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Mladslechtae: An Old Irish Law Text on Status

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Ph.D.

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October 2004
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Summary

This thesis consists of an attempt to provide a critical edition, translation and analysis of the material contained in the Old Irish status text entitled *Miadslechtae*.

*Miadslechtae* is one of a number of early Irish law tracts that deal with the issue of status in early Irish society. In Ireland of the seventh eighth and ninth centuries a person’s legal standing and entitlements were dependent on a variety of parameters - political power, wealth and material resources or one’s level of achievement in the fields of ecclesiastical and secular learning.

*Miadslechtae* addresses each of these areas in turn. Initially it identifies twenty-six grades of secular society, including kings, lords and commoners. It also addresses the issue of the position of those without legal status. It then goes on to describe the grades of Latin scholars - those involved in the production in the large *corpus* of literature written in Latin that has come down to us. The scholars responsible for the propagation of the equally extensive *corpus* of learning in the vernacular are then analysed. Finally, the status of those in holy orders is dealt with in detail.

Like the majority of early Irish law texts, *Miadslechtae*, is preserved in manuscripts from the medieval period (i.e. the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries). The initial task was to transcribe the manuscripts in which our text is preserved. Following this, the structure of the text was analysed and it was segmented into its constituent components.

A linguistic analysis was carried out to establish the date of composition of the text. This established that the text was probably composed in the late eighth or early ninth centuries. The next major research task was to restore the medieval manuscript text to its Old Irish original. This formed the most difficult part of the research effort. The text survives in its entirety in only one manuscript with two accompanying fragments. In addition, it has suffered much corruption during the course of its transmission. Furthermore, a portion of the text consists of metrical material which proved particularly difficult to analyse and translate.
To assist in the task of restoring the text to an approximation of its original state, a number of sections were presented by the author for discussion and analysis to a seminar at the School of Celtic Studies at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Those attending this seminar included experts in the fields of Old Irish grammar, early Irish law and the transmission of medieval Irish manuscripts.

Finally a restored text and proposed translation were established. Detailed annotation to accompany both was also provided.

As a result of this study it emerges that Miadslechtae adds considerably to the increasing body of information regarding early Irish society resulting from the process of analysing the Old Irish law tracts. While confirming information found in other law tracts dealing with similar material, it describes several grades of secular society not found in other sources. It preserves a unique description of the destitute in early Irish society. Its treatment of the grades of Latin scholars is also noteworthy. Finally, the description found in the text of the gradations of those in holy orders is of great interest.

In conclusion, this study establishes Miadslechtae as an important primary source for our knowledge and understanding of the structure and make-up of early Irish society.
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FOREWORD

Miadslechtae: An Old Irish Law Text on Status

Miadslechtae is a text which deals with the various social hierarchies which existed in early Irish society, including the secular and ecclesiastical grades as well as the grades of Irish and Latin learning. A portion of this text comprising §§1-32 infra, was first published in O’Curry (1873 iii, 513-522) under the title ‘A Law Tract without Title on the Classes of Society’. This edition consists of a brief introduction followed by the Irish text with an accompanying English translation. Subsequently the entire text was edited and translated in AL iv pp. 344-69 under the title ‘Sequel to Crith Gabhlach’. In each instance both the Old Irish text provided and the English translation are unsatisfactory. The textual shortcomings of many editions of law texts from this period (i.e. the late nineteenth century) have been concisely summarized in Breatnach (1996a, 107) as ‘omissions of words and phrases, mistranscriptions, misprints, misdivisions, wrong expansions, failure to indicate contractions, lack of varia lectiones ... and mistranslations’. All of these criticisms apply to the above-mentioned editions.

Our knowledge of the Old Irish law of status was greatly advanced by the publication of MacNeill (1923). This work contains, inter alia, translations of Crith Gablach and the Old Irish text of Uraicecht Becc (i.e. omitting glosses and commentary). It also contains a synopsis of our text (op. cit. 311-13) which the translator concludes with the rather curious comment ‘As it [i.e. Miadslechtae] seems to be a literary rather than a juristic composition, I do not give a rendering [i.e. translation]’, (op. cit.,313).

The complete diplomatic text of Miadslechtae is printed in CIH 582.32-589.32. There are two additional fragments at 676.16-677.27 and 1567.1-35 respectively. The importance of our text can be judged by the frequent references made to it by scholars of Irish language, history and law over the years. These include contributions by Thurneysen, Binchy, McLeod, Breatnach, Etchingham and Russell among others. Bibliographical references to these various contributions are to be found in the textual notes.

This study consists of a critical edition with translation and commentary of Miadslechtae. It includes a description of the manuscripts in which the text is preserved, the orthography of these manuscripts, a discussion of the date of the text, an analysis of the metrical material and a survey of the structure and content of the text.
Manuscripts

Our text is found in the following MSS:

A: TCD MS H.3.18 (now 1337), pp. 15a-17b. For a description of this composite MS cf. Abbott and Gwynn (1921, 140-1, 358-9) where this section is dated to the sixteenth century. This is the only complete copy of our text known to me. It is printed in CIH 582.32-589.32. The text begins at the start of the second gathering (i.e. folios 15-25). The first section (i.e. folios 1-14) concludes with a fragment of Bretha Comaitchesa, a commentary on horse-theft and two glosses on Elga (= Corm.Y 510, 714) and on Melg (= Corm. Y 862). Our text is followed in the second section by a passage beginning Gaeth cach co fonadmain (for which see Meyer (1918, 364 ff.) and Thurneysen (1926, 11)). This, in turn, is followed by Berrad Airechta (for which see Thurneysen (1928)). Like all of the material in the first two gatherings of this MS, our text is written in a small hand and, with a number of minor exceptions, is unglossed.

The following marginal entries are visible in this portion of the MS:

1. On folio 15a. Entry on upper margin above column a. Written in dark ink in letters smaller than the main text:
   IN nomine dei ihesu christi

2. On folio 15a. Entry on upper margin, underneath the religious invocation and spanning both columns, in very faint writing:
   is lir togarmand techtaite miadlechta n-
   This is a repetition of the opening line of the text (see §1 infra), perhaps a probatio pennae.

3. On folio 16. Entry on upper margin, spanning both columns. Written in letters larger than main text:
   uii.(?) mbl-a ria srith(?) slani. a do fo x. condirgi. rodet ni brec inhairi ui.c.da.c.da mile re finntan iter daine ba haight arilltaib ili
This appears to be a fragment of verse with the following structure:

\[
\text{uill.? bl-a ria srith(?). slani.}
\]
\[
\text{a do fo x. co ndirgi.}
\]
\[
\text{rodet ni brecc inbairi}
\]
\[
\text{ui.c.da.c.da mile}
\]
\[
\text{re finntan iter daine}
\]
\[
\text{ba haighi arilltaib ili}
\]

"..."

twelve with correctness,

has been granted, no lie ..., six hundred, two hundred, two thousand,
to Fintan amongst peoples,
it was a fixed period ...,

I can make no further sense of this verse. Presumably it refers to the legendary, long-lived sage Fintan Mac Bóchra (for whom cf. McConne (1990, 75-6)). His great age is again referred in the text Cethri Arda in Domain:

Fintan Mac Bòcra meic Lamiach is è in tres fer tânic i nErind ri ndilind is eside ro chomét senchasa iarthair in betha i. i nEspáin 7 i nErind 7 in cach conair dodeochatár Göedil archena 7. bliadna re ndilind 7. u. c. 7 u. mbliadna iar [n]dilind a aes co n-erbaill ac Dún Tulcha,

‘Fintan Mac Bóchra meic Lamiach: he is the third man who came to Ireland before the Flood and it was he who preserved the history of the western world i.e. in Spain and Ireland and every path besides on which the Gaels came. Fifty years before Flood and five hundred and five years after the Flood - that was his age until he died at Dún Tulcha’, LU II. 10067-71.

4. On folio 17. Entry on upper margin, spanning both columns. Written in letters larger than main text: Dath sula maèil meic milchon/ in aithair lestair linaigh/ brat brain lenn luin luim luainnigh/ gual crainn glain guirm giuis gimaig
This appears to be a fragment of verse with the following structure:

\[
\begin{align*}
Dath & \text{sula mceil meic milchon} \\
i & \text{n-airthur lestair linaigh} \\
brat & \text{brain lenn luin luim luaimnigh} \\
gual & \text{crainn glain guirm giuis gimaig}
\end{align*}
\]

The colour of the eye of Mael mac Milcon,
to the front of a lined vessel(?),
plumage of a raven, cloak of a ... fluttering blackbird,
charcoal of a bright green bristling fir-tree.


B : TCD MS H.3.18 (now 1337), pp. 148a-149b. This section of H.3.18 is also dated to the sixteenth century; cf. Abbott and Gwynn (1921, 358). Note however that this particular fragment does not appear to have been catalogued. The fragment contains §§1-13 of the text dealing with the grades of kings and lords. It is printed in CIH 676.17-677.27. It is preceded in the MS by the text \text{Fodla Tire} (for which cf. MacNiocaill (1971)). It is followed in the MS by extracts from Bretha Comaitheesa with commentary in Old Irish. The fragment is contained within the seventh section of the MS (i.e. folios 139-51). A number of scribal hands are represented in this section. As far as I can determine, the same hand has transcribed folios 139b-49b. The text is written in a small hand and is unglossed.

C : TCD MS H.4.22 (now 1363), p. 67a. This fragment contains §§42-55 of the text dealing with the grades of poets and other related material. §§53-4 have been omitted. It is printed in CIH 1567.1-35. The fragment is described in Abbott and Gwynn (1921, 204) as follows: ‘After p. 67 there was formerly, according to O’Curry, “a loose unaged leaf stitched to p. 67,” and containing a tract entitled \text{Miadlechta Filid} and a glossary, transcribed in O’C. 2070-2078.’ This page has since been lost. We are,
therefore, entirely dependent on O’Curry’s transcripts of the MS.

Orthography of the manuscripts
The following is a description of the principal later features and peculiarities of the orthography of A, B and C. The form in the MS is given first followed by the restored form in parentheses. It should be noted that length marks are rare in all MSS. Examples are instanced by paragraph number.

A.

(i) Confusion of final unstressed short vowels: This is very common, a few examples being: tuaithi (tuaithe) §6, damna (damnae) §27, cedfaidhi (céitfaide) §37, lugha (lugu) §57.

(ii) ea for e before a non-palatal consonant: Again a very common feature, e.g.: easain (esáin) §9, feal, (fel) §44, fear (fer) §54, eashuc (epscop) §56.

(iii) Ligatured ae to represent a diphthong. In Old Irish this ligature is used to represent the letter e but is usually distinguished from diphthongs. Cf. GOI §24.1. This feature is very common, e.g.: æn (œn) §18, fæsam (fæsam) §2, conæ (con-ol) §9, gæs (gáes) §22.

(iv) The use of g, b, d, where OIr. has c, p, t, respectively: Only the following examples occur: lig (lieic) §4, codat (cotat) §54, roded (ro dét) §54.

(v) The use of gh, bh, dh, mh, where OIr. has g, b, d, m, respectively: A very common feature, e.g.: brothlaighe (brothlaige) §30, diabhul (diabul) §8, adhall (adall) §13, damh (dám) §46.

(vi) The confusion of lenited g with lenited d: The following examples occur: eolaid (éolaig) §2, oenuidh (óenaig) §5, sailmchetaigh (salmchétlaid) §32, suighe (sudiu) §34, ro hainmnidhedh (ro hainmniged) §49, ursclaidhe (airsclaigi) §54.

(vii) The confusion of lenited c with lenited t: The following examples occur: indith (imme-dich) §12, caith (cáich) §23.
(viii) Omission of lenited /: The following examples occur: oglaitheṁ (ōgīlaitheṁ) §1, lethlaitheṁ (lethīlaitheṁ) §1, doet (do-fet) §10, a repaidhe (a frepaide) §23.
This is not a late feature and occurs in Old Irish itself. Cf. GOI §231.7.

(ix) Loss of final lenited dental: A common feature: airdnime (ardnimeid) §7, naisce (naisceid) §46, co dia (co dead) §66, file (filed) §41, aighe (aigaid) §59.
A somewhat different case (with delenition) is cona daim (conid dam) §24.

(x) Non-historic final lenited d, unlenited t and lenited g: The following examples occur: saidh (sui) §33, o suídhiúd (ó suídúi) §59, mad beth (mā beth) §67, ni t §23 (ni tat), aircísigh (aircísí) §24, tachtaidh (tachta) §55.

B.
(i) Confusion of final unstressed short vowels: This is very common, a few examples being: huaithi (uaithne) §20, idna (idnae) §11, tuaithi (ticaithe) §8, airc (aire) §9.

(ii) ea for e before a non-palatal consonant: Again a very common feature, e.g.: fear (fer) §4, leasugud, (lesugud) §7, miadslechtaih (miadslechtaib) §2, seanathar (senathar) §9.

(iii) Ligatured ae to represent a diphthong: A very common feature e.g.: dē (dēe) §1, fēsam (fēesam) §2, aenaig (ōenaig) §5, sarbiathadh (sārbiathad) §10.

(iv) The use of g, b, d, where OIr. has c, p, t, respectively: Only the following examples occur: onmid (ōnimid) §1, techtaide (tēchtaide) §1.

(v) The use of gh, bh, dh, mh, where OIr. has g, b, d, m, respectively: There is only a single example: adhall (adall) §13.

(ix) Loss of final lenited dental: There is only a single example: seirrthi (seirthid) §1.
C.

(i) Confusion of final unstressed short vowels: This is very common, a few examples being: file (fili) §44, filidechta (filedachtae) §45, bliadna (bliadhae) §49.

(ii) ea for e before a non-palatal consonant: Again a very common feature, e.g.: ceas (ces) §43, feadha, (fedae) §49, fear (fer) §55.

(v) The use of gh, bh, dh, mh, where OIr. has g, b, d, m, respectively: A common feature: damh (dám) §46, righ (ri) §47, feadha (fedae) §49, suidhe (suide) §52.

(vi) The confusion of lenited g with lenited d: There is only a single example: macc fuirmigh (macfuirmid) §42.

(ix) Loss of final lenited dental: The following examples occur: cona ed (conid ed) §43, laisin file (laisin filid) §44, dia (dead) §49, labra (labrad) §55.

(x) Non-historic final lenited d, unlenited t and lenited g: The following example occurs: tachtaidh (tachta) §55.

Relationship of manuscripts and method of editing.

The only complete version of the text is that preserved in the A MS (§§1-71). The beginning of the text (§§1-13) is preserved in MS B. However, the greater part of the metrical material that this part of the text contains (for which see ‘Contents and structure’ infra) has been transmitted in a much abbreviated manner in this MS. The C MS preserves that section of the text dealing with the poets (§§42-55, omitting §§53-4). It is difficult to determine the relationship between the three MSS as they do not overlap at any one point.

MSS A and B (notwithstanding the missing metrical material already referred to) appear to be quite close. Occasionally the reading of B is superior to that of A: idhna A, indnae B §11; aroslabra A, arrolabrathar B §8. Moreover B sometimes preserves material lacking in A: di atlu a dala A, dia etla dia cumasc dala B §5; da .uii. cumal dia sarugud A, da .uii. cumala a eneclann dia sarugud B §5. (See also notes to §6 below).
MSS A and C may have once shared a common exemplar since both fail to deal with the *cano* grade of poet. However, each MS contains words and entire phrases missing from the other. The arrangement of material in each MS is also different. Occasionally the C MS preserves a superior reading to that of A: *ni nascar fair* A, *ini nascar fair* C §47; *romidhathar A*, *romidir C* §55.

The following text then is based on the A MS with the incorporation of superior readings and some additional material from the other two MSS where appropriate. For each paragraph a restored text is given first, followed by the text of A. For the text of the other MSS see below, Appendices 1,2. The variant readings are discussed in the notes.

**Title**

The title is referred to in MSS A, B and C:

(i) §1: *[c]is lir togarmand techtait miadlechta A, cis lir togarmanda techaide miadlechta B.

(ii) §2: *isna miadlechtaih A, isna miadeachtaih B.

(iii) §32: *Miadhlechta ecna tra it ecsamlai fri miadlechtaib tuaithe A.

(iv) §42: *incipit miadhlechta filidh* C, not in A MS and not included in restored text.

The first element of the compound is not in doubt i.e. *miad*, (1) 'honour, dignity', (2) 'rank, status'. The second element, *slicht*, has a variety of meanings including (1) 'version, recension' and (2) 'section, division, class'. Cf. DIL S 271, 52 ff. DIL M 126, 75 ff. allows for both possibilities and translates as 'grade of dignity or rank' and adds a comment 'of sections (slechta) in Law relating to grades and dignities'.

This second element (i.e. *slicht*) also occurs in the titles of several *Senchus Már* tracts, e.g. *Bretha for Maccslechtaih, Bretha for Catslechtaib* etc. Kelly (1988, 270, 274) translates as 'son-sections', 'cat sections'. However, Bretnach (1996b, 30-1) translates as 'categories of sons', 'categories of cats'. I would translate the title of our text as 'divisions of rank/ honour' as this better suits the use of the title in §1 (*Cis lir togarmann techtait miadlechte*) and §32 (*Miadslechtae ecna tra, it écsamlai fri miadslechtu tuaithe*). The use of the title at §2 (*isnaib miadlechtaib*) and at §42 (*incipit miadhlechta filidh*) could carry both interpretations i.e.'divisions of rank' or 'sections of law dealing with rank'. This former interpretation is broadly in accord with MacNeill's translation (1923, 311) of 'classes of dignity'.
The verbal system.

In the following the reading of the restored text is given, with significant MS variations in parentheses. Only finite verbal forms are dealt with here. Examples are instanced by paragraph number.

A. PRESENT INDICATIVE

3 Singular Absolute

Active

báidí (baidhíd A) §37 (bis), coillíd
(colíth A) §29, dligíd §4 (bis) etc.,
iccaid (icaighd) §57, naiscid (naisci A), §46,
naiscid §47, tét §§28,57.

Relative:
dásas §§66,68, dlíges §§11, saigés (saighes A) §§5,61 etc.,
techtas §34.

Deponent/Relative:

ni maith fográidedár-som
(fográidedarsom A, ni maith fográidh son C) §50.

Passive

rimthir (rimthir A) §69, rimthir (rimthir A) §70.

Passive/ Relative:
amail dlegar (amail dleaghar A) §58, luíther §13, nascar §47,
samaltar (samaillter A) §37, mitter (mitir A) §26.

3 Singular Conjunct

Active

náchid n-anaíg (rel.) (nachidhanaíg A) §59, ro chrecca
(ro creca A) (rel.) §23, ní dlig (ní dligh A) §§24, 26, 28 etc.,
ní goin §18, nod nguin (rel.) (nodgoin A) §59,
nád šáera (rel.) (na šaera A) §25,
nád techta (rel.) (na techta A) §23, nád tét
(rel.) (na teit A) §24, ni tēt (ni teit A) §25,
ni toing (ni thoing A) §18.

Tmesis:

ni ... móra §46.

Passive

ni berar (ni berar A,C) §46, ni nascar (ni nascar A,C) §46.

With tmesis:
doná labrad lēictther (dona labrad leicther A, dina labra leicter C) §55

3 Singular Deuterotonic

Active

ad-chosnai (rel.) (Dropped from MS, see notes to paragraph) §67,

amail ad-cota (rel.) (atcota A, B) §9, ad-cumaing

(adcumuing A) §48 (bis), ar-imgaib §24, ar-da-naisc (rel.)

(ardonaisc A,B) §7 (bis), amail as-beir (rel.) (amail isbeir A, amail asherar B) §4, amail as-beir (rel.) (So B, amail isbeir A) §5,

con-gaib §48 (bis), con-imthet (rel.) (conimtheit A) §59,

con-oí (rel.) (conaeA, conae B) §9, con-oisce §37,
do-beir (rel.) §28, do-beir (rel) §67, do-eim §45, di-eim §48 (bis),
do-fet §8, do-fet (rel.) (doet A, B) §10,
do-fich (So A, dotafich B) §13, do-foxla (dofoxla) §37,
do-gni (rel.) §24, do-nessa (donesa A) §21,
do-thét (rel.) (dotaet A) §67, fo-fich (rel.) (fofich A) §57,

fo-loing (rel.) (fonluing A) §20 (bis), for-beir §32,

forta-brissi (fortabhraidsi A) §37, for-cain §§45,46,
for-chain (rel.) (forcain) §36, fris-comairc (friscomarc A) §39,

imm-tá (imtha A) §§37, 49, 60, 62, 65,66,
68, 70, ro-saig (rosaigh A) §§56, 67, tremi-etha (tremætha A, tremoetha B bis) §4.

With relative form of pre-verb:

ara-imgaib (arimgaib A) §29, imme-dich (immdith A, imdi caem B) §12, itira-thá (iteratha) §60,
itira-thá (iteratha) §62, itira-thá (iteratha) §65, itira-thá (iteratha) §66.
Deponent:

Passive
*ar-ecar* §35, *as-berar* §35, *amail as-mberar* (rel.)

3 Singular Prototonic

Active
*nád n-ascnai* (rel.) §67, *nlí airchoimti* (ni urcoimdend A)

Deponent (Tmesis): *conid ...toimdh* §4.

Passive
3 Plural Absolute

Active

\textit{ebait} (hebhait A) §41.

Relative:

\textit{segtae} (seghdai A) §63, \textit{segtae} (segda A) §66, \textit{techtait} §1, \textit{tlenae} (atlen-dae A, dō notlena ... dontlean dai B) §3, \textit{traig}te (traig A) §37.

Passive

Relative:

\textit{ber}t\textit{ar} (berar A) §11.

3 Plural Conjunct

Active

\textit{dia} \textit{mberat} (diamhiar da A, dia mbi 7 ardo B) §10, \textit{nī techtait} (nī techtait A) §22.

Passive

\textit{assa} \textit{midetar} (asa midithar A) (prep. rel.) §31.

3 Plural Deuterotonic

Active

\textit{ad-gi}\textit{allat} (rel.) (atgiallat B) §5,6,
\textit{atn-guidet-som} (atguidhetsom A) §7, §6, \textit{as-b}er\textit{at} §59,
\textit{d}o-\textit{berat} (So B, doberad A) §3, \textit{for-berat} §32,
\textit{immus-frecrat} (imusfrecrat A) §32, \textit{immus-frecrat} (imusfrecrat A) §41.

Perfective:

\textit{fo-roig}\textit{lennat} (foroighlenat A, forroglennad C) §49.
B. IMPERATIVE
2 Singular
Active

sloind §11.

3 SINGULAR
Passive

sàmaigther (samuither A) §6.

C. PRETERITE ACTIVE
3 Singular Absolute

nenaisc §4.

3 Singular Deuterotonic
Active

as-beri (So B, isbert A) §7, fo-gelt (fogelta A) §24.

3 Plural Deuterotonic
Active

iarmi-fóchtatar (iarmiadhaighecht A, iarminocet- B) §2.

D. PERFECT ACTIVE
3 Singular

nád ragab (rel.) (na ragaib A) (rel.) §27,
amail rond-gab (rel.) (amail, A, B. See notes) §46,
amail rond-gab (rel.) (amail rogab A, B) §47.
Deponent:
ro midir (romidharthar A, romidir B) §55.

3 Singular Deuterotonic

dor-rigni (rel.) (dorighne A) (rel) §56.

3 Plural

arná dessetar (ar cach nachdeis etar A) §24.
E. PERFECT PASSIVE

3 Singular Conjunct

ro hainmniged (rohanmnighedh A) §49, ro hainmniged (rohanmnidhedh A, rohainmnigedh C) §49, amail ro cét (rel.) (amail rochet A, amail rocet B) §4, ro dēt (roded A) §54.

3 Singular Deuterotonic

amail as-rubrad (rel.) (amail isrubrad A) §63,
amail as-rubrad (rel.) (amail isrubhradh A) §66.

F. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

2 Singular Absolute
Active

berae (bera A,B) §5.

2 Singular Conjunct
Active

cain-berae (cainbera A,B) §8.

3 Singular Absolute
Active

Relative:
bruās (bruidhes A) §30.

3 Singular Conjunct
Active

mani crecca (mana chreca A) §23, mani gata (mana gata A) §23.

3 Singular Deuterotonic
Active

con-oiscea (conoisce A) §37, dod-cois §23,
do-mela (rel.) (domeala A) §30, do-rogba (rel.) §60,
cia fo-gé (cia foighe A) §23, mà fo-ló (nafola A) §59.
3 Singular Prototonic

Active

\( \text{man} \, n \, -\text{asta} \) (mana nasta A) §22, \( \text{man} \, \text{di} \, \text{ga} \) (mana dilge A) §59, \( \text{co} \, \text{frescai} \) (co freisce A) §23, \( \text{ma} \, \text{ri} \) (ma ri A) §59, \( \text{man} \, \text{taibrea} \) (mana tabra A) §23.

3 Singular Prototonic

Passive

\( \text{ma} \, \text{thalltar} \) §59, \( \conjugation{co}{festar} \) §2.

G. THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB

(1.) PRESENT INDICATIVE

3 Singular

\( \text{atà}: \)

\( \text{atà} \) (ata A) §34, §44, §56.

Conjunct -tà:

\( i \, tà \) (rel.) §56, \( nì \, tà \)

(nitat A) §23.

fil/ file:

\( \text{fil} \) (rel.) §56 (bis), \( nì \, \text{fil} \)

ni fuil A,C) §43, \( \text{innà} \, \text{fil} \) (prep. rel.) (ina fil A) §25, \( \text{file} \) (rel.) (filit A) §56, \( \text{fil} \) (rel.) §58.

Relative:

\( \text{olddas} \) (oldas A) §57, \( \text{indaas} \) (inas A) §57.

\( \text{do}-\text{coissin} \) (docusin A) §33.

3 Plural \( \text{atàat} \)

\( \text{atàat} \) (atait A,C) §46, \( \text{atàat} \) (ata A) §57, \( \text{atàat} \) §67.

Relative: \( \text{olddte} \) (oldaite A) §45.
(2). **CONSUETUDINAL PRESENT**

3 Singular Absolute

\[ biid (bid A) \text{§}24, biid (bidh A) \text{§}29. \]
Relative: \[ bis (bis A) \text{§}34, bis (bis) \text{§}45. \]

3 Singular Conjunct

\[ oca mbi \text{(prep. rel.)} (oca mbi A,B) \text{§}11, co mbi (co mbi A, C) \text{§}11, ni bi (ni bi A) \text{§}12, \]
\[ doná bi \text{(prep. rel.)} (dona bi A, C) \text{§}43, ni bi (ni bi A) \text{§}56, \]
\[ nád bi \text{(rel.)} (nad bi A) \text{§}56, o ro bi (o robi A) \text{§}24. \]

3 Plural Absolute

\[ biit (bit A, C) \text{§}49. \]
Relative: \[ bite (bite A) \text{§}56, bite (biti A) \text{§}66. \]

(3). **PERFECT**

3 Singular

\[ ro boi (do boi A) \text{§}67, ro boi (ro boi A) \text{§}67. \]

(4). **PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE**

3 Singular Absolute

\[ mà beith \text{(ma beth A) \text{§}56, mà beth} \text{(mad beth A) \text{§}67.} \]

3 Singular Conjunct

\[ mani bê \text{(muna be A) \text{§}56.} \]
H. THE COPULA

(1.) PRESENT INDICATIVE

3 Singular:

Absolute:

is §7, §23 etc.

With co n-:

conid §4, §24 (conad A) (bis), §34 (conidh A) passim.

Where ni = ni hansae:

§1, §2, §3, §46, §59.

Negative:

ni hé (ni he A,B) §7, ni (ni A) §14, ni (ni) §50, ni (ni) §60.

Relative as:

as §34, as §57 (ter), §58.

Genitival relative:

asa frén làime (asa frein laime A) §13.

3 Plural:

Absolute:

it §32, §49, §59, §66 (bis), §69, §70 (bis).

Relative negative:

úair natat (uai natat) §22.

With co n-:

condat §60, condat §61, condat (con A) §62,

condat §66, condat §67, condat §69,

condat §70 (bis).

(2.) IMPERATIVE

3 Singular

nabad (naba A) §67.

(3.) PERFECT

3 Singular

robo §21.
(4.) PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

3 Singular

Negative:

nábo (naba A) §63.

With ce/ma:

cid §34, mad §53 (bis), mad ... mad (mad ... ma) §59, mad §60.

With sech:

sechib §4, sechib §36.

Relative:

bes §12, bes §39, bes (bus) §43, bes §48, bes §63.

3 Plural

With ce/ma:

cit (cid) §34, mat §67 (bis).

(5.) PAST SUBJUNCTIVE

3 Singular

With ce: ciped (cidhbedh A) §30.

Dating.

Clearly the language of our text as described above reflects that of the Old Irish period. The following features may be noted:

1. The preservation and correct usage of deuterotonic and prototonic forms of compound verbs.

2. The preservation of strong verbal inflexion, e.g. Preterite/Perfect: nenaísc §4, ro midir §55; Subjunctive: cia fo-gé §23, ma fo-ló §59 etc. There are no examples of the spread of weak verbal inflexion or other Middle Irish developments with the exception of the scribal forms discussed infra.

3. The preservation of deponent verbal forms:

con-midethar §55 (bis), ni maith fograígedar-som §50.

toimdither §4, ro midir §55, aríd-sissedar §59, aros-labhradh §8. There are no examples of originally deponent verbs being replaced by non-deponent forms.

4. The use of the infixed pronoun as object marker:

atn-guidet-som §7, immus-frecrat §31,41 §41, amail ad-cota §9, ar-da-naísc §7 (bis),
arid-sissedar §59, aros-labhrathar §8 connach tairthet §13, atn-guidet-som §7, dod-cois, §23, mani n-asta, §23, mani dilga §59. Note also ni tā §23 where the pronoun has the dative force (Cf. GOI §777.2(a)).

5. The absence of the independent pronoun functioning as the subject or object of a verb.

6. The verbal form do-coisin §33.

7. The preservation of pretonic di- in the verbal forms di-eim (bis) and di-emar §48. But note do-eim §45, do-fich §13, do-gni §24 etc.

8. The use of the independent dative in prose: is cumail, ‘it is by a cumal’, §32; Is séitath, ‘it is by sēts’, §32; cach neutr cach folud, ‘with all strength and means’, §59.

9. The use of the phrase cis lir §§1,2,3.

10. Two examples of tmesis: ni hollamain ... mora §46, doná labrad léicterh §55.

For the linguistic features of the metrical citations in §§4-13 of the text see Metrical passages infra.

The text contains a handful of later verbal forms: ni dliginn §29, ni urechoimdend §34, ni fuilet (?) §25, filet §56. For these forms, which are almost certainly scribal, see the notes to the respective paragraphs.

Thus, Miadslechtae can be dated to ninth century at the latest on the basis of the linguistic evidence presented above. Unfortunately, I am aware of no external evidence (within Miadslechtae or in other texts) that would allow such a date to be refined. (On the problems related to dating legal texts precisely cf. Breatnach (1996, 119)).

If we compare the language of our text with that of Crith Gablach (cf. Binchy (1941 xv-xvi)) we note that they share a number of undoubtedly old features e.g. the preservation of pretonic di- in verbal forms and the use of the independent dative in prose (points 7 and 8 supra). But Miadslechtae preserves no examples of pretonic to- in verbal forms (cf. do-beir §28, do-thēt §67 etc). - a relatively common feature in Crith Gablach. That text can be dated with accuracy to the first quarter of the eighth century (Binchy (1941, xiv)). On the basis of this evidence, we can assume that Miadslechtae is the later text.

**Metrical passages.**

In the section of our text dealing with the grades of kings and lords (§§4-13), each grade is first described in standard prose. There then follows a second description in metrical
format. (The structure of §4 is somewhat different). These metrical citations may have once formed part of a single composition which has since been lost.

In dealing with these metrical citations, each extract was initially broken down on the basis of meaning. Thereafter, an attempt was made to determine the metrical structure. From the resulting analysis it emerged that the structure of these citations is not syllabic, but rather based on the number of stressed words per line, linking alliteration between lines and line-internal alliteration. The type of linking alliteration (i.e. *fidrad freccomaif*) in these sections of our text is similar to that described in Breatnach (1989a, 5): 'Linking alliteration is usually of the regular type, i.e. between fully stressed words, but we also find looser forms of alliteration, e.g. between stressed and unstressed words, between a voiced and an unvoiced consonant, between an initial and a non-initial consonant.' This type of alliteration has also been described in Murphy (1961, 38-9) and Carney (1981, 251-62). (For examples of similarly structured metrical material in legal texts cf. Binchy (1971) and Breatnach (1989a)).

I give below a suggested structure for each of the metrical citations. The numbers in square brackets beside each line indicate the number of stressed words. Linking alliteration is indicated by bold type.

§4
(a)

Triath .i. ri . amail as-beir :

Triath trom ,[2]
tremi-etha Érenn túatha [3]
ó thoinn co toinn. [2]
Tairchella tomus [2]
conid iarna dorn toimdither. [2]

Notes: There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between each line. In the case of *trom, tremi-etha* the alliteration is between a stressed word and an unstressed preverb. In the case of *tomus, dorn* the alliteration is between *t* and *d*. There is line-internal alliteration in every line except line 5. Of the twelve stressed words in this citation, eight begin with the letter *t*. (For an even more marked example of this alliterative phenomenon in the poem *Amra Senáin* cf. Breatnach (1989b, 24 §§1,2)).
Notes: There are two stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between the first three lines. The lack of linking alliteration between lines 3 and 4 may be compensated for by the presence of line-internal alliteration i.e. *fer Féne*. (For this metrical phenomenon cf. Breatnach (1989a, 6).

§5

Notes: There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between each line. In the case of *rig, clothach* the alliteration is between *g* and *c*. In the case of *Coirbre* and *lóg* the alliteration is between *c* and *g*. In the cases of *cainib, co* and *Aithirne, i*, the alliteration is between stressed and unstressed words. There is internal alliteration in lines 2, 4, 5 and 6. Of the fourteen stressed words in this unit, seven begin with the letter *c*. Note that semantic units (e.g. noun + qualifying adjective) may span two lines (i.e. *rig, clothach*).
Rí túaithe [2]

toimsi co a secht. [2]

Dligid dia šárugud [2]

scéo gruaide gris [2]

cumail indraic co a secht. [3]

Sámaigther sòerbrethaib Cormaic.[3]

Notes: There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between each line. In the case of secht, dligid, the alliteration is between t and d. I take it that the conjunction scéo (which occurs six times in these metrical passages) is unstressed. Therefore the linking alliteration between šárugud and scéo is between a stressed and an unstressed word. However, for an example of sceo apparently carrying full stress cf. sceo draigin (Binchy, 1971, 158 l. 66). In the case of gris, cumal, the alliteration is between g and c. There is internal alliteration in lines 4 and 6.

§7

Aire ard ardneimed, [3]

conn a thúaithe tesaírg. [3]

Dligid dia šárugud [2]

scéo aighe esáín [2]

secht lán a lethchumala [3]

ar each n-airchonn co ricci tríar. [3]

Notes: There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between each line with the exception of lines 1 and 2. In the case of tesaírg, dligid, the alliteration is between t and d. In the case of lines 4 and 5, the alliteration is between the s in esáíng and the initial of secht. In the case of lines 5 and 6, the alliteration is between the ch in lethchumala and the initial of cach. There is internal alliteration in each line, with the exception of lines 3 and 6.
§8

Cain-berae do cach airig tuiseo [3]
dia sá rugud dia esáin [2]
teora léiri lethchumala [3]
la diabul fuiririd cen airbernad. [3]

Notes: There are two or three stressed words in each line. In lines 1 and 2 there is linking alliteration between the initial of tuiseo and that of dia. There is alliteration between the -la of lethchumala of line 3 and la of line 4. There is internal alliteration in line 3.

§9

Aire désa dichle, [3]
dia diguin, dia sá rugud [2]
dligid sláncumail [2]
cach oín co mórfeiser [2]
la diablad fuiririd do thoirthib. [3]

Notes: There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between lines 1 and 2. In the case of lines 2 and 3, the alliteration is between the d sá rugud and the d of dligid. In the case of lines 3 and 4, the ch of sláncumail alliterates with the initial of cach. There is no linking alliteration between lines 2 and 3 or between lines 4 and 5. There is internal alliteration in line 1.

§10

Aire fine, [2]
finnathar a théchtac. [2]
dia sá rugud dia tromgressaib [2]
scéo air indlíthig [2]
scéo aigthe esáin [2]
There are two stressed words in each line. There is linking between lines 1 to 4 as follows: *fine*, *finnathar*; the *th* of *théchtæ* and the initial of *dia*; the *ss* of *tromgressaib* and the initial of *scéo*. The linking alliteration in lines 4 and 5 is between the initial of *indligthig* and that of *aigthe*. These lines may also be linked by their structural similarity. There is internal alliteration in each of these lines. There is no linking alliteration between lines 5 and 6. There is linking alliteration between *cumail* and *cacha* in lines 6 and 7.

§11

*Indnae án diumsach*, [3]  
*sloínd Coirpri Lifechair* [3]  
*cía dlíges dia sárugud* [2]  
*scéo aigte esain anfir?* [3]  
*Dligid lèir lethchumail* [3]  
*co trí firu*. [2]  
*Séire la diablad fuirird*, [3]  
*connma imchastar Cormac*. [3]

There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between the first four lines as follows: the *s* in *diumsach* and the initial of *sloínd*; the *ch* in *Lifechair* and the initial of *cia*; the initial of *sárugud* and that of *scéo*. There is line-internal alliteration in line 1. There is no linking alliteration between lines 4 and 5 but there is internal alliteration in each case. Lines 6 and 7 are linked by the *r* in *fíru* and that in *séire*. I assume that the word *tré* in line 6 is stressed. Otherwise the line contains just one stressed word. There is no linking alliteration between lines 7 and 8.
§12

Án ruth án [2]
imm-dich a chrích cetha raird [3]
co n-airgaila ûâid, [2]
co ndlig dia ésáín [2]
ardcumaile certtríán [2]
scéo gaisced n-innaic [2]
fri rúamna rus. [2]

There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between the lines as follows: the initials án and imm-dich; the initials of cetharaird and co; the d in ûâid and that in ndlig; the initials of ésáín and ardcumaile; the initials of certtríán and gaisced (this would indicate that scéo here is unstressed); the r in innaic and the initial of rúamna. There is internal alliteration in lines 1, 2, 3 and 7.

§13

Dóc ard [2]
asa frén lámae luither [3]
co mbi trelam tenn. [2]
Dligid cumaile lethtríán [3]
fria chuinnse cucht [2]
ara dinsem la dith tlachta. [3]

There are two or three stressed words in each line. There is linking alliteration between the lines as follows: the initials of ard and asa; the th of luither and the initial of trelam; the t in tenn and the d in dligid; the r in lethtríán and that in fria; the t in cucht and the initial of dinsem. There is internal alliteration in lines 2, 3, 5 and 6.

From the above it can be seen that each metrical citation is made up of lines containing either two or three stressed words. Most lines are linked by alliteration - often of the looser type referred to above. Line-internal alliteration is also frequent.
The above metrical citations exhibit the following linguistic and syntactic features:


2. Tmesis: "conid iarna dorn toimidther §4. For a second example in out text cf. ni ... mòra §46.


4. Preposed adjective: lâna lethchumala §7, l'éiri lethchumala §8, l'éir lethchumail §11.

5. Independent dative: Sàmaigther sòerbrethaib Cormaic §6, scèo air indligthig. scèo aigthe esdín §10.

6. Conjunction scèo: §§6,7,10 (bis),11 and 12.

Note that each of the metrical citations (with the exception of §5 and §9) contains at least one of the above features.

Contents and structure

The contents of Miadslechtae are arranged into four sections:


§ 1: Begins with a question as to how many titles the divisions of rank possess. This is followed by a list of twenty-six titles referring to the lay members of society.

§2: Begins with a question as to the number legal entitlements of the divisions of rank. A list of nine items is provided.

§3: Begins with a question as to what confers rank. Three characteristics are listed followed by a list of three things which detract from a persons honour.

§4: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the triath - the highest grade of king.

§5: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the ri rig.

§6: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the ri túaithe.

§7: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the aire ard.

§8: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the aire túiseo.

§9: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the aire désa.

§10: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the aire fine.

