

CELTIC STUDIES PUBLICATIONS XVII

# The End and Beyond Medieval Irish Eschatology

VOLUME II

edited by

JOHN CAREY, EMMA NIC CÁRTHAIGH  
and CAITRÍONA Ó DOCHARTAIGH

with a Foreword by Bernard McGinn

ABERYSTWYTH

2014

## THE SECOND VISION OF ADOMNÁN

Nicole Volmering

THE text commonly known as the *Second Vision of Adomnán* is not so much a vision as a homily containing an exhortation to fasting and prayer. The occasion for this exhortation, and the reason for the title of the homily, was a prophecy concerning a disaster that was to strike on the feast of the Decollation of John the Baptist (29 August). According to our text, the fateful day will come in an embolismic leap year, at the end of a cycle in which the feast falls on a Friday. This prophecy, together with the 'law of spiritual direction' which describes the means for averting the calamity, was purportedly revealed by an angel to Adomnán ua Tinne, abbot of Iona (died 704), and is commonly associated with the year A.D. 1096.

The attribution of the prophecy to Adomnán is evidently fictitious. The choice of Adomnán of Iona as the visionary may be explained in part through his connection with his predecessor St Columba,<sup>1</sup> through which he appears to have become liable to association with visionary and prophetic experiences.<sup>2</sup> By choosing Adomnán, the author is situating his work in the context provided by texts such as *Fís Adomnáin*, in which Adomnán has his vision on the feast of St John, and *Betha Adamnáin*, in which he is said to have foretold a great misfortune that would occur at the feast of St John.<sup>3</sup>

- 
- 1 St Columba is traditionally held to have been his kinsman as well as his predecessor; but see B. Lacey, 'Adomnán and Donegal', in *Adomnán of Iona: Theologian, Lawmaker, Peacemaker*, ed. J. Wooding *et. al.* (Dublin, 2010), pp 20–35.
  - 2 On this topic see: John Carey, 'Varieties of Supernatural Contact in the Life of Adamnán', in *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, ed. *idem et al.* (Dublin, 2001), pp 49–62; J. F. Nagy, 'The Middle-Aged Life of Adamnán', in *Telling Tales: Medieval Narratives and the Folk Tradition*, ed. F. C. Sautman *et al.* (New York, 1998), pp 209–28.
  - 3 That is, his nativity, 23 September. Cf. T. Clancy, 'Adomnán in Medieval Gaelic Literary Tradition', in *Adomnán of Iona*, pp 112–22 (p. 121).

In *Betha Adamnáin*, the prophecy is confirmed by a young man visiting one Colmán of Croaghpatrick, and is fulfilled by the death of Adomnán himself at the next festival of St John. Though I am not quite convinced by Eugene O'Curry's statement that this would appear to be the 'real origin and verification of the St. John's festival prediction', it certainly provided the author of the current text with a precedent for associating Adomnán with John the Baptist.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the earliest source concerning the prophecy that Ireland will be subjected to a terrible plague on a feast of John the Baptist attributes this prophecy to St Mo Ling,<sup>5</sup> an attribution which is repeated in the late twelfth-century commentary to *Féilire Oengusso*.<sup>6</sup> This is not insignificant in light of the fact that our text prescribes an office for warding off the pestilence which is nearly identical to that in the late eighth-century gospel codex which is known as the Book of Mulling because of its supposed association with Mo Ling himself.<sup>7</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the prophecy too was initially associated with Mo Ling, and was only attributed to other saints at a later date.<sup>8</sup>

Whilst in our text the formal attribution of the prophecy is to Adomnán, following the bilingual introduction Adomnán ceases to be mentioned, and it is rather Patrick who becomes the central figure. In fact, the role of Patrick as intercessor for the Irish is inextricably tied to the subject of the sermon. Following the prologue, the author proceeds to point out that the people of Ireland are completely dependent on God and Saint Patrick if they wish to abate their approaching doom: Patrick is the only saint who can ward off the fulfilment of the prophecy and the only saint who is not appealing *against* the Irish on account of their misbehaviour (§§4, 6). The author reminds us that it is Patrick 'whom the Lord has entrusted with saving them from paganism, idolatry

