmed by its employment in the first syllable of the word in three instances. The ending *-us* looks like that of a Latin o-stem, but I am aware of no such word for ‘water’ in that language. I provide an image here of the form under discussion as

it appears in the MS, below which is *issind uscuus* from the following line:



The woman is observing a basic custom of hospitality (on the provision of washing facilities by the host to the guest, see O'Sullivan, 2004, 213–4).

**nīr·fēt.** Note the apocope of the augment (on this Middle Irish development, see EIV, 188). The simple verb is based on the prototonic stem of *ad·cota* (*·ét*), with prosthetic *f*.

**rug a buidi ra Dīa.** The preposition probably represents *fri* (see DIL s.v. 2 *buide* (a) and (d)).

**.x.** Note that this number is at variance with the 'seven' in the following quatrain, where a gloss, *nó deich*, echoes the prose. Numbers may be used more symbolically than arithmetically in medieval Irish saga, and inconsistency does not seem to have concerned scribes greatly. However, discrepancies in transmission are sometimes noted by them (O'Connor, 2013, 45–6).

## §xii

**Ro·airg.** *Oirgid* (DIL s.v.) later becomes *airgid*.

**dan[ō].** This adverb exhibits a range of forms, especially in Middle Irish. As it is stressed on the second syllable, however, one expects syncope at the start of the word (e.g. *dnó, nó*, etc.: see DIL s.v. *danó*).

**asa haithle.** In the later language, *a(s) aithle* ‘after’ may be rendered *asa haithle* (DIL s.v. *aithle*).

**in madma.** Originally neuter, n-stem *maidm* (DIL s.v.) later came to be inflected as masculine. N-stems’ eponymous *n* was not to be seen in singular neuter forms but did appear in the masculine (outside the nominative). We saw *n*-less dative singular *hi madmmuim* in §xi. On the face of it, these forms suggest *maidm* is neuter in Recension 2. However, the noun’s declension varies in the later language (ibid.), including Modern Irish genitive singular *maidhma/maidhme* (Dinneen, 1927, s.v. *maidhm*).

**chailig.** The term *caillech* is of broad application. Of the meanings explored by Ní Dhonnchadha (1994–5), it seems ‘old married woman’ or ‘widow’ is most suitable here.

### 11a

**damh nó bō.** In Old Irish, one usually expects ‘non-verbal words or phrases in a negative clause’ to be linked by *na/ná*, as in LL/LU. They may, however, also be linked by *nó* (GOI, §865).

### 11d

**duibgen.** In Middle Irish, some compounds with *cenn* as second element have its initial *c*- mutated to *g*- instead of *ch*- (O’Rahilly, 1942, 140).

### 15a

**légither.** Where LL/LU have a form of *do·léici*. *Léicid for* means ‘hurls at’ (DIL s.v. *léicid* II (i)), similar to *do·léici* ‘throws, hurls’ (DIL s.v. *do·léici* II). The present passive 3pl. has syncopated and unsyncopated by-forms (see Strachan, 1949, 38). This reading, therefore, is both metrically permissible and similar in meaning to that in LL/LU. The older MSS, however, seem more likely to have adhered to the archetype.

### 16b

**in imairig.** With the genitive singular masculine article in place of LL/LU’s 3pl. possessive with concomitant nasalisation.

### 16c

**īat.** LL’s feminine *í*, agreeing with *diäs*, is to be preferred.

### §xiii

**Do·rōnuth [...] ag Connachto.** In Middle Irish, *ac/oc* is the preposition most often used to express the agent of passive verbs (MG, §11.41).

**do·rōnsatur-som.** In Old Irish, *do·gní* based its active forms of the perfect on *do·rign-*, passive on *do·rón-*. The differentiation was lost in Middle Irish, with the latter ultimately disappearing (EIV, 233–4, §6.8).

### 17b

**Sínech.** LL/LU’s accusative form is to be preferred.

**com cruü.** The *m* in MS *comcruu* may occur under the influence of *comluu* in the following line, though ‘with my hoof’ and ‘with a hoof’ make equally good sense.

### 17c

**nochus·fūigēba.** In Middle Irish, *nícon* is weakened to *nocho* at an early stage, the *c* later becoming lenited (DIL s.v. *nícon*). Therefore, the forms in LL, LU and Eg respectively appear to reflect three stages of the particle's development from early to late.

### 18c

**imfochaid.** In LL/LU, this verbal noun's lenited *f* is not written.

### §xv

**itir ffiacuib.** By the Middle Irish period, *etar/itir* always lenited (MG, §13.10). The doubled *f* suggests nasalisation, for which I have no explanation.

**no·gīallus.** The empty preverb *no*, used in Old Irish to infix relative lenition/nasalisation, is unnecessary with an independent simple verb in relative position. As lenition of the initial of independent simple relative verbal forms becomes a feature of the language in Middle Irish, perhaps what we find here is hypercorrect usage of *no* to infix it.

### §xvi

**amluid sin.** In Old Irish, *amail* often appears with *sin* in a phrase meaning 'thus' (DIL s.v. *amail*, *amal* I). In Middle Irish, *amlaid* (< *samlaid*, 3sg. masculine/neuter form of *amail*) often takes its place in this construction (DIL s.v. 1 *amlaid* (a)).

**ind enech.** In §iii of this recension, we saw nasalisation of a vowel rendered *nd* in *i nd-aghaid*. Perhaps assimilation of the accusative singular article and following eclipsis has taken place here (i.e. read *in nd-enech*).

## §xvii

**Ra·irāil.** Simple *eráilid* for earlier *ar·áili* (DIL s.v.). The vocalism of the stressed syllable of the simplex is quite variable (see DIL s.v. *eráilid*).

**Nī·tarat Gūairi dā uíd é.** In early Middle Irish, *oíd/uíd* is mainly used in the phrase *do·beir do oíd*. In late Middle Irish, it more often appears in the phrase *do·beir a oíd for* (DIL s.v. *oíd*). Here we find the earlier usage, though with independent object pronoun.

**delcc ōir.** One expects nasalisation after accusative singular *delcc*.

**do muinntir.** Read *de muintir*.

**do·beir do Dīarmuit.** The pronoun appears to have been left unexpressed. Otherwise, one expects a form like *dos·/da·mbeir do Dīarmait*, or *do·beir do Dīarmuit é* with independent pronoun.

**innisid.** For Old Irish *ad·fét* (DIL s.v. *indisid*). The compound verb also had the form *in·fét*, with the simplex based on its verbal noun (EIV, 193, §5.2 (b)).

**at·n·aid.** With Middle Irish tautological infixed pronoun (see DIL s.v. *ad·aig*). Note, also, Middle Irish confusion of *d* and *g*.

**imtidhig.** Simplex formed from the prototonic stem of *imm·téit* (see EIV, 192).

**at·n·aid.** The second occurrence in this paragraph of this form with petrified infix. Previously, the verb had an explicit object. Here, the pronoun appears to have been left unexpressed, as in *do·beir do Dīarmuit* earlier in this paragraph.

### §xviii

**doridisi.** For earlier *do frithissi* (DIL s.v.).

### §xix

**go tursech.** This may describe either Gúaire or the poor person. I take it that the latter is the aggrieved party, having just been relieved of the items given to him by Gúaire.

**Ro·fiarfuid.** The Middle Irish simplex *fíarfaigid* (< *íarmi·foich*).

**thrōghi.** An early form of this abstract noun seems to be preserved both here and in the following line, with *ó* for later *úa* (DIL s.v. *trúaige*).

**fom chumachtain-si.** Originally a neuter io-stem, *cumachtae* (DIL s.v.) later acquires somewhat variable inflection, including that of a feminine n-stem.

**chíid.** I am unable to explain the form this verb has taken (rendered *chii* by O'Grady: 1892, i, 399). The ending looks like a dependent 2pl. present, perhaps used as a respectful form of address (compare *Nach·fetruidh-si* and *at·beirid-si* in §iv of this recension). The doubled vowel may relate to the hiatus originally found in this verb, though elsewhere in this recension doubling indicates length.

**fom cumachtab-si.** One expects a palatal final in the dative plural ending, and the form of the emphatic suffix suggests this was intended. Earlier in this paragraph this noun inflected as an n-stem. Perhaps here it is an iā-stem (see DIL s.v. *cumachtae*).

**is ferr indū-sa.** On the form after the adjective, see DIL (s.v. *indaas*, *indás*) and GOI (§779.1). This means of expressing the object of the

comparative grade lingers on into Middle Irish, ultimately being replaced by other means (MG, §6.16).

**nā·hairg dam muintir mo máthar.** Perhaps the idiom involved in *nā·hairg dam* is similar to that in *ná dein é sin orm*, where the action is not necessarily done ‘to me’, but will be upsetting to me.

### §xx

**a·dubuir.** Old Irish *as·rubart* ‘mostly appears in Middle Irish as *a-t:rubart* [...] but sometimes undergoes a simplification parallel to pres. *a:teir* from *a-t:beir* etc. [...] e.g. *a:tubairt* [...] hence Class. Mod. Ir. *a-dubhairt*’ (EIV, 190–1, §4.3).

**ris-sium.** Note the omission in writing of conjugated *fri*’s lenited initial (MG, §13.14).

**tair do Ōenuch Tailltean.** In Old Irish, *do·icc* (DIL s.v.) usually takes a direct object denoting motion (physical or figurative), whereas in Middle Irish it is usually intransitive.

**hi fíadnuisi.** In later Middle Irish, eclipsed *f* is usually written *ff* but may be rendered *ḟ* in some MSS (DIL s.v. *F*).

### §xxii

**Tuc [...] Diarmait ar Feruib Éirinn.** Perhaps with Middle Irish confusion of *ar* for *for* (see DIL s.v. 1 *ar*) in the meaning ‘compels’.

### §xxiii

**Ro·suid.** A late form of *saidid* (DIL s.v.).

### §xxiv

**epsgob.** Note that metathesis has not yet taken place (> *easpag*).

**gurrum·ongthar.** Note the historically correct use of the infixed pronoun. In Old Irish, this verb appears with palatal consonant cluster (DIL s.v. *oingid*).

**chomfocus.** Employing *com-* is an innovatory means of forming the equative (MG, §6.10).

**Canus tuici-si.** Interrogative *can* with 3sg. relative copula (DIL s.v. *can* (c); > *conas*) and a simple verb based on the prototonic stem of *\*to-ucc-*.

### §xxv

**Nī-tairmesgfaighter.** *Do-airmesca* (DIL s.v.) usually appears as simple *tairmescaid*. Note, also, *nī-thairmuscib-su* in §xxviii.

**hi fecht-sa.** Perhaps an accusative of time for earlier *a fecht-sa*, with confusion of neuter article and preposition.

**Ag-sō.** *Oc* + stressed demonstrative pronoun = 'here is' in Middle Irish, a construction not found in Old Irish (DIL s.v. *oc* I (c)). While it may be that *ac-só* comes to replace *assó* (DIL s.v. *asso*), the first element in the latter formation derives from the imperative 2sg. of *ad·cí*, confusion with *oc* being a later development (Ó Fiannachta, 1964, 76–7; see, also, p. 106 above).

**Acc.** Forms of the independent negative particle *nacc* without initial *n-* appear in Old Irish texts found in later MSS (GOI, §868).

### §xxvi

**asa dhíb lámaib.** In Middle Irish, *dá* comes to be generalised for all cases. However, inflected forms are still found (MG, §8.3).

**in dara.** A late Old or early Middle Irish development of *indala* (DIL s.v. 1 *dara*).

### §xxviii

**no-thidnuiccith.** The simple verb *tidnaicid* from *do-indnaig* (DIL s.v.).

**Ra-bātar 'ca rádh ra Caimín Innsi Celtra tairmescc [...].** On the unusual syntax, see the note on *ra-buī [...] higa fīarfuighe dē*, p. 207.

**in Cuimde.** In Middle Irish, t-stems usually appear with but may appear without the dental in the accusative/dative singular (MG, §5.11).

**roo-comallad.** The reason for the doubled *o* is unclear (O'Grady writes it with one *o*: 1892, i, 400). Perhaps the scribe took *comallad* as the verbal noun with intensive *ró-*, the doubled vowel indicating length.

**mac Lonán.** A reference to Flann son of Lonán, who died in 896 (AU s.a.). He is portrayed in various Middle and Modern Irish poems as a paragon of generosity and a type of *Gúaire*.

### §xxix

**issind eclus.** A final vowel or palatal final consonant is expected in the dative singular.

**dar ēisi Cholaim.** According to DIL (s.v. 2 *éis*), *éis* has both *i-* and *ī-* stem inflection. Here it appears to have the latter.

### §xxx

**issind ecluisi.** After the uncertainty concerning the form in the previous paragraph, *eclais* here seems to be inflected as an *ī-*stem.

### §xxxiii

**coro-forchantais in ciniuth dāendoí.** The simplex is based on the prototonic stem of *for-cain* (DIL s.v.). One might expect nasalisation after accusative *ciniuth*.

### §xxxiv

**ol iat-sum.** A Middle Irish development for *olseat* (DIL s.v. 6 *ol*).

### §xxxv

**conā-dicsigh.** Past subjunctive of *téit* with irregular spelling.

### §xxxvi

**suīdh.** A t-stem, one does not expect the dental final in the nominative singular of *suí*. In his treatment of consonantal stems in Middle Irish, Breatnach (MG, §5.11) mentions some confusion of the nominative/accusative singular of guttural stems. He does not, however, mention any such confusion among dental stems.

**Mu Chuta Liss Mōir.** See Ó Riain (2011, s.n. Mochuda).

**co-mbātar 'na test.** In the Middle Irish period, predicative structures such as *tá sé ina fhear* develop, with substantive verb + *i<sup>N</sup>* + possessive + nominal predicate (MG, §14.5; Dillon (1928, 324) dates the emergence of this idiom to *circa* 1100).

**a sãethar forcetail Cuimīn.** Note the proleptic use of the possessive.

**andās.** A variant of *indás* (DIL s.v. *indaas, indás*).

**na-tibra.** I take the verb to be 2sg. If correct, it and the 2sg. conjugated preposition directly following suggest Mo Chuta has switched from speaking of Cuimmíne in the third person to addressing him.

**tene buirr.** Perhaps some kind of inflammatory disease, as O'Grady (1892, ii, 437) takes it.

### ***Cath Cairn Chonaill in the Annals and other sources***

The account of the battle of Carn Conaill in AU (s.a. 649) is brief: *[b]ellum Cairnn Conaill ubi Guaire fugit, 7 Diarmait uictor erat, m. Aedho Slaine* '[t]he battle of Carn Conaill in which Guaire took flight, and Diarmait son of Aed Sláine was victor'. It is in keeping with the kind of information typically recorded by early Irish annalists (whose terms of reference 'principally comprised successions to office [...] and notable military events': Dumville, 1982, 323). The entry is couched mostly in Latin, though the proper nouns are inflected as Irish words (rather than given an artificial Latin genitive termination), and 'son' is rendered *mac* rather than *filius*. As Dumville notes, this is generally how events are recorded for the early period in AU, though *filius* is frequently attested in entries for the seventh century. The absence of any other vernacular features in the entry in question is unsurprising, though the mid-seventh century was a period of increased experimentation with the use of Irish words in AU (ibid. 324–8). To conclude, there is no formal aspect of the entry in AU recording the battle of Carn Conaill which suggests it was made retrospectively, though this cannot be ruled out.<sup>138</sup> The entry is supplemented by two quatrains of verse in Irish which are less likely to be contemporary. We have seen that one of these corresponds (with minor variants) to **q. 8** of CCC (found in all three MSS). Recounting Gúaire's gratitude for his supper consisting of a single salmon, and recalling the extravagance of the meals to which he had previously been accustomed, it is a curious adornment to the annalistic account of the battle. The other quatrain is one of the two marginal stanzas occurring in LU only. It appears to be more relevant to the actual battle, seemingly commemorating the death of a champion and involving one Talamnach (the name of a combatant in Recension 1b). It is not possible to determine whether these quatrains belonged to the exemplar. They do not occur in AT, and are two of a total of

---

<sup>138</sup> The recording of an event in the Annals is no guarantee of historicity. See, for example, Kelleher (1971), where the appearance of Ulster Cycle figures in the Annals is discussed.

sixteen quatrains found between 490–695 in AU but not AT. Hughes (1972, 103) observes that ‘quatrains common to both manuscripts are likely to have been in the exemplar, probably as marginalia’.

The account in AI (s.a. 649), which does not contain verse, is similar to that in AU: *Cath Cairnd Chonaill for Guare Aidne re nDiarmait mac Aeda i torchair Dúnchad 7 Conall, dá macc Blaithmeicc* ‘The battle of Carn Conaill [gained] over Guaire Aidni by Diarmait, son of Aed, in which Dúnchad and Conall, two sons of Blathmac, fell’. Mac Airt observes that the ‘slaying of Dúnchad and Conall is not connected with the battle of Carn Conaill in the other Annals, but is recorded (in AU) two years later (651). Its insertion here is due to scribal omission, and the two missing Kalends (650, 651) should probably be allotted to this entry’. When the superfluous material is omitted, therefore, the only appreciable difference between the accounts in AU and AI is that the former is in Latin and the latter in Irish. Hughes (1972, 110) states there ‘is no problem about the early entries in AI. They are definitely based on a version of the Chronicle of Ireland.’ The confusion of two entries is not unexpected. The early part of AI ‘has been drastically abbreviated, often to the detriment of sense’, where the ‘telescoping and confusion’ of events ‘are not infrequent’ (Mac Niocaill, 1975, 25).

Along with AU, the other principal witness to the Iona Chronicle from which all our annalistic chronicles derive is found in AT (Mac Niocaill, 1975, 20). AT and CS ‘demonstrably have a common origin’ (ibid. 22), and there is a remarkable degree of verbal correspondence in their accounts of the battle of Carn Conaill. In addition to AT and CS, Mac Niocaill (1975, 21–4) identified AC as belonging to a ‘Clonmacnoise group’,<sup>139</sup> to which FA<sup>2</sup> is related.<sup>140</sup> To facilitate comparison, I provide the account in AT first followed by that in CS. Occurrences of verbal

---

<sup>139</sup> ‘The annals most affected by saga are those known as the Clonmacnoise group’ (Ó Riain, 1978, xxxv). This is worth bearing in mind.

<sup>140</sup> In the Laud Synchronisms, a brief mention of the battle and of Diarmait’s involvement is conflated with an entry regarding the death of Ragallach mac Úatach (see Meyer, 1913, 483.9–10). AU records Ragallach’s killing and the account of our battle in the same year.

identity between AT and CS are indicated in boldface, while those between AT/CS and AU are underlined:<sup>141</sup>

*Cath Cairn Conaill in die Pentecostes, ubí da Cuan ceciderunt .i. Cuan mac Amalgaid maic Enda, rí Muman, 7 Cuan mac Conaill, rí Hua Fi[d]gheinte, 7 Tolamnach rí hua Liathain, 7 Guair fu[g]it, 7 Diarmaid mac Aeda Slane uictor erat. Is edh iarom doluidh Diarmuit don cath sin .i. tria Cluain maic Noiss. Doríndsead sámadh Cíarain évla fri Dia fair co tissadh slan dia n-inchaib a coraigecht[a] som. Iar sódh in rig iarom roidbair Toim n-E[i]rc cona fodlaib feraind .i. Líath Mancháin indíu a ainm, [amail] fód fo[r] altoir do Dia 7 do Chiaran, 7 dobert teora trisste for rígh Midhi dia caitheadh neach dia mundtir cidh digh n-usci and, conidh desin dorogart Diarmuid a adnacol a Cluain maic Nóis* (AT, 189–90).

*Cath Cairn Conaill in die Pentecostes, ubi duo Cuan ceciderunt .i. Cuan mac Enda Rí Muman ocus Cuan mac Cairill Rí Hua Ffidhgente, ocus Tolomnach Rí Hua Liatháin, et Guair fugit, et Diarmaid mac Aeda Slaine uictor erat.*

*(Dia domnaig, asedh iarom do luidh Diarmaid do tabairt an catha sin .i. tri Cluain muc Nois, ocus do rinsit samad Ciarain etla fair co tisadh slán dincaib a coraidheachta som. Iar sodh iarom an Rí ro edhbair Doimnerc cona fodlaibh .i. Liath Manchan indiu a ainm, mar fod fri altóir do Chiaran ; ocus do bert teora tristi for Ri Mide dá ccaiteadh nech dia muintir cid dig nusque ; conidh de sin ro rogart Diarmaid a adnacol a ccluain muc Nois)* (CS, s.a. 646).

---

<sup>141</sup> Note that, apart from Irish *cath* for Latin *bellum*, all of the words in the AU entry are employed in AT/CS.

Of the account in CS, its editor said the ‘paragraph enclosed in parentheses occurs as a gloss by the orig. hand, over the preceding entry, in A. It is misplaced in B’ (Hennessy, 1866, 90, n. 1; A is the MS witness on which the edition is based. It is collated with another witness, B). Mac Niocaill (1975, 17) maintained that ‘a paragraph from the literary *Battle of Carn Conaill* was inserted after the annalistic reference to the battle in the *Chronicon Scotorum* under the year 649’, describing the said paragraph as an example of one of those stray ‘items not properly annalistic [...] found inserted in annals’, tending to wander from one chronicle to another. We can see from the foregoing that this paragraph also occurs in AT. I reproduce now the related passage from Recension 1b, so that it may be compared to the annalistic accounts. Passages of verbal identity with AT and CS are in boldface:

*Is sed, iarom, ludi Diarmait oc techt hi Conachta co Clūain Maic Nōis. Do·rigēnsat, iarom, sāmud Cīarán cona n-abaid, .i. Áedlug mac Commāin, etla fri Dīa fair co·tísad slán d’inchaib a coraigechta-som. Ro-idbair in rī, iarom, Tóim nEirc cona fodlai feraind, .i. Líath Manchān, amal fót for altóir do Dīa 7 do Chīarán, 7 to·bert tēora trísti for rīg Midi dīa·cathed nech dīa muntir cid dig n-usci n-and. Conid dē sin nā·laim rí Midi a ascin 7 nā·laim nech dīa muntir a bíad do chathim. Is dē sin, danō, do·ráegart Díarmait a adnacul hi Clūain Maic Nōis, conid iarom ro-adnacht inti.*

*Do·rat Diarmait lāim dar Conachta remi co·ránic Aidni. Ro·thinōil Gúairi firu Muman dīa saigid. Roptar iat-so rīg tāncatar hi fōrithin Gúari, .i. Cūān mac Énnai, rī Muman, 7 Cūān mac Conaill, rí hÚa Fidgente, 7 Tolomnach, rī hÚa Líathān. Do·ratad iarom cath Charnd Chonaill etorro hi llō Cengciges co·ráemid for Gúari co·rrolad ār cend and. Im Chūān mac Énnai, rí Muman, 7*

*im Cūān mac Conaill, rīg hŪa Conaill, 7 im Tholomnach, rīg  
hŪa Líathán.*

The accounts in AC (s.a. 642) and AFM (s.a. 645) are in the same vein as the other extended descriptions, and it would serve no purpose to reproduce them here. The year in which the battle of Carn Conaill took place is not covered in FA<sup>2</sup>, the years 629–661 having been lost. Gúaire’s death is recorded in 663, however, together with a single quatrain:

*Carn Conaill:  
mor sluag file 'na comairr;  
bi[d] marb uile ciata·bi,  
dursan do Guaire Aidhni.*

Carn Conaill:  
is a great host that is before it;  
All that he perceives will be dead;  
alas for Guaire Aidne (FA<sup>2</sup>, 14–5).<sup>142</sup>

Radner observes that the quatrain relates to Gúaire’s defeat at Carn Conaill, not his death (ibid. 186, §23).

There is general consensus that the extended accounts found outside of AU and AI owe their provenance to CCC. Herbert (2015, 86) observes that the passage found in LU, relating the sojourn in Clonmacnoise, together with the subsequent account of the battle, ‘closely parallels the Clonmacnoise annal notices of these events’. Mac Niocaill (1975, 23) takes the account of the battle in CS as a case in point in his argument that additional material found there and not in AU ‘is not necessarily contemporary with the events it records’. Mac

---

<sup>142</sup> Ó Coileáin (1981, 130, n. 27) argues that the third line should read *bi[t] mairb uili ciato bí* ‘[t]hey will all be dead though they are now alive’.

Eoin (1989, 169) finds that the account in AT clearly derives from CCC, and that the similarity of the accounts in AU and AT (apart from the saga-material in AT) suggests that the entry existed in the chronicle from which AU, AI and AT derive (i.e. the entry 'must have already existed about 900'). CCC, he says, 'is scarcely old enough to have been the source of this'. This view is supported by the fact that the additional material derives from one of the linguistically late passages of Recension 1b. Mac Eoin (ibid. 172), however, suggests an earlier form of the tale may have been the source of the first annalistic references to the battle, as he thinks it unlikely the Iona Chronicle would have recorded in the seventh century 'a Connacht battle which barely had a name', and furthermore that the name *Carn Conaill* was likely to have been invented in imitation of *Carn Feradaig*, where Gúaire was defeated in another battle (AU 627).

Charles-Edwards (2006, i, 146, n. 1) finds the material which is supplementary to what appears in AU 'constitute[s] one of the most evident Clonmacnois additions to the original Chronicle of Ireland', agreeing with Mac Eoin that it derives from the saga. He concludes, however, that mention of the battle did form a part of the Iona Chronicle. Mac Eoin's suggestion that the name *Carn Conaill* was 'invented in imitation of the name of the earlier battle of Carn Feradaig' is impossible to disprove, though it seems to me unlikely to be correct; the occurrence of another battle there in the following century (see AU, s.a. 784.7) suggests that it was at least a suitable site for a military engagement. The Munster participants in the battle mentioned in the extended annalistic accounts are discussed on pp 152–3 above.

Other apparent references to the battle between Díarmait and Gúaire are found elsewhere in the literature. In the prosal preface to *It é saigte gona súain*, the lament<sup>143</sup> for her lover Dínertach supposedly recited by Créide, daughter of Gúaire, we are told that he succumbs to

---

<sup>143</sup> If it is such: it has been argued Dínertach's death is not to be understood from the poem (see Ó Coileáin, 1981, 129).

seventeen wounds received at *treus Aidne* ‘the battle of Aidne’ (Meyer, 1905b, 15–6; Murphy (1956, 211) and Henry (1991, 73, n. 1) identify this battle with that of Carn Conaill; Ó Coileáin (1981, 129) points out that it is ‘prophesied’ in *Baile in Scáil* that Díarmait would fight seven battles of Aidne, though no apparent record of any other than that of Carn Conaill survives: see Murray, 2004, 41, lines 238–9). Créide’s mind, afterwards, is in Irlúachair, which Meyer (1905b, 17, n. 3) suggests may be Díneartach’s burial site. Díneartach was purportedly a follower of Cúán mac Conaill (Murphy, 1956, 211), though Ó Coileáin (1981, 129–31) has shown the historicity of the preface to be highly questionable. Murphy (1956, 212) reckons the poem to be early ninth century,<sup>144</sup> making it roughly contemporaneous with those attributed to Sinech Cró. However, it has little (if anything) to tell us of CCC.

In *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin*, it is written that *[r]o-anacht-som dī a bale isi[nd] ó[i]r da-luid-seom la Díarmaid dia tar(d)a(i)d Díarmait in cath do Gúairi, co ro-anacht-som immale* (Binchy, 1963, 7, lines 184–6; Binchy suggests reading *in mbale* for the last word here: *ibid.* n. g). It may be the case that this ‘curious sentence’ is ‘not very satisfactory as it stands’ (see Ó Coileáin, 1981, 122 and n. 16), but the salient point for us is the reference to a battle waged by Díarmait on Gúaire. No locale is identified. *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin* contains a significant degree of anachronism. Not only can it not ‘claim to be numbered among the historical sources of the seventh century’, but it serves ‘as a warning against the excessive reliance on “tradition” –including “learned” tradition–which is characteristic of too many modern historians of that period’ (see Binchy, 1963, xx). Furthermore, it has been convincingly argued that the reference to the battle is a late attempt to explain how Créd first encountered Cano (Ó Coileáin, 1981, 122). Like *It é saigte gona súain*, it cannot tell us a great deal regarding CCC.

---

<sup>144</sup> Binchy (1963, xxiii) makes it later.

### Introducing Sinech Cró<sup>145</sup>

The first actor in our text to whom a deed is imputed is Sinech Cró, who does not, as far as I know, appear elsewhere in Irish literature. The opening line of **Si** tells us she had fostered Díarmait son of Áed Sláine. Tired of the Connachta carrying off her cows, she recites a poem inciting Díarmait to avenge her on their king, Gúaire Aidni. This appeal is fruitful, resulting in a military incursion of Connacht by Díarmait and his defeat of Gúaire. After this success and Díarmait and Gúaire's subsequent *rapprochement*, a grateful Sinech delivers another poem, this time in praise of her foster son. She recites it in Gúaire's presence, complete with a disparaging quatrain in reference to him, leading to her final contribution to the tale: a short and bitter exchange in verse with Gúaire, quite at odds with the aforementioned reconciliation between the two kings.

The fact of her being Díarmait's foster mother, the theft of her cattle, her use of verse to set Díarmait at variance with Gúaire and her subsequent versified panegyric to Díarmait are presented in our tale in matter-of-fact fashion, not as extraordinary phenomena. Yet, that a woman should own property, act independently in her own interests, have recourse to at least quasi-legal means of seeking redress of her grievances, and apparently fulfil certain aspects of the role of *fili* are somewhat unusual in the early literary canon. These components of the behaviour and position of Sinech Cró, along with the glimpse afforded us of the relationship between foster mother and foster son, decades after the period of fosterage must have ended, will repay further investigation. Furthermore, her name is an unusual one. Were it based on the word *sine* 'teat, pap', it may mean 'teated one'. Such a derivation raises questions about the role of the foster mother and whether it involved wet-nursing. It is often said that fosterage in medieval Ireland

---

<sup>145</sup> Much of what follows, regarding the derivation of Sinech's name and the treatment of fosterage in medieval Ireland, has appeared in Ó hIarlaithe (2017).

began at age seven,<sup>146</sup> when a wet nurse is unnecessary. There is evidence it could start much earlier, one (circumstantial) element of which is Sinech's name. The underlying meaning of this name will now be explored, an exploration requiring treatment of certain aspects of the institution of fosterage. After this, a brief, necessarily circumstantial, biography of Sinech Cró will be attempted. Relevant facets of law will underpin this investigation.<sup>147</sup> 'Many early Irish tales [...] have pervasive legal implications, for they depict a society in which law is a very active element' (Qiu, 2013, 112). Furthermore, '[g]iven the literary convention that tales set in the distant past were primarily of relevance to the time and milieu in which they were redacted, it is clear that a knowledge of social idiom and particularly of the legal system is crucial to a deeper understanding of early Irish saga' (Kelly, 1992, 74). CCC is not a fantastic text. As such, the dependence on legal material is justified in creating a biography of Sinech, if a picture of a character that would arguably be believable to a contemporary audience or readership is to be constructed.

---

<sup>146</sup> See, for example, Charles-Edwards (2000, 116); Jaski (1999, 22); Bitel (1996, 87); Bledsoe (2012, 14). In Kühlmann (2017, 45–6), it is stated that fosterage usually began at seven, though that exceptional cases existed is acknowledged. Thurneysen (1931, 21), on the other hand, states children were given into fosterage *im zartesten Alter* 'at the tenderest age', while Ó h-Innse (1943, 8) recognises '[c]hildren were sent to be fostered at the very earliest age'. Ní Chonail (1997, 28) writes that not only did fosterage begin at a young age, but wet nurses were involved; I assume her findings are based on her PhD thesis, which I searched for in vain in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (see <https://www.tcd.ie/history/postgraduate/research/theses.php>). Elsewhere she asserts (2008, 12) that 'the legal material points to the possibility of a child entering into fosterage at any age, however young. The practice of wet-nursing as an optional first step in the overall fostering process is evident from a special, life long entitlement (to a particular payment) which was formed between foster- and biological children who shared the same cradle and mantle in the early stages of life within a household. This was a bond which was legally recognised and protected'. She cites CIH, 439.15–8, in support of this (*ibid.* n. 52), although this passage on its own appears to me to fall short of a proof that wet-nursing was 'an optional first step in the overall fostering process'.

<sup>147</sup> The law tracts, on which the legal aspect of the discussion is based, originate mostly in the seventh and eighth centuries, preserved in later MSS (GEIL, 1). It is difficult to know exactly how long they applied in the form in which they survive.

### *Her name*

The adjective *sinech* may be translated ‘having (large) teats or paps’ (DIL s.v. 2 *sinech*). In its usage, however, the ability of the breasts to produce milk is at least as important as their mere presence, size notwithstanding. The word is used in O’Davoren’s glossary to explain *[s]ruaimnech .i. sinech nó sombleoghain nó sirsruaimnech nó sirsomainech nó sruth sinach* ‘having teats, or a good milker, or constantly-streamy, or long profitable, or a teatful stream’ (Stokes, 1904, 453). Clearly meant to be synonymous with the other words listed, a word like ‘flowing’ might better be used to translate *sinech* here, especially in its second occurrence. This at least avoids the dubious translation ‘teatful stream’. The adjective survives in Modern Irish. Among the terms provided by Dinneen (1927 s.v. *sineach*) are ‘having teats, freely yielding milk’. It is used as a substantive in an Old Irish gloss to the law governing distraint, *Cethairslicht Athgabálae*. The editors of AL translate dative plural *se sinechaib*, glossing *.ui. delechaib*, ‘six milch cows’ (AL, i, 66–7 = CIH, 353.11, 352.28–9); McLeod (2011, 9–10) translates ‘six uddered beasts [...] “uddered ones”, an oblique reference to cattle, in which a characteristic part refers to the whole’. *Delech*, a *hapax* derived from *dela* ‘teat, dug’, has been translated ‘having udders, milch cow’. *Dela* may be used figuratively of affection and kinship (DIL s.vv. *delech* and 1 *dela*).

It is tempting to see similar associations with affection and kinship in Sinech Cró’s name,<sup>148</sup> and to speculate that among her functions as foster mother may have been to wet-nurse the infant or, in all likelihood infants, she raised: just as having a multiplicity of foster parents conferred high status on a child, so too did status accrue from having many foster siblings (Ní Dhonnchadha, 1986, 188). As Díarmait

---

<sup>148</sup> Ó Cuív (1986, 159) argues ‘[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’.

was clearly of high status, such would be expected of his placement.<sup>149</sup> Had Sinech Cró been understood to have been foster mother and/or wet nurse to several children, it would increase the potential of her having been named for fulfilling this important function.

This interpretation of the first element of Sinech's name is not the only one possible. An obvious alternative is the homonym occurring in the name of several saints. Ó Riain (2011, 563) suggests that in these cases the name, also written *Sinche*, was '[p]robably derived from *sean* "old"'.<sup>150</sup> And Sinech would have had to have been old. As Áed Sláine died in 604 (AU), his son Díarmait could not have been born later than 605. A girl's fosterage typically ended at the age of fourteen, at which time she reached her *áes toga*,<sup>151</sup> meaning she could be married (CIH, 1770.3–4).<sup>152</sup> Had Díarmait been immediately taken into fosterage by a newly-wed Sinech Cró and her husband, the youngest she could have been at the time of the battle of Carn Conaill (AU 649) is 58. I am unaware of reliable data indicating a woman's life expectancy in seventh-century Ireland. In a cemetery in use in Castleknock *circa* 850–1050, only 2.5% of skeletons were of people

---

<sup>149</sup> See, for example, the account of the mythological character Máel Dúin, one of four foster children brought up together: [*r]odn-alt íarom óen mumme éseom 7 tri maic ind ríog i n-óenchiab 7 for áenchích 7 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' (Stokes, 1888, 454–5). Jaski (1999, 23–4 and n. 93) observes a frequent link between fosterage and the knee. The literature shows there is also often a link between fosterage and the breast. The knee and breast were considered two of three sacred things among the Irish, the third being the cheek: [*t]rí meinistri fer Féne .i. cích, grúad, glún* (Meyer, 1906, 8, §63). As *ucht* may mean 'breast' or 'lap', it is not always clear whether the breast or the lap/knee is meant.

<sup>150</sup> Note the name *Senach* is well attested. In theory, it could be given to a man or woman, like *Cellach*: one need only inflect it as an o- or ā-stem accordingly (see Ó Cuív, 1986, 157). This obviates the need for a separate female form of the name.

<sup>151</sup> The 'choice' afforded is between marriage and a cloistered life. It sometimes merely means 'coming of age' (Mulchrone, 1936, 189, n. 2). The choice was the girl's guardian's to make. There is at least one (fictional) account of a girl with a particularly strong vocation taking steps to influence her guardian's decision (see Bledsoe, 2012, 11). It seems a *cáin óis* 'law of ages' existed (see Smith, 1925, 188–9, §24), concerning 'the ages of maturity, marriage, fosterage, etc.' (ibid. 192).

<sup>152</sup> On the age at which fosterage ended, see n. 186.

who had lived past 50. This figure bears a ‘close similarity’ to findings of 3.4% returned from an analysis of prehistoric sites (Scott, 1957, 4). Analysis, based on incomplete data, of remains found in a cemetery in use in Ballyhanna throughout the medieval period shows fewer than 10% of adult women living past 50 (McKenzie, 2015, 86–7). At 58+, the character of *Sinech Cró* must be seen as an old woman.

If the name is indeed *sen* with adjectival suffix, one would normally expect *-ach* after non-palatal *n*: ‘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’.<sup>153</sup> On the other hand, ‘[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*’ (Russell, 1990, 86).<sup>154</sup> It is significant that, according to Russell (ibid. 87), derivatives are more frequently based on nouns than adjectives.<sup>155</sup> In this case, theoretically at least, the underlying noun is as likely to be *sine* ‘old age’ as *sine* ‘teat, pap’ (DIL s.vv. 2 and 3 *sine*). It is significant, however, that one of the aforementioned female saints is associated with ‘nourishment’: *sanctissima uirgo Segnith sub cura sancti patris Abbani sanctas uirgines Deo nutriuit* ‘the most holy virgin Segnith who, under the care of the holy father Abbanus, nourished blessed virgins for God’ (Plummer, 1910, i, 23, §32; my translation). Ó Riain (2011, s.n. *Sineach of Kilshine*) postulates that the name *Segnith* is a corruption of *Sinech*. The verb *nutrīre* means ‘to suckle, nourish, feed, foster’ (Lewis

---

<sup>153</sup> The suffix may have a hypocoristic function (Russell, 2001, 245).

<sup>154</sup> See, also, aforementioned *delech* < *dela*. The name has been discussed on Twitter (14 October 2016). According to @ChronHib, ‘Sinach looks like a variant of Senach “old one”, but with suffix \*-uko- instead \*-ako-; not very frequent suffix, I think’, and ‘[a]n alternative: Sinech [...] could be an adjective derived from sine “teat, pap”’: <https://twitter.com/ChronHib/status/787150955867467776> (accessed 13 November 2016).

<sup>155</sup> In treating of adjectives formed with *-ach*, GOI (§347) only gives examples based on nouns, without a single reference to adjective + *-ach*.

and Short, 1879, s.v. *nutrio*). We cannot now know if the other so-named female saints mentioned by Ó Riain had associations with fulfilling these functions for children. The evidence which might confirm or deny such associations is, unfortunately, lacking. It seems most likely, however, that *Sinech* means ‘teated one, milk producer’, which in the former meaning is how Thurneysen (1921, 541, §B) interpreted it (*die Zitzenreiche*).

### *Milk kinship*

The name *Sinech* may contain associations with the rites of milk kinship, an institution common among societies where cattle breeding was central to the economy (see Maier, 1999, 160). Such kinship may be based on literal or symbolic suckling. The latter type appears to be found in the famous passage in Patrick’s *Confessio* in which the saint refuses to suck the sailors’ breasts while attempting to flee Ireland (Bieler, 1993, i, 66, §18). Borsje (2015, 13–4) suggests the act of suckling may be a remnant of a pre-Christian ritual whereby a contract is made leaving the one who sucks subordinate to the one whose breast is sucked. In return for his subjugation, the subordinate party may expect to be defended by his superior (Bray, 2000, 285–6). Bray (*ibid.*) says the following of an incident involving Fergus mac Léti, when a dwarf sucked his breast: ‘[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.’<sup>156</sup> Neither here nor in the case of Patrick is there any ‘hint of a nurturing role’ (*ibid.*).<sup>157</sup>

---

<sup>156</sup> The text this occurs in is found in Binchy (1952b). Arbuthnot (2017, 145–7) makes a compelling argument the dwarf did not suck Fergus’ breast. She sees a symbolic reference to friendship, alliance and trust in certain rituals in Irish literature involving the taking of a male’s breast in the hand.

<sup>157</sup> Maier (1999, 154) suggests Celts on the continent may have practised related customs. CICOLLUI is a datival form of a goddess’s name, found in several continental inscriptions. He analyses it as *cích*, in the sense *cotach* or *cairdes* ‘covenant, friendship’, compounded with *oll* ‘great’ (compare ANEXTLOMARO, related to *anacol* ‘protection’ + *már* ‘great’). Irish *cích* and Welsh *cig* are etymologically the same word, though the latter meant ‘flesh, meat’ rather than ‘breast’ at an early stage. Scholars have often understood ‘flesh, meat’

Customs associated with breast-sucking evolved from practices which promoted ‘interdomestic allegiance and tributary patronage’, and related hierarchical foster relations were common in peripheral regions of Europe. Hammel describes milk kinship in Serbia as ‘the fictive kinship relationship between two children suckled by the same woman, but otherwise unrelated.’ In his research into the custom in the Arabic world, Altorki shows that a relationship developed not only between the children suckled, but also between woman and child: ‘[*raḍā*] denotes the relationship between a child and a woman, not its own mother, who nursed it’ (Parkes, 2001, 4–5). This created a relationship between those involved, and certain relatives of theirs, which entailed the same rights and responsibilities as pertained to blood relatives (Maier, 1999, 5–6). According to *Cáin Lánamna*, the law governing relationships, the relationship between foster mother and foster son is on equal terms with that between biological mother and son (Eska, 2010, 84, §2). Parkes suggests (2003, 741) that Hammel’s analysis can be broadened to treat of other kinds of ‘constructed kinship’ in the historical ethnography of Europe and Asia.

#### *The verb ailid*

Sinech Cró is said at the beginning of CCC to have fostered (*-alt-*) Díarmait. DIL (s.v. *ailid*) translates the verb employed as ‘nourishes, rears, fosters’. It is impossible to know if these actions were once distinguished lexically. Parkes (2004, 602) writes that while suckling and fosterage had become lexically conflated, ‘medieval Irish legends seem to have retained a *moral partitioning* of differential degrees of adoptive kinship through *altram* fosterage, where nurturant duties of adoptive parenthood and cliental allegiances of milk kinship remained fundamental.’ It is implied that the concepts of breast-feeding and

---

in their analysis of the goddess’s name (Maier, 1999, 154–5). It seems, however, the Irish meaning was the original (see Matasović, 2009, s.v. *\*kīkā*). It may be observed at this point that a character named *Cichuil/Cichiul* appears in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, though it is unclear why she is so named: see Knott (1936, lines 366, 1355).

fosterage, having become confused by the medieval period, were distinguished in prehistory. Gwynn (1913a, 104), however, suggests they were never distinguished, and that ‘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’.

Irish *ailid* is cognate with Latin *alere* ‘to suckle, nourish’ (see de Vaan, 2008, s.v. *alō, ere*),<sup>158</sup> and the Irish verb can have this meaning also. It is clear, for example, that this is what is meant in the poem *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’ (Meyer, 1914b, 230, §3, trans. 232).

#### *The relationship of Mary and Jesus*

There is no relationship between mother and infant more frequently referred to in Irish literature than that between Mary and Jesus, and instances of her suckling the Child are not scarce. Here is one in *Trom an suan-so ar síol Ádhaimh*, by Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn:

*An chioch ar ar oil an ógh  
Oidhre Dé dia do shíothlódh  
luach a bhfuair an leanb dá lucht  
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

---

<sup>158</sup> Meanings embraced by the semantic range of *alere* include ‘to suckle, nurse, feed (offspring); to supply (a person, etc.) with food; (also pass.) to be nurtured, grow; to rear’ (Lewis and Short, 1879, s.v. *alō*).

that His wrath turned to gentleness (McKenna, 1922, XVII.29, trans. 98).<sup>159</sup>

*Síthlad, síthlód* (DIL s.v.) means ‘act of flowing, pouring forth’. It is better, therefore, to render *dia do shíothlódh* ‘a sufficient pouring forth’ or ‘a sufficient flowing’, an interpretation which accords well with the concept of flowing, mentioned above.

It is also significant that *ailid* is used whether a biological or a foster mother nourishes the child. Blathmac provides an early example of a mother nourishing a child who is undoubtedly a biological rather than a foster son. It is another reference to Mary and Jesus: *[s]irsan dot mac – dígrais dál! | ron-ailt-siu a oenurán* ‘[h]appy for your son whom you have reared alone (excellent occasion!)’ (Carney, 1964, 62–3, lines 721–2).<sup>160</sup> It is apparent that breast-feeding is what is meant here, as Joseph’s role in raising Jesus is acknowledged in the same poem.<sup>161</sup>

The birth of Christ, however, is an exceptional case. It is not difficult to imagine a tradition developing in which God placed His Son Jesus in fosterage with Mary. Mary is referred to as both *máthair* ‘mother’ and *muime* ‘foster mother’ in a single quatrain of ‘The Irish

---

<sup>159</sup> Its editor dates the poem to the fifteenth century (vii). The motif of Mary appeasing the infant Christ by breast-feeding, thereby calming Him, is common in Irish bardic poetry (see Ryan, 2002–3, 60–2). In the later medieval period, this may be replaced by more aggressive posturing (originating on the continent) whereby the Virgin bears her breast to a more mature Christ, in order to remind Him of erstwhile suckling for which He is in her debt (ibid. 63–73).

<sup>160</sup> Carney (1964, 8–9, lines 95–6) uses a different verb in translating a similar line recalling the Holy Family’s return to Israel after Herod’s death: *du-breth mac rí 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’. Elsewhere Blathmac refers to *[i]n mac ron-n-ucais, ron-ailt* ‘[t]he son you have borne and reared’ (ibid. 68–9, line 797).

<sup>161</sup> Jesus is referred to as Joseph’s son in quatrain 19, where the angel advises him to take Mary and Jesus to Egypt. See, however, *Féilire Óengusso*, where Joseph is referred to as *aite Issu* ‘Jesus’ foster father’ (Stokes, 1905, 100, §19).

Gospel of Thomas'.<sup>162</sup> It is clear that this image of her as *muime* is linked to her suckling the Child:

*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? (ibid. 100–1, q. 32).<sup>163</sup>

There is nothing exceptional about this reference to Mary as a foster mother.<sup>164</sup> In the poems in which she is described as a *muime* she is usually also referred to as His mother, often in the same quatrain,

---

<sup>162</sup> It was also possible for the devout poet to see in God both a father and a foster father: *[m]’athair mór muinteach [...] [m]’oite ocus m’anmchara* ‘[m]y great kindly Father [...] [m]y fosterfather, my sponsor’ (Quin, 1981, 132, §2).

<sup>163</sup> Christ is called *Mac Maire*, not *dalta*, more often than anything else in poetry of the period 700–1200 (O’Dwyer, 1988, 47). On the other hand, St Brigit is sometimes referred to as Jesus’ mother (e.g. *[b]id alamaire mar-Choimded mathair* ‘she will be another Mary, mother of the great Lord’, trans. by O’Brien, in O’Dwyer, 1986, 72). Indeed, all women are identified as mothers with Mary at one point in *Cáin Adamnáin* (Meyer, 1905a, 22–4, §33).

<sup>164</sup> The following is a sample of the many references to the relationship between Mary and Jesus using terminology normally associated with the institution of fosterage or with wet-nursing: in a poem attributed to Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (died 1244: McKenna, 1922, viii), Mary is called *muime Meic ar dThighearna* (sic) as well as *máthair Ríogh náraigh nimhe* (ibid. XXIV.24, trans. 112); we read *a bhanaltra Mheic Mhairia* in another of his poems (ibid. XXVIII.10, trans. 124); Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn (died 1448: ibid. vii) calls her *a bhuime chígh* (ibid. XV.8, trans. 94). For examples of the use of the word *muime/buime* to refer to Mary in the collection *Dán Dé* see, for instance, II.11 and XX.38. Gearóid Iarla also uses the term: see Mac Niocaill, 1963, XIX.2 (37). Jesus is called *dalta* in a poem by Cormac Ruadh Ó hUiginn (McKenna, 1922, XXII.38, trans. 109), and in another by Muireadhach Albanach: *[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 nursing 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’ (Bergin, 1970, XXI.20, trans. 256). Donnchadh Mór goes a step further when he refers to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit as three fosterlings: *[b]uime trír máthair mhic Dé [...] banaltra thrí dtighearna* (Mac Cionnaith, 1939, XXIX.1; there are similar references throughout this poem).

sometimes in the same line.<sup>165</sup> Was the birth of the child specifically associated with the mother, and with the *muime* its sustenance, regardless of whether the latter was the biological mother or a foster mother? Or did a tradition exist in which Mary, God's client, fosters the Son of her Patron? It is a question worthy of further analysis, though difficult, at this remove, to answer definitively.

*Biological parents engaging in altram*<sup>166</sup>

In the text *Immathcor nAilella ocus Airt*, the verb *ailid* is also used to refer to an abandoned mother who is rearing her biological children. When twins are born to Sadb, daughter of Conn Cétchathach, Ailill Aulomm leaves her. Sadb has to raise their family alone: *rus-n-alt Sadb hi Comailt hUethne* (Corthals, 1995, 107). As they are biologically hers, and not foster children, it seems to me that Corthals' translation of the line is not entirely satisfactory: 'Sadb fostered them in Comalt Uaithne' (ibid. 109). A verb such as 'reared' would be better, which he employs in the translation of the introduction accompanying the rhetoric: *rocomalt-sí a mac 7 a hingean* 'she reared her son and her daughter together' (ibid. 97). In *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, three distinct groups have custody of Conaire's *altram*: the two men that fostered his mother, the two named Maine Milscothach, and the infant's own biological mother, Mess Búachalla (Knott, 1936, lines 103–7). An example of a biological parent engaging in *altram* when the other parent is incompetent follows: *[b]ean chodnach beres mac do druth dleagar di a altrum cu diailtre* '[a] sane woman who bears a son to a fool is obliged to foster him to the completion of fosterage';<sup>167</sup> when both parents are incompetent, the responsibility falls on both their respective families: *[b]ean mear bereas mac do druth con alur itir fine maithre 7 aithre* '[a] madwoman who bears a son to a fool: (fosterage) is performed between

<sup>165</sup> As in the quatrain just quoted from 'The Irish Gospel of Thomas', or here: *is í a mháthair 's a mhuime* (Mac Cionnaith, 1939, XXIX.12).

<sup>166</sup> 'Act of nurturing, fostering; nurture, fosterage'; verbal noun of *ailid* (DIL s.v. *altram*).

<sup>167</sup> Or translate '[...] is obliged to rear him until he reaches the age of majority.'

the family of the mother and (that) of the father' (Smith, 1932, 69, trans. 71). It may be inferred from the foregoing that the verb *ailid* not only refers to the institution of fosterage but to the rearing and nourishing of children also. One must exercise caution in choosing a verb to translate it. It is also clear, at least theoretically, that the character of Sinech Cró could conceivably be Díarmait's biological rather than foster mother. I will, however, continue to treat of their kinship as artificial.

### *The wet nurse*

If my interpretation of the meaning of Sinech's name is to be accepted, it is necessary first to demonstrate that wet nurses were a feature of medieval Irish society. It is accepted that fosterage was an institution of great importance. Deep, long-lasting relationships and ensuing loyalty were undoubtedly often characteristic of the foster-kin connections created.<sup>168</sup> The use of affectionate terms like *buime/muime* and *aite* to refer to foster parents where the formal *máthair* and *athair* refer to biological ones is often adduced as evidence of the strength of the bond between foster kin.<sup>169</sup> Such terms also attest to the ubiquitousness of the institution of fosterage in medieval Irish society:

[i]n 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 fosterparents [...] If fosterage were not common [...] this shift in meaning could not have occurred (GEIL, 86–7).

It seems to me that the terms of affection are the earliest ones a child learns as his speech first develops.<sup>170</sup> This aspect of language

---

<sup>168</sup> See GEIL, 89–90.

<sup>169</sup> See, for example, Charles-Edwards (1993, 80–1), who refers to terms in 'father-mother' and 'daddy-mummy' sets.