§11: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the indnae.

§12: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the ìnruth lord.

§13: Contains prose and metrical material relating to the dóe.

§14: Contains a note on the reckoning of honour-prices in sèts as opposed to cumals.
§15: Contains material on the ògflaitheòm.
§16: Contains material on the lethflaitheòm.
§17: Contains material on the flaitheòm òënescræ.
§18: Contains material on the bóaire.
§19: Contains material on the tánaisé bóairech.
§20: Contains material on the ùaithne.
§21: Contains material on the seirthid.
§22: Contains an explanation as to why some persons are without honour-price.
§23: Contains material on the fàs foigeòle.
§24: Contains material on the bògeltach faithche.
§25: Contains material on the aithech baitse.
§26: Contains material on the óinmid.
§27: Contains material on the midlach.
§28: Contains material on the reimm.
§29: Contains material on the riascaire.
§30: Contains material on the sinnach brothlaige.
§31: Contains a list of seven items on the basis of which persons are judged.

§32: Contains a note on the correspondence between the ecclesiastical and the lay grades.
§33: Contains a list of the seven grades of Latin scholars.
§34: Contains material on the rosùi.
§35: Contains material on the ánthuth Latin scholar.
§36: Contains material on the sui.
§37: Contains material on the sruth di aill.
§38: Contains material on the fursaintid.
§39: Contains material on the freisnéidid.
§40: Contains material on the felmac.
§41: Contains a note on the correspondence between the grades of Latin learning and the ecclesiastical grades on the one hand and the grades of poets and secular grades on the other.
SECTION 3: The grades of poets and related material: §§42-55.
§42: Contains a list of the seven grades of poet.
§43: Contains an etymology of the word éces.
§44: Contains an etymology of the word fili and related words.
§45: Contains material on the ollam.
§46: Contains material on the three different types of ollam.
§47: Contains material on the ãnruth poet.
§48: Contains material on the cli.
§49: Contains material on the dos.
§50: Contains material on the macfuirmid.
§51: Contains material on the fochloc.
§52: Contains material on the bard, fer cerdæ and câinte.
§53: Contains a note on praise and satire.
§54: Contains a list of suitable weapons for various persons.
§55: Contains an estimation of a free person in cumals attributed to the poet Morann.

SECTION 4: The grades of the church and related material: §§56-71.
§56: Contains material on the most noble type of bishop.
§57: Contains a note on three types of crime and how they are atoned for.
§58: Contains a note on the honour-price of the virgin bishop.
§59: Contains material on the compensation due to the virgin bishop on foot of various injuries.
§60: Contains material on the reckoning of compensation for the remaining virgin grades.
§61: Contains material on the reckoning of the honour-price of the monogamous bishop.
§62: Contains material on the reckoning of the honour-price of the monogamous priest.
§63: Contains material on the reckoning of compensation for the remaining monogamous grades.
§64: Contains material on the reckoning of the honour-price of the penitent bishop.
§65: Contains material on the reckoning of the honour-price of the penitent priest.
§66: Contains material on the reckoning of the honour-price of the remaining penitent grades.
§67: Contains material on the three types of athláech.
§68: Contains material on the compensation for damage to property due to the virgin grades.

§69: Contains material on the compensation for damage to property due to the monogamous grades.

§70: Contains material on the compensation for damage to property due to the penitent grades.

§71: Contains material on the compensation due for damage to property to the three types of *athlaech*.

The structure of the A MS reflects these divisions of the text. At the beginning of each section space has been left for a large initial capital. In only one case (that of Section 2) has the capital letter been subsequently written in. Each section is separated from the following one by a blank space wide enough to accommodate two lines of writing.

SECTION 1:

This section deals with the grades of kings, lords and commoners. The honour-price and entitlement to refection of each grade is given. The reference in §4 to the *triath* who 'goes through the kingdoms of Ireland from wave to wave' is interesting in that it seems to refer to 'someone of higher standing than a king with dominion in his own province alone', (Breathnach (1986, 193)). Among the grades of lords are the *indnae* (§11), *änruth* (§12) and *döe* (§13) who appear to have a martial function in society. At the top of the hierarchy of commoners are the *öglaiðhèm* (§15), *lethflaithem* (§16) and *flaithem òenescaire* (§17) who derive their status from their possession of hereditary serfs. Another unusual designation is the *úaithne* (§20) who apparently acts on behalf of the less fortunate members of the community. The amount of information provided in the text for each grade is quite limited. This section concludes with a description of eight types of person who have no legal rights.
SECTION 2:
This section deals with the seven grades of Latin scholars. The honour-price of five of these grades is provided, but in the case of two (the ānruith §35 and the sruth di aill §37) this is omitted. The retinue of the top three grades (rosuí §34, ānruith §35 and sui §36)) is also provided. Otherwise these grades are distinguished by function and breadth of learning.

SECTION 3:
This section deals with the seven grades of poets. For the most part the text provides etymologies for the names of the grades of poets. The retinues of the ollam §45, dos §49 and fochloc §51 are provided but no further information on parameters of status. Three sub-grades of poet are then referred to. This section of the text concludes with three seemingly unrelated paragraphs: §53 comments on the propriety of praise and satire and contains a biblical citation; §54 provides a list of ‘weapons’ appropriate to various classes of person; §55, attributed to the legendary poet Morann, contains a list of various parts of the body and organs that attract a fine of one cumal if damaged.

SECTION 4:
This section deals with the manner of reckoning compensation for the various grades of ecclesiastics. The text distinguishes between three sets of grades: the virgin grades §§56-60, the monogamous grades §§61-3 and the penitent grades §§64-6. Compensation for death and serious injury are dealt with first. §59 dealing with the virgin bishop is a paraphrase of Irish Canon IV (cf. Ó Corráin (1984, 164-5) and Kelly (1988, 267)). The monogamous grades are entitled to two thirds of the compensation due to the virgin grades §61. In turn, the penitent grades are entitled to two thirds of the compensation due to the monogamous grades §64. The three types of athláeoch and their appropriate compensation are dealt with in §67. This section concludes with a discussion of the compensation due to the sets of grades previously described for damage to property.

Quotations from other texts in Míadslechtai.
(i) Each of §§4-13 contains a citation from a now lost metrical text on status attributed to Cormac Mac Airt. §4 also contains a second citation referring to Conchobar mac Nessa which may, therefore, be from a different source.
(ii) §36 contains a citation attributed to Cenn Fáelad.

(iii) §46 contains a citation referring to Ailil Mac Mátá.

(iv) §53 contains a citation from Prov. xxvii, 21.

(v) §67 contains a citation from Rom. v, 20.

In addition to the above, as already noted supra, §59 is a paraphrase of Irish Canon IV. (Cf. Bieler (1963, 170-1)).

Quotations from Miadslechtae.

(i) §4: Tairchella tomas = Tairceall .i. timecall, ut est taircell tomas, CIH 1530.16.

(ii) §5: Berae do rig / clothach Coirbre = clothach .i. enech, ut est toimso do rig clothach coirpri, CIH 1559.42. (Also CIH 812.2-3).

(iii) §7: Aire ard ardnemid / conn a thuaithe tesairg = 7 fos aire ard ardnemid con a tuath tesairg, CIH 1291.15-16.

(iv) §9: Aire désa díchli = Aire desa dithle, CIH 1282.34.

(v) §13: fria chuinnse cuch = cucht .i. gne ut est fri cuinmsi, CIH 1560.4 (Also 812.6-7).

(vi) §57: At-taat tri cinaidfo-fich duine .i. cin as lugu oldaas : iccaid dia indili. Cin as churrummae fris : tét fadeisin ind. Cin as mó indaas : a bás la hérica ó chiniud = Berim do breith gac duine ina cion an tan na faghtar eiric, mar adeir an taiselbad dligthe-so sis: attait tri ciona duine .i. cion is lugu fadeisin, ioc dia innile; cion is cutruma fris, tét inn; cion do is mó oldas, a bas ann la heiric in ciona, CIH 1303.7-10. (Also CIH 731.19-20).

Miadslechtae and other status texts.

As a tract dealing with the subject of status, Miadslechtae is closest textually to the other two important status tracts i.e. Uraicecht Becc and Crith Gablach. Like Uraicecht Becc, Miadslechtae seeks to address the subject of status with respect to all classes of person. Thus it covers the secular grades, Latin scholars, the poets and ecclesiastics. As is the case with Uraicecht Becc, the amount of information provided regarding the various grades is quite limited. However, Uraicecht Becc enjoys the benefit of accompanying glosses and commentary, neither of which is found in Miadslechtae. Where the two texts come closest is in their treatment of the poets. The wording of both texts at this point, while not identical, is very close in many cases. Many of these etymological explanations of the poetic titles which occur in both texts have also found their way into
Cormac's Glossary. (On this subject see Russell (1999, 107-9)). As a status text *Crith Gablach* confines itself to the secular grades. It is thus narrower in scope than either *Uraicecht Becc* or *Miadslechtae*. However, our text displays little of the comprehensive and detailed treatment of legal topics such as is found in *Crith Gablach*. Finally, as has already been noted (p. 31 supra) §59 of *Miadslechtae* is a paraphrase of Irish Canon IV.

**Conclusions.**

*Miadslechtae* is an Old Irish law tract which deals with the subject of status. It attempts to provide a comprehensive representation of early Irish society with respect to grades of persons and hierarchies. It contains a variety of material (i.e. prose, verse, biblical citations and an adaptation from a Latin source). While its treatment of many individual grades is not detailed, its importance lies in the amount of unique material that it contains. For example, many of the secular grades referred to are found only in *Miadslechtae*. These include the sections dealing with Latin scholars, the grades of the church and those without legal rights. Along with *Uraicecht Becc* and *Crith Gablach* it is a valuable primary source of information on the variety of social hierarchies which obtained in early Irish society.
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

§1.
Cis lir togarman techtaite miadslechtae? Ni hansae: a sé fichet i.e. triath, ri rig, ri túaith, aire forgill, aire ard, aire tuiseo, aire dèsa, aire fine, indnae, ánruth, döe, ógflaithem, lethflaithem, flaithem öenescreae, bóaire tánaise, bóaire tuiseo, ûaitne, seirthid, fás faigde, aithech baitsce, bögeltach faithche, öinmit, midlach, réimm, riascaire, sinnach brothlaige.

is lir togarmand techtaite miadlechta ni ase .xx.it .i. Triath ri rig tuaithi aire forgill aire ard aire tuise aire desa airi fine da oglaitheb lethlaithem flaithem öenescrea boaire tanuise boaire tuisi huaitne seirthiudh fas faigde aithech baitsbe bogeltach faithche öinmit midhlach reim riascaire sindach brothlaigh.

How many titles do the divisions of rank possess? Not difficult; twenty-six i.e. triath, ri rig, ri túaith, aire forgill, aire ard, aire tuiseo, aire dèsa, aire fine, indnae, ánruth, döe, ógflaithem, lethflaithem, flaithem öenescreae, bóaire tánaise, bóaire tuiseo, ûaitne, seirthid, fás faigde, aithech baitsce, bögeltach faithche, öinmit, midlach, réimm, riascaire, sinnach brothlaige.

§2.
Ceist : 'Cis lir a ndliged,' iarmi-fochtatar ind eolaig, 'isnaib miadlechtaib?' Ni hansae : a noi. Co festar cia méit in-astaiter cach diib iter a líin 7 a n-úaithe, iter a mbiathad 7 a n-esáin, iter a nguin 7 a ndigiuin, iter a sár 7 a sárugud, iter a fáesam 7 a turthugud, iter a n-eneclann 7 a n-enechrucce 7 a n-enechgreiss.

Cisilir nandliged iarmiadhaignecht indeolaid isna miadlechtaib ní anoi cofestar cia meit inastaitheach diib iter alin 7 anuaithe iter a mbiathad 7 anesáin iter anguin 7 anigiuin iter asar 7 asarugud iter afáesam 7 aturthugud iter aneneclann 7 anenechrucce 7 anenechgriss

'What is the number?', the knowledgeable ones inquired, 'of their entitlements in the divisions of rank'. Not difficult; nine. So that one may know with what amount each of them is established with regard to their full retinue and their lesser retinue, both their refection and their being refused hospitality, their being wounded and violation of
their protection, their being insulted and their being dishonoured, their protection and
their sanctuary, their honour-price and the fine for dishonouring them and the fine for
defaming them.

§3.
Cis lir do-berat miad 7 eneclainn do chách ? Ni hansae: a tri: áirilliid 7 inrracus 7
enncae. A tri danó tlintae miad coindfé ar chách i. anfolud 7 docherd 7 anennca.

Cis lir doberad miadh 7 eneclainn do cach ni atri airilliidh 7 inrracus 7 endce Atri do atlen da
miadh contfe arcach i. anfolud 7 docerd 7 anendge

How many things confer honour and honour-price on all? Not difficult; three : wealth
and integrity and innocence. Three things moreover take away fitting honour from all :
bad conduct and base calling(?) and lack of innocence.

§4. Triath .i. ri . amail as-beir :

Triath trom,
tremi-etha Érenn túatha
ó thoinn co toinn.
Tairchella tomus
conid iarna dorn toimidther.

Dligid a sóerbiathad fó lín cen timdbe sechib dú timchella. Dligid cóic cumala dergóir
scéo lieic lógmair dia diguin, dia esán nó dia grisid grúaide.

Cóic cóicid Érenn tremi-etha a mámu uile. Amail ro cét do Choncobur :

Ardmac rig,
romac Nessa,
enaisc iathu
Fer Féne.

Triath .i. rig amail isbeir triath trom tremetha erind tuath othuind co tuind taircella tomus
conidiarnadum toimidther dligid aserbiathad folin cintimbe sechibdu timcella dligid .u. cumala
dergoir sceig logmoir diadiguin dia esain l dia grisid gruad Cóic cóicid erenu tremetha amamu
uile amail ro chet do concobur ardmac righ romac nesa nenaisc iathu fer fene
A triath i.e. a king. As it says:

A mighty triath,
goes through the kingdoms of Ireland from wave to wave.
He fixes a measurement so that one measures according to his fist.

He is entitled to his noble refection according to (the size of) his full retinue without curtailment in whatever place he visits on his circuit. He is entitled to five cumal’s of red gold and a precious stone for the violation of his protection, for his being refused hospitality or for blistering of his cheeks. The five provinces of Ireland, he goes through all of their submissions. As has been sung concerning Conchobur:

The noble son of a king,
The great son of Ness.
He has bound over
The lands of the Féni.

§5. Ri rig .i. ri ad-giallat secht rig tuiath. Cumal cach rig do dia aír, dia esáin, dia etlu, dia chummsac dála nó chúirmthige nó óenaig. Dligid a sóerbiathad fó lín cen timdibe. Dá secht cumal a e beclann dia sá rugud, dia esáin, dia ainmed, dia diguin, amail as-beir Cormac:

Berae do rig
clothach Coirpri
lóg cimbeda
do chuimlaib câinib
co a secht saíges Aithirne
i cenn cucha cuinnsen.

Comdiles dia diguin nó dia sá rugud nó gruaide gris.

Ri ri .i. ri adgiallat .uui. righ tuath cumal cach righ do dia aír dia esáin diatlu adala l achuirntighe l a oenudh Dligid as sóerbiathad folin cintimdeibhe Da .uui. cumal dias rugud diaesain diaainmed amail isbeir cormuc Bera do rig clothach coirbre logh câimda do cumaláib câinibh co a .uui. saighes aithirne icend cachacuindhsen comdilus dia diguin l dia sá rugud l gruaide gris.
A king of kings i.e. a king to whom seven kings of a *túath* submit. A *cumal* per king for him for his being satirized, for refusing him hospitality, for evading him, for causing an affray at his assembly or at an ale-house or at a fair. He is entitled to his noble refection according to (the size) of his retinue without curtailment. Twice seven *cumals* is his honour-price for his being dishonoured, for refusing him hospitality, for blemishing him, for violating his protection, as Cormac says:

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Adjudge oh Coirbre, for a famous king,
the value of a captive in(?) fair *cumals*.
up to the seven which Aithirne seeks,
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(The fine is ?) equally forfeit for violating his protection, or for dishonouring him or for warming of cheeks.

§6. Ri túaithe .i. ri ad-giallat secht túatha. Ar-gellat .i. iter (?) 7 nadmanna. Sé céit a lin. Dligid a sóerbiathad. Secht cumala cacha lám è dia ainmed, dia sá rugud, amail as-beir Cormac :

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Ri túaithe
toimsi co a secht.
Dligid dia sá rugud
scéo gruaide gris
cumail n-indraic co a secht.
Sámaigther sóerbrethaib Cormaic.
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A king of a *túath* i.e. a king to whom seven *túaths* submit. (?) both (?) and sureties. Six hundred (is the size) of his retinue. He is entitled to his noble refection. Seven *cumals* from each hand (which has a part in) blemishing him, for dishonouring him, as Cormac says:

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A king of a *túath*: he is to be assessed up to seven.
for dishonouring him and warming of cheeks
he is entitled to a fitting *cumal* up to seven
let it be fixed by the noble judgements of Cormac.

§7. *Aire ard.* i.e. forgill : fer tairchella túatha comsáera fris i cáin 7 cáirdiu, 7 ni hé arda-
aisn congiallaí ná dilgud flatha 7 atn-guidet-som na túatha 7 is ri arda-naíse. Dligid
a sóerbiathad co ricci tríchait oc lesugud túaithe. Dligid secht lethchumala indraici dia
diguin, dia sárugud, amail as-bert Cormac:

Aire ard arđneimed,
conn a thúaithe tesairg.
Dligid dia sárugud
scéo aigthe esáin
secht lána lethchumala
ar cach n-airchonn co ricci triär.

An *aire ard* i.e. of superior testimony. A man who restrains *túaths* equally noble to his
in the matter of written law and treaty; and it is not he who binds them with regard to
joint service or the entitlement of the lord; and the *túaths* invoke him as surety and it
is the king who binds them. He is entitled to his noble refection to the extent of thirty
when acting for the benefit of the *túath*. He is entitled to seven standard half *cumals*
for the violation of his protection, for his being outraged, as Cormac said:

*An aire ard,* a high-ranking noble,
he protects the head of his *túath,*
for his being outraged and the driving away of face
he is entitled to seven complete half *cumals*
from every responsible person, up to three.
§8. Aire tuiseo: do-fet fini comchenël dó co rig 7 arros-labrathar. Dligid sóerbiathad fichet in tan bis oc lesugud túaithe. Teora lethchumala ina esáin 7 ina sárugud, ut dixit Cormac:

Cain-berae do cach airig thuiseo
dia sárugud dia esáin
teora léiri lethchumala
la diabul fuiririd cen airbernad.

Aire tuisi do-fet fine concenel do co rig 7 aroslabra Dligid saorbiathad xx. intan bis aclesugud túaithe teora lethcumala ina asain 7 inasarugud ut dr cormac Cainbera do cach airigh tuisi di-asarugud dia esain teora leire lethcumala la diabul fuiririd cinairbernad

An aire tuiseo: he leads a kindred of his peers to a king and he can speak on its behalf. He is entitled to the noble refection of twenty when he is acting for the benefit of the tuath. Three half cumals for refusing him hospitality and for outraging him, as Cormac said:

Fairly should you adjudge for every aire tuiseo
for his being outraged, for his being refused hospitality
three exact half cumals
along with doubling of refection, without diminution.

§9. Aire désa: fer con-oí déis n-athar 7 senathar amail ad-cota riam 7 dotairch(?). Dligid sóerbiathad dechenbuir dó i tuaith. Dligid cumail cach oín co mòrifeser dia sárugud nó dia esáin. Ut dixit Cormac:

Aire désa dichle,
dia diguin, dia sárugud
dligid slànnchumail
cach oín co mòrifeser
la diablad fuiririd do thoirthib.

Aire desa .i. fer conae deiis nathar 7 atsenathar amail atcota riam 7 dotairch dligid saerbiathad x.nebuir do atuaith dligid cumail cach ain comor.ut.ur diasarugud l dia easain Aire desa dichli diadiguin diasarugud dligid slan cumail cach ain comor.ui.eur ladiaablaid fuiririd do tartiabh
An aire désa i.e. a man who preserves the vassalry of father and grandfather as he finds it before him and [?]. He is entitled to the noble refection of ten while in the tíath. He is entitled to a cumal from each one of up to seven persons for his being outraged or for his being refused hospitality. As Cormac said:

(For) neglecting an aire désa
by violating his protection, by outraging him:
He is entitled to a full cumal from each one of up to seven persons
With doubling of refection made up of produce.

§10. Aire fine i.e. fer do-fet fini dia mberat a séutu do fláith. Dligid sóerbiathad seissir i tíath. Dligid cumail cacha lámae co cethrar dia sárugud nó dia esáin, ut dixit Cormac:

Aire fine,
finnathar a théchtæ.
dia sárugud dia tromgressaib
scéo air indlíthig
scéo aigthe esáin
dligid cumail
cacha lámae co cethrar.

Aire fine findathar. i.e. fer doet fine diambiar da seta cofláith dligid sóerbiathad .ui.ir atuaith dligid cumail cachaláime co cethrar diasarugud 1 dia esain ut dr cormacc Aire fine findathar atechta diasarugud diatromgresaib sceo air indlíthig sceo aigthe asain dligid cumail cachaláime co cethrar

An aire fine i.e. a man who leads a fine when they bring their séts to a lord. He is entitled to the noble refection of six (when) in the tíath. He is entitled to a cumal from each one up to four persons for his being outraged (or) for his being refused hospitality, as Cormac said:

An aire fine, let his propriety be discovered.
For outraging him, for heavy attacks on his honour,
with illegal satire and with driving away of face
he is entitled to a cumal from every actively involved party up to four persons.
§11. An indnae i.e. a man who has a group of followers made up of youths born to him and of kinsmen, so that it numbers thirty warriors. He is entitled to the noble refection of five persons (when) amongst his fine. He is entitled to half a cumal (from) up to three persons for his being dishonoured, for his being refused hospitality. As Cormac said:

A proud, splendid indnae,
declare O Coirpre Lifechair:
What is he entitled to for his being outraged
and unjust driving away of face?
He is entitled to an exact half cumal
(from) up to three men
Food with doubling of refection

§12. Anruth i.e. fer imme-dich a mennut 7 a chrich. Guin duini dó i cach tréimsi
do chthrib ráthib na bliadnai. Ní bi bes úaitiu fichit fri crích anechtair. Sóerbiathad
cethrair dó cach leth ina thúaith. Dligid tríun cumaile dia sárugud 7 dia esáin 7 dligid
gaisced n-inraicc inna eneclainn. Ut dixit:
Ánruith án,
imn-dích a chrích cetharaird
cò n-airgaile Úaid,
cò ndlig dia esáin
archumaile cèrt-triàin
scèo gaisced n-innraic
frì rùamha rus.

Ansruth .i. fer imdith amennut 7 acrich guin duine do incachtreimsi do ceitribh raithuib na bliadhna. Nibi besuaitiu .xx. frìrìch anechtaír sàr-bhiadhad cèthrais do cachaletche 1 gaca cleithe inatuaith Dligid triancumail diasarugud 7 dia easain 7 Dligid gaisced inraic inaeneclaimn.
Ansruth an imdich acrich cetharaird conairgaile uadh condlig diaesain ardceumaille cèirt-triàin sceo gaisged ninraic frì rùamha rus

An ánruith i.e. a man who protects his abode and his territory. He kills a man in every quarter of the four quarters of the year. He is not wont to be outside his territory with less than twenty people (with him). The noble refection of four persons for him everywhere (he goes) in his tuath. He is entitled to a third of a cumal for his being outraged and for his being refused hospitality and he is entitled to a suitable set of weapons by way of his honour-price.

A splendid ánruith
He defends his territory in four directions
With skill of battle
So that he is entitled to an exact third of a noble cumal
For his being refused hospitality
And a fitting set of weapons for reddening of faces.

§13.
Dòe .i. fer imbertae fir ar alaile connach tairthet a chomlann. Do-fich a gressa cen adall fine occa. Dligid a sór-bhiadhad 7 a amus 6 cach cèithiu 7 lethtriàn cumaile dia esáin nó dia sàrugud 7 gaisced nó timthach. Ut dixit Cormac :

Dòe ard
asa frèn lámae luither

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co mbi trelam tenn.

Dligid cumaile lethtrían
fria chuinnse cucht
ara dinsem la dith tlachta.

Dae.i. fer imerta fir aralaire connach tartet achomlonn dofich agressa cen adhall fine aco dligid asærbiathad 7 aamus ocachleithe 7 lethtrian cumaile dia esain l diasarugud 7 gaisced l timthach ut dr cormac Dae ard asafrein laime luiter combi trelam tenn dligid cumaile lethtrian fra cuinnse cucht aradinsem ladith tlachta.

A dóe, i.e a man who carries out an ordeal on behalf of another so that his opponent does not overtake him. He avenge attacks on his honour without going to the kin thereat. He is entitled to his noble refection along with his servant from every client and (to) one sixth of a cumal for his being refused hospitality or for his being outraged along with a set of weapons or a garment. As Cormac said:

Noble dóe
whose root of arm is set in motion
so that it becomes a strong weapon
he is entitled to one sixth of a cumal
on account of the appearance of his face
for insulting him, along with forfeiture of a garment.

§14.
Óthá sin trá ni i cumalaib a ndire acht i sétaib bóchethrae nó bóslabrae.

Otha sein tra ni cumalaib andire acht a .s.uib bocethruib l boslabhra

From here on, their honour-price is not (reckoned) in cumals but in sêts of stock or cattle.

§15.
Ógflaithem .i. fer tri senchleithe cona comorbaib têchtaib. Dligid sóerbiathad deichen-buir. Dligid deich sêotu bêodile dia sârugud nó dia esáin.

Ogflaithem .i. fer tri seinchelethe cona comorbaib techta Dligid sóerbiathad x.nebur dligid x.s.u beodile dia sarugud nodiaesain.
An *ögflaithem*, that is, a man of three (generations of) hereditary serfs with their proper heirs. He is entitled to noble refection as one of a company of ten. He is entitled to ten livestock *sêts* for his being dishonoured or for his being refused hospitality.

§16.

*Lethflaithem*. i. fer dá chléithe cona comarbaib téchtaib. Dilgid sóerbiathad ochtair 7 cóic séotu dia sárogud 7 dia esán

*Lethflaithem*. i. fer da cleithe conacomorbuib techtaib Dilgid særbiathad ochtair 7 .u.s. dia sarugud 7 esain

A *lethflaithem*, that is, a man of two hereditary serfs with their proper heirs. He is entitled to the noble refection of eight and five *sêts* for his being dishonoured and refused hospitality.

§17.

*Flaithem oenescrai* .i. fer óenchléithi cona már 7 a chomarbaib téchtaib. Dilgid sóerbiathad cóirc 7 cethri séotu bóslabrae dia esáin 7 dia sárogud.

*Flaithem oenes* .i. fer aenchléithe conamur 7 a comorbaib téchta. Dilgid særbiathad cóirc 7 iii.s. baislabra dia esan 7 diasarugud.

A lord of a single vessel, that is, a man of a single heridatary serf with his wall and his proper heirs. He is entitled to noble refection of five and four livestock *sêts* for being refused hospitality and being dishonoured.

§18.

*Bóaire*. i. fer selbae bunuid cona inud de thir. Deich mbai lais 7 ni goin duine acht i ló chatha; ni toing luige acht fo óen i mbliadnai. Dilgid sóerbiathad cethraithe i túaith 7 trí séotu bóslabrae dia sárogud 7 a esán.

*Bóaire*. i. fer selba bunuid conainud no indiud dotir .x. mba lais 7 ni goin duine acht a lo catha níthe inhuighe acht fo òen ambliadnaí Dilgid særbiathad .iii. atuaith 7 tri.s. baislabra dia sarugud 7 aesain.

A *bóaire* i.e. a man with possessions of stock and his (proper) extent of land. He has ten cows. He does not kill a person except on a day of battle. He does not swear an
oath except once a year. He is entitled to the noble refection of four in the tuath and three séirs of cattle stock for being dishonoured and refused hospitality.

§19.
Tánaise bóairech: ocht mbair lais i forus cona inud de thír. Dligid sóerbiathad triir i tuaithe dha sét bóslabrae inna dire.
Tanuisi mboaire ocht mbair lais a forus conainriud dotir dligid saerbiathad tri iuaithe 7 da s. boslabra inadire

A bóaire of second rank: he has eight cows in a cattle pound with his proper portion of land. He is entitled to the noble refection of three persons (when?) in the tuath and two séirs of cattle-stock as his honour-price.

§20.

Huaitne fonluing 7 frisellaghgar in fer. i. friseillget troigh 7 aidheilgen fer foloing eenchgressa cin imluad fine. Dligid saerbiathad deisí 7 boin lethgabala(?) u.s. diasasarugud diaesain

An uaithne: he endures and claims are made against him. The man wretches and poor people make claims against. A man who endures attacks on his honour without involving (?) the fine. He is entitled to the noble refection for two and a cow of second rank (?). Five séirs (are due) for dishonouring him, for refusing him hospitality.

§21.
Seirthid i. óclach de dagcenél nó fer forais nó mac tuisigh. i. do-nessa do séir thúsig oc tuidecht i ndáil nó i ndúnad nó úair robo toisech a athair nó dag a chenél nó ara gaisced. Dligid a sóerbiathad i uaithe 7 a ben 7 samseisc focail 7 colpthaig inna eneclainn dia air, dia ainmed.

Seirthiud i. óclach do daghcenel fer forais i mac tuisigh i. donesa do seir thuisigh octaidhecht andail i anduad i uair robotaisech aathair i dagh achiel i araghais dligid aserbiathad iuaithe 7 aben 7 samseisc focail 7 colpthaig inaeneclainn diaair diaainmedh
A seirthid i.e. a young man from a noble kindred, or a man of the household, or a son of a toisech i.e. he walks beside the heel of a toisech when coming into an assembly or an encampment; or because his father was a toisech, or good (is) his kindred, or on account of his set of weapons. Himself and his wife are entitled to noble reflection in the tuaith and a three-year-old proper dry heifer and a two-year-old heifer are his compensation for his being satirized (or) for being blemished.

§ 22.

Na noi ngráda déidencha-so, ní techtait diliged dia mbreith i nairechus ná dámrad ná dire sainrethach mani n-asta selb ná gáes ná sochraite. Ní coimthet dire dithecht ná dithír ná dochrait ná ansoltach, úair natar ínraici nadmae ná ráithe ná aítire ná noilla ná fiadnaisi.

Nanai ngrada deidinachso nitechtait diliged diambreith an airechus nadamradh nadire sainruthach mananasta sealf nages nasochraite Nicemthet dire dithecht na dithír nadochrait na hanfolta uair nata tindraice nahdha naraíthe nahiitire nanaill nafiadnaise

These last nine grades, they possess neither the right to be brought into nobility, nor retinue nor particular honour-price, unless possessions or wisdom or followers establish it. Honour-price does not accompany one who lacks possessions nor one who is without land nor a friendless one nor one guilty of bad behaviour, for they are not fitting (to act as) enforcing surety or paying surety or hostage surety or (to make) oaths or (to give) evidence.

§ 23.

Fás faigde i.e. fer ro chrecca a déis 7 a férann 7 a selb 7 ná dtecht fo thúaith co Lléir na cléithe co frescai cuile cáích; 7 ní tá díleis dod-cois fria galar nó frepaid; 7 is fás danó cia fo-gé mani gata nó mani crecca a eanach airi amal choín. Is fás dó danó a faithche fria galar 7 a frepaid maní taibreach neac ni dó ar Dia. Is fás danó a saire 7 a díre 7 a eanclann.

Fas faigdhe i.e. fer rocreca adeis 7 aferann 7 aselb 7 natechta fotuaith coleir nacleithe 7 cofreisce cuile caith 7 nitatdiles dodcois fria galar l frepaid 7 isfás do ciafoighe managata l mana chreca a eanach airi amol coin IS fás do dó afaithche fria galar 7 arepaidh manatabra neac ni do ardia. IS fás d'o asaire 7 adire 7 aeneclann

‘Futility of begging’ i.e. a man who has sold his vassalry and his land and his property and who does not possess any client in all of the tuaith so that he has hopes with regard
to everyone’s larder and he does not have possessions which might support him when he is ill or recovering and it is futile moreover even though he beg unless he steal or unless he sell his honour like a dog. His infield is barren for him when he is ill and when he is recovering unless someone gives him something for the sake of God. Futile moreover is his free status and his compensation and his honour-price.

§24.
Bógeltach faithche .i. fer méite coimse ná d tét tar crich nach do airlisi rig acht biid inna mennut fadeisin. Ar-imgaib comlonn önñfir ó ro bí cona gaisciud fair, conid dam cain cén ñedain don-ingarar. Bógeltach .i. fer fo-gelt a bú i faithchi ar chách amá dessetar coin alltai impu. Conid si a main in sin. Ni dlig díre ná soiri ar is gníom meice nó mná do-gni.

Bógeltach faithche .i. fer meite coimse ná díte tar crich nach do airlísigh rig acht bidh inamendad fadeisin ar-imgaib comlonn an fir orobí conagaisciud fair conadaim cain cinfedhain don-ingarar Bógeltach .i. fer fo-gelt abu a faithutch arcach nachdeis etar coin allta ime conadhí main insein Nídlig díre nasaire arisgníom meic l mna dogni

A ‘cow-grazer of the infield’ i.e. a man of suitable size who does not go across the border or to the enclosure of a king, rather, he remains in his own territory. He avoids single combat (even) when he has his weapons with him, so that it is a “docile ox without a halter” that he is called. A bógeltach i.e a man who grazed his cattle in an infield in front of everyone so that wolves might not sit down amongst them. So that is what his wealth consists of. He is not entitled to compensation or independent legal status since it is the work of a boy or a woman that he does.

§25.
Aithech baitse .i. fer nád sáera dán ná trebad. Ni fuilech re dáim in fer-sín inná fil gnímu laich lais. Ni tét i ráith ná i n-aítri fri flaith ná eclais ar is gae gréine do-gairther.

Aithech baitse fer nasaera dan natrebad nifuil-(?) redaim insersin inafailgníom laich lais níteit aráith nainaitire frí flaith na eclais aris gae gréine dogairter

A ‘rent-payer of baptism’ i.e. a man whom neither craft nor husbandry ennobles. This man who does not have the functions of a warrior, he is not valiant in front of a retinue. He does not act as paying surety nor hostage-surety with respect to lord or Church, for he is called a sunbeam.
§26.
Öinmid i.e. fer mitter im drochmnai 7 önna co ndéntar mer 7 fonachtaide i.e. fosceinnid.
Ni dligh dire in fer-sin.
Öinmit fer mitir im drochmnai 7 ona condentar mer 7 fonachtaid i.e. fosgenigh ni dlighh dire
infinn i.e. a man who is adjudged (?) with regard to a bad woman (?) and foolish: so that he becomes demented and ... i.e. one who leaps. That man is not entitled to compensation.

§27.
Midlach i.e. mi lì áig i.e. midellach i.e. fer nád ragab seilbh ná orba, nád treba, nád trebhair
dó. Nó midlach i.e. medón-ellach in sin, arindi as mellach ó deilbh 7 chenul conid
damnach cimbetha in sin tar cenn túaithe.

Midlach i.e. mí liaig i.e. midhellach i.e. fer naragáib seilbh nahorba natrebad natreith da doim
lach i.e. medhonellach insin ariawni is mellach odeilbh 7 ciniul conadamn cimedhá insin tar cend

A coward i.e. bad colour in battle i.e. mid-possessions (?)i.e a man who has not taken possession of property or inheritance, who does not plough and for whom ploughing is not done. Or a coward i.e. he is (a man of) middle-possessions(?), for the reason that he is pleasing with regard to appearance and kindred. So that he is one fit to be a hostage on behalf of a túaith.

§28.
Reimm danó i.e. fuirseoir nó druth. Nach fer do-beir remmad fò chorp 7 a eneh. Ni
dligh dire úair téit asa richt ar bélba sluagh 7 sochaide.

Reimm dano i.e. fuirseoir i druth nachfer dobeir remmad fò corp 7 a eneh nidligh dire uair teit
asarich arbeluib sluagh 7 sochaide

A reimm moreover i.e. a buffoon or a jester. Any man who contorts(?) his body and face. He is not entitled to an honour-price for he distorts himself in front of hosts and crowds.
§29.
Riascaire .i. loingsech in sin ara-imgaib a chenél 7 a ûine. Coillid cáin 7 rechtgi 7 biid ó riasc do riasc nó ó shléib do shléib. Nó riascaire .i. rathbuige doir do flaith 7 eclus. Ní dlig dire.

Riascaire .i. loingsech insin arimgaib achenel 7 a ûine colith cain 7 rechtge 7 bidh oriase doriase l osleib l riascaire .i. rathmaighe dær doflaith 7 eclus midliginn dire

A marsh-dweller i.e. he is an exile whom his people and kin avoid. He transgresses law and ordinance and he is wont to go (lit. ‘be’) from marsh to marsh or from mountain to mountain. Alternatively a marsh-dweller i.e. a ráith-builder who is unfree with regard to lord and Church. He is not entitled to compensation.

§30.
Sinnach brothlaige .i. bruair cach biid dó iter diles 7 indles. Nó cummae lais ciped bruás nó do-mela.

Sindach brothlaighe .i. bruair cachbidh do iter dilis l cuma lais cidhbedh bruidhes l domeala

A ‘fox of the cooking-pit’ i.e. he receives the crumbs of every (type of) food, both proper and improper; or he does not care whatever it might be that he crunches or consumes.

§31.
A secht asa midetar doini: cruth 7 cenél, tir 7 trebad, dán 7 indbas 7 indracus.

Sieaacht asamidithar duine cruth 7 cenel tir 7 trebad dan 7 indbus 7 inacracus.

(There are) seven things on the basis of which persons are appraised: appearance and kindred, land and husbandry, skill and wealth and worthiness.

§32.
Miadíslechtai ecnai tra, it écsamalai fri miadíslechtu túaithe. Ar is cumail for-beir eineclann grád n-ecalso ó adandaíd co salmchélaid. Is séitaib immurgu for-berat Féni 7 filid óthá isel co úasal. Immus-frecrat immurgu i fortach 7 i ndithech : episcop 7 ri bunaíd cach cinn 7 ollam filed, sacart 7 sui danó, 7 fer midboth 7 fochloc.
The divisions of rank of Latin scholarship moreover, they are different from the divi­sions of rank of the tuath. For it is by a cumal that the honour-price of the grades of the Church increases from candle-lighter to psalm-singer. It is in sēts, however, that the Fēni and the poets increase (with respect to honour-price) from low to high. They correspond to one another, moreover, in the matter of overswearing and denial by oath (as follows): a bishop and a king of every individual and a chief poet, a priest and a sage moreover, a fer midbóth and a fochloc.

§33.
Secht ngrád ecnai danó do-coissin i.e. rosúi 7 sui, ánruth 7 sruth di aill 7 fursaintid 7 freisnéidid 7 felmac.
Secht ngraidh ecna dano docusin i.e. rosai 7 saidh anruth 7 sruth doaill 7 fursaintid 7 freisnéidhit 7 felmac

There are seven grades of Latin scholarship, moreover i.e. rosúi and sui, ánruth and sruth di aill and fursaintid and freisnéidid and felmac.