- 
- 4 E. O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin, 1861), p. 424. It is uncertain at this time what the original source of the prophecy was and what the nature of this plague was understood to be, and further study of the interrelationship of the texts involved is necessary. Both the *Lore of the Fiery Arrow* and *Betha Adamnáin* are currently dated to the tenth century, but in any case they do not include the same details: the former describes a prophecy associated with a leap year like the *Second Vision*, but the *Life* instead ties the prophecy to Adomnán's death on 23 September.
- 5 See the textual note on *ac sguapadh* in §5, pp 673–5 below, and the edition of this text on p. 710. I follow John Carey's dating of this text.
- 6 *Fél.* pp 190–91. The commentary also includes related prophecies by Ailerán the Wise, Colum Cille, and Riagail; see discussion on pp 685–96 below. For the date of the commentary see P. Ó Riain, 'The Martyrology of Óengus: The Transmission of the Text', *Studia Hibernica* 31 (2000–01) 221–42 (pp 236–7).
- 7 Cf. p. 680 below.
- 8 This aspect of the transmission of the legend is still unclear and needs further study. The suggestion offered here is, therefore, only presented tentatively.

and unfaith' and that 'it is he who will be their judge and advocate on Doomsday' (§2).<sup>9</sup>

This element of our homily is quite possibly a reflex of the historical and political reality of the time: it seems that the church of Armagh took the lead in reacting to the prophecy.<sup>10</sup> The entry for A.D. 1096 in the *Annals of Ulster* (*AU*) and the *Annals of Loch Cé* (*LC*) reads:

*Uamon mór for feraibh Erenn [uile] ria feil Eoin na bliadna-sa co rothesairc Dia  
[& Patraic] tria troisctibh comarba Patraic 7 cleirech n-Erenn archena.*<sup>11</sup>

Great fear seized the men of [all] Ireland before the feast of John in this year; and God [and Patrick] protected them through the fasts of the successor of Patrick and the other clerics of Ireland.

On the evidence of the annals, therefore, the churches of Ireland, with the bishop of Armagh at their head, feared that the prophecy might come true in this year. However, as James F. Kenney already noted, there seems to be confusion concerning the exact nature of the signs that mark the fatal year.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, it would seem that 1096 did not fulfil all of the stated requirements. Our prophecy specifies, as mentioned above, that the year in which the calamity will befall the Irish (1) is bissextile (i.e. a leap year); (2) is embolismic (i.e. it has an intercalary moon); (3) falls at the end of a cycle; and (4) is a year in which the feast of the Decollation of John the Baptist (29 August) falls on a Friday. There is no doubt that 1096 was both bissextile and embolismic: the year has Golden Number 14 (i.e., it is the fourteenth year in the lunar cycle), which traditionally has both of these qualities.<sup>13</sup> However, Daniel McCarthy informs me that whilst every

9 This tradition derives, of course, from Muirchú's *Vita S. Patricii* II.6 (in *The Patrician Texts from the Book of Armagh*, ed. and trans. L. Bieler [Dublin, 1979], pp 116–17) and is frequently repeated; see e.g. Whitley Stokes, ed. and trans., *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, 2 vols (London, 1887), i.119; and *idem*, ed. and trans., *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890), p. 627.

10 The heir (*comarba*) of Patrick went on a circuit of Munster in A.D. 1094, carrying away both fixed and voluntary tribute: Armagh was clearly trying to establish itself as the leading church of Ireland.

11 *AU* 1096.3. The additions in brackets are the readings of the *Annals of Loch Cé*, whose entry is nearly identical. The translation of *AU* is that of Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (1983), that of *LC* by William M. Hennessy (1871).

12 J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (2nd ed.: Dublin, 1966), pp 750–52.

13 For 1096 being bissextile: B. Blackburn and L. Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion to the Year* (Oxford, 1999), p. 823; D. McCarthy, *Chronological Synchronisation of the Irish Annals* (4th ed.: Dublin, 2005) <[http://www.scss.tcd.ie/misc/kronos/chronology/synchronisms/Edition\\_4/K\\_](http://www.scss.tcd.ie/misc/kronos/chronology/synchronisms/Edition_4/K_)

nineteenth year of the Dionysian lunar cycle is indeed embolismic and so accords with the description *in anno ... embolesmi et in fine circuli*, the final year of this cycle can only fall on a bissextile year once in every seventy-six years, so that in the eleventh century only the year A.D. 1044 fulfils the conditions of being bissextile, embolismic, and the end of a lunar cycle.<sup>14</sup> In this year, however, the feast of John the Baptist did not fall on a Friday but on a Wednesday.<sup>15</sup> O'Curry had already envisaged a problem here and suggested that perhaps the cycle intended is not the 19-year lunar cycle, but the cycle of the epact, which is in its twenty-third year in 1096, and which, according to him, is thus at the end of its cycle in this year.<sup>16</sup> This is a shrewd suggestion, but it contains an error: the cycle of the epact runs up to 29 or 30 (the number of days in a lunar month) and thus is not at its end in the 23rd year. The epact to which O'Curry referred is the Alexandrian epact (see below) or the place of the moon in its cycle on 22 March. To make the Alexandrian system of reckoning more suitable to the Julian calendar, however, the epact was sometimes calculated for 1 January.<sup>17</sup> Neither of these dates, however, falls at the end of the lunar cycle. Hence the year 1096 only fulfils three of the requirements – that is, if we assume that *circuli* in our text refers, as it usually does, to the lunar cycle.<sup>18</sup> Even if we were to ignore the syntax of our text and consider the lunar cycle for 29 August itself, we observe that on this day the moon is rather at the start of its cycle. A summary of the relevant data for the Easter calculation of 1096 looks as follows:

---

trad/K\_synch.htm>. The remainder of 1096 divided by 28 is 4, hence 1096 has Kl. Ian. iii and is bissextile. For year fourteen being embolismic: Faith Wallis, trans., *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool, 1999), pp xlvi, 294.

- 14 I am much obliged to Dr McCarthy for discussing this problem with me. Dr McCarthy also noted that the year 1196 is one of the eligible years, which raises the question whether someone made an error in computing the date of the disaster.
- 15 Blackburn and Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion*, p. 892.
- 16 O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 452. I have not been able to determine his source for this statement.
- 17 The Alexandrian calendar started the year at 1 September, but the Julian calendar counts from 1 January.
- 18 See p. 670 below.

| year | feria Kl.<br>Ian. | Golden<br>Number <sup>22</sup> | Alex.<br>Epact <sup>23</sup> | Epact<br>Ian. <sup>24</sup> | Concurrent <sup>19</sup><br>(feria 24M) | luna XIV <sup>20</sup> | Easter <sup>21</sup> | Epact<br>Aug. <sup>25</sup> |
|------|-------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1096 | iii               | 14                             | 23                           | 2                           | 2                                       | 12A                    | 13A                  | 9                           |

In this year the feast of the Decollation of John the Baptist, however, did fall on a Friday.<sup>26</sup> It appears, then, that this element was more important than the 'end of a cycle' element. This is partly corroborated by the annals: *Chronicon Scottorum* (CS) gives as the main reason for concern the fact that the Decollation is on a Friday.

*Bliadain na fele Eoin an bliadainsi for Aoine gur gab epla mor fir Erenn inte.*

The year in which the feast of John fell on a Friday, and great fear seized the men of Ireland on account of it.<sup>27</sup>

One is left to wonder, then, why 1096 should have been the inauspicious year. There were other embolismic leap years in which the Decollation fell on a Friday, e.g. A.D. 1012. I believe that we have a clue to this in §2 of our text: 'One mortality after the other, then, will come to them up to the mortality of the Feast of John [the Baptist]'. The year 1096 was preceded by a number of unfortunate events. The annals testify to bad weather leading to scarcity in 1094 (*LC, AU*), followed by a great snow in January of 1095 which killed men, cattle and birds (*LC, AU*) and subsequently, in the same year, by a great pestilence which raged 'from the kalends of August to the May following, viz.: – it was called a "mortal year"' (*LC, AU, CS*).<sup>28</sup> The combination of these events,

19 The concurrent:  $1096 + 9 = 1105 = (28 \times 39) + 13$ .  $13/4 = 3 + 1 = 4$ . Hence  $4 + 1 = 5$  (Monday).

20 Luna XIV is calculated through a short table (*ibid.*, p. 810), which gives for this case  $35 - 23$  (Epact) = 12 April.

21 The next Sunday following luna XIV is calculated by taking the concurrent + the 'Paschal Regular' (the number of days luna XIV is in advance of 24 March). Hence  $2 + 5 = 7$  (Saturday). The next Sunday after that is 13 April. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 862.

22 Blackburn and Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion*, p. 810 for this and the following calculations. Golden Number = The remainder of  $1096 + 1$  over 19:  $(57 \times 19) + 14$ .

23 Alexandrian epact: remainder of 1096 over 19 multiplied by 11 = 143. The remainder of 143 to 30:  $(30 \times 4) + 23$ .

24 McCarthy, *Chronological Synchronisation*, table of epacts; Blackburn and Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion*, p. 824.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 824.

26 *Ibid.*, pp 832, 858.

27 *CS s.a.* 1096.

28 Citing *LC s.aa* 1095.4. Curiously, the *Annals of Tigernach's* entry for 1096 states only 'A bad year goes and

together with the fact that 1096 was an embolismic leap year in which the Decollation fell on Friday, likely caused the panic attested in the annals above.