<sup>170</sup> The sound *mā* (reduplicated *mamā/māmā*) is a feature of the earliest speech of the child. Forms like *muime* are a development of this. Latin *mamma* 'breast' is from the

development suggests fosterage began very early indeed in the life of the infant.<sup>171</sup> It is difficult, however, to be sure that foster kinship is to be equated with milk kinship. Of course the latter cannot develop without breast-feeding. Bitel (1996, 87) suggests wet nurses must have been scarce because they are seldom alluded to: '[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.'<sup>172</sup> Lerner (1994, 164) goes further in stating there was no role in society for women who were unable to suckle an infant: 'women who could not mother (i.e. nurse) a child had no viable options for a life and place in society.' No evidence is adduced in support of this, however, apart from citing *Cáin Adamnáin*. There are, in fact, plenty of examples in the literature of women fulfilling other roles. Emer, for example, bears no children and yet '[h]er words play prominent and powerful roles both in generating the plots of the tales [she appears in] and in their construction of meaning.' Significantly, she receives a 'uniformly positive portrayal [...] in these texts' (Findon, 1997, 20). In the Middle Irish introduction to *Cáin Adamnáin*, the tract Lerner cites as proof of her thesis, the cleric's mother wishes, were she able, to suckle an orphan they see on the battlefield:

*Is bōedh 7 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 ndīscā. Nī foigfide nī indtib.*

---

same root (Pokorny, 1959–69, s.v. 3 *mā*). The *muime* is the one who breast feeds the infant. I am obliged to Prof. Ruairí Ó hUiginn for making me aware of this development.

<sup>171</sup> One medical tract instructs the *muime* to rub butter to a child's teeth (or probably gums) when they begin to come up: *in uair is aimser dona fiaclaib fás dlighid na banaltranna im do coimilt do cir in leinim* (Wulff, 1934, v, 46, §30). The Latin original does not specify any agent (see *ibid.* 47). A child's teeth usually come up between 5–9 months (McKinney, James, Murray and Ashwill, 2009, 93).

<sup>172</sup> She also says (102) foster mothers may usually have been too old to breast-feed.

‘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’ (Meyer, 1905a, 6–7).

Despite the fact she is no longer able to suckle the infant, she is not without a definite role: she urges the saint to resurrect the corpse and requires him afterwards to promulgate his celebrated *cáin*.

In his *Guide to Early Irish Law*, Fergus Kelly (GEIL, 86) refers twice to wet nurses. In one case an infant is taken from its mother because the law deems her unsuitable to rear a family: *dingbáil maic di chích* ‘removing a child from the breast.’ This prohibition occurs when a woman is physically or mentally incapacitated, as well as when she is deemed immoral (as in the case of *bancháinti* ‘female satirists’ and prostitutes, for example). The other case concerns a mother who has died: *athgabáil dingbála meic di marbhchích a mathar* ‘distrain to enforce the removal of a child from the dead breast of its mother.’<sup>173</sup> Both of these instances are obviously of a type that may be deemed ‘crisis fosterage’, an arrangement of necessity rather than an institution for the strengthening of ties of allegiance or dependence.<sup>174</sup>

#### *Types of fosterage*

In his investigation of the institutions of adoptive kinship across broad swathes of Eurasia, the anthropologist Peter Parkes (2003, 743–54) distinguishes ‘cliental’ and ‘patronal’ fosterage. The latter type, where a patron fosters his client’s child, customarily occurs in domains he refers to as ‘developed patrimonial states’, and it was usual for children who had passed their infancy to be involved. In cliental fosterage, on the other hand, the client fostered his patron’s child. This happened very

---

<sup>173</sup> From CIH, 375.4 and 400.4.

<sup>174</sup> ‘Crisis fosterage’ and ‘kinship fosterage’ are distinguished in Goody (1982, 37–54).

early in life, sometimes directly after birth. It was a feature of 'segmentary-tributary polities',<sup>175</sup> among which Parkes counts Ireland. Bitel (1996, 86–7) agrees that it was usual for the child of a noble to be placed in fosterage with a family from a lower social stratum: '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.' She cites 'CIH 1760' in support of this (ibid. 256, n. 10),<sup>176</sup> though I cannot find any reliable corroborating evidence there. Despite these opinions, Jaski (1999, 26) states that a 'foster-father was normally of the same status as his fosterling',<sup>177</sup> a view also held by Bray (2000, 292). However, two types of fosterage are distinguished in *Ántéchtæ (Breth)*.<sup>178</sup> In one, *in dalta is e is flaith ann seo 7 int aite is e ceile* 'the fosterling is lord here and the foster father is client', in the other *int aithe is e is flaith and-so 7 in dalta is e is ceile* 'the foster father is lord here and the fosterling is client' (CIH, 171.5–6, 171.13, my translation).<sup>179</sup>

#### *The beginning of fosterage*

As already stated, seven is often mentioned as the age fosterage ordinarily began. One reference adduced in support of this is *EACHUIB I NAIMSIR IMRIME [...] .i. o aite o .uii. mbliadnuibh amach* 'horses at

---

<sup>175</sup> '[S]egmentary states, peripheral to patrimonial or bureaucratic states, whose administration was articulated through internally ranked kin groups or conical clans.'

<sup>176</sup> Later (102), she accepts one cannot be certain that foster children (or, rather, their parents) were ordinarily of higher status than their fosterers.

<sup>177</sup> He later (n. 106) qualifies this statement.

<sup>178</sup> A general text dealing with a wide range of subjects (see Breatnach, 2005, 168, §5.6.3).

<sup>179</sup> It may be more appropriate to speak of the status of the father than that of the child: *ar id comdire mac righ 7 mac aithigh co cenn .uii. mbliadnae* 'for the son of a king and the son of a churl are of equal honour price until the end of seven years' (CIH, 923.3–4, my translation). After that, the child's honour price depends on its father's/foster father's (see Binchy, 1938, 8, §7). According to Ní Chonail (2008, 7), the child's honour price at birth is elsewhere reckoned at half that of the father (CIH, 779.7), and an increase in the honour price of children may have been influenced by the Church as part of a more general attempt to give greater protection and security to the vulnerable.

riding time [...] i.e. from a foster father from seven years on.<sup>180</sup> This does not mean fosterage began at seven, however, but that seven is a suitable age to learn to ride. It seems Bledsoe's position (2012, 14) is based on the Life of St Moling, where Moling requests Jesus' company when He is aged seven. However, fosterage does not appear to be the intended outcome here but rather a short period of blessed companionship (see Stokes, 1907, 30–2, §39). In the same Life, the saint says *beir lat in náidhin 7 a máthair 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' (ibid. 12, §9). As is clear from Stokes' translation, the boy was beginning his education at seven, the same age at which a boy learned to ride. Again, this is not to say fosterage itself began at this age.

Some clarificatory evidence may be found in the literary tradition. In the text its editor called 'The adventures of Ricinn daughter of Crimthann mac Lugdach', for example, Crimthann places his daughter in fosterage with a priest for seven years from the time of her baptism. After that, the priest sent her to Cáirech Dergain to begin her education (see Meyer, 1907, 308, §vi). We see in the *Táin* that Sétanta's parents raised him until he was five, at which point he went to Emain Macha where he became Conchobar's fosterling (see O'Rahilly, 1976, 13, line 399, and 17, line 537).<sup>181</sup> Sétanta, of course, was an exceptional child in every way. He went from stage to stage of early development at a faster rate than the norm. Departing from the mythological, a historical lament by Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe mourns the death of

---

<sup>180</sup> CIH, 1761.3–4, my translation. Bitel (1996, 87 and 256, n. 12) cites 'CIH 1761' when she claims '[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'. This line and 1761.32 (another reference to riding) are the only two on that page (on which there are many references to things that should be taught to boys) which refer to a foster child's age.

<sup>181</sup> *Alta-som [...] la máthair 7 la athair.*

a five-year-old girl in fosterage (Williams, 1980, II.13).<sup>182</sup> In summary, it may be said that a foster child's status could change at seven or that fosterage could begin around that age, but that fosterage need not necessarily have started then.

*The stages of fosterage as outlined in the law tracts*

It is clear from the laws that fosterage could begin very early indeed. Kelly (GEIL, 86 and n. 147) remarks that the law relating to *díre* refers to foster brothers who were so young they were kept in the same cradle.<sup>183</sup> In *Cáin Lánamna*, recognition is given to the relationship between foster mother and foster son, the only relationship based on fosterage mentioned there. In the accompanying commentary, recognition is also given to how early the *muime* takes a central role in the child's life:

*.i. fria mo-uime, mo do-ní uime ina int aite .i. a tegha[d] 7 a chluda[d] 7 [a] altrama; † mucha do-ni uime 'nas gac duine; † is mo na mí no(s)-ailenn.*

i.e. with his *mo-uime* "greater-concerning him", she does more concerning him than the foster-father, i.e. warming him and clothing him and nursing him, or she does [things] concerning him sooner than every person; or she nurses him more than a month (Eska, 2010, 96–7).

As for *Mellbretha*, the law dealing with injuries sustained by children at play (see Breatnach, 2005, 263–4, §5.45), youth is divided into three

---

<sup>182</sup> [N]ír shlán acht cúig ceirtbhliadhna 'only five full years were completed'. This is usually taken to mean (e.g. by its editor and by Nic Eoin, 2012, 11) that the child died at age five. This is also how I interpret it, while Ní Chonail (2008, 25) takes it to mean the child was not yet five. It could, theoretically, mean five years of fosterage had been completed, with the age that fosterage began remaining unexpressed.

<sup>183</sup> *comalta óencléib*: CIH, 439.16.

stages: *tri haoise eim-coimsithar dona macaib beca .i. 7. mbliadna 7 da bliadain .x. 7.7. mbliadna .x.* ‘three periods are distinguished for small children, i.e. seven years and twelve and seventeen’ (CIH, 1340.4–5, my translation).<sup>184</sup> In short, the first period of youth ends at seven, the second at twelve and the final at seventeen.<sup>185</sup> The last age mentioned here agrees with some sources that state a boy’s fosterage ended at seventeen.<sup>186</sup> In *Cáin Íarraith*, the law concerned with fosterage fee, the same three periods are enforced with regard to the authority of foster parents over their foster children, and how to prosecute offences the children under their care might commit:

*CIA AIRET BIS IMCOMUS FOR MACUIB NALTRUMU .i. cia fat bis eimcuimsiugud curtha forna macaib donither d’altram? a tri: tomaithimh [curtha] (?) in mic cin a denumh ina cetcinadh, a curadh isin .c.ais, 7 beth gan biadh la cureth isin ais tanuisi, 7 aithgin isin ais deidenuigh o da bliadain decc amach.*

For how long are foster children under control, i.e. for how long are the children that are fostered restrained? Three: threatening

---

<sup>184</sup> See, also, CIH, 1341.9–12: *[m]ad iar .7. mbliadnaib .x., is lanfiach fair, cid e a .c.chin cincob é .i. cin tainisi iar .7. mbliadnai 7 is cuma 7 in tres cin co .7. mbliadna. IS é airad is ecodnac in mac 7 is e re in altrama* ‘if it is after seventeen years, he receives the full fine, whether or not it is his first offence, i.e. the second offence after seven and it is the same as the third offence until seven. That is as long as the child is irresponsible and that is the period of the fosterage’ (my translation).

<sup>185</sup> Ó h-Innse (1943, 103) has already recognised the existence of three periods of fosterage, one of which ends at six or seven. Ní Chonail (2008, 15–8, 23–4) has also recognised these distinct stages, and provides a lengthier and more detailed treatment than will be attempted here. The three periods of fosterage bring the following triad to mind: *seacht mbliadhna le leanbheidheacht, s. mb. le scolaidheacht, is s. mb. le céird* (Dinneen, 1927, s.v. *le*).

<sup>186</sup> See GEIL (88–9: Kelly points out that *Críth Gablach* states a boy’s fosterage could end at fourteen; this is the same age mentioned for girls in *Cáin Íarraith*, where seventeen is mentioned for boys; *Bretha Crólige* gives seventeen as the age for both sexes. ‘Probably there was variation in practice’, according to Kelly.) Jaski (1999, 23) suggests the age at which fosterage ended may have been revised upwards from fourteen to seventeen, and that this may have been done to control youths who could cause havoc as members of *fían* groups (ibid. n. 89).

the child, without carrying it out, for his first offence; chastising him in the first period; him being without food, as well as chastisement, in the second period; and compensation in the last period, from twelve years on (CIH, 1768.19–23, my translation).

During the fosterage, therefore, the defendant's youth diminishes his responsibility. It appears that the first offence by a child of 12–17, the second by a child of 7–12, and the third by a child under seven were of equal gravity.<sup>187</sup> The period below seven is known as the 'first period'. Further evidence of the potential youth of a fostered infant is provided in *Cáin Íarraith*, which refers to the responsibility of the biological parents to provide the foster parents with a *díllat cléib* 'cradle coverlet' (DIL, s.v. *clíab* (c))<sup>188</sup> and a *[s]aluchdíllat*.<sup>189</sup> The latter is a compound of *salach* 'dirty' and *díllat* 'garment'. It is translated 'nursing clothes' in AL (ii, 161) and 'a child's swaddling clothes' in DIL (s.v. *díllat* (a)). It seems to have been a type of cloth or clothing to keep a young child clean, perhaps a nappy. That, at least, was how one glossator interpreted it: *int etach doberar imin salcar* 'the cloth that is given for the dirt' (CIH, 1762.18, my translation). It stands to reason a wet nurse would be required for children placed in fosterage so early, though it should be noted that Bitel (1996, 256, n. 13) highlights references to the rearing of infants on cow's milk. Porridge is the basic foodstuff prescribed in the commentary to *Cáin Íarraith*, enriched (with, for example, butter or honey) in accordance with the status of the fosterling (CIH, 1759.36–1760.2). In any case, it is clear one period of fosterage, lasting several

---

<sup>187</sup> See, also, Ó h-Innse, 1940, 25, 87.

<sup>188</sup> The editors of DIL follow the translation in AL. *Clíab* also means 'breast' (DIL s.v. *clíab* (e)). Is it possible a *díllat cléib* is used to cover a woman while breast-feeding?

<sup>189</sup> Ó h-Innse (1943, 8–9) also recognises the significance of these terms in arguing fosterage began early.

years, ended at seven, rather than that having been the age at which a child's placement ordinarily began.<sup>190</sup>

*Late references to milk kinship*

References to milk kinship are also found outside the laws. Beginning with late citations, it is clear that foreign observers saw the wet nurse as an integral participant in fosterage in Ireland. A 'nurse' is often mentioned in English-language sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Nic Lochlainn, 2013, 119). Edmund Spenser, writing at the close of the sixteenth century, identified intermarriage and the development of fosterage ties between the Irish and the Old English as the greatest impediments to the advancement of English hegemony in Ireland. The only outcome of these practices, he opines, would be the gaelicisation of those who were culturally and genetically English:

the cheif cause of bringinge in the Irishe language amongst them [...] for first the child that sucketh the milke of the nurse must [...] 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 their sucke, even the nature and disposition of their nurses, for the mind followeth much the temperature of the bodye (Spenser, 1934, 88).<sup>191</sup>

---

<sup>190</sup> Parkes (2006, 362, n. 6) states this has already been shown to be the case by Sheila Boll in a thesis to which I do not have access: she 'corrects an erroneous but common assumption that Irish fosterage normatively began at an age of seven years'.

<sup>191</sup> Many contemporary medical practitioners shared the belief a child could be imbued with the personal and physical characteristics of the wet nurse through imbibing her breast milk, just as one might derive such characteristics genetically from biological parents: on the prevalence of these views in Britain, see Marshall (1984, 44–5).

Another late-sixteenth-century source, similar in form and agenda to Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, is the recently discovered document known as 'H. C.'s tract'.<sup>192</sup> It goes further than the Irish sources in distinguishing five forms of fosterage, its editor finding the text shows the binary opposition in forms of fosterage proposed by Kelly to have been an oversimplification (Fitzsimons, 2004, 141).<sup>193</sup> One of the five types of fosterage discerned in 'H. C.'s tract' obviously involves breast-feeding:<sup>194</sup>

miltch nurses that fostereth upp our children with their children with their 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 (ibid. 146).

In interpreting 'H. C.'s tract', Fitzsimons finds (ibid. 141–2) that 'the lord-client relationship was central to all methods of fostering' in Ireland, envisaging the 'miltch nurses' as aristocratic mothers of infants who foster children of a similar age to their own rather than the hired wet nurses of lower status common in other western European societies (the 'developed patrimonial states' mentioned earlier). She thinks the term 'miltch nurse' to be one of disparagement purposely employed to undermine the status of the fosterer. This is not to say that foster mothers were of the same social status as the parents whose children they fostered, but rather the difference between them was not great and the relationships created were more permanent and more significant than those created in other societies between wet nurse and infant.

---

<sup>192</sup> Public Records Office (London), S.P. 63/203/119.

<sup>193</sup> GEIL (87) refers to fosterage for pay and fosterage for affection.

<sup>194</sup> Note that the existence of five forms of fosterage was recognised before this tract came to light: see Mulchrone (1936, 187, n. 2).

The references just cited might be criticised as anachronistic. However, it is worth referring to ‘Lawes of Ireland’, a seventeenth-century English manuscript<sup>195</sup> which shows, according to Kelly (GEIL, 241), ‘how little the institutions of Irish society changed between the Old Irish period [*circa* 700–900] and the Flight of the Earls [1607]’. There is, in any case, little in the accounts of fosterage offered by the English observers—their racism and colonial bias aside—that contradicts the Irish sources. On the matter at hand, the account of another foreign observer, written more than 400 years earlier, is certainly consistent with these later reports. In the twelfth century, Giraldus Cambrensis, in deploring the Irish custom of fosterage, refers in Latin to the existence of a bond between foster kin that was deeper than that between biological kin, using terms that have clear associations with breast-feeding: ***alumnos et collactaneos diligunt; fratres et cognatos persequuntur*** ‘they love foster children and foster brothers; they attack biological brothers and relatives’ (Dimock, 1867, v, 167, my translation).<sup>196</sup> The words in boldface are *alumnus* ‘nursling, foster son’ and *collactaneus* ‘a brother or sister nourished at the same breast, a foster brother or sister’ (Lewis and Short, 1879, s.vv.).

#### *Other references to wet-nursing*

There are also references to wet-nursing in the literary tales and hagiography. We have seen of Máel Dúin’s fosterage that he was reared *for áenchích* with three others. There is another apt example in *Compert Con Culainn*, to which its editor assigns an eighth- or ninth-

---

<sup>195</sup> MS Huntington 1742.

<sup>196</sup> These accounts remind one of a passage in *Smaointe Beatha Chríost*, an early-fourteenth-century translation of a Latin text (Ó Maonaigh, 1944, xiii). When visiting Elizabeth, Mary picks up her son John and suckles him. Afterwards, his love for her is greater than for his own mother: *dob airde a ghradh innti sin na i n-a mhathair* (ibid. 20, §38). This part of the account is absent from the Latin MSS (see ibid. 235). In a seventeenth-century (Ní Chróinín, n. d., xxi–xxii) versified version of this text, Mary is described as follows for her role in John’s infancy: *[d]o bhíodh mar bhanaltruinn dā cheangal ‘s dā sgaoileadh, | dā ghoradh is dā phōga is ag tabhairt a cích dho* (ibid. 25).

century date (van Hamel, 1978, 1). When the Ulaid argue over who should foster the newly born Sétanta, Conchobar chooses several fosterers, designating particular responsibilities to each. Finnchóem was to act as wet nurse: *dí chích a máthar cích Finnchóeme* ‘Finnchóem’s breast[s] [will be] his mother’s two breasts’ (ibid. 8, my translation). In another account of his conception, we meet Cet mac Mágach and his foster parents. Cet’s erstwhile foster mother stops nursing her own infant, Lóeg, so that she may suckle Sétanta in his place:

*Beiridh dī Ceat ar altrum mac Deichtire 7 dos·ber i n-ucht a buime  
7 a aide he 7 bentair Lægh da chích roime. Teit dī Ceat i  
Connachtaibh iar sin, 7 fairisidh a bhuime 7 a aide la hUltu ac  
altrum ConCulaind.*

Then Cet takes Deichtire’s son in fosterage and places him in the care of his foster mother and his foster father, and Lóeg is taken off the breast before him. Cet goes to Connacht then, and his foster mother and his foster father stay in Ulster rearing Cú Chulainn (Thurneysen, 1912, 44, trans. into German 47; the English translation is mine).<sup>197</sup>

In the Virgin Mary’s Modern Irish Life, we see that Mary did not have a wet nurse: ‘níor iarr a máthair buime dá hoileamhuin amhail iarraid mná eile ach a hoileamhuin ar a cíochaibh féin’ (Ó Domhnaill, 1940, 17). St Íte provides an example of a wet nurse from Old Irish literature. She had a huge stag beetle as fosterling, the suckling of which caused the saint physical injury: *dael oc a diul méitigther oirce ro chlóid a lethtaeb uile* ‘a stag-beetle as big as a lapdog a-sucking her

---

<sup>197</sup> Afterwards it is unclear whether a separate arrangement is made for Lóeg or if the *muime* continues to suckle both infants. This account contradicts Bitel’s opinion (see n. 172) that women past childbearing age may have been chosen as fosterers to allow young mothers continue having children.

destroyed the whole of one of her sides' (Stokes, 1905, 42–4, §15).<sup>198</sup> One day, while Íte is away from home, her fellow nuns kill her fosterling. She demands the Infant Jesus to suckle in place of the beloved beetle, and we apparently see her demand acceded to in the well known poem *Ísucán* (ibid. 44–5). Bray (2000, 294) stresses the extension of the maternal role from a physical to a spiritual one. Íte was renowned as the foster mother of the saints of Ireland: *[h]ec enim uirgo multos sanctorum Hibernie ab infantia nutriuit* 'indeed, this maiden nourished many of the saints of Ireland from infancy' (Plummer, 1910, i, 99, §3, my translation). Despite having suckled the beetle and Jesus, however, Íte did not suckle Bréanainn. It seems that holy infant was weaned off his biological mother's milk before being fostered:

*Postquam uero in domo parentum compleuit annum sue  
ablactationis infans benedictus, episcopus Ercus eum secum  
adduxit, ac cure sancte uirginis, nomine Ita, commisit.*

A year after the holy infant was weaned in his parents' house, Bishop Erc brought him with him and placed him in the care of the blessed maiden, namely Íte (ibid. my translation).<sup>199</sup>

### *Men suckling infants*

In the literature, men also suckle infants. In a later account than those just mentioned, being male is no impediment to St Colmán Ela breast-feeding. He offers *cioch lemnachta 7 cioch meala* 'a pap with milk and a pap with honey' to two babies he was to foster (Plummer, 1922, i, 174, trans. ii, 168). Interestingly, references to male saints suckling Jesus, or any holy baby, are more frequent than to female saints fulfilling this

---

<sup>198</sup> Johnston (2000, 422) does not choose the best verb when referring to 'a beetle that gnawed on her flesh'.

<sup>199</sup> St Brigit was also weaned before going into fosterage (see Ó hAodha, 1978, 2, §§5–6, trans. 21). Her Life was translated into Irish in the ninth century (ibid. xxvi–xxvii).

role (Bledsoe, 2012, 1). Two cases in point are Fregius<sup>200</sup> and Findchú. The latter had a foster son, taken from his mother after birth, who suffered no ill effects from his unorthodox placement: *[d]jobhí bisech ar an mac sin nách bíadh oca mháthair fesin dia mbeitis noenbur 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’ (Stokes, 1890, 90, lines 3013–4, trans. 237). It seems cows and/or women were present at monasteries, at least sometimes, to provide milk for infants fostered therein. This is apparent from the notability of their absence in the Life of Cóemgen:

*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.*

because women and cows were far from his monastery [...] God immediately sent a doe to Cóemgen from a nearby mountain, on whose milk the infant Felanus was nourished (Plummer, 1910, i, 250–1, §31, my translation).

Clerics are not the only men that suckle infants. In Uí Echach Muman genealogies, there is a reference to Lughaidh Cíochach:

*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 fuil d’Aodh. Isé breithemhnas rugadar na draoithe air sin .i. nimh ghaisgidh agus fola do bheith*

---

<sup>200</sup> A Latin account may be found in Berach’s Life (Plummer, 1910, i, 76, §4).

*ar chinél Aodha, agus sonus cethra agus lachta ar Chinél  
Laoghaire* (Ó Donnchadha, 1940, 168–9).

In *Acallam na Senórach*, Finn dreams two seals are sucking his breasts. He goes to Fergus Fínbél to seek his dream's meaning. In the oldest extant version of the *Acallam*, Fergus explains the two seals are the two sons of the king of Connacht (Stokes and Windisch, 1900, iv, 89). The story continues without further explanation.<sup>201</sup> In a later version,<sup>202</sup> however, Fergus is more expansive. He says Finn's two breasts are to be identified with the two sons of the king of Connacht: the reason he makes this connection is that the king's sons were fostered by Finn (Ní Shéaghdha, 1942–5, ii, 140).

It is interesting that Stokes (1890, 348) refers to 'authenticated instances of males suckling infants'. The 'evidence' for this is in von Humboldt (1852, i, 220–2), where the Prussian polymath gives examples of men who suckled infants.<sup>203</sup> One of the preconditions for lactation is the production by the pituitary gland of high levels of prolactin. This occurs naturally in pregnant women. It can also occur, however, in women who are not pregnant and even in men. The condition galactorrhoea results in the '[a]bnormal production of milk. It may occur under psychological influences or be a sign of pituitary tumor' (Auerbach and Riordan, 1999, 150). The case of a man who began to lactate as the result of a tumour on his pituitary gland is discussed in Anoop, Jabbar and Pappachan (2012, 591). There is another, more remarkable, case of galactorrhoea which is brought on by conditions suffered in an environment not unlike the conditions endured by some of the more ascetic medieval Irish monks:<sup>204</sup> 'lactation

---

<sup>201</sup> Ní Shéaghdha (1942–5, ii, 10–2) dates this version to 1142–75.

<sup>202</sup> Fourteenth or fifteenth century (ibid. xxiv–xxxi).

<sup>203</sup> Among these is 'Robert, bishop of Cork'. Unfortunately, he gives no further detail concerning this man and I have been unable otherwise to identify him.

<sup>204</sup> Carney (1967, xxi) has described 'a Christian society that, at its height, was perhaps the most ascetic that Western Europe has known'.

in men was observed in World War II prisoner of war camps when malnourished detainees were later liberated and provided with adequate nutrition. During the period of limited food supply, the prisoners suffered liver, testicular and pituitary atrophy. After post-release increases in nourishment, the testes and pituitary gland rapidly regained their function and began producing estrogens and androgens. 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' (Kunz and Hosken, 2008, 81–2).

### *Conclusion*

It seems the suckling of the fosterling by the fosterer was seen to be a natural part of fosterage. The wide range of references to the suckling of infants by an individual who was not the biological mother speaks to the accepted role of the wet nurse. It is not difficult to imagine Sinech being so named for performing this function. Of course, to accept the wet nurse as an integral part of society is not to suggest every foster child had one. Different kinds of fosterage existed. Their further study is a desideratum.

## Biography of Sinech Cró

In attempting to construct a biography of Sinech Cró, a great deal must of necessity be imagined or surmised. It is well, for the purpose of this exercise, to imagine that such a person actually existed and that she was the composer of the passages of verse attributed to her in CCC. In what follows, she will be discussed as if she were a historical figure. Even if we are to view her as a product of the author's imagination, which in all likelihood she was, her treatment in the text may be illuminative as to how, in the early Middle Ages, a set-upon, propertied woman of advanced years might pressure a negligent foster son to fulfil his obligations to her; the mimetic aspects of the account will bear consideration. It may have been a conceit of medieval authors to employ fictive speakers in their tales, 'but a conceit demands a reality with which to play' (Clancy, 1996, 49). The regrettably few snippets of information we have about her, treated in isolation, do not reveal a great deal regarding her status and situation. Their cumulative value, however, may prove more enlightening. While any conclusions drawn must remain tentative, I think there are grounds to believe a limited biography may be constructed of a somewhat extraordinary woman of independent means who was able to agitate successfully for her rights when the need arose.

In the note to *im Mide* (pp 88–9), we have seen that while CCC does not mention a foster father, a tradition exists that Lommainech king of the Mugdorna was Díarmait's *aite* (or one of them). Acceptance of both Lommainech and Sinech as foster parents to Díarmait does not necessarily imply they had contemporaneous custody of him or that Sinech was Lommainech's wife. It was perfectly normal for the children of parents of high status to be given into fosterage to several families (GEIL, 90). While *Cáin Íarraith*<sup>205</sup> 'as it exists makes no provision for

---

<sup>205</sup> An *íarrath* is the payment made by the parents to the foster parents. Fosterage for affection also existed, whereby no payment or a reduced payment was made. The law deals almost exclusively with the former kind, as its title suggests.

such a plurality of fosterages' (Ó h-Innse, 1940, 18), the commentary at CIH 308.18–23 treats of a boy leaving one fosterage in which he was learning a profession to go to another where he would learn a new one. The powerful bond often established between foster kin is widely attested (ibid. 89–90).<sup>206</sup> As Ó Corráin (1977, 77) puts it, fosterage 'was a solemn contractual relationship and formed a primary bond between families and individuals so related—a bond, for reasons obvious in a segmentary system, on occasion more reliable and permanent than the bond of actual kinship since supporters acquired in this way could never become one's rivals for office within one's own lineage.' The strength of this bond, however, must surely have been diluted where a child was moved from one family unit to another in a sequence of fosterages. Had he been nursed by Sinech Cró and relocated at a young age, the adult Díarmait may have retained but little memory of his first fosterer and consequently had but a weak bond with her. Such a scenario might go some way towards explaining why, some decades later, she needed to resort to the composition of verse to pressure him into aiding her.

We have also seen that Díarmait's mother is named in the *Banshenchas* as Eithne daughter of Brénainn of the Connachta,<sup>207</sup> and that a child's fosterer may often have been from the mother's kin. One tradition provides Díarmait with a foster mother of this pedigree, Muirenn wife of Ragallach son of Úatu of Uí Briúin Aí of central Connacht. Furthermore, one of Díarmait's wives, Mugain, is said in the *Banshenchas* to have been of the Connachta (Dobbs, 1931, 180), and it has been suggested that some marriages in medieval Ireland may have reflected fosterage traditions (see Ní Bhrolcháin, 1995, 73). It is tempting to consider Sinech to have also been of the Connachta, and to

---

<sup>206</sup> One poet considers the separation of fosterling and foster mother one of the three worst separations. The others involve separating a duck from water and shaving a beard without a razor (Meyer, 1905c, 488, §3).

<sup>207</sup> Where it can be corroborated, the information found in the *Banshenchas* tends to be accurate (Ní Bhrolcháin, 1995, 72).

have acted as foster mother before Muirenn. However, as we are told explicitly that it was the Connachta who stole her cattle, such a conclusion is problematic.

It has been pointed out that the practice may have been to foster down (i.e. to place children in fosterage with a family of lower status than one's own). Whether or not this was generally the case, Áed Sláine as high king would have had little other option. As foster parents were required to maintain their ward in a manner befitting his or her imminent rank and to educate him or her in readiness for the career which awaited (GEIL, 87), it is unlikely fosterers of significantly lower rank, to whom certain of the accoutrements of kingship would presumably have been unfamiliar, would have been engaged to have custody of the formative years of a child of Díarmait's status.<sup>208</sup> Sinech, or perhaps her husband, may have been of similar rank to Lommainech. This king's position was that of head of an important but subject dynasty (E. Bhreathnach, 2014, 61).

On pp 229–30, it was estimated that the youngest Sinech could have been at the time of the battle of Carn Conaill is 58, an old woman in seventh-century Ireland. This estimate is predicated on the premise she married upon reaching her *áes toga* (fourteen). Irish law treated women as fundamentally *báeth* or *éconn* 'legally incompetent' (GEIL, 68), and made them subject to some form of male authority. They were required at various stages of life, dependent on their circumstances, to be in the charge of (foster) father, husband, son(s), kin group or Church (ibid. 76, and Thurneysen, 1931, 35). We have encountered the case of Sadb, for example, whom Ailill left after she gave birth to twins. She has to rely on her brother Art to represent her in a dispute with Ailill over their children's paternity. In the trial that takes place, Art speaks on her behalf at all times (see Corthals, 1995, 107–8, esp. §§2, 4). There were, nevertheless, various situations in which a woman might acquire means and legal competence. Sinech appears to exemplify one such case. She

---

<sup>208</sup> It may be more appropriate to speak of his father's status.

is the aggrieved party at the beginning of CCC and makes representations to Díarmait, without recourse to an intermediary, for satisfaction in her own interest. There appears to have been no man to whom her legal competence was subject at the time.

The very fact of the theft of her cattle by the Connachta signifies Sinech was propertied. The laws were stringent in their protection of property rights. The extent to which one may derive profit from another's land, by, for example, hunting, fishing or the collection of firewood, is severely limited (GEIL, 105–9). There is recognition of the private ownership of grazing rights even at the seashore (ibid. 107). As the owner of cattle, therefore, Sinech must have had land on which to graze them. There were several ways in which this might come to pass. The most common was where a man had no male offspring, in which case his daughter(s) could inherit a life interest, after his death, in the land and chattels which he would normally bequeath to his sons. In this case, a woman became a *banchomarbae* 'heiress' (Dillon, 1936, 133). This must have occurred relatively frequently: according to Ó Corráin (1985, 11), it is the case in one in five marriages that the resulting family is exclusively female. An heiress was entitled to inherit land up to the value of twenty-eight *cumals*, but this amount was halved if she declined to fulfil the landholder's liability for *fuba 7 ruba*, the contribution to military service (Dillon, 1936, 156). Perhaps Sinech's inability to defend her territory against Gúaire indicates she did not accept this liability. It was also possible, when a *banchomarbae*'s surviving children were all female, for a woman to inherit from her mother (ibid. 136). The ownership of land enhanced the heiress's legal rights in contrast to other women (GEIL, 105). As a *banchomarbae* inherited a life interest only in the land, she was encouraged to marry within the *fine* in order that her sons in turn could inherit; otherwise the land reverted to her kin group (Ó Corráin, 1985, 11). If she marries a man of no means from without, she weakens her ties with the *fine* (Binchy, 1936, 186). One imagines this must have happened at times: if

there were fosterage for affection, as we are told in the laws there was, then why not marriage for love?<sup>209</sup> If Sinech had taken a husband from outside the *fine* it may well have been a contributing factor to her later isolation in the face of the Connachta's encroachments.

Wealth could be acquired by means other than inheritance. A father was entitled to bestow land on his daughter *ar dúthracht*, a gift of his personal property: a man had a great deal of freedom to dispose, as he wished, of the wealth he acquired by his own industry, as distinct from the wealth he inherited which he had no right to alienate from the *fine* (Ó Corráin, 1985, 12).<sup>210</sup> For services rendered, by domestic labour or the production of children, a woman was entitled to compensation, and might acquire so-called *orba cruib 7 shliasta* 'land of hand and thigh'. It has been argued that the *máthir muinchorach* 'a mother who has contracted for service' was the beneficiary of this kind of income (Dillon, 1936, 151–2). Property acquired *ar dúthracht* or as *orba cruib 7 shliasta* could be passed on by a woman to her children even when she married outside the *fine* (ibid. 174–5). The *íarrath* for the son of a king (such as Díarmait) was 30 *séts* (CIH, 1761.1), which could take the form of land (Mulchrone, 1936, 188). Added to these possible sources of wealth were the proceeds of one's own industry. This could involve anything from weaving in the home to the greater remuneration that might accrue from a profession, such as that of the *banfili* 'female poet' or *banliaig* 'female physician'. Ultimately, however, as Johnston points out (2001, 303), 'the virtual absence of charters means it is difficult to get a firm hold on the property rights of women, as distinct from the theory presented by the Laws', which is 'a distinct drawback as status and power were intimately related to property use and possession'.

We occasionally catch glimpses of unmarried women of means in the literature. In the famous 'Pillow Talk' scene in the *Táin*, for

---

<sup>209</sup> In this regard, see Ó Corráin's comments, cited in Ní Bhrolcháin (1995, 73 and n. 16).

<sup>210</sup> According to Medb, she was granted wealth and power by her father, having been preferred to her sisters because of her superior qualities (see O'Rahilly, 1967, 1.13–23).

example, Ailill, in describing Medb's situation before he married her, paints a picture of a woman in a position not dissimilar to that of Sinech Cró: *do bith-siu ar bantincur mnáa 7 bidba na crích ba nessim duit oc breith do shlait 7 do chrech i fúatach úait* 'you were a woman of property and foes from lands next to you were carrying off spoils and booty from you' (O'Rahilly, 1967, 1–2). The validity of the claim is hotly contested by Medb. Another such woman is found in the Middle Irish tale beginning *Araile feal mac féig don Mumain*, apparently wealthy and unmarried, though not presented as a victim of raiding. She becomes the object of desire of a haughty young trainee poet seeking a wife before attaining his qualifications:

*Araile feal mac féigh don Mumhain [...] at-n-acobruator mnáoi síu ro-síacht cléithe [...] Gabaidh oc cuinngidh na mná. Fo-n-arraidh a gcrích Corca Baiscinn mnáoi co sétoibh iomdha et cet[h]ra. Pa togha lais. Ron car co mór.*

A certain sharp student poet from Munster [...] desired a woman before he reached the summit [of his study] [...] He sets about seeking the woman. He came across a woman with great wealth and cattle in the territory of Corca Baiscinn. He found her desirable. He loved her greatly (Breatnach, 2009, 124–5).

Such women may well have been sought after by young men with pretensions of grandeur or designs on upward mobility, seeking a marriage that enhanced their own situation. While this may sometimes have demeaned a woman's status, this was not necessarily so: to marry a man of no account<sup>211</sup> may have afforded a woman a rare and attractive opportunity to function independently.

---

<sup>211</sup> Which is not to say he was necessarily gormless: one is reminded of the Modern Irish proverb *ní dheaghaidh fear meata chun baintighearnan* 'faint heart never won fair lady' (O'Rahilly, 1922, 31, §110). We shall encounter further references to the *bantigern* later.

### *Marital status*

The most common type of marriage at the time *Cáin Lánamna* was committed to writing was *lánamnas comthinchuir* ‘union of joint contribution’. This had a higher status than any other and involved an equal contribution of wealth to the union from the families of both spouses. If the wife’s social status was equal to that of her husband she was a *bé cuitchernsa* ‘woman of condominium’ or ‘of equal lordship’ (Eska, 2010, 17).<sup>212</sup> The pooling of resources for the benefit of the union was envisaged, while the spouses retained private ownership of what they each brought to the marriage. Both partners had extensive rights of intervention in any detrimental contract entered into by the other (Ó Corráin, 1985, 6–9). Consequently, had Sinech Cró been married in a *lánamnas comthinchuir* she would not have retained an interest in her husband’s portion in the event of divorce or his death.

In *lánamnas mná for ferthinchur*, the man provided the bulk of the wealth in the marriage, resulting in a significant curtailment of the woman’s legal capacity. When a woman of means entered into marriage with a man who was materially reliant on her, these marital roles were essentially reversed and the woman was duly recognised as the dominant spouse. This was *lánamnas fir for bantinchur* ‘marriage of a man on woman’s contribution’ (Eska, 2010, 17). It may not necessarily have been the case that a man in this situation came from a family of no means, but the proportion of the inheritance that might otherwise have been his due may have been revised downward in light of the provision of an alternative source of wealth to that contained in the *fine*’s hereditary land, thus easing the competition among the male members of a family vying for a share in their father’s estate (Ó Corráin, 1985, 12). Power (1936, 104) states this was the type of union created when a *banchomarbae* married. The wife’s honour price was twice that

---

<sup>212</sup> In this kind of union, however, the wife’s honour price was reckoned at half that of her husband. While the contribution to the marriage of both parties was equal, it was not a marriage of equals (Nic Eoin, 1998, 16–7).

of her husband's in such a relationship, the opposite of the situation in a *lánamnas mná for ferthinchur*. In the *Táin*, Medb taunts Ailill with the claim that he is a *fer for bantinchur* (O'Rahilly, 1967, line 42).<sup>213</sup>

Sinech's wealth, and her agitation in her own interest in a direct appeal to Díarmait, to me suggests the confidence born of a significant degree of independence. I feel that, if she were married at the time depicted in CCC, this confidence may have been founded on her position either in a *lánamnas fir for bantinchur* or in a *lánamnas comthinchuir*. It may also be noted the *Banshenchas* shows that women regularly married several times, with one woman documented as having had six husbands (see Ní Bhrolcháin, 1995, 77).<sup>214</sup>

### *Marriage and fosterage*

According to Bitel (1996, 98), fosterage could not take place outside wedlock. If this were so, it would appear Sinech was married, at least at the time of fosterage. It is unclear to me, however, whether marriage was an actual legal requirement. We know that divorce, abandonment or the death of one spouse did not preclude the continuance of the arrangement by one foster parent (see Mulchrone, 1936, 199–200). Furthermore, fosterage could be undertaken independently by one or other spouse within a marriage (Kelly, 2014, 48, §37, and 123, n. 37h). In the literature, we see women apparently fostering alone. Scáthach, for example, is depicted as fosterer to 'the flower of the Irish warrior youth' whom she provides with expert military training, Cú Chulainn included (see Henry, 1990, 191). Finn mac Cumail (or Deimne) was reared in secret by two women after Cumail's death (see Flahive, 2017, 13). The literature also refers to the fosterage of children by both male and female religious (see Bitel, 1996, 99–100). As the laws allow for the undertaking or the fulfilment of the child's upbringing by one

---

<sup>213</sup> On aspects of marriage law in Ailill and Medb's 'Pillow Talk', see Ó Cathasaigh (2009).

<sup>214</sup> Ní Bhrolcháin (1995, 73) suggests that as 'consecutive marriages continued women may have had greater freedom to choose later husbands due to their increased power and wealth following various divorce settlements'.

spouse within a marriage, it seems that the other spouse was not necessary to the arrangement or that a marital union need not be a prerequisite at all.

The fosterage of a child was envisaged as a legal contract between the biological and foster parent(s). While the pursuance of this undertaking generally involved the input of both husband and wife, references to the fosterer in *Cáin Íarraith* are almost always to the male counterpart. As the husband was usually the dominant figure in the household, it is to be expected that he should be the one to enter into such an important contract. The reference in CCC to Sinech as fosterer may suggest it was she who entered into the contract, as an unmarried woman of means, as the dominant partner in a *lánamnas fír for bantinchur* or as an equal partner independently undertaking the fosterage of a child in a *lánamnas comthinchuir*.

#### *Obligations of the fosterer and the fostered*

*Lánamnas* (DIL s.v.) is described as the ‘social and/or legal relationship between two parties’. Eight such relationships are listed in *Cáin Lánamna* (Eska, 2010, 83–4). None of these represents a union of equals, but rather one between superior and subaltern (e.g. *flaith fria aicillni* ‘a lord with his base clients’). The glosses and commentary to the text treat of both parties’ concomitant range of rights and responsibilities (ibid. 83–105).<sup>215</sup> Among the relationships treated of is the one between foster mother and son. The fosterer was responsible for the nourishment, protection and education of his/her ward. Like the others listed in *Cáin Lánamna*, the reciprocal relationship between foster mother and son was understood as one of mutual benefit. Thus, if Sinech had discharged her duties as required,<sup>216</sup> and we have no

---

<sup>215</sup> ‘These types of socio-legal relationships were the backbone of Irish society’ (Stacey, 1991, 45–6).

<sup>216</sup> The son was to take care of the father *acht mád athair anfoltach* ‘unless he is a father who is remiss’ (Breatnach, 2017, 40–1). This is elaborated on in the commentary: *mād*

reason to suppose she did not, she was entitled later to expect her powerful foster son to protect her from the raiding of the Connachta. The fosterling's responsibilities in this regard are more than that which filial duty demands, being guaranteed by the *séotu gertae* 'chattels for care by foster children'.<sup>217</sup> This is a payment made by the fosterer(s) to the fostered at the end of the period of fosterage. It, in theory, guarantees the *gert* maintenance due to the foster parents in poverty and old age, whereby one is to maintain them as one would one's own parents (CIH, 1769.26–31; see also Eska, 2010, 96). The *séotu gertae*, if paid,<sup>218</sup> would have made it a legal requirement that Díarmait intercede on Sinech's behalf, and her composition appears to be in response to his non-fulfilment of his obligations, or at the very least his tardiness in acting. The obligation entailed by the payment of *séotu gertae* was a serious one. In one poem, dated not 'much later than 1150' (Knott, 1958, 56), the withholding of *gaire* maintenance is one of a range of cataclysms prophesied:

*Mairfidh in mac in t-athir  
 uma n-orba aenachaigh,  
 7 bráthir araile,  
 biaidh máthir gan mīngaire.*

The son will slay the father over a heritage of a single field, and one brother another, the mother will be without tender (filial) care (ibid. 70–1, §61).

---

*anfoltach int athair noco n-indliged don mac cenco derna a gaire* 'if the father is remiss it is not unlawful for the son if he does not take care of him' (ibid. 176–7, §56.5).

<sup>217</sup> Breatnach (2017, 91–2, §54) distinguishes between *séotu gertae* and *séotu gaire*, saying 'we can take it that the distinction between *gert* and *gaire* is that the former referred to caring for persons who are [...] (artificial kin) and the latter to caring for one's actual relatives'.

<sup>218</sup> The commentary states there is no such duty of care if the *sét gertae* is not forthcoming (CIH, 1769.36–9).

As observed by Flann Fína, *dligid máthair míngoiri* ‘a mother deserves gentle maintenance’ (Ireland, 1999, 72–3, §3.22). The preceding quatrain suggests the failure to discharge this duty is a symptom of a world gone wrong. Sinech may well have been left ‘feeling cold’ by Díarmait’s inactivity:

The duty of [...] support of one’s parents in old age [...] figures predominantly in the Irish law tracts. These distinguish the *macc gor* (“dutiful son”) who faithfully discharges this obligation from the *macc ingor* who neglects it [...] The *macc gor* is the son whose cherishing care keeps his father warm; metaphorically he performs the same function as the broody hen [...] [T]he *macc ingor* by his unfilial conduct leaves his father unwarmed, out in the cold. Striking confirmation of this is furnished in one of the oldest legal tracts, where instead of the usual *macc gor* and *m. ingor* we find *macc uar* “a cold son” contrasted with *macc te* “a warm(ing) son”; the context establishes beyond all doubt that the performance or neglect of the customary filial duties is the criterion (Binchy, 1956, 228–9).

According to *Córus Bésgnai*, a conscientious father could disinherit an undutiful son (Breatnach, 2017, 40, §§56, 58). It has already been observed that *gert* maintenance was not to be expected where a foster parent had not satisfactorily discharged his or her duty. Where a son lacks the means to look after both parents, it is incumbent on him to prioritise his father: *[m]una fuil aige a n-imfulung a ndīs, fāgbad a māither isin cludh 7 tabradh a athair les fora muin dīa thigh fēin* ‘[i]f he does not have [enough] to sustain both of them, let him leave his mother in the ditch, and let him take his father on his back to his own house’ (ibid. 232–3, §64). If Sinech were married at the time she appealed to Díarmait for aid, it has been suggested it is likely to have been in *lánamnas fir for bantinchur* or *lánamnas comthinchuir*. In the

former, Díarmait would presumably have had to prioritise her over her husband. It seems unbelievable, however, that a figure of his status would have had to make such a decision. If unmarried, questions of priority do not arise.

*The second element of Sinech Cró's name*

We have seen *Sinech* is likely to mean 'teated one, milk producer', probably derived from *Sinech Cró's* erstwhile role as wet-nursing foster mother. The element *Cró* is also open to interpretation. Among its meanings are 'enclosure, cattle pen' and 'wealth'. It is tempting to interpret *Sinech Cró* as 'Sinech of the cattle pens/wealth'. This might explain her appeal as a target for raiding. Wealth and a certain degree of status would surely have been prerequisites to having the wherewithal to maintain and prepare for adult life a fosterling of Díarmait's pedigree. In the absence of a husband, or if her husband was a *fer for banthinchur* lacking the wherewithal to intervene on her behalf, a wealthy *Sinech* may also have been a soft target. The word underlying these meanings is o-stem *cráo, cró*, genitive *craí* (Greene, 1983, 3–4), requiring reading the form in question as genitive plural. *Cró* may also refer to 'hereditary property' (DIL s.v. 1 *cró* II), a meaning which would support the suggestion *Sinech* may have been a *banchomarbae*. This is, however, a later development (Greene, 1983, 8, §VI).

The words *crú*, genitive *cró* 'gore, blood', and *cró* 'wound, death', found in Old Irish (ibid. 6–7, §§4–5), must also be considered. A different reading of the verse to mine, where its delivery and outcome are more sinister, might support interpreting *Cró* as 'of blood'. One could arguably see *Sinech* as warmonger rather than victim agitating for her rights. The prose, however, does not support such an interpretation, and I am strongly inclined towards interpreting *Sinech Cró* as 'teated one of the enclosures' or 'wealthy milk producer'.<sup>219</sup> The salient points are that she had been a wet nurse and was wealthy.

---

<sup>219</sup> Of course, I may be wrong on both counts, and *Sinech Cró* may mean 'bloody old one'.

### Sinech Cró's role in the text

The verse attributed to Sinech Cró is of central importance to CCC. Her voice is heard only in performative utterances in syllabic metre, never in prose. This is surely significant: '[p]oetic speech is a "marked, segregated, aesthetic genre" separate from ordinary, unmarked and therefore generally unmemorable talk' (Reddington-Wilde, 1999, 268). Neither does much of the prose narrative refer to her. It is interesting to note, however, that what little is said of her is couched in terms which often have legal import. The first line in **§i** reads *Díarmait mac Áeda Sláne, Sinech Cró rod·n-alt-som*. We have seen that fosterage was a legal contract entered into by two parties. Next, she is victim of a crime, her cattle having been repeatedly stolen: *no·bertis Connachtaí a bú-sí*.<sup>220</sup> Her response, initially termed an *imchossaít* 'act of stirring up strife; accusing; complaint' (DIL s.v.), precipitates the battle. **Qq 1–5** are afterwards termed a *cossaít*, verbal noun to *con-sáidi* 'complains about; sets at variance' (DIL s.v.): *Ro·hícc ní di-ssi [...] in chossaít*. The verb *íccaid* may mean 'compensates for' (DIL s.v. 1 *íccaid*; in Recension 2, **§xii**, she receives *ícc a bó* as a consequence of her actions). She is only referred to once more in the prose in Recension 1a, in **§xvi** introducing the next poem attributed to her: *Is and as·bert Sinech*; the prose at this point in Recension 1b (**§xxviii**) is more expansive: *ro·chan Sinech in molad-sa do Díarmait*. In Recension 2 (**§xii**), the first poem attributed to her is referred back to: *do·rat ícc a bó don chaillig ra·áer é*. We see, therefore, that outside of Recension 1a, Sinech's first poem is referred to as an *áer* and her second one a *molad*. Both are technical terms with legal implications. So high a proportion of (potentially) legal terminology in a limited treatment is worthy of further investigation.

In medieval Ireland, '[s]peech defined status: it displayed it, it asserted it, it even had the power to take it away' (Stacey, 2007, 97). In

---

<sup>220</sup> Cattle raiding may have been 'taken for granted', but was not universally 'accepted' (as suggested by Ó Corráin, 2005, 568–9): *Cáin Dáiri* appears to have been an early-ninth-century attempt by ecclesiastical legislators to prevent it (see Hughes, 1972, 81).

the interaction between Sinech and Díarmait, status certainly *is* at issue: Díarmait's loss of it is threatened, while Sinech stands to gain restitution rather than face. As 'meaning can [...] reside in the nature of the language used' (ibid. 98), it is incumbent on us to consider *how* Sinech speaks. Within medieval Irish vernacular, syllabic metre is a marked code. The 'fact of a code being used tells us something about the context and authority of both speaker and statement'. Furthermore, '[c]ode served both to mark the nature of a given event and to establish [...] the professional identity and authority of the person(s) presiding over it' (ibid. 99–100). 'The recitation of a poem was a mark of the speaker's claim to identity as a poet and, thereby, to the prerogatives of poetic status' (ibid. 102). Sinech's manner of speech, therefore, may be indicative of status. She threatens Díarmait with justice. No speech is attributed to Díarmait at this point in the text. Rather, he goes to Aidne to carry out his duty. His silence speaks volumes: 'silence [...] carried implications of subordination and hence underscored the indebtedness and (temporarily) diminished social standing of the individual taking on the obligation' (ibid. 140). His duty done and status restored, Sinech's next speech act is a praise poem, again in syllabic metre, to do honour to that reinstated standing. Both poems have serious implications for Díarmait, with the capacity to influence public opinion regarding him. Their potency depends on their publicity. The concepts of honour and shame 'are essential to solemn and forceful utterance', which in turn 'is essential to any early medieval society' (Charles-Edwards, 1978, 137).

The poems attributed to Sinech may be considered as entities separate from the prose, as well as being treated of as part of a work which comes down to us as prosimetrum. Linguistic analysis (a) precludes their having been written in the first half of the seventh century and (b) shows them to be the work of an author other than the author of the earliest stratum of prose. Tymoczko (1996, 190, n. 2) notes that, in general, linguistic analysis of medieval poetic texts shows that the first-person speakers of poems are distinct from their (usually)

anonymous composers. The excerpting of poems from sagas and their inclusion in modern anthologies of verse, she writes, is 'not necessarily deceptive, as textual analysis usually can demonstrate that the poems are extrinsic to the prose settings'.