§34.
Rosúi danó tri anmann techtas i.e. rosúi 7 ollam 7 sui litre la flaith. Ollam ina suidiu i tig midchúarta, ar is é bis i tig fri righ insin. Rosúi danó, ni airchoimti ni i i cethéoraib rannaib suithi. Ocht scrípul for deich n-uingib for deich cumalaib a dire. Cethrar ar fichit a dám. Sechtmad érca a bás ina thoichned. Sui litre : atá treidhe conutaib lais, conid comdire fri ri ruirech : bith dó i n-ucht 7 i lár a descipul oc foglaimm ad. Is é fer inso dona timdibener a dire cit saerbratha fò bith as n-eola ina pennait 7 inna dligiud. Rosai dano tri hanmanna techtas i.e. rosai 7 ollam 7 sai litre la fáith Ollam inasuiughe atig midchúarta arise bis atig fri righ insin Rosai dano niurcoimind ni i acethéora randaib saiithe ocht scrípul for x.ningib for x.cumalaib a dire. lll.ar isi ar xx.it adamh .uii.mad circe abais ina to­ichnedh Sai litre ata treidhe conutaib lais conidh comdire fri ri ruirech bith do inucht 7 i lár adescelc afoglaíam uadh lSe fer inso donatimdibhener a dhire cid saerbratha fòbith asneola inapennait 7 inadligiud
A *rosui*, (there are) three titles which he possesses: *rosui* and *ollam* and *sui litre la flaiith*. An *ollam* sitting in the banqueting-house: for it is he who is wont to be together in a house with a king. A *rosui*, moreover, he does not plead ignorance with regard to (any of) the four divisions of learning. His honour-price (consists of) eight scruples along with ten ounces and ten *cumals*. His retinue (consists of) twenty-four persons. (The penalty) for withholding food from him (is) one seventh of the body-fine for his death. A *sui litre*, there are three things which ... by him so that he has equal honour-price with a *ri ruirech*: his being in the bosom and in the midst of his pupils (and they) learning from him. This is the man whose honour-price is not diminished even though they be (his own) fair judgements (?), for he is knowledgeable regarding his penance-payment and his legal due.

§35.
Anruth dánó ar chethardae as-berar .i. ar áini a forceitail, ar ilar a chéitfaide, ar šulbairi a insce, ar méit a eolais. Ar ar-ecar i cach rainn iter filedacht 7 léigenn 7 coimgne acht nád roig co cléithe namné. Dá fer deac a dám.
Anruth dano arcetharda asberar .i. araine aforcetail arilar acetfadha arsunbhuire ainirse armet aeolais ar arecar incachrainn iter filidhecht 7 leighinn 7 coimgne acht naroigh cocleithe nama dafer .x. adadh

An *áníruth* moreover, he is so called on account of four things i.e. on account of the splendour of his teaching, on account of the abundance of his opinions, on account of the eloquence of his speech, on account of the extent of his knowledge. For he is found in every division (of learning) including poetry and Latin learning and history, except that he does not achieve perfection. His retinue (consists of) twelve men.

§36.
Sui .i. fer for-chain cethramad rainn suithi sechib i dib, ut Cenn Fáelad: Sui cáem canóine conid iar maisi án maith. Ochtar a lin. Secht cumala a adire.
Sai .i. fer forcaidn cethramadh raind suithi saecibi dib .ut cenn fáeladh Sai cáem canoine conidhiarmaisi an maith ochtar alin .u: cumala adire.

A *sui litre* i.e. a man who teaches one of the four divisions of learning, whatever one of them it may be, as Cenn Fáelad (said): A fair sage of canon law, so that it is good, wonderful ... His retinue (consists of) eight persons. His honour-price (is) seven *cumals*.
§37.

Sruth di aill, is é a bés sidi: báidid cach mbec n-étromm n-énirt, do-foxla ailechea, conoisce gné trága la tess sín. Imm-tá samlaíd in fer samaltar fris: báidid drochléignidi, forta-brissi co n-aichib teistemne 7 cétaide 7 is tualaing a forctetal con-oiscea gné n-aisndisen co ndílgud immun áes mbecléiginn indligthech tráigte i frecnarcus ánrotha.

Sruth do aill ise abessaidhe baidhidh cach mbec netruim nainirt dofoxla aileche conoisce gne tragha lates sín IMtha samlaid infer samaltn er fris baidhidh drochleighnudha fortabhraidsi conailchib testemne 7 cedfaidh 7 istuvalaing a forctetal conoisce gne naisneisin condílgudh imaíres mbecléighind indligthech tráigite ifrencnarcus anrotha

A sruth di aill, this is its custom: it drowns every small, weak insubstantial thing, it carries away rocks, it changes the appearance of the strand with the ardour of a storm. Thus likewise is the man who is likened to it: he overwhelms poor scholars, he crushes them with foundations (based on ) scriptural quotations and interpretations and his teaching is capable of altering the form of discourse with remission regarding the irrational ones of little learning who wilt in the presence of an áintruth.

§38.

Fursaintid dánó fortuisim(?) a aíte i céill olloman. Teora lethchumala a díre 7 cétaide cen airhointed úad-som ar idñai a mésraigthe 7 ar ánai a intliuchta.

Fursainid dánó fortuisim aaitte iceill olloman teora lethcumala adire 7 cedfaid cach nurcoimdedh uadhosom aridhna amesraigthe 7 aráine aindliuchta

A fursaintid moreover, ... his teacher ....Three half cumals (is) his honour-price and an opinion without excuse from him on account of the purity of his judgement and the splendour of his mind.

§39.

Freisnéidid .i. fris-comaire dia aitiu i céill a olloman. Cumal a díre 7 cétaide cen airhointed úad-som do neoch bes ansam dó.

Freisneidhid .i. friscomarc diaaite iceill aolloman cumal adire 7 .c.f. cachnurcoimdedh uadhasom doneoch besandsom do

A freisnéidid i.e he questions his teacher ... His honour-price is one cumal and an opinion without excuse from him with regard to whatever he finds most difficult.
§40.
Felmac i.e. fuil-mac: mac iar léigenn a šalm. Lethchumal a dire.

Fealmac i.e. fuil mac mac iarleighid asalm lethcumal adhire

A felmac i.e. a blood-son: a youth having learnt his psalms. His honour-price (is) half a cumal.

§41.
Conid inunn immus-freccrat gráda ecnai 7 ecalsa fri gráda filed 7 Fène. Acht is ecnae máthair cach dáno dib conid asa bais uili ebait.

conidinand imusfreccrat gradha ecna 7 eclasa frigradha file 7 féne acht isechna mathair cacha dana dib conidasabais uile hebhait

So that the grades of Latin learning and the ecclesiastical grades correspond to each other in the same way as the grades of poets and freemen. However ecclesiastical learning is the mother of each of these professions since it is out of her palm that each of them drink.

§42.
Secht ngrad filed danó .i. éces, án ruth, cli, cano, dos, macfuirmid, fochloc.

echtngraid file dano .i. éces ansruth cli cana dos macfuirmidh fochloce.

(There are) seven grades of poets moreover, that is, éces, án ruth, cli, cano, dos, macfuirmid, fochloc.

§43.
Éces .i. écmacht ces .i. dona bí ces na ainces do astud fair no ni fil ni bes ches dó inna dán, conid ed a ainm ; nemches no écmacht ces.

éces .i. ecsmacht ces .i. donabi ces nahainces do fastodh fair l nifuil ni bus ces do inadan conadh edh aainm nemces l ecsmachtces

An éces i.e. “debility (is) impossible” i.e. (a person) on whom no debility or difficulty is established, or there is nothing that he is not able for in his craft, so that this is his name: “non-debility” or “debility is impossible”.

52
Fili i.e. a noble sage i.e. a sage of poetic learning. For the word fel according to the poet is poetic knowledge (séis) or instruction (forcetal) in the ordinary speech. So that it is from it (i.e. the word fel) that (the words) “pupil” (felmac) and “philosopher” (felsah) and “poet” (fili) and “poetry” (filedacht) originate. Alternatively, a fili i.e. venom (fi) and beauty (li) i.e. the venom of his being feared on him and the beauty of his craft.

Ollam i.e. greatly he protects, that is, he teaches the four divisions of poetic knowledge and because it is a greater (number) which he is wont to protect than (is the case for) the other grades. Alternatively, an ollam, that is, great (is) the size of his retinue: twenty-four.

Ollam éicsi danó : for-cain cethéora ranna filedachtæ cen ainfis n-indib, nád forcanarsom immurgu ó neuch. Cethrar ar fichtit a dám.

Ni hollamain n-ard cóiced n-Ailella maic Máta mòra.

Ollam éicsi danó : for-cain cethéora ranna filedachtæ cen ainfis n-indib, nád forcanarsom immurgu ó neuch. Cethrar ar fichtit a dám.


Ni hollamain n-ard cóiced n-Ailella maic Máta mòra.

Ollam éicsi danó : for-cain cethéora ranna filedachtæ cen ainfis n-indib, nád forcanarsom immurgu ó neuch. Cethrar ar fichtit a dám.

Aratait tri hollamain and i. ollam gaisi sai cach éolais imma fuiglither friscomarcar ní frecmairc ni berar ainces uadh imbrethaib aithre 7 senaithre l Ollam .i. uille inlin bis foradinsom oldati
For there exist three (types) of ollam, that is, an ollam of wisdom: a sage of all knowledge on which judgment is sought. He is questioned, he does not ask questions. He is not found to be perplexed with regard to the judgments of fathers and grandfathers. A high ollam, moreover, he binds, he is not bound. Of what kind is he? Not difficult: like the king of Connacht is, as it is said:

The province of Ailill Mac Mátá does not magnify the high ollam.

An ollam of poetic learning, moreover: he teaches (the) four divisions of poetry without ignorance regarding them, and he is taught, moreover, by no one. Twenty-four persons (is the size of) his retinue.

§47.

Ánruth i. ard: naiscidh aní nascar fair, amail rond-gab ri Érann. Ánruth i. sruth cain molta úadh 7 sruth indbais dó.

Anruth i. ard naiscidh aní nascar fair amail togab righ erann [Ollam eicsi dano forcan cethora ranha filidhecht cinainfis ninntiuadh] Ánruth i. sruth cain molta uadh 7 sruth indbais do.

An ánruth, that is, (he is) noble: he binds that which is bound on him, as is (the case for) the king of the Érainn. (A second type of) ánruth, that is, a fair stream of praise (emanates) from him and a stream of wealth (flows) to him.

§48.

Cli i. is é a bés in cleithi: is tren 7 is diriuch 7 con-gaib 7 con-gaibther, di-eim 7 dimar. Ad-cumaing ó chlíithiu co lár. Is samlaid a ngrád n-i-siú i tegdaí na filedachtai. i. is tren a cherd is diriuch a mes i cúairt a dáno. Con-gaib a féib. Di-eim bes isliu do neoch(?), ad-cumaing a dán ó ánruith co fochloc.

Cli i. ise a bés na cleithre is tren 7 is direch 7 congaib 7 congaibther dieim 7 diemar adcumuing ocleithiu colar IS amalaid ingráid isi ataghais nafileidhechtai. i. istren acer 7 isdirech ames acuairt adana congaibh afeibh diem besisle doneocht adcumuing adan oanruith cofochloc
A *c̓li*, that is, this is the custom of the house-post: it is strong and it is straight. It supports and it is supported. It protects, it is protected. It extends from roof to floor. Thus is this grade in the ‘house’ of poetry, that is, strong is his craft and upright is his judgement with regard to the domain of his profession. He upholds his distinction. He protects anyone who is lower in rank ... his craft extends from *ān ruth* to *fochloc*.

§49.

Dos .i. fo cosmailius dois feda ro hainmniged .i. is tri anman feda fo-roiglennat a ndán. Imm-tá samlaid is a hanmam feda 7 a cosmailius ro hainmniged dos. Ar is ann is dos a crann dead bliadnae 7 it cethéora duilli biit fair. Cethrar danó dáim in duis.

Dos .i. fo cosmailis fedha rohanm̄nighedh .i. as trianmain fedha foroiglenat andan. IMtha samlaid/ isahanmam fedha 7 acosmailes rohainm̄nighedh dos arisann is dos in crann dia bliadain 7 itcetheora duille bit fair cethro dam in duis.

A *dos*, that is, it (i.e. this grade) has been named by analogy with a ‘tree’ *dos*, that is, they can learn their craft by means of names of trees. Likewise it is from the name of a tree and by analogy (with it) that a *dos* has been named. For when a tree is a *dos* is at the end of a year and there are wont to be four leaves on it. The retinue of the *dos*, moreover, (consists of) four persons.

§50.

Macfuirmid .i. is macdae a dán .i. ni maith fograidedar-som acht(?) ar macairbi is maith de .i. mac fo-ruimther fri dán ós mac.

Macfuirmid .i. is mac do a dan .i. ni maith fograidedar son acht(?) ar mac airbi is maith de .i. mac fuirmither re dan osmac

A *macfuirmid*, that is, childish is his craft, that is, he does not pronounce well ... A son who is set aside for the craft of poetry from the time he is a boy (?).

§51.

Fochloc .i. fo chosmailius fochlocain co ndib nduillib. Dias danó do-som. No fochloc .i. fo chli seca (?) .i. Cen forbaírt fora dán. No cháel a dán ar oitid.

Fochloc .i. fo chosmailius fochlocain condib duillib dis dam dosam. I fochloc .i. fochli seca .i. cenforbaírt foradan. I cael adan aroige.
A *fochloc*, that is, by analogy with a *fochlocan* with two leaves. Two persons moreover for him (by way of retinue). Alternatively, a *fochloc* ...(? ) that is, without increase with regard to his craft. Alternatively, meagre is his craft on account of youthfulness.

§52.

Bard dánó: fer cen dlíged foglaimme acht intiucht fadedin. Fer cerdæ immurgu, lâncerd la suide. Cáinte: fer ... a biad tresin ainim n-aire.

Bard dánó cindliged fogluime acht intdleacht fadeisin. Fear cearda immurgu lancherd lasuide. Cáinte fear ararosar abiad in ainim aire

A *bard*, moreover: without the prerogative of learning, but intellect alone. A 'man of craft', moreover, he has complete craft. A satirist: a man ... his food by means of the blemish of satire.

§53.

Ceist, in forcongarar taurchreic molta nó aire ? Mad iar ndligiud na treibe déodaí, ni forcongarar acht molad Dé nammá 7 is nem a lóg. Mad iar ndligiud na treibe domundaí, immurgu, for-congarar ut Salmon: *Quomodo probatur in conflatortio argenti et in fornace aurum*, sic probatur homo ore laudantis.

Cš inforcongarar turachreic molta no aire. madiar ndligiud natreibhe deodha ni forcongar acht molad de nama 7 is nem alogh. madiar ndligiud natreibhi domhonda immurgu forcongarar. ut salmon quomodo conprobator argendum inconflatonta 7 infornace aurum sic homo ora laudantis

Is payment for praise or satire ordained ? As for the law of the godly folk, only the praise of God is ordained, and heaven is its reward. As for the law of the worldly folk, however, it is ordained, as Solomon [said]: *As silver is tested in the crucible, and gold in the furnace, thus [is] a man in the mouth of one who praises.*

§54.

Con-midethar arm cóir comadais cach duini déin dlíghthi eter maccléirech scéo láech, eter fer 7 mnaí:

treísisen cach maccléirig nó cháembachall fri hairsclaigí úad, cuicel cotat ro dít do cach mnaí, dá gái imm echlaise n-airegdai cach laich ina láim,
He adjudges a proper, fitting weapon for every eager, lawful person - both clerical student and layman, both man and woman:

A three-pronged staff(?) for every clerical student or a fair crozier for defending himself,

a hard distaff has been granted to every woman,

two spears and a noble horse-switch for each layman in his hand,

a writing tablet for poets according the propriety of their order.

For that is their proper suitability wherewith he adjudges a fixed weapon for them.

§55.

Romidharthar morand fer saer co cuimnib cumal ceachtar adasul ar chruth 7 deicsin cumthach
  cumal beoil ar blaisecht 7 labrad,
  cumal tengad tachta dona labrad leícther,
  cumal sróna ar bithchluais 7 boltnugud,
  di chumail chluaise ar éstecht 7 inchomét,
  cumal brágat ar fúluth 7 guth,
  di chumail dá dót ar lúth 7 neurt,
  di chumail dá lám ar airgabáil 7 fognum,
  di chumail dá chos ar forimthecht 7 folach,
  cumal bronnt ar thuicht 7 forbairt.

Romidharthar morand fer saer co cuimnib cumal ceachtar adasul ar chruth 7 deicsin cumthach
  cumal beoil ar blaisecht 7 labrad.
  cumul tengad tachtaidh donalabrad leícther cumol tsrona
  arbithchluais 7 boltnugud.
  dacumail cluais aréisteacht 7 imcoimét.
  cumal braigeth ar fuluth
Morann has estimated (the honour-price ?) of a noble man with *cumals*:

- a *cumal* for each of his two eyes on account of appearance and viewing and ornament,
- a *cumal* for a mouth on account of tasting and speech,
- a *cumal* for a tongue of choking by which speech is prevented,
- a *cumal* for a nose on account of (...?) and smelling,
- two *cumals* for an ear on account of listening and guarding,
- a *cumal* for a neck on account of (...?) and voice.
- two *cumals* for two upper arms on account of power and strength,
- two *cumals* for two hands on account of taking hold and labour,
- two *cumals* for two legs for walking about and support,
- a *cumal* for an abdomen on account of appearance and increase.

§56.


Cia hairm i tá in sin ? At-tá isin tráchhtad do-rigni Augustín do grádaib ecalso 7 dia ndirib 7 dia toichnedaib 7 i nős ecalso Petair 7 impir in betha uili.

Who is the most noble dignitary who exists on earth? A dignitary of the church. Who is the most noble dignitary who exists in the church? A dignitary who is a bishop. The most noble bishop amongst these is a bishop of the church of Peter, for the princes of
the Romans are wont to be under his yoke and no one who is not chaste or penitent
or (who is not) in lawful wedlock is wont to be under his yoke. So that it is for this
reason that he attains seven *cumals* for each of the seven grades which are upon him if
he receives a body-fine at all. If he does not receive a body-fine, a person is to be killed
for it (i.e. the crime).

Where does that thing exist (i.e. where is that statement to be found )? It exists in
the commentary which Augustine made regarding the grades of the church and their
honour-prices and their being deprived of food and (also) in the tradition of the church
of Peter and the emperor of the entire world.

§57.

At-taat trí cinaid fo-fich duine .i. cin as lugu oldaas : iccaid dia indili. Cin as chutrum-

Ata trí cinaid fo-fich duine .i. cin aslugha oldas fadeisin icaidh dia indile cin ascutruma fris teit
fadeisin ind cin asmó inas abás laheric ochiniudh

There are three crimes which a person commits i.e. a crime which is less than himself
(in value) : he atones (for it) by means of his property. (If it be) a crime equal in value
to him(self) : he forfeits himself for it. A crime which is greater than himself : he is
killed for it and a body-fine (is paid) by his offspring.

§58.

Ocus i n-Érinn, cia dáire as úaisliu fil indi ? Díre n-epsçuip ógáe cona lánfóltáib amail
dlegar dó.

Ocas anerind ciadire as uaisli fil inde dire espuic oighe conalanfotáib amail dleaghar do

And in Ireland, what is the most noble honour-price which exists there ? The honour-
price of a virgin bishop with his full obligations as is required of him (i.e. a virgin
bishop who carries out his obligations as he is legally required.)

§59.

Caite fiach gona epsçuip ógáe ? Ni hansae : trí cimbithi crochtha cacha lámæ nod
nguin. Is lethfiach a gona inna diguin.
What is the penalty for slaying a virgin bishop? Not difficult: three hostages are to be hung in respect of each hand which slays him. It is half the penalty for slaying him (which is due) for violating his protection.

Every person who stands by and does not protect him with all strength and means and who accompanies (the) criminals (responsible): seven cumals are due in respect of each one.

Shedding (his) blood, if it reach the ground or if he suffer a wound that requires a bandage, the criminal is to be hung for it. Alternatively, there are seven cumals (due) with respect to both his sick-maintenance and his body-fine.

If it (i.e. the injury) be to (lit. on) his face, (a portion of) silver equal to the breadth of his face and (a portion of) gold (equal to the breadth) of his crown is paid (as compensation); drawing attention to a blemish amongst a crowd till the end of [a period of] three years from that time: a cumal is due for it unless he (the injured party) remits it (the offence).
If it (i.e. the injury) be (caused through) inadvertence, half of seven *cumals* (is due) for it. A bloodless blow (delivered) intentionally, it is one quarter of seven *cumals* (which is due) for it.

If anything be cut away from his hair, a set per hair (is due) for it, up to (a maximum of) twenty hairs.

To intentionally dishonour him by seizing his hand or his garment or by removing his bell, it is half the penalty for killing him (which is due) for it. Others say (that) it is half the penalty for violating his protection (which is due in this case).

§60.

In sacart ógæ danó is tánaise epscuip ógæ. Is cumal itira-thá a ndire do cach fogail fo-fochæ friu 7 do cach cáttu.

lmm-tá samlaid cach grád n-ógæ co ticci macclèirech n-ógæ, condat secht cumala ina guin nó chimbid ; acht ni cach cimbid acht secht cumala ind indiu la imbed na ndoine, nó in bibdu(?) do-roghba in cinaid ; 7 mad de bunad cheniul dó 7 is særchland - lethfiach a gona inna diguin , ut supra diximus.

The virgin priest, moreover, he is second (in rank) to the virgin bishop. It is a *cumal* which is between (i.e. separates) their (respective) compensation with regard to any attack which is made on them and with regard to everything involving honour.

Likewise in the case of every virgin grade up to a virgin clerical student, so that there seven *cumals* (due) for killing him or (alternatively) a hostage ... ; and if he is from the original stock and it is a noble family, (the penalty) for violating his protection (is) half the penalty for killing him, ut supra diximus.

§61.

Epscop ònséitche danó, dá trian saiges co hеспcop n-ógæ do cach cáttu 7 do cach diriu, condat dá secht cumal inna guin 7 a leth inna diguin.

Easpoc aenséitce do datrian saighes co hespoc noighe do cach cata 7 docachdire condat da .uii.
A bishop with one wife, moreover, (it is) to the extent of two thirds that he attains to (the status of) a virgin bishop with regard to anything involving status and compensation, so that there are twice seven *cumals* (due) for killing him and the half (of that amount) for violating his protection.

§62.
Imm-tá samlaid sacart öenséitche : is *cumal* itira-thá cach n-áe, condat dá trian secht cumal do maccléirech öenséitche.

Likewise in the case of a priest with one wife : it is a *cumal* which is between (i.e. which separates) each of them, so that it is two-thirds of seven *cumals* (which is due) for (an injury to) a clerical student with one wife.

§63.
Is a trian danó segtae na gráda öenséitche frisna gráda ógáe do cach fogail *iter* dergbém 7 bánbém 7 cnocbém 7 šárugud 7 imchim, *iter* ni bes ar öenlús 7 nábo ar öenlús, amal as-rubrad i ngrádaíb ógáe.

It to the extent of one third that the married grades (lit. grades of one wife) attain to (the status of) the virgin grades with regard to (compensation for) every attack (involving) a bloody blow and a bloodless blow and a blow which raises a lump and dishonouring and a violation, whether it be intentional or unintentional, as has (already) been said with regard to the virgin grades.

§64.
Epscop aithrige danó, dá trian saiges co hepscop n-öenséitche. Noi cumal 7 di bai inna guin, lethflach a gona inna diguin 7 inna šárugud.
Espoc aithtrighe dò datrian saighus co hespoc nàenséitche. ix. cumala 7 dabair lethfiach agona inadighuin 7 inasarugud.

A repentant bishop moreover, (it is) to the extent of two thirds that he attains to (the status of) a bishop with one wife. (The penalty) for killing him (is) nine *cumals* and two cows. Half the penalty for killing him (is due) for violating his protection and for outraging him.

§65.
Imm-tá samlaid sacart aithrighe : is cumal itira-thá 7 epscop n-aithrighe.

Immtha samlaid sacart aithrighe is cumal itira-thá 7 epscop n-aithrighe.

Likewise in the case of a repentant priest : it is a *cumal* which is between (him) and a repentant bishop (as regards compensation etc).

§66.
Imm-tá samlaid cach grád ásas diaraíliu co dead : is cumal itira-thá condat téora cumala i nguin maccléirig aithrighe 7 a leth inna diguin.

It comdiri danó 7 maccléirigh bite iter túaith 7 eclus, cen guin cen gait 7 it dá trian segtæ na gráda aithrighe frísnæ gráda òenséitche do cach cáttu 7 cach diriu iter teilciud folu 7 bánbeim 7 dergbéim amal as-rubrad.

Immtha samlaid cachgradh ásas diaraíliu codia iscumal iteraitha condat teoracumala anguin mac cléirigh aithrighe 7 aleth inadighuin IT comdiri dó 7 mac cléirigh biti iter tuaithe 7 eclus cinguin cingait 7 idatrian sega nágradhá aithrighe frísnágradhá òenséitche do cachcátá 7 do cachdire iter thelodhi folu 7 banbém 7 deargbéim amal isrubhradh.

Likewise in the case of each grade which increases with respect to another to the end : it is a *cumal* which is between (i.e. separates) (each one), so that three *cumals* (are due) for killing a repentant clerical student and half (of this amount) for violating his protection.

They have equal honour-price to clerical students who are wont to be between the laity and the church, without killing, without stealing; and it is to the extent of two thirds that they attain to (the status of) the grades married with one wife with respect to every issue of honour and every compensation (which may be due) for shedding of blood and
bloodless blow and bloody blow, as has (already) been stated.

§67.

At-taat tri athlaich i n-eclais .i. athlaech ara tabair ammcharae a theist 7 ad-chosnai sacarbaic, bis i firóentaìd ecalso, cen chomhmas coise ná lámh. Is ó grád ógæ do-renar immurgu. Is condir e fri maccléirech n-ógæ, condat secht cumala inna guin; 7 is condir e do cäch cătu olchenæ 7 theilciud folæ 7 bánnbheí.

Athláech ara tabair ammcharae a theist, nád n-ascnai sacarbaic cadacht: dá trian ro-saig cosin n-athláech toisech.

Athláech aile do-beir crich fria thola 7 do-thét co cleirchiu indiu, nád tabair ammchara a theist: dá trian saiges cosin n-athláech medonach.

Nabad machtad la nech condir donaib athláechbaib fri áes n-ógæ má beth dia seirc la Día 7 di méit a saithair, mat comlinai a fertai nó mat lia, amail ro boi Petar 7 Pól fri Eoin 7 ro boi Antan 7 Martan, ut dicit scríutora: *Ubi autem abundavit delictum, superabundavit gratia*.

Atait tri haithlaich ineclais .i. athlaech aratabair ammcara atheist 7 sacarbuic bis afir aéntaidh eclesia cincomus coise nalaime isogradh oige dorenaru iscomdir fri maccléirech n-óghe con-
dat .uii. cumula inaghuin 7 iscomdir e do cäch cătu olchenæ 7 telcod .f. 7 banbeim Athláech aratabuir atheist nadsncai sacarbuic cadacht datrían rosaigh cosin athláech tuisech athléach aile dobeir crich friatola 7 dotaet co cleirchiu iniu natabair ammcara atheist datrían saigheas cosin ath-
læch medonach Naba machtad la nech condir donathláechbuit fas noighe maddeth diaseirc ladia 7 di met asethair matcomlina aferta nomatlia amail doboi petar 7 pol friheoin 7 amail roboi antan 7 martan ut dicit scríutora ubi habundabit dilechtum super habundabit gratia.

There are three ex-laymen in the church i.e. an ex-layman for whom a confessor gives testimony and who attends the sacrament, who is wont to be in true fellowship with the church without power of hand or foot. It is with respect to a virgin grade that he is paid compensation, however. He has equal honour-price with a virgin clerical student, so that there are seven *cumals* (due) for killing him; and he has equal honour-price with regard to anything else which has to do with honour and spilling of blood and a bloodless blow.

An ex-layman for whom a confessor gives testimony and who does not yet attend the
sacrament: (it is to the extent of) two thirds that he attains to (the status of) the first ex-layman.

Another (type of) ex-layman who places a boundary on his passions and who is just coming to clerics today, (and) for whom a confessor does not give testimony, (it is to the extent of) two thirds that he attains to (the status of) the intermediate ex-layman.

No one should be surprised that the ex-laymen have equal honour-price with the virgin ones, such is God's love for them and on account of the extent of their labour and if their good works are as numerous (as those of the virgin grades) or if they are more numerous, as was the case of Peter and Paul with respect to John and as was the case of Anthony and Martin. As Scripture says: But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound.

§68.

Ocht cumala i ndiriú séoit epscuip ógæ. Secht cumala do šacart ógæ. Sé cumala don grád tánaisiú. Imm-tá samlaid cach grád ásas diarailiu co dead: is cumal iter cach n-ae , conid cumal i ndiriú séoit maccléirig ógæ.

Ocht cumala i ndiriú .s. espuc oghe .uii. cumala disacart oghe .ui. cumala dingrad tanuisiu. IMtha samlaid cach gradh asas diar.ii. codiad iscumal iter cach nae conad cumal indire hseoit mac céirigh oghe

Eight *cumals* by way of compensation (regarding property) for a virgin bishop. Seven *cumals* for a virgin priest. Six *cumals* for the next grade. Likewise, each grade increases with respect to the other to the end: it is a *cumal* (which separates) each one so that it is a *cumal* (which) the compensation (regarding property) of a virgin clerical student (consists of).

§69.

Dá trian saiges epscop önséitche co hepscop n-ógæ, condat cóic cumala 7 di bai i ndiriú séoit epscuip önséitche. It dá trian saiges int aile.

Inna cumalaib rimthir, condat cethair coicait aidche di phennait do maccléirech önséitche i ndiriú a séoit.
(It is to the extent of) two thirds that the bishop with one wife attains (the status of) the virgin bishop, so that (there are) five *cumals* and two cows (due) by way of compensation (regarding property) for the bishop with one wife. It is to the extent of two thirds that the other one attains (status).

It (i.e. *dire*) is reckoned in *cumals* so that four times fifty nights of penance (are due) for a clerical student with one wife by way of compensation (regarding property).

§ 70.

Likewise (in the case of) a repentant bishop: it is (to the extent of) two thirds that he attains (the status of) the bishop with one wife with respect to his compensation (regarding property), so that (there are) three *cumals* and three cows (due) by way of compensation (regarding property) for the repentant bishop. It is to the extent of two thirds that each (penitent) grade corresponds to the other. It is reckoned in *cumals* so that three times fifty nights of penance (are due) for a repentant clerical student by way of his compensation (regarding property).

§ 71.

Athláech ara tabair anncharae 7 sacart teist: comdire a sèoit fri maccléirech n-ógae .i. cumal dóib. Athláech aile danó, comdire a sèoit fri maccléirech n-óenséitche imm
chethri coiceta aidche doib. Athláech aile danó, comdhire a séit fri mac cleírech naithrige : tri coicait aidche doib.

Athláech aratabair amneara 7 sacart teist comdhire a s. fri mac cleírech noighi i. cumal doibh.
athláech aile danu comdhire a s. fri mac cleírech noige im 1.at aidche doib. athláech aile danu comdhire a.s. fri mac cleírech naithrige tri caecait aidhche doib.

An ex-layman for whom a confessor and a priest give testimony: his compensation is equal to that of a virgin clerical student: a cumal for (both of) them. Another ex-layman, his compensation is equal to that of a married clerical student with regard to two hundred nights (of penance). Another ex-layman, his compensation is equal to that of a repentant clerical student: one hundred and fifty nights (of penance) for them (both).
NOTES

§1

Cis lir. is lir A, Cis lir B. Space has been left in the A MS for a large initial C. I restore the B reading in this case.

togarmann. togarmand A, toggarmanda B. I restore togarmann. Cis lir is followed by the nominative plural (see Bergin 1943, 140). The B reading is probably the Middle Irish accusative plural for the nominative, cf. Breatnach (SnaG, 249). For the Middle Irish -nd/-nn alternation cf. GOI §151(c).

techtaithe. techtaite A, techtaide B. I retain the A reading. The form is 3 pl. pres. ind. active relativr of techtaid ’possesses’. For the substitution of d for t in MS B see ‘Introduction’ p. 6 supra.

miadslechtac. miadlechta A, miadleachta B. I restore miadslechtae. The word slicht, the second element of the compound, is a masculine u-stem. For the alternation -a/-ae in the nominative plural of u-stems see GOI §312. For a note on the title of the text see ‘Introduction’ p. 8 supra.

ni hansae. ni A/B.

a sé fichet. a se xx.it A , a se no a .u. xx.it airechdai cadeat B. When we rationalise the inconsistencies in both MSS here we note that the list of designations numbers twenty-six. However the aire forgill referred to in both MSS is not accorded separate treatment subsequently (see §7 and notes thereto). For the combination of digits and tens see GOI §391. Thus I restore the gen. sg. fichet. For the alternation -i/-e- in fichit/fichet see Breatnach (SnaG,229).

The actual number of grades that the text deals with in this opening section is twenty-five (see ‘Introduction’ pp. 26-7 supra). MS A omits two grades here, indnae and ànruth. Binchy’s punctuation at CIH 676.21 (i.e. reim riascaire for correct reim, riascaire) adds to the confusion when attempting to reconcile the numbers. Note also
that the grades described here as *boaire taniuse* and *boaire tuisi* are later designated the titles *boaire* (§18) and *taniusi mboairech* (§19) respectively. Also, the descending order of the classification appears to be broken. Note the uncertainty in MS B regarding the number of grades (*a se no a .u. xx. it*). For another example of uncertainty with respect to numbers in this MS note *cid lir a ndliged ... .nī. a ndeno a do x.* in §2 infra.

For *airechdai* added by B see *DIL* A 196, 59 ff. Perhaps here used substantivally i.e. ‘twenty-six or twenty-five noble ones’.

**Triath. ri rig, ri túaithe.** Triath *ri rig tuaithi A, triath rig rig tuaithe B*. Cf. Binchy’s note *m* to *CIIH* p. 582 : ‘supply ri’. The restoration is justified by the manner in which the three grades are subsequently treated in the text (see §§4-6). For the threefold gradation of kings cf. Binchy (1941,104-5), Charles-Edwards (2000, 130-2), Kelly (1988,17-18) and McLeod (1986, 59-60).

*óglaithe, lethlaithe.* *oglaithem lethlaiheam A, ogflaitheam lethlaitheam B*. For the spelling of the A MS see *GOI* §231.7.

*úaitne.* *huaitne A, huaitihi*. For the *h* in the MSS cf. *GOI* §25 and Breathnach (*SnaG*, 229).

*seirtheid.* *seirtheidh A, seirrthi B*. For the loss of the final lenited dental in the B MS see ‘Introduction’ p. 6 supra.

*sinnach brothlaige.* *sindach brothlaige A, sindach brothlach B, brothlach* in the B MS appears to be genitive plural.

§2

**Ceist : Cis lir.** *Cis lir A, Csc cid lir B*. I tentatively restore *Ceist* from the B MS. Perhaps the opening line is a quotation from another text.

*dliged.* *dlig-* A,B. I expand the final syllable as -*ed* i.e the short nominative plural of the neuter o-stem, plurality being indicated by the context. See *GOI* §§278, 286.
iarmi-fochtatar ind eolaig: iar miadhaighecht indeolaid A, iarmifocet- an eolaig B. miadhaighecht appears to be a hapax legomenon. The example from our text is quoted in DIL M 126, 53 with the meaning ‘honour,dignity’.

indeolaid is written as a single word in MS A. DIL I 225 , 22 takes the word as deriving from in- (see GOI §872) and déolaid (see DIL D 27, 1). The meaning ‘due, rightful’ is suggested. However, there are several examples of confusion of -d/-g in this MS (see ‘Introduction’ p.5 supra). Also, the B MS reads an eolaig. One could, therefore, take the word to be gen. sg. of éolach and translate ‘according to the honour of the knowledgeable one’.

For mifocetul, Binchy’s expansion of the B MS, cf. CHI 676 note m where the reading infocetul is tentatively suggested. Reading infocetul one could translate ‘according to the great chanting of the knowledgeable one’. However, the use of the intensive prefix imm- is rare in Old Irish (see DIL I 107, 21). Reading mifocetul, ‘evil chanting’ hardly makes sense.

On the basis of the reading of the B MS, where iarmi- looks like a preverb, I tentatively emend to iarmi-fochtatar ind eolaig, which at least makes some sense. Cf. Is annsin tra iarmifochtatar, ‘it was then that they inquired’, Anecdota II 48.18. For éolaig meaning ‘the learned’ see DIL E 150, 56 ff.

c o festar. For co n- with the subjunctive cf. GOI §896. I take the form to be the impersonal passive. However, the form could also be interpreted as being active.

cia méit. cia meit A, cia miad B. I adopt the A reading. I take it that what is being referred to here is the size of the honour-price of the various grades. The reading of the B MS would mean ‘what is the honour with which each one is established?’.

cáích diib. cach dibh A, cach dib donahib lechaib B. The word láech in the B MS might refer to the lay grades which are the subject of this section of the text (See DIL L 18, 51 ff).

a noi. a noi A, a nde no a do x. B. For the actual number of offences involved see note infra.
úaithe. uaithe A, uaithe B. The scribe of the B MS may have been influenced by the word huaithni in the previous paragraph. For the palatalization in this form see Bergin (1907,74).

iter a lin 7 a n-úaithe ... On the variation in the size of a person's retinue see Binchy (1941, 82). Both MSS enumerate thirteen items requiring payment of compensation. The distinctions to be drawn between some of these items is unclear e.g. sár 7 sárugud, fáesam 7 turthrugud. Consequently, it is difficult to determine how the items should be grouped. The following arrangement, while not definitive, at least gives a tally of nine:

1: a lin 7 a n-úaithe : referring to retinue
2: a mbíathad 7 a n-esáin : referring to refection
3: a nguin : referring to wounding
4: a ndiguin referring to violation of protection
5: a sár referring to insult or humiliation
6: a sárugud referring to dishonouring
7: a fáesam referring to protection granted to others
8: a turthrugud referring to sanctuary
9: a n-enecclainn 7 a n-enechruice 7 a n-enechgris referring to (fractions of) honour-price.

For the term fáesam note Caide foessam ? ni teit for henech, CIH 31. For the last three items note teora fodla fuil for inchaih duine... enicland 7 enechruice 7 enechgriss .i. i lan 7 i leith, .i. i leith 7 i sectmad, .i. trian 7 int aenmad rann .xx.it, *there are three divisions on a person's honour ... honour-price and the fine for dishonour and the fine for defamation i.e. (the) full (amount) and half, i.e. into half and a seventh, i.e. a third and the twenty-first part ' CIH 1613.19 ff. (Uraicecht Becc). For the treatment of these items with respect to the poets cf. Breatnach (1987, 32).

For another example of ambiguity regarding numbers of items in the B MS cf. §1 supra.

§3

Cis lir do-berat. Cis lir doberad A, Cis lir doberat B.

áiirilluadh 7 indracus 7 enncae. airilliudh 7 innracus 7 enncae A, airilliud 7 innracus 7 idna B.
cf. Cid dobeir dire do neoch .i. cid dobeir eniclainn do nech a tir. .Ni. airilliud i. i tochus. 7 inrucus .i. i mbreithir. 7 idna .i. im gnimrad., ‘What confers honour-price on a person? i.e. what confers honour-price on a person on land. Not difficult; wealth i.e in possessions, and integrity i.e in word, purity i.e with respect to deeds’ = CIH 1613.17 ff. (Uraicecht Becc).

Note the similarity between Uraicecht Becc (1613.17-21) and §§2, 3 of our text.

Note also that MS B reads idna in place of endce A. However cf. Cengair trefogail dodafet airilliud inrucus endge it teora eirce airliter, ‘one proceeds by means of three divisions which take precedence over them : wealth and integrity and innocence. It is three payments which are arranged’, CIH 527.6 ff (Còrús Bèsgnai).

Commenting on the citation from Uraicecht Becc MacNeill (1923, 278 note 1) comments ‘By “merit” is to be understood the possession and worthy use of qualifying wealth , by “integrity the potential and actual fulfilment of functions and duties, by “purity” being guiltless of misdeeds.’

danó tientae. A tri dò atlendai miadh confte ar cach A , Csc cit Itlena a miad conffar cach .ni. a tri dontleandai miadh confte ar cach B. For the length of the final vowel in danó cf. Breatnach (2003, 139). Both MSS appear to have transmitted the text corruptly. The reading of the A MS is listed by DIL under as-tlen, ‘takes away, filches’ (A 439, 85 f). The B MS points to do-tlen, ‘takes away, steals, deprives of’, (DIL D 383, 38 f). I follow Binchy’s note q to CIH 676 and accordingly restore A tri dano tientae and take the form to be 3rd plural present indicative relative of tlenaid ‘takes away, steals’. For another example of the simplex in a similar context cf. ar-berna dire dia tlether enngus, ‘it diminishes honour-price if innocence be taken away’, Breatnach (1989, 14 §14) = CIH 2212.28 ff. This latter clause is also cited at O’Dav 1529 : Tlethar .i. foxal ut est arberna dia thlethar engus .i. dia netla as a nemurcoit conid urcoidach = CIH 1528.16.