It is this impending disaster, then, that our author takes as his *causa scribendi*. Following the introduction, he neatly juxtaposes the fate of 'good' and 'bad' churches (§4), following this with a description of the disaster to come (§5), and an explanation of why the Irish have deserved this disaster (§§6, 7) before providing them with the remedy (§§8–11). This last section is indeed construed as a 'law of spiritual direction'. It prescribes four commandments<sup>29</sup> by means of which one may obtain mercy from God and Patrick and escape the calamity. In particular the 'rules' of the fourth commandment, an injunction to perform three-day fasts and to pray, are described in great detail, recalling the prescriptive specificity of a law text. This legalistic impression is strengthened by the mention of three *aitiri* 'hostage-sureties', and of those classes and circumstances which are exempt; as well as by the inclusion of punishments in the form of tithes and general damnation to come upon those who refuse to observe the three-day fasts. Notably, legal action against anyone partaking in the fast is also outlawed for its duration, because it distracts the mind from God. The rules also include a list of hymns to be recited in order to seek mercy from God and Patrick. The author rounds off his exhortation with a series of exempla from the Old Testament demonstrating the efficacy of *deuota penitentia*.

### Manuscripts

*The Second Vision of Adomnán* is preserved in four manuscripts dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. The oldest and lengthiest copy is found in the manuscript known as the *Leabhar Breac* (c. A.D. 1408–11), now Dublin, RIA 23 P 16 (cat. 1230), pp 258–9, (henceforth *B*).<sup>30</sup> The text was edited by Whitley Stokes in 1891 from this manuscript.<sup>31</sup> Stokes provided a semi-diplomatic edition, presented in short paragraphs often consisting of one or two sentences. He contributed a brief introduction, a few footnotes and a concise verbal index, but no further discussion. Stokes admitted that at some points his translation was uncertain. The language of this copy is consistent with a date in the Middle Irish period. Among the noteworthy features are the loss of the

---

a good year should come, that is, the year of the festival of St John'.

29 Effectively five in the text.

30 T. Ó Concheanainn, 'The Scribe of the *Leabhar Breac*', *Ériu* 24 (1973) 64–79 (pp 71–3).

31 'Adamnan's Second Vision', *RC* 12 (1891) 420–43. The opening of the text had previously been transcribed by Eugene O'Curry and printed as Appendix CL to his *Lectures*.

neuter and the dat. pl. ending of the article, and the falling together of masculine gen. sg. and feminine nom. sg. as *in*, with no occurrence of Old Irish *ind<sup>l</sup>*. The masculine nom. pl. appears as either *in* or *na*. This usage is nearly identical to that in *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (dated to the last quarter of the eleventh century).<sup>32</sup> Significant also is the almost complete lack of independent pronouns: all but one (line 111) occur as predicate of the copula conforming to Old Irish usage. The verbal system contains a significant proportion of unverbated verbs; and the Old Irish simple preterite has for the most part been superseded by augmented forms no longer designating the perfect.

A second copy, dating to c. 1643, is preserved in Dublin, TCD 1317 (shelf-mark H.2.15b), pp 137–53, (henceforth *T*), in the hand of Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh.<sup>33</sup> Its text is virtually identical to that of *B* and I believe we may safely suppose that Dubhaltach was using this manuscript – or else a very faithful copy – as his exemplar. We know, moreover, that Dubhaltach made significant use of this manuscript when making additions to his *Book of Genealogies*, and Nollaig Ó Muraíle states that there is nothing improbable in his having made use of it a decade earlier.<sup>34</sup> He appears to have copied our text for the purpose of study or translation, as it is accompanied by translations and notes in both English and Latin.

A more distinctive copy is found in the second volume of the manuscript known as *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, now Dublin, RIA 23 O 48 (b) (cat. 476), f. 22r–v (henceforth *F*): this is significantly reduced in length and preserves only part of the text. *F* breaks off after §7, thereby including the information concerning the prophecy of the mortality and the reasons for bringing it upon the Irish, but not the extended details on the prescribed fasts and the role of hostages taken on behalf of the Irish. It could, of course, be the case that the scribe of *F* had no interest in the section which follows, and was only interested in the prophecy. However, the copy in *F* ends exactly at the page break of the text of *B*. I thus consider it more likely that the abbreviation was a scribal oversight, whether on the part of the scribe of *F* or of an intermediate copyist.

The last copy is in Dublin, RIA MS 24 P 9 (cat. 739), pp 89–104 (henceforth *P*), which is a fairly modernised seventeenth-century version of *B*, freely adapted and abridged by its scribe.<sup>35</sup>

No new edition of the text has appeared since that of Stokes. The current edition seeks to address this lack, and presents the text from the two earliest manuscripts with

32 K. H. Jackson, ed., *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (Dublin, 1990), pp xxvi and 78–9.

33 N. Ó Muraíle, *The Celebrated Antiquary* (Maynooth, 2002), pp 78–80, 372.

34 I am very grateful to Dr Ó Muraíle for discussing this topic with me. Cf. *ibid.*, pp 176–7, and P. Ó Riain, ed., *Corpus genealogiarum sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1985), pp xlvi–xlvii.