Sinech Cró's role in CCC is not in keeping with the trend, identified by Ní Bhrolcháin (see 2013, 199), of women's discourse being seen as illogical or emotional in early Irish literature, with the application of their advice often proving detrimental to society. She finds the wisdom texts and laws are generally in agreement with the saga material in treating of women's speech as 'suspect, untrustworthy and foolish' (ibid. 209), and that where women are concerned actions often speak louder than words (ibid. 200). She elsewhere states (idem. 1994, 117) that in Irish sagas 'independent action would not be tolerated' on the part of women. In reality, the treatment of women in medieval Irish literature is more variegated than these observations suggest, though Ní Bhrolcháin is undoubtedly correct with regard to many misogynistic characterisations. Toner asserts (2010, 259–60) that women may appear as wise counsellors in a number of early secular texts, figures to whom the texts' authors believe their menfolk should have listened. Compared to the misogyny detected by Ní Bhrolcháin in medieval Irish literature, the Ulster Cycle figure of Emer is the apogee of the positive representation of women. Beautiful and intelligent, her 'verbal skills enable her to shape her world through the judicious use of speech acts'. While outwardly conforming to societal expectations, she 'also demonstrates her strength of mind and her determination to insist on her rights as an aristocratic wife', holding 'her own against male attempts to rebuke her or ignore her right to speak' (Findon, 1997, 135).

Sinech Cró is no Emer, but in her first composition (**qq 1–5**), the judicious use of a speech act, her words appear measured and reasonable, a (quasi-)legal appeal for her rights. Acted on, the appeal leads to military triumph for her erstwhile ward, as well as her

compensation. Gray has observed that ‘throughout Irish literature, injustice on the part of king or poet is followed by some form of retribution, whether divine or human, soon or late’ (in McCone, 1989, 123). By this barometer, the judgement on Gúaire, having stolen cows from an old woman, is swift and conclusive, while Sinech’s plea is vindicated. Once satisfied, Sinech employs her verbal skills to laud Díarmait.

Unlike some notable women in other tales, who display an ability to force their heroes ‘to act as if they had no will of their own’, often with tragic consequences (Gabriel, 1995, 61), Sinech ultimately empowers Díarmait. Ní Bhrolcháin opines (2013, 199) that decisive women are often likely to emerge where men prove inadequate. If Díarmait is suchlike at the beginning of CCC, Sinech’s representations promptly propel him to overcome his inadequacy. He is in turns inadequate, powerful and, ultimately, magnanimous.<sup>221</sup> There are other instances of a maternal figure spurring a reticent son to activity, as celebrated a piece of legislation as *Cáin Adomnáin* supposedly coming about after the eponymous cleric is forced into action by his mother.

#### *Various types of poet, their role and the banfili*<sup>222</sup>

The view, once widespread, that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, male authorship of poetry composed in a female voice should be assumed is no longer unquestioningly accepted. Anonymity and the habitual use of dramatic *personae* as speakers make it difficult, often

---

<sup>221</sup> Contrast Díarmait’s development with that of Conaire in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, whose career is charted from auspicious beginnings to destruction. Conaire’s foster brothers repeatedly rob a farmer, who appeals to the king. The failure of Conaire to discipline his foster kin and carry out his duty to his subject marks the beginning of his unravelling (see Knott, 1936, lines 192–203).

<sup>222</sup> McCone (1990, 226) makes a useful, if debatable, tripartite distinction between types of versifier in early medieval Ireland: ‘the exalted *fili*, literate by dint of a long monastically oriented education and able to function in Church or aristocratic lay society [...] then the skilled but illiterate *sáer-bard* operating within the respectable confines of the propertied laity, and finally the dubious category of *dáer-bard*, including the *cáinte* etc., apparently hard put to find willing patrons outside the propertiless *fían*’.

impossible, to assign gender to the author of a poem (Clancy, 1996, 44–5). Nevertheless, it has been convincingly argued that we need to approach the question with an open mind (ibid. 72). Regarding the speakers of the limited number of the *Dánta grádha* ascribed to women, Ní Dhonnchadha (1994, 116) says of two of them written in the voice of women and edited by her that ‘until a *dán grádha* comes to light incontestably written by a male author in a female persona, my inclination is to believe that the[se] two poems [...] were probably composed by women’. There is no theoretical reason to assume the poetry attributed to Sinech Cró is not the work of a woman. Quite another question is whether Sinech’s character, who expresses herself only in syllabic metre, is to be understood as that of a *fili*.

The role of the *fili* was an important one in early Irish society, its importance reflected in the fact the poet was the only lay professional afforded full *nemed* status (GEIL, 43). He had a greater or lesser role in legal affairs, depending on the sources one employs (ibid. 47–8). One important function of the *fili* was that his verse, or the threat thereof, was one of the pressures compelling people, especially those of high rank, to obey the law (see ibid. 138). In this regard, at least, Sinech admirably plays the part, her verse forcing Díarmait to come to her aid. While she may have had justifiable grounds for complaint, her employment of verse can at best have had only semi-legal force if she was not in fact a *fili*. Another important function of the *fili*, also discharged by Sinech, was to praise (GEIL, 43 and n. 40). A poem from the end of the sixteenth century by Tadhg (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha, to which we shall return, summarises well the dichotomy between the poet’s powers of extolment and censure:

*Tig díom, dá ndearntaoi m’fhaghail,  
gríosadh bhur ngruadh lasamhail;  
fios bhur ngníomh is gníomh bhur sean,  
tig a sgrios díom nó a ndídean.*

*Díom thig a gcur ar cuimhne,  
gan fheirg ribh dá rabhuim-ne,  
fios bhur bhfiach ar Lios Lughaidh,  
's fios na dtriath ó dtángabhair.*

If I am attacked, I can cause your fair cheeks to blister. I can destroy or preserve the knowledge of your deeds and of the deeds of your ancestors.

If I am not angry with you, I can remind people of your entitlements from the land of Ireland and of the chieftains from whom you are descended (McLaughlin, 2005, 48–9, §§6–7).

There appears to be some early evidence (eighth century) that women acted as patrons<sup>223</sup> of *filid* (see Ní Dhonnchadha, 2013, 23–4).<sup>224</sup> The idea of a female *fili* is another matter, and though unusual in early Irish society was not unheard of. It is unclear, however, to what extent the office was open to women. An obituary for one Úallach daughter of Muimnechán appears in the Annals.<sup>225</sup> In a ‘list of ancient Irish authors’ preserved in the Book of Ballymote, we find *Eatan ingen Dencecht, in banfili* (Stokes, 1901b, 16).<sup>226</sup> ‘As with other professional women’, Kelly

---

<sup>223</sup> That women (and clergy) are themselves suitable subjects for praise poetry is made explicit in the *Trefocal* tract (Breatnach, 2006, 68–9).

<sup>224</sup> For later evidence of female patronage of the Church, see Ní Ghrádaigh (2003, 176–80).

<sup>225</sup> Styled *bainécces Ereann* in AFM and *banfhile* in AI (Richter, 1996, 298). In ‘a discussion of the personnel of learning’ mentioned ‘in the Irish annals down to 1131’, Úallach is the only woman to appear in the records (ibid. 275 and n. 5). Breatnach (2018, 53) writes that the ‘very fact that she is mentioned in the annals at all indicates that she must have been particularly highly regarded as a learned poet’. Nic Eoin (1998, 101) points out that an Úallach is buried in the women’s graveyard in Clonmacnoise. She suggests that if this is the same poetess as under discussion here, it increases the chances that *banfilid* were generally women religious and raises questions about the nature of the poetic craft as practised by men and women. Nicholls (1992, 176), citing Lambeth MS 627 f. 81, recommends adding two examples from the later tradition to that of Úallach: ‘Mary ny Donoghy, a she-barde’ and ‘Mary ny Clainkye, another’.

<sup>226</sup> Also included is *Eithne ingen Emangaeth*, who is not given any title.

writes, ‘the *banfili*’s status as a poet would presumably invest her with a legal capacity generally denied to women’ (GEIL, 49). We have seen that Sinech is a property owner who speaks on her own behalf when robbed and successfully stands up for her rights. Kelly (ibid. n. 86) also highlights another early annalistic reference to a female creator of compositions whom he does not consider likely to have been a professional poet.<sup>227</sup> The difference may perhaps be that one was literate and the other not, or that one received formal training in *filidecht*. In the earliest version of the *Táin*, Medb asks an approaching woman to identify herself, receiving this reply: *Fedelm banfili do Chonnachtaib mo ainm-sea* ‘I am Feidelm, the poetess of Connacht’. On being asked whence she comes she responds [*a*] *hAlbain iar foglaim filidechta* ‘[f]rom Albion after learning the art of divination’ (O’Rahilly, 1976, 2, lines 41, 43, trans. 126). In the Old Irish tale of Líadain and Cuirithir, the name of the former is glossed *banéces* ‘poetess’ (Meyer, 1902, 12). In the *dindshenchas* relating how Dublin got its name, we encounter a woman called Dub: *ba drai 7 ba banfile isi* ‘she was a druid and a poetess’ (Stokes, 1894, 326). In a minority of references in the literature, ‘poets and poetry are represented as the orderly and indeed honourable preoccupations of women’, and in some instances female poets seem to have made poetic circuits, a pursuit commonly attested for their male counterparts (Ní Dhonnchadha, 2013, 23–4).<sup>228</sup> However, the verse composed by women was not universally approved of, and we find a reference to the perceived debasement of poetry wrought by female practitioners:

*Is é an t-abhrán ro fhalaigh  
a n-éadáil a n-ealadhain;*

---

<sup>227</sup> Gormflaith, daughter of Flann.

<sup>228</sup> The woman encountered in the Isle of Man in the *Prull* narrative had been conducting a circuit before the reduction of her circumstances (see Ní Dhonnchadha, 2004, esp. 164–5).

*do sgar an daghdhán re a dhath  
abhrán ban agus bhachlach.*

'Tis *abhrán* which has made to disappear their (*i.e.*, the poets') profit and science; the *abhrán* of women and churls has robbed genuine poetry of its colour (McKenna, 1947, 237, §27.3, trans. 379).

Stacey (2007, 158) observes that 'it seems altogether likely that satire, whether formal or informal, may have been an important genre of female speech'. As satire was much-abused in medieval Ireland, it is unsurprising that its female practitioners should be maligned in some quarters. There were circumstances, however, in which a woman might legally satirise. Despite the assertion that satire was solely the prerogative of the *fili*, a woman may be entitled to honour price if she satirises *iar sētaib dligid* 'along paths of law' (Binchy, 1938, 64, §32). The following usage appears legitimate:

*Tēchta fuillema gill cacha mnā rindas la Fēniu, mā do-roth, is dīles  
do suidiu āige fine cāich dara ndichet cenn a gell do rinnad, coro  
fuigle dia inchuib.*

The lawful pledge-interest of every woman who satirises, if it (*viz.*, the pledge) has become forfeit, it is lawful for her to satirise the head of the kin of the person on whose behalf her pledge went security until he have submitted to adjudication for (*i.e.* to save) his honour (Breatnach, 2004, 29 = CIH, 466.5).

There are plenty of references to women in 'male' roles. The jurists, for example, could at least conceive of a female *breithem* in Bríg (see Binchy, 1973, 36–7),<sup>229</sup> and in *Bretha Crólige* we are presented

---

<sup>229</sup> Certain laws relating to the improving status of women are attributed to Bríg.

with a list of women, including *bansáer* ‘a woman wright’ and *banliaig túaithe* ‘a woman leech of a territory’, for whom a payment was preferable to sick maintenance on account either of their importance to the *túath* or the risk they posed to the carer (Binchy, 1938, 26–7, §32). As Ní Dhonnchadha (2013, 19) points out, however, such lists of female functionaries ‘do not constitute differentiated functional hierarchies’.<sup>230</sup> Neither do women ever appear to have attained to political office (Ó Corráin, 1978b, 10). One wonders whether a female poet, at times, was one who possessed the poetic faculty in the absence of the formal training which distinguished *fili* from *bard*,<sup>231</sup> and if the informality of such a position rendered hierarchisation inapplicable. Poetic training was probably ordinarily barred to women, at least in the later period. Thus we find one young woman dressing as a boy in order to train as a poet and intervene on behalf of her captive lover: *Luid Eithne do fogloim éicsi la Fercheirtne i richt gillai 7 ad-cuaid a scél i Temair 7 cachain díchetal riam* ‘Eithne, disguised as a boy, went to study poetic learning with Ferchertne, and was able to tell her story in Tara, and sang a chant before [doing so]’ (Breatnach, 2018, 54–5). Of the extended Old Irish anecdote of which this passage forms a part, Breatnach (ibid. 53) writes that its contemporary relevance ‘is on the one hand to stress the difficulties facing any woman who might wish to qualify as a learned poet, and on the other, to acknowledge that women could indeed be up to the task, by representing a competent piece of poetry as having been composed by a woman’. There is an obvious impediment, however, to a woman pursuing a course of training. Simms observes (1991, 32–3) that the reference to Feidelm studying *filidecht* in Britain has been

---

<sup>230</sup> The rank of *ollam* is the highest to which the *fili* may attain. The term *banollam*, its meaning uncertain, is occasionally attested. Possible connotations are ‘female *ollam*’ and ‘wife of an *ollam*’ (Ní Dhonnchadha, 2013, 37, n. 37). The term *bantigern* may also be found, where *tigern* may refer to a low form of satirist rather than a lord (see Binchy, 1938, 64, §32). Perhaps these are two elements of a lost hierarchy of female versifiers. Binchy (1943, 32–3), however, considers the various grades to be largely theoretical.

<sup>231</sup> *Filid* and *baird* may have constituted separate hierarchies only from the eighth century (Ó Cathasaigh, 2012, 55).

expunged from the Book of Leinster retelling of the *Táin*, suggesting this may represent a shift in which women came to be ‘excluded from the upper echelons of the bardic order’. Nic Eoin (1998, 96) associates this loss of status with the changes brought about by the conversion to Christianity. Breatnach (1987, 87) has shown that a system had been introduced, seen in *Uraicecht na Ríar* in the Old Irish period, which distinguished seven grades and three sub-grades of *fili*.<sup>232</sup> This system brought ‘the grades of *fili* into even closer correspondence with those of the Church’. One can imagine how women might become excluded in such an environment. It has been remarked that ‘all tradition bearers were not *filidh* and all poets were not bards in the technical sense’ (Ross, 1953, 217). The *fili* differed from the *bard* by virtue of the rigorous training he underwent.<sup>233</sup> The latter versifier is defined as follows: *cin dliged fogluime acht indtleacht fadeisin* ‘without the prerogative of learning, but intellect alone’ (Breatnach, 1987, 98 = CIH, 587.18).<sup>234</sup> The *baird*, of course, may have enjoyed a higher standing in society than the law tracts admit (see Stacey, 2007, 158, 161–2).

It is tempting to view Sinech more in the guise of *bard* than *fili*, as one with poetic ability that was based more on instinct than formal training and who did not use her talent maliciously. She belongs, however, to the Old Irish period, when the emergence of the *filid* as an elite grouping from the ranks of the *baird* may have been a relatively recent development (see *ibid.* 157). It must be borne in mind, too, that Sinech is referred to as a *caillech* in Recension 2. Larson (2005) has observed that three female figures who are identified as professional poets, Líadain, Úallach and Dígde, are also identified as *caillecha*.<sup>235</sup> She suggests the veil from which the term *caillech* derives may have been a

---

<sup>232</sup> On the grades of the *bard*, see Breatnach (1987, 82–3).

<sup>233</sup> Breatnach (2018, 51, n. 1) suggests that the term *bard* may refer to any kind of versifier, literate or otherwise, who is not a *fili*.

<sup>234</sup> Also: *is aire na rotcet som acht lethenecland na filed, fobith na frithgnat* ‘the reason why they [...] only attain half the honour-price of the poets is because they do not study’.

<sup>235</sup> They may also all be nuns: see n. 225.

necessary device so that women poets might retain a voice. When in a hidden state, ‘their poems are valued and memorable’. Larson comments that these women ‘are described as old and ugly’, and that two of them ‘engage in poetic duels or conversations with men’ (ibid. 267–8; the style of poem attributed to Dígde does not permit verse capping). We have seen that Sinech, after delivering the palinode to Díarmait, engages in such a duel with Gúaire. Perhaps she is referred to as a *caillech* because of her poetic role.

Despite the lack of opportunities for women wishing to become proficient in the art of *filidecht*, there is an interesting passage in *Brislech Mór Maige Muirthemni* in which girls receive a form of training at least as academic as that afforded boys:

*Ro:foghluinnsett na mic druíghecht 7 coimlecht (.i. cocud) 7  
admilliudh 7 tosúgud. Ro:foghluinnsett na hingina fessa 7 dúile 7  
amaidecht (.i. glicus).*

The sons studied [the arts of] druidry and slaughter/conflict (i.e. war) and great destruction and [magical] enticement. The daughters studied [occult] knowledge and lore and sorcery (i.e. witchcraft) (Kimpton, 2009, 11, §1, trans. 35).<sup>236</sup>

If formal poetic training was closed to women, education certainly was not. The only Irish prayer book which survives from the eighth or ninth centuries was written for a woman (Nic Eoin, 1998, 98). One study of the treatment of women in hagiography, one of the few genres to pay considerable attention to women, detects in the *vitae sanctarum* a portrayal of ‘women as both teachers and students, in single sex and co-ed communities’. The incidental nature of the surviving evidence for female literary activity suggests the medieval Irish saw nothing unusual

---

<sup>236</sup> This is not in keeping with the kind of education envisioned for girls in the legal material: see CIH, 82.5, 82.14, 1760.22, 1760.34.

in the education of girls. Moreover, the ‘history of Ireland’s medieval female scholars [...] points to the power, agency and authority open to medieval Irish women and the respect, affection and admiration their brothers felt for them’ (Callan, 2003, 32–4). The following statement, made by Lasair about herself in her *Life*,<sup>237</sup> is striking both in the confidence she places in her academic achievements and excellence and in her demand that her parents grant her land:

*Iar mbeith treimsi 7 tamall do Lasair a ffochair a hathar 7 a máthar dolabhair riú 7 aseadh adubhairt gur mhithe le forba 7 feronn d’faghail uadha uair ba foirfe i ngach foghlaim ba hinntleachtach i ngach ealadhain 7 ba hollamh i ngach eagna i.*

After Lasair had been a period and space in company of her father and mother, she spoke to them and said that it was time for her to obtain from them a patrimony and estate, for she was accomplished in all learning, ingenious in each art, and ready in all wisdom (Gwynn and O’Duigenan, 1911, 78–9).

It is unclear whether the impediment to women specifically studying the art of *filidecht* was absolute or, at least in some part, an aspiration of those who composed the related law tracts. It seems that formal training rather than literacy may have been the main obstacle placed in the way of a woman who wished to be a *fili*.

The early lawyers emphasised the hereditary nature of the *fili*’s craft, recognition and acceptance reliant on one’s father and grandfather also having been poets.<sup>238</sup> Women are not mentioned in

---

<sup>237</sup> Written in the seventeenth century and probably based on a late Middle Irish original (Gwynn and O’Duigenan, 1911, 73). Note that her father does not act unilaterally in acceding to her demands, but confers with her mother (ibid. 78, lines 26–9).

<sup>238</sup> The *bard* may also have inherited his position: *bard aine*, .i. *mac baird 7 ua araile* ‘the *bard áine*, i.e. the son of a bard and grandson of another’ (Breatnach, 1987, 50–1). However, Stacey (2007, 159) understands the hereditary nature of the craft to be one of the characteristics distinguishing *fili* from *bard*.

the grades of poet laid out in *Uraicecht na Ríar*, and the art of poetry is lost to a family if it lies dormant for three generations (see Breatnach, 1987; idem. 1981, 64, §3). It is said, however, that the *fili* Flann mac Lonáin's poetic ability came from his mother (Nic Eoin, 1998, 111).<sup>239</sup> One wonders if a woman, in the absence of brothers, might not be able to follow in her father's footsteps as *fili*. We have seen exceptions were permissible<sup>240</sup> in the case of the *banchomarbae*, and Kelly (GEIL, 49) suggests a woman with ability might attain to such a position under these circumstances. It is possible no suitable male successor existed where we find references to women in the professions.

The *bancháinte* is a well-known example of a specific type of female versifier. More common, it appears from the numerous references in the literature and laws, than the *banfili*, she is often presented as one of those women 'who used verse for malicious purposes' (ibid). The *cáinte* 'satirist' (DIL s.v.), whether male or female, was despised by the Church, and legislated against accordingly. The verse attributed to these lesser poets exemplifies the type of destructive satire frequently found in early Irish literature (Ní Mhaoldomhnaigh, 2007, 13–4). The basic objection to this kind of satire was that it involved an explicit or veiled threat as a means of extortion rather than being a legitimate response to wrongdoing (McCone, 1989, 130). McCone (ibid. 127–8) has argued that the *cáinte* in reality enjoyed a somewhat higher status than the literature often suggests, either as a residual effect of a more exalted position once held, or from fear, or a mixture of both. An entry in FA<sup>2</sup> (s.a. 689) tells with no trace of negativity of a *bancháinte*, 'clearly [...] a professional performer',<sup>241</sup> who performed at Óenach Tailten in memory of a fallen king (Buckley, 2005, 756). A preoccupation with regulating the role of *fili* and denigrating

---

<sup>239</sup> The matronymic of the composer of Ireland's first satire, Coirpre mac Étaíne, may be noted. I know of no suggestion, however, that his poetic ability was matrilineal.

<sup>240</sup> In order that none of the *fine*'s land be alienated from the kin group, the inheritance of the *banchomarbae* was probably *preferable* rather than *permissible*.

<sup>241</sup> This figure is also of interest to the earlier discussion of female professional poets.

the *cáinte* may belie a higher *de facto* status than is at first apparent. The *cáinte* then, in practice, may have been more akin to a *fili* or *bard* than the Church cared to admit. One glossator to *Bretha Crólige* does not appear to make any great distinction between the two: *be rinnuis .i. in banfile no in bancháinte* ‘a woman who satirises, i.e. a female poet or a female satirist’ (Binchy, 1938, 26, §32, my translation). This gloss refers to the list of twelve women, mentioned above, for whom a payment is preferable to sick-maintenance on the grounds they are indispensable to their own *túath* or they would pose a risk to those tasked with aiding their convalescence; it is difficult to know in which category one ought to place the *bé rindes*. The *birach bríathar* ‘one who is sharp with words’ is another such type, comparable in *Bretha Crólige* to ‘the female werewolf and the vagrant woman’ (GEIL, 50).

Sinech Cró does not exhibit the attributes of the negative stereotype of the much maligned *bancháinte*, and, as the *bancháinte* is legally barred from fostering, one is not inclined to think of her as one. There is one example, however, of a *bancháinte*, Leborcham, whose character, though not analogous to, is not wholly dissimilar to Sinech’s. In *Longes mac nUislenn*, when Deirdriu’s portentous future was prophesied, Conchobar chose to raise her in isolation. During her childhood, only her foster parents and Leborcham, who was intimately involved in her upbringing, had access to her. This seems anomalous in view of the legal position that the *bancháinte* was incapable of *comaltar* ‘co-fosterage’ (Mulchrone, 1936, 203), while in *Longes mac nUislenn* the very fact of Leborcham’s being so defined is the reason she cannot be kept from Deirdriu (van Hamel, 1949, 45).<sup>242</sup> It gives credence to McCone’s argument of greater *de facto* recognition of the *bancháinte* than was generally implied (see, also, GEIL, 50–1).

---

<sup>242</sup> Nic Eoin (1998, 91) finds that Leborcham’s representation in this text demonstrates that *bancháinti* were *mná contúirteacha dosmachtaithe*. It seems to me she is spoken of in fairly neutral terms. Those who aid Deirdriu and Nóisiu are not vilified.

In her capacity as versifier, Sinech Cró defies categorisation.<sup>243</sup> It is unfortunate there is no indication *where* she recites her poems. Ní Dhonnchadha (2013) has given consideration to gendered space in medieval Ireland. We see that Sinech's second poem is delivered in the presence of Díarmait and Gúaire. The setting, were it known, might cast light on the woman's status (e.g. whether it is enclosed or unenclosed, as there may be implications if Sinech has travelled beyond the bounds of the *túath*). The evidence available to us does not allow us to label her a *banfili*, *banbard* or *bancháinte*, though it may well have been intended that the audience understand her to have been one of these. As she speaks only in syllabic verse we may label her a poet in the broadest sense.<sup>244</sup> One wonders why she directs her efforts against Díarmait rather than Gúaire, the perpetrator of the crimes. A professional *fili* could attack from distance, satire being a weapon effective beyond the boundaries of the *túath* (McLaughlin, 2008, 5). In an admittedly much later poem, however, we find an approach similar to Sinech's. Tadhg (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha's cattle were stolen, probably in 1599 by Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill. When his patron, Donnchadh Ó Briain, fails to redeem his stock on his behalf, Tadhg composes a poem threatening him, not Aodh Ruadh, with satire (idem. 2005, 41–2; Tadhg emphasises 'the ruler's duty in maintaining law and order and the important role which the poet plays in advising and instructing him'). The complaint

---

<sup>243</sup> Sinech's character may be intended to be understood as that of a poet in an oral tradition. As her verse only survives in written sources, however, it has an obvious literary aspect. To consider how practitioners of an oral art form might have expressed themselves in the Old Irish period is even more speculative than many of my other observations regarding Sinech. As Sims-Williams (1996, 187) points out about oral tradition and the extant literary canon, 'we are obliged to be agnostic rather than sceptical about the extent of its influence'.

<sup>244</sup> The term 'poet', though generally used, is not entirely satisfactory in translating *fili*. Beyond composing verse, *filid* were expected to be conversant with all branches of learning, including law (Breatnach, 2010, 231–2). Similarly, Mac Airt (1958, 141) has observed that 'the character of the *fili* is an evolutionary one, and the equation of the term with "poet" (even in a sixteenth-century connotation) is apt to be misleading'. Misleading and inadequate as the term 'poet' may be, it serves a purpose when discussing a (versifying) figure whose actual status and/or position is uncertain.

lodged by the plaintiff in this instance is similar to Sinech's. As lord and client, their relationship is considered in *Cáin Lánamna* to be analogous to that of foster mother and foster son (see Eska, 2010, 84, §2).

## Satire and *trifocal*

Early Irish law ordained that members of society have recourse to the form of sanction appropriate to their estate when seeking redress for an infringement of rights. Satire was the means appropriate to the *fili*. Thus we find in the Old Irish glossing of the *Senchas Már*:

*Ōru suigigestar Pātraic 7 maithi fer nĒirenn in dligid-sa, is ĩarom  
con-aimdetar cĩa tucht do-mbibsat a dliged do cāch fo-hich friu .i.  
clocc 7 salm d'eclais, gēll do flathaib, trifoclad do filedaib,  
aithgabāil do fēinib.*

After Patrick and the nobles of the men of Ireland had established this law, it is then that they decided how they will levy their due from those who commit offences against them, i.e. bell and psalm for the church, hostages for lords, 'three utterances' for poets, distraint for commoners (Breatnach, 2004, 26 = CIH, 884.1–3).

The *trifoclad* referred to should be read *trí fōcla*, etymologically equivalent to *trifocal* (ibid. n. 4). The term *trifocal* may refer to the whole of the process involved in the lawful execution of satire or to a specific part thereof (ibid. 25; see also idem. 1988, 18). A poet might satirise on his own behalf or that of others (idem. 1988, 16–7). The fear engendered by satire, believed in some cases to be capable of inflicting physical harm, is well documented (see McLaughlin, 2005, 38). A 'king who tolerates satire forfeits his honour-price and consequently his right to rule' (McLaughlin, 2008, 3). It is hardly surprising that, in a litigious society where reputation was highly valued, attempts should be made to restrict the circumstances in which such a potent weapon might be legitimately employed, and one accused of an offence was to be given every opportunity to make amends. Due process had to be observed for a satire to be legal. This involved a *fili* arranging to be met by a *drisiuc*

at the border of the territory he wished to enter to make his demand, after which he could give notice of his intention to issue a *treḟocal* (Breatnach, 2004, 25, 32; the term *treḟocal* refers here and hereafter to a specific composition rather than the whole satirical process). The law suggests that a *bard* could not carry out this function (idem. 2006, 63). The requirements of the *treḟocal* were the naming of offence and offender and the inclusion of an element of praise (idem. 2004, 25–6). It was, therefore, a mixture of commendation and condemnation, resembling charges brought against a defendant rather than sentence pronounced on a guilty party, with which we might equate a lawful satire. The very praise in the *treḟocal* contained its own reproach, being ‘a sample of proficiency which carried a measure of blame’ (Meroney, 1953, 95).<sup>245</sup> In a difficult *roscaḁ* passage referring to the use of *treḟocal*, an offender may, though guilty, prove to be ‘paradoxically “worthy” in that he values his honour and thus will respond to the threat of satire’ (Breatnach, 2004, 27–8 and n. 8). A late *treḟocal* states the time for the conscientious to act is *before* the issue of a satire:

*Rann aoire do chur ar gcúl  
docra ná urchar d’iompúd;  
sé le cách suil do-chluinte  
do b’é tráth a teasuircthe* (McKenna, 1939, 189).

To resist a verse of satire is harder than to stop a bullet; the time for defending oneself against it is the time before its publication (idem. 1940, 111).

In what could prove to be a lengthy undertaking, the king had to provide for the visiting *fili* of another territory while he was instituting

---

<sup>245</sup> Simms gives more weight to the element of praise in the composition and gauges its import differently than does Meroney. She states (2012, 176) that once the grievance and the offender have been named the rest of the poem is devoted to his praise, ‘no doubt to encourage his compliance with the poet’s demands’.

a lawful *trefocal*, a period of up to thirty days. This consisted of three stages, each of ten days' duration. First, notice of the impending *trefocal* was given; then there were ten days in which the issued *trefocal* was current; and, finally, there was a ten-day period in which the defendant might resolve the issue by providing a pledge (Breatnach, 1988, 17). This is all comparable to the five stages involved in distraint (ibid. 17–8). In both processes there are inbuilt delays designed to afford the defendant every opportunity to reach agreement with the plaintiff.<sup>246</sup> It is difficult to know, however, if the formalities required by law were honoured more in the breach than the observance. Justifiable satire and the unjustifiable implicit threat thereof are important themes in *Cath Maige Tuired*, a text based on Old Irish materials but 'influenced considerably by Middle Irish scribes or redactors' (Gray, 1983, 11). The justification or otherwise of the comportment of poet and satirist in *Cath Maige Tuired* lies in their response to the greeting they receive from their hosts rather than in their adherence to the conventions laid out in the laws. In the case of the *fili* Coirpre mac Étaíne, for example, said to have composed Ireland's first satire (ibid. 34–5, §39), the periods of delay are clearly dispensed with. As a guest in the house of the Fomorian king of Ireland Bres, he is given mean lodgings and poor refectation. Arising crankily the following morning, he satirises Bres for his lack of hospitality:

*Ráinic a tech mbic cumang ndub ndorchai; sech ní raibe tene nó indel nó déirghau[d] ann. Tucthae téorai bargenui becai dó atéi turui for més muhic. Atrárecht íarum arnauháruich, 7 nírbo pudech. Oc techt taran les dó as ind itbert [...] [the satire follows].*

---

<sup>246</sup> The law was often concerned to impede excessive haste in prosecution: ten days were also to be allowed before a leech could legally examine an injured party to determine the degree of liability of the injurer (see Binchy, 1952a, 7–8).

He entered a narrow, black, dark little house; and there was neither fire nor furniture nor bedding in it. Three small cakes were brought to him on a little dish—and they were dry. The next day he arose, and he was not thankful. As he went across the yard he said [...] (ibid.).

In this case, at least, failure to observe due process is no impediment to the successful employment of satire: its victim subsequently suffers a dramatic fall from grace and the reader is left in no doubt as to the righteousness of Coirpre's action. Juxtaposed with this, is the case of the *cáinte* Cridenbél and the Dagda. The *cáinte* exploits the Dagda's hospitality, demanding nightly the three best portions of food in his host's house. Ensuing malnutrition results in the Dagda's physical deterioration. One night, he places three pieces of gold in the three best portions, resulting in Cridenbél's death (ibid. 28–9, §26). The *cáinte* does not employ satire, but does threaten the Dagda's honour: [*a*] *Dagdae, dot inchaib na trí mírionn bes dech dot chuid tapraith dom-sae!* 'Dagda, for the sake of your honor let the three best bits of your serving be given to me!'

It may have been the case that, in practice, the justifiability of a satire (or threat of satire) was at times more important than adherence to due process. It is also true the *fílid* were often guilty of avarice (see Stacey, 2007, 162). Both *fíli* and *cáinte* appear to have been liable to employ satire to extort, a practice condemned by contemporary observers. It has, accordingly, been observed that satire is often treated as a type of 'misdemeanour' in the laws and its practitioner condemned (Robinson, 1912, 107). We have already seen that a woman could legally employ satire *iar sētaib dligid* 'along paths of law'.

Surviving examples of praise poetry from the Old and Middle Irish periods are rare. Breatnach (2006, 79–82) has argued, in light of the limited sample of surviving material from *any* branch of early Irish writing, that this is hardly surprising. Even rarer than praise poetry are

early examples of satire. Surviving samples are usually fragmentary and preserved outside their context. There is good reason to gather and preserve verse written in one's favour, while not expending effort in preserving negative criticism (McLaughlin, 2008, 9). Our greatest repository of satirical material is found in *Mittelirische Verslehren* III, a series of 'satirical stanzas which are cited as metrical illustrations in a Middle Irish tract on metres' (ibid. 2).<sup>247</sup> McLaughlin divides the verses into invective and satire. The former generally consists of a sequence of insults without focussing on any specific fault or grievance, while the latter 'ridicules specific characteristics or behaviour' (ibid. 9–10).

If few early satires survive, fewer by far are the examples of *tréfocal*. A well-known example is the poem beginning *A mo Comdhiu néll* (Meroney, 1953), apart from which I am only aware of a few late examples (including the aforementioned poem by Tadhg (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaidealha).

---

<sup>247</sup> Most recently edited by McLaughlin (2008, 134–71). Not all the 'satires' found therein are necessarily to be identified as such. §13, for example, seems to contain no offence and the threatened action seems avoidable: *masa deired dom dúanaib | do-bér mo dán do neoch aile | do-bér mo geimel ar chúalaib | do-bér mo chaire ar chúic bleide | Foclaim rim cháin is rim chubus | má ro cháinius úa Con Buide | is fortail dom dáil cen dulus | náro áerus duine reime* 'if there is a refusal for my poems, I will bring my craft to someone else, I will give my fetter in exchange for bundles of firewood, I will give my cauldron in exchange for five drinking cups | I affirm by my rule and conscience, if I have reviled the grandson of Cú Buide, that my argument is victorious without voraciousness (?) and that I have not satirised a person before him'. This appears to *threaten* satire.

### **‘Sinech Cró’s verse’**

The first of the poems attributed to Sinech has been referred to as a satire by Mac Eoin (1989, 172). It is also referred to as such in Recension 2. Herbert (2015, 85), on the other hand, eschews such a categorisation. She simply states, more correctly in my view, that Sinech berates Díarmait for his tardiness in confronting Gúaire. The poetry employed is not elaborate, and its value lies more in its representation of a type than in any especial literary merit. We have seen that satire was a legal means of seeking redress and that its use was highly regulated. We have also seen that among the regulations was the requirement of advance warning in the form of a preamble known as a *trefocal*. Sinech, as Díarmait’s erstwhile foster mother, was entitled by law to his protection in her old age. As such, there are circumstances in which she may have been entitled to issue a *trefocal* in the event of his failure to discharge his duty to her. I aim to attempt to set her verse in its legal context. This has proved a valuable approach in the treatment of several other tales.<sup>248</sup> In applying it to the fictitious accounts of the wars fought by Túatha Dé Danann for the sovereignty of Ireland, McLeod (2015, 75) has summarised its benefits. He writes that we should expect literature:

to reflect the cultural assumptions of its authors. Those authors belonged to the learned classes of medieval Ireland. They were familiar with all aspects of Irish learning, and we should not assume that they were ignorant of the massive legal literature produced in Ireland from the seventh century onwards. We can expect the literature they themselves produced to reflect the cultural institutions of their time, including their legal

---

<sup>248</sup> See, for example, Breatnach (1996) for a treatment of the legal ramifications of Sétanta’s killing of Culann’s hound; McLeod (2011) on the fallout from the killing of a man while under another’s protection; and Ó Cathasaigh (2009) on the legal standing of Ailill and Medb within their marriage.

institutions. That is especially the case in works of pseudo-history.

An understanding of medieval Irish law, therefore, 'will often enrich our reading of these texts' (ibid.).

As a tale, CCC is more modest in scale than the accounts of Túatha Dé Danann's wars found in *Cath Maige Tuired* and *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*. It is, nevertheless, pseudo-history and was not produced in a vacuum. Early Irish literary texts abound with both explicit and oblique references to and borrowings from legal material (see Breatnach, 2010, 233–5). Sinech's poems form the early core of CCC, around which the prose in its extant form was a later accretion. Our understanding of the poetry will be enriched by its appraisal in the light of medieval Irish law. Here follows a summary account of the first poem attributed to Sinech:

**Q. 1**

In the first couplet, Díarmait's tardiness and the fear Gúaire has engendered are highlighted. In the next couplet, Díarmait is praised.

**Q. 2**

Díarmait appears to be given the benefit of the doubt in this stanza, where ultimately it is declared that if sent for he will come.

**Q. 3**

Díarmait is extolled in the first couplet and censured in the second.

**Q. 4**

The greatness of Díarmait's kin group is highlighted in the first couplet, contrasted in the second with Díarmait's (projected) loss of status.

## Q. 5

The first quatrain's allegation of tardiness is echoed throughout this final stanza.

The net effect of the delivery of these quatrains is Díarmait's incursion of Aidne and subsequent military defeat of Gúaire. Mac Cana (1992) discusses the 'formalised incitement' which is a commonplace of medieval Irish literature. The stimulus of insulting the hero may propel him to great feats. The champion may even request he be goaded if being defeated; in fact, Cú Chulainn wishes to be insulted when the fight is going against him and praised when he is in the ascendant (ibid. 77–8). Though women are often eligible exponents of incitement (ibid. 86–7), it is his charioteer who most frequently exhorts the hero. Mac Cana deems this unsurprising as the charioteer is often the hero's 'only companion at the place of conflict' (ibid. 87–8). As this observation makes clear, there is a certain immediacy to the tactic. Most of the examples provided by Mac Cana involve incitement directly preceding or even during the engagement. When Sinech Cró exhorts Díarmait, no battle lines have yet been drawn. Her words prompt an incursion of Aidne, but the overarching time frame appears to set her action apart from those described by Mac Cana: troops must be mustered, a march undertaken, and in Recension 1b there is even time for a sojourn in Clonmacnoise before the enemy is engaged. Sinech does not fit the role of provider of 'the verbal barrage which accompanied, and sometimes preceded, the physical contact' and was 'an essential part of the ritual of conflict' (ibid. 69).

Related to Mac Cana's paper, and covering some of the same ground, is one on women's honour in medieval Irish literature. O'Leary observes (1987, 29–30) that women's investment in the honour code of early Irish society may prompt them to goad their men to fulfil its stipulations. He continues that 'Medb often manipulates warriors through a [...] skilful use of mockery'. One such manipulation is

remarkably similar to Sinech's **q. 3**, where she says Díarmait had been previously known as *rúanaid* 'powerful' but is now a *lobrán* 'weakling': *Conall Cernach t' ainm-si cusaniu. Conall Cloentruag t' ainm festa* 'Conall the Victorious has been thy name till today. Hence forth thy name shall be Conall the Wicked Wretch' (Meyer, 1897, 104.17–8, trans. 108). Medb succeeds with this barb in coaxing Conall into killing Ailill. O'Leary (1987, 30–1) includes Sinech among other women 'who use such abuse with equal effect', writing that she drives Díarmait 'to avenge the plunder of her cattle by sarcastically calling his honour into question'. He concludes that '[d]espite the fact they are allowed little scope for direct, active personal involvement in the warrior honour code, it is obvious that all of these women unquestioningly accept the code and aggressively promote the fulfilment of its dictates'. Another of the women cited by O'Leary is Ferb: 'in *Tochmarc Ferbe*, the heroine bloodthirstily urges Domnall Derg to exact vengeance for her slain suitor Maine'. It may be noted that of the examples of exhortation chosen by O'Leary, Ferb's is the only one delivered in syllabic metre.<sup>249</sup> Furthermore, the poem attributed to her contains praise of Domnall as well as the vituperative coaxing O'Leary attributes to her. This mixture combined with the use of syllabic metre recalls Sinech's approach in inciting Díarmait. It can be argued that both Sinech and Ferb have legitimate grievances: the former has been the victim of theft, from which her foster son ought legally to protect her; the latter's suitor (though not yet husband) has been killed, an act his foster brother might lawfully be expected to avenge.<sup>250</sup> The other women considered by O'Leary are invested either in secondarily enhancing their own status by goading their menfolk to action to enhance theirs, or in

---

<sup>249</sup> This is not apparent in O'Leary's article, as textual passages appear in translation only.

<sup>250</sup> Sayers (1990, 77) observes of women in Icelandic materials that their success 'in inciting men to violent action' may be due to 'the very fact that the criticism and scorn were coming from a clearly inferior party'. Perhaps the vulnerability of Sinech, an old woman, lends an impetus to her words.

convincing a man to carry out some task which they wish completed.<sup>251</sup> It seems to me that Sinech's means of incitement is more complex than most of those described by Mac Cana and O'Leary, and that this greater complexity stems from the alterity of the circumstances.

Schlüter (2010, 71, n. 111) labels Sinech 'one of the *Book of Leinster's* many troublesome women', a designation I consider unfair. She has been the victim of a crime and justifiably seeks the vindication which is her due. Her reward is not an enhancement of status. Nor does she appear to have gained materially, but rather to have recovered what was hers to begin with.

We shall now look at the poem in greater depth. In the first line, Díarmait is addressed directly. It is common for satires to begin with a personal name in the vocative (see McLaughlin, 2008, 2).<sup>252</sup> It is also a necessary feature of the *tréfocal* that the defendant and his offence be named (see Meroney, 1953, 98, §29, trans. 105). Díarmait is, in fact, named in each of the five quatrains, his name appearing both on its own and with patronymic. He is further identified by reference to his kin group Cenél Fergusso.<sup>253</sup>

As we have seen, the poem can hardly be said to be a diatribe against Díarmait, combining as it does praise and censure. He is chided for the offence of not coming to his foster mother's aid, while his military prowess and the past glory of his kin are adverted to. The elements of negative criticism the poem contains appear to fall into the category of satire rather than invective (as defined above).

---

<sup>251</sup> I am concerned here only with O'Leary's treatment (1987, 29–31) of coaxing women. Medb provides an example of a woman goading a man to carry out a task she wishes completed, convincing Conall to kill Ailill without justifiable cause. Emer encourages a man to action that he may take the *curadmír* 'champion's portion' as a fillip to both their standing. She does not insult him but highlights his virtues (see Henderson, 1899, 26–9).

<sup>252</sup> McLaughlin categorises the satirical stanzas from *Mittelirische Verslehren III* according to subject matter: stanzas 31–49 consist of abusive epithets in the vocative with named subject, stanzas 50–6 of abusive epithets in the vocative with unnamed subject.

<sup>253</sup> A poet could resort to satirising an unresponsive subject's kin group (Breatnach, 2004, 27). Tadhg Mac Bruaideadha twice addresses a *tréfocal* to the chieftain's people rather than the chieftain (McLaughlin, 2005, 42).

While referred to as satire in Eg and by Mac Eoin, the word used of the poem in both LU and LL is *cos(s)aít*, verbal noun of *con-sáidi* ‘complains about’ (DIL s.v.). The word may also be used of an accusation (see Ó Néill, 2005, 6, §5). I am inclined to take the poem as such, as a complaint or accusation carrying an implicit threat of satire. In Tadhg mac Bruaideadha’s *trefocal* the threat is made quite explicit, as in the following quatrain, for example:

*Glac rann lé ngontar gruaidhe  
mh’arm i n-aimsir anbhuaine;  
arm is é reannfhaobhrach ródh,  
gearrshaoghlach an té i dteagmhódh.*

My weapon in a time of ill-fortune is a quiver of verses with which cheeks are wounded. It is a sharp-pointed and furious weapon; short-lived the person it would pierce (McLaughlin, 2005, 48–9, §12).

I believe satire is implicitly threatened and diminishment of status threatened or foretold in **q. 4cd**. It is a warning, not ‘the unambivalent vituperation soon to follow should the claim continue to be ignored’ (Stacey, 2007, 112). His response to the impetus of the poem is such that satire is avoided, satisfying the maxim *ni bi aer iar logad* ‘ní bhíonn aoir ann tar éis (do dhuine) géilleadh’ (Breatnach, 1988, 15 = CIH, 1238.36). A king who suffers himself to be satirised loses his honour price (Breatnach, 1988, 15), but Díarmait has not allowed matters to deteriorate to the point where a satire is issued.

Though not great literature, this poem may well be important as an early example of a threat of satire in the voice of a female poet. That it is not referred to explicitly as such does not present an insurmountable obstacle. Neither does the absence of the trappings of the process involved in the legal execution of satire, such as the *apud*.

We have seen, in the case of Crídenbél and the Dagda, that literary tales do not necessarily insist on the whole of the form. *Trefocal* and satire were the legal preserve of the *fili*. So, apparently was panegyric. Ó Cathasaigh (2012), however, has convincingly argued that *bairdne* ‘eulogy, panegyric’ could originally be used of the work of both *fili* and *bard*.<sup>254</sup> If so, why could the satire (as well as some form of threat of satire) not also be practised by a poet of lesser standing than the *fili*? As the legal undertaking of a woman, it may not even have been subject to the stricter criteria required of a male *fili* engaged in satire or the threat thereof. In short, the satirical process may have been streamlined for women, as occurred in other legal processes. Compare the simplification of the process involved in *athgabáil* ‘distrainment’ where a female plaintiff was concerned (Binchy, 1973, 36–7). Regarding *tellach* ‘legal entry’, too, we find its ‘elaborate ritual is shortened and simplified for a female claimant’, and that this reform took place at a very early date (*ibid.*). Ultimately, we do not need to label our poem a *trefocal*. It seems *laídid* originally meant ‘offers stimulation by exhortation or praise’, while *gressaid* meant ‘offers stimulation by blame’ (Mac Cana, 1992, 75–6; a *trefocal*, therefore, is somewhat akin to a mixture of the two). Like *gressacht*, *laíded* and *áer*, the *trefocal* is meant to act as a spur. Unsurprisingly, then, they each bear some resemblance to the others.<sup>255</sup>

Finally, we have seen that one function of the *fili* is to employ his craft on behalf of others. This was an obligation based on payments made by members of the *túath* to the poet that he might equip himself

---

<sup>254</sup> He (55) thinks it regrettable ‘eulogist, panegyrist’ is not among the definitions of *bard* in DIL (s.v.). The chief definitions there are ‘poet or rhymester inferior in qualifications and status to the “fili”’ and ‘exponent of satire’.

<sup>255</sup> Nagy’s comments (1997, 218) on Lóg’s incitement of Cú Chulainn highlight some of the ambiguity inherent in the various terms: ‘[h]aving proven his potential as a **satirist**, Lóg watches Cú Chulainn redoubling his efforts against Fer Diad, who, however, continues to stave off the Ulster hero, and more *gresad* “shaming” from the charioteer is required’ (my emphasis, highlighting two ways of labelling the same course of action on Lóg’s part). It should also be observed that one of the reasons Sinech’s verse may defy ready categorisation is because it is not the work of a professional poet.

with clothing and arms when travelling outside the *túath*. These payments obliged him to agitate on their behalf when the need arose, specifically to employ satire in pursuit of property stolen from members of the *túath* and carried across its borders (Breatnach, 1988, 16–7). One such occasion often seems to have been when stolen cattle were at issue (see *idem*. 1984, 189). This quotation is illustrative:

*Tri ruighlis ollaman filed .i. glamh díginn 7 glasgabail 7 tobach do tuathaib; 7 is arin aisti as uaisli bís ag cach gradh filed doní a trefocal do tabach na net negni .i. na nailbin.*

three things which are the peculiar right of the *ollam* of poetry, i.e. *glám dícinn* and *glasgabáil* and enforcing claims for the members of a *túath*, and it is in the noblest metre which any grade of poet has that he makes his *trefocal* to levy the penalty for the forcibly removed cattle, i.e. the herds (*ibid.* = CIH, 552.9–11).

If the Connachta, as well as carrying off Sinech’s cows, were carrying off the cows of other members of the *túath*, it may have been incumbent on or beneficial to her, as one who versified in even an unofficial or quasi-official capacity, to act. That this act was described in outline in a literary tale may afford us a rare mimetic glimpse of a real-life situation where a popular versifier, aware in this instance of both her due as a member of the foster kin of a great man and the potency of her art, acts on behalf of the community. Use of the 1pl. infix in **q. 1b**, 1pl. prepositional pronoun in **q. 1d**, and 1pl. possessive in **qq 5a, 5b** and **5c** may suggest Sinech is not speaking solely on her own behalf.

This brings us to Sinech’s second poem, which we have seen described as a *molad*. Like the first poem, it does not attain to a high

standard of poetic accomplishment.<sup>256</sup> On the face of it, her demand having been satisfied and cattle restored, there is nothing unusual about a panegyric in honour of her deliverer. It also, however, satisfies a requirement upon delivery of a satire one later wishes to recant. To compensate, one may issue a palinode. In one tale, the poet Athirne satirises the river Mourne. Indignant, the river goes into flood and pursues him, only retreating after being calmed by a palinode (see Gwynn, 1942, 57). An earlier version ends by saying *asé an moladh donigh aoir ann sin* ‘that is the praise that washes out satire’ (ibid.). It is also said elsewhere that reparation may be made for an unjustified satire by the issue of a praise poem: *[d]o-renar aor a molad, ar as íreiu ro-said aor oldas an moladh* ‘[s]atire is compensated for by means of praise, for satire reaches further than praise’ (Breatnach, 1987, 37, line 15). I am not aware any such requirement exists after the issue of a *treḟocal* (or other poem combining praise and blame, whatever one wishes to call it). McLaughlin (2005, 42), however, points out that Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha’s cattle were also stolen around the same time as Tadhg mac Dáire’s. AFM records his request<sup>257</sup> that they be returned, and when satisfied he composes a quatrain in praise of the man who stole them. Whether Sinech’s first poem is considered a satire, a *treḟocal* or something else, if it is deemed partially or wholly offensive the expedient thing to do after gaining satisfaction may be to praise: it stands to reason that a happy petitioner, with an eye to the future, would wish to atone for any element of censure previously expressed. This may be relatable to the genre of bardic poems, identified by Simms (2012), which involve an apology for offending one’s patron or a request for a reconciliation. These are intended to absolve a poet of ‘unjustified satire, physical attacks on the patron or his servants, or verbal abuse of a non-poetic kind’ (ibid. 176–7).

---

<sup>256</sup> In praise poetry, only a reward appropriate to the metre could be requested (McLaughlin, 2008, 6). Sinech’s poem, however, does not appear to be issued in pursuit of reward but rather in gratitude and to reparate for the tone taken in the first composition.

<sup>257</sup> Unfortunately, the form this request took is lost to us.

Sometimes a poet may address a conciliatory poem to a patron when the latter is at fault and the cause of the contention (see Ó Riain, 2007, esp. 56–7, where Conchobhar Ruadh Mac Con Midhe, years after being exiled after a safe passage he granted had been violated by Éinrí Ó Néill, addresses a *dán réitigh* to the latter).

It has been observed that the ‘juxtaposition of praise and blame [...] are frequently contrasted in early Irish literature’ (Ní Mhaoldomhnaigh, 2007, 5). Sinech’s two poems appear to have been the work of a common author. They may, in fact, have been composed as a single unit. It appears we have come full circle, the condemnatory elements of the first poem having been washed away by the approbation of the second.

### **The message of *Cath Cairn Chonaill***

CCC does not appear in either of the extant medieval Irish Tale Lists (designated A and B: see the lists of *cathae* in Mac Cana, 1980, 42–3 and 54).<sup>258</sup> It may be that battle tales were too numerous to attempt seriously to catalogue under a single rubric (*ibid.* 71–2), and the mnemonic device of lists of battles occurs elsewhere in the MSS, typically focused on a participating hero, tribe or province (*ibid.* 29). Were the compilers of the Tale Lists to attempt a comprehensive list of *cathae*, however, CCC may not necessarily have qualified. As far as I am aware, an account of up to six of those battles listed in either or both of Tale Lists A and B survives.<sup>259</sup> In each case, the actual battle for which the tale is named is afforded a conspicuous part in the telling, with details of the fighting featuring prominently. In CCC, however, the *cath* itself is of peripheral importance to the text, receiving only the most adumbrant account in Recension 1a, which is barely supplemented (in later language) in Recension 1b.<sup>260</sup> The cause and (especially) aftermath of the fighting are of much greater significance. O'Connor (2013, 289–90) cautions against attempting 'to limit sagas' meanings to a single "moral", but rather observes our need 'to remain alive to the significance of purposeful ambiguities within "'moral tales" about kingship", and to layers of meaning held in tense opposition, as well as to the political or moral lessons they may foreground.' In this final chapter, I shall have to endeavour to be brief, touching on some themes and meanings in our saga. I hope to have the opportunity elsewhere to

---

<sup>258</sup> The extant Tale Lists' forerunner 'was most probably compiled in the tenth century' (Toner, 2000a, 114). Our text, as such, is old enough to be included.