For the notion of honour being stolen or taken away note ... flaith gonus a cele ... .i. gatuidh a laneclainn uadh co roica in cinuidh ... , ‘... a lord who kills his client ... i.e. ... it takes away his full honour-price until he makes restitution for that crime ...’ CIH 1908.23-28. In note o in CIH 676 Binchy says ‘two obscure letters above t’. These letters belong to the word aitriilaid in the previous line and have been written subscript. They do not belong to the word tlena.
anfolad. Perhaps meaning ‘lack of possessions, poverty’? Here juxtaposed with áirilliid ‘wealth, possessions’. For the adjective anfoltaich in the context of lack of honour-price see §22 infra.

docherd. Cf. DIL D 222, 70 where the meaning ‘base calling’ is given. However, the context requires a word meaning the opposite to innraic, ‘worthiness, integrity’. Translate ‘non-fulfilment of duties’? Alternatively read dochert, ‘impropriety’?

anenncae. anendge A, aninnche B.

§4

Much of the first part of the paragraph is omitted from the B MS.

triath. There are two citations of the word triath in Cormac’s Glossary:
Corm. Y 1198 : Ttríathan i. rig treime ethaeth iethae (i. iáirseinn treith h-ethas iathae) ‘a triath i.e. a king who penetrates lands (i.e after ? who takes lands )’.
Corm. Y 1202 : Ttríath tra treidi fordingair .i. triath ri, triath muir, triath torc. Deiligther didiu ina remmenaib .i triath ri didiu, treith a reim, triath muir .i. trethan a reim, triath torc .i. treithi a reim. Triath .i. ri, tür-sith a taithmech. Triath .i. muir; tür-sáith a taithmech. Ttríathan i. torc, tür-sód a taithmech ‘Triath moreover signifies three things i.e. triath : a king , triath: the sea, triath: a boar. They are distinguished, moreover in their genitives .i. triath : a king moreover, treith is its genitive, triath: the sea, trethan is its genitive, triath: a boar, tréithi is its genitive. Triath i.e King : land-peace is its analysis. Triath i.e. the sea : land-terror is its analysis. Triath i.e. a boar : land-turning is its analysis.’.
Stokes (1891, 206) suggests that triath may be cognate with the first element of Latin strī-avus = trīavus. However, this is rejected in LEIA, T 142, presumably on the grounds that -ia- cannot reflect -i-. For further citations of words from our text in Cor-
mac’s Glossary see §§ 42 to 49 below dealing with the poets.

amail as-beir. amail isbeir A, amail asberar, B.
The following are the occurrences of phrases introducing the metrical sections dealing with kings and noble lords:
amail isbeir 583.7 = amail asberar 676.30
amail isbeir 583.15 = amail asbeir 676.36
amail isbert 583.25 = amail asbert 677.6
ut dr 583.30 = ut dr 677.9-10
Omitted A = ut dr 677.13
ut dr 583.40 = ut dr 677.15
ut dixit 584.5 = ut dixit 677.19
Omitted A = ut dixit 677.23
ut dr 584.17 = ut dixit 677.27.
The first point of interest is the absence of a nasalizing relative clause in all of the Old Irish examples. Cf. GOI §498. For a similar scenario in the text Uraicecht na Riar see Breatnach (1987, 119) notes to §4 and Breatnach (1986, 28). For the omission of the nasalizing relative marker in manner clauses see Ó hUiginn (1986, 54-5). The second point to note is the close correspondence between the two MSS in the distribution of Irish and Latin usage. For the initial i in isbeir/ishbert see Breatnach SnaG, 236).
I take it that the subject of as-beir (‘it’) is the metrical composition from which the citation is taken.

Triath trom etc. I divide the verse into lines on the basis of semantic units. For the metrical structure of this and other passages in this section of the text cf. ‘Introduction: pp. 19-26 supra. Generally the B MS omits all but the first line of the metrical citations.

tremi-etha. tremetha A bis, tremoetha B.
For this rare verb cf. DIL T 295.73, GOI §856 and VKG ii §716.5

Érenn túatha. erind tuath A, erinn 7 rl B.
I follow Breatnach (1986, 193) and restore túath of MS A to accusative plural túatha.
One could also restore to accusative singular túath and translate ‘the land of Ireland’.

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Cf. *i tíaith Egypt* (Stokes, 1883, line 3144). I also restore *erind* to (preposed) genitive singular *Érenn*.

**ó thoinn co toinn.** Presumably the notion being expressed here is that the power of the *triath* extends throughout the entire country: ‘from wave to wave’ i.e. ‘from coast to coast’. A similar notion is found in Cogitosus *Secunda Vita S. Brigidae*: *... cuius parrochia per totem Hiberniensem terram diffusa est, à mare ad mare extensa est*, Colgan (1647, 518). This has been translated by Connolly and Picard as follows: ‘... its *paruchia* extends over the whole land of Ireland, reaching from sea to sea’, Connolly, Picard (1987, 11).

**taircella tomus.** Cf. *Taircheall*. *i. timceall, ut est taircell tomas : CIH 1530.16 = O’Dav. 1584 : Taircheall *i. timchell, ut est tairchell tomas*. Stokes translates ‘tairchell, i.e. a surrounding, ut est a going round of measurement’.

The verb may be a form of *do-airchella*, ‘confines, guards’ but in this context meaning ‘fixes, establishes’? Cf. *DIL D 185, 9 ff.* Alternatively, the verb could be *do-airgella*, ‘gives pledges’. In that case the sense would be ‘he gives pledges with respect to a measure’.

**conid iarna dorn toimdither.** I take this clause to be an example of *Tmesis III* as defined in Greene (1977, 24 f.). For *dorn* as a measure of length cf. Kelly (1997, 563 ff.). Presumably the concept being expressed here is that the *triath* has the authority to establish the size of various measurements. Alternatively, this passage may refer to the establishment of persons in their proper grade in the *tiiath*. Note *Ní tualaing brithennachtae la Fénii nád fiastar cid asa fil mes 7 tomus cach gráid fó miad, fír air fír othrus fír eneclaimn fír lóg n-enech fír dire. Ri ruirech, is asa thochus mittir cách la Fénii*, ‘He who does not know on what basis each grade is estimated and measured in accordance with his rank for [compensation for] satire, for sick-maintenance, for payment for an offence to honour, for honour-price, for penalty payment, is not capable of passing judgement in Irish law. A king of over-kings, it is with reference to his qualifications that everyone is estimated in Irish law.’ Bretnach (1996, 28), normalised from *CIH 1292.29-31*
fó lin: fō = fo (preposition) + a (possessive pronoun 3rd singular masculine). Cf. GOI §§441, 837C. For the construction cf. grád fō dān fodeisin 'a grade in accordance with his own skill', Breatnach (1987, §9).


sechib dú: For the omission of the pronoun in this expression cf. GOI §461(b).

sceo lieic logmair: sce lig logmoir A, om. B. sce must be a mistake for sceo. For the use of the feminine form of the adjective with a masculine consonantal stem in Middle Irish cf. O'Brien (1954, 347) and Breatnach (SnaG, 252).

For a different interpretation of this phrase see Ó Corráin (1999, 310-11), where the writer reads u. cumala dergoir [I] seelig logmoir and translates 'seven (sic) cumala of red gold [or] of precious stone'.

dia grised grúaide: dia grised gruad A, omitted B. I restore the genitive plural grúaide. The noun gruad is, in origin, an s-stem. Cf. DIL G 166, 36 ff. The MS reading reflects the influence of the o-stems on other stem types in Middle Irish. Cf. SnaG (249-50).

tremi-etha a mámu uile. tremetha a mamu uile A, tremoetha uiletha a ninada uile B. I take it that the scribe of the B MS originally intended the following: tremoetha a ninada uile, 'he penetrates all their sites'.

amail ro cét do Conchobor. amail rochét do concobur A, amail rocet do concobar B.

Ardmac rig ...: For this verse cf. Meyer (1914, 28), Carney (1971, 54) and Breatnach (1986, 193). As regards the metrical structure, Meyer comments: 'In der zweiten Langzeile fehlt freilich die Bindung'. Carney emends ... iathu fer to ... iatha fer stating that 'This interpretation is supported by the alliterative pattern'. However cf. GOI §232.4 where it is stated that lenition is found in neuter plurals which do not end in -a.
A portion of this paragraph has been translated in McLeod (1987, 80-1): ‘As Cormac says: You should award to a renowned king, [O] Coirpre, the value of a captive for fine *cumals* as far as his seven which he claims for the breach of his protection or for his contempt or ( satire-) blistered cheeks.’

**Rí rig.** *Rí ri* A, *Rí rig* B.

**ri ad-giallat.** Thus A, *rig atgiallat* B.

**cumal cach rig dó.** I take this as a distributive genitive, literally ‘a *cumal* of every king for him i.e. a *cumal* per king for him’.

**dia etlu, dia cuminasc dála.** *di atlu a dala* A, *dia etla dia cumasc dala* B. I take the reading of the B MS here. *etla* is the verbal noun of *as-tlen* ‘takes away, filches, removes secretly’. Perhaps in this context meaning ‘diminishing (honour), or evading him’. I can make no sense of *atlu* of MS A. For *cumasc dala* see *a charr ar béláib cechtar n-a(e)i do grès fri cumascc cu[i]rmthige, ‘his spear in front of each of these (for use) in the event of a fight in a banqueting hall’ (Binchy, 1941 l. 592-3.) = CIH 570.23-4.

**fé lin cen timdibe.** *fo lin cin timdeibhe* A, *fo lin cin timdibe* i. c.c. *a lin* B.

**dia diguin:** om. A, *dia digna* B. I adopt Binchy’s emendation, CIH 676, note t. The offence of *diguin* entailed payment of full honour-price to the victim (cf. Binchy (1941, 82-3). However, it would also be possible to allow *digna* to stand. Cf. *dignae*, ‘reproach, contempt’ : *DIL* D 94, 45.

**Dái secht cumal a eneclann.** *Dái .uì. cumal dia sarugud* A, *da .uì. cumala a eneclann dia sarugud* B. This clause occurs word for word in *Críth Gablach*, where it describes the honour-price of the *ri bunaid cech cinn*. Cf. Binchy (1941, l. 475-6) = CIH 568.26.
clothach. Cf. clothach i.e. enech, ut est toimsi do rig clothach coirpri, CIH 1559.42. For toimsi cf. 676.37 (= MS B).

Coirpri. coirbre A, coirpre B. I take this to be the vocative and translate ‘Give, O Coirbre...’. However, the vocative particle is absent from both MSS. Cf. sloind coirpre lifechair, §11 584.6 = MS A. For further examples of the omission of the vocative particle cf. Fedelma ban faith, co acca ar stiaig? TBC Rec. 1, ll. 54, 58, 63 and note p. 242.

lóg cimbeda do chumalai bainib: For an example of a person being paid by way of compensation cf. Mad fuil graine hi toll narai rig forgnia dæor hi sodain co luirig, ‘If it be a one-grain wound in the hollow of the temple of a king, an unfree henchman [armed] with a corselet [is due] for this.’ Binchy (1966, 26 §6) = CIH 2306.34 ff. Note the comments in McLeod (1987, 87) and Kelly (1997, 592).

The value of the cimbid was seven cumals as is clear from the following citation from the text Berrad Airechta:

Caite a s'slan na aitire? i.e. a fomeilt 7 a imluath 7 a gnim 7 log. uii. cumal niath iar ndithmaim. i. logh cimedha, ar is cimidh ind aitiri iar ndithmaim fuirri: CIH 597.26-7 (Berrad Airechta §67 = Thurneysen (1928, 24). This is translated by Stacey as follows:

‘What is the compensation of the aitire-surety? i.e. [the price of] his maintenance and [of] his disturbance and [of] his [missed] work, and the price of the seven cumals of a warrior after forfeiture, i.e. the [ransom]-price of a captive, for the aitire-surety is a captive after falling forfeit’, Stacey (1986, 223).

coa sechta saiges Aithirne: ‘up to the seven which Aithirne seeks’ i.e. this is how the fourteen cumals are arrived at: seven cumals in respect of the cimbid along with the seven which Aithirne seeks.

icenn cachacuinness. cuinness appears to be genitive singular of cuinnsiu, ‘face, countenance’. However, the meaning of this line is obscure to me. This phrase (along with the preceding reference to Aithirne) has been omitted from McLeod’s translation referred to above. Note the similarity to the following lines from Bretha Nemed.
Toisech:

Für do rig ruirech
ro-saig dá secht cumala
fora gnúso gné

‘Confirm for a king of great kings, that he attains twice seven cumals, depending on the appearance of his countenance’. Cf. Breanach (1989, 14-5 §16) = CIH 2212.36.

gruaide gris: Note the preposed genitive.

§6
As this paragraph is quite corrupt I provide the diplomatic text of both MSS in the edition. I have attempted to provide an eclectic text. See Binchy’s note u to CIH 676 where he states that ‘the entire paragraph is confused and incorrect’. Unusually, the A MS seems to have preserved the verse citation only without the accompanying prose. The material here appears to have been influenced by or confused with the content of the previous paragraph. It can hardly be the case that seven titatha submit to the ri túaithe, as in the case of the ri túath. The content of this paragraph may have been influenced by that of the previous one. For a clearer description of this grade cf. Rí benn céたmus, cid ara n-epperr? Is e ri túaithe insin las mbiat .vii. ngrá(id) Fène cona fofodlaib i céilsini ... vii. cumala a ene(ch)lann, Binchy (1941, II. 448-451 = CIH 568.10-12)

Rí túaithe. Om. A, Rig tuath toimsi 7 rl- .i. rig tuath ... rig tuaiti toimsi B. This phrase comprises the opening words of the metrical citation and seems out of place here. It is repeated in the correct position in the B MS. I therefore delete it from the restored text at this point.

rí ad-giallat secht túatha. Omitted, A, ri atgiallat .uii. tuath B. This phrase echoes the B MS reading rig atgiallat .uii. rig tuatha at §5. Perhaps a case of haplology. Possibly we should read rí ad-giallat secht ngrád túaithe. See introductory note to paragraph supra.

ar-gellat: Cf. DIL A 399, 8. The meaning here is unclear. Cf. the following list of
entitlements apparently due to the poet Fergus Tuile: *airfide, ara biatha, ara gealla tüatha* CIH 1123.10 (= Bretha Nemed déidenach).

**iter 7 a nadmann:** The text is obviously incomplete here. Possibly we should read *iter a rátha 7 a nadmann.*

**sé cét a lín.** Omitted, A, *se cet a lin* B. The retinue of the lowest grade of king can hardly be six hundred. Perhaps we should restore *is sé cét a lín,* ‘his retinue numbers one hundred’. This would be half the number referred to in the gloss in the previous paragraph: *dligid a sairbiathad fo lín cin tímdebe i. c. c. a lín* CIH 676.34-5. Alternatively, the word *lín* may refer to the number of soldiers this grade of king commands in battle cf. *ri aentuaite secht cet laech lais,* CIH 1602.4 (= *Uraicecht Becc*).

**secht cumala cacha lámæ dia ainmed.** Omitted, A, *ui. cumala cacha laime dia ainmed* B. This is an example of the distributive genitive i.e each one of the persons who plays a part in causing a blemish to him must pay seven cumals. Cf. *cumal each ríg,* ‘a cumal per king’, §5 supra and *tri cimbithi do chrochadh cacha lámæ no-d-nguin,* ‘three hostages are to be hung for each one who has a part in wounding him’, §59 infra.

**toimsi:** *toimse* A, *toinsi* B. The reading *toimes* in CIH 583.20 is an error. I tentatively take this form to be the verbal of necessity of *do-midethar* and translate ‘he is to be assessed’(assuming a zero form of the copula). Alternatively, the form could be the genitive singular of *tonus,* ‘measure, measuring’. Cf. *do laim fir toimsi techta i. do laimh inti doni in tomus cu dligthech,* CIH 483.13 ff. (= *Cáin Aicillne*). See Thurneysen (1923, 355-6) where he translates ‘von einer Manneshand gebührenden Maßes’.

**sceo grúaide gris:** *sceo gruaidhe* A, om. B. I follow Binchy’s suggestion (CIH 583 note c) and supply *gris.*

**cumail n-indraic:** *cumail inruic* A, om. B. I restore nasalization of the adjective after the accusative singular *cumail.*

**sámaigther:** *samuither* A, om. B. I take the verb to be *sámaigid,* ‘fixes, establishes’.
Cf. sámaitgher sámugud airech échto co tri sétu deac, ‘let the aire échto be fixed, up to thirteen sés’, Breatnach (1989, 14 §15 = CIH 2212.32-3) (= Bretha Nemed Toisech).

sóerbrethaih: sóerbrethaibh A, om. B. Note the independent dative plural.

§7

Some of the material in this and the following paragraphs is translated in Thurneysen (1930, 379-82) where he discusses the various grades who act as representatives of túath, fine etc.

Aire ard i. forgill. Thus A, B. Note that the word forgill is an interlinear gloss in both MSS. These glosses may be later than the main text. MacNeill (1923, 312) and McLeod (1986, 62-5) both indicate that the grade of aire forgill was not part part of the original hierarchy of lords.

fer tairchella túatha : tar cenn tuaithe A, fear tair ceann tuatha B. The reading of the B MS is corrected to no taircella in the right-hand margin. I take this to be the original reading, though this is by no means certain. I take the verb to be do-aircheil/do-airchella ‘guards, restrains’ (from *to-air-cel-). Another possibility is that the form belongs to the verb do-airgella ‘gives a fore-pledge for’ (from *to-air-gell-). Note OCUS ARINDI DONAIRGELLA CACH ARA CETHRAI i. arinni ara tabartar gell toiridhanc tar cenn a cethradh , ‘for the reason that everyone gives a fore-pledge on behalf of his animals i.e. for the reason that a helping pledge might be given on behalf of his animals’, CIH 412.1 ff.(= Di Chetharslicht Athgabála). However the occurrence of the phrase ‘tar cenn’ in both MSS is problematic. This phrase occurs again in a gloss on the term rath n-aitiri: Rath naitire i. aitire cairdi son his tar cenn thuaithi iarna aitite ocus iarna tabaurt a slain acht bid aitire techtai. Cadead-side? ni anse, tanuisi tuisig son du a natamar dano tanisi la tuaith uili; ni didiu icas-[s]ide fri cach is rath fair ocus ni athcuirither a frithise, ‘The fief of an aitire, i.e. that is [the fief] of an aitire chairdi who [acts as surety] on behalf of his tribe, [which fief is given] after he has been acknowledged, and after he has been given his compensation, provided that he is a proper aitire. What are those [fiefs]? Not difficult, that is [the fief] of the tanist of the chief [of the tribe] where he is acknowledged, moreover, as tanist by all the
tribe; anything then that that person pays in respect of each person is a fief upon [the offender] and [cannot] be returned', Stacey (1994, 92) = Thumeysen (1930, 381-2)

At all events, the *aire ard* appears to be acting as an *aitire* for the *tuath* with respect to written law and treaty. Cf. Stacey (1994, 96).

*i cáin 7 cairdiu:* a *cain 7 cairde* A, *coit- 7 a cairde* B. I can make no sense of the B reading.

*ní hé arda-naísc congiallnai ná dlígud flítha:* *ar-ñaíisc* is here followed by the dative. Cf. *arus-nena nertaiib dorn do giúllaiib,* 'he shall bind her with powers, a handful of hostages', Murphy (1952, 147). However this is the only example of the word *congiallnae* in *DIL.* Perhaps we should read *co ngiallnai,* and translate 'and it is not he who binds them with base-clientship'.

*oc lesugud tuaithe.* *oc lesugud tuaithe* A, *ac lesugud tuaithi* B. Cf. *do lesugud tuaithi.* *i. uair is ar daigin lesa oigh don tuaith doniat é,* 'for it is on account of the complete benefit of the *tuath* that they do it', *CIH* 1322.26-7.

**Dligid secht lethcumala indraici dia diguin.** *dligid uii. lethcumala inraice dia diguin* A, *dligid leth uii. cumala indraca dia diguin* B.

**Aire ard ardneimed:** *airdnone A, airdneime B.* For the opening lines of this verse cf. McLeod (1987, 44) where he translates 'The *aire ard,* a high sanctuary for his kingdom which he saves'. I restore *airdneime* to *ardneimed.* For further examples of the non-representation of final dentals in the MSS cf. 'Introduction': p. 6.

*conn a thúaithe tesairg:* *cona tuaithe tesairg* A. I can make no sense of the MS reading. Perhaps the text is assigning a martial function to the *aire ard,* just as it does to the *indnae,* the *ánruth* and the *dóe.* For *conn,* 'pre-eminent person, leader, chief' cf. *DIL* C 450,85.

Cf. *7 fós aire ard ardnemed con a tuath tesairg i. díghní a logh bais ari gonach leigann a ninnrad do echtrannaib,* 'he carries out their *lóg bás* (?) so that he does not
permit their being invaded by outsiders’, CIH 1291.15-16.

Note also: *Cis lir taírsín cacha fine? Conn ardólabraidtar, eacláis fosuigaidter, fliath fordotuigaidter*, CIH 227.1-2 = *Di Astud Chirt 7 Diligid*, ‘how many controls(?) are there for every kin? A head who speaks for them, a church which provides (for them), a lord who protects them’. Cf. Binchy (1976, 21-2) and Notes to §8 below.

I take *-tesairg*, to be an example of Bergin’s Law. For the deuterotonic present indicative *do-essuirg* cf. *DIL* D 258, 70 ff.

Alternatively, one could restore *conid tíuath tesaírgh*, ‘so that it is (his) tíuath which he protects’. For this construction (i.e. Tmesis III) cf. Greene (1977, 24).

**secta aigthe esáín**: *sceo aighthe esáin* A. I take *aigthe* to be genitive singular (preposed) of *agad, aiged*, ‘face, countenance’. Cf. *DIL* A 84, 1 where it is stated that the form is ‘not found in O.Ir. glosses or in the text of Laws’. This statement has been corrected by Binchy (1966, 55-6). Cf. further §§10, 11 infra. Alternatively, one might emend to the genitive singular of ‘oigi’, ‘guest, visitor’. The meaning would then be that the *aire ard* is due full honour-price if he is forced to refuse guests hospitality. Cf. *At-taat secht n-airlichthe do-sliat lóg n-enech ... airliciud biid dia tecmai dám i n-águ a n-érco*, ‘There are seven lendings which incur [the payment] of honour-price ... the lending of food if a party of guests happens [to arrive] on the date for paying it back’, Breatnach (1998, 38 §10 = *CIH* 572.12-14).

Note also *esáín oiged iaidi*, ‘driving guests away from it (i.e. the Church)’ Breatnach (1989, 10 §6 = *CIH* 2211.29). However, such a reading in our text would be a severe emendation.

**secht lána lethchumala**: Note the preposed adjective.

§8

There is a partial translation of this paragraph in McLeod (1987, 42).

**fini comchenél**: *fine comcenel* A., *fine comcinel* B. I take *comchenél* as genitive plural and translate ‘kin made up of his peers’. Perhaps we should read *fine chomcheniul*. Cf. *Cétmuntrí co córús láneachta lánamma comcheniul*, Binchy (1941, ll. 410-11 ff) = *CIH* 567.27.
arros-labrathar: arosabra A, arrolabrathar B. The B MS preserves the deponent flexion of the verb. The A MS contains an infixed pronoun 3 singular feminine Class A referring to fine.

Teora lethchumala ina esáin: teora lethcumala ina asain A, teora cumala ina asain B. I adopt the reading of the A MS (i.e. three half-cumals) which is repeated in the verse section of the paragraph.

teora léiri lethchumala. Note preposed adjective léiri.

la diabul fuirrid. la diabul fuirrid A, omitted B. The inclusion of refection in honour-price is unusual. However note la diablad fuirrid do thoirthib in §9 below.

§9

fer con-oí déis n-athar 7 senathar. fer conæ deis nathar 7 a tsenathar A, fer conæ deis nathar 7 seanathar B. Cf. Aire desa ... Os hé mac airech 7 aue airech, Binchy (1941, ll. 328-36= CIH 566.14-9). The principle here is that it takes three generations of ‘nobility’ before one advances to the grade of aire désa. For the situation relating to the grades of poets cf. Fili ón at óga firiana folad ... os é mac filed 7 aue araili, Breatnach (1987, 102 §3 = CIH 2336.15-18). For a general discussion of the three generation requirement with special reference to the grades of poets cf. Breatnach (loc. cit., 94 ff).

For the notion of preserving the land of the fine cf. trebar cach conæ a finntid oigí foric na facba domain bes mo inde foric fuirre, ‘prudent is the one who preserves his fine-land complete as he finds (it) and who does not leave any more harm on it than he finds on it (in the first place). CIH 535.30-1. (= Còrus Bescnai).

Note further: is mesech cach fer fine conæ a fintiu náði ren, náði sanma nádi foithlen, ‘capable is every man of the fine who preserves fine-land, who does not sell it, who does not alienate it, who does not diminish it’, CIH 489.16-17 (= Cán Aicillne, Thurneysen (1923, 370 ff)).

amail ad-cota riam. Thus A,B. I take it that the verbal form contains a masculine
infixed pronoun referring to déis. I restore the expected Class C form.

\[ \text{7 dotairchi} \quad 7 \text{dotairch} \quad A, \quad 7 \text{dotairciur} \quad B. \] The readings of both MSS are obscure to me. They may be corruptions of one of the following verbs: do-áirc, ‘causes, brings about’, do-airicc, ‘comes, finds, gets’ or do-farcai, ‘guards, fences around’.

For the verb do-áirc with the meaning ‘produces, brings forth’ Cf. DIL D 186,44 and note Is for anflaith tra na rig dogniter na tire \(7 \text{na ferunda condat ambrite} \quad 7 \text{conna taircet torad amal ba gnath doib}, \) ‘and it is through the unkingly rule of such that lands and territories become sterile and do not afford their wonted fruit’, Atkinson (1887, 4231-3).

Perhaps we should read do-dirci, ‘who produces thus’?

Alternatively, we could expand as do-dirchella, and translate ‘who confines it (i.e. fences it in)’.

dligid sóerbiáthad dechenbuir dó i túaith: dligid sóerbiáthad x.nebur do a túaith A, dligid sóerbiád x.nebur a túaith B. The A reading represents the genitive singular i.e. ‘the noble refection of ten persons’. The B reading represents the dative singular i.e. ‘the noble refection of one of a group of ten’. For this construction cf. GOI §§251.2, 388.


Ut dixit Cormac. Om. A, ut dr carrac B.

Aire désa díchle: Aire desa díchli A, aire desa díthle B. The form in the A MS may gen. sg. of dichell ‘negligence’, verbal noun of do-ciallathar. Thus we could translate ‘an aire désa of negligence i.e neglecting an a.d. For díthle of MS B cf. DIL D 147, 70 where the form is identified as the verbal noun of do-tlen, ‘takes away, steals, deprives of’. The sense then would be ‘diminishing an a.d. i.e with respect to his honour.’

dligid sláncumail cach oin co mórfeser: dligid sláncumail cach oin co mor.ui.ur A, dligid cumala cach oin co moirseisir B.

. Note the citation from Egerton 88, 7a: Aire desa díthle(?) i. lanfiach for gach fer i.
rith go mor, ui ear dona rigaib 7 dona gradhaib flatha uili fora ngelfine 7 fora ndaorcelsi, no gomad for cach ndhuine uile, ‘for diminishing an aire désa i.e. full penalty on every person i.e. an extension to seven persons in the case of the kings and all the lordly grades, on their gelfine and on their base clients, or that it be on every single person’, CIH 1282.34-6.

Note the reference to compensation being paid by up to seven persons. For the extension of liability for wrongdoing to multiple persons cf. Thurneysen (1930, 382 ff).

do thoirthib: do tortaibh A, om. B. For the torad/ toirthi cf. GOI §309. But perhaps the reference here is to tort, ‘a loaf, cake’. Cf. DIL T 262, 65. Uraicecht Becc specifies the rations of bread that the lordly grades are entitled to e.g. secht seoit airech desa ... biatad cetuir do ... ceitri airgen cach fir cona nanlund 7 a tarsund, ‘seven sets is the compensation of an aire désa ... he is entitled for refection for four ... four loaves for every man with their relish and condiment’, CIH 1597.9 - 15.

§10
Aire fine: Aire fine findathar A, Aire fine B. I adopt the reading of the B MS here. The reading of the A MS appears to anticipate the first line of the following metrical citation.

fer do-fet: fer doet A/B. For similar examples of the omission of ŋ in the A MS cf. Introduction: Orthography p. 4. For the leniting relative clause cf. GOI §494.

fer do-fet fini dia mberat a séutu do flaith. diambiar da seta co flaith A, diambi 7 ardo s. do flaith B. The text here appears to be corrupt in both MSS. Binchy (CIH 583 note h) suggested reading dia mberat a ?. Thurneysen (1930, 379) had previously suggested restoring the sentence as follows: fer do-fet fine dia mberat a séotu co flaith. He translated: ‘ein Mann, der die Sippe anführt (ihr vorangeht) wenn sie ihre Wertgegenstände (wohl Abgaben) zum Herrscher bringen.’ However, dia n- meaning ‘when’ is used only with the narrative preterite cf. GOI §889. Thurneysen (loc. cit.) added two further examples of a third party representing the fine before a king or ruler. (1) muirerechtigi doda-fet a tegh ri[g], ‘der m.r. der ihnen in das Haus des Königs vorangeht (offenbar bei derselben Gelegenheit)’, CIH 601.9 = Meyer (1904, 215). (2) Nach breth
nad astaither itir feichemna manetar, a fuaidred a tig a muireach fadeisin ardo-feith co righ, 'wenn ein Spruch (richterliche Entscheidung) durch die Kontrahenten untereinander nicht festgehalten (anerkannt) wird, ist Einspruch dagegen im Haus ihres eigenen muire zu erheben, der sie zum König führt', CIH 1969.26-7.

Another possibility is that we should adopt the reading of the B MS: *fer do-fet fini dia mbi ....*, 'a man who goes before a *fine* from which he comes/ to whom it falls ...'.

Perhaps we have to do with a corrupt form of the denominative verb *sétaigid* 'goes on a way, journeys'. This alternative however, would involve severe emendation.

The two MSS readings *iar da seta* A, 7 *ardo s.* do flaith B. may represent forms of a verb *do! da*, 'gives'. Cf. Binchy (1938, 62) and (1941,36) and note the following examples: (1) *nir cagaidh* (.i. nir cosmuil) *s* do *da* (.i. do thabhairt) *fair*, 'it was not fitting to impose that on him', Meyer (1905b, 483), (2) *cach fo dò in Duilibh* (.i. *co tuca Criost gach maith dò*), 'may the Creator grant every good thing to him', Meyer(1905b, 489).

**seissir :** *ui.ir* A, *seiriur* B.

**dligid cumail cacha lámae** lit. 'he is entitled to a *cumal* of every hand i.e. he is entitled to a *cumal* from every party who takes part in dishonouring him (up to four persons)*. Cf. §§6, 59.

**esáìn :** *esain* A, *asain* B.

**finnathan:** *findathar A* / B. I take this form to be 3 singular imperative passive of *ro-finnadar*. Alternatively, one could emend to the plural *firmatar a théachtai*, 'let his entitlements be discovered'.

**sceo air indligthat:** I take *air* to be an independent dative and translate 'and (his being wounded) with an illegal satire'.

**sceo aigthe esain:** Cf. note to §7 above.
The correct Old Irish spelling *indna(e)*is preserved by the B MS in §1 supra. For the Middle Irish change of *-ndn-* to *-dn-* cf. Breathnach (SnaG, 234). For the etymology of this word cf. Pokorny (1928, 305-6) where he suggests a connection with the word *ind*, ‘point’ (DIL I, 211, 47). The original meaning of the word seems to have been ‘a spear, weapon’. This then could have developed into the meaning ‘the one who uses a weapon’. Note the similarity to the usage of the phrase *gæ derg*, ‘murderer’. Cf. *techt ar sicht ga deirg iar nguin neith dot catridh*, ‘pursuing a murderer after the killing of one of your friends’, *CIH* 1322.5-6. For discussion of an alternative etymology cf. McLeod (1987, 46). The word also means ‘battle-line, battalion’. This usage may be relevant to the present context. Cf. *Cond-recat dia mis, cäch cona sochraithe co mbatar na da idna aigid i n-agid*, ‘They meet a month from that day, each with his army so that the two battle-lines were face to face’, O’Daly (1975, 40 §10). The sense could thus be interpreted as ‘the one who commands a battalion (of thirty ?)’. The use of this word to denote one of the grades of lord is unique to Miadslechtae.

**fer oca mbi sochraite do macaib bertar dö 7 do bráithrib:** *fer oca mbi sochraití do macaib berar dö 7 do brathrib A, fear oca mbi sochraite do macaib 7 braithre 7 maic brathar B*. I adopt the reading of the A MS, (restoring *bertar* for MS *berar*) as it preserves the correct use of the preposition *do* with the dative plural of both nouns.

**co mbi trichait gaiscedach:** *combi .xxx.uit gaisgedhach A, combi tricha gaiscadach B.*

**Dligid sóerbiathad cócir:** Dligid saerbiathad .u.ir A, dligid a saerbiathad .u.ir B.

**oca ñini:** *oca fine A, oca fini B*. For the preposition *oc* meaning ‘with, among’ cf. *DIL* O 84, 80. Perhaps to be translated as ‘when amongst his kin’. The entitlement to refection is usually qualified e.g *oc lesugud tíaithe*, §7 and *i tíaithe* §10. Perhaps this is another variation meaning ‘when acting on behalf of his fine’? Note Binchy’s comment(1941, 82): ‘Certain of the higher grades are allowed a larger d. [i.e. *dám*] when engaged on public affairs ... than that which accompanies them on private concerns’.
**Indnac an diumsach**: *IDhna an diumsach* A, *idan an diumsach* B. The words seem to me to be written separately in both MSS. Cf. note a to CIH 584, where Binchy proposes reading andiumsach. However it is difficult to see how the meaning ‘not proud/haughty’ would fit here. Note also the reference to the ánruith án in the following paragraph. The translation in AL iv 349 reads ‘unambitious’.

**Sloind Coirpri Lifechair**: For the use of the verb sluindid in the context of enumerating honour-price cf. sluind do airig forgail trichait set sainriuth, ‘declare for the aire forgail thirty sæts in particular’, Breatnach (1989, 14 §15). Note omission of vocative particle and cf. note to §5 above.

**sceo aigthe esain**: *sceo ai esain* A, omitted B. I adopt Binchy’s suggested restoration (note b to CIH 584). Cf. §§7, supra.

**dligid léir lethchumail**: Note preposed adjective.

**Connma imchastar Cormac**: This clause is obscure to me. For connma perhaps read coinnma/ coinnme, genitive singular of coinnem ‘visiting party, band of guests, free billeting’, DIL C 312.32 ff and cf. CIH 585.8 and note c to page. Cf. also coinnmed, DIL C 312, 76, ‘act of billeting, quartering’. For a reference to this custom cf. Kelly (1988, 31 and note 96 to page). The form imchastar may be for imcastar, the protoronic present subjunctive passive singular of imm-acci, ‘looks after, regards’.

§12
Note that there are three distinct grades of ánruith referred to in our text. The grade dealt with here is one of the lords. §35 infra describes an ánruith who is one of the grades of Latin scholars. §47 deals with the ánruith poet. The text does not comment on this fact. This is perhaps an indication of the compilatory nature of Miadslechtae.

An ánruith with military/martial functions is also described in Berrad Airechta: Cadeat tra imegla fechemon ar naidmaim, ma theis for snadhuth? Ata triar dod-n-eim la Féiniu ar naidmaim i. ansruith 7 dau (leg. dál) 7 a(e)nach. Is é ansruith imid-n-dich

'This has been translated in Stacey (1986, 217): 'What, then, are the defences [available to] a debtor [which protect him] from a naidm-surety if he seeks protection? There are three things which protect him from a naidm-surety in Irish law, i.e. a high-noble (ansrush) and a court and an assembly. This is the high-noble who protects him i.e. a man whose father and grandfather were high-nobles and who is a high-noble himself, for a [high-noble of only] one generation is not a proper high-noble for this purpose.'

Thumeysen (loc.cit. p. 14) discusses the martial ansrush and the ansrush-poet. He does not refer to the ansrush grade of Latin scholar. He also provides a translation of the first half of this paragraph.

fer imme-dich a mennut 7 a crich. fer imdith a mennut 7 a crich A. fer imdi caem menait 7 a crich B. I restore the relative form of the preposition, for which see GOI §493.4. For the dental final in the A MS's imdith cf. 'Introduction': p. 5. The reading of the B MS is obviously corrupt.

Cf. Caiche crich i. ansrush bis oc dighail greisi a coiccrich, 'a c.c. i.e an ansrush who is wont to be avenging attacks against his borders', CIH 610.13 [= Dúil Dromma Cetta].

Guin duini dó i cach tréimsi do chethrib rátíthib na bliadnae. guin duíne do in cach treimsi do ceithrib raithiub na blaidhna A, guin duíni do in cach treimsi do chéire raithi na blaidhna B. Presumably the text is indicating here that the habitual use of violence (to enforce claims ?) is one of the characteristic functions of this ansrush. Compare this to the description of the bóaire at §18: ní goin duíne acht i ló catha. Note also aithech baitside ... cen guin duíne acht lá a catha, Binchy (1941, §12 ll. 142-3).

Is cethruib in MS A a rare example of the masc./ neut dat. pl.? cf. GOI §385. If so rátíthe is here treated as a masc./ neut. io-stem. Cf. DIL R 7, 64.

Ni bí bes uaitiu fichit fri crich anechtain. Ni bí bes uaitiu xx. fri crich anechtain A, ni bes uaiti xx ti fri crich anechtain B. This is an example of the relative without antecedent with dative meaning. Cf. Bretnach (1980, 4 fn. 15). The unexpressed antecedent must refer to the ansrush's military band, i.e. 'he is not wont to be outside the territory (with a military band) which is less than twenty (in number).'
Sóerbiathad cethrair. *séerbiathad cethrair* A, *soerbiathad iiii.ai* B. Note that the B reading is mis-transcribed as *ii.ai* at CIH 677.22.

do cach leth. *do cacha lethe i gaca clethe* A, *do cach leth* B. There is confusion in the MSS at this point. I tentatively adopt the reading of the B MS with the meaning 'in every direction' i.e. 'wherever he goes'. For the use of *do* with *leth* cf. *DIL* L 126, 46. Note in the following metrical citation: *imm-dich a chrích cetharaid*, 'he protects his territory in four directions'. The correction in the A MS may have been influenced by *ó cach cleithiu* in the following paragraph. Thurneysen (1928, 14) translates 'von jedem Dach (Haus) in seinem Stamm'.

Cf. *7 a di cumal cairdi gacha lethe dona cethre leithaib*, 'and his two *cumals* of treaty from every side of the four sides', CIH 1397.25.

trian cumaile. *triancumail* A, *trian cumaili* B.

dia esáin. *dia easain* A, *dia esain* B.

gaisced n-inraic. *gaisced inraic* A, *caisced inraic* B.

inna eneclainn. So A, B. For the use of the preposition *i* with the meaning 'as, by way of' cf. *DIL* I 7,9 and note *taibir i tairchreicc cétile*, 'he gives it as a fief of (lit.) clients', Binchy (1941, §19 l. 252).

co n-airgaile úaid. *co nairgaile uadh* A, *co ngaile uad* B. Note the preposed genitive. There may be a resonance of the poetic *úairt* here with a play on the word *ai*, 'poetic composition, skill'.

co ndlig. *co ndlig* A, omitted. B. This reading should probably be expanded as the Mid. Ir. form *-dligenn*. One would not expect such a late form in an Old Irish text of this period. The syllable-stroke may have been added by a later scribe. But note also in this text *ni dligi* CIH 585.29 and *ni urcoimden* 586.5. Cf. 'Introduction': pp. 18-19.
ardchumail certtrian. ard cumail ceirtrian A, omitted. B. Note the preposed genitive.

fri ruamna rus. fri ruamna rus A. Perhaps read riannad? Again there may be a resonance of the ántruth-poet here, as this phrase could be interpreted as referring to reddening of faces by means of satire. Cf. Ceist a gillai... cia dán dognisíu? Ni handsa: Romna rossa i. romand aigthe Íc aerad, Stokes(1905b, 22 §55) = Imaccalam in dá thiarad. Alternatively, the reference may be to the violent reddening of faces with blood by this martial lord.