35 I owe the discovery of this copy to Caoimhín Breatnach.



*B* used as the *codex optimus*. The variants from *F* are presented in the *apparatus*, and are translated where appropriate in footnotes to the translation of the main text.

### Principles of the Edition

For this edition I have chosen for the most part to follow the structure of the text in *B*, in which paragraphs are clearly demarcated and indicated by coloured capitals. Somewhat smaller coloured capitals indicate the start of most of the sentences; these are represented by bold lettering in the text. It has been necessary on occasion to alter a sentence where capitalisation appeared to be lacking or confused. This was the case in §8 where the sentence has been broken up to create a new one starting *Nach*; in §9 line 78, where a new sentence now begins with *Ar*; and in §14 line 135, where the new sentence now begins with *Co*. Likewise, *ar* in §2 line 14 and *in* in §5 line 48 now no longer begin a sentence with a capital, as in the manuscript, but have been joined to the preceding sentence. Since the fourth paragraph in *B* is not broken up and seems excessively long in comparison to the other paragraphs, I have in this case adopted the paragraph division of *F*, which is equally well structured. As a result, §§4–6 below represent what appears as a single paragraph in *B*.

I have supplied italics to mark letters represented in the manuscript by ambiguous abbreviations, but not ligatures. Where the *punctum delens* appears on consonants other than *n*, *s*, or *f*, it is expanded as *h*. Common names such as 'Patrick' and 'Ireland', as well as the words *áine* and *ernaigthe*, which occur very frequently, have also been silently expanded.<sup>36</sup> Punctuation is loosely based on that of the manuscript, though in the interests of presenting a text which is more easily readable to a modern audience, additional punctuation has been added. Capitalisation of personal names, countries and places is my own. Where significant alterations to the manuscript's readings have been made, these are listed in the *apparatus*.

The text has not been normalised, but to aid understanding I have supplied hyphens to distinguish compound verbs, enclitic pronouns, and mutations. I have refrained from altering or correcting the text in any significant way, but instead the following sigla have been used for editing: [ ] for editorial insertion or emendation; < > for missing or partially effaced characters. In addition the following sigla are used in the *apparatus*: ( )

<sup>36</sup> §2 provides the scribe's spelling for 'Patrick' as *Patraic* and §3 provides his spelling of *ernaigthe*. Initially *áine* is only abbreviated by an *n*-stroke, but later in the text it is abbreviated *.a*. Similarly, *ernaigthe* is initially abbreviated by a lenition mark only, but as *ernē* or *erē* when it becomes more frequent.

for suggested editorial deletion; `´ for insertions by the scribe;  $x < y$  for indicating a scribal alteration from  $y$  to  $x$ ; ] is placed after the lemma.

The *apparatus* only provides significant variants, i.e. those not merely orthographic. This excludes from the *apparatus* variants in the writing of lenition or vowels in unstressed final syllables unless these are syllable-final and serve to indicate inflexion. Variants from *F* have only been provided where they represent significant variations. This excludes the greater part of the many modernisations which can be found in *F*, such as *naeimh* for *noim*, *an* for *in*, *gach* for *cech*, *gan* for *cen*, *teneadh* for *tened*, *ataidh* for *athach*, *shargarbaigh* for *sacarbaic*, *eccraibfeacha* for *éccraibdechu*. In the case of editorial emendation, a reference to the manuscript form is included in the *apparatus*, though not where letters have only been inserted or added in addition to and without replacing a manuscript reading. In such cases, square brackets indicate the addition.

## Text

§1. Uisio *quam* uidit Adamnanus uir *Spiritu sancto* plenus,  
*haec est*, angelus Domini *dixit haec uerba eius* illum:

‘Uae, uae, uae uiris Hiberniae insolae mandata Domini transgredientibus!  
 Uae regibus et princi[pi]bus qui non di[l]igunt ueritatem et diligunt  
 5 iniquitatem et rapinam! Uae doctoribus qui non docent ueritatem et  
 consen[t]iunt uanitatibus imperfectorum! Uae meretricibus et peccatoribus  
 qui sicut foenum et stipula concremabuntur a bura ignita in anno bisextili  
 et embolesmi et in fine circuli et in Decollatione Iohannis Bautistae! IN  
 sexta feria autem plaga conueni[e]t in illo anno, nisi deuota poenitentia  
 10 prohibuerit, ut Níniúetae fecerunt!’