<sup>259</sup> *Cath Maige Tuired* and *Cath Maige Mucrama* appear in both lists: for editions of the former, see Fraser (1915) and Gray (1983, 24–73); the latter is edited in O Daly (1975, 38–63). The following *cathae* appear only in Tale List A: *Cath Maige Rath* (see Marstrander, 1911), and *Cath Corainn* (see Radner, 1978, 50–3, s.a. 703); List A's *Cath Bóinde* (in MS H. 3. 17 only) may equate to *Cath Ruis na Ríg for Bóinn* (for which see Hogan, 1892, 1–107). *Cath Cinn Abrat* appears in Tale List B only (see O Daly, 1975, 88–93).

<sup>260</sup> We have seen that it appears without a title in the earliest version extant, though AU records *bellum Cairnn Conaill*. It seems likely the title, like most of the other LU-only material, is a late addition.

return to explore these further. The additional material in Recension 1b has already been discussed to some extent. E. Bhreathnach (2003, 100–1) summarises its import, writing that it is an assertion of ‘rights of land-ownership and burial’ at Clonmacnoise, reflecting ‘the tenth-century interests of Síl nÁedo Sláine’, as opposed to Clann Cholmáin. She associates it with the ‘brief’ period 950–6, when Congalach mac Maíle Mithig of Síl nÁedo Sláine was king of Tara.

Recension 2 presents a more streamlined narrative than the earlier incarnations of the saga. It seems ‘the author’s attention is [...] less on what he has to tell than on how he will tell it’, a tendency in some eleventh-century narratives which has been commented on (Mac Gearailt, 1996, 445). While a literary analysis of this recension may well be a worthwhile undertaking, it will not be attempted here. Our focus will primarily be on Recension 1a, which underpins all subsequent versions of the saga.

In the first instance, texts such as ours, whatever the opinion of modern scholars, were viewed by their authors as being at least partially concerned with the recording of history (see Toner, 2000b, 3–4). This aspect of our saga has been explored to some extent in the earlier discussion of CCC and the Annals. Toner (ibid. 6) points up the Isidorian distinction between *historia* ‘true things that happened’ and *fabula* ‘things that neither happened nor could have happened because they are contrary to nature’.<sup>261</sup> On this basis, the plausibility of the events recorded in our text makes it believable. Poppe (2012, 254) says of *Cath Cluana Tarbh* that it is ‘an embellished and dramatised record of events, a “fictionalised account of an actual event”’, but that ‘it is dramatised and fictionalised within the limits of historiography and therefore of probability’. Our saga lies within these parameters. That it continued to be felt as an authoritative record centuries after its

---

<sup>261</sup> Stacey (2007, 162) writes that ‘a story doesn’t have to be historically accurate in order to be historically true’.

composition<sup>262</sup> is confirmed by its inclusion in *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, where Céitinn in fact draws on *two* accounts from different recensions of CCC at different points in his history.

It is a truism that (pseudo-)historical texts of the medieval period often tell us more about concerns in the period in which they were composed than about the events they purport to recount: some vernacular narratives may ‘be a commentary on the present while others are models for action in future time while framing their arguments in terms of the past’ (Ó Corráin, 1987, 24).<sup>263</sup> Figures from the glorious past were invested with significant authority in the medieval Irish mind. CCC may be considered in this light. The following unique entry in AFM is of interest:

*Mordhál occ Athluain etir Fhlann, mac Mailechlainn, 7 Cathal, mac Conchubhair, 7 Cathal do thocht hi ttaigh Flainn for comairce samhtha Ciaráin, gur bó riarach don righ iaramh.*

A meeting at Ath-Luain between Flann, son of Maelseachlainn, and Cathal, son of Conchobhar; and Cathal came into the house of Flann under the protection of the clergy of Ciaran, so that he was afterwards obedient to the king (AFM s.a. 896).<sup>264</sup>

Several correspondences between the meeting of Flann (Sinna) with Cathal, king of Connacht,<sup>265</sup> and Díarmait with Gúaire are apparent. The

---

<sup>262</sup> Or, rather, centuries after the composition of each of its extant incarnations.

<sup>263</sup> Herbert (1992, 61) cautions that one ‘must beware of the assumption that texts are windows on historical society rather than ideological products of it’.

<sup>264</sup> Charles-Edwards (1971, 296) writes that, though it may be older, the practice of going to the house of an over-king by token of submission is first recorded explicitly in the Annals in the 1050s. Against suggestions it may have been a Dál Cais innovation, Murray (2015, 248–9) points to mention of the practice in a law text dating from ‘the period of transition from Old to Middle Irish’. This example from AFM, if its source was a contemporary record, supports Murray’s findings.

<sup>265</sup> Byrne (1973, 266) says of this meeting that Flann Sinna ‘secured the allegiance of Connacht to his dynasty’, mistakenly asserting that Clonmacnoise was the venue.

former pair meet at a *mórdál* ‘great assembly’ (DIL s.v.), the latter at an *óenach*, which in its original sense was ‘a popular assembly or gathering’ (DIL s.v. 1 *oenach*). *Sámud Cíaráin* plays a role in both meetings, and in both an agreement is reached between a Southern Uí Néill aspirant to the high-kingship and a king of the Connachta. As the obedience of one king to another invariably has to be coerced, it is no surprise that, shortly anterior to this time, Flann Sinna conducted *inradh Connacht*, a ‘destruction of Connacht’ (CS, s.a. 897). In §ii of Recension 1b, Díarmait musters troops *do inriud Conacht*.<sup>266</sup> The Annals show that Flann and Cathal<sup>267</sup> later fought together as allies (ibid. s.a. 907, AFM s.a. 903).

I have argued the prose in Recension 1a of CCC may be dated linguistically to *circa* 900, making the events it recounts roughly coterminous with the intercourse between Flann Sinna and Cathal mac Conchobair. It is hardly stretching the bounds of possibility to suggest CCC was written in an environment in which harmony between the king of Tara and the king of the Connachta was being promoted, and raises questions about the nature of the relationship between the Southern Uí Néill and the Connachta. These are represented in CCC by Sílnáedo Sláine and Uí Fhíachrach Aidni respectively, two dynasties whose fortunes had waned since the time of the battle. Their reduced circumstances make them convenient to employ as stand-ins. CCC recognises the ascendancy of the king of Tara, but treats the ruler of the Connachta as an inspiration, ally and near equal. With Díarmait having witnessed Gúaire’s charity and forbearance, both kings submit to one another: physical force has brought one of these men to this juncture, Christian awe the other.

There is strong evidence that Flann Sinna was a patron of reorganisation and construction work at Clonmacnoise (see E.

---

<sup>266</sup> This is not necessarily a late addition, not comprising a part of one of the demonstrably late passages in Recension 1b.

<sup>267</sup> Cathal does not appear often in the Annals.

Bhreathnach, 2014, 189–90). As well as commissioning the building of churches and stone crosses, he promoted the production of literature. Máel Muru Othna (d. 888) wrote propaganda for Flann in the 880s (Byrne, 2005, 865–7), and it may be that someone of his ilk composed our saga. The production of a text so favourable to the Connachta might possibly have been a political expedient for the advancement of the interests of an ambitious and far-seeing king who, having subjugated the polity to his west, now had his eyes on a bigger prize that he could not on his own achieve. Perhaps, however, Flann was too bellicose to have approved so signally magnanimous a concession to the Connachta, and it may be better to view CCC as the product of a milieu prejudicial to the promotion of their interests.

If it is a central concern of the medieval author to ensure that on behalf of his own side he ‘rationalize[s] their defeat so that they might not lose royal or popular support’, and ‘demonstrate[s] that God had not abandoned his side despite its lack of success on the battlefield’ (DeVries, 1999, 87), our author has succeeded admirably. The saga begins ignominiously for Gúaire. Firstly, he is seen to have behaved dishonourably towards an old woman.<sup>268</sup> All kinds of lordship required one to ‘care for and act justly towards inferiors’ (Stacey, 2007, 28). Potentially more deleterious, however, to Gúaire’s kingly status are his defeat on the battlefield and subsequent public submission. An inability to defend one’s own patrimony undermines one’s standing. Boyle (2013, 38, §7) observes that ‘[r]oyal acts of public penance could be fatal to kingship, although they could also be seen as reinforcing legitimate Christian kingship’, and it is similar with Gúaire’s very public act of submission. Gúaire is certainly a diminished figure after his flight from Carn Conaill, travelling with a skeleton retinue and dining on a frugal meal. The loss of status that might be expected to accrue from

---

<sup>268</sup> In the Middle Irish tale *Aided Bresail*, Diarmait mac Cerbaill is so dismayed at his son Bresal’s theft of a cow from a nun that he has him killed (see O’Connor, 2013, 331, n. 6). Interestingly, the cow in question is *bō co n-āib ītha* (Meyer, 1910, 305), an extraordinary beast encountered also in Recension 1b of our text.

these straits does not materialise in any lasting way, however, and instead Gúaire's standing is elevated. Díarmait is humbled by his display of charity. The silver Gúaire brings to distribute is refused; rather he is offered silver and refuses it in turn. This may have implications for the rendering of tribute. Charles-Edwards (2013, 19) deems the status of client-kings to be demeaned by having to give hostages and pay tribute.<sup>269</sup> Gúaire's status, however, suffers no such diminution. The villain of the tale's opening has become an exalted figure to whom the Men of Ireland will look for counsel and guidance, his avarice replaced by bounty. It has been observed that the 'early historical descriptions of kings [...] were reduced to writing by [...] scribes [who] had an agenda and because the Church controlled writing, that agenda was formed by ecclesiastical concerns'. The aim was often 'to promote the Christian ideal of pastoral kingship' (Bracken, 2013, 183). It certainly seems that such an ideal is promoted in our text. Gúaire's charity, empathy and restraint prompt the following outburst from Díarmait in **§xiv**: *ro-giállais-[s]iu do Ríg aile, .i. do Mac Dé. Asō mo giáll-sa duit-seo* 'you have submitted to another King, i.e. to the Son of God. Here is my submission to you'. His pious actions have elevated the status of the vanquished above that of the victor. Peace is preferred to war, as he and Díarmait establish an *ógsíd* (**§xxiii**).

Political stability, cooperation and harmony are the upshot of the accommodation reached between the protagonists. The battle, to the author, is hardly worth mentioning. O'Connor (2013, 290–1), drawing on Ó Corráin (1978a), writes that medieval Irish authors were concerned with the promotion of an ideology of strong, just kingship, which combined 'vigorous action with moral rectitude and impartiality'. An increase in the authority of over-kings promised stability, suppression of lawlessness and confirmation of the Church's rights.

---

<sup>269</sup> He distinguishes between political and seigniorial clientship. The former is closest to representing the relationship between Díarmait and Gúaire: '[p]olitical clientship is a relationship between kings and, through the kings, their peoples'. As a provincial king, Gúaire's status is higher than that of the types of king Charles-Edwards discusses.

Many authors favoured the concentration of power ‘in the hands of fewer kings wielding proportionally greater control’. The pursuit of a kingship over all Ireland was promoted, as the ‘king was exhorted to uphold justice with a strong arm and to increase his authority and territory’. Simms (1987, 79–95) writes of the incremental increases in the size of the powerful king’s administration as royal power is consolidated in the post-Viking period. We see Gúaire put forward by Díarmait as *comairlid* ‘adviser’ and *cenn n-athchomairc* ‘chief counsellor’ to the Men of Ireland.<sup>270</sup> Herbert (2007, 92) observes that the collective *Fir Érenn* often comes to denote the followers of a leading monarch in texts in *Lebor na hUidre*. In our text, Díarmait appears to have command of them. Laws were often enacted, kings inaugurated, and treaties entered into at *óenaig*, and one might go to one to accept a gift in token of submission. It is surely significant that Díarmait invites Gúaire to *Óenach Tailten* to bestow on him his new office. The very issue of an invitation suggests suzerainty. That a provincial king should effectively be treated as a high official in the administration of the king of Tara is suggestive of an ambitious programme of state-building.<sup>271</sup> That this programme should be conceived at such an early stage, during the Viking era, is highly aspirational, if not fanciful. It nevertheless anticipates on a grand scale some of the developments of royal authority which would be realised in the coming centuries (for an account of some nobles acting in a high administrative capacity for overkings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see *ibid.* 81–2).

Finally, CCC may also be viewed as an exemplary tale with a didactic function, set against the backdrop of the conflict between Díarmait and Gúaire. There is much in the tale which accords with

---

<sup>270</sup> Herbert (2007, 100) notes the ‘corporate solidarity’ of Irish professional poets being promoted from the late ninth century, evidenced by entries in the Annals such as *rigfile Érenn* and *príméices Érenn*. Perhaps this designation of Gúaire as counsellor to the Men of Ireland, an office otherwise unattested in the extant literature, is a related phenomenon.

<sup>271</sup> Of course, CCC is literature, and I do not mean directly to connect Gúaire’s role in it to any real administrative role.

medieval Irish theory regarding kingship, and we shall now consider it in the light of so-called ‘wisdom’ literature. We have observed that the historicity of the saga would likely have been accepted by a medieval audience. The legitimacy lent to the narrative by the historical figures and events it employs ‘underscores and even proves the truth’ of the allegorical message (Toner, 2000b, 4). At the saga’s beginning, both kings are negligent. Gúaire, in both his theft of Sinech’s cattle and his unidentified offence against Caimmíne, defies the maxim that the strong should raise up the weak (*turghad lubru la triunu*: Meyer, 1909b, 14, line 27). Both Díarmait and Gúaire are found negligent in their lack of respect for the elderly (*ad-mestar sinu suidib sinser somoínib ilib airmiten*: Kelly, 1976, 14, §48). In Díarmait’s case, this lack of respect is compounded by his (artificial) kinship with Sinech (*ad-mestar athra sceo máthra moínib goire gorforsaide*), and he is justifiably admonished by his elder (*bat cumnech coisc ót senaib* and *bát seichmech riaglá athardai*: Smith, 1925, 188, §§26–7). Recourse to the battlefield represents the failure of kingship in our text and marks the narrative’s nadir, but Díarmait duly compensates for his earlier shortcomings by belatedly hosting with good reason (*dech dó [...] slógad fri deithbiri*: Meyer, 1909b, 2, line 9),<sup>272</sup> performing his duty and expunging the shame of his earlier inactivity on the field of battle (*nach frithfoluth rodn-dligther to-rata, na aurnaidm ara-rona ro-sá, ime-ró ruideth a grúaide fáebraib fri roí fri hailechrícha*: Kelly, 1976, 10, §30). When compelled to fight he is stern toward the enemy (*bat gusmar im naimtiu*: Smith, 1925, 190, §29) and proves himself a champion (*bat err tnuthach tairptech*: Best, 1916, 173, §3).<sup>273</sup> Gúaire makes a virtue of

---

<sup>272</sup> According to the Heptads, protection of property is one of seven justifiable reasons for waging battle (*TAIT .UIII. RE FECHAITEAR LĀ [...] RE IM COSNUM SELBE*: CIH 49.36–50.1).

<sup>273</sup> A ‘poem of advice to a prince’ lists three especial disgraces which Díarmait arguably flirts with but ultimately avoids in the course of our text: *[t]rí gáire dimbuaid do flaith | gāir glám dia guin cid cian gair | gāir a ban i nnamat naidm | gāir a muintire iar maidm fair* ‘[t]hree shouts of discomfiture for a prince are the shout of satires to wound him, be it far off or near, the cry of his womenfolk in the grasp of enemies, the cry of his household when he has been defeated in battle’ (O’Donoghue, 1921–3, 46, §10, trans. 51).

defeat, his magnificent acts of charity and generosity (*dech dó [...] almsana ile*: Meyer, 1909b, 2, line 21; *ibid.* 10, line 45) and their effect on Díarmait showing that both men are worshippers of God (*dech dó [...] adrad Dé móir*: *ibid.* line 18). Gúaire is not diverted from his charitable course by rich gifts (*ní[n]-aurdallat dána soni na moíni mára na lessa for lobru lén*: Kelly, 1976, 10, §31). The convening of an assembly where silver is to be distributed is to be commended (*bat menci do dalai [...] fri turcomracc ndegdaoine [...] fri hirad ferbbai ceo gabrai ailcedæ setaibh (.i. seoit imda do tiodnaccul)*: Best, 1916, 173, §3). The consensus reached there is far preferable to the conditions which had previously pertained (*ferr dál debiuch*: Ireland, 1999, 80, §6.13). While it is not explicitly stated in CCC that peace is the ideal state, that is certainly the impression one gets from what transpires at the Fair of Tailtiu and the *ógsíd* established there. The maxim *ferr síd sochocad* ‘peace is better than a successful war’ (*ibid.* 84–5, §6.58) is apposite. If wisdom literature is concerned with establishing and maintaining order (*ibid.* 20), it seems that our saga promotes such mores. In many ways, their shortcomings overcome, it is as if Díarmait and Gúaire bring out the best in one another, their shared qualities combining to constitute together the characteristics of the ideal king.

## Appendix I: transcript notes

These notes apply to each of the four transcripts which follow.

The *punctum*, employed in the MSS to mark the end of a sentence or line of verse, is maintained. No marks of punctuation are introduced.

Capital letters have been employed only where they *appear* to have been used in the MSS.

I have attempted to represent orthographic units as in the MSS.

The symbol | is used to indicate where a line break occurs word-internally (e.g. *im|chossait*), or where a preverbal particle is similarly separated from its verb.

The beginning of a new page or column in the MSS is indicated between square brackets.

The verse is presented in quatrains. These are separated both from the prose and from one another. The prose has not been broken down into paragraphs and reads continuously, the only interruption being provided by the verse.

Bold type indicates words or letters appearing in *cenn fa eite*.

Length marks in the MSS are maintained, even when not justified (e.g. 'fónfodair' in LU's **q. 1b**). Inaccurately placed ones, however, are silently moved.

The *et* symbol 7, representing *ocus*, is maintained.

The symbol *.i.*, representing Latin *id est* or Irish *ed ón*, is maintained.

Tall *e* is not resolved differently to short *e*, nor are open and closed *a* rendered differently.

Ligatured *a + e* are resolved as roman *æ*. For typographical reasons, an accompanying length mark has had to be replaced by a macron (i.e. *ǣ*).

The *spiritus asper* is frequently used in the MSS to mark lenition of certain consonants and infrequently to mark aspiration of an initial vowel. It is represented as italic *h*. The *punctum* marking lenition of *f* or *s* is maintained. Where it marks the lenition of other consonants, it is rendered *h*.

The expansion of all other scribal abbreviations has been indicated with italics.

The *quia* mark, crossed *q*, is resolved as *ar*, or *air* when accompanied by superscript *i*. Uncrossed *q* is rendered *cu*.

Reversed *c* is rendered *con*.

The 3 symbol is resolved as *us*.

The letter *f* with a curved tongue ascending from its apex is rendered *fri*.

*.h* is resolved as *húa*.

The symbol *t* is resolved as *nó*.

The letter *K* is rendered *cath*.

Superscript *i*, *e* and *o*, which may appear above the letters *c*, *f*, *g* or *t* in our text, have been resolved as the relevant vowel preceded by italic *r* (e.g. *fris*).

Superscript *u*, which may be found above the letters *c*, *d*, *f*, *g* or *t*, is resolved as *ur* or *ru* as required (e.g. *furec*).

Superscript *r* is rendered *ra* (e.g. *celtra*).

When the curved suspension stroke  $\bar{\text{~}}$ , or m-stroke, appears over a vowel it is resolved as *m*. In a number of instances it appears above *c*, *m* or *s* and is expanded to include a preceding *u* or *o* (e.g. *muman*).

Where a horizontal suspension stroke appears above a vowel it is most commonly resolved as *n*. The following examples represent some other uses of suspension strokes in the MS, though the list is not exhaustive.

Where a horizontal suspension stroke emerges from the ascender of the letter *b*, it is rendered *er* or *ir* (e.g. *bertis*).

Where one emerges from the letter *l* it has been resolved as *am* ('*talam*'), *ur* (*galur*) or *eoil* (*ceneoil*).

The Latin *sed* symbol, *s* with suspension stroke, has been resolved as *ach* or *acht*, and in one instance *sed*.

The letter *f* with suspension stroke is rendered *for*.

*mc* with suspension stroke is resolved as *mac* or *maic*.

The letters *im*, *am*, *na*, *ca*, *da* and *iar* with suspension stroke give *immorro*, *amal*, *nach*, *cach*, *dano* and *iarom* respectively.

The genitive of *Ériu* occurs nine times in Recension 2. On six occasions the second syllable is not represented by a suspension stroke, always appearing as *-inn* or *-ind*. I therefore expand the three instances of genitive *er* with suspension stroke as *erinn* rather than *erenn*.

## Appendix II: transcript of *Cath Cairn Chonaill* from LL

Diarmait macæda sláne. Sinech cró **rodnaltsom**. Nobertis connachtai abúsi.  
Cotarát im|chossait móir etirdiarmait 7gúaire aidne ISand asbertsi.

ϕ<sup>274</sup>

Adiarmait amallchobair.  
uamain gúaire fon|**fodair**.  
**aritanmand** cloíthe cath  
tair *chucund* aduinebad.

Leic dodiarmait naraid friss.  
*incath* níheol nirradais.  
denaid *choirm* do maratá  
foid *chucai* dothaideba.

Rúanaid asberthe cose  
*frisseom armét*<sup>275</sup> aáne  
**indiu islobrán immide**<sup>276</sup>  
diarmait *mac æda* sláne.

Trícha tinne tricha bó  
fuirec<sup>277</sup> ceniuil ferguso  
**icdaí dartaid** icind gait  
ina<sup>278</sup>forreith<sup>278</sup> dodiarmait. A.

---

<sup>274</sup> A symbol similar to this is employed in the margin to indicate the beginning of a passage of verse.

<sup>275</sup> *armétaáne* is written as a single unit with separation marks beneath *ta*.

<sup>276</sup> *e* is written superscript, attached to the ascender of *d*. There are reference marks guiding one to a marginal note, of which I am only able to decipher some of the letters. Best and O'Brien (1967, 1214) give † *conaill*.

<sup>277</sup> Glossed .i. *oigedecht*.

<sup>278</sup> Glossed .i. *ina oe gidecht* (*oe* and *gidecht* are separated by quite some distance).

Betfir móir *armaccain*<sup>279</sup> bic  
coti *arcobair cogrip*.<sup>280</sup>  
bid daim ríatai loíg *armbó*  
cotí *cobair diarmata .A.*<sup>281</sup>

*Rohícc*<sup>282</sup> ní dissi *imorro in chossaít. dorat diar|mait láim dar connachtai*<sup>283</sup>  
*coraimid riam forguaire aidne corogiallsaide dó frirind claidib. Arforacaib*  
*cámíne indse celtra doguairiu nadgebad frihócu. Arroboí cá|míne trithráth*  
*octroscud forguaire aidne. Madcóir ladia orcámmine infer fil hi comthairisim*  
*frimsa nirothairise frinaimtiu. Dothæt daurgaire slechtaid dochamini*  
*Doreilced intaurchorsa orcammín. Comlúath sin dano orcámmine 7doberat*  
*doréir. IS de asbert cammin.*<sup>284</sup>

ϕ  
IMbiat faibra fri faibra  
7findne fri [p. 277]<sup>285</sup> findne.  
biditathrech aguaire  
clerchen fritarlais tine.

---

<sup>279</sup> A quia symbol appears to have originally been at the beginning of this unit, with the descender erased to leave the letter a. As a first person possessive better suits the context here than third, I restore ar.

<sup>280</sup> Best and O'Brien (1967, 1214) give the word co at the beginning of this unit. Due to fading it is no longer possible to make out with certainty the c. A line leads from the -p of grip to a marginal gloss I am unable to decipher. Best and O'Brien give ainm eich Diarmata.

<sup>281</sup> .A. is written subscript.

<sup>282</sup> A superscript vertical line between o and í, with a smudge at its top right-hand side, looks like it may originally have been intended to represent a spiritus asper.

<sup>283</sup> The i is written superscript.

<sup>284</sup> The word cammin is written subscript due both to a lack of space at the end of this line and the intention to begin a section of verse at the start of the next.

<sup>285</sup> Some writing appears above col. a, most of which is illegible to me. The beginning was also illegible to Best and O'Brien (1967, 1215), who transcribe the rest as follows:

cecini<sup>t</sup> In cath i nInis Celtra  
feras lobur fri nerta.  
is e in lobur bus trén  
is e in tren bus techta.

The first instance of lobur is glossed .i. Camin, while fri nerta is glossed .i. fri Guaire.

ϕ<sup>286</sup>

Iar réir. Doarbart mac dé  
fri hathlad úaire  
cride guaire fo *chiunu*  
inna triunu fo guaire.

Taich didu guaire forleith assinchath 7 agilla. Rogab ingilla bratán riamnaige.  
rofon 7 dorat dogúaire. unde gúaire dixit<sup>287</sup>

ϕ

Átlochur dodia inetad  
innocht domfeis hénecad<sup>288</sup>  
rombuise adaig aile  
dombert .uii. mbú mac maire.

Dolluidseom dogiall friclaideb dodiarmait. Maith ordiarmait cidarandéine  
guaire in rofeili<sup>289</sup> ucut. innardia fainarduine. Madardia dobéra ní innossa.  
Madarduine nithibre olatá cofeirg 7 luinne. Dothǣt chucu. Ní damsa agúaire ol  
indrúth. cingthe sechai. Ní damsa aguair olin clam. Rotbia orguair.  
Focheirt agaó dó. Ní damsa oracheili. Focheirt insciath indelg in mbratt  
incris. Nitain ordiarmait. Tair fon claideb aguair oldiarmait. Nidam aguair  
orinceile dé. An bic adiarmait orguair co tall moléni dí m doncheiliu dé.  
Maith or diarmait rogiallaisiu doríg aile .i. domac dé<sup>290</sup>. Aso mogiallsa duitseo  
immorro oldiarmait. Slé|chtaidside doguair fothrí. Nipancórai trá oldiarmait  
condigis armochendsa doǣ|nuch thailten. conatrogbat fir herend doríg 7  
dochind athchomairc dóib. ISand asbert sinech.,

---

<sup>286</sup> This symbol appears in the left-hand margin before the word *tine* from the previous quatrain. Presumably it is employed to distinguish the two quatrains from one another, perhaps indicating a change of speaker. In both of the multiple-quatrain poems attributed to *Sinech*, the symbol only appears once, at the beginning of the first quatrain.

<sup>287</sup> *dixit* is written subscript.

<sup>288</sup> *ad* is written subscript.

<sup>289</sup> The first *i* is written subscript.

<sup>290</sup> *e* is written superscript, attached to the ascender of *d*.

ϕ

Cachmac tigrnd timchride  
tathut áirle limsa de.  
dote dessel inbroga  
laiss fuidell<sup>291</sup> moruanada.<sup>292</sup>

Níforbraigtib dam nábó  
clóithir colg<sup>293</sup> mo ruanado.<sup>294</sup>  
isforrigaib focheirt feit  
indiu indubcend<sup>295</sup> ladiarmait.<sup>296</sup>

Guaire mac colmáin inrí  
rochacc<sup>297</sup> forcroíbu aidní  
rolá bualta méit chind bó  
aruamon moruanadó.<sup>298</sup>

Orobrecca<sup>299</sup> broenán cró  
léni ndendgorm ndiarmato.  
eirred fir cluas catha  
nícomtig cenilldatha

Orobrecca bróenan cró.  
brunni gabra diarmató  
**usce assanegar grip**  
ní lustai frisacarbais.

---

<sup>291</sup> e is written superscript, attached to the ascender of d.

<sup>292</sup> nada is written subscript.

<sup>293</sup> Glossed i. claideb.

<sup>294</sup> nado. is written subscript due to the encroachment of the subscript -nada from the last line of the previous quatrain.

<sup>295</sup> Glossed .i. claideb.

<sup>296</sup> mait is written subscript.

<sup>297</sup> Reference marks direct to a marginal gloss. Once again, not all of the letters are legible to me. Best and O'Brien (1967, 1216) give aliis ro théig.

<sup>298</sup> The second a is written subscript beneath the n.

<sup>299</sup> A marginal gloss on the left-hand side reads in aliis. or atu gai casai cró. I am partially reliant on Best and O'Brien (1967, 1216).

Odolecther *immasech*  
cranna fianna *forcechleth*  
**nipodecmaing caisel**<sup>300</sup> cró  
*forcrund adurn diarmató.*

Orosernatar gai bic  
*itossuch animmaric.*  
isí **dias cíta** ric.  
A gabair 7diarmait. *Adiarmait.*

Adnuu *arguare*  
darís sinich cocruu.  
nicos faicéb labiu.  
atabiu comluu.

Adnuu orsisi  
niric sinich cocruu.  
nifil ócu **cahimochaid**<sup>301</sup>  
cid<sup>302</sup> nacid nachafitir nuu.

Luidseom *iarom inti gúaire doenuch thailten arcend diarmata. 7miach argait*  
*leis diathabairt doferaib herend. Maith ordiarmait infer dothǣt chucaib.*  
*Atethaid a indili ocathig. IS sárugud damsa truag nó thrén dochungid neich*  
*cucai. Luidseom didu combuí forláim diarmata. forforadaib bít and allaasin.*  
*Nicomtich nech ní chucaiseom. Bá [col. b] machtad leiseom ón. Medón laí*  
*arnabarach. maith adiarmait arguare. Epscop dogairm chucumsa co tardsa*  
*mochoibsená dó. Cidso oldiarmait. Cid nachmana éca latsu damsa adiarmait*  
*Áit itaat*<sup>303</sup> *fir herend etirthrúag 7trén nad cunnig nech díb ní chucumsa.*  
*Niraigebthar fort ordiarmait. miach argait duit sundút. Atá argat immorro*  
*limsa orguare. Atraracht iarom 7nostairbir assadíblamaib. Et asberatsom*  
*baletfhota alám onduairsin ocrochtain na céli ndé. Dogniat iarom ógsíd .i.*

---

<sup>300</sup> A gloss in the margin to the right reads *crotball*, † appearing above the *s* in *caisel*.

<sup>301</sup> Reference marks guide to a gloss in the left-hand margin: *inaliis. gaimdegail*.

<sup>302</sup> Glossed *nó cancotorac tatar* (*tatar* is somewhat removed from the rest of the gloss).

<sup>303</sup> The *i* is twice as tall here as in other examples in the MS, more closely resembling an *l*.

*diarmait* 7 *guare*. Et rogabsat fir *herend* inní *guare* *dochomairlid* 7 *dochind*  
*athchomairc* dóib.

### Appendix III: transcript of *Cath Cairn Chonaill* from LU

*Cath cairnd chonaill* riadarmait<sup>304</sup> mac æda sláni **foruari adni**  
Diarmait mac æda sláne<sup>305</sup> sinech cró rodnalt. nobertis *conachtai* abúsi  
cotaratsi *imchosait* móir *etirdiarmait*<sup>306</sup> 7 *guaire* aidne. isand asbertsi.

*Adiarmait* amallchobair  
úamungúare fónfodair  
áritanmand cluithe cath  
*tair chucund* adunebath

Leic de díarmait mairid fris  
*in cath niheól*<sup>307</sup> nífirdis<sup>308</sup>  
denid cóir dó maratá  
*foid chuci* dotathlebá.

Rúanaid atberthe cosse  
*frisseom* armet anáire  
indiu is lobrand immide  
*diarmait* mac æda sláne

*Tricha tinne tricha* bó  
*furec ceneoíl* fergusso  
ícdai *dartaid* hicind gait  
*innaforreith*<sup>309</sup> *dodiarmait.* a.

Beit fir móra *armacáin* bic  
cotí *arcobair* cogrip  
bit daim ríata laíg *armbó*  
cotí *cobair diarmato*<sup>310</sup>. *adiarmait.*

---

<sup>304</sup> *The final a is written subscript.*

<sup>305</sup> *The a, obscured by a stain, is unclear.*

<sup>306</sup> *The second a is written subscript.*

<sup>307</sup> *i is written subscript, attached to n at the bottom right-hand side.*

<sup>308</sup> *The first i is written subscript, attached to n at the bottom right-hand side.*

<sup>309</sup> *a is written subscript.*

<sup>310</sup> *The second a is written subscript.*

Roíc nídissi *imorro incossaitsin*. Rothinoil *diarmait slúagu 7socaide leis doinriud conacht*. ISsed *iarom ludi diarmait octecht hiconachta cocluain maic nois*. Dorigensat *íarom samud ciarán conabaid .i. ædlug mac commain etla fridia fair cotísad slán dinchaib acorai|gechtasom*. Roidbair *inri iarom tóim neirc cona fodlaib feraind .i. líath manchan amal fót foraltóir dodia 7 dochiarán*. 7tobert *teora trísti forríg midi diacathed nechdiamuntir [p. 116a]*<sup>311</sup> *ciddig nusci*<sup>312</sup> *nand coniddesin nalaim rí midi aascin 7nalaim nech diamuntir abíad dochathim*. ISdesin *dano dorægart díarmait aadnacul hicluain maic nois conidiarom roadnacht inti*. Dorat *diarmait laim darconachta remi coránic aid|ni*. Rothinoil *gúairi firu muman dia saigid*. Roptar *iat so rig tancatár hiforithin gúari .i. cuan mac ennai ri muman 7 cuan mac conaill rí húa fid|gente 7 tolofnach ri húa líathan*. Do|ratad *iarom cath charnd chonaill etor|ro hillo cengciges*<sup>313</sup> *coræmid forgúa|ri corrolad arcend and. imchuan mac énnai rí muman*. 7imcuan *mac conaill rí húa conaill*. 7imtholomnach *rig húa líathán*. Cámmini *insi celtra issé dorat brethir forgúari connágébad friócu. árró boí cámmini tritrath octroscud fair imslan|aigect hitarat hé. arrosáraig gúari hé*. Madcóir *ladia arcámmine infer fil hicomtaisem frimmsa nírothairise frinámtiu*. Dothǣt *gúairi doargairi chammini 7sléchtaid dó*. Doreilced *in|tirchorsa orcámmine nichomraim aostud. comluath sin dano forcammíni 7doberat doréir duit inlucht máidfit maidm fort .i. doberat doréir duit fochetóir. isde asbert cammin*.

---

<sup>311</sup> *In the upper margin, written across the page, are the following quatrains (each occupying a single line). They are introduced by macdacerta cecinit, appearing to their left in a fainter, possibly later, hand:*

Gort moccu cirb cruth rodgab  
níadas nachmumanchlár.  
hifil galand rosoí dath  
dirsan son artalomnach  
Rí dachonchend ridáchi  
docer hirroí cendfotai.  
atá alecht isindfan  
intí mac conaill chuan.

<sup>312</sup> *i is written subscript, attached to c at the bottom right-hand side.*

<sup>313</sup> *i is written subscript, attached to c at the bottom right-hand side.*

IMbíat fæbra frifæbra  
7finne frifinne  
biataithrech aguairi  
cléirchin fristarlais **tinne**

IArréir doarbart mac de  
friathlad naóenuaire<sup>314</sup>  
cride guaire fochinu  
innatrinu fogúaire.

Troisc limsa dano forgúaire fricammin fri dia cotarda itchi dam. Lotár iarom  
atriur isinneclais .i. cammini 7guairi 7 cummini fota. Eclas mór dorónad  
lacam|min isinti bátar. Batar iarom naclérig octabairt achobsena forgúari.  
Maith aguair ariat cid badmaith lat dolinad naecailsisea hitám. ropad maith  
lim allan dior 7dargut 7niar [col. b] saint intsægail acht diathidnacul  
armanmain donæmaib 7 ecailsib 7 bochtaib indomain. Dorata dia fortacht duit  
agúaire ariat. Dobérthar intalam duit doidnais artanmain 7 bát nimidech.  
Isbude lend orguaire. Ocus túsu achammini orgúaire cid badmaith lat díalínad.  
Ropad maith lim alínad dosæth 7galur 7cechaingcis bádmesso doduni com|bad  
formochorp dobertais uli. Ocus tussu achummine orguaire cidbadmaith lat día  
línad. ropadmaith lim allán dilebraib .i. diatudecht doæs légind 7dosílad  
brethre de hiclúasaib cachduine día thabairt alurg díabail dochum nimi.  
Rofír|tha tra uli animrati dóib. Doratad intalam dogúaire. Doratad ecna  
dochummin. Do|ratá sóetha 7gallra forcammine connadeo|chaid cnaim de  
friaraile hitalam. achtro|legai 7rolobai riaingces cechgalair 7cach threblaiti  
condeochatar ule dochum nimi líanimratib. Techid tra gúaire assincath  
forleith 7agilla ir|raith. Rogab ingilla bratan ríamnaige. rofon 7dorat dogúari.  
conidand asbert gúari.

Atlochur dodia inetad  
innocht domfeis óenfeccad  
rombuise adaig aile  
dombert secht mbú mac maire.

---

<sup>314</sup> The first a is written subscript.

Dolluidseom tra dogíallad friclaideb do diarmait intí gúairi. Maith ordiarmait Cidarandé|ni guairi inféli ucut .i. innardia fáinnardaini. Mád ardia dobéra ni innossa. Madar daíne nithibre olatá cofeirg 7londus mor. Dothǣt chucu. Nídam agúaire olindruth cingthe secha. nídamsa agúaire orinclam. rotbia orguair. focheird agoo dó. Nídamsa orachéli. focheird ascíath<sup>315</sup> dó. Nídamsa orachéli aile.<sup>316</sup> focheird abrat 7 adelg 7acris dó. nitain ordiarmait. tair fónclaideb. Ní damsá agúaire forincélidé. An bic adiarmait orguair cotallur mo lene dí*m* donchele de. Maith ordiarmait rogiallaisiu doríg aile .i. domacdé. asso mogiallsa duitsiu immorro. Slechtaid [p. 117a] dano diarmait fothrí dogúari. Nípanchobrai trá ordiarmait condigis armochendsa doǣnuch tallten condaragbat fir herend dochomar|lid 7dochind athchomairc dóib. dogéntar orgúaire Isand sin rochan sinech inmoladsa dodiarmait.

Cachmac tigirn timcraidi<sup>317</sup>  
 tathut airle limsade  
 dothe desell<sup>318</sup> moroga  
 leis fudell morúanado

Ní forbrágtib dam nabó  
 clóthir colg moruanado<sup>319</sup>  
 isforrigaib focheird feit  
 indiu dubchend ladiarmait

Gúaire mac colmain inri  
 rochacc forcraibiu<sup>320</sup> adní  
 rolá búalta<sup>321</sup> meit cind bó  
 arómon moruanadó<sup>322</sup>

---

<sup>315</sup> *i* is written subscript, attached to *c* at the bottom right-hand side.

<sup>316</sup> *i* is written subscript.

<sup>317</sup> The second *i* is written subscript, attached to *c* at the bottom right-hand side.

<sup>318</sup> The first *e* is written superscript, attached to the ascender of *d*.

<sup>319</sup> The second *a* is written subscript.

<sup>320</sup> The first *i* is written subscript, attached to *c* at the bottom right-hand side.

<sup>321</sup> The first *a* is written subscript.

<sup>322</sup> The second *a* is written subscript.

Orobreca bróenán cró  
léni<sup>323</sup> ndedguirm ndíarmató<sup>324</sup>  
erred fir cluas<sup>325</sup> catha<sup>326</sup>  
nicomtig<sup>327</sup> cenildatha

Orobreca<sup>328</sup> bróenan cró  
brunni gabra diarmató  
usce asanegar<sup>329</sup> grip  
nílusta frisacarbaic

Odoleicter immasech<sup>330</sup>  
cranna<sup>331</sup> fanna forcachleth  
nípodecmait<sup>332</sup> casal cró  
forcrund aduirnd diarmató.

Odosernatár gai bic  
hitossuch animairic  
isí cétní<sup>333</sup> and arric  
agai isagabair ladiarmait

Adnuu<sup>334</sup> ón adnuu  
dareis sinich cocruu  
nocosfæcebad labiu  
atabiu comluu.

---

<sup>323</sup> *i is written subscript, attached to n at the bottom right-hand side.*

<sup>324</sup> *The second a is written subscript.*

<sup>325</sup> *a is written subscript.*

<sup>326</sup> *The second a is written subscript.*

<sup>327</sup> *The first i is written subscript, attached to n at the bottom right-hand side.*

<sup>328</sup> *a is written subscript.*

<sup>329</sup> *Two interlinear glosses: .i. ech diarmata and .i. n iglan (a superscript i belonging to frisacarbaic, below, separates n from iglan).*

<sup>330</sup> *a is written subscript.*

<sup>331</sup> *The second a is written subscript.*

<sup>332</sup> *The first i is written subscript, attached to n at the bottom right-hand side. a is also written subscript.*

<sup>333</sup> *i is written subscript, attached to n at the bottom right-hand side.*

<sup>334</sup> *In the margin to the left is written aguairi.*

Adnuu orsi  
níríc sinech cocruu  
nifil occu cáimochaid<sup>335</sup>  
cidnácifitir<sup>336</sup> nuu.

Diarmait rúanaid maith inri  
forbrid arcách trialunni  
forbrid arcachnóen cognáth<sup>337</sup>  
inrí cocuir<sup>338</sup> bróen arcách. c.

Luidseom iarom inti guairi doēnuch talten arcend diarmata 7míach argit leis díatha|bairt doferaib herend. Maith ordiarmait infer dothǣt chucaib atethaid ainnilí ocathig. Isárugud damsa trúag nótrén isindóenuch dochuingid neich cucu.<sup>339</sup> Luid|seom didu comboí forláim diarmata forforadaib<sup>340</sup> bith isindóenuch. Inlasin tra nichuinnig nech ní cucasom. Bámachdad leiseom anísin. Maith adiarmait orguare epscop do gairm cucumsa cotardsa mochoibsená dó. Cidso ordiarmait. Cidnáchmana éca letso damsa adiarmait áit hitát fir herend etirtruag 7tren nadcuinnig nech díb ní chucumsa. Nírogebthar fort ordiarmait [col. b] miach argait duit sunnút. Atá airget immorro limsa olgúairi. Atraracht immorro gúairi 7nostairbir assadíblamaib. 7 asberatsom baletfhota alám óndúairsin ocrochtain nacéli ndé. Dogniat iarom ógsid .i. di|armait 7 guaire. 7 rogabsat fir herend intí gúairi dochomarlid 7dochind athchomairc dóib onduairsin triabithu cein robo beó. Bámaith iarom intí guairi. Isdó doratad trárath fé|li inbó conaib ítha 7innasméra sindfulliuch. ISé doróni infirt namra hiclúain maic nóis díarucadsom diaadnacól di. Tánic indrúth diasagid 7rogab algais de imathchuingid fair. Doratsom alaim darsinforbaid immach. 7rogab lán aduirnd donganium 7rodibairc inuch in

---

<sup>335</sup> The second i is written subscript.

<sup>336</sup> The first i is written subscript, attached to the first c at the bottom right-hand side. Both the a and the second i are also written subscript, attached to the bottom right-hand side of the n and the second c respectively.

<sup>337</sup> The a is written subscript; also, there are marks of separation beneath the final -t of gnath and the i- of inrí.

<sup>338</sup> The i is written subscript.

<sup>339</sup> The i is written subscript, attached to the c at the bottom right-hand side.

<sup>340</sup> The first a is written subscript.

druad *conderna* bruth óir dé. *conidhésin* enech dedenach *guairi*. *conidcath*  
*diarmata* 7 *guairi* adni ascelsin anúas.

#### Appendix IV: transcript of the fragment from YBL

Feachtus do guairi aid|ne 7 dochumaine fota 7 dochamine indsi celtra isind  
neclais indse celtra eclas mor do|rondad lacamine badar|som didu octabairt  
ananmchair|deasa forguaire. Maith tra or guairi cid bid maith lat dolinad  
nahecalsa<sup>341</sup> hitam robadmaith lim allan dior<sup>342</sup> 7 argat 7 nibo ar saint  
indomain acht diatid|lucad armanmainse doneobaib 7 ec|alsaib 7 bochtaib.  
Dorada dia fortacht duid aguaire. doberthar intalam doidnais arthanmain 7  
biadnime.<sup>343</sup> IS buidilem orgu|airi. Et tusa achamine arguaire cidbad maith lat  
dialinad<sup>344</sup> Robod maith lim allan dotsaeth 7 galur 7 cech aingcis badit (?)<sup>345</sup>  
meso do duine combad formchorp doberdais uile. Et tuso achumaine orguaire  
cidbidmaith lat indi robadmaith lim allan dileabraib<sup>346</sup> .i. diatuidecht does  
leigind 7 dosilad breithri de icluasaib cach duine diatabairt dolurg diabail  
do|chum inchoimded. Rofirtha tra animraiti da|radad ecna dochumain  
doradad intal|am doguaire. Doradad sætha 7 galra dochamine conadechaid  
cnaim de friaraile italam acht rolegħai 7 rolobai rohances cachgalur conda<sup>347</sup>  
dechadar anem uile lianimrate inaneclais Finit

---

<sup>341</sup> The words do linad na hecalsa are written twice, with a line through them the first time.

<sup>342</sup> While these elements appear to have been written as a single orthographic unit in the MS, a faint vertical line has been inserted between allan and dior.

<sup>343</sup> d is written superscript.

<sup>344</sup> While these elements appear to have been written as a single orthographic unit in the MS, a faint vertical line has been inserted between lat and dialinad.

<sup>345</sup> In the MS we find badi with suspension stroke. I tentatively take the suspension stroke as representative of the letter t.

<sup>346</sup> r is written superscript.

<sup>347</sup> d is written superscript.

## Appendix V: transcript of *Cath Cairn Chonaill* from Eg

Hisechtmad bliadain<sup>348</sup> flatha indiarmatasa dorónad tinól les dindsaighid  
**guaire aidhne arnaimcháined co mór ohsinigh** chró armbrith abó doguairi  
aidne .7 ised atbeirith si fri diarmuit ruanaid octabairt immchosaiti eturro .7  
guaire.

Adiarmait amall cobair.  
uamain guairi fonfodair.  
aritanmann claite. *cath*.  
**tair chugainn aduinebath.**<sup>349</sup>

[p. 60a]

Lec dodiarmait naráid fris.  
*incath* nihord irradais.  
dena coirm dó marata  
foidh chuga dotoideba.<sup>350</sup>

Rúanuid asberti cose.  
*frissium*<sup>351</sup> armét aáine.  
indiu is lobran gunálli.  
*diarmait macaedha*<sup>352</sup> sláini.<sup>353</sup>

**Tricha tinni tricho bo.**  
**fuirec chinil ferguso.**  
**icdai dartaid** higginn gait.  
innaforreith do diarmait.

---

<sup>348</sup> *The first i is written subscript.*

<sup>349</sup> *i is written subscript.*

<sup>350</sup> *to is written above the word, with insertion marks between do and ideba.*

<sup>351</sup> *The second i is written subscript.*

<sup>352</sup> *The second a is written subscript.*

<sup>353</sup> *The second i is written subscript.*

Bet fir moir *armacain* big.  
goti *arcobuir* ogrip .i. *nomen eqi*<sup>354</sup> diarmata.  
bid daim riata **láigh armbó.**  
**coti cobuir diarmató. Adiarmait.**

Roícc ní dissí tra in chossait sin. Ranuic diarmuit rúanuid *conašluaghuib* gusuinuid Robui dano tinál mor higuairi aidhne *arachinn*. Rochuir dano guairi cuimin fota mac fiachnu comarba brénaid dinnsaigid diarmata dochuinngid cairdi cetri nuair .xx.it<sup>355</sup> fair cin tuidecht tar sinuinn siar. IS ann immorro doralo diarmuit dochuimin arincleith oclet na sinna. *ocus* roraid cuimmin aithascc fris. Rofreart dono diarmuit gosubach *forbálid* *ocus* roraid ní mor nacuinge .7 ciamad ní bud moo no chuingidfithea<sup>356</sup> foghebtha Mased dano arcuimmin impa *connicci* inmbruach alltarach. Atbeirimsi mobrethir óm achind<sup>357</sup> egna .7crapaid hérinn ardiarmait narag forcúla nó gofagur síd nó cath. Tair dono arcuimmine gunige inmbruach ale. Tuingim do dia ardiarmuit datecmuighteasa<sup>358</sup> níisfaiti sair dam niticcfuinn dardošárugud friare nacairdisin chuinge. Batur andís annsin gomatin inrí .7 incléirech ISed dano doráid cuimine frissium. IS ingnum lemso ari do choscraidisi hi cathuib .7higcuimlinguib .7 uaitecht .7etchi intslúaig si atchim ogat Uair cidhimdo inluagsa isrolia intsluaigh<sup>359</sup> fuil ataghaid issaille dono .7 issocraidhe go romór. Nachfetruidhsi achlerigh or diarmuit nacharlin nacruith bristur cath acht amailis ail radia. Et dono amail atbeiridsi arsluaighne dobeth dodelb nochaniat nacrotha caemu<sup>360</sup> brissius cath acht nacridhida crúaidhe. Et dano ní hindoinib nama sin acht inanmannuib ali. Uair cid intaénmacctíri<sup>361</sup> marbuid .7 taiffnid tret imdu nacairiuch .7 nina|ma acht taiffnith natáinte bó .7marbuid ilimdo díb. INseigh dano .7 inebac taiffnith naheonu cidit mo .7 cidit aille andatsium. Ari arcuimin cía fath arandeburtuisi conid marisáil ra dia bristur cath. Cidon aclerig nach fír conidin|ti cambí infírinni brissius arfer

---

<sup>354</sup> i is written superscript.

<sup>355</sup> it is written superscript.

<sup>356</sup> a is written subscript.

<sup>357</sup> i is written subscript.

<sup>358</sup> The second a is written subscript, attached to the bottom of the e.

<sup>359</sup> t is written superscript, perhaps by a later hand.

<sup>360</sup> a is written subscript.

<sup>361</sup> The first a is written subscript.

nabregi.nó nahainbfírinne. uair críst amail at|bertaisi isúaitidh robui indaghaid  
díabail .7 naniúdaidi .7 gideadh arai is dosam<sup>362</sup> robud calmu uair issaici robui  
inífirinni. IS lor damsá didiu inslúagh fuil acum indaguid *conacht* uair issiat<sup>363</sup>  
ata arainbfírinne. Ro chomraigsit tra *conacht* imguairi .7 diarmait ruanaid  
*conasluagh* .7 raferad *cath crúaid feochuir fichdo* eturru. Arai tra  
ramembuith *incath forguairi* .7 romarbad *ár conacht* ann .7ár fer m|uman  
*immanda chuan tangatur* nasocraide. Tre brethir chaimín tra rabrissiuth  
*incathsin forgúairi*. uair rabui caimín tri trath nathrosgud forgúaire  
diandebairt caimin madcoir ladía intí fil hiccomthairisium frimbso [col. b] niro  
thairissiu frianaimtiu. *conidann atbert intaingel re caimin inso conndebuirtt*

IN *cath* ininis celtra.

fiche lobur<sup>364</sup> fanerta.<sup>365</sup>

ishe inlobur bus tren.

ishe intren bus techta

Tanicc dono guaire .ocustug aóghreir dochaimmín .7došlecht do. Nifuil festa<sup>366</sup>  
*arcaimín* achumang dam ginbuaid dobrith dotnaimtib dít *acht* chena iss  
*comluath sain* .7do|berat doréir féin duit *conidann ispert caimín*.

I Mmbiat foebra fri faebra.

ocus indnae<sup>367</sup> fri hindnae.

bidataitrech aghuairi.

clerchen fristarluis tinne.

Doarbart mac dé

frihathlath úaire.

críde guairiu fonatriuna.

innatriúna foghúaire.

---

<sup>362</sup> *A spiritus asper appears at the end of the line 'ag comhlíonadh an bháin'.*

<sup>363</sup> *i is written subscript.*

<sup>364</sup> *Glossed .i. caimin.*

<sup>365</sup> *Gloss .i. guaire.*

<sup>366</sup> *a is written subscript.*

<sup>367</sup> *a is written subscript.*

Rotech dano guairiu aidne assinchath remrate iarcor áir amuinnture. Et tanuig aaenur<sup>368</sup> comanistir mbicc hirraibiu aenbannsgal craibdiuch .7 rabui inbansgal higafiarfuighe de cuich he. itpert guaire ropud fer grádui doghuairiu he. IS truag linn arsi inrísín is mo dérc .7 eniuch innerind dobith himadmmuim ria naimtib .7 dergár amuinnture docur Et rochuaid inbannsgal connigi insruth comfocraib arcenn uiscuus darcossu innaeghead<sup>369</sup> tánuig dahinnsaigith. atconnuircc inmbratan mor issinduscuus .7 nirfet amarbad gutáinnic dinnsaigid indoiged bui acce. Tainic iarum guairiu immach .7robriss góilmech inbratain cotricc issinduscuus .7tug leiss he istech .7roirlamuigh he.Et rug abuidi radia bith aroenbratan indoidhcui<sup>370</sup> sin .7 gumbatar .x. mairt aici aguid.ii. ocus dorone inrann.