§13
Dóe : Dee A,B. Lindeman (1999, 179 ff.) derives this word from *dwos-yo-, ‘a living being, that which breathes’. But perhaps it is simply a figurative usage of dóe, ‘upper arm, arm, hand’ and note reference to frén lámne in the following verse citation. Cf. DIL D 243,9 ff.

fer imbertae fir ar alaile. fer imerta fir aralaire A, fear imerta fir aralair no fer aralir B. I take fir to mean ‘proof, ordeal’ (for which cf. Kelly (1988, 209 ff)). It may, however, simply mean ‘truth, justice’. Thus the dóe is one who pursues justice on behalf of another (weaker) party. For aralaire of the A MS cf. CIH 584 fn. g. Alternatively, fir may be the genitive singular of fer ‘man’. The sense would then be ‘one who employs a man on behalf of another’. This may explain the additional text of the B MS no fer araile. The verb may be ar-áili, ‘enjoins, urges an action’. Cf. DIL A 367, 70 ff. The text of the B MS could then be translated ‘a man who employs another man or a man who enjoins’.

connach tairthet a chomlann. connach tartét a chomlonn A, con tairteit a cumala B. I take the verb here to be do-airret ‘overtakes, pursues catches’. Cf. DIL D 193.17 ff. The analysis of this verb is not entirely certain i.e. do-áiret (*to-ad-reth-) or do-airret (*to-air-reth-). Note also tairthet cach fer imm alaile, ‘which every man pursues about another’, Wb.27d23 where the editors analyse the form as *to-air-thét. Cf. Ped. ii §840.1.

Another possibility is that we have to do with the verb tarmi-tét with the meaning
'transgresses, violates'. The sense then would be 'so that his opponent does not violate him'.

I can make no sense of the reading of the B MS 'so that he pursues his cumals'.

**Do-fich a gressa.** *dofich a gressa A, dotafich a greis B.* The verbal form in the B MS appears to contain a feminine infixed pronoun Class B (proleptic) referring to gres(s) (ā-fem.) where a Class A pronoun would be expected.

**cen adall fine occa.** *cen adhall fine aco A, cin adhall fini aca B.* *adall,* verbal noun of *ad-ella* 'visits, approaches'. The sense would seem to be that the *dőe* can avenge attacks on his own honour (or that of others) without having to involve his kin. Contrast this with the case of the *indnae,* the make-up of whose band is set-out in §11 *supra.* Cf. *cen imlúaíd fine* in §20 *infra.*

For the adverbial use of the conjugated (3 sg. neuter) preposition *oc* cf. *DIL* O 83.48.

**ó cach cléithiu.** *o cach leithe A, o cach clethi B.* Note the confusion in the MSS between *leth* and *cléithe* in the previous paragraph. The use of the word *cléithe* 'tenant' is not common outside of our text. Cf. §§16,17 *infra.*

**7 gaisced nó timthach.** So A, 7 gaisced no tiumach B.

**ut dixit.** *ut dr A, ut dt B.* I take it that the reading of the A MS here and elsewhere stands for the passive *dicitur.*

**asa frén láime luither.** *asa frein laime luiter A.* I take this clause to be an example of genitival relative (cf. *GOI* 507(c) and Breatnach (1980, 1-2). The verbal form would therefore be 3 sg. present indicative passive conjunct. Commenting on this verb *DIL* notes (*DIL* L 238.72 ff) that it is found 'mostly in archaic passages, not all of which are clear'. *frén* is the earlier form of *fróm* 'root'. Cf. *DIL* F 407.30 ff and 408.19 ff. *frén láime* means literally 'root of hand' and presumably refers to the (upper) arm.

**fria chuinnse cucht.** *fria cuinnse cucht A.* Note the preposed genitive. The phrase *cuinnse cucht* is found in a number of glossaries: *cucht i.e. gne, ut est fri cuindsi cucht,*
CIIH 812.6-7; cucht i. gne, ut est fri cuinssi cucht, CIIH 1560.4.

Note that the word clothach in §5 supra is also glossed in the above texts (which appear to be copies of one another). Finally note Cuinse i. drech, ut dicitur: cid cnedach a cuinsi cucht, Meyer (1912, 31) = CIIH 2218.9-10 = (Bretha Nemed Toisech).

The concept here is that the face is used figuratively with reference to the honour that it may or may not display. For a discussion of this concept cf. Breatnach (1998, 42).

Note further:

_Fir do rig ruirech_
_
ro-saig dá secht cumala_
_
fora gníos gné_

‘Confirm for a king of great kings that he attains twice seven cumals, depending on the appearance of his countenance’, Breatnach (1989, 14-16 §16 and notes to paragraph p. 36-7). The meaning is, therefore that the dòe is entitled to payment of his honour-price provided his honour is intact.

_la díth tlachta._ The word tlacht has the meaning ‘garment, clothing’. Cf. DIL T 194, 56 ff. This may be a reference to the timthach which forms part of the dòe’s honour-price. Thus the dòe has an honour-price of one sixth of a cumal but he may also be entitled to forfeiture of a garment by a wrongdoer.

Note that the B MS breaks off here.

§14

As McLeod points out, (McLeod (1987, 62)), the text here seems to indicate that while the honour-price of lords is calculated in cumals, that of commoners is reckoned in séts of livestock. He also compares this paragraph with Crith Gablach’s treatment of the ócaire: Trí séoit lóg a enech, acht it séoit bóislabrae direnatar dó, ‘his honour-price is three séts, but they are livestock séts which are paid to him by way of compensation’ : Binchy (1941, l. 119-120). Note further bóaire febsa ... is di búaib atá a airechas 7 a eneclann, ‘a bóaire febsa ... his legal status and honour-price consist in cattle’ ibid 152-3. Note further ata coboduil for rath 7 for flaithiub i. flaith na dlig acht imocus silocus beocethra(th). flaith athuigh nabid flaith a athair, ‘there is a distinction with
respect to fief and lords i.e. a lord who is only entitled to butter and seed and livestock, a lord of a churl whose father was not a lord’, Thurneysen (1925, 245) = CIH 1772.24 ff. In this regard note the different grades of *flaithem* referred to in the following passages.

**ni i cumalaib. ni cumalaib A.**

**acht i sétaib bóchethrae nó bóslabrae. acht a s.uib bocethruib I boslabhra A.** I take the dative plural ending of *bóchethruib* to be an error. I take *bóchethrae* and *bóslabrae* to be nouns in the genitive singular dependent on *sétaib*. Both compounds seem somewhat tautologous, as *cethrae* and *slabrae* almost invariably refer to cattle. Perhaps these words are similar to compounds such as *cathgleo*, *slichtlorg* etc. discussed by Sjoestedt where she notes ‘le deuxieme terme de composition forme pleonasme avec le premier’, (Sjoestedt 1927, 400 and Uhlich (1993, 88 ff. §78(b)). The word *slabrae*, however, can refer to animals other than cattle cf. *At-chiusa iar sin sainslabra sainigthi remib i. tri. III. ngabar ndubglas*, ‘I see after that a special remarkable herd i.e. three times fifty grey-black horses’, (Knott 1936, II. 462-3).

On the association of payment in cattle and the lower grades of society note:

*Ro-cúala*

*ni tabhair eochu ar dúana;*

do-beir a n-i as dúthaig dó, bó

: Murphy (1956, 90) = MV III.3.

§15

This grade (the *ógflaithem*) and the following two (lethflaithem and *flaithem oenescrae*) are unique to *Miadslechtae*. If we take *cléithe* and *senchléithe* in §§16,17 respectively to refer to *senchléithe* then the status of these grades depends on the number of generations of *senchléithe* that they possess. For discussion of the term *senchléithe* cf. Thurneysen (1931, 81-3), Charles-Edwards (1986, 58-60) and Kelly (1988, 35-6).

MacNeill, referring to this section of the text comments: *‘Flaithem may be explained to mean “lordlike” (* vlati-samos); óg- means “perfect”, leth- “half”. The three grades
of *flaithem*, instead of landed vassals such as are under a *flaith*, have tenants bound to the land, in number respectively three, two, and one. The likeness to lords is therefore very slight’, MacNeill (1923, 312).

I take *ogflaithem* to mean ‘complete/entire lord’ as opposed to *óc- ‘young’. Perhaps this grade is described as complete because his lordship over *senchléithe* extends to three generations.

*fer tri senchléithe*. *fer tri senchléithe* A. I follow Charles-Edwards (1986, 59 fn. 9) and take this phrase to mean ‘a man of three generations of *senchléithe*, namely, a man whose lordship over *senchléithe* has been inherited for three generations’.

*cona comarbaib téchtaib*. *cona comorbaib techta*, A.

*sóerbiathad deichnebuir*. *sóerbiathad x.nebur* A. Note the incorrect transcription *x.nebur* at CIH 584.22.

§16

*fer da chléithe*, A. I assume that here and in the following paragraph *cléithe* stands for *senchléithe*. But see §23 infra where the phrase *na cléithe* may refer to tenants.

*cona comarbaib téchtaib*. *cona comorbaib techta* A.

7 *día esáin*. 7 *esáin*, A.

Note that the *lethflaithem* has half the honour-price (five *séts*) of the *ógflaithem* (ten *séts*).

§17

*Flaithem óenescreai*: *Flaithem oenescrea* A. I translate ‘lord of a single vessel’. Is *escrae* used figuratively to refer to his single hereditary serf? Or perhaps this term
refers to the association between the lord and beer. Only the lord was entitled to malt for brewing. Cf. ar ní dlig aithech mraich corop flaith, ‘for a rent-payer is not entitled to malt until he become a lord’, (Binchy, (1941, 254-5)). Note also flaith corma, CIH 1773.14.

*fer òenchléithe*. *fer òenclèithe* A.

*cona múr.* The primary meaning of the word múr is ‘wall, rampart’. Perhaps the meaning has been extended here to refer to the client’s house or dwelling.

7 *a comorbaib téchtaib.* *a comorbu techta* A. Note that MS *comorb*- is expanded as *comorbaib* at CIH 584.21 but as *comorbu* at 584.25. Presumably in the example here the MS reading is taken by Binchy to be in the dative singular. But there is no reason why the single *senchléithe* should not have more than one heir.

*bóislabra*: *beoslabra* A. I restore on the basis of the MS reading at CIH 584.20. The MS reading *beoslabra* may have been influenced by the preceding *beodile*. However note the word *marbslabra*: *fiach* mna marbslabra, CIH 2154.21.

§18

This paragraph purports to deal with a grade designated simply bóaire, whereas the following paragraph describes the grade designated *tanuisi mboaire*. However, note that the designations and the relative order in which they occur here are different from those given in the opening paragraph of the text: bóaire tânais, bóaire tuiseo, §1 supra. As the hierarchy constantly descends from high to low (i.e. from kings to commoners), the sequencing found here is the expected one. Cf. McLeod (1987,72 fn. 118). McLeod (loc.cit.) restores bóaire to bóaire túise and translates ‘a man in possession of family stock with their increase for land’.

The grades of bóaire tuiseo and bóaire tânaisce are also described in Uraicecht Becc: *coig seoid do boairig tuisi*. I. tuisech na mbaoirech, *in boairi is ferr*, ‘five séirs for the chief bóaire i.e. the leader of the bóaires, the bestbóaire’, CIH 1611.17; *Tri seoit do*
hoairig tanaise i. tanass na mboairech, int ocaire is ferr, 'three sêts for the second rank of bóaire, the second rank of bóaires, the best ócaire', CIH 1610.40. In each case the text continues with commentary on the respective grade’s possessions of cattle and land: A tri tochusa bo ... a tri tochusa tiri, ‘three possessions of cattle ... three possessions of land’, CIH 1611.11-13.

Likewise, Crith Gablach also refers to the bóaire’s cattle and land: Bòaire febsa, cid ara n-eperr ? Ar is di búaib atá a airechas 7 a eneclann. Tír dá secht cumal leis, ‘the Bòaire febsa, why is he so-called? Because his legal standing and honour-price consist in cattle. He has land to the value of twice seven cumlals‘, Binchy(1941, §13 ll. 152-4).

fer selbae bunaid. fer selba bunuid A. I take bunad to refer to stock. Cf. DIL B 243.5. Note also Thurneysen (1936, 30) where the editor translates bunad as ‘das Stammvieh’. The sense would then be ‘a man with possessions made up of stock (cattle)’. However, this phrase may refer to a man who has received his inheritance i.e. the original land of his father and grandfather. Note: ceili bunaid-selba 7 bunaid ceniuil iar saire, ‘ein Genosse, der ihm nach (Land-)Besitz (nach der Lage seines Landes) und nach Geschlecht angestammt ist seiner Freiheit nach (ohne Rücksicht auf sein Genossentum), Thurneysen (1923,381).

Another possibility is that the sense fer bunaid ‘the original owner’ is intended. Cf. Ótha inna téora bliadhni ni dilig fer in bunaid cuit indib, ‘After the three years the original owner is not entitled to a share in them (i.e. the bees)’, Charles-Edwards, Kelly (1983, §38 pp. 74-5).

conal inud de thir. cona inud no indiud do tir A. I take inud to be the dative singular of inad, ‘space, position’. DIL I 199, 62 also gives the meaning ‘space, extent, room’. Cf. ineth cethri mbó ... di thalam, Meyer (1912b, 316). The sense then, is that the bóaire has cattle and sufficient land on which to raise them.

The correction no indiud is added above the line and may have been influenced by the form inniud in the following paragraph. McLeod (1987, 72-3) translates this word as ‘increase’. Presumably the word is taken to be a form of indad, indoth ‘increase (of cattle), the young of cattle’, DIL I 213, 34 ff. The interpretation here is that the rent for the land is paid for with the newly-born cattle. A comparison is made between this scenario and that of the ócaire in Crith Gablach: Tír .vii. cumal les ... foloing .vii.

98
Deich mbai lais 7 ní goin duine acht i ló chatha. A. Note the similarity between treatment of the bóaire here and that of the aithech arathreba a deich in Crith Gablacr: aithech arathreba a deich, deichde a biar sidi ... cen goin doine acht lása chatha, 'the rent-payer who farms in tens, tenfold is his stock ... he does not kill a man except on a day of battle', Binchy (1941, §12 ll. 132-143).

The text here seems to be referring to the limited military capacity of the bóaire. Compare this scenario with that of the ámruigh described in §12 supra: Guin duini dó i cach tréimsi do chéchrib raithib na bliadhna.

§19

Note that as in the case of the previous grade, the designation (tánuise bóairech) differs here from that in the opening paragraph of the text i.e (bóaire tánaise).

Tánuise bóairech. Tanuisi mboaire A. The nasalization of the initial of bóaire is peculiar. Perhaps bóairech is intended as genitive plural with loss of the definitive article in the course of transmission i.e. the original reading was tánuise na mbóairech 'the second-in-rank of the bóaires. Cf. tri seoit do boaírig tanaísi i. tanáisi na mboairech, int ocaire is ferr, CIH 1610.40-41 (= Uraicecht Becc).

For further examples of the erratic marking of nasalization in medieval MSS cf. Kelly (1975, 73).

The second alternative (adopted here) is to take bóairech as genitive singular and translate literally 'a second-in-rank of a bóaire' i.e. 'a second type of bóaire'. For similar formations cf. amrae fiadat 'wonder of a lord' i.e. 'wonderful lord', Kelly (1975, 77, 80 4a), amrae n-anmae, 'wonderful name', (idem. 81, 6b).

Ocht mbai lais i forus. So A. The possession of cattle pens and suchlike appears to be linked to the status of the bóaire. Cf. Bóaire febsa ... Tech vii. traiged fíchtet co n-airchait cóic traiged ndéac; cuit i mnuilinn co n-airmil a muintir 7 a dáma; áith,
sæball, lias cairech, lias lóeg, mucofoil. It hé insin vii. cléithe ó ndirenach cach bóaire,
‘A bóaire febsa ... he has a house measuring twenty-seven feet with an outhouse mea-
suring fifteen feet; (he has) a share in a mill so that he can grind for his household and
his retinues; (he has) a drying kiln, a barn, a sheep-fold, a calf-pen, a pig-stye.’, Binchy
(1941, §13 ll. 152-156).

**cona inud de thír. cona inniud do tîr** A. See notes to previous paragraph.

§20

There is a partial translation of this paragraph in McLeod (1987, 77):
‘Úaithne, the man who supports and has demands made upon him, i.e. the wretched
and the needy make demands on him; a man who suffers (pays for ?) defamations
without involving the kin [in feud/payment?].’

Úaithne. *huithe* A. The primary meaning of this word is ‘pillar, post, support’. Cf.
*DIL* U 20.26. In this context it appears to mean ‘the man who supports or sustains’, cf.
fer fo-loing infra.

**fo-loing. fonluing** A. The infixed nasal here is difficult to explain. If an infixed pronoun
is intended one would expect a form such as *fa-lling*.

**fris-ellagar. frisellaghar** A. I take the form to be 3 singular present indicative deutero-
tonic passive of *fris-eillig* (*fris-in-long-*). Cf. *DIL* F 426, 12 ff. The verb *in-loing* has
the meaning ‘imposes, puts in a claim’. Cf. *DIL* I 272, 62. Perhaps we should expect a
syncopated form: *fris-ellgar*?

. i. in fer *fris-eillget. in fer i. friseillget*. I have altered the punctuation here in an
attempt to improve the sense. Note the chaistic structure of these clauses: *fo-loing* 7
fris-ellagar. i. in fer fris-eillget trúaig 7 aidliiccin. Fer fo-loing einechgressa ....

**aidliiccin. aidheilgen** A. I take the form to be nominative plural of the o-stem *aidliiccen*
‘pauper’. Cf. *DIL* A 107.27 ff. 100
Fer fo-loing enechgressa cen imluad fine. fer foloing eichgresa cin imluad fine A.  
Enechgress has the primary meaning ‘an attack on one’s honour, slander’. However, the word is also used to designate the fine or penalty due for such an attack. Imluad is the verbal noun of imm-luadi with the meaning ‘moves about, stirs up’. Thus, one could interpret the phrase cen imluad fine as meaning ‘without stirring up’ involving the fine’. However this verb also has the meaning ‘discusses, debates, mentions’. Cf. DIL 1 101.9 ff. The sense here then might be that this grade of person can take responsibility for attacks on his honour without discussing the matter with the kin. Note Do-fich a gressa cen adall fine occa in §13. Alternatively the sense may be that he takes responsibility for or levies fines due to others for attacks on their honour i.e. he acts on behalf of those who are too weak to enforce their own claims. Again, note the similarity to the role of the dœ as described in §13. Perhaps this is why he is described as a ‘pillar/support’.

boin lethgabálá. This phrase is cited in DIL L 132.41-2 and translated ‘a cow of the second quality’ (following AL iv, 351). This word lethgabál occurs in a number of other texts: 
Ma fociogem o fine 7 aitin o flaith, slan do fine 7 diablod o flaith, l dœ is aithgin o fine 7 lethgabal diabulta on flaith , ‘if it be objection by the fine and acknowledgement by the lord, the fine is indemnified and a doubling (is due) from the lord, alternatively, it is restitution from the fine and a twofold lethgabal from the lord’, CIH 492.18-20 [= Commentary on Càin Aicillne].

coinmheccad (= comlogud ?) iter fomuilt in feraunn 7 in fiach eloda .i. etar fomuilt l etar eicneclann 7 lethgabal, 7 aithgin co los 7 às 7 inforbairt do ic fris acht munur facuith roid l cairnnenn l abla amn do noech roclann a lamm buden ... , ‘adjustment between the use of the land and the penalty of evasion i.e. between use or between honour-price and lethgabál and restitution with increase and growth and produce to be paid to him unless he has left any madder trees or onion or apple in it with respect to something(?) which his own hand has planted’, CIH 1876.4-7 [= Commentary to Di Thuaslucud Rudrad]. 
7 fomailt in feraind a ndagaid na .u.s. 7 na henneclann 7 na lethgabala diabulta , ‘use of the land against the sêts and the honour-price and the twofold lethgabal’, CIH 101
It is frithfolaid-seom dond fir gráid i.e. lá air n-indraic cech blíadhna cona sìl 7 a iithir 7 lethgabol òtaig do brutt nó do láibid nó do inur, ‘These are his reciprocal duties to the ordained man: a proper day’s ploughing each year, with its seed and its arable land and half of clothes for mantle or for shirt or for tunic’, O’Keefe (1904, 220 §14).

Cóic sío. u.s. A. I understand that a new sentence begins here. There can hardly be any connection between boin lethgabaila and .u.s.. The relatively high honour of this grade is surprising. The figure of five sér’s puts him on a level with the lethflaithem described in §16 supra. The descending order of the hierarchy with regard to honour-price is also broken.

dia sàrugud. dia sasarugud A. A case of dittography as noted at CIH 584 fn. k.

§21
Seirthid. Seiriuthud A. Note a similar spelling of this word in the A MS in §1 supra. For the agentive suffix -id cf. GOI §267.

óclach de dagcenéul. oclach do daghcenel A. For delenition in the compound dagcenel cf. GOI §137.

fer forais. Cf. DIL F 373.63-4,76-7 where this phrase is translated ‘a householding man’ (following ALI iv 353), perhaps meaning that this grade formed part of the toisech’s retinue. Cf. the citation from Crith Gablach in the next note. Alternatively, the meaning may simply be ‘an established man, a man of proper standing’.

mac tuisig. Note that the description of the seirthid’s background offered here is quite distinct from that given in Crith Gablach, as noted in McLeod (1987, 71). In this latter text he is described as one of the servants or hirelings (amais) of the king and his background given as follows: Cair : cis-né amuis ata chóirai la rig ? Fer sòeras di chríu, fer sòeras di gabail, fer sòeras di chimbidecht, fer sòeras di fognam, di dòerbothus, di dòerfiudrìus, ‘Question : what are the servants which it is fitting for a king to have ? A man whom he saves from violent death, a man whom he saves from a gibbet, a man
whom he saves from captivity, a man whom he saves from service, from being a servile cottier, from being a servile tenant-at-will’, Binchy (1941, §46 ll. 577-580).

do-nessa do seir thuisig oc tuidecht i ndail nó i ndúnad. donesa do seir tuisig oc taidecht a ndail l a ndunad A. This description of of the function of the seirthid closely resembles that given in Crith Gablach: rigthid 7 seirthith 7 dá thóebthaid, it é a n-anman; it é ata chórai do buith i foitsiu thaige rig ara choimthecht a taig immach [d]i maig i tech, ‘a front guardsman, a rear guardsman and two side-men, these are their names; it is these for whom it is proper to be on the south side of the house of a king to accompany him out of the house (and) into the house’, Binchy (1941, §46 583-5). Presumably these were occasions of particular physical danger for the king or toísech.

do-nessa. Cf. DIL D 347.68 where the meaning ‘tramples on, crushes’ is given. However the sense ‘walks, travels’ is required here. Cf. Ni trummu do/njessa in n-usce oldás ela nó fandall, ‘He skims over the water as lightly as a swan or a swallow’, TBC Rec. I, 1. 742.

nó úair robo toísech a athair nó dag a chenél nó ara gaisced. l uair robo taisech a athair, l dagh a cinel, l ara gais A. I tentatively restore gaisced for MS gais as the sense ‘wisdom, sagacity’ hardly fits the context. I am assuming that a suspension-stroke has been dropped from the exemplar. I take it that these phrases refer to the preceding material i.e. úair robo toísech a athair refers to mac tuisig; dag a chínel refers to dágcenél; ara gaisced refers to óclach ‘young warrior’. For the absence of nasalization in the form of the copula after úair cf. Ó hUiginn (1986, 44) and GOI §505. Alternatively, one could allow gáes to stand. The sense then might be that the though the seirthid is a man of limited means, his intelligence elevates his status above those persons described in §§22-30 infra. Note the use of the word gáes in §22 infra.

Dligid a sócrbíathad i túaith 7 a ben. Whilst the úaithne is entitled to refection for two persons (i.e. himself and one other) the seirthid is entitled to refection for one and a half persons (i.e his wife counting as a half as she has half his honour-price. Cf. leth diri cach gráid túaithte fora mnai, ‘half honour-price of every lay grade with respect to
his wife', Binchy (1941 §11 l. 125).

**samseisc focail.** samseisc focail A. Note the etymological spelling of *samaisc* (*sam + seise*, 'summer-dry') and cf. Kelly (1997, 63-4). For *focal* with the meaning 'judgment, test' cf. *DIL* F 185.64 ff. Note: *ag loige tri miach ... a taisbenad cach techta cona measaib 7 ioimsib cona foclaib techtaib*, *CIH* 482.21-4 [= *Cain Aicillne*]. Thurneysen translates 'Ein Rind im Werte von drei 'Säcken' ... mit dem Vorweisen aller Gebühr an Schätzungen und Massen, mit den richtigen Proben (mit dem Nachweis, daß alles nach Wert, Maß und Prüfung in gebührender Ordnung ist)', Thurneysen (1923, 353-4). The meaning in our text would then be 'a tested *samaisc*' i.e. an animal which has been examined and found to be free from defects.

**colpthaig.** For the *colpthaich* cf. Kelly (1997, 62). The *samaisc* has a value of 12 scruples while the *colpthaich* is worth 8. This gives a combined value of 20 scruples or 5/6 that of a milch cow i.e. almost two *séts*.

§22

Here begins a new section of the text dealing with those who have no legal rights. In most cases the text consists of an etymological explanation of the designation.

MacNeill comments:

'The description of the unpropertied grades does not much increase our knowledge of the social structure. There is nothing in it to show that these are really grades differing from each other in status, and we may rather understand the list to state nine ways in which a freeborn man may become bereft of franchise: by selling his property, by having no property but cattle which he puts to graze on the land of others, by being deranged in mind, etc', MacNeill (1923, 312-13).

Cf. Thurneysen (1928, 40 and fn. 3) where a translation of a number of these designations is given.

**Na noí ngráda déídencha-so.** Na nai ngrada deidinach-so A. Note that in fact only eight grades are discussed in this section.

**ní techtat.** *ni techtait* A.
dia mbreith i nairechus. So A. Lit. 'their being brought into nobility i.e. their being granted legal status'. Cf. Dair, cid dombeir in airechus hi? ni, a mes, a sairi, '(the) oak : what confers nobility on it? Not difficult: it's mast (and) it's nobility', CIH 582.12.

mani n-asta. mana nasta A. Lit. 'unless it establish it' i.e. unless possessions or wisdom or followers establish legal standing (airechas). The verbal form is preceded by a masculine infixed pronoun referring to airechas, a masculine u-stem.

For the relevance of sochraite 'followers, retinue' see § 11 above: Indnae : fer oca mbi sochraite do macaib bertar dò 7 do bráithrib co mbi trichait gaiscedach, 'An indnae : a man who has a group of followers made up of youths born to him and of kinsmen, so that it numbers thirty warriors'.

Ni coimthet. Ni caimthet A. I take the verb to be 3 sg. present indicative prototonic of con-imthet 'accompanies'. For the diphthong cf. GOI § 179 and McCone (1997, 49).

dithecht ná dithir ná dochrait ná anfoiltach. dithecht na dithir na dochrait na hanfoila. This appears to be a list of types of person who have no honour-price. Therefore I restore anfoiltach for MS hanfoila. Perhaps a suspension-stroke has been dropped here from the exemplar.

úair natat inraici nadmae. uair natat indraice nadma A. For the adjective indraic meaning 'worthy, qualified' followed by the genitive cf. Rucus ba n-inraic noilich fere adgair, 'Ich entschied, der Mann, der rechtlich belangt (der Kläger) sei des Eides würdig (sein Eid sei anzunehmen)', Thurneysen (1925b, 361 §46) = CIH 2199.5 = [Gübretha Caratniad].

Note that the words naidm, ráth, aitire, noill, fiadnaise etc. are commonly used when describing a person's legal capacity. Cf. x. séoit a eneclann; immustoing, is naidm, is ráth, is aitire, is féichem, is fiadnaise friu, 'his honour-price is ten séis; he swears to that amount, he is enforcing surety, paying surety, hostage surety, contracting party, he
is eye-witness evidence to that amount’, Binchy (1941, §24 ll. 347-9).

noill. naill A. Noill is a feminine guttural stem and an a-stem. Cf. DIL N 60.5. The form in the MS would appear to be genitive plural of an a-stem. However, a form in the genitive singular would reflect the case and number of the other nouns in this series. If one assumed that a suspension-stroke has been lost from the exemplar one might restore noillech. Compare the example from Gúbretha Caratniad given supra.

§23

fás foigde. Fás faighde A. Lit. ‘futility of begging’. Fás is here used substantively. Cf. GOI §255. I take foigde to be the verbal noun of fo-guid ‘begs, entreats’.

fer ro chrecca. fer ro creca A. For the use of the perfective present here cf. GOI §530 and McConne(1997, 101 ff.). On the alienation of land cf. Is mesech cach fer fine conne a finiu nadi ren nadi sanna nadi fothlen nadi ‘mfuch cintaib na coarib’, CIH 489.16-17 (= Thurneyse 1923, 370-1 §33)[Cáin Aicillne]. Thurneyse translates ‘Berechtigt ist jeder Mann der Sippe, der sein Sippenland bewahrt, der es nicht verkauft, nicht entfremdet, nicht heimlich weggibt (wörtlich ‘entwendet’) nicht durch Vergehen oder (ungünstige) Verträge schädigt’. Note also the description of the aire desa at §9 supra : Aire desa : fer con-oí déis n-athar 7 senathar amail ad-cota riam.

nád techta. na techta A.

fo thúaith co léir. fo tuaithe co leir A. ‘throughout the entire tuath’. For fo meaning ‘throughout’ cf. DIL F 169.55 ff.

na cléithe. For cléithe meaning ‘tenant’ see notes to §§16, 17 supra.

co frescai. 7 co freisce A. I adopt Binchy’s suggestion (CIH 585 fn. a) and omit the conjunction here.

cuile cáich. cuile caith A. For confusion of final dentals and guttarals in this MS cf.
ni tá diles dod-cois. I take it that the negative particle contains a masculine infixed pronoun 3 singular Class A. For the intrusive dental cf. ‘Introduction’: p. 6. I take dod-cois to be 3 singular present subjunctive deuterotonic of do-coisig (*to-com-saig-), ‘keeps, preserves’ with infixed pronoun 3 singular masculine Class C. For similar formations of the s-subjunctive cf. GOI §626. Note also torad aláam ished dodtoisged, ‘it is (the) fruit of his hands that used to support him’. Wb9a6. The correct reading dodcoisged is given at footnote c to the page. For diles with the meaning ‘private property, possessions’ cf. DIL D 104, 64 ff.

cía fo-gé. cia foighe A. 3 singular present subjunctive deuterotonic of fo-guid, ‘begs, entreats’.

mani crecca a enech aire amal choin. mana chreca a enech aire amal coin A. Note the following references to the selling of one’s honour: frisin fer cerdda renas a ainech 7 a anmain ar bratt 7 ar biad, LL 24819 -20 (= Immacallam in dá Thuírad), co rirfe in fer uallach a enech 7 a anmain ar lóg oenscripuil, LL 24821-2 (= Immacallam in dá Thuírad). I am unsure as to how to interpret the preposition airi in the above clause.

a frepaid. a repaidh A. For the omission of lenited f in this MS cf. ‘Introduction’: p. 5.

Is fás danó a šaire 7 a dire 7 a eneclann. I take this clause to mean that this person’s independent legal status is worthless, that he is not entitled to compensation for wrongs done against him and that he has no honour-price.

§24


fer méite coimse. ‘a man of adequate size’. This person appears to be a habitual coward. The text may be stressing the fact that there is no physical reason for him to act in
this way as he is of normal build or without bodily defect. However, *DIL* 307.56 takes *coimse* to be the word meaning ‘partnership, joint husbandry’ (participle of the verb *con-midethar*). Cf. Binchy (1941, p. 47) and Thurneysen (1923, 372). Perhaps the reference is to a joint grazing arrangement. However, the context is unclear to me.

*nád tét. na teit* A. The MS reading reflects the Middle Irish use of the absolute form of the verb for the conjunct.

*nach do airlisi. nach do airlisigh* A. For *nach* ‘nor’ cf GOI §865. For the non-historic guttural final in *airlisigh* cf. ‘Introduction’ p. 6. The references here to going to the border or to the kings enclosure might refer to failure to partake in military service. Cf. ‘free tribesmen owed their king a special period of military service: they were bound to join him on a hosting ... whether against another tribe or against internal rebels ... Each family had to contribute a quota of armed men and failure to appear when summoned to the hosting as well as desertion before the prescribed period had expired involved severe penalties’, Binchy (1970, 21).

*acht bid inna mennut fadeisín. acht bid ina mendat fadeisin* A.

*Ar-imgaib*. For this compound (which is not instanced in *DIL*) cf. Breathnach (1989, 30) who cites the following example: *ar imgaibh dlighi imatimairg mainder i. inti imgaibes riar dlighi i. is emh timaircter athgabail de a mainder*, ‘he who eludes legality, an enclosure compels him i.e. he who eludes the stipulation of law i.e. it is promptly that distraint is driven from him into an enclosure’, *CIH* 725.10-11 [= Bretha Nemed Dédenach]. Note also *ar iomghaibh Uladh anradha, CIH* 1118.37-8 [= *Ériu* 13, 24.12]. For another example of this verb from our text cf. §29 infra.

*ó ro bí cona gaisciud fair*. So A. For the use of *ó* with present indicative meaning ‘while’ cf. *DIL* O 78,85 (or perhaps 78.78). For the use of the perfective present here compare *l isin muall dongnìat horumaith for a naimtea remib* ‘or it is the cry that they make when their enemies are routed by them’, *Mi.* 51c9

*conid dam cain cen fedain don-ingarar*. *cona daim cin fedhain doningarar* A. An ox
without a halter presumably means an animal that does no work and the reference here is to the fecklessness of the bögelteach faithche. Alternatively MS cona daim cain could stand for coná daim cain ‘so that he does not submit (daimid) to legality’. However, it is not clear how this would fit the context.

**fer fo-gelt a bú i faithchi ar chách.** fer fogelta a bu a faithce ar cach A. The sense here appears to be that the cowardly bögelteach faithche herds his cattle close to his dwelling, in sight of all, as opposed to in dangerous distant places. fogelta could be the genitive singular of fogelt, the verbal noun of fo-gelt. However bú would appear to be accusative plural and hence a finite verbal form is required. I have restored fo-gelt the 3 singular preterite deuterotonic form. Alternatively fogelta may be a corruption of fo-geltatar with loss of a suspension stroke. However a verbal form in the plural does not seem to suit the context here.

Another possibility is that the bögelteach faithche has no land of his own and therefore grazes his cattle on other persons land. Cf. in saerbothach i.e. is saer a both-achus fein re re samraid, amal carait coemcloide duit e ag denam do leasa; air ar ferann neich ele [bid] a’ caithem a feoir 7 a uisce 7 nochan fa il ni uadha donti aga ta acht loim a bo, CHI 1038.28-31. Thurneysen translates: ‘Der Frei-Hüttler, d.h. sein Hüttlertum ist frei während der Sommerzeit; er besorgt deine Sache wie (oder: als) ein Austausch-Freund. Denn [er ist] auf dem Land eines anderen, sein Gras und sein Wasser gebrauchend; und er liefert dem, bei dem er ist, nichts als die Milch seiner Kühe’, (Thurneysen (1926, 54 §121.)

One final possibility is that this alternative explanation of the title bögelteach faithche refers to trespass i.e. this man has allowed his cattle to trespass on another party’s infiel.

**arná dessetar coin alltaí impu.** nach deis etar coin allta ime A. The MS representation of the verbal form (3 singular reduplicated preterite of saidid) may be indicative of corruption here. I take the form of the modal preterite with conditional force i.e ‘that they would not/ might not sit’. Cf. Quin (1974, 45 ff).

**Conid sí a main in sin.** conad si main in sein A. I take it that the possessive pronoun has dropped out of the MS here. Perhaps the text is underlining the fact that this per-
son’s wealth consists of cattle alone and not land. Cf. *Is cnú chaech nad bi a mmain*, ‘it is a blind nut whose worth does not exist’, LL 36780 [= Mo-Lling ].

§25

**Aithech baitse.** For the spelling of the genitive singular *baitse* cf. Hull (1966, 172). This obscure term has been commented on by a number of scholars. Cf. MacNeill (1923, 289 fn. 3), Binchy (1941, 29) and Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen (1984, 405 footnote 2). As Etchingham (1999, 400) has pointed out, the *aithech baitside* of *Crith Gablach* (cf. Binchy (1941, §12 line 142 ff) has more in common with the *bóaire* described in §18 supra).

*fer nád sáera dán ná trebad.* *fer na saera dan na trebad A.*

**Ni fuilech re dáim in fer-sin.** *ni fuil- re daim in fer-sin A.* Binchy expands *fuil- as fuilet(?). Such a linguistically late verbal form would be unusual for our text (however cf. *CIH* 588.5 and ‘Introduction’: p. 19 supra). I tentatively expand the MS reading as *fuilech* ‘bloody, valiant’. For this meaning cf. *DIL* F 471.29 ff. Thus, the sense would be that this person does not form part of a military band.

**inná fil gnímu laích lais.** *ina fuil gnímu laích lais.* Perhaps *læch* is used here in the meaning ‘lay person’ (as opposed to *manach* or *cléirech*).

**Ni tét i ráith ná i n-aíthri fri fláith ná eclais.** Note *ráithbuite doir do fláith 7 eclais* at §29 infra.

**ar is gáe gréine do-gairther.** *ar is gæ gréine dogairter A.* ‘for he is called a sunbeam’. I presume the meaning here is that the *aithech baitse* is considered to be an insubstantial or ephemeral person.
The meaning of this paragraph is quite obscure in places.

Note the absence of *i* after the word *Oinmid* and compare with the other titles in this section. What follows appears to be an etymological gloss on *oinmid* i.e. *oinmid = ona + mitir*. Cf. *Onmit i. muít-onna i. amlabar 7 beith* Corm. Y 1029.

On the etymology of *oinmid* cf. O’Rahilly (1942, 149-152).

**fer mitter im drochmnaí.** This clause appears to be glossing the second syllable of the word *óinmid*. I can make no sense of it however. *mitir* may be a present indicative passive form of the deponent verb *midithir*. This verb is usually followed by the accusative or by the preposition *for* (cf. *DIL* M 132,77.) and not by the preposition *imm*.

The words *ona* are written above the line. Cf. *CIH* 585 footnote *f*. *ona* may be for *onna* for which see *DIL* O 147,50 and *onna i. beith* Corm Y 1028.

**co ndéntar mer.** co ndentar mear A. Cf. ‘*Cid do-t-gni mer, a meic legind?’*, ‘What drives you mad, student?’, Jackson (1990, II. 596-7).