§2. IS ead inso tra forus 7 dlíged anmchairdesa fer nErenn fria lesugud  
 a corp 7 a n- anmann, fri hindarbud plag 7 genti 7 dunibad díb, amal ro  
 foillsíged do Adamnán húa Thinne a comarli Dé ocus Patraic, co robud 7  
 co n-erfuaccra ina ndochum, arro fochlit iarum firu Erenn 7 ara nd-aigset  
 15 co leir in dunibad ticfa doib minas bera trocaire Dé for culu 7 itche Patraic  
 frisin Duilemain. Ticfa tra cech duinebad i ndiaid araile doib co dunibad na  
 felí Eoin. IS for Patraic didiu is mó ata neméli airchisechta fer nErenn, uair  
 is é ro erb in Coimdiu dia tesorcain for gentlídect 7 idaladrud 7 amiris. Is  
 é bus brethem 7 bus erlabraid doib i llou bratha. Ocus didiu is e na leic plag  
 20 thened ina ndochumm for airchisecht dia corpaib 7 dia n-anmanduib.

§ 1. om. F 4 di[l]igunt] dirigunt B 7 a bura ignita] aburaignata B.

11 Is – tra] [IS] e ní ata ann so F 12–13 ro foillsíged – Adamnán] ro foillsíeadh d’Aghamhnan  
 naemh F 13 Dé ocus] omitted F 14 erfuaccra] furoghra F 14 ndochum] ndochuma F 14 ar] Ar B 14  
 after Erenn add uile F 14–15 ara nd-aigset co] aro innsaidhfíd do F 15 after culu add iad F 16 Ticfa]  
 Oir tiucfaidh F 16 tra] iarumh F 17 didiu] immorro F 17 neméli airchisechta] neimhela 7 oircisicht  
 F 18 ro erb – amiris] ro ordaidh in coimghí diana teasargain ar geinntlighicht 7 a ridhla druagh 7 ar  
 diabultacht F 18–19 Is é] 7 is se F 19 erlabraid] irbabraidh F 19 Ocus didiu] omitted F 19 e] se F 19  
 after e add dono Padraic F 19 na leic plag] nach ligint an plaigh F 20 for] ar F

### Translation

§1. *The vision which Adomnán, a man full of the Holy Spirit, saw, that is, the angel of the Lord said these words of his to him:*

*'Woe! Woe! Woe to the men of the island of Ireland transgressing the Lord's commandments! Woe to the kings and princes who do not love truth and love injustice and plunder! Woe to the teachers who do not teach truth and consent to the folly of the imperfect! Woe to the barlots and sinners who will be burned up like hay and stubble by a fire kindled in an embolismic leap year and at the end of a cycle and on the [Feast of] the Decollation of John the Baptist! On a Friday in this year a plague will come, unless devout penance will have prevented it, just as the Ninevites did!'*

§2. This, then, is the principle and law of spiritual direction of the men of Ireland, for the benefit of their bodies and souls, for the banishing of plagues and heathens and mortality from them, as was revealed to Adomnán<sup>37</sup> ua Tinne through the counsel of God and Patrick, with a warning and a message to them, that the men of Ireland<sup>38</sup> should beware and fear zealously the mortality<sup>39</sup> which will come to them unless God's mercy and Patrick's prayer to the Creator turn it back. One mortality after the other, then, will come to them up to the mortality of the Feast of John [the Baptist]. It is Patrick, then, who bears the chief responsibility for sorrowful pleading for mercy<sup>40</sup> for the men of Ireland, because it is he whom the Lord has entrusted with saving them from paganism, idolatry and unfaith.<sup>41</sup> It is he who will be their judge and advocate on Doomsday. And it is he, moreover,<sup>42</sup> who does not allow the plague of fire to [come] to them out of compassion for their bodies and their souls.

---

37 *F* 'the holy Adomnán'.

38 *F* 'all the men of Ireland'.

39 *for* 'fear – mortality' *F reads* 'for the plague would diligently come'.

40 *F* 'pleading and mercy'.

41 *F* 'whom the Lord has commanded to save them from paganism and from idolatry and from sorcery'.

42 *F* 'it is he, moreover, Patrick'.