Atlochar do dia anétad.  
anocht domfeiss einécad.  
rombuisi aguid aile.  
**dombert secht<sup>371</sup> mbuú macc maire.**

**Roairg dan** diarmuit asahaithe inmadma connachto .7 dorat ícc abo donchailig raaer é .i. došinich cró. conid aire sin rochan síniuch cro.

Gach mac tigirn timcraidhi.  
tathad airle limsa de.  
dothaet<sup>372</sup> deissiul inbrogha.  
leis **fuidill muruanodó.**

Nifor braigtip damh nóbo.  
claítur colg moruanadho.  
isforrihuib focert feid.  
indiu induibgen<sup>373</sup> **ladiarmaid**

---

<sup>368</sup> The second a is written subscript.

<sup>369</sup> The first a is written subscript.

<sup>370</sup> The second i is written superscript.

<sup>371</sup> Glossed nó deich.

<sup>372</sup> a is written subscript.

<sup>373</sup> Glossed .i. gladius.

Guairi *mac colmáin inri*.  
rochac *forcraeba aidhní*.  
rola bualto mét *chinn bo*.  
*aruaman moruanadó*.

O ro brecca *braenán cro*.  
leni *dhendghorm diarmató*.<sup>374</sup>  
*errad fir chlous catha*.  
*nicoimtigh ginildatha*.

O ro breca. *braenán cró*.  
bruinni *gabra diarmato*.  
*uuscuus asaneghur grip*.<sup>375</sup>  
*ni lusta gansacarbíg*.

Olégither *imasech*.  
*cranno fianno forgachleth*.  
*nipadecmuing casal cro*.  
*forcrunn adurn diarmato*.<sup>376</sup>

Orosernathar *gai big*.  
*hitosuch inimairig*.  
*isiat días*<sup>377</sup> *cetarig*.  
*aghabar.ocus diarmait. Gach mac*.

Doronuth *arsin comurle ag guaire .ocus ag connachto incathugud beus*  
*dogéntais .nóin braighdi do bertais do diarmuit .7guairi dogiallad dorinn gai*  
*dó. Et issisidhee comurli doronsatursom. Tainic iarum guaire dinnsaigid*  
*diarmato. Ragab dono inchaillech narunno remrati hifiadnuse guaire. IS ann*  
*raráid guaire.*

---

<sup>374</sup> *d and i are ligatured.*

<sup>375</sup> *Glossed .i. nomen eqi diarmata.*

<sup>376</sup> *d and i are ligatured.*

<sup>377</sup> *d and i are ligatured.*

Atnuu

daris sínech comcruu.

nochusfuigeba labiu.

atabiu comlúu.

IS ann ispertsí

Atnuu

niricc sínich cocruu.

nifil occu caimfochaid.

cidnaccidfitir nuu.

IArsain tra rogiall guairi do chinn chlaidim do diarmait. IS he ingiallad sin .i. rinn in ghai [p. 61a] no inchloidim dothabuir imbel itir ffiacuib inneich nogiallus ann .7 se fáen INduair bui guairi amluidsin ispert diarmuit.<sup>378</sup> Rafinnfamne indoso arse indardia nóindaradhbclos chenu dogni guairi indenech morso. Ra irail ar druth damuinntir .7arbocht clam trúag nidiarruid arguair. Ní damsa aguairi olindruth. Nitarat guairi dauíd é. Ni damsa arinclam. Dobert adelcc oir do arnirabo innmus ali aci. Tet uad inbocht. Tig fer domuinntir diarmata in|deguid inboicht .7beirid indelg uad .7 dobeir dodiarluit. Tig inbocht aris go guairi gogeranach .7 innisid do indelg dobrith uad .7 tig cride guaire fair .7at|naid acris conor donbocht .7 imtidhig inbocht. Ticc fer domuintir diarmata nadegaid<sup>379</sup> ocus beirid incriss úad .7 atnaid do diarmuit. Ticc inbocht doridisi gugairi .7 guaire faen<sup>380</sup> .7 rinn claidim diarmato itir afiacuib. Et otconnuirc inmbocht gotursech romaid sruth mor der daraghrúadaib. Rofiarfuid diarmait desium inarathroghi lat beth fomchumachtainsi chíd. Dobeirim mobrethir arguairi nachaire achtarthrógi lemm inbocht uut. IS annsain raráid diarmait erig arse .7nibia tu fomcumachtabsi uair ata tu fosmacht righ isferr indusa .i. fosmacht ríg nimi .7 talmun .7 ni biasmacht uaimsiu fort. Acht chena nahairg dam muintir momáthar. Doronsat amlaid síd díarmait .7 guairi .7 adubuir diarmuit rissium tair do oenuch tailltean gutugursa motigernus duit hífadnuisi fer

---

<sup>378</sup> There is a flourish above the t, the significance of which is obscure to me.

<sup>379</sup> e is written superscript, ligatured to the ascender of d.

<sup>380</sup> a is written subscript.

nerinn. *conadamluid sin rocom|allad briathar chaimín.*<sup>381</sup> Teit *iarum* guairi do oenuch tailltin .7 *miach arcuit* lais daíoduil doferuib *erinn*. Tuc *immorro diarmait arferuib erinn.*<sup>382</sup> narolamuir truagh .*nó* trén díb ní dochuingid for *guaire* issinoenach. Rošuid *iarum gúairi forláim diarmata ifarrad rí*g herinn issindaenach.<sup>383</sup> Da lá dó *amlaid sin*. IN tres laa isann adubuirt *guairi fridiarmuit* Epsgob *chugam arse conndernar* mfaisitin do .7 *gurrumongthar*. Canon *ardiarmuid* bás *imchomfocus arguair*e. Canus tuicisi ón *ardiarmuit*. *nihannsa*. ol*guairi* fir herind inoen|inadh .7 gantruagh díb domathchuingid. Nitairmesgfaighter imchách hifechtsa ní dochuingid fortsa or diarmuit. Agso míach arcuid uaimsi duit. Acc orguair e ata *arccut color agum fein*. Atracht *guaire iartain* .7rotairbir dochach asadhíblámaib Et atberatsom robudlethfota indaralám dó hicasínedh *arammus nambocht ónuairsin*. Et tug diarmait achend inducht *guaire* .7roghabsat fir herind uile do oenchind comurle *guaire* osin ammach. Baromor tra laconnachta einich *guaire* .ocus bamor leo nothidnuiccith docrud dartír **immach**. **Rabatur carádh racaimín innsi celtra tairmescc** intidhnucuil sin imbi. Atbert caimin nithairmuscibsu imme *acht chena* guidimsi incuimde coti daíl nech thinoilfius oferuib herinn himuig natibrosum himach .7 *issed on roo comallad uair dorat mac lonán aradán oferuib erinn* ní nach *lugha* na atucc *guairi immach* IS he inguairi sin robui lá ininis celtra issindeclus .7 cuimin fota .ocus caimín. Egluis mor on doronuth lacaimín dar eisi *choluim*. Cred damad maith lat allán agat [col. b] issindecluisi aguairi olcuimín fota. *Nihannsa*. ol*guairi*. Robudmaith lium allan oir .ocus aircit acum .7 nidáthaiscith *acht* datidnucol armanmuin dobochtuib .7 adailgnechaib incuimded *Ocustusa* achuimín olguairi cid diamadh maith lat allan do**ith** acat. Robud maith lium ol cuimin alan doleabruib<sup>384</sup> do**ith** occum .7 atuidhecht doaes<sup>385</sup> leghinn coro forchantais inciniuth daendoi. *Ocustusa* achaimín oliatsum cid diamad maith lat alan ocat. *Niannsa.*<sup>386</sup> robud maith liumm alan došaeth<sup>387</sup> .7 doghalur famcurp olcaimín *cona* dicsigh cnaim

<sup>381</sup> a is written subscript.

<sup>382</sup> Inserted above the line between feruib and na.

<sup>383</sup> The first a is written subscript.

<sup>384</sup> a is written subscript.

<sup>385</sup> a is written subscript.

<sup>386</sup> i appears written within upper-case n.

<sup>387</sup> a is written subscript.

rechele *italmain* dím. Dorighni dia amluid sin .i. dorat dia *insaeghul*<sup>388</sup> go  
himdo *duguaire* .ocus *basuidh* ecnu .7 *forcetuil* cuimin *achtchena* niraibi rath  
*forcetail* *forchuimin*. *oroescain* muchuta liss moir e *triaforcetul* amuintire fein  
inafiadnuisi *isinmethil* *combar* natest. *conndebert* mochuta cidmor *asaethar*  
*forcetail* cuimin *arse* nirab liaa andas bó mael<sup>389</sup> *odhur* *immbuale* *natibra* *trít*  
*forcetal* *ontsaegul*.<sup>390</sup> Caimín *immorro* rogab tene buirr e .7 *nidechaid* *cnaim*  
*diachnámuib* *rachel* *hitalmuin*.<sup>391</sup>

---

<sup>388</sup> a is written subscript.

<sup>389</sup> a is written subscript.

<sup>390</sup> a is written subscript.

<sup>391</sup> i is written subscript.

## **Glossaries**

*Abbreviations employed in the glossary*

acc. accusative

adj. adjective

aug. augmented

art. article

comp. compound

compar. comparative

cond. conditional

conj. conjunction

conjug. conjugated

cons. consuetudinal

dat. dative

demons. demonstrative

dim. diminutive

du. dual

emph. emphatic

esp. especially

fem. feminine

freq. frequently

gen. genitive

impf. imperfect

impv. imperative

indec. indeclinable

indef. indefinite

interr. interrogative

irreg. irregular

lit. literally

masc. masculine

neg. negative

neut. neuter

nom. nominative

*nota. nota augens*

num. numeral

part. particle

pass. passive  
perf. perfect  
pers. personal  
pl. plural  
poss. possessive  
prep. preposition  
pres. present  
pret. preterite  
pron. pronoun  
pronom. pronominal  
rel. relative  
sg. singular  
subj. subjunctive  
var. variable  
v. n. verbal noun  
voc. vocative

## Glossary based on Recension 1a

**1 a<sup>L</sup>** voc. part.: *a*, **1a** (x2), **1d**, **6c**.  
*a*, **xii** (x2), **xiii**, **xiv** (x2), **xx** (x2).

**2 a<sup>L</sup>** poss. pron. 3sg. masc. 'his': *a*, **3b**, **15d**.  
*a*, **ix**, **xii** (x2), **xviii**, **xxii**.

**3 a<sup>H</sup>** poss. pron. 3sg. fem. 'her': *a*, **i**.

**4 a<sup>N</sup>** poss. pron. 3pl. 'their': *a*, **15b**.

**5 a<sup>H</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) 'out of, from': simple *a*, **14d**.  
With the art. dat. sg. masc. *assin*, **ix**; with poss. pron. 3sg. masc. *assa*, **xxii**.

**6 a** see **in**.

**adaig** fem. *i*-stem 'night': nom. sg. *adaig*, **8c**.

**ad-cota** H1 verb 'gets, obtains': pret. pass. 3sg. with prepositional rel. *i-n-étad*, **8a**.

**ad-tluchethar** W1 verb 'gives thanks': pres. 1sg. *át-lochur*, **8a**.

**aile** *io/iā*-stem adj. 'other': nom. sg. fem. *aile*, **8c**.  
Dat. sg. masc. *aile*, **xiv**.

**ailid** S1 verb 'nourishes, rears, fosters': aug. pret. 3sg. with Class C infix pron. 3sg. masc. with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *rod-n-alt-som*, **i**.

**aingid** S1 verb 'protects, serves': fut. 3sg. with Class A infix pron. 2sg. *nít-ain*, **xiii**.

**áine** fem. *iā*-stem 'glory, fame': gen. sg. *áne*, **3b**.

**airle** fem. *iā*-stem 'counsel, advice': nom. sg. *áirle*, **9b**.

**áit** fem. noun 'place, situation': nom. sg. *áit*, **xx**.

**aithrech** predicative adj. 'regrettable': nom. sg. *aithrech*, **6c**.

**anaid** W1 verb 'stays, waits': impv. 2sg. *an*, **xiv**.

**ancórae** fem. *iā*-stem *córae* 'peace, accord' with neg. prefix *an-*: nom. sg. *ancórai*, **xv**.

**anmann** *o/ā*-stem adj. *fann* 'weak' with neg. prefix *an-*: nom. sg. *anmand*, **1c**.

**1 ar<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ acc. or dat.) 'on, for, relating to; for the sake of, because of':  
simple *ar*, **3b**, **11d**.

Simple *ar*, **xi** (x4), **xvii**; with poss. pron. 1sg. *armo*, **xv**.

**2 ar** conj. 'for, since, seeing that': *ar*, **1c**.  
*ar*, **iv** (x2).

**3 ar<sup>N</sup>** poss. pron. 1pl. 'our': *ar*, **5a**, **5b**, **5c**.

**4 ar** see **2 ol, ar, or, for**.

**ara**<sup>N</sup> conj. (+ subj.) ‘that, in order that, so that’: *ara-ndéine*, **xi**.

**argat** neut. o-stem ‘silver’: nom. sg. *argat*, **xxi**; gen. sg. *argait*, **xvii**, **xxi**.

**arna** see **íar**.

**as-beir** S1 verb ‘says’: impf. pass. 3sg. *as-berthe*, **3a**.

Pres. 3pl. with *nota*. 3pl. *as-berat-som*, **xxii**; pret. 3sg. *as-bert*, **viii**, **xvi**, with *nota*. 3sg. fem. *as-bert-si*, **i**.

**as-ben** S3 verb ‘smites, slays’: pres. 1sg. with Class B infixed pron. 3sg. fem. *ata-biü*, **16d**.

**asó** pron. ‘here is, behold’: *asó*, **xiv**.

**at-etha** ‘finds, obtains, gets’: pres. 2pl. *at-ethaid*, **xviii**.

**athchomarc** masc. o-stem v. n. of *ad-comairc* ‘asks, questions’: gen. sg. *athchomairc*, **xv**, **xxiii**.

**at-reig** S1 verb ‘rises, gets up’: aug. pret. 3sg. *at-raracht*, **xxii**.

**athlad** noun: acc. sg. *hathlad*, **7b**.

**at-tá** substantive verb ‘is’: pres. 3sg. *a-tá*, **2c**; with suffixed pron. 2sg. *táthut*, **9b**; neg. *ní-fil*, **17c**; 3pl. with prepositional rel. *i-mbíat*, **6a**; aug. pret. 3sg. with Class A infixed pron. 1sg. and *nota*. 1sg. *rom-buí-se*, **8c**.

Pres. 3sg. *a-tá*, **xi**, **xxi**; rel. *fil*, **v**; 3pl. with prepositional rel. *i-taät*, **xx**; cons. pres. 3pl. *bít*, **xix**; fut. 3sg. with Class A infixed pronoun 2sg. *rot-bía*, **xii**; pret. 3sg. *co-mbuí*, **xix**; aug. pret. 3sg. *ro-boí*, **iv**.

**aurchor** masc. o-stem v. n. of *ar-cuirethar* ‘turns back, turns away’: nom. sg. with demons. part. *aurchor-sa*, **vii**.

**aurgaire** neut. io-stem v. n. of S2 *ar-gair* ‘forbids, prevents’: dat. sg. *[d']aurgaire*, **vi**.

**bárach** neut. o-stem ‘spancel for cows at milking-time; milking-time, (early) morning’: dat. sg. *bárach*, **xx**.

**bec** o/ā-stem adj. ‘small’: nom. pl. masc. *bic*, **5a**, **15a**.  
Dat. sg. neut. *bic*, **xiv**.

**beirid** S1 verb ‘bears, carries’: impf. 3pl. *no-bertis*, **i**.

**beó** masc. o-stem ‘living being’: acc. pl. *biü*, **16c**.

**bó** fem. irreg. noun ‘cow’: gen. sg. *bó*, **11c**; acc. pl. *mbú*, **8d**; gen. pl. *bó*, **4a**, **10a**, *mbó*, **5c**.

Acc. pl. with *nota*. 3sg. fem. *bú-si*, **i**.

**brága** masc. t-stem, ‘neck, throat’: dat. pl. *bráigtib*, **10a**.

**bratán** masc. o-stem ‘salmon’: acc. sg. *bratán*, **ix**.

**bratt** masc. o-stem ‘cloak, mantle’: acc. sg. *mbratt*, **xii**.

**breccaid** W1 verb ‘speckles’: perfective pres. 3sg. *ro·brecca*, **12a**, **13a**.

**bróenán** masc. o-stem ‘drops, shower’: nom. sg. *bróenán*, **12a**, **13a**.

**broga** see **mruig**.

**bruinne** masc. io-stem ‘breast, chest’: acc. pl. *brunni*, **13b**.

**búalta** noun, ‘dung, ordure’: acc. pl. *búalta*, **11c**.

**'ca** see **oc**.

**caccaid** W1 verb ‘excretes, shits’: aug. pret. 3sg. *ro·chacc*, **11b**.

**cach, cech** pronom. adj. ‘each, every, all’: nom. sg. masc. *cach*, **9a**; neut. *cech*, **14b**.

**casal** fem. ā-stem ‘mantle, cloak’: nom. sg. *caisel*, **14c**.

**cath** masc. ? u-stem ‘battle’: nom. sg. *cath*, **2b**; acc. pl. *catha*, **12c**; gen. pl. *cath*, **1c**.  
Dat. sg. *chath*, **ix**.

**céile** masc. io-stem ‘client, fellow’: nom. sg. *céile*, **xiv**, *chéili*, **xii**; dat. sg. *chéiliu*, **xiv**; gen. pl. *céli*, **xxii**.

**cen<sup>l</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) ‘without’: simple *cen*, **12d**.

**cenn** neut. o-stem ‘head, end’: gen. sg. *chind*, **11c**; dat. sg. *cind*, **4c**.  
Acc. sg. *chend*, **xvii**, with *nota*. 1sg. *chend-sa*, **xv**; dat. sg. *chind*, **xv**, **xxiii**.

**ceta, cita, ciata** adverbial prefix ‘first, in the first place’: *cíta·ric*, **15c**.

**cid** neut. interr. pron. ‘why’: *cid*, **17d**.  
*cid*, **xi**, **xx** (x2).

**cingid** S1 verb ‘steps’: pres. 3sg. with suffixed pron. 3sg. neut. *cingthe*, **xii**.

**ciúin** i-stem ‘quiet one’: acc. pl. *chíunu*, **7c**.

**claideb** masc. o-stem ‘sword’: acc. sg. *claideb*, **x**, **xiii**; gen. sg. *claidib*, **iii**.

**cléirchén** masc. o-stem, *cléirech* ‘cleric’ with dim. suffix *-én*: nom. sg. *clérchén*, **6d**.

**clam** masc. o-stem ‘leper’: nom. sg. *clam*, **xii**.

**clód** masc. u-stem v. n. of *cloïd* ‘turns back, conquers’: gen. sg. *cloithe*, **1c**.

**cloïd** H3 verb, ‘turns the edge, blunts’: pres. 3sg. rel. *cluäs*, **12c**; pass. 3sg. rel. *cloíthir*, **10b**.

**1 co<sup>h</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) ‘to, until’: simple *co*, **3a**; conjug. 3sg. masc. *chucai*, **2d**; 1pl. *chucund*, **1d**.  
Conjug. 1sg. with *nota*. 1sg. *chucum-sa*, **xx** (x2); 3sg. masc. *cucai*, **xviii**, with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *chucai-seom*, **xix**; 2pl. *chucaib*, **xviii**; 3pl. *chucu*, **xii**.

**2 co<sup>N</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) ‘with’: simple *co*, **5b, 16b, 17b**; with the poss. pron. 1sg. *com*, **16d**.

Simple *co*, **xi**.

**3 co<sup>N</sup>** conj. ‘until, so that, before’: *co-tí*, **5b, 5d**.

*co-tarat*, **i**, *co-raímid*, **iii**, *coro-gíall-saide*, **iii**, *co-tall*, **xiv**, *conat-rogbat*, **xv**,  
*co-mbuí*, **xix**. *co-tard-sa*, **xx**.

**cobair** fem. t-stem ‘help, assistance’: nom. sg. *cobair*, **5b, 5d**.

**cobais** fem. n-stem ‘confession (of sin); confidence, secret’: acc. pl. *choibsena*, **xx**.

**coimtig** i-stem adj. ‘fitting, appropriate’: nom. sg. *comtig*, **12d**.

**cóir** i-stem adj. ‘proper, correct, just’: nom. sg. *cóir*, **v**.

**coirm** neut. i-stem or (later) n-stem ‘ale; ale-feast’: acc. sg. *choirm*, **2c**.

**colg** fem. ā-stem, ‘sword, rapier’: nom. sg. *colg*, **10b**.

**comairlid** masc. i-stem ‘adviser, counsellor’: dat. sg. *chomairlid*, **xxiii**.

**comlúath** o/ā-stem. adj. ‘equally swift’: nom. sg. *comlúath*, **vii**.

**comthairisem** masc. u-stem v. n. of *con-tairisedar* ‘remains constant; consists’: dat. sg. *comthairisim*, **v**.

·**comtich** see **con-diëig**.

**con-diëig** S1 verb ‘asks, demands’: pres. 3sg. *ní-comtich*, **xix**, *nád-cunnig*, **xx**.

**coasaít** fem. ī-stem, ‘complaint’: nom. sg. *chossaít*, **ii**.

**cráeb** fem. ā-stem, ‘branch, bough; tree, bush’: acc. pl. *croíbu*, **11b**.

**crann** neut. o-stem ‘spear-shaft, spear’: dat. sg. *crund*, **14d**; nom. pl. *cranna*, **14b**.

**críde** neut. io-stem ‘heart’: acc. sg. *críde*, **7c**.

**cris** masc. u-stem ‘girdle, belt’: acc. sg. *criss*, **xii**.

**cruë** masc. o-stem ‘hoof, foot’: dat. sg. *cruü*, **16b, 17b**.

**cró** neut. u-stem ? ‘gore, blood’: gen. sg. *cró*, **12a, 13a, 14c**.

**cuingid** fem. i-stem v. n. of S1 *con-diëig* ‘asks, requests’: dat. sg. *chungid*, **xviii**.

·**cunnig** see **con-diëig**.

**dá** num. adj. ‘two’: dat. *díb*, **xxii**.

**dam** masc. o-stem ‘ox’: nom. pl. *daim*, **5c**; gen. pl. *dam*, **10a**.

**danó** adv. ‘then’: *danó*, **vii**.

**dar** prep. (+ acc.) ‘over, across’: simple *dar*, **iii**.

**dartaid** masc. i-stem ‘yearling bullock’: nom. sg. *dartaid*, **4c**.

**de<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) ‘from, of’: conjug. 3sg. masc./neut. *dé*, **9b**.  
conjug. 1sg. *dím*, **xiv**; 3sg. masc./neut. *dé*, **viii**; 3pl. *díb*, **xx**.

**decmaing** i-stem adj. ‘unlikely, strange’: nom. sg. fem. *decmaing*, **14c**.

**delg** masc. o-stem ‘pin, brooch’: acc. sg. *delg*, **xii**.

**denngorm** o/ā-stem adj. ‘blue-hued’ (comp. of fem. ā-stem *denn* ‘colour, hue’ and o/ā-stem adj. *gorm* ‘blue, green, dark, splendid’): acc. sg. fem. *ndendgorm*, **12b**.

**dessel** masc. o-stem ‘direction of the sun, right-hand course’: acc. or dat. sg. *dessel*, **9c**.

**día<sup>N</sup>** conj. (+ subj.) ‘if’: *dá-rís*, **16b**.

**diäs** fem. ā-stem ‘pair, couple’: nom. sg. *diäs*, **15c**.

**didiú** part. of transition ‘then, now’: *didiú*, **ix**, **xix**.

**1 do<sup>L</sup>** poss. pron. 2sg. ‘your’: *do*, **vii**.

**2 do<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) ‘to, for’: simple *do*, **2a**, **4d**, **8a**; 3sg. masc. *dó*, **2c**; with poss. pron. 1sg. *dom*, **8b**.

Simple *do*, **iv**, **vi**, **ix**, **x** (x2), **xiv** (x2), **xv** (x4), **xvii** (x2), **xviii**, **xx**, **xxiii** (x2), *d’[aurgaire]*, **vi**; with the art. dat. sg. masc. *don*, **xiv**; conjug. 1sg. *dam*, **xiv**, with *nota*. 1sg. *dam-sa*, **xii** (x3), **xviii**, **xx**; 2sg. *duit*, **xxi**, with *nota*. 2sg. *duit-seo*, **xiv**; 3sg. masc. *dó*, **iii**, **xii**, **xx**; 3sg. fem. with *nota*. 3sg. fem. *dí-ssi*, **ii**; 3pl. *dóib*, **xv**, **xxiii**; with poss. pron. 3sg. masc. *día*, **xvii**.

**do·aidlea** W2 verb ‘comes to’: fut. 3sg. with Class A infixed pron. 2sg. *doth-aideba*, **2d**.

**do·airbir** S1 verb ‘yields, gives’: pret. 3sg. *do·arbart*, **7a**.

**do·alla** W1 verb ‘takes away, cuts off’: pres. subj. 1sg. *co·tall*, **xiv**.

**do·beir** S1 verb ‘gives’: pret. 3sg. with Class A infixed pron. 1sg. *dom·bert*, **8d**.  
Fut. 3sg. *do·béra*, **xi**, *ní·thibre*, **xi**; 3pl. *do·bérat*, **vii**. Perfective forms: pres. subj. 1sg. with *nota*. 1sg. *co·tard-sa*, **xx**; perf. 3sg. *do·rat*, **iii**, **ix**, *co·tarat*, **i**.

**do·cuirethar** W2 verb ‘puts’: aug. pret. 2sg. with prepositional rel. *fri·tarlais*, **6d**.

**do·gní** H2 verb ‘does, makes’: impv. 2pl. *dénaid*, **2c**.  
Pres. 3pl. *do·gníat*, **xxiii**; pres. subj. 3sg. *ara·ndéine*, **xi**.

**do·icc** S1 verb ‘comes’: impv. 2sg. *tair*, **1d**; pres. subj. 3sg. *co·tí*, **5b**, **5d**.

**do·léici** W2 verb ‘throws, casts, hurls’: pres. pass. 3pl. *do·lécther*, **14a**.  
Aug. pret. pass. 3sg. *do·reilced*, **vii**.

**do·luid** see **do·tét**.

**dorn** masc. o-stem ‘hand, fist’: dat. sg. *durn*, **14d**.

**do·tét** S1 verb 'comes': pres. subj. 3sg. *do·té*, **9c**.

Pres. 3sg. *do·tháet*, **vi**, **xii**, **xviii**; impv. 2sg. *tair*, **xiii**; pret. 3sg. with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *do·luid-seom*, **x**.

**drúth** masc. o-stem 'jester': nom. sg. *drúth*, **xii**.

**dubchenn** comp. of u-stem adj. *dub* 'black' and neut. o-stem *cenn* 'head', used of a sword: nom. sg. *dubcend*, **10d**.

**duine** masc. io-stem 'person, mankind': acc. sg. *duine*, **xi** (x2).

**duinebath** neut. o-stem 'destruction of life; pestilence': voc. sg. *duinebad*, **1d**.

**éc** masc. u-stem 'death': gen. sg. *éca*, **xx**.

**écath** noun, 'a hook': nom. sg. with num. prefix *hénécad*, **8b**.

**eirred** masc. o-stem 'dress, attire': nom. sg. *eirred*, **12c**.

**éol** masc. o-stem 'that which is known': nom. sg. *héol*, **2b**.

**epsco** masc. o-stem 'bishop': nom. sg. *epsco*, **xx**.

**·étad** see **ad·cota**.

**etir<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) 'between': simple *etir*, **i**, **xx**.

**fá** conj. 'or': *fá*, **xi**.

**faebar** neut. o-stem 'a sharp edge, a sharp bladed weapon': nom. pl. *faíbra*, **6a**; acc. pl. *faíbra*, **6a**.

**fer** masc. o-stem 'man': gen. sg. *fir*, **12c**; nom. pl. *fir*, **5a**.  
Nom. sg. *fer*, **v**, **xviii**.

**ferg** fem. ā-stem 'anger, wrath': dat. sg. *feirg*, **xi**.

**fess** fem. ā-stem 'entertainment for the night, food, supper': dat. sg. *feis*, **8b**.

**fet** fem. ā-stem 'whistling, of sound of sword cleaving air': acc. sg. *feit*, **10c**.

**fíanda** io/iā-stem adj. 'warlike': nom. pl. neut. *fíanna*, **14b**.

**·fil** see **at·tá**.

**finne** fem. iā-stem 'shield': nom. pl. *findne*, **6b**; acc. pl. *findne*, **6b**.

**·fitir** see **ro·fitir**.

**fo<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ acc. or dat.) 'under': simple *fo*, **7c**, **7d**.  
Simple *fo*, **xv**; with the art. acc. sg. masc. *fon*, **xiii**.

**fo·ácaib** S2 verb 'leaves': fut. 1sg. with Class A infix pron. 3sg. fem. *nícos·fáicéb*, **16c**.  
Aug. pret. 3sg. *fo·rácaib*, **iv**.

**fo·ceird** S1 verb 'throws, casts': pres. 3sg. *fo·cheirt*, **10c**; perf. 3sg. *ro·lá*, **11c**.  
Pres. 3sg. *fo·cheirt*, **xii** (x2).

**fo·fodair** verb ‘seizes, fills?’: pres. 3sg. with Class A infixed pron. 1pl. *fon·fodair*, **1b**.

**foídid** W2 verb ‘sends’: impv. 2sg. *foíd*, **2d**.

**fonaid** simple verb ‘bakes, roasts, cooks’, from Old Irish W2 *fo·noí*: aug. pret. 3sg. *ro·fon*, **ix**.

**for** prep. (+ acc. or dat.) ‘on, onto’: simple *for*, **10a, 10c, 11b, 14b, 14d**.  
Simple + dat. *for*, **iii, iv, ix, xix** (x2); conjug. 2sg. *fort*, **xxi**.

**forad** masc. o-stem ‘a mound or platform’: dat. pl. *foradaib*, **xix**.

**forreith** noun ‘hospitality, entertainment’: acc. or dat. sg. *forreith*, **4d**.

**fri<sup>H</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) ‘towards, against, at’: simple *fri*, **6a, 6b, 7b, 13d**; conjug. 3sg. masc. *friss*, **2a**, with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *fris·seom*, **3b**.  
Simple *fri*, **iii, iv, v, x**; conjug. 1sg. with *nota*. 1sg. *frim·sa*, **v**.

**fuidel** masc. o-stem ‘remnant, remainder’: nom. sg. *fuidell*, **9d**.

**fuirec** neut. o-stem ‘preparation, esp. provision for feeding or entertaining’:  
nom. sg. *fuirec*, **4b**.

**gabair** fem. i-stem ‘a horse, a mare’: nom. sg. *gabair*, **15d**; gen. sg. *gabra*, **13b**.

**gáe** masc. o-stem ‘a spear, a javelin’: nom. pl. *gaí*, **15a**.  
Acc. sg. *gaó*, **xii**.

**gaibid** S2 verb ‘takes, begins; assails’: aug. subj. 3pl. with Class C infixed pron. 2sg. *conat·rogbat*, **xv**; aug. fut. pass. 3sg. *nírai·gébthar*, **xxi**; cond. 3sg. *nád·gébad*, **iv**; aug. pret. 3sg. *ro·gab*, **ix**; 3pl. *ro·gabsat*, **xxiii**.

**gairm** neut. n-stem v. n. of S2 *gairid* ‘shouts, calls’: dat. sg. *gairm*, **xx**.

**gat** masc. o-stem ‘a withe, halter’: gen. sg. *gait*, **4c**.

**gíall** masc. o-stem ‘a human pledge, hostage; the act of yielding homage, obeying’: acc. sg. ? with *nota*. 1sg. *gíall·sa*, **xiv**; dat. sg. *gíall*, **x**.

**gíallaid** W1 verb ‘submits’: aug. pret. 2sg. with *nota*. 2sg. *ro·gíallais·[s]iu*, **xiv**;  
3sg. with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *coro·gíall·saide*, **iii**.

**gilla** masc. io-stem ‘lad, servant’: nom. sg. *gilla*, **ix** (x2).

**i<sup>N</sup>** prep. (+ acc. or dat.) ‘in, into’: simple *i*, **4c, 15b**.  
Simple *hi*, **v**; conjug. 3sg. neut. *and*, **i, xvi, xix**.

**1 í** pers. pron. 3sg. fem. ‘she’: *í*, **15c**.

**2 í** deictic part.: *í*, **xvii, n-í, xxiii**.

**íar<sup>N</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) ‘after’: simple *íar*, **7a**.  
With poss. pron. 3sg. *arna*, **xx**.

**íarom** adv. ‘then, afterwards’: *íarom*, **xvii, xxii, xxiii**.

**íccaid** W1 verb ‘pays; compensates for’: aug. pret. 3sg. *ro·hícc*, **ii**.

**íccthai** verbal of necessity of W1 *íccaid* ‘pays’: *ícdáí*, **4c**.

**ildath** neut. u-stem ‘multicolour’ (comp. of i-stem adj. *il* ‘many, much’ and neut. u-stem *dath* ‘colour’): acc. pl. *illdatha*, **12d**.

**imchossaít** fem. ī-stem ‘contention; accusation, complaint’: acc. sg. *imchossaít*, **i**.

**im<sup>l</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) ‘concerning’: simple *im*, **3c**.

**im(f)ochaid** fem. i-stem ‘act of assailing, impugning’ v. n. of S2 \**imm-fo-saig*: dat. sg. *himochaid*, **17c**.

**immairecc** masc. o-stem ‘conflict, battle, meeting’ v. n. of S1 *imm-airicc* ‘happens’: gen. sg. *n-immairic*, **15b**.

**immasech** adv. ‘in turn’: *immasech*, **14a**.

**immorro** adv. ‘however, well, then, now’: *immorro*, **ii, xiv, xxi**.

**imochaid** see **im(f)ochaid**.

**1 in** art. ‘the’: nom. sg. masc. *in*, **2b, 10d, 11a**; gen. sg. masc. *in*, **9c**; acc. pl. masc. *inna*, **7d**.

Nom. sg. masc. *in*, **v, ix, xii (x2), xiv, xviii, int, vii, xvii**; fem. *in*, **ii**; acc. sg. masc. *in*, **xii (x4), xxiii**; fem. *in*, **xi**; neut. *a*, **xix**; gen. pl. masc. *na*, **xxii**.

**2 in(n)** see **is**.

**indile** fem. iā-stem ‘property, possessions, cattle’: acc. sg. *indili*, **xviii**.

**indíu** adv. ‘today’: *indíu*, **3c, 10d**.

**indossa** adv. ‘now, just now’: *innossa*, **xi**.

**innocht** adv. ‘tonight’: *innocht*, **11b**.

**is** copula ‘is’: pres. 2sg. *it*, **1c**; 3sg. *is*, **3c, 10c, 15c**; neg. *ní*, **2b (x2), 10a, 12d, 13d**; subj. 3sg. neg. *nípo*, **14c**; fut. 3sg. with Class A infixed pron. 2sg. *bidit*, **6c**; 3pl. *bet*, **5a, bid**, **5c**.

3sg. *is*, **i, viii, xvi, xviii**; interr. *in*, **xi, inn, xi**; neg. rel. *nách*, **xx**; pres. subj. 3sg. *níp*, **xv**; pret. 3sg. *ba*, **xxii, bá**, **xix**.

**la** prep. (+ acc.) ‘with, by’: simple *la*, **10d, 16c**; conjug. 1sg. with *nota*. 1sg. *lim-sa*, **9b**; 3sg. masc. *laiss*, **9d**.

Simple *la*, **v**; conjug. 1sg. with *nota*. 1sg. *lim-sa*, **xxi**; 2sg. with *nota*. 2sg. *lat-su*, **xx**; 3sg. masc. *leis*, **xvii**, with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *leis-[s]eom*, **xix**.

**·lá** see **fo·ceird**.

**laä, lá** neut. io-stem ‘day’: acc. sg. with demons. part. *llaä-sin*, **xix**; gen. sg. *laí*, **xx**.

**lám** fem. ā-stem ‘hand’: nom. sg. *lám*, **xxii**; acc. sg. *láim*, **iii**; dat. sg. *láim*, **xix**; dat. du. *lámaib*, **xxii**.

**léicid** W2 verb ‘lets, leaves’: impv. 2sg. *léic*, **2a**.

**léine** fem. iā-stem ‘tunic, smock’: acc. sg. *léni*, **12b**.  
Acc. sg. *léni*, **xiv**.

**leth** neut. s-stem ‘side’: acc. sg. *leth*, **14b**.  
Dat. sg. *leith*, **ix**.

**lethfotae** comp. of neut. o-stem *leth* ‘half’ and io/iā-stem adj. *fotae* ‘long’:  
nom. sg. *lethfota*, **xxii**.

**lobrán** masc. o-stem ‘weakling’: nom. sg. *lobrán*, **3c**.

**lóeg** masc. o-stem ‘calf’: nom. pl. *loíg*, **5c**.

**luë** io-stem noun ‘foot, heel, kick’: dat. sg. *luü*, **16d**.

**luid** see **téit**.

**luinne** fem. iā-stem ‘fierceness, anger, vehemence’: dat. sg. *luinne*, **xi**.

**lústai** verbal of necessity of S1 *ibid* ‘drinks’: *lústai*, **13d**.

**má, ma** conj. ‘if’: with pres. subj. 3sg. of copula *mad*, **v, xi (x2)**.

**mac** see **mac tigirn**.

**maccán** masc. o-stem *macc* ‘son, boy’ with dim. suffix *-án*: nom. pl. *maccáin*,  
**5a**.

**machtad** masc. noun ‘wonder, astonishment’: nom. sg. *machtad*, **xix**.

**mac tigirn** noun ‘overlord’, for earlier *machtigern*?: nom. sg. *mac tigrind*, **9a**.

**maidid** S2 verb ‘breaks’: aug. pret. 3sg. *co-raímid*, **iii**.

**maith** i-stem adj. ‘good; as interj. well, as’: nom. sg. *maith*, **xi, xiv, xviii, xx**.

**mallchobair** comp. of o/ā-stem adj. *mall* ‘slow’ and fem. t-stem *cobair* ‘help,  
assistance’: voc. sg. *mallchobair*, **1a**.

**mana** masc. io-stem ? ‘an omen, portent, sign’: nom. sg. *mana*, **xx**.

**már, mór** o/ā-stem adj. ‘great, big’: nom. sg. *már*, **2c**; nom. pl. masc. *móir*, **5a**.  
Acc. sg. fem. *móir*, **i**.

**medón** masc. o-stem ‘middle’: nom. sg. *medón*, **xx**.

**mét** fem. ā-stem ‘size, amount’: acc. or dat. sg. *mét*, **3b**; nom. or dat. sg. *méit*,  
**11c**.

**míach** fem. ā-stem ‘a measure of capacity; a bushel’: nom. sg. *míach*, **xvii, xxi**.

**mo<sup>l</sup>** poss. pron. 1sg. ‘my’: *mo*, **9d, 10b, 11d**.  
*mo*, **xiv (x2), xx**.

**mór** see **már, mór**.

**mruig** masc. i-stem ‘a piece of inhabited or cultivated land’: gen. sg. *broga*, **9c**.

**ná** conj. ‘nor’: *ná*, **10a**.

**nách** see **is**.

**námae** masc. t-stem ‘enemy, foe’: acc. pl. *náimtiu*, **v**.

**nech** indef. pron. ‘somebody, something’: nom. sg. *nech*, **xix, xx**; gen. sg. *neich*, **xviii**.

**1 ní** neut. indef. pron. ‘anything; something’: nom. sg. *ní*, **xii (x3), xiv**; acc. sg. *ní*, **ii, xi, xix, xx**.

**2 ní** see **is**.

**nícon** adv. of negation ‘not’: with Class A infix pron. 3sg. fem. *nícos·fáicéb*, **16c**.

**nigid** S1 verb ‘washes’: pres. pass. 3sg. with prepositional rel. *assa·negar*, **13c**.

**nó** conj. ‘or’: *nó*, **xviii**.

**nuë** io/iā-stem adj. ‘new, recent, fresh’: dat. sg. neut. *nuü*, **17d**.

**1 ó<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) ‘from’: with the art. dat. sg. fem. *ónd*, **xxii**.

**2 ó<sup>L</sup>** conj. ‘since, when, as’: *ó*, **12a, 13a, 14a, 15a**.

**oäc** masc. o-stem ‘young man, warrior’: acc. pl. *ócu*, **17c**.  
Acc. pl. *hócu*, **iv**.

**oc** prep. (+ dat.) ‘at, by’: with poss. pron. 3sg. fem. ‘*ca*, **17c**.  
Simple *oc*, **iv, xxi**; with poss. pron. 3sg. masc. *oca*, **xviii**.

**óen** num. prefix ‘one’: *hénécad*, **8b**.

**ógsíd** comp. of o/ā-stem adj. *óg* ‘whole, entire, perfect’ and neut. s-stem *síd* ‘peace, truce, conciliation’: acc. sg. *ógsíd*, **xxiii**.

**1 ol** conj. ‘for, since’: *ol*, **xi**.

**2 ol, ar, or, for** defective verb ‘says, said’: *ar*, **xx**; *ol*, **xii (x2), xiii, xiv, xv, xx**;  
*or*, **v, vii (x2), xi, xii (x2), xiii, xiv (x3), xviii, xxi (x2)**.

**ón** indec. neut. sg. pron. ‘this, that’: *ón*, **xix**.

**or** see **2 ol, ar, or, for**.

**ráidid** W2 verb ‘says, tells’: impv. 2sg. with Class A infix pron. 3sg. neut. *na·ráid*, **2a**.

**·raímid** see **maidid**.

**ré<sup>N</sup>, ría<sup>N</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) ‘before’: conjug. 3sg. masc. *ríam*, **iii**.

**rí** masc. g-stem 'king': nom. sg. *rí*, **11a**; dat. pl. *rígaib*, **10c**.  
Dat. sg. *ríg*, **xv**.

**ríamnaige** see **rúaimnech**.

**ríar** fem. ā-stem 'will, wish': dat. sg. *réir*, **7a**.  
Acc. sg. *réir*, **vii**.

**ríatae** io/iā-stem adj. 'of horses and draught-oxen, broken, trained': nom. pl.  
masc. *ríatai*, **5c**.

**rind** masc. i-stem 'point, tip': acc. sg. *rind*, **iii**.

**·rís** see **ro·icc**.

**rochtain** fem. i-stem v. n. of *roichid* 'reaches, arrives at': dat. sg. *rochtain*, **xxii**.

**roféile** fem. iā-stem *féile* 'generosity, liberality' with intens. prefix *ro*: acc. sg.  
*roféili*, **xi**.

**ro·icc** S1 verb 'reaches, arrives': pres. 3sg. *cíta-ric*, **15c**, *ní-ric*, **17b**; pres. subj.  
1sg. *dá·rís*, **16b**.

**ro·lá** see **fo·ceird**.

**rúaimnech** fem. ā-stem 'a long hair (esp. horsehair); a fishing-line': gen. sg.  
*ríamnaige*, **ix**.

**1 rúanaid** i-stem adj. 'powerful': nom. sg. *rúanaid*, **3a**.

**2 rúanaid** masc. i-stem 'a strong man, champion': gen. sg. *rúanada*, **9d**,  
*rúanado*, **10b**, *rúanadó*, **11d**.

**sacarbaic** fem. noun 'the sacrament': acc. sg. *sacarbaic*, **13d**.

**sárugud** masc. u-stem v. n. of W2 *sáraigid* 'violates, outrages': nom. sg.  
*sárugud*, **xviii**.

**sciath** masc. o-stem 'shield': acc. sg. *sciath*, **xii**.

**sé** substantival demons. pron. 'this': *sé*, **3a**.

**sech** prep. (+ acc.) 'over, beyond': conjug. 3sg. masc. *sechai*, **xii**.

**secht** num. adj. 'seven': *.uii*, **8d**.

**sernaid** S3 verb 'arrays, disposes': perfective pres. pass. 3pl. *ro·sernatar*, **15a**.

**sin** demons. pron. 'that, those': *sin*, **vii**.

**sléchtaid** W1 verb 'kneels, prostrates (oneself); submits to': pres. 3sg.  
*sléchtaid*, **vi**, with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *sléchtaid-side*, **xv**.

**só** demons. pron. 'this': *só*, **xx**.

**sundút** demons. pron., comp. of the pron. *sund* 'this' and the adj. *út* 'yon,  
yonder': *sundút*, **xxi**.

**tabart** fem. ā-stem v. n. of S1 *do-beir* ‘gives’: dat. sg. *thabairt*, **xvii**.

**tair** see **do-icc**.

**tairbrid** ? simple verb ‘yields, gives’, from Old Irish S1 *do-airbir*: pres. 3sg. with Class A infixed pron. 3sg. fem. *nos-tairbir*, **xxii**.

**tairisid** simple verb ‘stays, remains; endures, persists’, from Old Irish *do-airissedar*: aug. subj. 3sg. *níro-thairise*, **v**.

**·tarlais** see **do-cuirethar**.

**táthut** see **a-tá**.

**tech, teg** neut. s-stem ‘house, dwelling’: dat. sg. *thig*, **xviii**.

**teichid** S1 verb ‘flees’: pret. 3sg. *táich*, **ix**.

**teinne** fem. iā-stem ‘severity, violence’: acc. sg. *tine*, **6d**.

**téit** S1 verb ‘goes’: pret. 3sg. with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *luid-seom*, **xvii, xix**; pres. subj. 2sg. *co-ndigis*, **xv**.

**timchríde** io/iā-stem adj., comp. of i-stem adj. *tim* ‘soft, yielding’ and neut. io-stem *críde* ‘heart’: nom. sg. masc. *timchríde*, **9a**.

**tine** see **teinne**.

**tinne** masc. io-stem ‘flitch of bacon’: gen. pl. *tinne*, **4a**.

**tosach** neut. o-stem ‘start, beginning’: dat. sg. *tossuch*, **15b**.

**trá** adv. ‘then, therefore, so, indeed’: *trá*, **xv**.

**tráth** neut. u-stem ‘period of time, hour, day’: acc. pl. *thráth*, **iv**.

**1 trén** o/ā-stem adj. ‘strong’: acc. sg. *trén*, **xx**.

**2 trén** masc. o-stem ‘strong one’: acc. pl. *tríunu*, **7d**.

Nom. sg. *thrénn*, **xviii**.

**trí** num. adj. ‘three’: acc. pl. neut. *trí*, **iv**; in adverbial phrase *fo thrí* ‘thrice’, **xv**.

**trícha** masc. nt-stem ‘thirty’: nom. sg. *trícha*, **4a (x2)**.

**troscad** masc. o-stem v. n. of *troiscid* ‘fasts’: dat. sg. *troscud*, **iv**.

**1 trúag** o/ā-stem adj. ‘wretched, pitiable; thin, lean’: acc. sg. *thrúag*, **xx**.

**2 trúag** masc. o-stem ‘wretch, miserable person’: nom. sg. *trúag*, **xviii**.

**úamun** masc. u-stem ‘fear’: nom. sg. *úamain*, **1b**; acc. or dat. sg. *úamon*, **11d**.

**úar** fem. ā-stem ‘an hour, a time’: dat. sg. with demons. part. *úair-sin*, **xxii**.

**ucut** demons. adj. ‘yonder’: acc. sg. fem. *ucut*, **xi**.

**uisce** masc. io-stem ‘water’: nom. sg. *usce*, **13c**.

## Proper nouns in Recension 1a

**Áenach Tailten** see **Óenach Tailten**.

**Aidne**: gen. *Aidní*, **11b**.

**Caimmíne Inse Celtra**: nom. *Cámíne Indse Celtra*, **iv**, *Cammín*, **vii**, **viii**, *Cámmíne*, **iv**, **v**, **vii**; dat. *Chamíni*, **vi**.

**Cenél Fergusso**: gen. *Ceníuil Ferguso*, **4b**.

**Connachta** '(inhabitants of) Connacht': nom. pl. *Connachtai*, **i**; acc. pl. *Connachtai*, **iii**.

**Día** 'God': dat. *Día*, **8a**.

Acc. *Día*, **v**, **xi** (x2); gen. *Dé*, **xiv** (x2), **xxii**.

**Díarmait mac Áedo Sláine**: nom. *Díarmait*, **15d**, *Díarmait mac Áeda Sláne*, **3d**; voc. *Díarmait*, **1a**; acc. *Díarmait*, **10d**; gen. *Díarmata*, **5d**, *nDíarmato*, **12b**, *Díarmató*, **13b**, **14d**; dat. *Díarmait*, **2a**, **4d**.

Nom. *Díarmait*, **iii**, **xi**, **xiii** (x2), **xiv** (x2), **xv**, **xviii**, **xx**, **xxi**, **xxiii**, *Díarmait mac Áeda Sláne*, **i**; voc. *Díarmait*, **xiv**, **xx** (x2); acc. *Díarmait*, **i**; gen. *Díarmata*, **xvii**, **xix**; dat. *Díarmait*, **x**.

**Fir Érenn** 'the Men of Ireland': nom. pl. *Fir hÉrend*, **xv**, **xx**, **xxiii**; dat. pl. *Feraib hÉrend*, **xvii**.

**Grip**: nom. *Grip*, **13c**; dat. *Grip*, **5b**.

**Gúaire mac Colmáin**: nom. *Gúaire mac Colmáin*, **11a**; voc. *Gúaire*, **6c**; acc. *Gúaire*, **7d**; gen. *Gúaire*, **1b**, **7c**.

Nom. *Gúaire*, **ix** (x2), **xi**, **xii**, **xiv**, **xvii**, **xx**, *Gúaire Aidne*, **i**, *Gúaire*, **xxi**, **xxiii**; voc. *Gúaire*, **xii** (x2), **xiii**, **xiv**; acc. *Gúaire*, **xxiii**; dat. *Gúaire*, **ix**, **xv**, *Gúaire Aidne*, **iii**, **iv**, *Gúairiu*, **iv**.

**Mac Dé** 'the Son of God': nom. *Mac Dé*, **7a**.

Dat. *Mac Dé*, **xiv**.

**Mac Maire** 'Mary's Son': nom. *Mac Maire*, **8d**.

**Mide** 'Meath': acc. *Mide*, **3c**.

**Óenach Tailten** 'Fair of Tailtiu': dat. *Áenuch Thailten*, **xv**, *Óenuch Thailten*, **xvii**.

**Rí** 'King, i.e. God': dat. sg. *Ríg*, **xiv**.

**Sinech Cró**: acc. *Sinich*, **16b**, **17b**.

Nom. *Sinech*, **xvi**, *Sinech Cró*, **i**.

## Glossary based on Recension 1b

**1 a<sup>L</sup>** voc. part.: *a*, **xii**, **xiv**, **xv**, **xvii**.

**2 a<sup>L</sup>** poss. pron. 3sg. masc. 'his': *a*, **iii** (x2), **viii**, **xi**, **xxiv** (x5), **xxxvii** (x2).

**3 a<sup>H</sup>** poss. pron. 3sg. fem. 'her': *a*, **iii**, **xiii**, **xviii**.

**4 a<sup>N</sup>** poss. pron. 3pl. 'their': *a*, **iii**, **xi**, **xix**.

**5 a<sup>H</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) 'out of, from': simple *a*, **xviii**.

**6 a** see **in**.

**abaid** see **ap**.

**acht** conj. 'but': *acht*, **xiii**, **xix**.

**ad·anaig** S1 verb 'buries, entombs': aug. pret. pass. 3sg. *ro·adnacht*, **iii**.

**adnacul** neut. o-stem v. n. of S1 *ad·anaig* 'buries, entombs': acc. sg. *adnacul*, **iii**; dat. sg. *adnacol*, **xxxvii**.

**áe** fem. noun 'liver': dat. pl. *aíb*, **xxxvi**.

**áes** masc. u-stem 'people, folk': dat. sg. *áes*, **xviii**.

**aíb** see **áe**.

**aicsiu** fem. n-stem v. n. of H2 *ad·cí* 'sees': acc. sg. *ascin*, **iii**.

**aile** io/iā-stem adj. 'other': nom. sg. masc. *aile*, **xxiv**.

**áilges** fem. ā-stem 'demand, request': acc. sg. *álgais*, **xxxvii**.

**aingces** noun 'pain, ailment, complaint': acc. sg. *aingces*, **xix**; dat. sg. *aingcis*, **xvi**.

**ainim(m)** fem. n-stem 'soul': acc. or dat. sg. [*m*]anmain, **xiii**, [*t*]anmain, **xiv**.

**altóir** fem. ī-stem 'altar': dat. sg. *altóir*, **iii**.

**amal<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) 'like, as': simple *amal*, **iii**.

**amrae** io/iā-stem adj. 'wonderful, marvellous': acc. sg. masc. *n·amra*, **xxxvii**.

**anúas** adv. 'from above': *anúas*, **xxxvii**.

**ap** masc. t-stem 'head of monastery, abbot': dat. sg. *n·abaid*, **iii**.

**1 ar<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ acc. or dat.) 'on, for, relating to': simple *ar*, **18b**, **18c**, **18d**.  
Simple *ar*, **xiii** (x2), **xiv**.