7 **fonachtaide.** Cf. *DIL* F 287, 56 ff where the reading *fonachtaide de* is suggested. Perhaps an agent noun *fonachtaid* is intended here but the sense is again obscure. Cf. following note to *fosceinnid.*

**fosceinnid.** fosgenigh A. Perhaps an agentive noun based on the finite verb *fo-sceinn* ‘springs, bounds’.

Cf. *Drúth i. oinmit, quasi di-raith, cen fiach fair ina chintaib* Corm Y 472 = Druth *uero. quasi di-raith i cen fiach fair ina cintaib acht aithgin* *CIH* 613.41 [= *Duil Droma Cetta*]. Smith (1932, 71-2) translates ‘*Drúth* i.e. fool, quasi “without surety”, without a debt on him for his crimes’ to which the *Duil Droma Ceat* adds *acht aithgin*, that is he has no *dire* but he is entitled to *aithgin*, ‘restitution’. He then goes on to compare the glossary entry with this paragraph i.e. *óinmid ... Ni dlig dire in fer-sin.*
§27


Note that milaig is an interlinear gloss. Cf. DIL M 137, 54-6 where it is suggested that this word may be the genitive singular of mi-liach, ‘misery, misfortune’. Perhaps from mi li áig, ‘bad colour of battle’ i.e. one who goes pale in time of battle, a coward?

midellach. midhellach A. Perhaps mid-ellach, ‘middle-wealth, property’. There are some similarities between the midlach and the fer midboth as described in Crith Gablach, for which see below.

fer nád ragab seilb ná orba. fer na ragaib sealbh na horba A. Cf. Is airi ni comrai insci ná fiadnaise ar ni hínfiadnaíse acht fri cach síuail re secht mbliadnaíb x. nád rogab seilb na comarbus ría sin, ‘The reason why he (the fer midboth) cannot preserve statement nor (give) evidence is that (a person) is not (considered) capable of giving evidence except as regards trifling matters before the age of seventeen who has not taken possession or assumed inheritance before that’, Binchy (1941, §6 ll. 34-7).

nád treba nád trebthar dó. na trebad na trebhair do A. Binchy expands MS treb- as trebad, ‘ploughing, cultivating’. However I take this to be a finite verbal form (3rd singular present indicative conjunct). For this progressive construction cf. GOI §507(e) note. Note also: Molt cona fosair bés a thige; iss e bés oenchineda insin. fer nád treba seilb ná ferann dó fadeisin, ‘a wether with its accompaniment is his food-rent; that is the food-rent of a solitary offspring, a man who does not plough land or territory for himself.’ Binchy (1941, §9 ll. 71-3).

arindí as mellach 6 deilb 7 chenul conid damnae cimbeta in sin tar cenn túaithe. arinní is mellach o deilbh 7 ciniuil, cona damna cimeda in sin tar cend tuaithe A. Perhaps the meaning here is that the midlach suffers from no physical disability and comes from a respected kindred and thus is a suitable party to be offered as a cimbid. Alternatively, one could restore commách, ‘so that he is not’. The meaning then would
be that the *midlach* is not a suitable person to be ransomed as a hostage.

The term *cimbid* usually refers to a person who has been seized and held captive by an aggrieved party for non-payment of a penalty due from him. Cf. Kelly (1988, 97). However, as Kelly points out (loc. cit. p. 98) the term can also be used of a person ‘who faces death on behalf of a group or tribe’. He cites the following example from the first recension of the *Táin*: ‘Táet nech ûaib ar mo chend-sa’, ar Cú Chulaind, ‘oc Ath Da Ferta.’ ‘Nipa messe, nipa mé!’ ol cách assa magin. ‘Ni dlegar cimbid dom cheníul. Cia no dligthe, nipad mé dobertais tara chend i cimhidecht.’, ‘Let one of you come to meet me at Ath Da Ferta’, said Cú Chulainn. ‘It will not be I!’ ‘It will not be I!’ cried one and all from the place where they were. ‘No scapegoat is owed by my people, and even if he were, it is not I who would go in his stead as a victim.’ *TBC Rec.* I 2496-2500. This second meaning seems to be what is intended in our text.

§28

*Remm nomen do fuirseoir fobith cach riastardce dobeir for a agaid, ‘A remm, a name for a buffoon, on account of every distortion which he places on his face’, Corm Y 1080. The quantity of the vowel in the word *reimm* is unclear. The variant reading in the *Leabhar Breac* marks the vowel as long.*

**remmad.** Cf. *DIL* R 44, 16 ff. I am not aware of any other occurrences of this word. However the context seems reasonably clear. Possibly the *reimm* is similar in nature to the person entitled *crossán* in other texts and discussed by Kelly (1988, 64 ff). Cf. *A tri nem tiger croosan : rig a oile, rig a teighe, righe a brond,* ‘three things which confer status on a *crossán*: distending his check, distending his bag, distending his belly’, *CIH* 2220.2 [=Bretha Nemed Toisech].

**fó chorp.** *fo corp* A. I take it that the preposition includes the possessive pronoun 3 singular masculine. Cf. *GOI* §837.C.
Riascaire. Note the similarity between this designation and the raitech referred to in other texts. Cf. DIL R 6, 8.

loingsech in sin ara-imgaib a chenél 7 a fine. loingsech insin arimgaib a chenel 7 a fine A. For the verb ar-imgaib see note to §24 supra. Cf. in raitech ascnama methusa i. loingsech fine, ‘the vagrant who seeks a land-holding i.e. an exile from the kin’, CIH 33.7.

The sense of the Irish text here is ambiguous and could mean either ‘an outsider who avoids his people’ or alternatively ‘an outsider whose people avoid him’.

Colllid cain 7 rechtgi. colith cain 7 rechte A. Cf. Ogdiles cach nanrechtaid, ‘every unlawful person is wholly without legal protection’, CIH 324.7.

7 bild ó riasc do riasc nó ó šlēib do šlēib. bidh o riasc do riasc l o sleib A. I accept Binchy’s suggestion and restore do sleib which presumably dropped out as a result of homoioteleuton. Cf. raitech i. ... duine dilmain bís for sibal a hinadh d’ìnadh, ‘an unattached man who is wont to travel from place to place’, CIH 363.30-1 [= Di Chetharslicht Athgabàla].

rathbuige. rathmaighe A. For this word cf. Breatnach (1983, 194). Perhaps the reference here is to a rath-builder who works in damp or boggy conditions constructing moats or crannóg.

doír do ñflath 7 eclair. I am unsure as to the significance of this phrase. Perhaps the rathbuige may be an unfree ecclesiastical or secular client. Cf. Ní tét i ráith ná i n-aitiri fri flath ná eclair §25 supra.

Ni dlig dire. ni dliginn dire A. I restore the Old Irish form. Cf. CIH 585 footnote j where Binchy notes that the second i of the verbal form is subscript and that the double n-stroke may have been added later. Note also ni urcoimndend, CIH 586.5. Cf. ‘Introduction’: p. 19.

In a lengthy following note Thurneysen provides a translation of this paragraph of Miadslechtae: ‘Er erhält die Brosamen (abfallenden Brocken) jeder Speise, sowohl (ihm) eigener als nicht eigener ( itir dilis ocus indlis), oder : es ist ihm gleichgültig, was er zermalmt oder verzehrt’, Thurneysen (ibid. 318). Further, referring to the translation at AL iv 344, he appended a footnote on the phrase cach biid do iter dilis 7 indles: ‘Die englische Übersetzung gibt: ‘of all food, natural and unnatural’. Aber nach unserem Paragraf bedeutet es wohl: nicht nur solche Brocken, die ihm zugesprenchen werden und also ihm gehören, sondern auch andere, die er irgendwie erhaschen kann’, (ibid, 318 footnote 3). On foot of the reference Lebaid an brothlaig ... 7 cinnti conad i gait in fir fil for iarraid ful sunrad innti in Eg. 88 f 33b (= CIH 1360.25-6), Thurneysen interprets the word brothlaich as a pit where stolen goods are stored. He goes on to state: ‘So wird unser sinnach brothlaiga(e) wörtlich: ‘Fuchs der (Diebs-)Grube’ einen armen Kerl bezeichnen, der seinen zusammengebettelten und -gestohlenen Brocken in einer solchen Grube sammelt’, Thurneysen (ibid. 318).

However brothlach also has the specific meaning ‘cooking-pit’. Cf. DIL B 205.79. For a description of the preparation of food in such pits cf. Kelly (1997, 337). Presumably these pits were frequented by scavenging animals at night-time or when those cooking the food had departed. Perhaps the sinnach brothlaige was so desperate for food that he also scavenged among the animals at the cooking pit. The reference to diles 7 indles might refer to proper food and improper food. On the subject of taboo foods cf. Kelly (1997, 352-3). Among the types of taboo foods referred to by Kelly are those contaminated by wild animals. Perhaps this is the case here.

cummae lais ciped bruais. cuma lais cibhbedh bruaidhes A. For the form ciped cf. Bergin (1938, 210) and note ... ciped techtas mech..., ‘whatever it might be that one possesses’ Wb.12d41.
bruid was a hiatus verb in the older period. Cf. DIL B 210, 74 ff. Therefore I restore bruīs.

§31
This paragraph contains a legal aphorism relating to the adjudgement of status. Perhaps the text is enumerating the attributes that the foregoing designations do not possess. Consequently they have no honour-price or legal status.

A secht. Sieaacht A. There appears to be some corruption here. In the first instance, one would expect the particle a before the independent numeral (Cf. GOI §386). This probably should have been represented as a capital letter in the left-hand margin. Instead of this we find a capital s. The next letter may be the letter i but looks more like the beginning of a down-stroke which was not completed. Finally, the letter t is written above the letter h and may have been added later. I suggest that the exemplar may have begun with a capital a in the left-hand margin followed by the letters se + acht-symbol i.e. A seacht.

asa midetar. asa midithar. I tentatively restore a plural verb and noun for the singular forms of the MS. For the use of the verb midithir with the preposition as cf. [AJtalt.uii. cinela aire la Feniu asa miditer dire, 'there are seven classes of satire in Irish law in respect of which compensation is adjudged', CII 29.17.

§32
Here begins a new section of the text dealing with the grades of Latin scholars. MacNeill (1923, 313) comments:
'The statement of the seven grades of Latin learning is obviously artificial, since one of the grades has the poetical title sruth di aill, "a stream from a cliff". The names of all of the grades are purely Irish words, showing that, at the time of the tract, the boundary between Latin and Irish learning had been effaced.'

Miádšlechtæ ecnaí. Miadhlechta ecna A. The word ecnae has the meaning 'wise person' (masc.) as well as that of 'wisdom' (neut.). For ecnae with the more specific meaning of '(scripturally based) Latin learning' cf. McCone (1990, 22). I take the MS
form *ecn* to be genitive singular and translate ‘Latin scholarship’. However the MS form could also represent the genitive plural. The clause could then be translated ‘the divisions of honour of Latin scholars’.

*it écsamlai. it ecsamla A.*

*fri miadléchtu. fri miadlechtaib A.* The preposition *fri* is normally followed by the accusative case in Old Irish. Cf. *GOI* §839.C. For the replacement of the accusative by the dative in Middle Irish cf. Breatnach (SnaG, 239-40).

*Ar is cumail for-beir eineclann grád n-ecalso ó adandaid co salmchétlaid. ar is cumail forbeir eineclann grad neclasa o adhannad co sailmceltaigh A.* I take *cumail* here to be an independent dative. For the notion of the honour-price of clerics differing by one *cumal* for each successive grade cf. *Cumal cach gráid gaitber iar n-emngus airchiumn,* ‘a cumal for every grade which is assumed in accordance with definite innocence’, Breatnach(1989, 14 §14 and note 35) [= Bretha Nemed Toisech]. For another example in this paragraph note *Is sétaib infra.* Additional examples in the text are to be found at §§66, 68.

*co salmchétlaid. co sailmcetlaigh A.* For further examples of the confusion of lenited *d* and *g* in this MS see ‘Introduction’: p. 5.

*Is sétaib. a setaib A.* I take *setaib* to be independent dative singular. The phrase is thus parallel to *is cumail* in the preceding paragraph.

*Immus-frecrat immurgu i fortach 7 i nditéch. imusfrecret immurgu a fortach 7 a nditech A.* I take the verbal form to be an example of the personal reciprocal construction described by O’Brien (1938, 242). Presumably the notion being expressed here is that despite the fact that the honour-prices of the secular and ecclesiastical grades are calculated in distinctive manners, the legal capacity of the respective grades corresponds i.e. bishop with king and chief poet etc.

Cf. *ar na(ch) grád bis i n-eclais is coir cia beith a [a]urlann i tuath, dég fortaig nó díthig nó fiadnaisí nó brithemnachta[e] ó chách dialailiu,* ‘for every grade which exists
in the church, it is proper that its equivalent should exist in the *túath* for the purpose of overswearing and denial by oath or evidence or judgement of one with respect to the other*, Binchy (1941, §§2 ll. 7-9).

**ri bunaid each cinn.** *ri bunuidh cach cinn* A. Note that this grade of king is not referred to in the sections of our text dealing with kingship (§§4-6). Note also the *ri ruirech* referred to in §36 *infra*.

For the notion of equal status being accorded to bishops, kings and scholars cf. *Rii túaithe di[b] feraib deacc do lessaib túaithe* ... *Dà fer deac dano dám epscuip do les[s]ib ecalsa 7 túaithe* ... *Dàm síad dano di[b] feraib deacc,* ‘a king of a *túath* (travels as part of) a retinue of twelve men when acting on behalf of the *túath* ... The retinue of a bishop, moreover, consists of twelve men when acting on behalf of church and *túath* ... The retinue of a sage, moreover, consists of twelve men’, Binchy (1941, §47 ll. 598-603).

Note also : *Grande crutnechtu do ollum ri[g] 7 escop 7 do ollum (?) filed. Grande seaccail do rig thuath 7 anroth filed 7 sacart ... graindi sebe do fir midboth 7 ceech gradh cuma frisingair,* ‘A grain of wheat for a supreme king, a bishop and a master poet. A grain of rye for a superior king, an *anroth* poet (poet of the second grade), and a priest ... A bean for a *fer midboth* and every person of equal status corresponding to him’, Binchy (1966, 22-3 §2).

**fer midboth.** *fer midbóth* A. Note that the *fer midbóth* is not referred to in the sections of the text dealing with the secular grades (§§1-31) *supra*.

Note the occurrence of the word *miadslechtae* twice in this paragraph.
§33

The designations for the grades of Latin scholars differ from text to text.
Cf. Sais litri ... tanaisi suad litri ... ocsai ... fear ceatrumun suithe ... mic leigind, CIH 1615.4-14. [= Uraicecht Becc].

Secht ngraid ecna : caecach ... foglaindti ... deiscipul ... sdaraige ... foircetlaid ... saidh chanoine ... druimcli ... fer leigind, CIH 687.3-5.

For a discussion of these grades and other ecclesiastical designations cf. Breathnach (1987, 84).

Secht ngráid ecnai dan do-coissin. Secht ngraidh ecna dano docusin A. For the usage of the verb do-coissin here cf. GOI §782(a).

sui. saidh A. For further examples of non-historic final lenited d in this MS cf. 'Introduction:' p. 6.

§34

tri anmann. tri hanmanna A. On the spread of the ending -anna/-enna to the nominative plural of neuter n-stems in Middle Irish cf. Breathnach (SnaG, 249).

Rosui. Rosai A. The text lists the sub-titles of this grade in the order rosi, ollam and sui litre la flaith. However it then describes the three sub-titles in the order ollam, rosi and sui litre. I do not understand the significance of the phrase la flaith, 'with a lord'. Perhaps this is a reference to the appointment of the senior ecclesiastical scholar by a lord. In addition to a king, each properly constituted tuath was required to have a poet, a churchman and an ecclesiastical scholar. Presumably these persons were officially appointed. Cf. Ni ha tuath tuath gan egna, gan eghuis gan filidh, gan righ ara corathar cuir 7 cairde do thuathaib, 'A tuath is not a tuath without an ecclesiastical scholar, a churchman, a poet, a king by whom contracts and treaties are extended to (other) tuaths', Gwynn (1940, 31.10-11) = Breathnach (1987, 90).

ina suidiu. ina suighe A. For confusion of lenited d and g in this MS see 'Introduction:' p. 5.
i tig midchúarta. *A tig midchuarta A.*

*fri rig.* For the preposition *fri* with the meaning ‘along with, beside’ cf. *DIL F* 416, 38 ff.

**ni airchoimti. ni urchoimdent A.** Note the Middle Irish verbal ending and cf. MS *dliginn* in §29. For the verb cf. *DIL A* 384.18. where it is analysed as *(ar + denominative from comét)* and this clause in our text is translated ‘he cannot excuse himself, may not plead ignorance’. On the basis of the form of the verbal noun *(airchoimted, DIL A 176,72 ff)* I restore *ni airchoimti.*

**i cetheoraib rannaib suithi. a cetheora randaib saithe A.*

*Ocht scripuil for deich n-uingib for deich cumalaib a dire. ocht scripuil for x. nuingib for x. cumalaib a dire A.* A *cumal* is generally taken to have a value of three milch cows (Kelly (1997, 592)), while an ounce of silver was valued at one milch cow (Kelly (1997, 593)). A *screpul* was worth one twenty-fourth of an ounce (Kelly(1997, 593)). Thus, the honour-price of the *rosui* was just over thirteen *cumals*. Note that the honour-price of the highest grade of king described in *Crith Gablach* is given as fourteen *cumals*. Cf. *Ríi bunaid cech cinn ... Dá vii. cumal a eneclann*, Binchy (1941, §33 II. 472-6).

*for deich n-uingib. for x. nuingib A.* For *for* in the meaning ‘in addition to’ cf. *DIL F* 298.78 ff.

*Cethrar ar fíchit a dáim. iii ar xx.it a damh A.* Note that the retinue of the *rosuí* (twenty-four persons) is equivalent to that of the *ollam* poet described in §45 infra and note also *Cethrar ar fíchit do ollamain for túathaib; ‘Twenty-four people for an ollam when engaged on public business’*, Breatnach (1987, 105 §5).

*Sechtmad érea a bás ina thoichned. uii mad eirc e a bais ina toichnedh A.*

*conutaib.* This form is obscure to me. It may be a corruption of the verbal form *con-
utainc, ‘builds, decorates’. Although not exactly similar to the case in question here, Breatnach (SnaG, 235) gives two examples of the replacement of lenited \( g \) by lenited \( b \) : \( \text{niUb Cellaih} (= \text{Cellaig}) \), \( \text{LU(M)} \) 7040, \( \text{ros n-ordaib} \) ‘he arranged them’, Stokes (1883 ll 3788) (= \( \text{ros n-ordaig} \)). The sense however remains obscure: what are the three things which the \( \text{sui litre} \) builds or decorates? Perhaps \( \text{tréide} \) here has the meaning ‘three persons’. Cf \( \text{DIL} \) T 291, 59 ff. Note the following verse from \( \text{Forsus Feasa ar Éirinn} \):

\begin{quote}
Dleaghair i gcuibhreann riogh raith,
Breitheamh is file is flaith;
\( \text{An ri ag nach bia an tréidhe thall,} \)
\( \text{Ni dhligh Feine a cineaclann.} \)
‘They are appointed to attend on gracious kings,
A brehon, a file and a prince;
The king who has not the three named,
His honour-price is not sanctioned by Fenian law.
(Dinneen (1908, 344 ll. 5351-4)).
\end{quote}

The ‘three persons’ may be a reference to a king, an \( \text{ollam} \)-poet and a churchman. One might then translate out text as ‘he supports/establishes three persons’.

Another possibility is that the letters \( t \) and \( c \) have been confused in the MS. The form could then be a corruption of \( \text{con-ocaib} \), ‘lifts up, raises, exalts’. The sense would then be that ‘he exalts three persons’.

A final suggestion is that the form is a corruption of the third singular perfect of \( \text{con-tibi} \), ‘laughs, mocks’, i.e. leg. \( \text{con-atib} \). However, it is difficult to see how the sense would fit the context here.

**conid comdiré fri ri ruirech.** \( \text{conidh comdiré fri ri ruirech} \) \( A \). Note that the title \( \text{ri ruirech} \) has not been referred to previously in the text. The title \( \text{sui litre} \) also occurs in \( \text{Uracecht Becc} \): \( \text{sai litri comsaire do fri rig nentuaite} \). \( i. \text{inti aca ta saidecht na litri} \). \( i. \text{in fear leigim} \). \( i. \text{coimniclann do frisin rig aca ta in nentuaht} \), ‘a sage of the letter (he is) equal in nobility to the king of a single \( \text{tuath} \) i.e. he who has the mastery of the letter i.e the \( \text{fer leigim} \) i.e. he has equal honour-price to the king who has the single \( \text{tuath} \)’.

\( \text{CH} \) 1615.4-5. Note that \( \text{Uracecht Becc} \) compares the \( \text{sui litre} \) to the lowest grade of
king. However the *sui litre* and the *ri ruirech* are treated together in the poem *Suidigud Taige Midchuarda*:

* Suidigud Taige Midchuarda:  

* Sui littri 7 ri ruirech  
  is réim cosmail cóir  
  dlegait athbach maithglan min  
  is primchruachait doib : .  

‘A *sui litre* and a *ri ruirech*,  
  it is a similar, fitting course.  

They are entitled to a fair, bright, smooth division,  
and a superior rump for them. (LL 3726-9)

**bith.** So A. I have allowed the MS reading to stand. For this rare form of the verbal noun of the substantive verb cf. *GOI* §727.

**i n-ucht.** Cf. *DIL* U 51.12-3 where our example is translated ‘in the company of’. Perhaps to be understood as ‘in the bosom of’.

**oc foglaimm ad.** I take this to mean that the *sui litre*’s pupils are learning from him. Alternatively, *ăăd* could be taken to be the genitive singular of *ai*, poetic inspiration, learning. The meaning then would be that the pupils of the *sui litre* were learning the art of poetic composition from him.

**Is é fer inso dona timdibenar a dire.** *Is e fer inso dô a timdibhenar a dhire* A. *dô* is the usual contraction for *danó* in this MS. However, if one were to expand as such, it would be difficult to account for the following *a* in the MS. The verb appears to be the 3 singular present indicative passive prototonic of *do-immdiben,* ‘cuts away, shortens’. The literal sense is ‘for whom (his) compensation is not reduced / diminished’. Another possibility is to restore *is é fer inso danó ná d timdibener a dire*. However, this would be a severe emendation.

**cit saerbratha.** *cid saerbratha* A. This phrase appears to refer to circumstances in which the honour-price or compensation due to the *sui litre* might be expected to be reduced. *AL* iv 356 reads *cid saerbratha* and translates ‘should he teach (or speak) in silliness’. Cf. *Ar ní hínill do craibdech airbera bith nach cruth la sósbróth fein,* ‘For
it is not safe that a pious person should consume in any way on foot of his own fair
judgement (i.e. on his own initiative'), Meyer (1903, 29). Thus, the sense in our text
might be that the honour-price or compensation due to the *sui litre* is never reduced,
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even when the amount of compensation has been decided by himself.

Cf. *saifither ecna i ssaibbretha i. gebthair ciall ecoir as, ‘learning will be perverted
into false judgements i.e. the incorrect sense will be derived from it’, *LL* 24781-2 (p.
830) = *ssaibbretha = Stokes (1905b, 40 §214).

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**fo bith as n-éola inna pennait 7 inna dligiud. fo bith as n-eola ina pennait 7 ina
dligiud A. For the nasalization after the copula here cf. *GOI* §504(d). For the word
doloi cf. *GOI* §360. For the expression is éola i cf. *DIL* E 150.39 ff. to which may be
added Taman ... ni héola i fedaib, ‘A taman ... he does not have knowledge of letters’

Perhaps the general sense of this sentence is that the compensation due to the
*sui litre* does not diminish but rather increases by way of the *pennait*-payment. Cf. .vii. *ngraid
ecalsa olcena direaidther hi comdiriu fre grada fene acht inne tormaig pennuid di
diri a grad necalsa, ‘The remainder of the seven grades of the church are paid in equal
dire with the [corresponding] lay grades save in so far as ‘penance’ increases the dire
of the church grades’, Binchy (1938 §4).

Note also *Fcenan cuma du gradaib ecalsa ... itir biatad 7 turtugud 7 diri act dofor-
magar pendait do suidib la diri, ‘likewise for the ecclesiastical grades ... with regard
to feeding and protection and compensation, however *pennait*-payment is increased in
the case of the latter besides compensation’, *CIH* 1602.38 - 1603.3 [= *Uraicecht Becc]*

**§35**

On the three distinct grades with the title *ánruth* in *Miadslechtae* cf. notes to §12.

**ar chethardae as-berar.** Referring to the *ánruth* poet *Uraicecht Becc* has the following

: *ANRUTH .i. ... Cetharda ara nabarr anruth ris .i. ar aine a foircedail. ar amuinnsi
ngaísi, ar súlbairi a indsci. ar imad a eoluis, *CIH* 1596.26-29.

**ar áini. ar aine A.**
**ar ilar a chéitfaide.** *ar ilar a cetfadha* A. I restore the genitive plural *a chéitfaide*. Cf. *cetfaide ecnai*, Meyer (1903, 25).

**a insce.** *a innsce* A.

**ar méit.** *ar met* A.

**i cach rainn.** *in cach rainn* A. Cf. *MAD BREITEM TEORA MBRET* i mad breteam bus eolach isna teora brethaib .i. i fenecus 7 i filidicht 7 i legend, ‘if he be a judge of three judgements i.e. if he be a judge who is knowledgeable with regard to the three judgements i.e. with regard to Irish law, and poetry and Latin learning’, *CIH* 1612.23-4 (= *Uraicecht Becc*).


**acht nád roig co cléithe nammá.** *acht na roigh co cleithe nama* A. For cléithe in the meaning ‘perfection’ etc cf. *DIL* C 229.60 ff. Cf. *siú rosiacht cleithe*, ‘before he attained the perfection (of his studies)’, Meyer (1907, 304). Alternatively, cléithe could be taken to mean the head of the school of learning. The sense then would be that the anruth is proficient in every field of learning but he has not attained the position of head of the school of learning. For *acht nammá*, ‘except’ cf. *DIL* N 13.4 ff.

**Dá féir deac a dám.** Cf. *Ánruth ... Dá féir deac dó for tíatha*, ‘An anruth ... Twelve men for him on official business’, Breatnach (1987, 108 §12).

§36

**fer for-chain cethramad rainn suithi.** *fer forchain cethramadh raind suithe* A. Presumably the sense here is that this scholar teaches just one of the four branches of learning. Compare this with the rosúi described in §34 supra: *Rosúi dano, ni airchoimti ni i cethéoraib rannaib suithi*. Note also *FEAR CEATRUMUN SUITE* .i. inti acata (sic. leg. ata) isan cetramad lucc on said .i. in sdaraide, ‘a man of a quarter of knowledge i.e. he who is in the fourth position from the sage i.e. the staraige’, *CIH* 1615.10-11 (= *Uraicecht Becc*).
sechib i dib. seicib i dib A. For the use of sechí, ‘whateoever’ and the present subjunctive of the copula cf. GOI §461(b).

ut Cenn Fáelad. For the story of Cenn Fáelad cf. CHI 250.33 - 251.3. Cf. MacNeill (1922, 26) where the author takes this citation as evidence that ‘Cenn Fáelad wrote still another tract on the subject of the politico-legal grades .’. Note also McConie (1990, 23-4) where the tale is summarised. A further citation attributed to Cenn Fáelad is to be found in Bretha Nemed Toisech. Cf. Bretnach (1989, 12 §8).

conid iar maisi án maith. The meaning of this clause is obscure to me. For iar maisi/ iarmaisi cf. DIL I 23.80 ff. Perhaps read conid maith iar maisi án ?

§37
Note MacNeill’s comments: ‘The description of this grade is very poetical, but indicates a tutor who assists the backward pupils’, MacNeill (1923,313).

Sruth di aill. Sruth do aill A. Note sruth do aill also at §33. In MV I §§2,67 etc. this designation is applied to the third highest grade of söerbard. In that text it is variously spelt sruth di aill, sruth d’aill. I take it that the term literally ‘a stream from a cliff’ and therefore restore di for do.

a bés sidi. a bes saidhe A. For this construction cf. GOI §481.

báidid cach mbec n-étromm n-énirt. baidhidh cach mbec n-etrúim n-aínrí A. I do not understand the palatalization in the word etruim. The spelling ainert might represent the negative particle an- + nert. Cf. GOI§869-70.

ailchea. ailche A.

con-oisce. Cf. DIL C 455.28 where the verb appears under the headword con-oscaigí (*com-uss-scuich-).
con-oisce gne trága la tess sine. conoisce gne tragha la tes sine A.

la tess sine. ‘with the ardour (lit. warmth) of a storm’.

in fer samaltar fris. in fer samailter fris A.

forta-brissi. Cf. DIL F 363.24 ff where it is suggested that -ta- may be an infixed pronoun and that báidid and fortabraíd-si are second plural in number. However, I take the form to be a corruption of for-brissi, ‘breaks down, crushes’, with an infixed pronoun third person plural Class B referring to drochléignidi.

c o n-aillechib teistemne. co n-aillechib testemna A. The noun teistimín is indeclinable in the singular (cf. GOI §302.2). Therefore I take teistemne to be in the genitive plural.

is tualaing a forcetal con-oiscea gne n-aisndisín. is tualaing a forcetal conoisce gne naisneisin A. For is/í ní tualaing followed by a finite clause cf. NI TUALAING RODGABA ATHGABAIL NADI FORNAISC, ‘he is not capable of taking distraint who is not able to bind it’, CIH 358.1 [= Di Chethatslicht Athgabála]. For a further example note also DIL T 339.67 ff.

gné n-aisndisín. gne naisneisin A.

immun áes mbecleiginn. iman áes mbecleighind A. Binchy reads iman áes in becleighind.

tráigte. traignit A. I restore the 3 plural relative form of the verb. On the loss of the 3 plural present indicative relative ending in Middle Irish cf. SnaG (296-7).

i frecnarcus ánrotha. Note the genitive singular. Ánruith is normally treated as an o-stem (DIL A 353.53). However note conid amlaid-sín is cudruma eneclann in anrada filed, ‘so that it is thus that the honour-price of the ánruith-poet is equal’, CIH 1618.23 [=Uraicecht Becc].

126
§38

This paragraph and the one that follows are very similar in structure and are particularly obscure.

Fursaintid danò
fortuisim a aite
i céill olloman
Téora lethchumala a dire
7 céfaid cen airchoimted úad-som
ar idnai a mesraigthe 7 ar áni a intišluicha.

Freisnéidid
i. fris-comairc dia aitiu
i céill a olloman.
Cumal a dire
7 céfaid cen airchoimted úad-som
do neoch as ansam dó.

The grades in question may correspond to the foglaintid and the descipul listed at CIH 2101.2-3 and the mic leigind listed at CIH 1615.14 [= Uraicecht Becc]. They are evidently students as the references to aite and ollam indicate. See note to §32.

Fursaintid. Fursaind A. Presumably a suspension-stroke has been omitted in the MS. The form is an agenteive noun based on the verb for-osnai, 'lights up, illumines'. Cf. DIL F 360.30 ff. and 490.74 ff. Note also ADANDAID i. fursantaid cainle, CIH 2102.16. The aclaid/adantaid was one of the three sub-grades of the gráda ecalsa Cf. Breatnach (1987, 85). As for the function of this grade MacNeill remarks 'analogous perhaps to the demonstrator of science of our time', MacNeill (1923, 313).

fortuisim. This form is obscure to me. Cf. DIL F 369.62 ff. which sugests 'possibly a corruption of some form of for-osndai'. Pedersen (VKG ii, 624) cites a formation *fo-to-ess-sem- which glosses Latin 'suffundere'. Cf. arna fothismid Mi 85d8, fotheistib Mi 110d10.

127
i céill olloman. ‘with respect to the wisdom of an ollam’. I do not understand the significance of this phrase which also occurs in the following paragraph. Perhaps it refers to the student drawing on the learning of his ollam? Alternatively ceill could be the dative singular of the noun cell, ‘church settlement, building’. The meaning then would be that the fursaintid works in the chief scholar’s room.

7 céfaid cen airchoimted úad-som. 7 céfaidh cach nurcoimdedh uadha-som A. This phrase occurs in a slightly different format in the following paragraph. I tentatively restore cen for MS cach. The exemplar may simply have read c-. For céfaid, ‘understanding, meaning, opinion’ cf. DIL C 156.31 ff. For airchoimted, ‘excusing, excuse’ cf. DIL A 176.72 ff. uadha-som may be the Middle Irish form of the 3 singular masculine conjugated form of the preposition ö for which see DIL O 73.53 ff. The sense then is that the fursaintid is expected to have an ‘explanation without excuse i.e. a ready answer’ for any question put to him.

§39

Freisnéidid. Cf. DIL F 411, 43 and 49-52 ff where the word is linked the the verbal form *fris-indet- (for which see DIL F 42829 and 429, 41) meaning ‘tells, relates’. MacNeill (1923, 313) suggests ‘interrogator’.

fris-comairc dia aite. fris-comarc dia aite A. For fris-comairc do, ‘asks of’ cf. DIL F 425.28 ff.

i céill a olloman. Note the similarity to i céill olloman of the previous paragraph.

7 céfaid cen airchoimded uad-som. 7 cefaidh cach n-urcoimdedh uadha-som A. Cf. notes to previous paragraph.

§40

Felmac i. fuil-mac. fealmac i. fiul mac A. I am not sure how to interpret the etymological gloss. The first component of the word fel means ‘poetry, science’ Cf. DIL F
70.80 ff. Perhaps the gloss originally read fial-mac, ‘noble son’. Note also Felmac i. mac uad; fel i. ái; fele i. éccess, unde dicitur filidecht i. écsi, ‘a felmac i.e a son of poetry; science i.e. poetry; fele i.e. a poet whence filedecht i.e. poetry’ Corm Y 599.

§41

immus-frecrat. imusfreccrat A. Cf notes to §32 and note the similarity in the wording of both paragraphs.

fri gráda filed. fri gradha file A. For further examples of the loss of a final dental in this MS cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 6.

máthair cach dno dib. mathair cacha dana dib A.

On the relationship between clerical and ecclesiastical grades cf. Cia de as sruithiu, in ri fa episcop ? Is sruithiu episcop, híare arnéraig ri fo bith creitme; tuargaib episcop dano a glún ria ríg, ‘which is the more noble, a king or a bishop? A bishop is more noble, for a king rises up before him on account of faith. However a bishop raises his knee before his king’, Binchy (1941, §48 ll. 604-6).

§42

Here begins the section dealing with the seven grades of poets. MacNeill (1923,313) notes : ‘The seven grades of Irish learning are the same as in the other lists, except that the highest grade is called éces instead of ollam. The title ollam, however, is found later in the text.’

This fragment on the poets was once preserved in a second MS (here denoted C) which has since been lost. Fortunately it had been transcribed by O’Curry prior to its disappearance. See ‘Introduction:’ p. 4. The text of this fragment is given in Appendix 2. This section of the text appears to have been poorly transmitted. The A MS is particularly corrupt. Entire words and phrases have been dropped, misplaced or repeated. As a result, the restoration of the text is tentative in places.

incipit miadhlechta filidh. Added C.
ell, cano. cli, cana A, cana, cli C.

macfuirmid. macfuirmidh A, macc fuirmigh C. This is the sole example of confusion of lenited d and g in this MS. Cf. 'Introduction:' p. 7.

Note that although the grade of cano is included by both MSS in this introductory list neither provides any subsequent information about it. See note to §48 infra.

§43

dona bi ces na aince do astud fair. dona bi ces na hainces do fastodh fair A, dona bi ces anceas na afis faic do astod C. In a passage describing the ollam the text Uraicecht na Riar has the following : Fili on at óga firiana folad, óná aince berar inna dóna dtúim, 'That is a poet whose qualifications are complete and genuine, who is not found to be perplexed in the mass of his craft', Bretnach (1987, 102-3 §3.) As Bretnach points out (loc. cit. p. 117), this citation in Uraicecht na Riar derives from Bretha Nemed dêidenach. This portion of our text would also appear to be quite similar to the citation from Bretha Nemed dêidenach. Cf. Fer dóna diamhain, doná bi ces, na ainches i gceithoruibh ranmuibh fis filidechta, CII 1114.33-4 [= Ériu 13, 18.10-11]. The citation also occurs in O'Davoren’s Glossary: Ceas i. gnathac. ainceas i. ingnat-ach. dina bi ces nainceas (leg. na ainceas) i cetheoraib randa feasa na filidechta, CII 1481.2-3 [= O'Dav. 409].
no ní fil ní bes ches dó ina dán. no ní fuil ní bus ces do ina dan A, no ní fuil ces dó ina dán C. For lenition after the relative form of the copula cf. GOI §495(c).

conid ed a ainm: nemches no écmacht ces. conadh edh a ainm nemces no écsmacht ces, cona ed a ainm nemceas no écsmacht ces C. For loss of final lenited d in cona in the C MS cf. 'Introduction:' p. 7.

§44
Both MS versions of this paragraph are translated in O'Curry (1861, 461-2).

Fili i. fiáisui i. sui uadh. Fili i. fiáslai i. sai uadh A, File i. fiáisui lasi mbiat felmaic i. sui C.

Ar a fel laisin filid. Ar a feal laisin filidh A, ar a feal laisin file C. For the loss of the final dental in file in the C MS cf. 'Introduction:' p. 7. Cf. DIL F 70, 80-2 and S 154, 58-60 where the following emendation is suggested: a [ni is] feal laisin filidh. Compare ALJ iv 358 : a [ni is] feal. However, as Breatnach (1990, 96) has pointed out, the neuter article is regularly used to mark words being cited or analysed. Thus, I take the a preceding the word fel to be the neuter singular article and translate ‘what the poet understands as the word fel’.

is séis. is seis A, iseis C.

isin gnáthbélru. isinn gathberla A, asin gnathberla C. I take it that an n-stroke has been misplaced in the case of the A MS. Cf. in gnathberla fogní do chach ier fira 7 mhna, ‘in the ordinary speech which serves everyone, both man and woman’, Calder (1917, 2514-5).

conid d. conade A, cona de C. For the loss of the final dental in both MSS cf. 'Introduction:' p. 7. The MSS spellings may reflect the delenition of the dentals.

No ñili ā. ñi ā 7 ā. ñi a omna fear ñi a dàna. Thus A, omitted C.

Similar etymologies of the word ñili are to be found in Auraicept na n-Éces and in Cormac’s Glossary:

Cf. File ā. feil sai no fiel sai : no file onni is ‘filososubus’ ā. feilalasum, ar dlegar don filid feilasamhuacht aigi : no file ā. fe añ aouros, 7 ā. añi molous : no file ā. fit [it Eg.] fele ai, ar dlegar de ar is ed nodus-saora, feile dano indracus nos-ditne an file ā. rla : no file ‘a flectendis carminibus’ : no file ā. file saí, saí fhoglaima, amal atá felmac : no file ā. fi a ouma 7 ā. a danu fair : no file ā. fiel do aei : no file ā. fiel oncle 7 ā. maith ā. moulad 7 aorad. Cuibaidh cía fhasus deisidhe ainm in fhílid dia fhoghat, ‘A poet i.e. a poetic sage or a noble sage; or file from the word ‘philosophus’ i.e. ... a philosopher, for the poet should know philosophy; or file i.e. venom (is) that which he satirises and beauty that which he praises; or file: ... generosity of poetic inspiration, for it is required of him, for it is that which ennobles him, generosity moreover (is) the honour which protects the poet etc.; or file ‘a flectendis carminibus’; or file i.e. a poetic sage, a sage of knowledge, as in the word felmac; or a file i.e. the venom of his being feared and the splendour of his poetry on him; or file i.e. noble with respect to poetic learning; or a file i.e. venom, evil and splendour, good i.e. praising and satirising. It is fitting that the name of the poet whom they serve develops from that ...’ Calder (1917, 3306-14).

Note that the citation from Auraicept na n-Éces is particularly close to our text.

Cf. Fili ā. fi ñ a aouros 7 ñi ñi aoumolas 7 brecht a fuacras in file, Corm(Y) 600.

The following is added at the end of this paragraph in the C MS: ā. rofallnastar i fis sech na uili, ‘he has held sway with regard to knowledge beyond all others’.


The words fesa filedechtae have been dropped from the A MS and the following clause misplaced. See the following note. Compare the statement here to that at §34 describ-
ing the roisú: *nì airchoimti ni i cethóraib rannaib suitehi.*

On the four divisions of learning cf. *cethri ranna fesa na filidechta i. canoin 7 grammatach 7 sdair 7 rim. isi in canoin i. sencus mor 7 bretha nemed 7 ae cana 7 ae cermna. isi in grammatach i. na tri l. ogum 7 na remenna 7 na duili; isi in sdair i. tana 7 toga 7 tricha sceil 7 tri xx. foscel; isi in rim bretha cae cainbrethaig; 7 primaicecht .iii. mbladna in each rann dib fa durgres, ‘the four divisions of knowledge of poetry i.e. canoin and grammatach and stair and rim. This is the canoin: the Senchus Mór and Ai Cermna and Ai Càna. This is the grammatach: the thrice fifty ogams and the inflected cases and the elements. This is the stair: cattle raids and destructions and thirty stories and thrice twenty sub-tales. This is the rim: the judgements of fair-judging Cae (?).

And primary instruction for three years in each division of them always, *CIH* 1106.4-9.