- §3. Attat didiu noim Erenn oc neméli frisin Coimdid co tísad in plag do glanad a n-eclas for mét a n-anannaic 7 a celg 7 a cosnuma in[n]a popul fil indib. Ar thorud aine 7 ernaigthi na noem is ed chaithit na popuil 7 na cind ecráibdechu cona lecet-sen na noemu do thorruma a relced nach a  
25 n-adnocul. Ar toegat na noim in cech lathi 7 .xii. aingel i comitechth cech noim do chelebrad cech entratha oca n-ecalsib ic atach Dé tar cend a manach. Ar teacit a n-anmanda-sein beos coa n-adnaicthib. Ar is e-sin in cetramud inad torramus in animm iar scarad fria a corp .i. loc a gene 7 loc a bais, loc a baisti 7 loc a hadnaicthi [i]na húir mainche dilis.
- §4. Tic didiu in Coimdiu co .ix. ngradu nime in cech domnach do thabairt bennachtan forsín noman 7 forsna heclasib noemu 7 for cech n-oen bis hi sobés inntib .i. co ndéirc 7 trócaire, aine 7 irnaigthe 7 umalóit 7 aigedchaire, for cech flaith 7 for cech n-airchindech 7 for cech manach nos lessaig ar medon 7 dianechtar. IN eclás didiu [i]na bí tol Dé, a mbí  
30 cosnam 7 coscrad 7 peccad, ní theacit na nóim nó in aingil dia saigid-sium, acht airt ro-clúinnter guth in chluic benair icon eclais, 7 do-berat tríst  
35

21 Attat] Air atait F 21 didiu] omitted F 21 after Erenn add uile F 21 oc neméli] ag nemhelaidh F 21 after Coimdid add da urail F 22 eclás] eclásadh F 22 for mét] aromed F 22 after met add a peccad 7 F 22-3 in[n]a popul fil indib] Oir na popuil filit isna heclaisibh-sin F 23 after noem add da creidid F 23 is ed chaithit] as iad-sin caithit F 23-4 7 na cind] omitted F 24 ecráibdechu] ecráibdechu (a mbetha) B 24 after ecráibdechu add aingighi mar cuid F 24 cona lecet-sen] conach leigid F 24 after cona lecet-sen add an lucht ecráibfeach-sin F 24 noemu] naimh F 24 nach] 7 F 25 Ar toegat] oir tiaghaid F 25 after cech add oen F 25 after lathi add d'innsaighi a n-ecalsad 7 a n-adhnacuil fein F 25 cech] gacha F 26 chelebrad cech entratha] ceileabra an gach oen laithi F 26 ic] occ F 26 after Dé add 7 a nDuileamhan F 27 a n-anmanda-sein] na naim-sin F 27 coa n-adnaicthib] cum a n-adhnacuil fein F 28 torramus in animm] a ndenunn an animuin toruma F 28 iar scarad fria a corp] omitted F 29 baisti] baistighe F 29 after dilis add fein F.

30 didiu in Coimdiu] dono an t-athair neamhdha 7 an t-ændiadh uilecumachtach F 30 ngradu] ngradhaibh F 31 bennachtan forsín] a beannacht forsa F 31 heclasib noemu] nãmecailsib F 32 hi sobés inntib] co sobesach isna heclaisibh 7 isin domhun co leir .i. cu glan F 32 ndéirc] deiseirc F 32-3 trócaire - aigedchaire] trocaire 7 co n-umholoid 7 co n-aine 7 co nn-earnaigthi 7 cu carghusaibh 7 co cataire co leir F 33 first for] Do-beir se hi for F 34 nos lessaig ar] nos leasaidinn a F 34 didiu] iarum F 34 [i]na bí] agnach bi F 34 after Dé add ga denum inti 7 F 34 a mbí] aca mbi F 34-5 cosnam 7] om. F peccad] peccad 7 F 35 nó in aingil] om. F 35 dia saigid-sium] dia soichin-sin F 35 after acht add an F 36 ro-clúinnter] ro-cluinnet F 36 chluic benair icon] cluin bentar annsan F 36 after eclais add 7 mar do-cluinit an chlog anait 7 F

§3. The saints<sup>43</sup> of Ireland, however, are beseeching the Lord<sup>44</sup> that the plague might come to cleanse their churches on account of the amount<sup>45</sup> of guilts and treacheries and contentions of the people who are in them. For the fruit of the fasting and the prayers of the saints is what the people and impious leaders consume,<sup>46</sup> so that they<sup>47</sup> do not allow the saints to attend their cemeteries or their graves. For the saints, with twelve angels in the company of each saint, come every<sup>48</sup> day<sup>49</sup> to celebrate every single canonical hour<sup>50</sup> at their churches, praying to God<sup>51</sup> on behalf of their monks. For their souls<sup>52</sup> still come to their<sup>53</sup> graves. For this is the fourth place the soul visits after separating from its body, that is, the place of its birth and the place of its death, the place of its baptism and the place of its burial in the soil of its own community.