**2 ar** conj. 'for, since, seeing that': *ar*, **v**.

**ár** masc. o-stem 'slaughter, carnage; defeat, destruction': nom. sg. *ár*, **iv**.

**araile** masc. i-stem 'the other': acc. sg. *araile*, **xix**.

**argat** neut. o-stem 'silver': dat. sg. [*d'*]*argut*, **xiii**.

**as·beir** S1 verb 'says': pret. 3sg. *as·bert*, **xxi**.

**ascin** see **aicsiu**.

**athchuingid** fem. i-stem v. n. of S1 *athchuingid* 'requests, solicits': acc. sg. *athchuingid*, **xxxvii**.

**at·tá** substantive verb 'is': pres. 1pl. with prepositional rel. *hi·tám*, **xii**; pret. 3pl. *bátar*, **xi** (x2).

**beirid** S1 verb 'bears, carries': perf. pass. 3sg. with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *día·rucad-som*, **xxxvii**.

**béo** o/ā-stem adj. 'living, alive': nom. sg. *béo*, **xxxv**.

**bíad** neut. o-stem 'food': acc. sg. *bíad*, **iii**.

**bith** masc. u-stem 'age, period': acc. pl. *bithu*, **xxxv**.

**bó** fem. irreg. noun 'cow': nom. sg. *bó*, **xxxvi**.

**bocht** masc. o-stem 'poor person, pauper': dat. pl. *bochtaib*, **xiii**.

**bríathar** fem. ā-stem 'word, utterance; blessing, curse': acc. sg. *bréthir*, **v**; gen sg. *bréthre*, **xviii**.

**brón** masc. o-stem 'sorrow, grief': acc. sg. *brón*, **18d**.

**bruth** masc. u-stem 'a (glowing) mass, lump': nom. sg. *bruth*, **xxxvii**.

**buide** fem. iā-stem 'gratitude, thanks': nom. sg. *bude*, **xv**.

**cach, cech** pronom. adj. 'each, every, all': acc. sg. *cach*, **18c**.  
Gen. sg. masc. *cach*, **xviii**; fem. *cach*, **xix**; neut. *cach*, **xix**; dat. sg. *cech*, **xvi**.

**cách** non-neut. pron. 'the one, each, everyone, all': acc. sg. *chách*, **18b, 18d**.

**caithem** fem. ā-stem v. n. of W2 *caithid* 'consumes': dat. sg. *chathim*, **iii**.

**caithid** W2 verb 'consumes': past subj. 3sg. *día·cathed*, **iii**.

**canaid** S1 verb 'sings': aug. pret. 3sg. *ro·chan*, **xxviii**.

**cath** masc. u-stem 'battle': nom. sg. *cath*, **i, iv, xxxvii**.

**céile** masc. io-stem 'client, fellow': nom. sg. *chéli*, **xxiv**.

**céin** conj. '(for) as long as': *céin*, **xxxv**.

**cenn** neut. o-stem 'head, end': gen. pl. *cenn*, **iv**.

**cétóir** fem. ā-stem ? 'the first time': acc. or dat. sg. *chétóir*, **viii**.

**cía** conj. 'although, even if': with the copula pres. subj. 3sg. *cid*, **iii**.

**1 cid** neut. interr. pron. 'what': *cid*, **xii, xv, xvii** (x2).

**2 cid** see **cía**.

**cléirech** masc. o-stem 'cleric': nom. pl. *clérig*, **xi**.

**clúas** fem. ā-stem 'ear': dat. pl. *clúasaib*, **xviii**.

**cnáim** masc. i-stem 'bone': nom. sg. *cnáim*, **xix**.

**1 co<sup>H</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) 'to, until': simple *co*, **18c**.  
Simple *co*, **iii**.

**2 co<sup>N</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) 'with': simple *co*, **xxxvi**; with poss. pron. 3sg. fem. *cona*, **iii**; with poss. pron. 3pl. *cona*, **iii**.

**3 co<sup>N</sup>** conj. 'until, so that, before': *co-cuir*, **18d**.  
*co-tísad*, **iii**, *co-ránic*, **iv**, *co-rrólád*, **iv**, *co-tarda*, **x**, *co-nderna*, **xxxvii**; with the copula pres. 3sg. *conid*, **iii** (x2), **xxi**, **xxxvii** (x2).

**cobais** fem. n-stem 'confession (of sin); confidence, secret': gen. pl. ?  
*chobsena*, **xi**.

**comairlid** masc. i-stem 'adviser, counsellor': dat. sg. *chomarlid*, **xxvii**.

**·comraim** see **con·icc**.

**con·icc** S1 verb 'can, is able': pres. 1sg. *ní·chomraim*, **viii**.

**conid** see **3 co<sup>N</sup>**.

**coraigecht** fem. ā-stem 'guarantee, surety, pledge': gen. sg. with *nota*. 3pl.  
*coraigechta-som*, **iii**.

**corp** masc. o-stem 'body': acc. sg. *chorp*, **xvi**.

**cuirid** simple verb 'causes', from Old Irish S1 *fo·ceird* or S1 *do·cuirethar*: pres.  
3sg. *co·cuir*, **18d**.

**danó** adv. 'then': *danó*, **iii**, **x**.

**dar** prep. (+ acc.) 'over, across': with the art. acc. sg. fem. *darsin*, **xxxvii**.

**de<sup>L</sup>, di<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) 'from, of': simple *de*, **iii** (x2), *di*, **xiii**, **xviii**, *d'[argut]*, **xii**,  
*d'[inchaib]*, **iii**; conjug. 3sg. masc. *dé*, **xix**, **xxxvii** (x2); with poss. pron. 3sg.  
masc. *día*, **iii** (x2).

**déidenech** o/ā-stem adj. 'final, last': nom. sg. masc. *dédenach*, **xxxvii**.

**deog** fem. ā-stem 'drink': acc. sg. *dig*, **iii**.

**día<sup>N</sup>** conj. 'if; when': *día·cathed*, **iii**, *día·rucad-som*, **xxxvii**.

**dífaircid** simple verb 'shoots, casts, hurls', from Old Irish W2 *do·bidci*: aug.  
pret. 3sg. *ro·dífairc*, **xxxvii**.

**dig** see **deog**.

**1 do** poss. pron. 2sg. 'your': *t'[anmain]*, **xiv**.

**2 do<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) ‘to, for’: simple *do*, **ii**, **iii** (x3), **xii**, **xiii**, **xvi** (x2), **xviii** (x2), **xix** (x2), **xxviii**; with the art. dat. sg. masc. *don*, **xxxvii**; conjug. 1sg. *dam*, **x**, with *nota*. 1sg. *dam-sa*, **xxiv**; 2sg. *duit*, **viii** (x2), **xiv** (x2); 3sg. masc. *dó*, **xxiv** (x2), **xxxvi**; fem. *dí*, **xxxvii**; 3pl. *dóib*, **xix**; with poss. pron. 3sg. masc. *día*, **iv**, **xviii**, **xxxvii** (x2); neut. *día*, **xiii**; fem. *día*, **xv**, **xvii**; 3pl. *día*, **xviii**.

**do·accair** S2 verb ‘declares, tells’: aug. pret. 3sg. *do·ráegart*, **iii**.

**do·beir** S1 verb ‘gives, brings’: fut. pass. 3sg. *do·bérthar*, **xiv**; cond. pass. 3pl. *do·bértais*, **xvi**; pret. 3sg. *to·bert*, **iii**. Perfective forms: pres. subj. *do·rata*, **xiv**, *do·ratá*, **xix**, *co·tarda*, **x**; perf. 3sg. *do·rat v*, with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *do·rat-som*, **xxxvii**, with prepositional rel. *i·tarat*, **v**; perf. pass. 3sg. *do·ratad*, **iv**, **xix** (x2), **xxxvi**.

**dochum** prep. (+ gen.) ‘to, towards’: simple *dochum*, **xviii**, **xx**.

**do·gní** H2 verb ‘does, makes’: fut. pass. 3sg. *do·géntar*, **xxvii**; aug. pret. 3sg. *do·róni*, **xxxvii**, *co·nderna*, **xxxvii**; pass. 3sg. *do·rónad*, **xi**; 3pl. *do·rigénsat*, **iii**.

**do·icc** S1 verb ‘comes (to)’: past. subj. 3sg. *co·tísad*, **iii**; pret. 3sg. *tánic*, **xxxvii**; 3pl. *táncatár*, **iv**.

**do·indnaig** S1 verb ‘gives, bestows, grants’: fut. 2sg. *do·idnais*, **xiv**.

**domun** masc. o-stem ‘the world’: gen. sg. *domain*, **xiii**.

**do·ráegart** see **do·accair**.

**dorn** masc. o-stem ‘hand, fist’: gen. sg. *duirnd*, **xxxvii**.

**druí** masc. t-stem ‘druid; learned man, poet’: gen. sg. *drúad*, **xxxvii**.

**drúth** masc. o-stem ‘jester, satirist’: nom. sg. *drúth*, **xxxvii**.

**duine** masc. io-stem ‘person’: gen. sg. *duine*, **xviii**; dat. sg. *duni*, **xvi**.

**duirnd** see **dorn**.

**é** pers. pron. 3sg. masc. ‘he, him’: nom. *sé*, **v**, **xxxvii**, with demons. part. *hé·sin*, **xxxvii**; acc. *hé*, **v** (x2).

**eclas** fem. ā-stem ‘church’: nom. sg. *eclas*, **xi**; acc. sg. *n·eclais*, **xi**; gen. sg. with demons. part. *ecailsi·sea*, **xii**; dat. pl. *ecailsib*, **xiii**.

**ecnae** neut. io-stem ‘wisdom, enlightenment’: nom. sg. *ecna*, **xix**.

**enech** masc. o-stem ‘face, front’: nom. sg. *enech*, **xxxvii**; dat. pl. [*d’*] *inchaib*, **iii**.

**eter<sup>L</sup>**, **etir<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) ‘between’: conjug. 3pl. *etorro*, **iv**.

**etla** fem. iā-stem ‘self-denial, penance’: acc. sg. *etla*, **iii**.

**failech** masc. o-stem ‘the end of winter, the early part of February’: dat. sg. *fulliuch*, **xxxvi**.

**féile** fem. iā-stem ‘generosity’: gen. sg. *féli*, **xxxvi**.

**fer** masc. o-stem 'man': acc. pl. *fíru*, **iv**.

**ferann** neut. o-stem 'land, domain, territory': gen. sg. *feraind*, **iii**.

**firt** see **fiurt**.

**fíraid** W1 verb 'realises, fulfils': aug. pret. pass 3pl. *ro·fírtha*, **xix**.

**fírdiss** comp. of o/ā-stem adj. *fír* 'true' and i-stem adj. *diss* 'despicable': nom. sg. *fírdiss*, **2b**.

**fiurt** masc. u-stem 'a wonderful work, miracle': acc. sg. *firt*, **xxxvii**.

**fo<sup>l</sup>** prep. (+ acc. or dat.) 'under': simple + acc. or dat. *fo*, **viii**.

**fo·ceird** S1 verb 'throws, casts': pres. 3sg. *fo·cheird*, **xxiv**; perf. pass. 3sg. *co·rrolad*, **iv**.

**fodail** fem. i-stem 'a part, share, portion': dat. pl. *fodlaib*, **iii**.

**foirbrid** simple verb 'prevails over, increases', from Old Irish S1 *for·beir*: pres. 3sg. *foirbrid*, **18b**, **18c**.

**fóirithin** fem. n-stem v. n. of S1 *fo·reith* 'succours, helps': dat. sg. *fóirithin*, **iv**.

**1 for** prep. (+ acc. or dat.) 'over, upon': simple + acc. *for*, **i**, **iii** (x2), **v**, **xi**, **xix**; conjug. 2sg. *fort*, **viii**; 3sg. masc. *fair*, **iii**, **xxxvii**; with poss. pron. 1sg. *formó*, **xvi**.

**2 for** see **2 ol, ar, or, for**.

**fortacht** fem. ā-stem v. n. of *for·tét* 'helps, assists, succours': acc. sg. *fortacht*, **xiv**.

**forbad** fem. ā-stem ? 'a covering, vesture, winding sheet': acc. sg. *forbaid*, **xxxvii**.

**fót** masc. o-stem 'a sod (of earth)': acc. sg. *fót*, **iii**.

**fri<sup>H</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) 'towards, against': simple *fri*, **iii**, **x** (x2), **xix**, *ri*, **xix**.

**fulliuch** see **faílech**.

**gaibid** S2 verb 'takes, accepts': aug. pret. 3sg. *ro·gab*, **xxxvii** (x2).

**gainem** masc. o-stem 'sand, gravel': dat. sg. *ganium*, **xxxvii**.

**galar** neut. o-stem 'sickness, pain': gen. sg. *galair*, **xix**; dat. sg. *galur*, **xvi**; nom. pl. *gallra*, **xix**.

**gnáth** o/ā-stem adj. 'customary, usual, familiar': acc. sg. neut. *gnáth*, **18c**.

**i<sup>N</sup>** prep. (+ acc. or dat.) 'in, into': simple *hi*, **iii** (x2), **iv** (x2), *i*, **xxi**, **xxxvii**; **xviii**, **xix**, **xxxvii**; with the art. acc. sg. fem. *isin* **xi**; dat. sg. masc. *sind*, **xxxvi**; neut. *isind*, **xxx**, **xxxii**; conjug. 3sg. fem. *inti*, **iii**, **xi**; neut. *n-and*, **iii**, *and*, **iv**, **xxi**, **xxxii**.

**í** deictic part.: *í*, **xxii**, **xxxvi**, with demons. part. *n-í-sin*, **xxxii**.

**íarom** adv. 'then, afterwards': *íarom*, **iii** (x4), **iv**, **xi** (x2), **xxxvi**.

**íat** pers. pron. 3pl. 'they': nom. *íat*, **xii**, **xiv**, with demons. part. *íat-so*, **iv**.

**ídbraid** simple verb 'offers, grants, bequeaths', from Old Irish S1 *ad-opair*:  
aug. pret. 3sg. *ro-idbair*, **iii**.

**im<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) 'around, concerning': simple *im*, **iv** (x3), **v**, **xxxvii**.

**immach** adv. 'out, outwards': *immach*, **xxxvii**.

**immorro** adv. 'however, well, then, now': *immorro*, **xxxiv**.

**imrádud** masc. u-stem 'thought, cogitation, intention': gen. pl. *n-imráti*, **xix**;  
dat. pl. *n-imrátib*, **xx**.

**in** art. 'the': nom. sg. masc. *in*, **18a**, **18d**.

Nom. sg. masc. *in*, **iii**, **vii**, **xiv**, **xix**, **xxxvii**, *int*, **xxii**, **xxxvi**; neut. *a*, **xxxi**, **xxxvii**;  
fem. *in*, **xxxvi**; acc. sg. masc. *in*, **xxviii**, **xxxvii**; gen. sg. masc. *in*, **xiii**, **xxxvii**, *int*,  
**xiii**; fem. *na*, **xii**; nom. pl. *inna*, **xxxvi**; masc. *na*, **xi**.

**inchaib** see **enech**.

**indred** neut. o-stem v. n. of S1 *ind-reith* 'invades, devastates, plunders': dat.  
sg. *inriud*, **ii**.

**is** copula 'is': pres. 3sg. *is*, **iii** (x2), **v**, **xi**, **xv**, **xxxvi**, **xxxvii**; neg. *ní*, **xiii**; fut. 2sg.  
*bát*, **xiv**; cond. 3sg. *bad*, **xii**, **xv**, **xvii**, *bád*, **xvi**, *combad*, **xvi**, *ropad*, **xiii**, **xvi**, **xviii**;  
pret. 3sg. *bá*, **xxxvi**, *robo*, **xxxv**; 3pl. *roptar*, **iv**.

**itche** masc. io-stem 'request, petition, prayer': acc. sg. *itchi*, **x**.

**íth** neut. ? u-stem 'fat, lard, grease': gen. sg. *ítha*, **xxxvi**.

**la<sup>H</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) 'with': simple *la*, **xi**; conjug. 1sg. *lim*, **xiii**, **xvi**, **xviii**, with  
*nota*. 1sg. *lim-sa*, **x**; 2sg. *lat*, **xii**, **xv**, **xvii**; 3sg. masc. *leis*, **ii**; 1pl. *lend*, **xv**; with  
poss. pron. 3pl. *lía*, **xx**.

**laä, lá** neut. io-stem 'day': dat. sg. *lló*, **iv**.

**lám** fem. ā-stem 'hand': acc. sg. *lám*, **xxxvii**.

**lamaid** simple verb 'dares, ventures', from Old Irish S2 *ro-laimethar*: pret.  
3sg. *ná-laim*, **iii** (x2).

**lán** neut. noun 'fullness': nom. sg. *llán*, **xiii**, **xviii**; acc. sg. *lán*, **xxxvii**.

**lebor** masc. o-stem 'book': dat. pl. *lebraib*, **xviii**.

**legaid** W1 verb 'dissolves, crumbles': aug. pret. 3sg. *ro-legai*, **xix**.

**léigenn** neut. o-stem v. n. to W1 *légaid* 'reads': gen. sg. *légind*, **xviii**.

**línad** masc. u-stem v. n. of W1 *línaid* 'fills': nom. sg. *línad*, **xvi**; dat. sg. *línad*,  
**xii**, **xv**, **xvii**.

**lobaid** W1 verb 'decays': aug. pret. 3sg. *ro-lobai*, **xix**.

**lonnus** masc. u-stem ‘anger, rage, passion’: dat. sg. *londus*, **xxiii**.

**lorg** masc. o-stem ‘path, course’: dat. sg. *lurg*, **xviii**.

**lucht** masc. u-stem ‘people’: nom. sg. *lucht*, **viii**.

**ludi** see **téit**.

**luinne** fem. iā-stem ‘fierceness, anger, vehemence’: acc. sg. *luinni*, **18b**.

**maidid** S2 verb ‘breaks’: fut. 3pl. *máidfit*, **viii**.

**maidm** neut. n-stem v. n. of S2 *maidid* ‘breaks’: acc. sg. *maidm*, **viii**.

**maith** i-stem adj. ‘good; as interj. well, as’: nom. sg. masc. *maith*, **18a**.  
Nom. sg. *maith*, **xii** (x2), **xiii**, **xv**, **xvi**, **xvii**, **xviii**, **xxxvi**.

**már, mór** o/ā-stem adj. ‘great, big’: nom. sg. fem. *mór*, **xi**; dat. sg. masc. *mór*, **xxiii**.

**messó** see **olc**.

**mo** poss. pron. 1sg. ‘my’: *m’[anmain]*, **xiii**.

**molad** masc. u-stem ‘song of praise, panegyric’: acc. sg. with demons. part. *molad-sa*, **xxviii**.

**mór** see **már, mór**.

**muintir** fem. ā-stem ‘followers, family, community’: dat. sg. *muntir*, **iii** (x2).

**noíb** see **noíb**.

**nech** indef. pron. ‘somebody, something’: nom. sg. *nech*, **iii** (x2).

**nem** neut. s-stem ‘heaven’: gen. sg. *nimi*, **xviii**, **xx**.

**1 ní** neut. subst. ‘a thing’: nom. *ní*, **xxiv**.

**2 ní** see **is**.

**nimidech** o/ā-stem adj. ‘secure of heaven, elect’: nom. sg. *nimidech*, **xiv**.

**noíb** masc. o-stem ‘saint’: dat. pl. *náemaib*, **xiii**.

**ól** prep. (+ dat.) ‘from’: with the art. dat. sg. fem. *ónd*, **xxxv**.

**oc** prep. (+ dat.) ‘at, by’: simple *oc*, **iii**, **xi**.

**1 óen** num. prefix ‘one’: *óenúaire*, **7b**.

**2 óen** indef. pron. ‘one, an individual’: acc. sg. *n-óen*, **18c**.

**óenach** neut. o-stem ‘assembly, gathering; fair’: dat. sg. *óenuch*, **xxx**, **xxxi**.

**ol, ar, or, for** defective verb ‘says, said’: *ar*, **xii**, **xiv**; *or*, **xv** (x2), **xvii**, **xxiv**, **xxvii**; *for*, **x**.

**olc** o/ā-stem adj. ‘bad’: compar. grade *messó*, **xvi**.

**ór** masc. o-stem 'gold': gen. sg. *óir*, **xxxvii**; dat. sg. *ór*, **xiii**.

**ostad** masc. u-stem 'holding back, detaining': acc. sg. *ostud*, **viii**.

**ráith** noun 'fort, enclosure': acc. sg. *rráith*, **xxi**.

**rath** masc. o-stem v. n. of S3 *ernaid* 'bestows, grants': acc. sg. *rath*, **xxxvi**.

**ri** see **fri<sup>H</sup>**.

**rí** masc. g-stem 'king': nom. sg. *rí*, **18a, 18d**.  
Nom. sg. *rí*, **iii** (x2), **iv** (x3); acc. sg. *rí*, **iv**, *ríg*, **iii, iv** (x2); nom. pl. *ríg*, **iv**.

**ría<sup>N</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) 'before': simple *ría*, **i**.

**ro·icc** S1 verb 'reaches, arrives': pret. 3sg. *co·ránic*, **iv**.

**roptar** see **is**.

**sáegul** masc. o-stem 'life, an age, the world': gen. sg. *sáegail*, **xiii**.

**sáeth** masc. u-stem 'hardship, disease': dat. sg. *sáeth*, **xvi**; nom. pl. *sóetha*, **xix**.

**saigid** fem. i-stem v. n. of S1 *saigid* 'attacks; approaches': dat. sg. *saigid*, **iv, xxxvii**.

**sámud** masc. u-stem 'act of congregating, meeting together; congregation, assembly': nom. sg. *sámud*, **iii**.

**sant** fem. ā-stem 'greed, avarice': acc. or dat. sg. *saint*, **xiii**.

**sáraigid** W2 verb 'violates, outrages': aug. pret. 3sg. *ro·sáraig*, **v**.

**scél** neut. o-stem 'story, tale': nom. sg. with demons. part. *scél-sin*, **xxxvii**.

**sé** see **é**.

**sed** pers. pron. 3sg. neut. 'it': nom. *sed*, **iii**.

**sílad** masc. u-stem v. n. of W1 *sílad* 'sows, disseminates, spreads about': dat. sg. *sílad*, **xviii**.

**sin** demons. pron. 'that, those': *sin*, **iii** (x2).

**'sind** see **i<sup>N</sup>**.

**slán** o/ā-stem adj. 'whole, sound, safe': dat. sg. neut. *slán*, **iii**.

**slánaigecht** fem. ā-stem 'legal guarantee, security': acc. sg. *slánaigect*, **v**.

**slúag** masc. o-stem 'a host, army': acc. pl. *slúagu*, **ii**.

**smér** noun 'a berry, blackberry': nom. pl. *sméra*, **xxxvi**.

**sochaide** fem. iā-stem 'multitude, crowd, host': acc. pl. *socaide*, **ii**.

**tabart** fem. ā-stem v. n. of S1 *do·beir* 'gives': dat. sg. *tabairt*, **xi**, *thabairt*, **xviii**.

**talam** masc. n-stem 'the earth, the world': nom. sg. *talam*, **xiv, xix**; dat. sg. *talam*, **xix**.

**techt** fem. ā-stem v. n. of S1 *téit* 'goes': dat. sg. *techt*, **iii**.

**téit** S1 verb 'goes': pret. 3sg. rel. *ludi*, **iii**; 3pl. *lotár*, **xi**; perf. 3sg. *conná-déochaid*, **xix**; 3pl. *co-déochatar*, **xx**.

**tindnacól** neut. o-stem v. n. of S1 *do·indnaig* 'gives, bestows, grants': dat. sg. *thidnacul*, **xiii**.

**tinóilid** simple verb 'musters, assembles', from Old Irish H1 *do·inóla*: aug. pret. 3sg. *ro·thinóil*, **ii, iv**.

**to·bert** see **do·beir**.

**trá** adv. 'then, now': *trá*, **xix, xxi, xxii, xxxi**.

**tre<sup>l</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) 'through': with poss. pron. 3sg. masc. *tría*, **18b**.  
Simple *tría*, **xxxv, xxxvi**.

**treblait** fem. ī-stem 'tribulation, illness, suffering': gen. sg. *threblaiti*, **xix**.

**trí** num. adj. 'three': acc. pl. fem. *téora*, **iii**.

**tríar** masc. o-stem 'three persons': dat. sg. *tríur*, **xi**.

**tríst** fem. noun 'curse, malediction': acc. pl. *trísti*, **iii**.

**troiscid** W2 verb 'fasts': impv. 2sg. *troisc*, **x**.

**tú** pers. pron. 2sg. 'you': emph. *túsu*, **xv**, *tussu*, **xvii**.

**tuidecht** fem. ā-stem v. n. of S1 *do·tét* 'comes': dat. sg. *tudecht*, **xviii**.

**úar** fem. ā-stem 'an hour, a time': gen. sg. *óenúaire*, **7b**.  
Dat. sg. with demons. part. *úair-sin*, **xxxv**.

**ucht** neut. u-stem 'breast, bosom': acc. sg. *n-uch*, **xxxvii**.

**uile** neut. io-stem 'the all, the whole, the every': nom. pl. *ule* **xix**, *uli*, **xvi**.

**uisce** masc. io-stem 'water': gen. sg. *n-usci*, **iii**.

## Proper nouns in Recension 1b

**Áedlug mac Commáin:** nom. *Áedlug mac Commáin*, **iii**.

**Aidne:** acc. *Aidni*, **iv**.

**Caimmíne Inse Celtra:** nom. *Cammíni*, **xi**; voc. *Chammíni*, **xv**; acc. *Cammín*, **x**, **xi**, *Cammíne*, **xix**.

**Carn Conaill** ‘Ballyconnell?’: gen. *Cairnd Chonaill*, **i**, *Charnd Chonaill*, **iv**.

**Cengciges** ‘Pentecost’: gen. *Cengciges*, **iv**.

**Cíarán:** gen. *Cíarán*, **iii**; dat. *Chíarán*, **iii**.

**Clúain Maic Nóis** ‘Clonmacnoise’: acc. *Clúain Maic Nóis*, **iii**; dat. *Clúain Maic Nóis*, **iii**, **xxxvii**.

**Connachta** ‘(inhabitants of) Connacht’: acc. pl. *Conachta*, **iii**; gen. pl. *Conacht*, **ii**.

**Cúán mac Conaill:** nom. *Cúán mac Conaill*, **iv**; acc. *Cúán mac Conaill*, **iv**.

**Cúán mac Énnai:** nom. *Cúán mac Énnai*, **iv**; acc. *Chúán mac Énnai*, **iv**.

**Cuimmíne Fota:** nom. *Cummíni Fota*, **xi**; voc. *Chummíne*, **xvii**; dat. *Chummín*, **xix**.

**Día** ‘God’: nom. *Día*, **xiv**; acc. *Día*, **iii**, **x**; gen. *Dé*, **xviii**; dat. *Día*, **iii**.

**Díabal** ‘the Devil’: gen. *Díabail*, **xviii**.

**Díarmait mac Áedo Sláine:** nom. *Díarmait Rúanaid*, **18a**; acc. *Díarmait*, **18d**. Gen. *Díarmata*, **xxxvii**; dat. *Díarmait mac Áeda Sláni*, **i**, *Díarmait*, **ii**, **iii** (x2), **xxviii**.

**Gúaire:** nom. *Gúaire*, **x**, **xv**, **xvi**, *Gúairi*, **iv**, **xi**, **xxii**, **xxxiv**, **xxxvi**, *Gúaire*, **xv**, **xxvii**, *Gúari*, **v**; voc. *Gúair*, **xii**, *Gúaire*, **xiv**; acc. *Gúari Adni*, **i**, *Gúairi*, **xi**; gen. *Gúairi Adni*, **xxxvii**, *Gúairi*, **xxxvii**, *Gúari*, **iv**; dat. *Gúaire*, **xix**, *Gúari*, **v**.

**Líath Mancháin** ‘Lemanaghan’: nom. sg. *Líath Manchán*, **iii**.

**Mide** ‘Meath’: gen. *Midi*, **iii** (x2).

**Mumu** ‘province of Munster’: gen. *Muman*, **iv** (x3).

**Talamnach:** nom. *Tolomnach*, **iv**; acc. *Tholomnach*, **iv**.

**Túaim nEirc:** acc. sg. *Tóim nEirc*, **iii**.

**Uí Fidgeinti:** gen. pl. *hÚa Fidgente*, **iv**, *hÚa Conaill*, **iv**.

**Uí Líatháin:** gen. pl. *hÚa Líathán*, **iv** (x2).

## Glossary based on Recension 2

**1 a<sup>L</sup>** voc. part.: *a*, **iii**, **iv** (x4), **xvii**.

**2 a<sup>L</sup>** poss. pron. 3sg. masc. 'his': *a*, **iii**, **viii**, **ix**, **xi** (x5), **xvii** (x2), **xviii**, **xix**, **xxvii**, **xxxvi** (x2).

**3 a<sup>H</sup>** poss. pron. 3sg. fem. 'her': *a*, **i**, **xii**.

**4 a<sup>N</sup>** poss. pron. 3pl. 'their': *a*, **iv**.

**5 a<sup>H</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) 'out of, from': with poss. pron. ? *asa*, **xii**; with poss. pron. 3sg. masc. *asa*, **xxvi**.

**acc** independent neg. part. 'no, nay': *acc*, **xxv**.

**acht** conj. 'but': *acht*, **iv** (x4), **ix**, **xix** (x2), **xxviii**, **xxxvi**.

**adaig** fem. ī-stem 'night': nom. sg. *aguid*, **xi**; dat. sg. with demons. part. *oidhcui-sin*, **xi**.

**ad·aig** S1 verb 'proffers, gives': pres. 3sg. with Class B infixes. 3sg. masc. *at·n·aid*, **xvii** (x2).

**adbchlos** masc. o-stem 'pomp, vainglory': acc. or dat. sg. *adhbchlos*, **xvi**.

**adailccnech** masc. o-stem ? 'needy person': dat. pl. *adailgnechaib*, **xxxii**.

**ad·cí** H2 verb 'sees': pres. 1sg. *at·chím*, **iv**; past. 3sg. *at·connuircc*, **xi**, *ot·connuirc*, **xix**.

**áeghead** see **oíge**.

**áenach** see **óenach**.

**áenar** masc. o-stem 'a single individual, one alone': dat. sg. *áenur*, **xi**.

**áeraid** W1 ? verb 'satirises, lampoons': past. 3sg. *ra·áer*, **xii**.

**ag** see **oc**.

**agad** fem. ā-stem 'face': dat. sg. *nd·aghaid*, **iv** (x2), *nd·aguid*, **iv**.

**aguid** see **adaig**.

**aí** prep. 'on account of, because of': *aí*, **iv**, **v**.

**áil** noun 'wish, desire': nom. sg. *áil*, **iv** (x2).

**aile** io/iā-stem adj. 'other': nom. sg. masc. *ali*, **xvii**; acc. sg. masc. *ale*, **iii**; dat. pl. masc. *ali*, **iv**.

**áille** see **álaind**.

**ainfírinne** fem. iā-stem 'injustice, unrighteousness': acc. or dat. sg. *ainbfírinne*, **iv**; gen. sg. *hainbfírinni*, **iv**.

**aingel** masc. o-stem 'angel': nom. sg. *aingel*, **vii**.

**airgid** verb 'kills, destroys': impv. 2sg. *ná·hairg*, **xix**; past 3sg. *ro·airg*, **xii**.

**airlamaigid** verb 'prepares, makes ready': past. 3sg. *ro·irlamuigh*, **xi**.

**aithesc** masc. o-stem ‘message, announcement’: acc. sg. *aithascc*, **iii**.

**aithle** masc. io-stem ‘consequence, remainder’: dat. sg. *haithle*, **xii**.

**álaind** i-stem noun ‘lovely, fine, splendid’: compar. grade *áille*, **iv** (x2).

**alltarach** o/ā-stem adj. ‘further, outer, on the other side’: acc. sg. masc. *alltarach*, **iii**.

**amail** conj. ‘like, as’: *amail*, **iv** (x3).

**1 amlaid** prep. (+ acc.) ‘like, as’: *amlaid*, **xxiii**, *amluid*, **xvi**, **xx**, **xxxvi**.

**2 amlaid** adv. ‘thus, this way’: *amlaid*, **xx**.

**ammach** see **immach**.

**ammus** masc. u-stem ‘direction’: acc. or dat. sg. *ammus*, **xxvi**.

**an** see **in**.

**andás** see **at·tá**.

**anmandae** masc. io-stem ‘living creature, animal’: dat. pl. *n-anmannuib*, **iv**.

**annsae** io/iā-stem adj. ‘hard, difficult’: nom. sg. *hannsa*, **xxiv**.

**1 ar<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ acc. or dat.) ‘on, for, relating to, because of’: simple *ar*, **iv** (x4), **v**, **xi** (x2), **xvi** (x2), **xvii** (x3), **xix**, **xxii**, **xxvi**; with the art. dat. sg. fem. *arin*, **iii**; conjug. 3sg. masc. *aire*, **xix**; with poss. pron. 3sg. masc. *ara*, **ii**, **xix**, **xxviii**.

**2 ar** conj. ‘for, since, seeing that’: *ar*, **xvii**.

**3 ar<sup>N</sup>** poss. pron. 1pl. ‘our’: *ar*, **iv**.

**4 ar** see **2 ol, ar, or, for**.

**5 ar** see **íar<sup>N</sup>**.

**ár** masc. o-stem ‘slaughter, carnage; defeat, destruction’: nom. sg. *ár*, **v** (x2); gen. sg. *áir*, **xi**.

**arcuit** see **argat**.

**argat** masc. o-stem ‘silver’: nom. sg. *arccut*, **xxv**; gen. sg. *arcuid*, **xxv**, *arcuit*, **xxi**.

**arís** adv. ‘again’: *arís*, **xvii**.

**arna** see **íar<sup>N</sup>**.

**as·beir** S1 verb ‘says’: pres. 1sg. with *nota*. 1sg. *at·beirim-si*, **iii**; 2pl. with *nota*. 2pl. *at·beirid-si*, **iv**; 3pl. with *nota*. 3pl. *at·berat-som*, **xxvi**; impf. 3sg. with *nota*. 3sg. fem. *at·beirith-si*, **i**; past 2sg. with *nota*. 2sg. *at·bertais-[s]i*, **iv**, with prepositional rel. and *nota*. 2sg. *ara·ndeburtuis-[s]i*, **iv**; 3sg. *at·bert*, **vii**, **xxviii**, *is·pert*, **xvi**, *it·bert*, **xi**, *a·dubuir*, **xx**, **xxiv**, *co·nndeburt*, **xxxvi**, *co·nndebuirrt*, **vii**, with *nota*. 3sg. fem. *is·pert-si*, **xiv**, with prepositional rel. *día·ndebairt*, **vii**.

**as·noí** H3 verb ‘vows, swears’: pres. 1sg. with Class B infix pron. 3sg. neut. *at·nuü*, **17a**, **18a**.

**at** see **i<sup>N</sup>**.

**athchuingid** fem. i-stem v. n. of S1 *athchuingid* ‘requests, solicits’: dat. sg. *athchuingid*, **xxiv**.

**at-reig** S1 verb ‘rises, gets up’: impv. 2sg. *érig*, **xix**; past 3sg. *at-racht*, **xxvi**.

**at-tá** substantive verb ‘is’: pres. 1sg. with the art. dat. sg. neut. and *nota*. 1sg. *indú-sa*, **xix**; pres. 3sg. rel. with the art. dat. sg. neut. *andás*, **xxxvi**; 3sg. *a-tá*, **xix**, **xxv**, *ní-fuil*, **ix**; rel. *a-tá*, **iv**, *fuil*, **iv** (x2); cons. pres. 3sg. with prepositional rel. *‘ca-mbí*, **iv**; pres. subj. 3sg. *ní-rab*, **xxxvi**; fut. 3sg. *ní-bía*, **xix** (x2); past 3sg. *buí*, **xi**, **xvi**, *ra-buí*, **xi**, *ro-buí*, **ii**, **iv** (x2), *ní-rabo*, **xvii**, *ní-raibi*, **xxxvi**; with prepositional rel. *hi-rraibiu*, **xi**; 3pl. *bátur*, **iv**, *co-mbátar*, **xxxvi**, *gu-mbátar*, **xi**, *ra-bátur*, **xxviii**.

**banscál** masc. o-stem ‘woman’: nom. sg. *bannsgál*, **xi**, *bansgál*, **xi**, with num. prefix *áenbannsgál*, **xi**.

**bás** masc. o-stem ‘death’: nom. sg. *bás*, **xxiv**.

**bec** o/ā-stem adj. ‘small’: acc. sg. fem. *mbicc*, **xi**; compar. grade *lugh*, **xxviii**.

**beirid** S1 verb ‘bears, carries’: pres. 3sg. *beirid*, **xvii** (x2); past 3sg. *rug*, **xi**.

**bél** masc. o-stem ‘mouth’: acc. ? sg. *mbél*, **xv**.

**beth** fem. ā-stem v. n. of H1 *at-tá* ‘is’: nom. sg. *beth*, **xix**, *bith*, **xi**; dat. sg. *beth*, **iv**, *bith*, **xi**.

**beus** adv. ‘still, yet’: *beus*, **xiii**.

**blíadain** fem. ī-stem ‘year’: dat. sg. *blíadain*, **i**.

**bó** fem. irreg. noun ‘cow’: nom. sg. *bó*, **xxxvi**; gen. pl. *bó*, **i**, **iv**, **xii**.

**bocht** masc. o-stem ‘poor person, pauper’: nom. sg. *bocht*, **xvii** (x3), **xviii**, **xix**; acc. sg. *mbocht*, **xix**; acc. or dat. sg. *bocht*, **xvii**; gen. sg. *boicht*, **xvii**; dat. sg. *bocht*, **xvii**; gen. pl. *mbocht*, **xxvi**.

**borr** masc. o-stem ‘something swollen, big, mighty’: gen. sg. *buirr*, **xxxvi**.

**brága** fem. ? t-stem ‘hostage’: nom. pl. *bráighdi*, **xiii**.

**bratán** masc. o-stem ‘salmon’: acc. sg. *mbratán*, **xi**; acc. or dat. sg. with num. prefix *óenbratán*, **xi**; gen. sg. *bratáin*, **xi**.

**bréc** fem. ā-stem ‘falsehood, lie, deception’: gen. sg. *bréigi*, **iv**.

**breth** fem. ā-stem v. n. of S1 *beirid* ‘bears, carries’: dat. sg. *brith*, **ix**, **xvii**, *mbrith*, **i**.

**bríathar** fem. ā-stem ‘word, utterance; blessing, curse’: nom. sg. *bríathar*, **xx**; acc. sg. *bréthir*, **iii**, **vi**, **xix**.

**brisid** W2 verb ‘breaks’: pres. 3sg. rel. *brissius*, **iv** (x2); pass. 3sg. rel. *bristur*, **iv** (x2); past 3sg. *ro-briss*, **xi**; pass. 3sg. *ra-brissiuth*, **vi**.

**brúach** masc. o-stem ‘bank, shore’: acc. sg. *mbrúach*, **iii** (x2).

**búaid** masc. i-stem ‘victory, triumph’: acc. sg. *búaid*, **ix**.

**búaille** fem. noun ‘cow-house, byre’: dat. sg. *mmbúale*, **xxxvi**.

**buide** fem. iā-stem ‘gratitude, thanks’: acc. sg. *buidi*, **xi**.

**buirr** see **borr**.

**cách** non-neut. pron. ‘the one, each, everyone, all’: acc. sg. *chách*, **xxv**; dat. sg. *chách*, **xxvi**.

**cáem** o/ā-stem adj. ‘fair, beautiful, lovely’: nom. pl. masc. *cáemu*, **iv**,

**cáera** fem. k-stem ‘sheep’: gen. pl. *caíriuch*, **iv**.

**caillech** fem. ā-stem ‘veiled woman, elderly woman, widow’: nom. sg. *chaillech*, **xiii**; dat. sg. *chailig*, **xii**.

**cairde** fem. iā-stem ‘respite, truce, delay’: gen. sg. *cairdi*, **iii**, with demons. part. *cairdi-sin*, **iii**.

**calma** io/iā-stem adj. ‘strong, brave’: nom. sg. *calmu*, **iv**.

**can** interr. pron. ‘whence’: *can*, **xxiv**; with the copula pres. 3sg. rel. *canus*, **xxiv**.

**cath** masc. u-stem ‘battle’: nom. sg. *cath*, **6a**.

Nom. sg. *cath*, **iv** (x2), **v** (x2), with demons. part. *cath-sin*, **vi**; acc. sg. *cath*, **iii**, **iv**; dat. pl. *cathuib*, **iv**.

**cathugud** masc. u-stem ‘fight, battle’: nom. sg. *cathugud*, **xiii**.

**céile** masc. io-stem ‘client, fellow’: acc. sg. *chéli*, **xxxvi**.

**cen<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) ‘without’: simple *cin*, **iii**, *gan*, **xxiv**, *gin*, **ix**; conjug. 3sg. masc. *chena*, **ix**, **xix**, **xxviii**, **xxxvi**, *chenu*, **xvi**.

**cenn** masc. o-stem ‘head, end’: voc. sg. *chind*, **iii**; acc. sg. *chend*, **xxvii**; dat. sg. *cenn*, **xi**, *chinn*, **ii**, **xv**, with num. prefix *óenchind*, **xxvii**.

**cethair** num. adj. ‘four’: gen. fem. *cettri*, **iii**.

**chena** see **cen<sup>L</sup>**.

**cía<sup>N</sup>** conj. ‘although, even if’: with the copula pres. subj. 3sg. *cid*, **iv**, **xxxvi**, *cidh*, **iv**, *gid*, **iv**; 3pl. *cidit*, **iv** (x2); with the copula past subj. 3sg. *cíamad*, **iii**.

**cía** interr. pron. ‘what’: *cía*, **iv**.

**cid** neut. interr. pron. ‘what’: *cid*, **iv**.

**ciid** H2 verb ‘cries’: pres. 2pl. *chíid*, **xix**.

**cin** see **cen<sup>L</sup>**.

**ciniud** masc. u- or o-stem ‘race, tribe’: acc. sg. *ciniuth*, **xxxiii**.

**claideb** masc. o-stem ‘sword’: gen. sg. *chlaidim*, **xv**, *claidim*, **xviii**, *chloidim*, **xv**.

**1 clam** o/ā-stem adj. ‘leprous, scurfy’: acc. or dat. sg. masc. *clam*, **xvii**.

**2 clam** masc. o-stem ‘leper’: nom. sg. *clam*, **xvii**.

**cléirech** masc. o-stem ‘cleric’: nom. sg. *cléirech*, **iv**; voc. sg. *chlérigh*, **iv**, *clérig*, **iv**.

**clíath** fem. ā-stem ‘hurdle, bridge’: dat. sg. *cléith*, **iii**.

**cnáim** masc. i-stem ‘bone’: nom. sg. *cnáim*, **xxxvi**; dat. pl. *chnámuib*, **xxxvi**.

**1 co<sup>H</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) ‘to, until’: simple *co*, **i**, **xi** (x2), **xxv**, *go*, **iii**, **iv** (x2), **xvii** (x2), **xix**, **xxxvi**, *gu*, **ii**, **xviii**; conjug. 1sg. *chugam*, **xxiv**.

**2 co<sup>N</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) ‘with’: simple *co*, **xvii**; with poss. pron. 3sg. masc. *cona*, **ii**, **v**.

**3 co<sup>N</sup>** conj. ‘until, so that, before’: *co·mbáatar*, **xxxvi**, *co·nndebert*, **xxxvi**, *co·nndebuirrt*, **vii**, *gu·mbáatar*, **xi**; *gu·táinnicc*, **xi**, *gu·tugur-sa*, **xx**, *gurrum·ongthar*, **xxiv**; with the copula pres. 3sg. *conad*, **xx**, *conid*, **iv** (x2), **vii**.

**cóich** interr. pron. ‘who, whose’: gen. *cúich*, **xi**.

**comairle** fem. iā-stem, ‘act of consulting (about); council’: nom. sg. *comurle*, **xiii**, *comurli*, **xiii**; gen. sg. *comurle*, **xxvi**.

**comallaid** from Old Irish W1 *comalnaithir* ‘fulfils, discharges’: past pass. 3sg. *ro·comallad*, **xx**, *roo·comallad*, **xxviii**.

**comarba** masc. io-stem ‘heir, successor’: nom. sg. *comarba*, **iii**.

**comfochraib** i-stem adj. ‘near’: acc. sg. masc. *comfocraib*, **xi**.

**comfocus** masc. u-stem ‘proximity’: dat. sg. *chomfocus*, **xxiv**.

**comraigid** simple verb ‘meets, encounters, arrives at’, from Old Irish S1 *do·icc*: past. 3pl. *ro·chomraigsit*, **v**.

**connicci** prep. (+ acc.) ‘as far as, up to, to’: *connicci*, **iii**, *connigi*, **xi**, *gunige*, **iii**.

**cor** masc. o-stem v. n. of S1 *fo·ceird* ‘puts, throws’: dat. sg. *cor*, **xi**, *cur*, **xi**.

**cos** fem. ā-stem ‘leg’: acc. pl. *cosu*, **xi**.

**coscraige** fem. iā-stem ‘victoriousness’: nom. sg. with *nota*. 2sg. *choscraidi-si*, **iv**.

**crábud** masc. o-stem ‘piety, devotion, religion’: gen. sg. *crápaid*, **iii**.

**cráibdech** o/ā-stem adj. ‘pious, devout’: nom. sg. fem. *cráibdiuch*, **xi**.

**críde** masc. io-stem ‘heart’: nom. sg. *críde*, **xvii**; nom. pl. *crídhida*, **iv**.

**cris** masc. u-stem ‘girdle, belt’: acc. sg. *cris*, **xvii**, *criss*, **xvii**.

**crod** masc. o-stem ‘cattle; goods, property, wealth’: dat. sg. *crud*, **xxviii**.

**crúaid** i-stem adj. ‘hard(y), harsh, stern’: nom. sg. masc. *crúaid*, **v**; nom. pl. masc. *crúaidhe*, **iv**.

**cruth** masc. u-stem ‘form, shape’: acc. or dat. sg. *cruth*, **iv**; nom. pl. *crotha*, **iv**.

**cuibleng** masc. o-stem ‘contest, contention’: dat. pl. *gcuiblinguib*, **iv**.

**1 cuingid** fem. i-stem v. n. of S1 *con·diëig* ‘asks, requests’: dat. sg. *chuingid*, **xxii**, **xxv**, *chuinnigid*, **iii**.

**2 cuingid** simple verb ‘asks, seeks’, from Old Irish S1 *con·diëig*: pres. 2sg. *chuinge*, **iii**, with rel. part. *na·cuinge*, **iii**; cond. 2sg. *no·chuingidfithea*, **iii**.

**cuirid** simple verb ‘causes’, from Old Irish S1 *fo·ceird* or S1 *do·cuirethar*: past 3sg. *ro·chuir*, **iii**.

**cúl** masc. o-stem ‘back, rear’: acc. pl. *cúla*, **iii**.

**cumachtae** fem. noun of var. inflection ‘power, strength, might’: dat. sg. with *nota*. 1sg. *chumachtain-si*, **xix**; dat. pl. with *nota*. 1sg. *cumachtab-si*, **xix**.

**cumang** masc. ‘power, ability, strength’ v. n. of S1 *con·icc*: nom. sg. *chumang*, **ix**.

**1 dá<sup>N</sup>** conj. ‘if’: *dā·tecmuightea-sa*, **iii**.

**2 dá** num. adj. ‘two’: acc. masc. *dá*, **v**, **xxiii**; dat. fem. *dhíb*, **xxvi**.

**dáendoí** see **dóenda**.

**dán** masc. u-stem ‘art, especially the poetic faculty’: acc. or dat. sg. *dán*, **xxviii**.

**danó** adv. ‘then’: *dan*, **xii**, *danó*, **ii**, **iii** (x2), **iv** (x3), *donó*, **iii** (x2), **iv** (x2), **viii**, **xiii**.

**dar** see **tar**, **dar**.

**dara** ordinal number ‘second’: nom. sg. fem. *dara*, **xxvi**.

**dath** masc. u-stem ‘colour’: nom. sg. with *nota*. 3pl. *ndat-sium*, **iv**.

**de<sup>L</sup>**, **di<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) ‘from, of’: conjug. 2sg. *dít*, **ix**; 3sg. masc. *dé*, **xi**, with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *de-sium*, **xix**; 3pl. *díb*, **iv**, **xxii**, **xxiv**; with poss. pron. 3sg. masc. *dá*, **xvii**, **xxviii**, *día*, **xxxvi**.

**·debairt** see **as·beir**.

**degaid** fem. i-stem ‘search, the seeking’: dat. sg. *degaid*, **xvii**, *ndeguid*, **xvii**.

**deich<sup>N</sup>** num. adj. ‘ten’: *.x*, **xi**.

**delg** masc. o-stem ‘stem, brooch’: acc. sg. *delcc*, **xvii**, *delg*, **xvii** (x2).

**dér** masc. o-stem ‘tear’: gen. pl. *dér*, **xix**.

**dércc** fem. ā-stem ‘love of God, charity, alms-giving’: gen. pl. *dércc*, **xi**.

**dergár** comp. of o/ā-stem adj. *derg* ‘red; bloody’ and masc. o-stem *ár* ‘slaughter, carnage’: nom. sg. *dergár*, **xi**.

**·dicsigh** see **téit**.

**didiú** part. of transition ‘then, now’: *didiú*, **iv**.

**dís** fem. ā-stem ‘pair, couple’: nom. sg. *dís*, **iv**.

**1 do<sup>L</sup>** poss. pron. 2sg. ‘your’: *do*, **iii**, **iv**.

**2 do<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) ‘to, for’: simple *d’[íarruid]*, **xvii**, *d’[indsaighid]*, **i**, *d’[innsaighid]*, **iii**, **xi**, **xiii**, *do*, **i**, **iii** (x3), **iv**, **viii**, **ix**, **xi** (x3), **xii**, **xiii** (x3), **xv** (x3), **xvii** (x5), **xx**, **xxi** (x2), **xxii**, **xxv**, **xxvi**, **xxvii**, **xxviii**, *du*, **xxxvi**; with the art. dat. sg. masc. *don*, **xvii**; fem. *don*, **xii**; conjug. 1sg. *dam*, **iii**, **ix**, with *nota*. 1sg. *dam-sa*, **iv**, **xvii** (x2); 2sg. *duit*, **xx**, **xxv**; 3sg. masc. *dó*, **xiii**, **xvii** (x2), **xxiii**, **xxiv**, **xxvi**, with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *dó-sam*, **iv**; with poss. pron. 1sg. *dam*, **xix**, *dom*, **xxiv**; 2sg. *dot*, **ix**; 3sg. masc. *dá*, **xvii**, **xxi**; fem. *dá*, **xi**.

**do-beir** S1 verb 'gives, brings': pres. 1sg. *do-beirim*, **xix**; 3sg. *do-beir*, **xvii**; pres. subj. 1sg. with *nota*. 1sg. *gu-tugur-sa*, **xx**; cond. 3pl. *do-bértais*, **xiii**; past. 3sg. *do-bert*, **xvii**, *do-rat*, **xii**, **xxviii**, **xxxvi**, *ní-tarat*, **xvii**, *tuc*, **xxii**, *tug*, **viii**, **xi**, **xxvii**, with rel. part. *a-tucc*, **xxviii**.

**do-cuirethar** W2 verb 'puts; invites': past. 3sg. *do-ralo*, **iii**.

**dodelb** fem. ā-stem 'misshapen, deformed, unsightly': nom. sg. *dodelb*, **iv**.

**dóenda** io/iā-stem adj. 'human': acc. sg. masc. *dáendoí*, **xxxiii**.

**do-gní** H2 verb 'does, makes': pres. 3sg. *do-gní*, **xvi**; subj. 1sg. *co-nndernar*, **xxiv**; fut. 2sg. with rel. part. *na-tibra*, **xxxvi**; 3sg. with rel. part. and *nota*. 3sg. *na-tibro-sum*, **xxviii**; cond. 3pl. *do-géntais*, **xiii**; past 3sg. *do-righni*, **xxxvi**; *do-róne*, **xi**; pass. 3sg. *do-rónad*, **i**, *do-rónuth*, **xiii**; 3pl. *do-rónsat*, **xx**, with *nota*. 3pl. *do-rónsatur-som*, **xiii**.

**do-icc** S1 verb 'comes': pres. 3sg. *ticc*, **xvii**, **xviii**, *tig*, **xvii** (x3); impv. 2sg. *tair*, **iii**, **xx**; pres. subj. 3sg. *co-tí*, **xxviii**; cond. 1sg. *ní-ticcfuinn*, **iii**; past 3sg. *táinic*, **xi**, **xiii**, *tánicc*, **viii**, *tánuig*, **xi** (x2), *gu-táinnicc*, **xi**; 3pl. *tángatur*, **v**.

**do-ráid** see **ráidid**.

**doridisi** adv. 'again': *doridisi*, **xviii**.

**drúth** masc. o-stem 'jester, satirist': nom. sg. *drúth*, **xvii**; acc. or dat. sg. *drúth*, **xvii**.

**duine** masc. io-stem 'person': dat. pl. *ndoínib*, **iv**.

**é** pers. pron. 3sg. masc. 'he, him': nom. *hé*, **6c**, **6d**.  
Nom. *hé*, **xi** (x2), **xv**, *sé*, **xv**, **xvi**, **xix**, **xxiv**, **xxxvi**, acc. *é*, **xii**, **xvii**, **xxxvi** (x2), *hé*, **xi** (x2).