**fora ditin-som. fora diten som A, fora titin-som C. I take ditin to be the dative singular of ditiu, the verbal noun of *do-eim* ‘covers’, ‘shelters’. This clause has been misplaced in the A MS.**

For the retinue of the ollam poet cf. *Cethrar ar fichit do ollamain for tuathaib*, Breatnach (1987, 104 §5).

Similar etymologies of the word ollam are to be found in Cormac’s Glossary and in *Uraicecht Becc* :

Cf. *Ojìdám .i. oll-a-dámh, an cethrar ar fichit. Aliter ollam i. all-uaim .i. amail is doilig uaim bis fo aill do f[h]ogail, nó saigid uaim bis fo aill, sic is doilig saigid for dán 7 éisi ind ollaman. Nó ollam i. oll-di-em i. is oll inni dûness i. cethrar ar fichit. Nó oll-di-emid i. ollam érnas na cesta,’An ollam i.e. great his retinue, the twenty-four. Otherwise ollam i.e. a cliff-cave i.e. as it is difficult to attack a cave which is underneath a cliff or to approach a cave which is underneath a cliff thus it is difficult to ‘attack’ the craft and learning of the poet. Or an ollam i.e. greatly he protects i.e. great what he protects i.e. the twenty-four. Or oll-di-emid(?) i.e. an ollam who solves the questions’, Corm Y 998.*

Cf. *OLLUM .i. oll doem .i. is oll inni didnes a bundsach comairci darna tuataib ... No ollam .i. oll uaim .i. uaim bis fo aill: amail is dithoglaig i-side, is amlaid is ditoglaig*
int ollam im cetra rennaib fesa filidechta do beth aigi ... No oll a dam i.e. in cetrar xx.et, 'An ollam i.e. greatly he protects i.e. great is what his rod of security protects (while travelling) across tuaths ... Or an ollam i.e. a great cave i.e. a cave which under a cliff: as that is impossible to attack likewise it is impossible to 'attack' the ollam on account (?) of his having the four peaks of knowledge of poetry ... Or great his retinue i.e. the twenty-four', CIH 1596.30-35 [= Uraicecht Becc].

§46

There is a partial translation and discussion of this paragraph in Binchy (1958, 49-50). As can be seen from the notes there, the text here has been badly corrupted. Cf. also Byrne (2001, 175-6) where the text is emended to read: ni hollam nad cóiced nAilello Maic Máta mór, 'he is no ollam who does not magnify the Fifth of Ailill Mac Máta (or 'whom the Fifth ... does not magnify'). See note below.

Note three sub-divisions of the ollam and compare to the three sub-divisions of rosui in §34 supra.

Ar atáat. ar atait A, C.

tri ollamain. tri hollamuin A, so C.

Ollam gaise. ollam gaisi A, C. For the treatment of the noun gais as an ā-stem see GOI §259.4. Cf. OLLAM GÆISI i. int sai brethemun : CIH 1618.12 [= Uraicecht Becc]. This person appears to be a judge.

sui cach éolais. sai cach eoluis A, sai cacha eolais C.

imma fuiglith. imma fuiglith A, imma fuiglith C.

Fris-comarcar, ni frecmaire. friscomarchar ni frecnaire A, friscomarcar ni frecnarc C. Note the combination of active and passive forms in this section of the text: nascid/ni nascar, for-cain ... nád forcanar-som.
ni berar ainces úad. ni berar ainces uadth A, ni berar ancuis uada C. See notes to §43 supra.

i mbrethaib aithre 7 șenaithre. So A,C. I am unsure as to what is being referred to here.

l Ollam i. uille in lin bis fora dinsom oldati na gradha olecena A. This sentence is a repetition of some of the material in the previous paragraph relating to the ollam. For this reason and because of the fact that it does not occur in the C MS, it has been omitted here.

naiscid, n i ' nascar. naisci, n i nascar A, nascid, n i nascar C. For the loss of the final dental in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction:' p. 6. Binchy (1958,50) translates ‘he binds, he is not bound himself (i.e. he takes hostages from other kings and gives none himself).’

Cote-side. caidi side A,C. For the restored spelling see Quin (1966, 140). For a similar example of cote construed with the anaphoric pronoun (but with plural subject) cf. Córus ecalso cétamus, attaat dà thucht for suidiu. Coteat-sidi ?, ‘The arrangement of the church firstly, there two aspects to that. What are they?’ , Breatnach (1989, 8 §2).

amail rond-gab ri Connacht. amal ri connacht A, amail rig connacht C. I adopt Binchy’s suggestion (1958, 50 footnote 2 and CIH 587 footnote a) and restore rond-gab. For the construction cf. GOI §781.

amail as-MBERAR. Thus A, amail asberar C.

Ni ollamain n-ard cóiced n-Ailella maic Máta móna. ni oll- nard u.eth naill- mic mata mora A, Ni ollam nard coicid naililla mic mata mora C. oll- is the usual representation of the word ollam (nominative singular) in the A MS. However, as both MSS show nasalization of the adjective ard, the accusative singular form ollamain is to be expected. Binchy (1958, 50) translates ‘The province of Ailill Mac Mata [sic] does not magnify the high o(llam)’. Note also Bergin (1938, 211) where this sentence is
similarly translated. See also Byrne (2001, 175-6) where the text is emended to read:

*ni hollam nad cóiced nAilello maic Mátá móra,* 'he is no ollam who does not magnify the Fifth of Ailell Mac Máta (or ‘whom the Fifth ... does not magnify’). For the MS contraction *aill-* for Aillll/ Ailella cf. O’Brien (1956,182).

Note tmesis *Ní ... móra.*

\[i ollam \_i. oll doeim \_i. each an bis cinuais l fis nangrad.\] The etymological gloss *ollam \_i. oll doeim* occurs in the previous paragraph. The remainder of this sentence, as Binchy suggests (*CIH* 587 footnote c), appears to be corrupt. Perhaps translate ‘An *ollam*, that is, greatly he protects, that is, everyone who is wont to be without nobility or knowledge of the grades (of status?)’. Again, as this clause duplicates information already contained in the text and does not occur in the C MS, it has been omitted here.

**Ollam éicsi danó : for-cain cethéora ranna filedachtæ cen ainfis n-indib, nád forcanar-som immurgu ó neuch. Cethrar ar ēichit a dám.** *Ollam eicsi dō forcan cethora ranna filideacht cin anfis ninniudh A, Ollam eicsi dō forcain ceithri randa filidecht na forcanar som imorro o nech Cethrar ar fichit a damh ... Ollam eicsi dono forcaín ceotheora ranna filidechta cin ainfis inntu C.* This sentence has been misplaced in the A MS and instead occurs in the middle of the next paragraph which deals with the *ánruth.* The sentence occurs in the correct sequence in the C MS but, oddly, is repeated (just as in the A MS) in a somewhat different format in the paragraph dealing with the *ánruth.* I have provided an eclectic text.

**cethéora ranna filedachtæ.** cethora ranna filideacht A, ceithri randa filedechta C.


**nád forcanar-som immurgu ó neuch.** Omitted A, *na forcanar som imorro o nech C.*

This phrase is only found in the C MS. However it fits in with active/passive structure *for-cain ... for-canar* found in the descriptions of the preceding grades of *ollam : fris-comarcar ... ni frecmairc and naiscid ... ni nascar.*

Note also *cia suí for-chanar 7 na forcanar o dhaoínib ?, ‘which sage is instructed and is not instructed by persons?’* Gwynn (1940, 26.1-2) = *CIH* 1120.2.

Also *aíl asberar i mbrethaib nemed : ‘Ciasuí forcaín na forcanair o duinib’, ‘as is
stated in Bretha Nemed: who is it(?) who instructs and is not instructed by persons’, MV i, 23.26 = ut dicetur isna br- nemid i. ‘Cia sui forcanar nad forcanar duinib’, ibid 28.30-1.

Finally Forcan i forcetal, ut est cia sui forcanar na forcanar doinibh ? i.e. cia an sui donither d'forcetal 7 nochan dentar a forcetal ó dhaoiníb ? sui iumbhuis greine l boinne, ‘end(?) i.e. teaching , that is, who is the sage who is taught (and) who is not taught (by) persons ? i.e. who is the sage who is taught and who is not taught by persons ? A sage of great knowledge of (the rivers) Graney or Boyne’, CIH 1500.4-6 = O’Dav. 882.

§47

This paragraph describes two types of ánruith - one belonging to the hierarchy of the kings and the other to that of the poets. Cf. Binchy (1958, 50). With regard to the first Thurnyesen (1928, 14) comments: ‘ánruith könnte hier, wie bei den fili, die an zweithöchster Stelle Stehenden bezeichnen, also die höchste Adelsklasse nächst dem König’.

Ánruith i. ard : naiscid. Anruith i. ard naiscidh A, Anruith i. ar donaiscid C. The reading of the C MS may represent the compound verb do-naisc, for which see DIL D 346,72 ff. As Thurnyesen (1928, 14 footnote) notes ‘ard ist zu anruth zu ziehen, wie Z 14 [i.e. line 14 of page 358 of AL iv] von ollam ard gesprochen war, im Unterschied vom ollam der fili. Dort wird der König von Connaught als Beispiel eines ollam ard aufgeführt’.

naiscid ân nascar fair. naiscid ni nascar fair A, donaiscid ini nascar fair C. The reading of the A MS may have influenced by naiscid ... ni nascar fair in the preceding paragraph. Presumably the sense here is that the ánruith takes responsibility for those who are bound over to him i.e, his clients or subjects.

amail rond-gab ri Érann. amail rogab righ erann A, amail rogab righ erenn C. Referring to the expansion of MS er as Érann Binchy (1958,50) states: ‘In the official edition [i.e. AL] the final word has been extended Érann and translated ‘king of Ire-
land’, though this would have the effect of making the ‘king of Ireland’ inferior in status to the king of Connacht! As Thurneyesen has already pointed out (Bürgsch. p. 14), er should be extended Erann, and the reference is to the king of the Erainn, one of the most important tributaries of the king of Cashel. But there were several powerful Ermean tribes in Munster, and there seems to have been no ‘mesne’ king who was overlord of them all; hence the name must be restricted to one of these tribes, perhaps the Corcu Loigde ... or the Ui Liathán.’

sruth indbasa dó. sruth indbais do A, sruth immasa do tar eis i log a molta C. in-dmas (DIL I 237,66 ff) was originally inflected as a masculine u-stem, later taking on the flexion of the o-stems.

Material regarding the ānruith poet similar to that contained in this paragraph is to be found in Uraicecht Becc and Cormac’s Glossary:

Ānrud nomen secundi gradus poetarum i. sruth[h] àn in chāīnmolta uad ocus sruth ina mnóine chuige tar a n-eisi, ‘Ānruith: the name of the second grade of poets i.e. the splendid stream of the fair praise from him and the stream of wealth to him in return for them’, Corm. Y 40.

ANRUTH i. anreid i. fireth do in ecsi do denum; l ansruth i. sruth an na heicsi uad-sum do cach, 7 sruth set 7 indmusa o cach do-sum Cetharda ara nabarr anruth ris i. ar aine a foircedail. ar amuinnsi ngaisi, ar slúbaire a indsci. ar imad a eoluis, ‘Ānruith i.e. very easy i.e. it is truly easy for him to fashion the poetry. Or Ānruith i.e. the splendid stream of poetry from him to all and a stream of valuables and wealth from everyone to him. (There are) four reasons why he is called an ānruith: on account of the splendour of his teaching, on account of astuteness of wisdom, on account of eloquence of his speech, on account of the extent of his knowledge’. CIH 1596.26-9 [= Uraicecht Becc].
This paragraph is somewhat similar in structure to §37. Note the extended analogy. Also sruth do aill : is é a bés-side = Cli is é a bés na cleithe. Imtha samlaid in fer samailler fris = Is samlaid a ngrád i-siu.

**is é a bés in clithe.** *is e a bés na cleithe A, is e bes na clithi isin tegais C.* For the construction [genitive pronoun + head noun + definite article + noun in genitive] see Ó Gealbháin (1991, 137-9). Note that the C MS omits the possessive pronoun. I take cléithi to be genitive singular of the noun cléithe, a neuter io-stem, for which see *DIL* C 228,41 ff. However, there may be confusion between this noun and the feminine á-stem cléith, ‘ridge-pole’, for which see *DIL* C 233, 27 ff. See note *infra.*

diriuch. direch A, diriuch C.

**con-gaib 7 con-gaibther.** So A, congaib 7 congaibtear C.

di-eim 7 di-emar. So A, C. Note the form of the preverb and see ‘Introduction:’ p. 19.

**ad-cumaing.** adcumuing ... do neoch A. The remainder of the paragraph, as far as the words do neoch, has been dropped from the C MS, probably through haplology (i.e. ad-cumaing ... ad-cumaing).

**ó cléithiu.** o cleithiu A. This form appears to be the dative singular of the neuter io-stem cléithe, ‘house-post’, for which see *DIL* C 228, 41 ff. See note *supra.*

**is samlaid.** *is amlaid A.*

**a ngrád n-i-siu.** in gradh isi A. The neuter gender has been restored.

**i tegdais.** a teaghais A.

diriuch. direch A.
Con-gaib a féib. congaibh a féibh A. For féib with the meaning ‘qualifications’ cf. diaro scara fria féib fri sàegul triir, ‘if it relinquish its qualifications for a period of three generations’, Breatnach (1987, 108 §11).

Di-eim bes isliu do neoch(?), ad-cumaing a dán ó ánruth co fochloc. Punctuation and interpretation are unclear to me here. The version of the text preserved in Cormac’s Glossary (see infra) seems to mean that the legal status of the cli extends from ánruth to fochloc i.e. his status is lower than that of the ánruth but higher than all of the other grades below that, down as far as the fochloc. This corresponds to Ad-cumaing ó chléithiu co lár in the first part of the paragraph. Cormac’s Glossary states that the cli protects all those lower than him in status but is protected himself by those higher in status. This corresponds to di-eim γ di-emar in the first half of the paragraph. Perhaps the first clause here originally read di-eim neoch bes isliu, ‘he protects whoever is lower (than himself) in status’.

Material regarding the cli similar to that contained in this paragraph is to be found in Uraicecht Becc and Cormac’s Glossary:

_cli._ i. _ar a chosmaile fri cli thige asrubrad i._ is béasad na cleithe, is balc oc lár; is caol oc cléith[i]e, is diriuch doem doemhar. _Sic cli eter filedaib:_ is balc a súire inna crichaib feisín, is séimiu i crichaib sochtaí. _Amail atcumaic in cli isin tegdaí ó lár co cléithi, sic dano adecomaic airechas in grádhla so dianid ainm cli ó ánruth co fochlagáin._ _Doem doin in cli inni besídn-isle, doemar som ónní besadn-úaislíu. Is diriuig i mbéasaib a dána,_ ‘A cli i.e. he has been so-called on account of his similarity to a house-post i.e. the characteristic of the ridge-pole is it is stout on the ground, it is narrow at the top, it is straight, it protects, it is protected. Thus is the cli amongst poets: stout is his nobility in his own territories, it is milder in outside territories. As the pole in a house extends from floor to ceiling, likewise, moreover the legal status of this grade whose name is cli extends from ánruth to fochlocan. Moreover, the cli protects the one who is lower than him (in status), he is protected by the one whi is more noble than him. He is upright in the practices of his craft’, Corm. Y 275.
As was stated in the notes to §42 one would expect our text to discuss the grade of cano next. However, this material has not been preserved in either MS. Nevertheless by examining the entries in Cormac's Glossary and Uraicecht Becc we can get some idea of what information on this grade Miadslechtae might originally have contained.

For ar ni a[i]rchan córus in Meyer's edition I read ar[i]ni aHJrchan. The Lebor Brecc reads iarsinni chanas córus, 'because he sings ...', Stokes (1862, 11).
is tri anman fedae. as tri annaim fedha A, omitted C. I take it that fid here has the meaning ‘a letter of the Ogam alphabet’. Cf. DIL F 126,32 ff.

fo-roiglennat. foroighlenat A, forroiglenad C. Cf. DIL F 234,85-6 ff. where the reading foroiglenatar is proposed. I tentatively take the form to be perfective present, with -ro- expressing possibility. Cf. GOI §531. The general sense of the passage would then be that the poets acquire their craft of writing by learning the (Ogam ?) alphabet.

7 a cosmaílis. a cosmailes A, C. I take the a to be the preposition meaning ‘from, out of’. Alternatively, it could be the possessive pronoun 3rd singular masculine, meaning literally ‘its analogy’.

ro hainmnaíged. rahainmidheth A, rohainmnaígedh C. For confusion of lenited d/g in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction’ p. 5.

dead bliadnae. dia bliadain A, dia bliadna iarna toidecht is i cnoi no is i dercoin C. For the loss of the final dental in dia in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction’ p.6. Note the additional text in the C MS. For MS is i Binchy suggests reading asin CIH 1567 footnote f.

7 it cethéora duilli biit fair. 7 it cethora duille bit fair A, 7 i teora duille bit fair C.

Cethrar dano dám in duis. cethror dano dam in duis A, cethrar dam duis C.

Material regarding the dos similar to that contained in this paragraph is to be found in Uraicecht Becc and Cormac’s Glossary. There are two entries for the word dos in Cormac’s Glossary:

Dos nomen gráidhfile. i. ar a chosmaílis fri dos i. is dos didiu isin bliadain tánaise in fochlac i. it cethéora duille fair, cethrar dano dám in dos for tíath, ‘A dos: the name of a grade of poet i.e. on account of his similarity to a bush i.e. the fochloc becomes a dos in the second year. There are four leaves on it. Four moreover (is) the retinue of the dos in the tíath’, Corm. Y 423.
Doss i. fili, quasi diass i. tinscr i. tinde argaid, *A dos* i.e. a poet, like a reward i.e. a bride-price i.e. a rod of silver*, Corm Y 459.

DOSS i. de uais, duine uasal; I dos fo cosmaiuis in dossan treuillig (leg. treduillig) bis isin caill : amail didniuside (leg. didnius-side) in cois bis fai ar fuact 7 ar tes, is amlaid-sin didnuusum (leg. didnuus-sum) dan na desi remi. 7 a dan fodein in tres, *A dos* i.e. a noble human being, a noble person, or dos, by analogy with the three-leaved little bush which is wont to be in the wood: as it (the bush) protects the stem which is beneath it from cold and heat, it is thus that he (the dos-poet) protects(?) the craft of the two preceding persons and his own craft (is) the third(?)", *CIII* 1596.20-2 [= *Uraicecht Becc*].

§50
This paragraph appears to be quite corrupt and its restoration is merely tentative.

is mácdæ a dán. So A, *is mac dan do a dan* C. This clause and the following have been inserted above and below the first line of column a folio 17 of the A MS, apparently by the principal scribe. In the C MS this clause occurs at the end of the paragraph. *His craft is a son to him* (?). I tentatively restore *macdae*, `childish`. Hence translate `childish is his art` i.e. his poetry is unsophisticated or undeveloped ? Note the reference to *macdán* `childish art` in the citation from Cormac’s Glossary infra.

ni maith fograigedær-som. *ni maith fograigedær son* A, *Mucairbe ni maith fograighd son* C. For the verb fograigidir, `sounds, resounds` cf. *DIL* F 239, 12. Perhaps the meaning here is `pronounces, recites` (?). Cf. *ni rograigther (= ro-fograigther) cen guttaï*, `nor can it be pronounced without vowels`, *Sg. 4b14* and see fn. a to gloss.

acht(?) ar macairbi is maith de. So A, *acht is mac uirbe is maith de C*. This clause is obscure to me. For *mucairbe* cf. *DIL* M 179, 41 ff where the following interpretation is suggested : `mucairbe is not the right form, but mac a.` For *airbe* being the name of some type of literary composition cf. *DIL* A 167, 1 ff.

mac fo-ruimther fri dán ós mac. *mac fuirmther re dan os mac A, fuirmeadh ar (?)* C.
In the A MS fo-ruimi is treated as a simple verb. The form re is also late. This clause may be a later gloss which was subsequently incorporated into the text. However note the similarity of the content to that of the citation from Uraiceht Becc infra. For ós ‘since he is’ cf. GOI §114.

Material regarding the macfuirmid similar to that contained in this paragraph is to be found in Uraiceht Becc and Cormac’s Glossary.

Mucairbe i.e. mac fuirmid, is mac dofuirmed a dàna (nò is maclán dufuirm a dàna), ‘Mucairbe i.e. a macfuirmid: it is a boy who used settle on his poems (?) (or it is childish craft which settled on his poems)’, Corm Y 855.

MAC FUIRMID i.e. mac a i. mac rofuirmed rehce, re hoircetal, on lo robo mac becc; I mac fuirmid i.e. mac iarumortaigh i.e. mac robui ag iarumtorracht a dana on lo robo mac becc, ‘A macfuirmid i.e. son of poetic inspiration i.e. a son who was put to poetry, to versification from the day that he was a small child or a macfuirmid i.e. a son of following i.e. a son who was pursuing his craft since he was a small child’, CIH 1596.17-19 [= Uraiceht Becc].

§51

fo chosmailius fochlocain. fo cosmailius fochlocain A, fo cosmailes fochlocain C. At DIL F 197, 23 ff fochlocan seems to be understood as a variant of fochloc. The two words are also confused in Cormac’s Glossary where the entry in the Leabhar Breac reads Fochlocon i.e. nomen graid filead, Stokes (1862, 20) whereas the Yellow Book of Lecan reads Fochlocon nomen gráid filead, Y 587. The context (co ndib nduillib) seems to require a plant-name of some sort. Cf. DIL F 197, 43ff., 64ff. where the words fochlocht and fochluc are explained as the ‘name of an edible aquatic plant’. Cf. Kelly (1997, 310-11).

I provide the complete text for the entry in both MSS:

Fochlocon i.e. nomen graid filead for a chosmailius fri fochlocain asberar. di dullind fairsium in cétbliadain. dias dó (don fochlocon) for tuaith, Stokes (1862, 20)

Fochlocon nomen gráid filead. Ar a cosmailius fri cois fochlocaín asberr i.e. dà duillinn
fair in cedbliadhain. Dis dano dàmh fochlocàin for tuaith, ‘A fochlocon i.e. the name of a grade of poet. It is so-called on account of its similarity to the stem of a fochlocàn i.e. (there are) two leaves on it in the first year. Two persons, moreover, (is) the retinue of a fochloc in the tuath’, Corm Y 587.

co ndib nduillib. co ndib duillib A, co ndib duillib C.

Dias danó do-som. dis dano dosum A, dis dno C. The remainder of this paragraph is omitted from the C MS.

fo chlí seca. fochlí seca A, omitted C. This clause appears to be an attempt to provide an etymology for the word fochloc but I can make no sense of it. However note the similarity to the entry in Uraicecht Becc, the variants of which I provide here:

FOCHLUOC .i. foch sec .i. sectha a dhan 7 secda a logh; i fochlog .i. og a dan 7 og a logh, CIH 640.19-20.

FOCLUCC .i. foch lig sec .i. secda a dan 7 secda a logh. I focæl ogh a dan 7 og a log, CIH 1596.16-17.

FOCHLOC .i. foch ló sec .i. secda a dan no seacc a logh; no fochloc .i. fochló og .i. og a dan no og a log, CIH 2264.23-5.

I can make little sense out of these glosses. For the word secdae, ‘hard’ cf. DIL S 122, 65 ff. The final clause in each gloss (i.e. og a dan 7 og a log) may mean that as the status of the fochloc’s poetry is so low, that the resulting payment for his work is meagre.

No cháel a dán ar oïtid. No cael a dan ar oige A, omitted C. With regard to the word òice note the comment in DIL O 117, 6 ff. ‘a later word than oïtius which it supersedes’. I emend to the Old Irish word oïtid. Perhaps the text is here referring to the limited number of the fochloc’s compositions. Cf. Breatnach (1987, 110 §17.

§52

This paragraph appears to deal with three sub-grades of poet but as Breatnach (1987,82) notes ‘these extra three are not referred to as sub-grades’. The three sub-grades described in Uraicecht na Riar, the only law-text that deals exclusively with the poets, are the taman, drisiuc, and oblaire for which cf. Breatnach (1987, 112 §§18, 19 and
The bard and cáinte appear together in the following citation: Urgart saighidh go nomb har i. leithcerd, bard, cáinte, mac beoathar, deoraidh, daormhanach, feirghnia, fer miobla da, mbruigher, 7 bothach, ‘Prohibition extends to nine persons: a rimer, a bard, a satirist, the son of a living father, an alien, a base monastic client, a servant, a fer midboth, a ‘land-man’, and a cottier’, (CIH 1122.20-2 = Bretha Nem ed déidenach). Note also in lucht arar urgair dliged dul a rathaighis bard 7 lethcerd 7 cainti, ‘the ones whom legal propriety has prohibited from going surety: a bard, a rimer and a satirist’, CIH 28.35-6. = Heptads, gloss.

Bard dan : fer cen dliged foglaimme. Bard dano cin dliged fogluime A, bard dno fer gin dliged foglama C. On the importance of formal study with regard to the qualifications of the poets cf. Breatnach (1987, 98) where the definition of the bard given in our text is also translated.

acht intliucht fadesin. acht inditleacht fadesisin A, acht inntlicht fadesin C.

Fer cerdae. Fear cearda A, fer cerda C. This term means literally means ‘man of art’. It is regularly used to refer to a poet. Cf. DIL C 140, 22 ff. Note also ar ní tabair labrai acht do chethrur : i. fer cerda fri hair 7 molad, fer coimgni cuinnech fri hasinéis 7 scélagud, brethem fri bretha, sencha fri senchas, ‘For he (a lord) does not grant speech save to four : a poet for satire and praise, a chronicler of good memory for narration and story-telling, a judge for giving judgments, an historian for ancient lore’, Meyer (1906, 32 Triad 248). However a more specific meaning may be intended in our text.

láncherd la suide. lanceird la suide A, lanceirld la suidhe C.

Cainte : fer ... a biad tresin ainim n-aire. Cainte fear ara rosar a biad in ainim aire A, omitted C. The words ara rosar are obscure to me. This sentence has been translated in McConne (1989,129) : ‘a man on account of whom his food be obtained through the blemish of satire’. I am not sure what verb McConne intends here, perhaps ro-saig with the meaning ‘gets, acquires’ ? Cf. DIL R 100, 61 ff. The MS reading might then be a Middle Irish reflex of Old Irish -roásar, the prototonic form of ro-sásar. I am also unsure as to the expansion of MS in. What is clear is that a connection is being made
to food, satire and the cãinte. For the use of the threat of satire in order to obtain food and its relevance to the lower grades of bard see Breatnach (1987, 134-5) and McCone (1989, 129-31).

§53

The text of this paragraph and the following is not found in the C MS. I am assuming that the material dealt with here logically belongs in this section dealing with the poets. However there is no reference to grades or status such as we find in the preceding paragraphs. There are translations of this passage in Ó Corráin (1987, 295) and McCone (1990, 177).

taurchreic. turachreic A.

na treibe déodae. na treibhe deodha A.

ni forcongarar. ni forcongair A. I restore a passive form for the active. Of the three occurrences of the verb in this paragraph this is the only active form. Perhaps a syllable-stroke representing the -ar of the passive ending has been omitted by the scribe.

nammá. nama A.

a lóg. a logh A.

na treibe domundae. na treibhi domhonda A.


The Latin citations contained in the Corpus Iuris Hibernici, including the one occurring in this paragraph, have been collected and analysed in Ó Corráin, D., Breatnach, L., and Breen, A. (1984, 430-438). A second Latin citation in our text is to be found in §67 infra.
I have divided this paragraph into clauses on the basis of sense. I am unsure as to whether a metrical structure is intended here. Line internal alliteration is frequent. Furthermore, it is unclear how the material in this paragraph, describing the weapons which various persons are entitled to carry, fits into the structure of the text as a whole. Perhaps the reference to the poets is sufficient evidence to consider it as part of the section dealing with the poets which precedes it. The paragraph deals with clerics, women, lay persons and poets in turn. Each uses an implement fitting to their station to defend themselves - a pastoral staff, a weaving beam, a true weapon and writing tablets respectively.

**con-midethar.** conmidithar A. It is not clear what the subject of the verb is here. Perhaps Morann, as in the following paragraph. Alternatively one could restore a passive form *con-mitter* and translate ‘a proper, suitable weapon is adjudged etc’. Finally, one could restore 3 plural *con-midetar*, ‘they adjudge’, in impersonal usage.

**arm cóir comadais.** arm coin comadhuis A. I take *comadais* as attributive genitive of the substantive *comadas* ‘that which is fitting, suitability’.

**cach duini déin dlighthidi.** cach duiine dein dlighthide A.

**eter maccleirech sceo laech.** iter macleirech sceo laech A. Note that this is the only occurrence of the conjunction *sceo* outside of the metrical citations dealing with the kings and grades of lords (§§4-13 supra).

**eter fer 7 mnai.** iter fear 7 mnai A.

**treślisen.** treślisen A. Cf. *DIL* T 299, 76 ff. where this word is derived from *tri* + *slisiu*, ‘shaving, splinter’. Cf. *(DIL* S 277, 59 ff). What precise weapon is referred to here is obscure to me. Perhaps a three-pronged staff?
cach macléirig. cach macléirigh A.

fri hairsclaigi úad. fri hursclaide uadh A. For confusion of lenited d and g in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 5. airsclaige is cited by Pedersen (VKG ii, 493) as the Middle Irish form of the verbal noun of ar-clich, the Old Irish form being arleich. He explains the Middle Irish form (loc. cit.) as ‘durch Komtamination mit slaide und slige ‘schlagen’’. However the following example occurs in the Macgnimartha section of TBC Rec. I: ni chumcaitis in meic a ersclaige, ‘the boys would not be able to ward him off’ op. cit. II 554-5. This part of TBC Rec. I can with certainty be dated to the Old Irish period.

I take uad to the third singular masculine conjugated form of the preposition ó/ úa ‘from’. However I have no further examples of its use with the verb ‘ar-clich’. It may have agentive force i.e. ‘for defending by him(self)’. For this use of the preposition cf. DIL O 76, 33 ff.

cuicéil. cuicolor A.

cotat. codat A. For this word cf DIL C 502, 40 ff.

ro dét. roded A. I take this form to be the perfect passive singular of the verb daimid ‘accords to, grants’.

dá gai. da gaei A. Cf. dâ gai, Hull (1949, 50 line 292) = LL 34565.

imm echlaisc n-airdegdaí. im echluidse nairidhgha A. For the preposition imm with the meaning ‘along with, including’ cf. DIL I 103, 52 ff.

taballog. I take this to be a dvandva compound composed of the words taball ‘writing tablet’ and lorg ‘staff’. Cf. DIL T 4, 15 ff. This is the only occurrence of the word that I am aware of. O’Curry notes ‘The ancient Gaedhelic Tablet took, I believe, more the form of a fan than of a table, - a fan which, when closed, took the shape of a staff, and which indeed actually served as such to the poet and the historian. In a very ancient article in the Brehon Laws, which prescribes the sort of weapon of defence which
the different classes of society were allowed to carry on ordinary occasions to defend themselves against dogs, etc., in their usual walks, a passage occurs which throws some light on this subject. The article belongs to the Christian times, I should tell you, in its present form, as it prescribes a slender lath or a graceful crook for a priest, while assigns to the poet a Tabhall-lorg, or Tablet-Staff, in accordance with the privileges of his order etc', O'Curry (1861, 470-1). The more common spelling of this word is tamlorg. For references to a similar set of wax tablets cf. pólaire DIL P 194, 8 ff. Note that contrary to the spelling of the headword in DIL the vowel in the first syllable is long.

iar córus a ngráid. iar corus a graidh A. I take grád here to refer to the order of poets i.e. the seven grades of poets.

con-midethar arm nderb. conmidhidhar arm ndearbh A. Note the similarity to the opening line of the paragraph supra.

§55

The C MS resumes at this point. As in the case of the previous paragraph, I have divided this paragraph into clauses on the basis of sense. Again, I am unsure as to whether a metrical structure is intended here. Line internal alliteration is frequent. As is the case with the previous paragraph, it is not clear how this material fits into the structure of the text as a whole. The text indicates that a cumal is due by way of compensation for an injury to each of the limbs and organs listed. Cf. cumal cainchuisiformnaib ech nallmuiri ... leir cumal(? ) laime la bu dirtrer aircet ina trian teit, 'a cumal [is due] for [a blemish on] a goodly leg [together] with choice foreign steeds ... The exact cumal [which is due for a blemished] hand shall be paid, besides in cattle, in silver to the amount of one third’, CIH 2312.30-3 = Binchy (1966, 40, §30). Perhaps this is an attempt to explain how one arrives at an honour-price of fifteen cumals (i.e. the total number of cumals assigned here to the body as a whole) for a particular grade. This is one cumal more than the honour-price of the ri rig in §5 supra.
Ro midir. Romidharthar A, Romidir C. Note that the C MS preserves the Old Irish i-perfect. Cf. GOI §693.

fear saer. fer saer A, fear saer C.

cumal beoil. cumal beil A, cumal bel C.


cumal tengad tachta. cumal tengad tachtaidh A, cumal tengtha tachthagh C. I take tachta to be the genitive singular of tachtad, the verbal noun of tachtaid ‘chokes, sti­ffles’. For the non-historic final -d/-g in the MSS cf. ‘Introduction:’ pp. 6-7. Note also DIL T 8, 15-6 where the reading cumal tengad [ar] t. is suggested.

doná labrad léicther. dona labrad leicther A, dina labra leicter C. For the loss of the final dental in labra of the C MS cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 7. I take this to be an example of tmesis, the verb being léicid construed with the preposition do meaning ‘permits, allows’. Cf. DIL L 78, 21 ff. The general sense of this line would then be that a cumal is due by way of a fine if the tongue is injured in such a way that speech is prevented or impaired.

cumal sronae. cumol tsrona A, cumal srona C.

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ar bithchluais. _ar bithchluais_ A, _ar bithcuais_ C. The text would appear to be corrupt here. If _bithchluas_ means ‘perpetual hearing’ or the like it can hardly be connected to _srón_. Perhaps there is confusion here with the following clause beginning _di chumail chluaise_. Perhaps the text originally read _ar bithbolad_ 7 _boltmugud_ ‘for perpetual scent and smelling’ or something similar.

_boltmugud_. _boltmugud_ A, _boltmugadh_ C.

_di chumail chluaise_. _da cumail cluais_ A, _da cumal cluaisi_ C. Perhaps we should read _di chumail dá chluas_ on the model of the treatment of the other pairs of limbs (i.e. hands, arms and feet) _infra_.

_ar éstecht_ 7 _imchomét_. _ar éstecht_ 7 _imchoimét_ A, _ar eistecht_ 7 _imcoimet_ C.

_cumal brágot_. _cumal braiget_ A, _cumal braget_ C.

_ar ōluth_ 7 _guth_. _ar fuluth guth_ A, _ar fuluth_ 7 _guth_ C. I do not understand the use of the word _fuluth_ here. A word referring to eating or swallowing would seem to be required.

_di chumail dá dóet_. _da cumhuil di dhoit_ A, _di cumal a da dot_ C.

_neurt_. _nirt_ A, C.

_di chumail dá láim_. _da chumoil di laim_ A, _di cumal da láim_ C.

_ar airgabál_. _ar urgabail_ A, _ar urgail_ C.

_di chumail dá chos_. _da chumoil di chos_ A, _di cumal da cos_ C.

_ar forimthecht_. _ar formteacht_ A, _ar foirmtecht_ C.

7 _folach_. 7 _folad_ A, C. Cf. CIH 1567 footnote _j_ where Binchy suggests reading _folog_
on the assumption that there has been a incorrect extension of fol-. Cf. also DIL F 283, 9 ff.

cumal bronn. cumal brond A, C. Perhaps brú is to be translated ‘womb’ here and the following forbart refers to increase by way of procreation.

7 forbart. 7 forbairt A, C.

The following is added at the end of this paragraph in the C MS: gid sen ce robi a senaib nemdeitin dligid custrasta. I am unable to make sense of this line. The last three words may be translated ‘of non-admission of what is right hitherto’. Perhaps these words refer to the material which follows this fragment of MIODLECHTAE (which breaks off here) in the C MS.

§56

At this paragraph a new section commences dealing with the topic of compensation due to ecclesiastics. MacNeill (1923, 313) comments ‘The tract ends with a rambling discourse about the honour-price of bishops, priests, and laymen who retire into religious life’. This material is only preserved in the A MS. As in the case of two previous sections dealing with the MIODLECHTAE ecnai (§§32-41) and the poets (§§42-55) respectively, the change of topic is indicated in the MS by two blank lines separating this section from the preceding one. Space was also been left in the margin for a large ornamental C which was not subsequently supplied. The material in §§56-9 (as noted by Ó Corráin (1984,165) and Kelly (1988, 267)) is based on Irish Canon IV (= Bieler (1963, 170-1)). Ó Corráin (1984,165) comments ‘it [i.e. the text in MIODLECHTAE] is so close to the text of the the Canones Hibernenses that it can be none other than a free rendering of it or of the text on which it is based’.

There is a partial translation of this paragraph in Etchingham (1999, 165).

Cia neimed. ia neimhead A.

as úaisliu. as uaisle A. I take this (and the two similar cases which follow) to be an
example of the comparative degree used for the superlative. For examples of this usage in Old Irish cf. Stokes (1905, xxx) and GOI §366.3. On the replacement of the superlative by the comparative degree in Middle Irish cf. Breatnach (SnaG, 257).

On the notion of the nobility of ecclesiastics cf. biru is tresa eclair/ cach neimthiuso nár, ‘I adjudge that an ecclesiastic is more powerful than any other noble one of privilege’ : Breatnach(1989, 20 §24 and note p. 40 = Bretha Nemed Toisech).

Neimed n-ecalso. neimedh neclasa A. For the treatment of neimed as a neuter cf. DIL N 21,63 ff.

as úaisliu . is uaisliu A.

Neimed n-epscuip. neimed neaspuic A.

Is é epscop. IS e espac A.

diib-side. dibsidhe A.

epscop ecalso Petair. easbuc ecasla peatair A.

is fó mám bite. is fo mám A. I take fó to be the preposition with the possessive pronoun third singular masculine. The use of the relative form of the substantive verb here is unusual. The use of relative in adverbial cleft clauses of this type is a feature of later Old Irish. Cf. GOI §506. This may be evidence that this section of the text is somewhat later linguistically than the preceding material.

flaithi Rómán. flaithe romhán A.

ní bi fó mám nech nadbi ógac nó aithrige nó lámnamnusa dlíghig. nibi fo moam neich nadbi oighe l aithrige no lanamnusa dlíghig A. I take nech here to be the subject of the clause. The MS reading neich is in the genitive singular. If this is the correct reading the sense would be ‘he (i.e. the bishop of the church of Peter) is not wont to be under the yoke of anyone who is not chaste etc’. However this would be an unlikely
interpretation. I take *nadbi ógae nó aithrige nó lámnamnusa dligthig* to be a series of predicative genitives (cf. GOI §250.3). I restore non-palatal *ógae* for MS *óige*. However note *co n-óigi* Stokes (1905, Epilogue 107) and *abb hóige* op. cit. (December 6). Note that *lámnamnas* is here declined as a u-stem. In the later language it is declined as an o-stem (cf. DIL L 50, 46 ff).

**nech nadbi ógae.** Cf. *Gnim ecalso ennge/ ... fris-toing dånu cach duini/ nád bi i n-enngus óg.* ‘The function of the church is innocence ... it rejects the gifts of all who are not in pure innocence’, Breatnach (1989, 14 §12 = Bretha Nemed Toisech).

*ógae nó aithrige nó lámnamnusa.* Cf. *óige 7 aithrígí 7 lanamnus dligtech* : Atkinson (1887, l. 7083) and a *n-ichtarthuaiscercdach do aes aitherge, a n-ichtardescardach do ais lanamnassa dligthig*, ‘the left lower to folk of repentance. the right lower to folk lawfully married’, Stokes and Strachan (1901-3, vol. 2 p. 255 l. 10-11).

**do suidiu.** *do suidiu* A. For the meaning ‘on that account’ cf. DIL S 414.8 ff.

**ro-saig secht cumala.** *rosaig uii. cumal* A. Cf. *Fir do rig ruitch/ ro-saig dá secht cumala,* ‘Confirm for a king of great kings that he attains twice seven cumals’, Breatnach (1989, 14-16 §16 = Bretha Nemed Toisech).