**ecnae** fem. iā-stem 'wisdom, knowledge, enlightenment': gen. sg. *ecnua*, **xxxvi**, *egna*, **iii**.

**ed** pers. pron. 3sg. neut. 'it': nom. *eadh*, **iv**, *ed*, **i**, **iii**, **iv**, **xxviii**.

**éis** fem. ī-stem 'trace, track': acc. sg. *éisi*, **xxix**.

**én** masc. o-stem 'bird': acc. pl. *héonu*, **iv**.

**enech** masc. o-stem 'face, front': nom. sg. *einich*, **xxviii**; acc. sg. *enech*, **xvi**;  
gen. pl. *eniuch*, **xi**.

**epscop** masc. o-stem 'bishop': nom. sg. *epsgob*, **xxiv**.

**eráilid** simple verb 'enjoins, urges an action etc. on a person', from Old Irish *ar-áili*: past 3sg. *ra-iráil*, **xvii**.

**érig** see **at-reig**.

**escainid** W2 ? verb 'curses': past. 3sg. *ro-escain*, **xxxvi**.

**étche** fem. iā-stem 'uncomeliness, ugliness': nom. sg. *étchi*, **iv**.

**eter<sup>L</sup>**, **etir<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) 'between': simple *itir*, **xv**, **xviii**; conjug. 3pl. *eturro*, **i**, *eturru*, **v**.

**fáen** o/ā-stem adj. ‘prostrate, supine, lying on one’s back’: nom. sg. *fáen*, **xv**, **xviii**.

**fáisitiu** fem. n-stem ‘confession of sins’: acc. sg. [*m*] *fáisitin*, **xxiv**.

**faiti** see **fotae, fatae**.

**farrad** prep. ‘beside, along with’: *farrad*, **xxiii**.

**fáth** masc. u-stem ‘cause, reason’: nom. sg. *fáth*, **iv**.

**fecht** neut. noun ‘time, occasion’: acc. sg. with demons. part. *fecht-sa*, **xxv**.

**féin** emph. adj. ‘own’: *féin*, **ix**, **xxv**, **xxxvi**.

**féochair** i-stem adj. ‘stern, severe, fierce’: nom. sg. masc. *féochuir*, **v**.

**fer** masc. o-stem ‘man’: nom. sg. *fer*, **xi**, **xvii** (x2); acc. or dat. sg. *fer*, **iv**.

**feraid** W1 verb ‘gives forth, pours’: past pass. *ra·ferad*, **v**.

**ferr** see **maith**.

**festá** adv. ‘now, forthwith, henceforth’: *festá*, **ix**.

**fétaid** simple verb ‘is able, can’, from Old Irish *ad·cota*: past. 3sg. *nír·fét*, **xi**.

**fiacail** i-stem noun ‘tooth’: dat. pl. *fiacuib*, **xviii**, *ffiacuib*, **xv**.

**fiadnaise** fem. iā-stem ‘presence’: dat. sg. *fiadnuisi*, **xx**, **xxxvi**, *fiadnuse*, **xiii**.

**fiarfaige** masc. io-stem v. n. of S1 *íarmi·foich* ‘seeks after, inquires about’: dat. sg. *fiarfuighe*, **xi**.

**fiarfaigid** simple verb ‘seeks after, enquires about’, from Old Irish S1 *íarmi·foich*: past 3sg. *ro·fiarfuid*, **xix**.

**fíchda** io/iā-stem adj. ‘fierce, angry, furious’: nom. sg. masc. *fíchdo*, **v**.

**fiche** masc. nt-stem ‘twenty’: gen. sg. *xx.it*, **iii**.

**fichid** S1 verb ‘fights’: pret. 3sg. rel. *fiche*, **6b**.

**fír** o/ā-stem adj. ‘true, veracious’: nom. sg. *fír*, **iv**.

**fírinne** fem. iā-stem ‘justice, righteousness; truth’: nom. sg. *fírinni*, **iv** (x2).

**flaith** fem. i-stem ‘lordship, reign’: gen. sg. *flatha*, **i**.

**fo<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ acc. or dat.) ‘under’: simple *fo*, **xix** (x2); with poss. pron. 1sg. *fom*, **xix** (x2).

**fodail** fem. i-stem v. n. of *fo·dáli* ‘distributes, dispenses, bestows’: dat. sg. *foduil*, **xxi**.

**fo·gaib** S2 verb ‘finds, gets’: pres. subj. 1sg. *nó go·fagur*, **iii**; cond. 2sg. with infixed pron. 3sg. masc. *fo·ghébtha*, **iii**.

**for** prep. (+ acc. or dat.) ‘on, onto’: *for*, **iii**, **v**, **vi**, **xxii**, **xxiii**, **xxxvi**; conjug. 2sg. *fortt*, **xix**, with *nota*. 2sg. *fort-sa*, **xxv**; 3sg. masc. *fair*, **iii**, **xvii**.

**forcetal** masc. o-stem v. n. of *for·cain* ‘teaches, instructs’: acc. sg. *forcetal*, **xxxvi**, *forcetul*, **xxxvi**; gen. sg. *forcetail*, **xxxvi** (x2), *forcetuil*, **xxxvi**.

**forchanaid** simple verb ‘teaches, instructs’, from Old Irish S1 *for·cain*: cond. 3pl. *coro·forchantais*, **xxxiii**.

**forfaílid** i-stem adj. ‘very glad, joyous’: acc. sg. *forbálid*, **iii**.

**fotae, fatae** io/iā-stem adj. ‘long’: compar. grade *faiti*, **iii**.

**·frecart** see **fris·gair**.

**fri<sup>H</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) ‘towards, against’: simple *fri*, **i**, **xxiv**, *fría*, **iii**, *ra*, **xi**; conjug. 3sg. masc. *fris*, **iii**, with *nota*. 3sg. masc. *fris-sium*, **iv**, *ris-sium*, **xx**.

**fría** see **fri<sup>H</sup>**.

**fris·gair** S2 verb ‘answers, replies’: past. 3sg. *ro·frecart*, **iii**.

**gáe** masc. o-stem ‘a spear, a javelin’: gen. sg. *gaí*, **xiii**, *ghaí*, **xv**.

**gaibid** S2 verb ‘takes, accepts’: past 3sg. *ra·gab*, **xiii**, *ro·gab*, **xxxvi**; 3pl. *ro·ghabsat*, **xxvii**.

**geránach** o/ā-stem adj. ‘complaining, wailing’: acc. sg. *geránach*, **xvii**.

**gíallad** masc. u-stem v. n. of W1 *gíallaid* ‘gives hostages, submits’: nom. sg. with demons. part. *gíallad-sin*, **xv**; dat. sg. *gíallad*, **xiii**.

**gíallaid** W1 verb ‘gives hostages, submits’: pres. 3sg. rel. *no·gíallus*, **xv**; past 3sg. *ro·gíall*, **xv**.

**gin** see **cen<sup>L</sup>**.

**go** see **1 co<sup>H</sup>**.

**góilmech** noun ‘the gills of a fish, the jowls, the throat’: acc. sg. *góilmech*, **xi**.

**grád** masc. u-stem ‘love, affection, charity’: gen. sg. *grádui*, **xi**.

**grúad** noun ‘cheek’: dat. pl. *ghrúadaib*, **xix**.

**gu** see **1 co<sup>H</sup>**.

**·gu** see **4 co<sup>N</sup>**.

**guidid** S2 verb ‘prays, begs’: pres. 1sg. with *nota*. 1sg. *guidim-si*, **xxviii**.

**gunige** see **connicci**.

**1 hi** see **in**.

**2 hi** see **oc**.

**higa** see **oc**.

**i<sup>N</sup>** prep. (+ acc. or dat.) ‘in, into’: simple *i*, **6a**.  
Simple *hi*, **i**, **iv** (x3), **xi**, **xiii**, **xx**, **xxxvi**, *i*, **iv** (x3), **xi**, **xv**, **xvii**, **xxiii**, **xxiv**, **xxvii**, **xxxvi**; with the art. acc. sg. fem. *’na*, **v**; dat. sg. masc. *issin*, **xxii**, *issind*, **xi** (x2), **xxiii**, dat. sg. fem. *isin*, **xxxvi**; conjug. 3sg. masc. *ann*, **iii**, **iv**, **v**, **vii**, **xiii**, **xiv**, **xv**, **xix**, **xxiv**; with poss. pron. 1sg. *im*, **xxiv**; 2sg. *at*, **iv**; 3sg. masc. *ina*, **xxxvi**, *’na*, **xvii**; 3pl. *’na*, **xxxvi**.

**íar<sup>N</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) ‘after’: simple *ar*, **i**, **xiii**, *íar*, **xi**, **xv**, **xxvi**; with poss. pron. 3sg. masc. *arna*, **i**.

**íarom** adv. ‘then, afterwards’: *íarum*, **xi**, **xiii**, **xxi**, **xxiii**.

**íarraid** fem. i-stem ‘act of demanding, asking’: dat. sg. [*d*]’*íarruid*, **xvii**.

**íat** pers. pron. 3pl. ‘they’: nom. *íat*, **iv**, *n-íat*, **iv**.

**ícc** fem. ā-stem v. n. of W1 *íccaid* ‘pays; requites, compensates for’: acc. sg. *ícc*, **xii**.

**il** i-stem adj. ‘many’: compar. grade *liaa*, **xxxvi**.

**ilimdae** substantive *imdae* ‘abundance’ with intens. prefix *il*: acc. sg. *ilimdo*, **iv**.

**im<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) ‘around, concerning, including’: simple *im*, **v**, **xxv**; with the art. acc. du. masc. *imman*, **v**; conjug. 3sg. masc. *imbi*, **xxviii**, *imme*, **xxviii**.

**imcháined** masc. u-stem v. n. of S2 *imcháinid* ‘blames greatly, reproves, censures’: dat. sg. *imcháined*, **i**.

**imchosaít** fem. ī-stem ‘act of stirring up strife; accusation, complaint’: gen. sg. *immchosaíti*, **i**.

**imdae** io/iā-stem adj. ‘many, numerous, abundant’: nom. sg. masc. *imdo*, **iv**; acc. sg. masc. *himdo*, **xxxvi**, *imdu*, **iv**.

**immach** adv. ‘out, outwards’: *ammach*, **xxvii**, *himach*, **xxviii**, *immach*, **xi**, **xxviii** (x2).

**immaig** adv. ‘of place without, outside’: *himuig*, **xxviii**.

**immorro** adv. ‘however, well, then, now’: *immorro*, **iii**, **xxii**, **xxxvi**.

**impaid** simple verb ‘goes, returns’, from Old Irish H3 *imm·sóí*: impv. 2sg. *impa*, **iii**.

**imthigid** simple verb ‘goes away, departs’, for Old Irish S1 *imm·tét*: pres. 3sg. *imtidhig*, **xvii**.

**in** art. ‘the’: nom. sg. masc. *in*, **6a**, **6c**, **6d**.  
 Nom. sg. masc. *in*, **iv** (x7), **v**, **vi**, **xi**, **xv**, **xvii** (x5), **xviii**, **xix**, *int*, **iv**, **vii**; fem. *an*, **iv**, *in*, **iv** (x2), **xi** (x2), **xiii**, **xxvi**; acc. sg. masc. *in*, **iii** (x2), **xi** (x3), **xix**, **xxiv**, **xxviii**, **xxxvi**, *ind*, **xvi**, **xvii** (x3); neut. *hi*, **xxv**; gen. sg. masc. *in*, **i**, **xi**, **xii**, **xv** (x3), **xvii**, **xxviii**, *ind*, **xi**, *inn*, **xi**, *int*, **iv**; fem. *na*, **iii** (x2), **iv** (x2); dat. sg. fem. *ind*, **xi**, **xvi**; nom. pl. masc. *int*, **iv**, *na*, **iv** (x2); acc. pl. masc. *na*, **iv**, **xiii**; fem. *na*, **iv**; gen. pl. masc. *na*, **iv**, **xxvi**; fem. *na*, **iv**; with demons. part. *in-sō*, **vii**.

**inad** masc. o-stem ‘place, spot’: dat. sg. with num. prefix *n-óeninadh*, **xxiv**.

**indmas** masc. u-stem ‘wealth, treasure, goods’: nom. sg. *innmus*, **xvii**.

**indossa** adv. ‘now, just now’: *indoso*, **xvi**.

**indsaigid** fem. i-stem v. n. of S1 *ind·saig* ‘approaches, attacks’: dat. sg. [*d*]’*indsaighid*, **i**, [*d*]’*innsaigid*, **iii**, **xi**, **xiii**, *hinnsaighid*, **xi**.

**indú-sa** see **at-tá**.

**ingnum** o/ā-stem adj. ‘strange, wonderful, remarkable’: nom. sg. *ingnum*, **iv**.

**innisid** simple verb ‘tells’, from Old Irish S1 *ad·fét*: pres. 3sg. *innisid*, **xvii**.

**·iráil** see **eráilid**.

**·irlamuigh** see **airlamaigid**.

**is** copula 'is': pres. 3sg. *is*, **6c**, **6d**; fut. 3sg. rel. *bus*, **6c**, **6d**.

Pres. 3sg. *is*, **i**, **iii** (x2), **iv** (x9), **xi** (x2), **xiii** (x2), **xiv**, **xv**, **xix** (x2), **xxiv**, *iss*, **iv** (x3), **xxviii**; neg. 3sg. *ní*, **iii**, **iv** (x2), **xxiv**, *nocha*, **iv**; neg. rel. *nach*, **iv**, **xix**, **xxviii**; interr. *in*, **xiii** (x2), **xix**, *ind*, **xvi** (x2); neg. interr. *nach*, **iv**; cond. 3sg. rel. ? *bud*, **iii**; past. 3sg. *ba*, **xxviii** (x2), **xxxvi**, *robud*, **iv**, **xxvi**, *ropud*, **xi**.

**is·bert** see **as·beir**.

**istech** adv. 'in into': *istech*, **xi**.

**it·bert** see **as·beir**.

**itir** see **eter<sup>L</sup>**, **etir<sup>L</sup>**.

**la<sup>H</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) 'with': simple *la*, **xxviii**, *ra*, **iv** (x2), **xxviii**, **xxxvi**, *re*, **vii**; conjug. 1sg. *lemm*, **xix**, with *nota*. 1sg. *lem-so*, **iv**; 2sg. *lat*, **xix**; 3sg. masc. *lais*, **xxi**, *leiss*, **xi**, *les*, **i**; 1pl. *linn*, **xi**; 3pl. *léo*, **xxviii**.

**laä**, **lá** masc. io-stem 'day': acc. sg. *laa*, **xxiv**; acc. du. *lá*, **xxiii**.

**lám** fem. ā-stem 'hand': nom. sg. *lám*, **xxvi**; dat. sg. *láim*, **xxiii**; dat. pl. du. *lámaib*, **xxvi**.

**ro·laimethar** S2 verb 'dares, ventures': past 3sg. *náro·lamuir*, **xxii**.

**leth** masc. o-stem 'half, middle': dat. sg. *let*, **iii**.

**lethfota** comp. of masc. o-stem *leth* 'half' and io/iā-stem adj. *fota* 'long': nom. sg. *lethfota*, **xxvi**.

**liaa** see **il**.

**lín** masc. u-stem 'great number, multitude': acc. or dat. sg. *lín*, **iv**.

**lobur** noun 'weak one': nom. sg. *lobur*, **6b**, **6c**.

**lór** o/ā-stem adj. 'enough, sufficient': nom. sg. *lór*, **iv**, **xxv**.

**lugha** see **bec**.

**má**, **ma** conj. 'if': with the copula pres. 3sg. *más*, **iii**.

**mac**, **macc** masc. o-stem 'son, boy': nom. sg. with num. prefix *aénmacc*, **iv**.

**máel** o/ā-stem adj. 'bald; hornless': nom. sg. fem. *máel*, **xxxvi**.

**maidid** S2 verb 'breaks': past 3sg. *ra·membuith*, **v**, *ro·maid*, **xix**.

**maidm** neut. n-stem v. n. of S2 *maidid* 'breaks': gen. sg. *madma*, **xii**; dat. sg. *madmmuim*, **xi**.

**mainister** fem. ā-stem ? 'monastery': acc. sg. *manistir*, **xi**.

**maith** i-stem adj. 'good; as interj. well, as': compar. grade *ferr*, **xix**.

**mar** conj. 'as, like': *mar*, **iv**.

**marbad** masc. u-stem v. n. of W1 *marbaid* 'kills': acc. sg. *marbad*, **xi**.

**marbaid** W1 verb 'kills': pres. 3sg. *marbuid*, **iv** (x2); past. pass. 3sg. *ro-marbad*, **v**.

**mart** masc. o-stem 'an ox or cow slaughtered for meat': nom. pl. *mairt*, **xi**.

**matan** fem. ā-stem 'morning': acc. sg. *matin*, **iv**.

**máthair** fem. r-stem 'mother': gen. sg. *máthar*, **xix**.

**meithel** fem. ā-stem 'a band of workers engaged in some common occupation or service, generally agricultural, esp. a band of reapers': dat. sg. *methil*, **xxxvi**.

**míach** fem. ā-stem 'a measure of capacity; a bushel': nom. sg. *míach*, **xxi**, **xxv**.

**mo<sup>L</sup>** poss. pron. 1sg. 'my': *m'[faísitin]*, **xxiv**, *mo*, **iii**, **xix** (x2), **xx**.

**mór** o/ā-stem adj. 'big, great': nom. sg. *mór*, **iii**, **xxviii**, **xxxvi**, masc. *mór*, **ii**, **xix**; acc. sg. masc. *mór*, **xi**, with demons. part. *mór-sa*, **xvi**; dat. sg. *mór*, **i**; compar. grade *mó*, **iv**, **xi**, *moo*, **iii**.

**muintir** fem. ā-stem 'followers, family, community': acc. sg. *muintir*, **xix**; gen. sg. *muintire*, **xi** (x2), *muintire*, **xxxvi**; dat. sg. *muintir*, **xvii** (x2), *muintir*, **xvii**.

'na see **i<sup>N</sup>**.

**1 ná** conj. 'nor': *nā*, **iv**.

**2 ná** part. 'than': *ná*, **xxviii**.

**namá** adv. 'only, merely': *namá*, **iv** (x2).

**námae** masc. t-stem 'enemy, foe': dat. pl. *náimtib*, **ix**, **xi**.

**nech** indef. pron. 'somebody, something': nom. sg. *nech*, **xxviii**; gen. sg. *neich*, **xv**.

**nert** masc. o-stem 'strong one': acc. pl. *nerta*, **6b**.

**ní** neut. subst. 'a thing': *ní*, **iii** (x2), **xvii** (x3), **xxii**, **xxv**, **xxviii**.

**nó** conj. 'or': *nó*, **iii**, **iv**, **xiii**, **xv**, **xvi**, **xxii**.

**nó co<sup>N</sup>** conj. 'until': *nó go-fagur*, **iii**.

**1 ó<sup>L</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) 'from': simple *ó*, **i**, **xxvii**, **xxviii** (x2); with the art. dat. sg. masc. *ónt*, **xxxvi**; with the art. dat. sg. fem. *ón*, **xxvi**; conjug. 1sg. with *nota*. 1sg. *úaim-si*, **xxv**, *úaim-siu*, **xix**; 3sg. masc. *úad*, **xvii** (x4).

**2 ó<sup>L</sup>** conj. 'since, when, as': *ó*, **xxxvi**.

**oc** prep. (+ dat.) 'at, by': simple *ag*, **xiii** (x2), *hi*, **ii**, *oc*, **i**, **iii**; conjug. 1sg. *acum*, **iv**, *agum*, **xxv**; 2sg. *ogat*, **iv**; 3sg. masc. *aci*, **xvii**, *aici*, **iv**, **xi**; fem. *acce*, **xi**; with poss. pron. 3sg. masc. 'ca, **xxviii**, *higa*, **xi**; fem. *hica*, **xxvi**; with demons. pron. *ag-só*, **xxv**.

**odor** o/ā-stem adj. 'dun, greyish brown': nom. sg. fem. *odhur*, **xxxvi**.

**óenach** masc. o-stem 'assembly, gathering; fair': dat. sg. *áenach*, **xxiii**, *óenach*, **xxii**.

**ógríar** fem. ā-stem 'complete desire, satisfaction': acc. sg. *óghréir*, **viii**.

**oidhcui** see **adaig**.

**oíge** masc. t-stem 'guest': gen. sg. *áeghead*, **xi**, *oíged*, **xi**.

**oingid** W2 verb 'anoints': pres. subj. pass. 3sg. with Class A infixed pron. 1sg. *gurrum·ongthar*, **xxiv**.

**ol, ar, or, for** defective verb 'says, said': *ar*, **iii** (x4), **iv, ix, xi, xvi, xvii, xix** (x2), **xxiv** (x4), **xxxvi**, *ol*, **xvii, xxiv, or, iv, xxv** (x2).

**óm** part. of affirmation 'indeed, truly': *óm*, **iii**.

**ón** indec. neut. sg. pron. 'this, that': *ón*, **iv, xxiv** (x2), **xxviii**.

**or** see **2 ol, ar, or, for**.

**ór** masc. o-stem 'gold': gen. sg. *óir*, **xvii**; dat. sg. *n-ór*, **xvii**.

**ra** see **la<sup>H</sup>**.

**rád** masc. o-stem v. n. of W2 *ráidid* 'speaks, tells; speaks of': dat. sg. *rádh*, **xxviii**.

**·rag** see **téit**.

**ráidid** W2 verb 'says, tells': past. 3sg. *do-ráid* **iv**, *ra-ráid*, **xiii, xix**, *ro-ráid*, **iii** (x2).

**rann** masc. o-stem 'a quatrain or stave of four lines of poetry': acc. sg. *rann*, **xi**; acc. pl. *runno*, **xiii**.

**rath** masc. o-stem 'goods, chattels, property': nom. sg. *rath*, **xxxvi**.

**re** see **la<sup>H</sup>**.

**ré** fem. iā-stem 'generally of time, a period, lapse of time': acc. sg. *ré*, **iii**.

**remráite** io/iā-stem adj. 'aforesaid, above-mentioned': acc. pl. masc. *remráti*, **xiii**; dat. sg. masc. *remráte*, **xi**.

**rí** masc. g-stem 'king': nom. sg. *rí*, **iv**, with demons. part. *rí-sin*, **xi**; voc. sg. *rí*, **iv** (x2); gen. sg. *ríg*, **xxiii**.

**ría<sup>N</sup>** prep. (+ dat.) 'before': simple *ría*, **xi**.

**rind** masc. i-stem 'point, tip': nom. sg. *rinn*, **xv, xviii**; dat. sg. *rinn*, **xiii**.

**ris-sium** see **fri<sup>H</sup>**.

**ro·fitir** S3 verb 'knows' (pret. of *ro·finnadar* used as pres.): pret. 3sg. with neg. part. and Class C infixed pron. 3sg. neut. *nacha·fitir*, **18d**.  
Fut. 1pl. with *nota*. 1pl. *ra·finnfam-ne*, **xvi**; pret. 2pl. with *nota*. 2pl. *nach·fetruidh-si*, **iv**.

**ro·icc** S1 verb 'reaches, arrives': past 3sg. *ránuic*, **ii**.

**rolía** compar. grade of i-stem adj. *il* 'many' with intens. prefix *ro*: *rolía*, **iv**.

**romór** o/ā-stem adj. *mór* 'big, great' with intens. prefix *ro*: nom. sg. *romór*, **xxviii**; acc. sg. *romór*, **iv**.

**rug** see **beirid**.

**runno** see **rann**.

**sáegul** masc. o-stem ‘the world; worldly goods’: acc. sg. *sáeghul*, **xxxvi**; dat. sg. *sáegul*, **xxxvi**.

**sáethar** masc. o-stem ‘work, labour; trouble, exertion’: nom. sg. *sáethar*, **xxxvi**.

**sair** adv. ‘eastwards’: *sair*, **iii**.

**sárugud** masc. u-stem v. n. of W2 *sáraigid* ‘violates, outrages’: acc. sg. *sárugud*, **iii**.

**sebac** masc. o-stem ‘sparrow hawk’: nom. sg. *sebac*, **iv**.

**sechtmad** o/ā-stem adj. ‘seventh’: dat. sg. fem. *sechtmad*, **i**.

**sé** see **é**.

**séig** masc. i-stem ‘hawk’: nom. sg. *séigh*, **iv**.

**sí** pers. pron. 3sg. fem. ‘she’: *sí*, **xi**, with *nota*. 3sg. fem. *sí-sidhee*, **xiii**.

**síar** adv. ‘westwards’: *síar*, **iii**.

**síd** noun ‘peace, conciliation’: acc. sg. *síd*, **iii**, **xx**.

**síl** masc. o-stem ‘seed, race’: dat. sg. *sí*, **xxviii**.

**sin** demons. pron. ‘that, those’: *sain*, **xv**, **xix**, *sin*, **iv** (x2), **xiii**, **xvi**, **xx**, **xxiii**, **xxvii**, **xxxvi**.

**síned** masc. u- or o-stem v. n. of W2 *sínid* ‘stretches, extends’: dat. sg. *sínedh*, **xxvi**.

**slúag** masc. o-stem ‘a host, army’: nom. sg. *slúagh*, **iv**, with demons. part. *slúag-sa*, **iv**; gen. sg. with demons. part. *slúaig-si*, **iv**; dat. sg. *slúagh*, **v**; nom. pl. *slúaigh*, **iv**; acc. pl. with *nota*. 1pl. *slúaigh-ne*, **iv**; dat. pl. *slúaghuib*, **ii**.

**smacht** masc. u-stem ‘dominion, rule’: nom. sg. *smacht*, **xix**; dat. sg. *smacht*, **xix** (x2).

**sochraid** i-stem adj. ‘seemly, decorous, dignified’: compar. grade *socraidhe*, **iv**.

**sochraite** fem. iā-stem ‘friendship; a body of friends, allies’: acc. sg. *socraide*, **v**.

**sruth** masc. u-stem ‘stream, river’: nom. sg. *sruth*, **xix**; acc. sg. *sruth*, **xi**.

**subach** o/ā-stem adj. ‘cheerful, merry, happy’: acc. sg. *subach*, **iii**.

**suí** masc. t-stem ‘paragon (of), one noted (for)’: nom. sg. *suídh*, **xxxvi**.

**suidid** S1 verb ‘sits’: past 3sg. *ro-suid*, **xxiii**.

**tabart** fem. ā-stem v. n. of S1 *do-beir* ‘gives’: dat. sg. *tabairt*, **i**, *thabuir*, **xv**.

**taiffnid** simple verb ‘hunts’, from Old Irish S1 *do-seinn*: pres. 3sg. *taiffnid*, **iv**, *taiffnith*, **iv** (x2).

**táin** fem. t-stem ‘herd, flock’ v. n. of *do-aig*: acc. pl. *táinte*, **iv**.

**tair** see **do·icc**.

**tairbrid** simple verb 'yields, gives over', from Old Irish S1 *do·airbir*: past 3sg. *ro·tairbir*, **xxvi**.

**tairmesc** masc. o-stem v. n. of W1 *do·airmesca* 'hinders, prevents': acc. sg. *tairmescc*, **xxviii**.

**tairmescaid** simple verb 'hinders, frustrates', from Old Irish W1 *do·airmesca*: fut. 1sg. with *nota*. 1sg. *ní·thairmuscib·su*, **xxviii**; pass. 3sg. *ní·tairmesgfaighter*, **xxv**.

**taiscid** fem. i-stem v. n. of *taiscid* 'keeps, stores, lays up': dat. sg. *thaiscith*, **xxxi**.

**talam** masc. n-stem 'the earth, the world': gen. sg. *talmun*, **xix**; dat. sg. *talmuin*, **xxxvi**.

**tan** fem. ā-stem ? 'time, point of time': dat. sg. *tain*, **xxvi**.

**tar, dar** prep. (+ acc.) 'over, across': simple *dar*, **iii, xi, xix, xxviii**, *tar*, **iii**.

**techta** verbal of necessity of S1 *téit* 'goes': *techta*, **6d**.

**tecmaigid** simple verb 'happens, meets', from Old Irish S1 *do·ecmaing*: past subj. 2sg. with *nota*. 2sg. *dā·tecmuightea·sa*, **iii**.

**teine** masc. t-stem 'fire': nom. sg. *tene*, **xxxvi**.

**teist** fem. noun 'witness, one capable of giving evidence': dat. sg. *test*, **xxxvi**.

**téit** S1 verb 'goes': pres. 3sg. *téit*, **xxi**, *tét*, **xvii**; past subj. 3sg. *coná·dicsigh*, **xxxv**; fut. 1sg. *na·rag*, **iii**; past 3sg. *ro·chúaid*, **xi**, *ní·dechaid*, **xxxvi**.

**tí** indef. pers. pron. 'the person (who)': *tí*, **iv**.

**tidnaicid** simple verb 'gives, bestows, grants', from Old Irish *do·indnaig*: past 3sg. *no·thidnuiccith*, **xxviii**.

**tigernas** masc. u- or o-stem 'lordship, dominion': acc. sg. *tigernus*, **xx**.

**tindnacol** masc. o-stem v. n. of *do·indnaig* 'gives, bestows, grants': gen. sg. with demons. part. *tidhnucuil·sin*, **xxviii**.

**tinóilid** simple verb 'gathers, collects', from Old Irish H1 *do·inóla*: fut. 3sg. rel. *thinóilfius*, **xxviii**.

**tinól** masc. o-stem v. n. of H1 *do·inóla* 'musters, assembles': nom. sg. *tinól*, **i**, *tinál*, **ii**.

**tír** noun 'earth, ground': acc. sg. *tír*, **xxviii**; gen. sg. *tíri*, **iv**.

**tongaid** S1 verb 'swears': pres. 1sg. *tuingim*, **iii**.

**trá** adv. 'then, therefore, so, indeed': *trá*, **v (x2), vi, xv, xxviii**.

**tre<sup>l</sup>** prep. (+ acc.) 'through': simple *tre*, **vi**, *tría*, **xxxvi**; with poss. pron. 2sg. *trít*, **xxxvi**.

**1 trén** o/ā-stem adj. 'strong': nom. sg. *trén*, **6c**.

**2 trén** masc. o-stem 'strong one': nom. sg. *trén*, **6d**.  
Nom. sg. *trén*, **xxii**.

**tres** ordinal number 'third': acc. sg. masc. *tres*, **xxiv**.

**trét** masc. o-stem 'flock, herd': acc. sg. *trét*, **iv**.

**tricc** i-stem adj. 'swift, sudden': acc. sg. *tricc*, **xi**.

**tróge** fem. iā-stem 'misery, wretchedness, affliction': acc. or dat. sg. *thróghi*, **xix**, *thrógi*, **xix**.

**1 trúag** o/ā-stem adj. 'wretched, pitiable, miserable': nom. sg. *trúag*, **xi**; acc. or dat. sg. masc. *trúag*, **xvii**.

**2 trúag** masc. o-stem 'wretch, miserable person': nom. sg. *trúag*, **xxii**; acc. sg. *trúagh*, **xxiv**.

**tú** pers. pron. 2g. 'you': nom. *tú*, **xix** (x2).

**tug** see **do-beir**.

**tuicid** simple verb 'understands', from \**to-ucc-*: pres. 2sg. with *nota*. 2sg. *tuici-si*, **xxiv**.

**tuidecht** fem. ā-stem v. n. of S1 *do-tét* 'comes': acc. sg. *tuidecht*, **iii**.

**tuirsech** o/ā-stem adj. 'sorrowful, grieved': acc. sg. *tursech*, **xix**.

**úaitecht** fem. ā-stem 'fewness': nom. sg. *úaitecht*, **iv**.

**úair** conj. 'for, because': *úair*, **iv** (x5), **xix**, **xxviii**.

**úar** fem. ā-stem 'an hour, a time': dat. sg. *úair*, **xvi**, with demons. part. *úair-sin*, **xxvi**; gen. pl. *n-úair*, **iii**.

**úathed** o/ā-stem adj. 'alone': nom. sg. *úaitidh*, **iv**.

**ucht** masc. u-stem 'breast, bosom': dat. ? sg. *nd-ucht*, **xxvii**.

**uíd** fem. noun 'heed, attention, observation': dat. sg. *uíd*, **xvii**.

**uile** io/iā-stem adj. 'all, every': nom. pl. masc. *uile*, **xxvii**.

**uisce** masc. io-stem 'water': gen. sg. *uiscuus*, **xi**; dat. sg. *uscuus*, **xi** (x2).

**út** demons. adj. 'yon, yonder, the aforementioned': *uut*, **xix**.

**.x.** see **deich<sup>N</sup>**.

**.xx.it** see **fiche**.

## Proper nouns in Recension 2

**Brénainn** masc. indec. 'Brendan': gen. *Brénaínd*, **iii**.

**Caimmíne Inse Celtra** masc. io-stem: nom. *Caimín*, **vi, vii, ix, xxviii, xxxvi**;  
acc. *Caimín Innsi Celtra*, **xxviii, Caimín, vii**; gen. *Chaimín*, **vi, xx**; dat. *Chaimmín*,  
**viii**.

**Colum** masc. o-stem: gen. *Choluim*, **xxix**.

**Connachta** fem. ā-stem *plurale tantum* '(inhabitants of) Connacht': nom. pl.  
*Conacht[a]*, **v**; acc. pl. *Connachta*, **xxviii, Connachto, xii, xiii**; gen. pl. *Conacht*, **iv**,  
**v**.

**Críst** masc. 'Christ': nom. *Críst*, **iv**.

**Cúán** masc. o-stem: acc. du. *Chúán*, **v**.

**Cuimdiu** masc. t-stem 'the Lord': acc. *Cuimde*, **xxviii**.

**Cuimmíne Fota** masc. io-stem: nom. *Cuimín*, **iii, xxxvi, Cuimmín, iii** (x2),  
*Cuimíne, iv, Cuimmíne, iii*; acc. *Cuimín Fota mac Fíachnu, iii*; gen. *Cuimín*, **xxxvi**;  
dat. *Chuimín*, **iii, xxxvi**.

**Día** masc. o-stem 'God': nom. *Día*, **xxxvi** (x2); acc. *Día*, **iv** (x2), **xi**; acc. or dat.  
*Día*, **xvi**; dat. *Día*, **iii**.

**Díabal** masc. o-stem 'the Devil': gen. *Díabail*, **iv**.

**Díarmait** i-stem: nom. *Díarmait*, **iii, xix** (x2), **xx, xxii, xxvii, Díarmuid, xxiv**,  
*Díarmuit, iii* (x3), **iv, xii, xvi, xx, xxiv, xxv, Díarmuit Rúanuid, ii**; acc. *Díarmait*  
*Rúanuid, v, Díarmuit, xxiv, Díarmuit Rúanuid, i*; gen. *Díarmata, iii, xvii* (x2),  
**xxiii, Díarmato, xiii, xviii**, with demons. part. *Díarmata-sa, i*; dat. *Díarmait*,  
**xiii, Díarmuit, xv, xvii** (x2).

**Ériu** fem. n-stem 'Ireland': gen. *hÉrinn*, **iii, xxiii**; dat. *nnÉrind*, **xi**.

**Fir Érenn** masc. o-stem *plurale tantum* 'the Men of Ireland': nom. pl. *Fir*  
*hÉrind*, **xxiv, xxvii**; gen. pl. *Fer nÉrinn*, **xx**; dat. pl. *Feruib Érinn*, **xxi, xxii, xxviii**,  
*Feruib hÉrinn*, **xxviii**.

**Fir Muman** 'Men of Munster': gen. pl. *Fer Muman*, **v**.

**[Flann] mac Lonáin** masc. o-stem: nom. sg. *mac Lonán*, **xxviii**.

**Gúaire Aidni** masc. io-stem: nom. *Gúaire*, **viii, xi, xiii** (x2), **xviii, xxiv, xxv**,  
**xxvi, Gúairi, iii, xiii, xv, xvi** (x2), **xvii, xix, xx, xxi, xxiii, xxiv** (x2), **xxviii**,  
*Gúairiu, xi*; voc. *Gúairi*, **xvii**; acc. *Gúaire, i, Gúairi, v* (x2), **vi, xvii, xviii**; acc. or  
dat. *Gúaire, xxii*; gen. *Gúaire Aidhne, i, Gúaire, xiii, xvii, xxvii* (x2), **xxviii**; dat.  
*Gúairi Aidne, i, Gúairi Aidhne, ii, Gúaire, xiii, xxxvi, Ghúairiu, xi*.

**Inis Celtra** 'Holy Island': dat. *nInis Celtra*, **6a**.

**Iúdaide** masc. io-stem 'Jew': gen. pl. *n-Iúdaidi*, **iv**.

**Les Mór** masc. o-stem 'Lismore': gen. *Liss Móir*, **xxxvi**.

**Mo Chuta** masc.: nom. *Mo Chuta*, **xxxvi, Mu Chuta, xxxvi**.

**Nem** masc. ? s-stem 'Heaven': gen. *Nimi*, **xix**.

**Óenach Tailten** masc. o-stem 'Fair of Tailtiu': dat. *Óenuch Tailltean*, **xx**,  
*Óenuch Tailtin*, **xxi**.

**Rí** masc. g-stem 'the King, i.e. God': gen. *Ríg*, **xix**, *Rígh*, **xix**.

**Sinech Cró** fem. ā-stem: dat. *hSinigh Chró*, **i**, *Śinich Cró*, **xii**.

**Sinna** fem. n-stem 'Shannon': acc. *Sinuind*, **ii**, *Sinuinn*, **iii**; gen. *Sinna*, **iii**.

## Bibliography

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

Ahlqvist, Anders, (1978), 'On preposed adverbials', in *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13:1 (Autumn), 66–80.

Ahlqvist, Anders, (1988), 'Remarks on the question of dialects in Old Irish', in Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Historical Dialectology: Regional and Social* (Berlin, New York and Amsterdam), 23–38.

Anoop, T. M., Jabbar, P. K., and Pappachan, J. M., (2012), 'Lactation associated with a pituitary tumour in a man', *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 182:6 (April), 591.

Arbuthnot, Sharon (ed.), (2007), *Cóir Anmann: A Late Middle Irish Treatise on Personal Names (Part 2)* (London).

Arbuthnot, Sharon, (2017), 'Gesture and verbal pronouncement in some Ulster Cycle tales', in M. B. Ó Mainnín and Gregory Toner (ed.), *Ulidia 4: Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales* (Dublin), 139–49.

Atkinson, Robert (ed.), (1887), *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac: Text, Translation, and Glossary* (Dublin).

Auerbach, K. G., and Riordan, Jan, (1999), *Study Guide for Breastfeeding and Human Lactation, Second Edition* (Toronto and London).

Bergin, Osborn (ed.), (1910), *Stories from Keating's History of Ireland* (Dublin).

Bergin, Osborn, (1938), 'On the syntax of the verb in Old Irish', in *Ériu* 12, 197–214.

Bergin, Osborn, (1946), 'Some Irish equatives', in *Ériu* 14, 140–3.

Bergin, Osborn, (1970) in David Greene and Fergus Kelly (ed.), *Irish Bardic Poetry: Texts and Translations, together with an Introductory Lecture by Osborn Bergin and a Foreword by D. A. Binchy* (Dublin, reprinted 1984).

Best, R. I., (1912), 'Notes on the script of Lebor na hUidre', in *Ériu* 6, 161–74.

Best, R. I. (ed.), (1916), 'The battle of Airtech', in *Ériu* 8, 170–90.

Best, R. I., (1954), 'Introduction', in R. I. Best, Osborn Bergin and M. A. O'Brien (ed.), *The Book of Leinster, Formerly Lebar na Núachongbála: Vol. I* (Dublin), xi–xxvi.

Best, R. I., and Bergin, Osborn (ed.), (1929), *Lebor na hUidre: Book of the Dun Cow* (Dublin).

Best, R. I., and O'Brien, M. A. (ed.), (1967), *The Book of Leinster, Formerly Lebar na Núachongbála: Vol. V* (Dublin).

- Bhreathnach, Edel, (2003), 'Learning and literature in early medieval Clonmacnoise', in H. A. King (ed.), *Clonmacnoise Studies, Volume 2: Seminar Papers 1998* (Dublin), 97–104.
- Bhreathnach, Edel, (2014), *Ireland in the Medieval World AD 400–1000: Landscape, Kingship and Religion* (Dublin).
- Bieler, Ludwig (ed.), (1993), *Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopo: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Dublin).
- Bieler, Ludwig, and Carney, James (ed.), (1972), 'The Lambeth commentary', in *Ériu* 23, 1–55.
- Binchy, D. A., (1936), 'Appendix: family membership of women', in Rudolf Thurneysen, Nancy Power, Myles Dillon, Kathleen Mulchrone, D. A. Binchy, August Knoch and John Ryan (ed.), *Studies in Early Irish Law* (Dublin), 180–6.
- Binchy, D. A. (ed.), (1938), 'Bretha Cróilige', in *Ériu* 12, 1–77.
- Binchy, D. A., (1940), 'Aimser chue', in John Ryan (ed.), *Féil-Sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill .i. Essays and Studies Presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill* (Dublin, reprinted 1995), 18–22.
- Binchy, D. A., (1943), *The Linguistic and Historical Value of the Irish Law Tracts: The Sir John Rhÿs Memorial Lecture, British Academy* (London).
- Binchy, D. A., (1952a), 'The leech in ancient Ireland', in William Doolin and Oliver FitzGerald (ed.), *What's Past is Prologue: A Retrospect of Irish Medicine* (Dublin), 5–9.
- Binchy, D. A. (ed.), (1952b), 'The saga of Fergus mac Léti', in *Ériu* 16, 33–48.
- Binchy, D. A., (1956), 'Some Celtic legal terms', in *Celtica* 3, 221–31.
- Binchy, D. A., (1958), 'The Fair of Tailtiu and the Feast of Tara', in *Ériu* 18, 113–38.
- Binchy, D. A. (ed.), (1963), *Scéla Cano Meic Gartnáin* (Dublin).
- Binchy, D. A. (ed.), (1966), 'Bretha Déin Chécht', in *Ériu* 20, 1–66.
- Binchy, D. A., (1973), 'Distraint in Irish law', in *Celtica* 10, 22–71.
- Binchy, D. A., (1975), 'Irish history and Irish law: I', in *Studia Hibernica* 15, 7–36.
- Binchy, D. A., (1982), 'A pre-Christian survival in mediaeval Irish hagiography', in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamund McKitterick and David Dumville (ed.), *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, reprinted 2010), 165–78.
- Bitel, L. M., (1996), *Land of Women: Tales of Sex and Gender from Early Ireland* (Ithaca, NY).

- Blake, N. F., (1998), 'Reflections on the editing of Middle English texts', in V. P. McCarren and Douglas Moffat (ed.), *A Guide to Editing Middle English* (Ann Arbor, MI), 61–77.
- Bledsoe, J. C., (2012), 'St Ita of Killeedy and spiritual motherhood in the Irish hagiographical tradition', in *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium 32*, 1–29.
- Borsje, Jacqueline, (2015), 'Celtic spells and counterspells', in Katja Ritari and Alexandra Bergholm (ed.), *Understanding Celtic Religion: Revisiting the Pagan Past* (Cardiff), 9–50.
- Boyle, Elizabeth, (2013), 'Lay morality, clerical immorality, and pilgrimage in tenth-century Ireland: *Cethrur macclérech* and *Epscop do Gáedelaib*', in *Studia Hibernica 39*, 9–48.
- Boyle, Elizabeth, and Breatnach, Liam (ed.), (2015), '*Senchas Gall Átha Clíath*: aspects of the cult of St Patrick in the twelfth century', in John Carey, Kevin Murray and Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh (ed.), *Sacred Histories: A Festschrift for Máire Herbert* (Dublin), 22–55.
- Bracken, Damian, (2013), review of Roseanne Schot, Conor Newman and Edel Bhreathnach (ed.), *Landscapes of Cult and Kingship*, in *Studia Hibernica 39*, 183–5.
- Bray, D. A., (2000), 'Suckling at the breast of Christ: a spiritual lesson in an Irish hagiographical motif', in *Peritia 14*, 282–96.
- Breatnach, Liam, (1977), 'The suffixed pronouns in Early Irish', in *Celtica 12*, 75–107.
- Breatnach, Liam (ed.), (1981), 'The Caldron of Poesy', in *Ériu 32*, 45–93.
- Breatnach, Liam, (1984), 'Addenda and corrigenda to "The Caldron of Poesy" (*Ériu* xxxii 45–93)', in *Ériu 35*, 189–91.
- Breatnach, Liam, (1987), *Uraicecht na Ríar: The Poetic Grades in Early Irish Law* (Dublin).
- Breatnach, Liam, (1988), 'An aoir sa ré luath', in *Léachtaí Cholm Cille 18*, 11–9.
- Breatnach, Liam, (1996), 'On the glossing of early Irish law-texts, fragmentary texts, and some aspects of the laws relating to dogs', in Anders Ahlqvist, G. W. Banks, Riita Latvio, Harri Nyberg and Tom Sjöblom (ed.), *Celtica Helsingiensia: Proceedings from a Symposium on Celtic Studies* (Helsinki), 11–20.
- Breatnach, Liam, (2003), 'On words ending in a stressed vowel in early Irish', in *Ériu 53*, 133–42.
- Breatnach, Liam, (2004), 'On satire and the poet's circuit', in C. G. Ó Háinle and D. E. Meek (ed.), *Unity in Diversity: Studies in Irish and Scottish Gaelic Language, Literature and History* (Dublin), 25–35.
- Breatnach, Liam, (2005), *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin).

- Breatnach, Liam, (2006), 'Satire, praise and the early Irish poet', in *Ériu* 56, 63–84.
- Breatnach, Liam, (2008), '*Cinnus atá do thinnrem*: a poem to Máel Brigte on his coming of age', in *Ériu* 58, 1–35.
- Breatnach, Liam (ed.), (2009), '*Araile felmac féig don Mumain*: unruly pupils and the limitations of satire', in *Ériu* 59, 111–37.
- Breatnach, Liam, (2010), 'Law and literature in early mediaeval Ireland', in Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (ed.), *L'Irlanda e gli irlandesi nell'alta medioevo: Spoleto, 16–21 Aprile 2009* (Spoleto), 215–38.
- Breatnach, Liam, (2015), 'Lebor na hUidre: some linguistic aspects', in Ruairí Ó hUiginn (ed.), *Lebor na hUidre: Codices Hibernenses Eximii 1* (Dublin), 53–77.
- Breatnach, Liam, (2016a), 'On the line-break in Early Irish verse, and some remarks on the syntax of the genitive in Old and Middle Irish', in Matthieu Boyd (ed.), *Ollam: Studies in Gaelic and Related Traditions in Honor of Tomás Ó Cathasaigh* (Madison and Teaneck, NJ), 195–209.
- Breatnach, Liam, (2016b), 'On Old Irish collective and abstract nouns, the meaning of *cétmuintir*, and marriage in early mediaeval Ireland', in *Ériu* 66, 1–29.
- Breatnach, Liam, (2017), *Córus Bésgnai: An Old Irish Law Tract on the Church and Society* (Dublin).
- Breatnach, Liam (ed.), (2018), 'An Old Irish story of a woman poet in Donegal', in Jason Merchant, Line Mikkelsen, Deniz Rudin and Kelsey Sasaki (ed.), *A Reasonable Way to Proceed: Essays in Honour of Jim McCloskey* (Oakland, CA), 51–7.
- Breatnach, P. A., (1988), 'The pronunciation of Latin in medieval Ireland', in Sigrid Krämer and Michael Bernhard (ed.), *Scire Litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben* (Munich), 59–72.
- Breatnach, R. A., (1976), 'An gléas teaspáinteach', in *Éigse* 16:3, 221–31.
- Buckley, Ann, (2005), 'Music in Ireland to c. 1500', in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford), 744–808.
- Byrne, F. J., (1973), *Irish Kings and High-Kings* (London).
- Byrne, F. J. (ed.), (1980), 'The lament for Cummíne Foto', in *Ériu* 31, 111–22.
- Byrne, F. J., (1995), '*Dercu*: the feminine of *mocu*', in *Éigse* 28, 42–80.
- Byrne, F. J., (2005), 'Ireland and her neighbours, c. 1014–c. 1072', in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford), 862–98.
- Callan, M. B., (2003), 'St Darerca and her sister scholars: women and education in medieval Ireland', in *Gender & History* 15:1 (April), 32–49.

- Carney, James (ed.), (1964), *The Poems of Blathmac Son of Cú Brettan, Together with the Irish Gospel of Thomas, and a Poem on the Virgin Mary* (Dublin, reprinted 1989).
- Carney, James, (1967), *Medieval Irish Lyrics* (Dublin).
- Carney, James, (1983), 'The dating of early Irish verse texts, 500–1100', in *Éigse* 19:2, 177–216.
- Charles-Edwards, T. M., (1971), 'The date of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* 1970:2, 263–98.
- Charles-Edwards, T. M., (1978), 'Honour and status in some Irish and Welsh prose tales', in *Ériu* 29, 123–41.
- Charles-Edwards, T. M., (1993), *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Oxford).
- Charles-Edwards, T. M., (2000), *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge).
- Charles-Edwards, T. M. (trans.), (2006), *The Chronicle of Ireland* (Liverpool), 2 volumes.
- Charles-Edwards, T. M., (2013), 'Lebor na Cert and clientship', in Kevin Murray (ed.), *Lebor na Cert: Reassessments* (Dublin), 13–33.
- Chaytor, H. J., (1945), *From Script to Print: An Introduction to Medieval Literature* (Cambridge).
- Clancy, T. O., (1996), 'Women poets in early medieval Ireland: making the case', in Christine Meek and Katharine Simms (ed.), *'The Fragility of her Sex'? Medieval Irishwomen in their European Context* (Dublin), 43–72.
- Corthals, Johan (ed.), (1995), 'Affiliation of children: *immathchor nAilella 7 Airt*', in *Peritia* 9, 92–124.
- Cowgill, Warren, (1987), 'The distribution of infixes and suffixed pronouns in Old Irish', in *CMCS* 13 (Summer), 1–5.
- Davies, Wendy, (1982), 'The Latin charter-tradition in western Britain, Brittany and Ireland in the early mediaeval period', in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamund McKitterick and David Dumville (ed.), *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, reprinted 2010), 258–80.
- de Vaan, Michiel (ed.), (2008), *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages* (Leiden and Boston).
- DeVries, Kelly, (1999), 'God and defeat in medieval warfare: some preliminary thoughts', in D. J. Kagay and L. J. A. Villalon (ed.), *The Circle of War in the Middle Ages: Essays on Medieval Military and Naval History* (Woodbridge), 87–97.
- Dillon, Myles, (1928), 'Nominal predicates in Irish (continuation)', in *ZCP* 17, 307–46.

- Dillon, Myles, (1936), 'The relationship of mother and son, of father and daughter, and the law of inheritance with regard to women', in Rudolf Thurneysen, Nancy Power, Myles Dillon, Kathleen Mulchrone, D. A. Binchy, August Knoch and John Ryan (ed.), *Studies in Early Irish Law* (Dublin), 129–79.
- Dillon, Myles, (1944), 'The negative and intensive prefixes in Irish and the origin of Modern Irish an "very, great"', in *Transactions of the Philological Society* 43, 94–107.
- Dillon, Myles (ed.), (1962), *Lebor na Cert: The Book of Rights* (Dublin, reprinted 1999).
- Dimock, J. F. (ed.), (1867), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* (London).
- Dinneen, P. S. (ed.), (1908), *The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating, D.D. Volume III, Containing the Second Book of the History, Edited with Translation and Notes* (London).
- Dinneen, P. S. (ed.), (1927), *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla: An Irish-English Dictionary, Being a Thesaurus of the Words, Phrases and Idioms of the Modern Irish Language* (Dublin 1904, new edition 1927, reprinted 1975).
- Dobbs, M. C. (ed.), (1931), 'The *Ban-Shenchus*', in *RC* 48, 163–234.
- Doran, Michelle, (2013), 'Textual criticism and *Baile Binnbérlach mac Búain*', in Vincent Gillespie and Anne Hudson (ed.), *Probable Truth: Editing Medieval Texts from Britain in the Twenty-First Century* (Turnhout), 345–54.
- Dumville, David, (1982), 'Latin and Irish in the *Annals of Ulster*, AD 431–1050', in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamund McKitterick and David Dumville (ed.), *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, reprinted 2010), 420–41.
- Duncan, Elizabeth, (2015), 'The palaeography of H in *Lebor na hUidre*', in Ruairí Ó hUiginn (ed.), *Lebor na hUidre: Codices Hibernenses Eximii 1* (Dublin), 29–52.
- Edwards, A. S. G., and Moffat, Douglas, (1998), 'Annotation', in V. P. McCarren and Douglas Moffat (ed.), *A Guide to Editing Middle English* (Ann Arbor, MI), 217–36.
- Eska, C. M. (ed.), (2010), *Cáin Lánamna: An Old Irish Tract on Marriage and Divorce Law* (Leiden and Boston).
- Etchingham, Colmán, (1999), *Church Organisation in Ireland AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth).
- Fahey, Jerome, (1893), *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Kilmacduagh with Illustrations* (Dublin, reprinted Inverin 1986).
- Fellows, Jennifer, (1998), 'Author, author, author . . . : an apology for parallel texts', in V. P. McCarren and Douglas Moffat (ed.), *A Guide to Editing Middle English* (Ann Arbor, MI), 15–24.
- Feuth, Els, (1983), 'Gemination: an Old Irish mutation rule?', in *Ériu* 34, 143–66.

- Findon, Joanne, (1997), *A Woman's Words: Emer and Female Speech in the Ulster Cycle* (Toronto).
- Fitzsimons, Fiona, (2004), 'Fosterage and gossipid in late medieval Ireland: some new evidence', in P. J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (ed.), *Gaelic Ireland c. 1250 – c. 1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin), 138–49.
- Flahive, J. J., (2017), *The Fenian Cycle in Irish and Scots-Gaelic Literature* (Cork).
- Flanagan, Marie Therese, (2005), *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford, reprinted 2008).
- Flower, Robin, (1926), *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Library [Formerly British Museum]: Volume II* (London, reprinted Dublin 1992).
- Fraser, John (ed.), (1915), 'The first battle of Moytura', in *Ériu* 8, 1–63.
- Gabriel, David, (1995), 'The power of the woman over the man in mediaeval Irish prose tales', in *Studia Celtica Japonica* 7, 61–8.
- Goody, E. N., (1982), *Parenthood and Social Reproduction* (Cambridge).
- Gray, E. A. (ed.), (1983), *Cath Maige Tuired: The Second Battle of Mag Tuired* (London, reprinted Dublin 1998).
- Greene, David, (1958), 'The analytic forms of the verb in Irish', in *Ériu* 18, 108–12.
- Greene, David, (1976), 'The diphthongs of Old Irish', in *Ériu* 27, 26–45.
- Greene, David, (1983), 'Cró, crú and similar words', in *Celtica* 15, 1–9.
- Griffith, Aaron, (2007), 'The effect of syncope with subsequent anaptyxis on consonant quality in Old Irish', in *Ériu* 57, 35–47.
- Griffith, Aaron, (2008), 'The animacy hierarchy and the distribution of the *notae augentes* in Old Irish', in *Ériu* 58, 55–76.
- Griffith, Aaron, (2014), 'The decline of the Old Irish deponent', in Elisa Roma and David Stifter (ed.), *Linguistic and Philological Studies in Early Irish* (Lewiston, NY), 53–78.
- Griffith, Aaron, (2016), 'On the Old Irish third palatalisation and the 3sg. present of the copula', in *Ériu* 66, 39–62.
- Grogan, Maree, (2003), 'Beatha Chaimín Inis Cealtra i nDán', unpublished PhD thesis, Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh.
- Gwynn, E. J. (ed.), (1903), *The Metrical Dindshenchas, Part II* (Dublin, reprinted 1941).
- Gwynn, E. J., (1913a), 'Fosterage', in James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh, reprinted 1981), vol. vi, 104–9.

- Gwynn, E. J. (ed.), (1913b), *The Metrical Dindshenchas, Part III: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Dublin, reprinted 1991).
- Gwynn, E. J. (ed.), (1924), *The Metrical Dindshenchas, Part IV* (Dublin).
- Gwynn, E. J., (1926), 'Miscellanea celtica', in *Hermathena* 20:44, 62–72.
- Gwynn, E. J. (ed.), (1942), 'An Old Irish tract on the privileges and responsibilities of poets', in *Ériu* 13, 1–60, 220–36.
- Gwynn, Lucius, and O'Duigenan, David (ed.), (1911), 'The Life of St. Lasair', in *Ériu* 5, 73–109.
- Hamp, E. P., (1983), 'Imbúaruch, imbárach', in *Celtica* 15, 53–4.
- Healy, Philip, (2017), 'Pledging and compensation payments in *Di Gnímaib Gíall*', handout of a paper given at the annual *Tionól*, School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Henderson, George, (1899), *Fled Bricrenn/The Feast of Bricriu: An Early Gaelic Saga Transcribed from Older MSS. into the Book of the Dun Cow, by Moelmuiri mac mic Cuinn na m-Bocht* (London).
- Hennessy, W. M. (ed.), and Kelly, D. H. (trans.), (1875), *The Book of Fenagh in Irish and English: Originally Compiled by St. Caillin, Archbishop, Abbot and Founder of Fenagh* (Dublin).
- Henry, P. L., (1962–4), 'A Celtic-English prosodic feature', in *ZCP* 29, 91–9.
- Henry, P. L., (1990), 'Verba Scáthaige', in *Celtica* 21, 191–207.
- Henry, P. L. (trans.), (1991), *Dánta Ban: Poems of Irish Women, Early and Modern* (Cork).
- Herbert, Máire, (1986), 'The Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*: first editions', in *CMCS* 11 (Summer), 97–112.
- Herbert, Máire, (1988), *Iona, Kells and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba* (Oxford).
- Herbert, Máire, (1992), 'The universe of male and female: a reading of the Deirdre story', in C. J. Byrne, Margaret Harry and Pádraig Ó Siadhail (ed.), *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples: Proceedings of the Second North American Conference of Celtic Studies, held in Halifax, August 16–19, 1989* (Halifax, NS), 53–64.
- Herbert, Máire, (2007), 'Crossing historical and literary boundaries: Irish written culture around the year 1000', in *CMCS* 53–54, 87–101.
- Herbert, Máire, (2015), 'Three texts from Lebor na hUidre, and their testimony', in Rúairí Ó hUiginn (ed.), *Lebor na hUidre: Codices Hibernenses Eximii, I* (Dublin), 79–99.
- Hogan, Edmund (ed.), (1892), *Cath Ruis na Ríg for Bóinn; with Preface, Translation, and Indices. Also a Treatise on Irish Neuter Substantives, and a Supplement to the Index Vocabulorum of Zeuss' 'Grammatica Celtica'* (Dublin).

Hogan, Edmund (ed.), (1895), *The Irish Nennius from L. na Huidre and Homilies and Legends from L. Brecc. Alphabetical Index of Irish Neuter Substantives* (Dublin).

Hogan, Edmund (ed.), (1910), *Onomasticon Goedelicum Locorum et Tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae: An Index, with Identifications, to the Gaelic Names of Places and Tribes* (Dublin).

Hollo, Kaarina (ed.), (2005), *Fled Bricrenn ocus Loinges mac nDuíl Dermait and its Place in the Irish Literary and Oral Narrative Traditions: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes, Translation, Bibliography and Vocabulary* (Maynooth).

Hughes, Kathleen, (1972), *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London).

Hull, Vernam (ed.), (1949), *Longes Mac n-Uislenn: The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu* (New York, NY).

Hull, Vernam, (1956), 'Miscellanea linguistica hibernica', in *ZCP* 25, 246–63.

Hull, Vernam (ed.), (1968), 'Apgitir Chrábaid: the Alphabet of Piety', in *Celtica* 8, 44–89.

Hussey, S. S., (1992), 'Editing *the scale of perfection*: return to recension', in A. J. Minnis and Charlotte Brewer (ed.), *Crux and Controversy in Middle English Textual Criticism* (Cambridge), 97–107.

Imhoff, Helen, (2016), 'Inna hinada hi filet cind erred Ulad inso – burial and the status of the head', in *ZCP* 63, 69–94.

Ireland, C. A. (ed.), (1999), *Old Irish Wisdom Attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria: An Edition of Bríathra Flainn Fhína maic Ossu* (Tempe, AZ).

Irslinger, Britta, (2017), 'Medb "the intoxicating one"? (Re-)constructing the past through etymology', in M. B. Ó Mainnín and Gregory Toner (ed.), *Ulidia 4: Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales* (Dublin), 38–94.

Jackson, K. H. (ed.), (1942), 'The adventure of Laeghaire mac Crimhthainn', in *Speculum* 17:3, 377–89.

Jackson, K. H. (ed.), (1990), *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (Dublin).

Jacobs, Nicholas, (1992), 'Regression to the commonplace in some vernacular textual traditions', in A. J. Minnis and Charlotte Brewer (ed.), *Crux and Controversy in Middle English Textual Criticism* (Cambridge), 61–70.

Jacobs, Nicholas, (1998), 'Kindly light or foxfire? The authorial text reconsidered', in V. P. McCarren and Douglas Moffat (ed.), *A Guide to Editing Middle English* (Ann Arbor, MI), 3–14.

Jaski, Bart, (1999), 'Cú Chulainn, *gormac* and *dalta* of the Ulstermen', in *CMCS* 37 (Summer), 1–31.

Jaski, Bart, (2000), *Early Irish Kingship and Succession* (Dublin).

- Johnston, Elva, (2000), 'Íte: patron of her people?', in *Peritia* 14, 421–8.
- Johnston, Elva, (2001), 'Powerful women or patriarchal weapons? Two medieval Irish saints', in *Peritia* 15, 302–10.
- Jongeleen, Sanne, (2016), 'Lenition of the Conjugated Prepositions in Irish and Welsh', unpublished MA thesis, Utrecht University.
- Kavanagh, Séamus, (2001), in D. S. Wodtko (ed.) *A Lexikon of the Old Irish Glosses in the Würzburg Manuscript of the Epistles of St. Paul* (Vienna).
- Kehnel, Annette, (1997), *Clonmacnois - The Church and Lands of St. Ciarán: Change and Continuity in an Irish Monastic Foundation (6th to 16th Century)* (Münster).
- Kelleher, J. V., (1971), 'The Táin and the Annals', in *Ériu* 22, 107–27.
- Kelly, Fergus, (1971), 'Varia V', in *Ériu* 22, 190–6.
- Kelly, Fergus (ed.), (1973), 'A poem in praise of Columb Cille', in *Ériu* 24, 1–34.
- Kelly, Fergus (ed.), (1976), *Audacht Morainn* (Dublin).
- Kelly, Fergus (ed.), (2014), *Marriage Disputes: A Fragmentary Old Irish Law-Text* (Dublin).
- Kelly, Patricia, (1992), 'The Táin as literature', in J. P. Mallory (ed.), *Aspects of the Táin* (Belfast), 69–102.
- Kimpton, Bettina (ed.), (2009), *The Death of Cú Chulainn: A Critical Edition of the Earliest Version of Brisleach Mór Maige Muirthemni with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Bibliography and Vocabulary* (Maynooth).
- Knott, Eleanor (ed.), (1936), *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (Dublin).
- Knott, Eleanor (ed.), (1958), 'A poem of prophecies', in *Ériu* 18, 55–84.
- Kobel, Chantal, (2015), 'Varia I. The use of an overt subject with a third-person verb + *nota augens*', in *Ériu* 65, 169–73.
- Kühlmann, Ute, (2017), *Die irische Ziehkindschaft im europäischen Kontext. 7. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Husum).
- Kunz, T. H., and Hosken, D. J., (2008), 'Male lactation: why, why not and is it care?', in *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* 24:2 (December), 80–5.
- Lambert, Pierre-Yves, (2014), 'A further note on the Old Irish negative particle *nícon*', in Elisa Roma and David Stifter (ed.), *Linguistic and Philological Studies in Early Irish* (Lewiston, NY), 105–30.
- Larson, Heather Feldmeth, (2005), 'The veiled poet: Líadain and Cuirithir and the role of the woman-poet', in J. F. Nagy and L. E. Jones (ed.), *Heroic Poets and Poetic Heroes in Celtic Tradition: A Festschrift for Patrick K. Ford. CSANA Yearbook 3–4* (Dublin), 263–8.

- Lerner, E. A., (1994), 'Virgins and mothers: feminine ideals and female roles in the early Irish Church', in *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 14, 162–74.
- Lewis, C. T., and Short, Charles (ed.), (1879), *A Latin Dictionary, founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, reprinted 1966).
- Lindeman, F. O., (1998), 'Varia III. On the origin of Old Irish \*fo-noí "cooks"', in *Ériu* 49, 171–4.
- Löfstedt, Bengt, (1965), *Der hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malsachanus* (Uppsala).
- Mac Airt, Seán, (1958), '*Filidecht and coimgne*', in *Ériu* 18, 139–52.
- Mac Cana, Proinsias, (1960), 'The origin of Marbán', in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 19:1 (November), 1–6.
- Mac Cana, Proinsias, (1973), 'On Celtic-word order and the Welsh "abnormal" sentence', in *Ériu* 24, 90–120.
- Mac Cana, Proinsias, (1980), *The Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* (Dublin).
- Mac Cana, Proinsias, (1992), '*Laíded, gressacht* "formalized incitement"', in *Ériu* 43, 69–92.
- Mac Cana, Proinsias, (1994), 'The historical present and the verb "to be"', in *Ériu* 45, 127–50.
- Mac Cionnaith, Láimhbheartach (= Lambert McKenna) (ed.), (1939), *Dioghluim Dána* (Dublin).
- Mac Eoin, Gearóid (ed.), (1977), 'The lament for Cuimíne Fota', in *Ériu* 28, 17–31.
- Mac Eoin, Gearóid, (1989), 'Orality and literacy in some Middle-Irish king-tales', in S. N. Tranter and H. L. C. Tristram (ed.), *Media and Communication in Early Irish Literature* (Tübingen), 149–83.
- Mac Eoin, Gearóid, (1994), 'The interpolator H in *Lebor na hUidre*', in J. P. Mallory and Gerard Stockman (ed.), *Ulidia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales* (Belfast), 39–46.
- Mac Gabhann, Fiachra, (2011), 'The Mayo placenames of early Patrician literature', in Kevin Murray and Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Edmund Hogan's Onomasticon Goedelicum: Reconsiderations* (London), 117–50.
- Mac Gearailt, Uáitéar, (1996), 'Change and innovation in eleventh-century prose narrative', in H. L. C. Tristram (ed.), *(Re)oralisierung* (Tübingen), 443–96.
- Mac Gearailt, Uáitéar, (2009), 'The Middle Irish homily *Scéla Laí Brátha*', in *Apocrypha* 20, 83–114.

- Mac Gearailt, Uáitéar, (2012), 'Deilbhíocht *Scéla Laí Brátha* agus scríobhaithe *LU*', in Eoin Mac Cárthaigh and Jürgen Uhlich (ed.), *Féilscríbhinn do Chathal Ó Háinle* (Indreabhán), 279–315.
- Mac Mathúna, Liam, (1977–8), review of Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), *Celtica. Vol. XII*, in *Studia Hibernica* 17–18, 220–4.
- Mac Niocaill, Gearóid (ed.), (1963), 'Duanaire Ghearóid Iarla', in *Studia Hibernica* 3, 7–59.
- Mac Niocaill, Gearóid, (1972), *Ireland before the Vikings* (Dublin).
- Mac Niocaill, Gearóid, (1975), *The Medieval Irish Annals* (Dublin).
- Mac Shamhráin, Ailbhe, (2000), '*Nebulae discutiuntur?* The emergence of Clann Cholmáin, sixth-eighth centuries', in A. P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin), 83–97.
- Mac Shamhráin, Ailbhe, and Byrne, Paul, (2005), 'Prosopography I: kings named in *Baile Chuinn Chétchathaigh* and the Airgíalla charter poem', in Edel Bhreathnach (ed.), *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara* (Dublin), 159–224.
- Maier, Bernhard, (1999), '*Sugere mammellas*: a pagan Irish custom and its affinities', in Ronald Black, William Gillies and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (ed.), *Celtic Connections: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Celtic Studies. Volume One: Language, Literature, History, Culture* (East Linton), 152–61.
- Mannion, Mags, with appendix by Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, (2017), 'Symbolism, performance and colour: the use of glass beads in early medieval Ireland', in Conor Newman, Mags Mannion and Fiona Gavin (ed.), *Islands in a Global Context: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Insular Art, held at the National University of Ireland, Galway, 16–20 July 2014* (Dublin), 149–58.
- Marshall, R. K., (1984), 'Wet-nursing in Scotland', in *Review of Scottish Culture* 1, 43–51.
- Marstrander, Carl, (1910), 'Hibernica', in *ZCP* 7, 357–418.
- Marstrander, Carl (ed.), (1911), 'A new version of the Battle of Mag Rath', in *Ériu* 5, 226–47.
- Matasović, Ranko (ed.), (2009), *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden and Boston).
- McCarter, P. K., (1986), *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia, PA).
- McCone, Kim, (1985a), 'Beatha mheadarach Bhríde', in *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 15, 34–60.
- McCone, Kim, (1985b), 'The Würzburg and Milan Glosses: our earliest sources of "Middle Irish"', in *Ériu* 36, 85–106.

- McCone, Kim, (1989), 'A tale of two ditties: poet and satirist in *Cath Maige Tuired*', in Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach and Kim McCone (ed.), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth), 122–43.
- McCone, Kim, (1990), *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* (Maynooth).
- McCone, Kim, (1993), 'Old Irish "three" and "four": a question of gender', in *Ériu* 44, 53–73.
- McCone, Kim, (1994–5), 'Old Irish *con-dieig* "asks, seeks", verbal noun *cuin(d)gid*: a problem of syncope and verbal composition', in *Éigse* 28, 156–9.
- McCone, Kim, (1996a), 'Prehistoric, Old and Middle Irish', in Kim McCone and Katharine Simms (ed.), *Progress in Medieval Irish Studies* (Maynooth), 7–53.
- McCone, Kim, (1996b), *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change* (Maynooth).
- McCone, Kim, (1997), 'A note on palatalisation and the present inflection of weak *i*-verbs', in Anders Ahlqvist and Vera Capkova (ed.), *Dán do Oide: Essays in Memory of Conn R. Ó Cléirigh* (Dublin), 303–13.
- McCone, Kim (ed.), (2000), *Echtrae Chonnlaí and the Beginnings of Vernacular Narrative Writing in Ireland: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes, Bibliography and Vocabulary* (Maynooth).
- McCormick, Finbar, (2009), 'Ritual feasting in Iron Age Ireland', in Gabriel Cooney, Katharina Becker, John Coles, Michael Ryan and Susanne Sievers (ed.), *Relics of Old Decency: Archaeological Studies in Later Prehistory; Festschrift for Barry Raftery* (Dublin), 405–12.
- McKenna, Lambert (ed.), (1919), *Dánta do chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh* (Dublin and London).
- McKenna, Lambert (ed.), (1922), *Dán Dé: The Poems of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh, and the Religious Poems in the Duanaire of the Yellow Book of Lecan* (Dublin).
- McKenna, Lambert (ed.), (1939), *Aithdioghluim Dána. Volume One: Introduction and Text* (Dublin).
- McKenna, Lambert (ed.), (1940), *Aithdioghluim Dána. Volume Two: Translation, Notes, Vocabulary, etc.* (Dublin).
- McKenna, Lambert (ed.), (1944), *Bardic Syntactical Tracts* (Dublin).
- McKenna, Lambert (ed.), (1947), *Book of Magauran / Leabhar Méig Shamhradháin* (Dublin).
- McKenzie, C. J., (2015), 'Life in medieval Ballyhanna – insights from the osteological and palaeopathological analysis of the adult skeletons', in C. J. McKenzie, E. M. Murphy and C. J. Donnelly (ed.), *The Science of a Lost Medieval Gaelic Graveyard: The Ballyhanna Research Project* (Dublin), 85–102.

- McKinney, E. S., James, S. R., Murray, S. S., and Ashwill, J. W., (2009), *Maternal-Child Nursing: Third Edition* (St Louis, MO).
- McLaughlin, Roisin (ed.), (2005), 'A threat of satire by Tadhg (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha', in *Ériu* 55, 37–57.
- McLaughlin, Roisin (ed.), (2008), *Early Irish Satire* (Dublin).
- McLeod, Neil, (2011), 'Fergus mac Léti and the law', in *Ériu* 61, 1–28.
- McLeod, Neil (2015), 'Irish law and the wars of the Túatha Dé Danann', in Liam Breatnach, Ruairí Ó hUiginn, Damian McManus and Katharine Simms (ed.), *Proceedings XIV International Conference of Celtic Studies Maynooth 2011* (Dublin), 75–94.
- McManus, Damian, (1988), 'Irish letter-names and their kennings', in *Ériu* 39, 127–68.
- Meid, Wolfgang (ed.), (2015), *The Romance of Froech and Findabair or the Driving of Froech's Cattle: Táin Bó Froích* (Innsbruck).
- Meroney, Howard (ed.), (1953), 'Studies in early Irish satire: III. "Tréfhocal fócráí"', in *Journal of Celtic Studies* 2, 59–130.
- Meyer, Kuno (ed.), (1897), 'Goire Conaill Chernaig i Crúachain agus aided Ailella agus Conaill Chernaig', in *ZCP* 1, 102–11.
- Meyer, Kuno (ed.), (1902), *Liadain and Curithir: An Irish Love Story of the Ninth Century* (London).
- Meyer, Kuno (ed.), (1905a), *Cáin Adamnáin: An Old-Irish Treatise on the Law of Adamnan* (Oxford).
- Meyer, Kuno (ed.), (1905b), 'The song of Créde, daughter of Guaire', in *Ériu* 2, 15–7.
- Meyer, Kuno (ed.), (1905c), 'Three poems in *bérta na filed*', in *ZCP* 5, 482–94.
- Meyer, Kuno (ed.), (1906), *The Triads of Ireland* (Dublin).
- Meyer, Kuno (ed.), (1907), 'A medley of Irish texts', in Whitley Stokes and Kuno Meyer (ed.), *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* (London and Paris), vol. iii, 302–26.
- Meyer, Kuno, (1909a), *A Primer of Irish Metrics with a Glossary, and an Appendix Containing an Alphabetical List of the Poets of Ireland* (Dublin).
- Meyer, Kuno (ed.), (1909b), *Tecosca Cormaic: The Instructions of King Cormac mac Airt* (Dublin).
- Meyer, Kuno (ed.), (1910), 'Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften', in *ZCP* 7, 297–312.
- Meyer, Kuno (ed.), (1913), 'The Laud Synchronisms. From Laud 610, fo. 112a1–116b1', in *ZCP* 9, 471–85.

- Meyer, Kuno, (1914a), 'On *debide* rhyme', in *Ériu* 7, 10–12.
- Meyer, Kuno (ed.), (1914b), 'An Old Irish prayer for long life', in Oliver Elton (ed.), *A Miscellany Presented to John Macdonald Mackay, LL.D., July 1914* (Liverpool), 226–32.
- Miller, A. W. K. (ed.), (1870), 'O'Clery's Irish Glossary', in *RC* 4, 349–428.
- Minnis, A. J., (1992), 'Preface', in A. J. Minnis and Charlotte Brewer (ed.), *Crux and Controversy in Middle English Textual Criticism* (Cambridge), p. vii.
- Mulchrone, Kathleen, (1936), '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 and John Ryan (ed.), *Studies in Early Irish Law* (Dublin), 187–205.
- Mulchrone, Kathleen, and FitzPatrick, Elizabeth, (1943), *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy: Fasciculi XXVI–XXVII* (Dublin).
- Murphy, Gerard (ed.), (1933), *Duanaire Finn: The Book of the Lays of Fionn. Part II: Irish Text, with Translation into English* (London).
- Murphy, Gerard (ed.), (1956), *Early Irish Lyrics, Eighth to Twelfth Century* (Oxford, reprinted Dublin 2007).
- Murphy, Gerard, (1961), *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin).
- Murray, Kevin (ed.), (2004), *Baile in Scáil 'The Phantom's Frenzy'* (Dublin, reprinted 2007).
- Murray, Kevin, (2009), 'Reviews, reviewers, and critical texts', in *CMCS* 57 (Summer), 51–70.
- Murray, Kevin, (2013), '*Lebor na Cert*: language and date', in Kevin Murray (ed.), *Lebor na Cert: Reassessments* (Dublin), 77–102.
- Murray, Kevin, (2014), 'The reworking of Old Irish narrative texts in the Middle Irish period: contexts and motivations', in Elizabeth Boyle and Deborah Hayden (ed.), *Authorities and Adaptations: The Reworking and Transmission of Textual Sources in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin), 291–306.
- Murray, Kevin, (2015), 'The dating of Branwen: the "Irish question" revisited', in John Carey, Kevin Murray and Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh (ed.), *Sacred Histories: A Festschrift for Máire Herbert* (Dublin), 247–51.
- Nagy, Joseph Falaky, (1997), *Conversing with Angels and Ancients: Literary Myths of Medieval Ireland* (Ithaca and London).
- Ní Bhrolcháin, Muireann, (1994), 'Re tóin mná: in pursuit of troublesome women', in J. P. Mallory and Gerard Stockman (ed.), *Ulidia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales* (Belfast), 115–21.
- Ní Bhrolcháin, Muireann, (1995), 'The Banshenchas revisited', in Mary O'Dowd and Sabine Wichert (ed.), *Chattel, Servant or Citizen: Women's Status in Church, State and Society* (Belfast), 70–81.

- Ní Bhrolcháin, Muireann, (2013), 'Irish Jezebels: women talking – gendered discourse in early Irish literature', in Dónall Ó Baoill, Donncha Ó hAodha and Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed.), *Saltair Saíochta, Sanasaíochta agus Seanchais: A Festschrift for Gearóid Mac Eoin* (Dublin), 199–210.
- Nic Bhloscaidh, Nóilín, (2013), 'Fás seimeantaice “swift, easy” sa Ghaeilge', in Dónall Ó Baoill, Donncha Ó hAodha and Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed.), *Saltair Saíochta, Sanasaíochta agus Seanchais: A Festschrift for Gearóid Mac Eoin* (Dublin), 219–34.
- Nic Eoin, Máirín, (1998), *B'ait Leo Bean: Gnéithe den Idé-Eolaíocht Inscne i dTraidisiún Liteartha na Gaeilge* (Baile Átha Cliath).
- Nic Eoin, Máirín, (2012), 'From childhood vulnerability to adolescent delinquency: literary sources for the history of childhood in medieval Ireland', in *Studia Hibernica* 38, 9–35.
- Nicholls, K. W., (1992), review of Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, in *Éigse* 26, 173–7.
- Ní Chonaill, Bronagh, (1997), 'Fosterage: child-rearing in medieval Ireland', in *History Ireland* 5:1, 28–31.
- Ní Chonaill, Bronagh, (2008), 'Child-centred law in medieval Ireland', in R. Davis and T. Dunne (ed.), *The Empty Throne: Childhood and the Crisis of Modernity* (Cambridge), 1–31.
- Ní Chróinín, Áine (ed.), (n. d.), *Beatha Chríost* (Baile Átha Cliath).
- Nic Lochlainn, Sorcha, (2013), 'The foster-mother as praise poet in Gaelic tradition', in *Celtica* 27, 119–47.
- Nic Mhathúna, Deirdre, (2009–10), review of Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Geoffrey Keating's Foras Feasa ar Éirinn: Reassessments*, in *Studia Hibernica* 36, 233–6.
- Ní Dhonnchadha, Máirín, (1986), 'Inailt “foster-sister, fosterling”', in *Celtica* 8, 185–91.
- Ní Dhonnchadha, Máirín, (1994), 'Two female lovers', in *Ériu* 45, 113–9.
- Ní Dhonnchadha, Máirín, (1994–5), 'Caillech and other terms for veiled women in medieval Irish texts', in *Éigse* 28, 71–96.
- Ní Dhonnchadha, Máirín, (2004), 'The Prull narrative in *Sanas Cormaic*', in John Carey, Máire Herbert and Kevin Murray (ed.), *Cín Chille Cúile: Texts, Saints and Places, Essays in Honour of Pádraig Ó Riain* (Aberystwyth), 163–77.
- Ní Dhonnchadha, Máirín, (2013), 'Travelers and settled folk: women, honor, and shame in medieval Ireland', in Sarah Sheehan and Ann Dooley (ed.), *Constructing Gender in Medieval Ireland* (New York, NY), 17–38.
- Ní Ghrádaigh, Jenifer, (2003), '“But what exactly did she give?”: Derbforgaill and the nuns' church at Clonmacnoise', in H. A. King (ed.), *Clonmacnoise Studies, Volume 2: Seminar Papers 1998* (Dublin), 175–207.

- Ní Mhaoldomhnaigh, Ailís, (2007), 'Satirical Narrative in Early Irish Literature', unpublished PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth.
- Ní Shéaghdha, Nessa (ed.), (1942–5), *Agallamh na Seanórach* (Dublin, 3 volumes, reprinted as a single volume 2014).
- Ó hAodha, Donncha (ed.), (1978), *Bethu Brigte* (Dublin).
- Ó hAodha, Donncha (ed.), (1989), 'The lament of the Old Woman of Beare', in Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach and Kim McCone (ed.), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth), 308–31.
- Ó Baoill, Colm, (1990), 'Person-shifting in Gaelic verse', in *Celtica* 21, 377–92.
- O'Beirne Crowe, John (ed.), (1878), 'Siabur-charpat Con Culaind. From "Lebor na h-Uidre" (fol. 37, et seqq.), a manuscript of the Royal Irish Academy', in *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* 4:2, 371–448.
- O'Brien, M. A. (ed.), (1952), 'A Middle-Irish poem on the birth of Áedán mac Gabráin and Brandub mac Echach', in *Ériu* 16, 157–70.
- O'Brien, M. A. (ed.), (1955), 'A Middle-Irish poem on the Christian kings of Leinster', in *Ériu* 17, 35–51.
- O'Brien, M. A. (ed.), (1962), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae - Vol. I* (Dublin, reprinted 1976).
- Ó Buachalla, Breandán, (1989), 'Aodh Eanghach and the Irish king-hero', in Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach and Kim McCone (ed.), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth), 200–32.
- Ó Catháin, Seán, (1933), 'Some studies in the development from Middle to Modern Irish, based on the Annals of Ulster', in *ZCP* 19, 1–47.
- Ó Cathasaigh, Tomás, (2009), 'Ailill and Medb: a marriage of equals', in Ruairí Ó hUiginn and Brian Ó Catháin (ed.), *Ulidia 2: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 24–27 June 2005* (Maynooth), 46–53.
- Ó Cathasaigh, Tomás, (2012), 'Early Irish *bairdne* "eulogy, panegyric"', in *Studia Celtica Fennica* 9, 54–61.
- Ó Coileáin, Seán, (1974), 'The structure of a literary cycle', in *Ériu* 25, 88–125.
- Ó Coileáin, Seán, (1981), 'Some problems of story and history', in *Ériu* 32, 115–36.
- Ó Concheanainn, Tomás, (1974), 'Gilla Ísa Mac Fir Bhisigh and a scribe of his school', in *Ériu* 25, 157–71.
- Ó Concheanainn, Tomás, (1984), 'LL and the date of the reviser of LU', in *Éigse* 20, 212–25.

- O'Connor, Ralph, (2013), *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel: Kingship and Narrative Artistry in a Mediaeval Irish Saga* (Oxford).
- Ó Corráin, Donnchadh, (1977), 'The education of Diarmait Mac Murchada', in *Ériu* 28, 71–81.
- Ó Corráin, Donnchadh, (1978a), 'Nationality and kingship in pre-Norman Ireland', in T. W. Moody (ed.), *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence* (Belfast), 1–35.
- Ó Corráin, Donncha[dh], (1978b), 'Women in early Irish society', in Margaret MacCurtain and Donncha[dh] Ó Corráin (ed.), *Women in Irish Society* (Dublin), 1–13.
- Ó Corráin, Donnchadh, (1985), 'Marriage in early Ireland', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *Marriage in Ireland* (Dublin), 5–24.
- Ó Corráin, Donnchadh, (1987), 'Legend as critic', in Tom Dunne (ed.), *The Writer as Witness: Literature as Historical Evidence* (Cork), 23–38.
- Ó Corráin, Donnchadh, (2005), 'Ireland c. 800: aspects of society', in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford), 549–608.
- Ó Cuív, Brian, (1966), 'The phonetic basis of Classical Modern Irish rhyme', in *Ériu* 20, 94–103.
- Ó Cuív, Brian (ed.), (1977), 'The earl of Thomond and the poets, A.D. 1572', in *Celtica* 12, 125–45.
- Ó Cuív, Brian, (1986), 'Aspects of Irish personal names', in *Celtica* 18, 151–84.
- O Daly, Máirín (ed.), (1975), *Cath Maige Mucrama: The Battle of Mag Mucrama* (Dublin).
- Ó Domhnaill, Maoghnas (ed.), (1940), *Beatha Mhuire* (Dublin).
- Ó Dónaill, Niall (ed.), (1977), *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (Dublin, reprinted 2005).
- Ó Donnchadha, Tadhg (ed.), (1940), *An Leabhar Muimhneach maraon le Suim Aguisíní* (Dublin).
- O'Donoghue, Tadhg, (1921–3), 'Advice to a prince', in *Ériu* 9, 43–54.
- O'Donovan, John (ed.), (1844), *The Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, Commonly Called O'Dowda's Country* (Dublin).
- O'Dwyer, Peter, (1986), 'Mary in early Irish tradition', in *Archivium Hibernicum* 41, 72–82.
- O'Dwyer, Peter, (1988), *Mary: A History of Devotion in Ireland* (Dublin).
- Ó Fiannachta, Pádraig, (1964), review of D. A. Binchy (ed.), *Scéla Cano Meic Gartnáin*, in *Éigse* 11:1 (Autumn), 76–9.

- Ó Floinn, Ragnall, (1998), 'Clonmacnoise: art and patronage in the early medieval period', in H. A. King (ed.), *Clonmacnoise Studies, Volume 1: Seminar Papers 1994* (Dublin), 87–100.
- Ó Gealbháin, Séamas, (1991), 'The double article and related features of genitive syntax in Old Irish and Middle Welsh', in *Celtica* 22, 119–44.
- O'Grady, S. H. (ed.), (1892), *Silva Gadelica: A Collection of Tales in Irish with Extracts Illustrating Persons and Places* (London), 2 volumes.
- Ó hIarlaithe, Aogán, (2017), 'Sinech Cró, an mháthair chíce agus an t-altramas in Éirinn sa Mheánaois', in *Celtica* 29, 55–75.
- Ó h-Innse, Séamus, (1940), 'Fosterage in Old Irish Law', unpublished MA thesis, University College Galway.
- Ó h-Innse, Séamus, (1943), 'Fosterage in Early and Mediaeval Ireland', unpublished PhD thesis, University College Dublin.
- O'Keefe, J. G. (ed.), (1904), 'Colman mac Duach and Guaire', in *Ériu* 1, 43–8.
- O'Leary, Philip, (1984), 'Contention at feasts in early Irish literature', in *Éigse* 20, 115–27.
- O'Leary, Philip, (1987), 'The honour of women in early Irish literature', in *Ériu* 38, 27–44.
- Ó Máille, Tomás, (1910), *The Language of the Annals of Ulster* (Manchester).
- Ó Maolalaigh, Roibeard, (2003), 'Varia III. Vocalic variation in *air-*, *aur-*', in *Ériu* 53, 163–9.
- Ó Maolalaigh, Roibeard, (2016), 'The mutational effects of the preposition *ós*: *Bile ós Chrannaibh* and related matters', in *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 30, 73–111.
- Ó Maonaigh, Cainneach (ed.), (1944), *Smaointe Beatha Chríost, .i. Innsint Ghaelge a chuir Tomás Gruamdha Ó Bruacháin (fl. c. 1450) ar an Meditationes Vitae Christi* (Dublin).
- Ó Mórdha, Pílip, (1971–2), 'The medieval kingdom of Mugdorna', in *Clogher Record* 7:3, 432–46.
- Ó Muraíle, Nollaig (ed.), (2003), *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies, compiled (1645–66) by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh* (Dublin), 5 volumes.
- Ó Néill, P. P., (2005), 'Irish glosses in a twelfth-century copy of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*', in *Ériu* 55, 1–18.
- O'Rahilly, Cecile (ed.), (1967), *Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Book of Leinster* (Dublin).
- O'Rahilly, Cecile, (1971), 'Notes on conjunctions', in *Celtica* 9, 113–34.
- O'Rahilly, Cecile (ed.), (1976), *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension I* (Dublin, reprinted 2006).

- O’Rahilly, T. F. (ed.), (1922), *A Miscellany of Irish Proverbs* (Dublin).
- O’Rahilly, T. F., (1942), ‘-genn for -chenn’, in *Ériu* 13, 140–3.
- Ó Riain, Gordon, (2007), ‘Dán réitigh le Conchobhar Ruadh Mac Con Midhe (†1481)’, in P. A. Breatnach, Caoimhín Breatnach and Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail (ed.), *Léann Lámhscríbhinní Lobháin / The Louvain Manuscript Heritage* (Dublin), 54–75.
- Ó Riain, Pádraig (ed.), (1978), *Cath Almáine* (Dublin).
- Ó Riain, Pádraig, (2006), *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies* (Bruxelles).
- Ó Riain, Pádraig (ed.), (2011), *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin, reprinted 2012).
- Ó Riain, Pádraig, (2014), ‘A study of the Irish legend of the wild man’, in John Carey (ed.), *Buile Suibhne: Perspectives and Reassessments* (Dublin, reprinted from *Éigse* 14:3 (Samhradh 1972)), 172–201.
- Ó Riain, Pádraig, (2016), ‘Caillín of Fenagh’, in Raymond Gillespie, Salvador Ryan and Brendan Scott (ed.), *Making the Book of Fenagh: Context and Text* (Killeshandra), 45–60.
- Ó Riain, Pádraig, Ó Murchadha, Diarmuid, and Murray, Kevin (ed.), (2003), *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames/Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge: Fascicle 1 (Names in A-)/Fascúl 1 (Ainmneacha in A-)* (London).
- Ó Riain, Pádraig, Ó Murchadha, Diarmuid, and Murray, Kevin (ed.), (2008), *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames/Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge: Fascicle 3/Fascúl 3 (C-Ceall Fhursa)* (London).
- Oskamp, H. P. A., (1976), ‘Mael Muire: compiler or reviser?’, in *Éigse* 16:3 (Samhradh), 177–82.
- O’Sullivan, Anne, and O’Sullivan, William, (1962), ‘Edward Lhuyd’s collection of Irish manuscripts’, in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 57–76.
- O’Sullivan, C. M., (2004), *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland 900–1500* (Dublin).
- O’Sullivan, William, (1966), ‘Note on the scripts and make-up of the Book of Leinster’, in *Celtica* 7, 1–31.
- O’Sullivan, William, (1981), ‘Ciothruadh’s Yellow Book of Lecan’, in *Éigse* 18:2, 177–81.
- Ó hUiginn, Ruairí, (1983), ‘On the Old Irish figura etymologica’, in *Ériu* 34, 123–33.
- Ó hUiginn, Ruairí, (1987), ‘Notes on Old Irish syntax’, in *Ériu* 38, 177–83.
- Ó hUiginn, Ruairí, (1989), ‘*Tongu do día toinges mo thúath* and related expressions’, in Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach and Kim McCone (ed.),

*Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth), 332–41.

Ó hUiginn, Ruairí, (2015), 'Éireannaigh, Fir Éireann, Gaeil agus Gaill', in Caoimhín Breatnach and Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail (ed.) *Aon don Éigse: Essays Marking Osborn Bergin's Centenary Lecture on Bardic Poetry (1912)*, (Dublin), 17–49.

Ó hUiginn, Ruairí, (2016), 'Terms for "death" and "dying" in Irish', in Salvador Ryan (ed.), *Death and the Irish: A Miscellany* (Dublin), 8–10.

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

Parkes, Peter, (2003), 'Fostering fealty: a comparative analysis of tributary allegiances of adoptive kinship', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45:4 (October), 741–82.

Parkes, Peter, (2004), 'Fosterage, kinship, and legend: when milk was thicker than blood?', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46:3 (July), 587–615.

Parkes, Peter, (2006), 'Celtic fosterage: adoptive kinship and clientage in northwest Europe', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48:2 (April), 359–95.

Pedersen, Holger, (1898), 'Die aspiration im Irischen. Zweiter theil', in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 35:3, 315–444.

Plummer, Charles (ed.), (1910), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, reprinted Dublin 1997), 2 volumes.

Plummer, Charles (ed.), (1922), *Bethada Náem nÉirenn* (Oxford, reprinted 1997), 2 volumes.

Pokorny, Julius, (1921), 'Altirisch *con-icc* : *ní cumaing*', in *ZCP* 13, 109–10.

Pokorny, Julius, (1959–69), *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern), 2 volumes.

Poncelet, Albert (ed.), (1898), 'Vita S. Mochullei Episcopi', in *Analecta Bollandiana* 17, 135–54.

Poppe, Erich, (1993), 'A note on the jester in *Fingal Rónáin*', in *Studia Hibernica* 27, 145–54.

Poppe, Erich, (2012), review of Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail (ed.), *Cath Cluana Tarbh: 'The Battle of Clontarf'*, in *Studia Hibernica* 38, 251–4.

Power, Nancy, (1936), 'Classes of women described in the *Senchas Már*', in Rudolf Thurneysen, Nancy Power, Myles Dillon, Kathleen Mulchrone, D. A. Binchy, August Knoch and John Ryan (ed.), *Studies in Early Irish Law* (Dublin), 81–108.

- Qiu, Fangzhe, (2013), 'Narratives in early Irish law: a typological study', in Anders Ahlqvist and Pamela O'Neill (ed.), *Medieval Irish Law: Text and Context* (Sydney), 111–41.
- Quin, E. G., (1960), 'Old-Irish *ol* "inquit"', in *Celtica* 5, 95–102.
- Quin, E. G., (1974), 'The Irish modal preterite', in *Hermathena* 117 (Summer), 43–62.
- Quin, E. G. (ed.), (1981), 'Ochtfoclach Choluim Chille', in *Celtica* 14, 125–53.
- Quin, E. G., (1982), 'A further note on Wb 13 b 13', in *Ériu* 33, 165–6.
- Reddington-Wilde, R. L., (1999), 'Violent death and damning words: women's lament in Scottish Gaelic poetry', in Ronald Black, William Gillies and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (ed.), *Celtic Connections: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Celtic Studies. Volume One: Language, Literature, History, Culture* (East Linton), 265–86.
- Richter, Michael, (1996), 'The personnel of learning in early medieval Ireland', in Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (ed.), *Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter / Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Bildung und Literatur / Learning and Literature* (Stuttgart), 275–308.
- Robinson, F. N., (1912), 'Satirists and enchanters in early Irish literature', in D. G. Lyon and George Foot Moore (ed.), *Studies in the History of Religions* (New York, NY), 95–130.
- Roma, Elisa, (2014), 'Old Irish noun phrases: data from the Milan Glosses and a hypothesis for the origin of the single article constraint', in Elisa Roma and David Stifter (ed.), *Linguistic and Philological Studies in Early Irish* (Lewiston, NY), 131–76.
- Ross, James, (1953), 'The sub-literary tradition in Scottish Gaelic song-poetry: part I', in *Éigse* 7:4, 217–39.
- Russell, Paul, (1990), *Celtic Word-Formation: The Velar Suffixes* (Dublin).
- Russell, Paul, (2001), 'Patterns of hypocorism in early Irish hagiography', in John Carey, Máire Herbert and Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars* (Dublin), 237–49.
- Ryan, Salvador, (2002–3), 'The persuasive power of a mother's breast: the most desperate act of the Virgin Mary's Advocacy', in *Studia Hibernica* 32, 59–74.
- Sayers, William, (1990), 'Women's work and words: setting the stage for strife in medieval Irish and Icelandic narrative', in *Mankind Quarterly* 31, 59–86.
- Schlüter, Dagmar, (2010), *History or Fable? The Book of Leinster as a Document of Cultural Memory in Twelfth-Century Ireland* (Münster).
- Schrijver, Peter, (1995), *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology* (Amsterdam).

- Schrijver, Peter, (1997a), 'On the nature and origin of word-initial *h*- in the Würzburg Glosses', in *Ériu* 48, 205–27.
- Schrijver, Peter, (1997b), *Studies in the History of Celtic Pronouns and Particles* (Maynooth).
- Scott, J. H., (1957), 'Analysis of pre-Christian Irish material: I. Age at death', in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 20, 4–7.
- Scowcroft, R. M., (2009), 'Mediaeval recensions of the *Lebor Gabála*', in John Carey (ed.), *Lebor Gabála Éirenn: Textual History and Pseudohistory* (London), 1–20.
- Simms, Katharine, (1978), 'Guesting and feasting in Gaelic Ireland', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 108, 67–100.
- Simms, Katharine, (1987), *From Kings to Warlords* (Woodbridge, reprinted 2000).
- Simms, Katharine, (1991), 'Women in Gaelic society during the age of transition', in Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (ed.), *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (Edinburgh), 32–42.
- Simms, Katharine, (2012), 'Bardic poems of apology and reconciliation', in Liam Mac Amhlaigh and Brian Ó Curnáin (ed.), *Ilteangach, Ilseiftiúil: Féilscribhinn in Ómós do Nicholas Williams / A Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Williams* (Dublin), 175–91.
- Sims-Williams, Patrick, (1996), review of Kim McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature*, in *Éigse* 29, 179–96.
- Sims-Williams, Patrick, (2005), 'Person-switching in Celtic panegyric: figure or fault?', in J. F. Nagy and L. E. Jones (ed.), *Heroic Poets and Poetic Heroes in Celtic Tradition: A Festschrift for Patrick K. Ford. CSANA Yearbook 3–4* (Dublin), 315–26.
- Slotkin, E. M., (1979), 'Medieval Irish scribes and fixed texts', in *Éigse* 17:4, 437–50.
- Smith, P. J. (ed.), (2007), *Three Historical Poems Ascribed to Gilla Cóemáin: A Critical Edition of the Work of an Eleventh-Century Irish Scholar* (Münster).
- Smith, R. M. (ed.), (1925), 'On the Briathartheosc Conculaind', in *ZCP* 15, 187–92.
- Smith, R. M. (ed.), (1932), 'The advice to Doidin', in *Ériu* 11, 66–85.
- Spenser, Edmund, (1934), in W. L. Renwick (ed.), *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (London).
- Sproule, David, (1987), 'Complex alliteration, full and unstressed rhyme, and the origin of deibide', in *Ériu* 38, 183–98.
- Stacey, Robin Chapman, (1991), 'Law and order in the very old West: England and Ireland in the early Middle Ages', in B. T. Hudson and V. L. Ziegler (ed.),

*Crossed Paths: Methodological Approaches to the Celtic Aspect of the European Middle Ages* (Lanham, MD), 39–60.

Stacey, Robin Chapman, (2007), *Dark Speech: The Performance of Law in Early Ireland* (Philadelphia, PA).

Stancliffe, Clare, (1982), 'Red, white and blue martyrdom', in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamund McKitterick and David Dumville (ed.), *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, reprinted 2010), 21–46.

Stifter, David, (2006), *Sengoídelc: Old Irish for Beginners* (New York, NY).

Stifter, David, (2013), 'Towards the linguistic dating of Early Irish law texts', in Anders Ahlqvist and Pamela O'Neill (ed.), *Medieval Irish Law: Text and Context* (Sydney), 163–208.

Stifter, David, (2015), 'The language of the poems of Blathmac', in Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *The Poems of Blathmac Son of Cú Brettan: Reassessments* (Dublin), 47–103.

Stokes, Whitley (ed.), (1883), *Saltair na Rann: A Collection of Early Middle Irish Poems* (Oxford).

Stokes, Whitley (ed.), (1887), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick, with Other Documents Relating to that Saint* (London), 2 volumes.

Stokes, Whitley (ed.), (1888), 'The voyage of Mael Duin', in *RC* 9, 447–95.

Stokes, Whitley (ed.), (1890), *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford).

Stokes, Whitley (ed.), (1894), 'The prose tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas', in *RC* 15, 272–336, 418–84.

Stokes, Whitley (ed.), (1901a), 'The battle of Carn Conaill', in *ZCP* 3, 203–19.

Stokes, Whitley (ed.), (1901b), 'A list of ancient Irish authors', in *ZCP* 3, 15–6.

Stokes, Whitley (ed.), (1904), 'O'Davoren's glossary', in Whitley Stokes and Kuno Meyer (ed.), *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* (London and Paris), vol. ii, 197–504.

Stokes, Whitley (ed.), (1905), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (London).

Stokes, Whitley (ed.), (1907), *The Birth and Life of St. Moling: Edited from a Manuscript in the Royal Library, Brussels, with a Translation and Glossary* (London).

Stokes, Whitley, and Strachan, John (ed.), (1901–3), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose, and Verse* (Cambridge, reprinted Dublin 1987), 2 volumes.

Stokes, Whitley, and Windisch, Ernst (ed.), (1900), *Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch* (Leipzig).

- Strachan, John, (1949), *Old-Irish Paradigms and Selections from the Old-Irish Glosses* (Dublin, fourth edition revised by Osborn Bergin, reprinted 2003).
- Swift, Catherine, (2000), 'Óenach Tailten, the Blackwater Valley and the Uí Néill kings of Tara', in A. P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin), 109–20.
- Ter Horst, Tom, (2017), 'Codeswitching in the Irish-Latin *Leabhar Breac*: Mediæval Homiletic Culture', published PhD thesis, Utrecht University, available at [https://www.lotpublications.nl/Documents/452\\_fulltext.pdf](https://www.lotpublications.nl/Documents/452_fulltext.pdf).
- Thurneysen, Rudolf (ed.), (1912), *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* (Berlin).
- Thurneysen, Rudolf, (1917), 'Irishes', in *ZCP* 11, 30–8.
- Thurneysen, Rudolf, (1921), *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Halle).
- Thurneysen, Rudolf (ed.), (1931), *Irishes Recht. I. Dīre. Ein altirischer Rechtstext. II. Zu den unteren Ständen in Irland* (Berlin).
- Thurneysen, Rudolf (ed.), (1940), 'Irishes', in *ZCP* 22, 24–38.
- Toner, Gregory, (2000a), 'Reconstructing the earliest Irish Tale Lists', in *Éigse* 32, 88–120.
- Toner, Gregory, (2000b), 'The Ulster Cycle: historiography or fiction?', in *CMCS* 40 (Winter), 1–20.
- Toner, Gregory, (2010), 'Wise women and wanton warriors in early Irish literature', in *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 30, 259–72.
- Trindade, W. A., (1986), 'Irish *Gormlaith* as a sovereignty figure', in *Études Celtiques* 23, 143–56.
- Tristram, H. L. C., (1983), *Tense and Time in Early Irish Narrative* (Innsbruck).
- Tymoczko, Maria, (1996), 'A poetry of masks: the poet's persona in early Celtic poetry', in K. A. Klar, E. E. Sweetser and Claire Thomas (ed.), *A Celtic Florilegium: Studies in Memory of Brendan O Hehir* (Lawrence, MA), 187–209.
- Uhlich, Jürgen, (1993), *Die Morphologie der komponierten Personennamen des Altirischen* (Witterschlick, Bonn).
- Uhlich, Jürgen, (1995), 'On the fate of intervocalic \*-u- in Old Irish, especially between neutral vowels', in *Ériu* 46, 11–48.
- Uhlich, Jürgen, (2008), review of Kevin Murray (ed.), *Baile in Scáil: 'The Phantom's Frenzy'*, in *Éigse* 36, 228–34.
- Uhlich, Jürgen, (2009), 'Reviewers, reviewees, and critical texts: a brief final response', in *CMCS* 57 (Summer), 75–9.
- Uhlich, Jürgen, (2012), '*Serc mór do Macc Maire*', in Eoin Mac Cárthaigh and Jürgen Uhlich (ed.), *Féilscríbhinn do Chathal Ó Háinle* (Indreabhán), 935–59.

- van Hamel, A. G. (ed.), (1949), *Longes mac n-Uislenn: The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu* (New York, NY).
- van Hamel, A. G. (ed.), (1978), *Compert Con Culainn* (Dublin).
- van Loon, Daan, (2014), 'The usage of the historical present in Old Irish narrative prose', in Elisa Roma and David Stifter (ed.), *Linguistic and Philological Studies in Early Irish* (Lewiston, NY), 247–80.
- von Humboldt, Alexander, (1852), *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America During the Years 1799–1804. Written in French by Alexander von Humboldt: Translated and Edited by Thomasina Ross* (London).
- Wagner, Heinrich, (1977), 'The archaic *Dind Ríg* poem and related problems', in *Ériu* 28, 1–16.
- Walsh, Paul, (1940), 'Meath in the Book of Rights', in John Ryan (ed.), *Féil-Sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill: Essays and Studies Presented to Professor Eóin MacNeill* (Dublin, reprinted 1995), 508–21.
- Walsh, Paul, (ed.), (1948), *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill, as Leabhar Lughaidh Uí Chlérigh: The Life of Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill, transcribed from the Book of Lughaidh Ó Clérigh. Part I, Text and Translation* (Dublin).
- Watkins, Calvert, (1958), 'Old-Irish *sernaid* and related forms', in *Ériu* 18, 85–101.
- Williams, N. J. A. (ed.), (1980), *The Poems of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe* (Dublin).
- Windisch, Ernst (ed.), (1880), *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch* (Leipzig).
- Wulff, Winifred (ed.), (1934), 'A mediaeval handbook of gynaecology and midwifery', in John Fraser, Paul Grosjean and J. G. O'Keeffe (ed.), *Irish Texts* (London).
- Zimmer, Heinrich, (1884), 'Dr. Zimmer on prostration in the early Irish Church', in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5, 242–6.