**donaib secht ngrádaib.** *dona secht ngrádaib.* Cf. * İl n-ordaib cengair co hepscop co secht ngrádaib,* ‘In accordance with orders one advances to the bishop with seven grades’, Breatnach (1989, 12 §9). As noted by Breatnach (loc. cit. 33), the meaning here is that the bishop possesses all seven of the ecclesiastical grades.

**file fair.** *filí fair* A. I restore the Old Irish relative form. For the development of this form of the substantive verb with personal endings cf. Breatnach (SnaG 323).

**má beith éraic dó.** *ma beth eric do* A. I restore the present subjunctive absolute of the substantive verb on the basis of the following conjunct form *mani bé.* The MS reading *ma beth* probably stands for the past subjunctive. Alternatively, this may be an example of the non-insertion of the glide vowel after -e- (Cf. GOI §86 p. 56). E.g.:
dative singular *leth*, ‘side’ for *leith*, Mil. 128a1; *asber*, ‘he says’ for *as-beir*, Thes. ii 244.22 (Cambray Homily); *ma beth*, ‘if there be’ for *beith* Thes. ii. 245.34 (Cambray Homily). For the use of the substantive verb and the preposition *do* to denote receiving or possession cf. *Rí benn*/*biú* do/*secht cumala*, *la enngus firflatho*, ‘A ‘king of peaks’, there are seven *cumals* for him, when he has the innocence of the true lord.’, Breatnach (1989, 14 §16).

**bás duini ind.** *bas duine ind* A. On the issue of capital punishment in cases of serious crimes against ecclesiastics cf. Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen (1984, 391).

**At-tá.** *ata* A.

**isin tráchtad.** *isin trachtadh* A.

**do-rigni Augustín.** *dorighne aughuissin* A.

**do grádaib ecalso.** *do gradhaib eclasa* A.

**dia ndirib.** *dia ndiribh* A.

**dia toichnedaib.** *dia toichneadaib* A.

**i nós ecalso.** *a nos eclasa* A.

**impir in betha uili.** *impir in beatha uile* A.

§57

This legal maxim also occurs at CIH 1303.8-10 and 731.19-20 (see fn. e). It has been translated in Kelly (1988, 216).

*Berim do breith gac duine ina cion an tan na faghtar eiric, mar adeir an taiselbad dligthe-so sis : atait tri ciona duine i. cion is lugu fadhheisin, ioc dia innile ; cion is cutruma fris, tét inn ; cion do is mó oldas, a bas ann la héiric in ciona, ‘I adjudge each person for his wrongdoing when body-fine is not obtained, as the following exposition*
of laws states: there are three crimes of a person: a crime which is smaller than himself - he pays (for it) by means of his possessions; a crime that is equal to himself - he forfeits (himself) for it; a crime which is greater than himself - his death (atones) for it along with the body-fine for the wrongdoing’, CIH 1303.7-10.

At-taat trí cinaid. Ata trí cinaid A.

fo-fich duine. fofich duine A.

as lugu oldaas. as lugha oldas A.

iccaid dia indili. icaidh dia indile A.

as chutrummae. as cutruma A.

téit fadeisin ind. For téit i meaning ‘becomes forfeit’ cf. DIL T 136, 41 ff. and Binchy (1941, 66 s.v. téit). Kelly (1988, 216) translates ‘a crime which is of equal value to himself for which he goes [into slavery]’.

la héraic ó chiniud. la heric o chiniudh A.

§58

Ocus i n-Érinn. Ocas a n-eirind A.

as úaisliu. as uaisle A.

fil indi. fil inde A.

Diré n-epscuip ógae. dire espuic oighe A.
The opening sentence of this paragraph has been translated in Ó Corráin, Breathnach, and Breen, (1984, 391).

Is lethfiach a gona. is lethfiach a ghona A.

Náchid n-anaig. nachid nanaigh A. For the use of the -id- form of the pronoun for the masculine cf. GOI §419. A further example is ar ní báis in dúnad nachidrubad-som, ‘for there was no man in the camp whom he would not kill’, TBC Rec. I 3180.

cach neurt cach folud. cach nírt cach folud A. I take both of these nouns to be independent datives.
On the legal responsibility of onlookers and accessories to crime cf. Kelly (1988, 154 ff.).

Note the similarity (both in subject matter and wording) between our text here and the following passage from Cóna Adomnán: Nech gomus macclerech no mac endacc a tèchtu cána Adomnán, ocht cumala cacha lámá, ocht mbliadhna ind condice trí chêt; cumal 7 bliadain penda ind cach óin o trib cátaib co mile no diarim 7 is cummae fiach nech fofich 7 aridaccai 7 nachdanaig a neort. Mad étged no anfes, lethfiach ind 7 arraucir asin-étged 7 asin-anfes, ‘Whoever wounds or slays a young clerical student or an innocent child under the ordinance of Adomnán’s Law, eight cumals for it for every hand (engaged), with eight years of penance, up to three hundred; a cumal and one year of penance for it for each one from three hundred to one thousand or an indefinite number; and it is the same fine for him who commits the deed and for him who sees it and does not save to the best of his ability. If there is neglect or ignorance, half the fine for it, ... that it is neglect and that it is ignorance’, Meyer (1905a, 24-7, §35).

Telcud fola dánó. Telgudh fola do A. I take MS do to be an error for dō, the usual contraction for dano in this MS.

nó má fo-ló inindraig. na fola inindrig A. The text appears to be corrupt here. The tentative restoration is on the basis of the Latin text: Sanguis episcopi ... qui ad terram effunditur, si colirio indiguerit, Bieler (1963, 170 §1).

For the word inindraig ‘that which requires a bandage’ cf. Binchy (1938b, 131 ff).

crochad in bibdad. crochadh in bidbad A.

iter a folach 7 a érach. iter a folach 7 éric A.

Mad ina agaid. Mad ina aighe A. For the dropping of final dentals in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 6.
comleithet a aigthe d'argat. comleithet a aighthe do argat A. Cf. comleithet t'aighthe do dergór, 'the breadth of your face in red gold': TBC II. 1. 41 and do-breth comleithet a enech di ór 7 argat do Ailill, 'the equal breadth of his face in gold and silver was given to Ailill', Watson (1941 I. 1059-60).

The issue of compensating high-ranking individuals for injuries to the face with precious metal is referred to in the medico-legal text Bretha Déin Chécht: Fuil grainne cruinechta a ngruad rig ruireg co nderoim in aingraine contuit inn log lalaise di argat inn, 'A wound [measuring] a grain of wheat in the cheek of a supreme king [and of such extent] that it can cover the single grain which falls into it - the value of a milch-cow in silver [is due] for it', Binchy (1966, 26 §5 ). Further Mad a naigid rig tuat fo ferta(l)r fiul grainne .u. seoit do suidiu. mad ic toll ara uinge arcait 7 lulgach la .u. seota i sodain, 'If a one-grain wound has been inflicted in the face of a king of [several] tribes (a superior king), five seoit [are due] to him. If it be at the hollow of the temple, an ounce of silver and a milch-cow, together with the five seoit, [are due] for this', Binchy (1966, 28 §12). Note also op. cit. §31 for a further example.

adgaire n-ainm e. The exact meaning of the word adgaire is obscure (Cf. DIL A 56, 66 ff). Thurneysen (1931, 36-7) suggests 'zurückrufen', which would suit the context here.

On the fines in respect of facial disfigurement cf. Kelly (1988, 132). In the section of Bretha Déin Chécht dealing with the same subject the following citation occurs: cumal cain etain ... cumal cach mbel nodifoclatar ... la cumail cech aomuig. la set cach aídbriud a ma ruide rus 'a cumal for [a blemish in] the surface(?) of the forehead ... an exact cumal from every mouth that publishes it [the blemish] in the presence of an assembly ... together with [further payments of] a cumal for every assembly and a set for every advertisement for which [his] cheek blushes', Binchy (1966, 40 §31).

As Ó Corráin explains, this is a reference to the archaic institution of iarnbrethemnas, 'after-judgement': 'The payment of a cumal falls due for a disfigurement and may be claimed each year up to three years or more in the case of an injured bishop', Ó Corráin (1984, 165).

In the saga of Fergus Mac Léti, the text describes the attempts of the Ulstermen to conceal Fergus's blemish: Ba si di comairli gath malad: in rig do tuidecht dia thig

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This was the counsel of the wise men of Ulster: that the king should come to his house and a clearing out of all common folk so that neither fools nor half-wits might not be there nor people who would publicize the blemish on the king’s face', CIH 355.21-3 and Binchy (1952, 38 §7). Cf. also Ó Cathasaigh (1977, 132).

i sochaidi. i sochaide A.

ó suidiu innon. o suidhiudh annun A. For the non-historic final dental in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 6.

mani dilga. mana dilge A. I assume that the verbal form contains a neuter infixed pronoun. Alternatively one could read mani ndilga and translate ‘if he does not forgive him (i.e. the offender)’.


ar óenlus. For this phrase meaning ‘intentionally, deliberately’ cf. DIL L 211, 6 ff.

is cethramthu šecht cumal ind. is cethraimthi .uï. cumal ind A.

dia fült. dia fult A.

sét cach foiîni ind. s. cacha füîlte ind A. For the spread of the genitive singular feminine form cacha/cëcha to non-feminine nouns in Middle Irish cf. DIL C 2. 78 ff. The MS readings füîlte/ füîlne are unusual and may have been influenced by the preceding dative singular.

co fichit foiîne. co fichit füîlne A.

A šárugud ar óenlus. A šárugudh ar œenlus A.
A sárugud. *A sarugud* A.

do gabáil a lámae. Cf. *DIL* G 2, 46 ff. where this phrase is explained as meaning ‘expelling, removing (a person)’. Note *Ro diultsat friss* 7 ro gabsat a láim, ‘They refused him and seized his hand’, Mulchrone (1939 I, 870) and Charles-Edwards (2000, 29 fn. 77). See Thurneysen (1931, 12): “Die Hand jemandes ergreifen’ heisst in der Regel etwas Gewaltsames, ‘jemand vertreiben’. However, the sense in our text here may literally be ‘to accost him by seizing his hand or garment’.

no do tiscail a chluic airi. *no do tiscail a chluic aire* A. Lack of a bell would incur loss of status for the bishop’s church. Note that one of the seven types of church which is said not to be entitled to compensation is *ceall o teit cloc*, ‘a church from which a bell departs’, *CIH* 2, 10 and cf. Etchingham (1999, 78).

as-berat araili is lethfiach a digona. *asberat is lethfiach a digona araili* A. The syntax of this clause as it is preserved in the MS would appear to be corrupt.

§60

in sacart ógac. *in sacart oighe* A.

is tanaise epscuip ógac. *is tanaise espuci oighe* A.

Is cumal itira-thá a ndire. *is cumal iteratha a ndire* A. Note Thurneysen’s comment on the pre-verb: ‘an exceptional form appears in the relative clause *itira-thá* ‘which is between’ Laws iv. 364, 9. 19 (formed like *ara-‘), *GOI* §835.B. This verbal form also occurs at §§62, 65 and 66 *infra*. For the verb *etar-bi* cf. *DIL* E 214, 10 ff. Note also Breatnach (1994, 197).

do cach fogail fo-fechar friu. I take this to be a nasalizing relative clause and an example of the *figura etymologica*.

7 do cach cáttu. *7 do cach cata* A. I take this form to be the short dative singular of the consonantal stem. Cf. *GOI* §315.
Imm-tá. *imtha* A.

có ticci maccléirech n-ógae. *co tic maccléirech n-oighe* A. The meaning ‘clerical student’ is usually given the word *maccléirech*. Cf. *DIL* M 9,76. However in Etchingham (1999, 294 fn. 1) the meaning ‘ecclesiastical adherents’ is suggested.

nó chimbid. *no cimidh* A.

*aucht ní cach cimbid acht secht cumala ind indiu la imbed na ndoine, nó in bibdu(?) do-rogba in cinaid*. *aucht ní cach cimidh acht uii. cumala ind indiu la imedh na nduine, nó in bidhubu(?) dorogba in cinaid* A. Note that the word *ind* has been omitted from *CIH* 588.29. The text here is obscure to me. Perhaps some words have dropped out. I provide the following literal translation: ‘but not every hostage, rather seven *cumals* (are due) for it (i.e. the killing) at the present time on account of the number of the people, alternatively the criminal who commits the crime’.

Perhaps this paragraph is to be compared with the preceding one dealing with the virgin bishop. There the text states that three hostages are to be hung for every party who is involved in killing the bishop. (On the status of the *cimbid* in early Irish law cf. Kelly (1988, 97-8)). Perhaps the sense in the present paragraph is that the fine for killing the virgin priest is seven *cumals*. Alternatively a hostage has to be provided - presumably to be ransomed - for the compensation due. Note that the *aitire*-surety (who is also classed as a *cimbid* after forfeiture) must pay seven *cumals* to ransom himself. Cf. 7 *log uii. cumal niath (i. lógh cimedha, ar is cimidh ind aitirí iar ndithmaim fúirri) iar ndithmaim*, Thurneysen (1928, 24 §67 = [Berrad Airechta] ) = *CIH* 597. 27-8. This passage has been translated by Stacey (1986, 223): ‘and the price of the seven *cumals* of a warrior after forfeiture, i.e. the [ransom] price of a captive, for the *aitire*-surety is a captive after falling forfeit’. The phrase *la imbed na ndoine* might refer to the number of people involved in the crime. Compare *tri cimbithi do chrochad cachá láime no-d-nguín* in the preceding paragraph. The sense then would be that one hostage is to be provided by each of the guilty parties. Finally the phrase *nó in bibdu(?) do-rogba in cinaid* might indicate that, in the event of non-payment of the seven *cumals*, the guilty party is to be taken as hostage or killed.
7 mad de bunad cheniuil dó. mad o bunadh ceniuil do A. The original MS reading may have been mad do with confusion of the prepositions de/do. For the use of the copula with the preposition de meaning the group whence a person originates cf. DIL D 141, 33. For the expression bunad ceniuil cf. DIL B 242, 83. This expression also occurs in the text Càin Aicillne : Mad ceili do flaith be[s] dech, ceili bunaid-selba ocus bunaid-ceiniuil iar saire, ‘Wenn (einer) ein ‘bester’ (zuständigster) Genosse eines Herrn ist, ein Genosse, der ihm nach (Land-)Besitz (nach der Lage seines Landes) und nach Geschlecht angestammst ist seiner Freiheit nach (ohne Rücksicht auf sein Genossentum)’, Thurneysen (1923, 381 §44) = CIH 493, 31-2.

7 is sáerchland. 7 isærchland A.

§61
This paragraph has been translated in Etchingham (1994, 43).

Epscop óenšëitchë. Easpoc aensëitece A.

dá trian saiges co hepscop n-ógae. da trian saighes co hespoc noighe A.

do cach cáttu. do cach catta A.

inna guin. ina guin A.

inna diguin. ina diguin A.

§62
Imm-tá. imtha A.

is cumal itira-thá cach n-áe. is cumal itèratha cach nè A. One would expect a reference here to cáttu or dire as in the preceding paragraphs.

condat dá trian. conda trian A. As Binchy has pointed out (CIH 588 fn. i), this is a
case of homoioteleuton.

§63

segtae. seghdai A.

iter dergbéim 7 bánbéim. iter dergbem 7 banbem A.

imchim. imcheim A.

7 nábo ar Óenlus. 7 naba ar ænlus A.

amal as-rubrad. amail isrubrad A.

i ngrádaib ógac. a ngradhaib oighe A.

§64

For a translation of this paragraph cf. Etchingham(1994,43).

Epscob aithrige. Espoc aithrighe A.

saiges. saighus A.

dí báí. da bai A.

lethfiach. lethfiach A.

inna diguin 7 inna šárugud. ina dighuin 7 ina sarugud A.

§65

Imm-tá. imtha A.

aithrige. aithrighe A.
epscop n-aithrig. espoct aithrighe A. I take it that the verb etar-bi is here followed by the accusative. Cf. DIL E 214,10 ff. This paragraph seems to have been condensed. One would expect a reference to a word such as dire as in §60 above.

§66

Imm-tá. imtha A.

cach grád ásas diarailiu. cach gradh ásas diarailiu A. Note also §32 supra and §68 infra. The notion here is that in the case of the hierarchy of the repentant ecclesiastics the difference between the honour-price of one grade and the next highest is one cumal. This notion is found in other texts which deal with the status of ecclesiastics. Cf. Cumal cach gráid gaitheir iar n-enngus airchtynn, ‘a cumal for every grade which is assumed in accordance with definite innocence’ : Breatnach (1989, 14 §14 and note to line on p. 35) = CIH 2212.28 [=Bretha Nemed Toisich].

Note also Cumal don aistreoir. Da cumal dun exercistol. Tri cumal duin liactreoir. Cetra cumala don suibdeochain. Cug cumala dun deocain. Se cumala dunt sacart. Sect cumala dun epscop. Cumal gach gráid gaitheir ann iar n-enngus 7 oirceand. i. gabtar cumal imarcraid du gach grad dib-sin ara beth a nglaine co fircinte, ‘a cumal for the usher, two cumals for the exorcist, three cumals for the lector, four cumals for the subdeacon, five cumals for the subdeacon, six cumals for the deacon, seven cumals for the bishop. A cumal is assumed for each grade there according to purity and certainty i.e. an additional cumal is assumed for each of those grades for it being in cleanness with true certainty’, CIH 1595.18-22. [=Uraicecht Becc, commentary].

c o dead. co dia A. For the loss of final dentals in this MS cf. “ ‘Introduction:’ p. 6.

It comdiri. It comdiri A. I take comdiri to be attributive genitive singular of the noun comdiri, ‘equal in honour-price’. Cf. DIL C 369, 72 ff. However comdiri can also function as an adjective meaning ‘of equal dire fine’.

maccléirigh bite iter tuáith 7 eclusais. maccléirigh biti iter tuáith 7 eclusais A. Perhaps the meaning here is that the clerical student still retains a connection with the lay world.
cen guin cen gait. 
cin guin cin gait A.

it dá trian segtae. 
it da trian segda A.

do cach cáttu 7 cach díriu. 
do cach cata 7 cach díre A.

iter teiliud fola. 
iter telcodh fola A.

7 bánbéim 7 dergbéim. 
7 banbem 7 deargheim A.

amal as-rubrad. 
amail isrubhradh A.

§67
There is a partial translation of this paragraph in Etchingham (1999, 296).

At-taat. 
Ataít A.

tré athlaiach. 
tré haithlaich A.

anmcharae. 
anmcará A.

a theist. 
This form is printed as test at CIH 589.7, 11. The MS reading in both cases is t2. However the word is written out plene (as teist) in the MS at 589.13. Therefore I print teist in all cases. For the palatal quality of the final consonant group cf. GOI §86(a). For the idiom do-beir teist cf. DIL T 123, 55 ff.

7 ad-chosnai sacarbaic. 
7 sacarbuic A. The verbal form has obviously dropped out of the MS here. It can be restored, however, on the basis of the form níd n-ascnai which follows. Bretha Nemed Toisech refers to attendance at the sacrament as one of the good qualifications which ennoble the church: ães aithríge ascnamo sacarbaic a réir anm-
charat co n-erroscaib crábad, ‘penitents attending the sacrifice under the direction of
a confessor with pious sayings', Breatnach (1989, 8 §3) = CIH 2211.10.
For an interpretation of the various stages of repentance described in this paragraph cf. Etchingham (1999, 297). The meaning here appears to be that a confessor can testify that the penitent has completed the stipulated penance and he is allowed once more to attend the sacrament of Communion.


cen chommus coise ná láime. *cin comus coise na laime* A. Cf. In mac aile, mac de, mac son bis i tesgaire a athar ina timaircib techteib cona coinmdeither cos na lam, CIH 593.30-1. Thurneysen (1928, 11 §36) translates ‘Der zweite Sohn, der Gottes-Sohn, das ist ein Sohn, der in der Verkündigung (unter dem Befehl) seines Vaters ist unter gebührenden Zwange so dass er nicht Herr ist (verfügen kann) über Fuss und Hand.’ However this phrase is described as ‘a formulation with ‘monastic’ connotations of community and obedience’ in Etchingham (1999, 297).

Is ó grád ógac do-renar immurgu. *is o gradh oige dorenaru* A. For the use of the preposition ó with the verb do-ren cf. It hé insi vii. *clíthe ó ndirenar cach bóaire*, ‘Those are the seven buildings with respect to which every bóaire is paid compensation’, Binchy (1941 §13 I. 156-7).

I adopt Binchy’s suggestion (CIH 589 fn. c) that the last letter of the form dorenaru represents a mistranscription of *u/o*, the abbreviation for Latin *uero* and I expand as Irish *immurgu*.

7 theilciud fol a 7 bánbéim. *7 telcod f. 7 bándeim* A. The *f.* standing for *fola* has been inserted above the line, with reference marks. The text may be abbreviated here, as it appears to be somewhat incomplete when compared to the surrounding paragraphs. One would expect a reference to other terms for injuries such as *dergbéim* or *cnocbéim*.

I am unsure as to whether *teilciud fol a bánbéim* are to be connected with the preceding preposition *do*.
ara tabair anmcharae a theist. ara tabair a teist A. As noted by Binchy (CIH 589 fn. e) the word anmchara must be supplied here.

nád n-ascnai sacarbaic cadacht. nad nascnai sacarbaic cadacht A. The relative here has temporal force: ‘when/where he does not yet attend the sacrament’. For this use of the relative cf. Bretnach (1980, 6-7).

do-thét co cléirchiu indiu. dotæt co cleirchiu iniu A. I take it that what is meant here is that the ex-layman has only just entered the ecclesiastical environment and has not yet begun to carry out his penance.

nád tabair anmchara a theist. na tabair anmcar a teist A.

Nabad machtad. naba machtad A. I take the verbal form to be third singular imperative of the copula. For the omission of lenited d in final position in the A MS cf. ‘Introduction’: p. 6.

donaib athláechtaib. donathlæchuib A.

fri áes n-ógac. fas noighe A. Binchy suggests that the exemplar may have read faes with suprascript i and that this reading was subsequently miscopied. Cf. CIH 589 fn. h.

má beth dia seirc la Día. mad beth dia seirc la dia A. For the non-historic final d in mad cf. ‘Introduction’: p. 6. Possibly one should restore beith which is the more common from in the Würzburg glosses. Cf. Kavanagh (2001, 118). For the substantive verb construed with the preposition di with the meaning ‘such is, if it be such’ cf. DIL A 471, 57 ff. Note also Má beth tra do hùaitte ind ãessa gráid, ‘if the ordained folk be too few’, O’Keefe (1904, 220 §13) = CIH 2130.28 and Má beith tra do úaisle ind jìr gráid, ‘if the ordained man be so noble’, O’Keefe (1904, 220 §15) = CIH 2130.34. Kavanagh (2001, 120) describes this idiom (i.e. the construing of the substantive verb with the preposition di/de) as ‘indicating the source or origin from which an action proceeds’. For dia seirc la Día, ‘(such is) God’s love for them’ cf. DIL L 6, 52 ff and

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note coro fessid méit for serce lem-sa, ‘so that ye might know the greatness of the love for you that I have’ Wb.14d16.

di méit a saithair. di met a saethair A.

mat comlinai a fertai. mat comлина a ferta A. comлин is a compound of com + lin. lin is usually inflected as a u-stem but also occurs as an o-stem. Cf. DIL L 154, 72 ff. Perhaps we should restore mat comлина a fertai. Cf. bit comлин fri fer, ‘they shall be equal in number to grass’ Mi. 90b8. Alternatively comлина may be genitive singular.

amail ro boí. amail dobhoi A. For do replacing ro as a preverb im Middle Irish cf. Breathnach (SnaG, 280). I am unsure of the meaning of this and the following clause and have translated them literally. Perhaps these are examples of the idiom at-tá fri, ‘treats, deals with’, for which cf. DIL A 471, 85ff. Note also ba maith ro mboth friu, ‘they were treated well’, Meid (1974, l. 134) and Oic robá rim, ‘Cruel have you been to me’, Marstrander (1911, 208).

ut dicit scriptura: Ubi autem abundauit delictum, superabundauit gratia. ut dicit scriptura : ubi habundabit dilechtum superhabundabit gratia A.= : Rom. v, 20

The full text of Rom. v, 20 is as follows: Lex autem subintravit ut abundaret delictum. Ubi autem abundavit delictum superabundavit gratia, ‘Moreover, the law has entered, that the offence might abound. But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound.’ Binchy is in doubt as to whether or not the h- in habundabit is a mistranscription of h/c(= autem). Cf. CIH 589 fn. i.

The Latin citations contained in the Corpus Iuris Hibernici, including the one occurring in this paragraph, have been collected and analysed in Ó Corráin, D., Breathnach, L., and Breen, A. (1984, 430-438). A second Latin citation in our text is to be found in §53 supra.

§68

i ndiriu séoit epscuip ógae. i ndiri s. espuic oige A. This phrase has been interpreted as ‘payment due to bishops for the destruction of an article of value’, Kelly (1997, 592). The phrase dire (a) séoit also occurs in the two closely related texts, the Rule
of Patrick and the Rule of Tallaght. (On the relationship between these two texts cf. Kelly (2002, 284-95)). *Ní dlig airchindech a réir for a manchu ná dlig dire a seóit ná toichnéda a eclais side, manibat óga a frithfolaid asa eclaisi dí bairtheis 7 comna 7 ghabáil n-écnairce,* ‘An ernach is not entitled [to impose] his will on his manach, nor is he entitled to the fine of his “sed” ... of his church unless the reciprocal obligations of the church be fully discharged of baptism and communion and the singing of the intercession’, O’Keeffe (1904, 219 §9). The editor adds in a note (op. cit. 224) ‘What the precise meaning of the phrase - evidently a legal one - in this text is I cannot say.’

*Ní dliget dechmadu na bo chendaith na trian annoti na dire seóit do mhainih mina bet a frithfolaid techta na heclaisi innte do bathis 7 comnai 7 ghabal n-écnairce a manach:* Gwynn (1927, 78 §57). The editor translates (op. cit. 79) ‘compensation for valuables’. A similar version from the Book of Lismore is provided in Stokes (1890, 135) where it is left untranslated.

This phrase also occurs twice in the short text edited in Thurneysen (1931, 61-7 particularly §§1.2) : *Ar ni lais dire a seóit, acht colaimn aithgena nama,* ‘Denn ihm gehört nicht die Buße (dire) für seinen (beschädigten oder gestohlenen) Wertgegenstand, nur das Corpus (der Gegenstand) das Ersatzes’, (op.cit. 63).

*is la-ssuide dire a seóit, acht trian do flaith,* ‘dem gehört die Buße (dire) für seinen Wertgegenstand, außer einem Drittel (davon) an den Herrn’, (op. cit. 63).

Finally, the word *sét* can also be used to describe a stolen article for which see Charles-Edwards and Kelly (1983, 161 ff).

The distinction being drawn here is between compensation due for manslaughter and physical injury (which has already been described in the text) and lesser compensation due for theft, damage to property etc.

**do sacart ógac. di sacart oighe A.** I take it that the prepositions *di* and *do* have been confused in this and the following paragraphs and that the expected preposition is *do.* Cf. *it séoit bósabra[c] direnatar dó,* Binchy (1941, §10 l. 120).

**don grád tánaisiu. din grad tanaisiu A.** See previous note.
Imm-tá samlaid cach grád ásas diarailiú co dead: is cumal iter cach n-ae. Imtha samlaid cach gradh asas diarilii. Co diad is cumal iter cach nae. Cf. Note the similarity in wording to that of the first sentence of §66 supra.

i ndiriu séoit maccléirigh ógae. i ndíre hseoit maccléirigh oighé A.

§69
epscop ónseítche. espac anseítche A.

cóc cumala 7 dí bái. u. cumala 7 da bái A.

i ndiriu séoit epscuir ónseítche. i ndíre a seoit espuc anseítchi A. I have omitted the possessive pronoun. This wording of this clause may have been influenced by i ndiriu a séoit which follows.

It dá trian saiges int aile. it da trian saighes in aile A. Note the omission of the letter t in the MS reading in aile. I take it that int aile here refers to the priest with one wife. As the bishop with one wife attains two thirds the status of the virgin bishop, likewise the priest with one wife attains two thirds the status of the virgin priest.

Inna cumalaib rimthir. ina cumalaib rimthir A. I take it that what is reckoned here is the compensation. Perhaps restore the rimther, the relative passive? On the other hand the reference may be to the grades with one wife i.e. ‘they are reckoned in cumals.’ If so, restore rimtir, the passive plural.

condat cethair coicait aidche di phennait. conda ceitri coicait aicde do penruit A. For the loss of the final dental in the copula here cf. ‘Introduction:’ p. 6. I take the preposition di here to be partitive i.e. a period of penance. For penruit cf. Binchy (1938b, 56-7) where the term is explained as ‘the mulct payable to the Church for which the original penance has been commuted’. The sense here, then, would be that the clerical student with one wife is due a payment equivalent to two-hundred nights of penance by way of compensation. For the measurement of penance by periods of nights cf. Gwynn (1914, 170 §17). Note also conad eadh doniat a .uii. guma do hic
re flaith 7 a. 7. mbiadhna peinne do hic re eclairis, ‘so that this is what they do: they pay seven cumals to the lord and seven years of penance to the Church’, CIH 1400.26-7.

§70
Immt-á. imtha A.

It dá trian do cach grád fri araill co ricci dead. It dá trian do cach gradh fri araill corice deadh A. I take it that each grád fri araill here means that each penitent grade, from the bishop down to the clerical student is entitled to two-thirds of the compensation due to the corresponding grade of cleric married with one wife.

inna cumalaib rimthir. ina cumalaib rimthir A. Cf. note to previous paragraph.

condat tri coicait aideche do maccléirech aithrige i ndiriu a séoit. condat tri. Lat aideche do maccléirech aithrighe A. Note that the figure given in the previous paragraph for the pennait of the clerical student married with one wife is two hundred nights. Since the penitent clerical student is entitled to two-thirds the compensation of his married counterpart one would expect a figure of approximately one hundred and thirty nights instead of the one hundred and fifty given.

§71
comdire a séoit. In the preceding paragraphs the phrase dire (a) séoit was taken to mean ‘(his) compensation (regarding property)’. I take comdire a séoit fri maccléirech n-ógae as a nominal clause meaning ‘(he is entitled to) equal compensation (regarding property)’ to that of a virginal clerical student’. Perhaps the text originally simply read comdire fri maccléirech n-ógae , ‘(he is) equal as regards honour-price to a virginal clerical student’. Cf. Comdire cach deoradh de fri rig espoc, ‘Every ‘exile of God’ has equal dire with king and bishop’, Binchy (1938a, 6 §4 = CIH 2287.8) and comdire ollum fri rig n-aentuaithe, ‘a chief poet is equal in honour-price to the king of a single tuath’, CIH 1533.36.

fri maccléirech n-óenséítche. fri macclirech noighe A. As Binchy suggests (CIH 589 footnote l) noighe is an error for n-óenséítche.
imm chethri coictea aidche dóib. *im .Lat aidhche dóib A. The pennait due to the married clerical student is given as two hundred nights in §69 supra. I suggest that the Latin numeral *iu. has dropped out here.

The preposition *imm is followed by the accusative, therefore I restore *coictea for MS *Lat. However, perhaps MS *im originally read *i. as in the preceding sentence.
APPENDIX 1

There is a second copy of the opening portion of our text (§§1-16) to be found in the Trinity College MS H.3.18. (now 1337) on pages 148a-149b, a transcription of which is given below.

Miadslechtae from MS B. (TCD H.3.18 148a-149b).

§1
Cis lir toggarmanda techtaide miadleachta .n. ase no a .u.xx.it airechdai cadcat .i. triath rig rig tuaithe aire forgill aire ard aire tuisi aire desa aire fine indna anroth dæ ogflaitheam lethflaitheam flaitham ænescra boaire tanuse boaire tuisi huaithni seir-rhi fas faigdi aithec baitsi bogeltach faiche onmid midlach reim riascaire sindach brothlach

§2
Csc cid lir an dlíged iar-mficet- an eolaig isnamiaidleachtaib .n. andæ no a do .x. co festar cia miad in astaiter each dib donahib laechaib iter a lin 7 anuaithne iter ambiathad 7 an æsain iter anguin 7 andiguin iter a sar 7 a sarugud eter a fesam 7 aturthugud eter aneneclainn 7 aneechruice 7 aneechgris

§3
Cis lir doberat mias 7 eneclainn do cach fer dib a tri airilliud 7 inrachus 7 idna csc cit ttlena amiad contfar cach .n. a tri dontlean dai miad contfe ar cach .i. anfoladh 7 docerd 7 uninche

§4
Triath rig amail asberar triath trom tremoetha erinn 7 rl- coic coicid erenn tremoetha uiilietha aninada uile amail rocet doconcobar ard mac rig romae neasa nenaisce iatha fear feine

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§5
Rig rig .i. rig atgiallat .uii. rig tuatha cumala cach rig do dia air diaa asain dia etla dia
cumasc dala l cuirmthig no ãenaig dligid asairbiathad folin cin timdibe .i.c.c. a lin da
.uii. cumala a eneclann dia sarugud dia asain dia ainmed dia digna amail asbeir bera
do rig clothach coirpre 7 rl-

§6
Rig tuath toimsi 7 rl- .i. rig tuath .i. ri atgiallat .uii. tuath argeallat .i. iter 7 nadmanna
se .c. a lin dligid asairbiathad .uii. cumala cacha lainme dia ainmed diasarugud amail
asbeir cormac rig tuaithi toimsi co a .uii. dligid 7 rl-

§7
Aire ard .i. forgilli. fear tairceann (no taircealla in marg.) tuatha comsara friscoit- 7
acairde 7 ni he ardonaisc congiallna na dligid flatha 7 atguideatseom natuathu 7 rig ar-
donaisc dligid a særbiathad coruice .xxx. fear acleasagud tuaithi dligidleth .uii. cumala
indraca diadiguin diasarugud amail asbert Cormac aire ard airdneine

§8
Aairi tuisi doet fine comcinel do co ri 7 arrolabrathar dligid asarbiathad .xx. in tan bis
acleasagud tuaithi teora cumala ina asain no ina sarugud ut dr cormac cain bera tuisi

§9
airi desa .i. fer conae deis nathar 7 seanathar amail atcota riam 7 dotairciur dligid aser-
biatad.x.nebur atuath dligidcumala cach ain comoirseisir diasarugud nodiaasain ut dr
cormac aire desa dithle diadiguin

§10
Aire fine .i. doet fine diambi 7 ardo .s. doflaith dligid asarbiathad seiriu atuaith dligid
cumala cachalaimhe co .iii.ar diasarugud nodiaasain ut dr cormac aire fine findathar
atechta 7 rl-

§11
IDna .i. fear ocambi socraite do macaib 7 braithre 7 maic brathar combi tricha gais-
cadach dligid asaerbiathad .u.ir ocafine dligid lethcumala cotriar diasarugud diaasain ut dixit .c. idan an diumsach

§12
Ansruth .i. fer imdi caem memait 7 acrich guin duini do incach treimsi do cethre raithi nabliadna nibes uaiti.xx.ti fri crich anechtair soerbiathad .iii.air do cach leth ina tuaith dligid trian cumaili diasarugud dia esain 7 dligid caisced inraic inaeneclainn ut dixit ansruth an imdith acrich cetharda congaile uad 7"l-

§13
Dæ.i fear imerta fir araile no fer araile contaiteit acumala dotafich agres cinadall fini aca dligid asærbiathad 7 aamus ocach clethi 7 lethtrian cumala dligis diaasain no diasarugud 7 gaisced notiumach ut dixit
APPENDIX 2

A second copy of §§42-50 of our text was once preserved on a loose page stitched to folio 67 of the Trinity College MS H.4.22. This page has since been lost (cf. TCD catalogue p. X). Below is O’Curry’s transcript of the text made before the loss of the page.

§42
incipit miadhlechta filidh Secht ngraid filid dna .i. ecas ansruth cani cli dos macc fuirmigh fochluc

§43
Eceas dna .i. ecmaicht ceas .i dona bi ces anceas na anfis fair do astod no ni fuil ceas dó ina dán cona ed a ainm nemceas no ecmaicht ceas

§44
File .i. falsui lasi mbiat felmaic.i. suid ar a feal laisin file iseis no foircedal asin gnathberla cona de atá feolmac 7 fellsam fili 7 filidecht .i. rofailnastar i fis sech na uili

§45
Ollam oll doeim forcanac cetheora ranna fesa filidechta 7 fo bith is lia bis fora titin som oldait na grada olcena No ollam oll a dam cethrar ar fichit

§46
ar atait tri ollamain and .i. ollam gasi sai cach eolais ima fuiglither friscomarcar ni frecnarc ni berar ancuis uada i mbrethaib aithre 7 senaithre Ollam ard imorro nascid ni nascar caidiside Ni. amail rig connacht amail asberar Ni ollam nard coicid naililla mic mata mora Ollam eicsi dno forcain ceithri randa filidechta na forcanar som imorro o nech Cethrar ar fichit a damh ... [Ollam eicsi dono forcain cetheora ranna filidechta cin ainfis inntu]

§47
Ansruth .i. ar donaiscid ini nascar fair, amail rogab righ erenn. [Ollam eicsi dono
forcaing ceotheora ranna filidechta cin ainfin is inntu] Ansruth .i. sruth cain molta uada 7
sruth innmasa do tar eis i log a molta

§48
Cli .i. is e bes na clithi isin tegais as tren 7 is diriuch 7 congabat 7 congabtear dieim 7
diemar acumaing a dan o ansruth co fochluich

§49
Dos .i. fo cosmailius dos feadha forroghennad a ndan imtha samlaid is anmaim feda 7
a cosmaileis ro hainmnigedh dos ar is ann is dos in crand dia bliadna iarna toidecht is i
cnoi is i derois 7 i teora duille bit fair Cethrar dam duis

§50
Mac fuirmid .i. fuirmeadh ar ... Mucairbe ni maith fograidh son acht is mac uirbe is
maith de .i. is mac dan do a dan

§51
Fochloc .i. fo cosmaileis fochlocain co ndib duillib dis dno

§52
Bard dno fer gin dilged foglama acht inntlicht fadesin Fer cerda imorro lanceird la
suidhe

§55
Romidir Morann fear saer cu cumalaib cumal cechtar a da sul ar cruth 7 deici 7 cum-
tach cumal beil ar blaisssecht 7 labra cumal lengtha tachtaig dina labra leicter cumal
srone ar bithcuilais 7 boltugadh da cumal cluais ar eistecht 7 imcoimet cumal braget
ar fuluth 7 guth di cumal a da dot ar luth 7 nirt di cumal da laim ar urgail 7 fognum di
cumal da cos ar foirmtecht 7 folad cumal brond ar thucht 7 forbairt. gid sen ce robi a
senaib nemdeitin dilgid cuistrasta.
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\textbf{Abbreviations.}


\textit{AL} = Hancock, W. Neilson; O'Mahony, Thaddeus; Richey, A.G.; Hennessy, William M.; Atkinson, Robert (eds.), \textit{Ancient Laws of Ireland} i-vi, Dublin 1865-1901.


*Corm. Y* = *Sanas Cormaic: an Old-Irish glossary compiled by Cormac Úa Cuilénáin, Anecdota* iv. 1913


*LB* = *Leabhar Breac. The Speckled Book*. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1876.

*LEIA* = *Lexique étymologique de l’Irlandais ancien*. Dublin and Paris. 1959-.


*LU* = *Lebor na hUidre/ Book of the Dun Cow*, ed. R.I Best, Osborn Bergin. Dublin 1929. Where necessary the hands of the three scribes are distinguished as *LU(A), LU(M), LU(H)*.


*MV* = *Mittelirische Verslehren in Irische Texte* III, 1-182.


*RC* = *Revue celtique* (Paris 1870-1934).
Sg. = Glosses on Priscian, Codex Sangallensis No. 904, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (2 vols, Cambridge 1901-3; reprinted Dublin 1975), vol 2, 49-244.


*TBC LL* = Táin Bó Cúailnge, form the Book of Leinster. Cecile O’Rahilly, Dublin 1967. References are to line numbers.