§4. The Lord<sup>54</sup> then, with the nine grades of heaven, comes every Sunday to give a blessing<sup>55</sup> to the world and to the holy churches and to everyone who is of good conduct in them,<sup>56</sup> that is, with charity and with mercy, fasting and prayer and humility and hospitality,<sup>57</sup> to<sup>58</sup> every ruler and to every superior and to every monk who betters them within and without. As for the church, however, in which God's will is not,<sup>59</sup> wherein are contention<sup>60</sup> and disturbance and sin, the saints or the angels<sup>61</sup> do not come any nearer to it than as far as the sound of the bell, [which is] struck at the church, is heard,<sup>62</sup> and

---

43 *F* 'All the saints'.

44 *F* adds 'to urge him'.

45 *F* 'from the great abundance of their sins and'.

46 *F* 'For the people who are in these churches for the fruit of fasting and the prayers of the saints in whom they believe, it is these which the impious, wicked people consume as [their] portion'.

47 *F* 'that crowd of the impious'.

48 *F* 'every single'.

49 *F* adds 'to [visit] their churches and their own graves'.

50 *F* 'every single day'.

51 *F* adds 'and their Lord'.

52 *F* 'those saints'.

53 *F* 'their own'.

54 *F* 'the heavenly Father and the one omnipotent God'.

55 *F* 'his blessings'.

56 *for* 'in them, that is' *F* reads 'in the churches and in all the world, that is, with cleanliness and'.

57 *F* 'with Lenten fasts and with diligent vigil'.

58 *F* 'He brings it upon'.

59 *F* 'is not being done'.

60 *F* 'contention and' omitted.

61 *F* 'or the angels' omitted.

62 *F* 'they hear'.

7 míscaid, 7 berait a n-oráit uadib .i. forsna manchaib 7 forsna flathib 7 forsna hairchindechu díscailit in eclais ar medón 7 dianechtair, conid de-sin tothlaigit noim Erenn tidecht na dunibad acht Patraic nama.

- 40 §5. IS dífaisnesi tra, 7 is dofúlachtu in plág thicfa and mine foichligther co lléir .i. lasar thened, luathaigther athach ngáithe glanfus Eirinn aniardes, 7 is í insin tene loiscfes teora cetraimi fer nErenn fri prapad súla, firu, mná, macu sceo ingena, cen chomand, cen cóibsin, cen sacarbaic. Oen do cét dib namá dochumm nime, acht a n-ifrind tiagat uli, 7 do-géna dúbluaitriud dia
- 45 corpaib, co ndath in guail fora n-anmanna thall. Ni ba dín sóethu didiu don cetraimti fhuicfes in dunibad-sin dia éis hi tír nErenn, ar bid tanaise do dígail lathi bratha in dígal dos-bera Dia for firu Erenn i n-amsir in dunibad-sin, in tan tra na tabair plag *eile* dia timorcain acht caisar thened do neim pheni ifrin do loscad a corp 7 a n-anmand. Ocus didiu génti naro chretset cid *itir*
- 50 co n-aicned démna hi corpaib na ndóine-sin do thidecht dia n-innrud iar sin.

3536–7 trist 7 míscaid] *om.* F 37 a n-oráit] a meannachtain F 37 .i.] 7 do-beruit a mallachtain F 38 hairchindechu] hoircinneachuib F 38 díscailit] neoch disgailus F 38 de-sin] aire-sin F 39 *after* Erenn *add* uile F 39 tidecht] tiachtain F 39 *after* dunibad *add* a n-Erinn F 39 acht] acht ma F.

40 dofúlachtu] dofulaing F 40 thicfa] tiucfus F 40 *after* thicfa *add* a nErinn tre guidhi na næmh F 41 .i.] 7 is mur so tiucfus si amal F 41 lasar] lasar B 41 luathaigther] a[s] cusmail a luas re F 41 *after* ngáithe *add* ngeire nghairbthreínigh ac sguabadh 7 F 41 glanfus] ac glanad F 41 *after* Eirinn *add* roimpi ghuraib cusmail reisin ngáith-sin an lasair teineadh-so noc tic F 41 *after* aniardes *add* co ndirech F 42 is í insin tene loiscfes] as i-sin an tine noc loiscg[f]es F 42 fer nErenn] *om.* F 42 *after* prapad *add* na F 42 *after* súla *add* do fearuibh Eirenn itir F 43 cóibsin] coibsená F 43 Oen do cét] NI mo na aen don cét F 43 *after* dib *add* sin uile do riacht F 44 namá] *om.* F 44 acht] *after* acht *add* as F 44 do-géna] do-dena F 45 *after* corpaib *add* a fus F 45 co ndath] 7 dath F 45 anmanna] anmannaibh F 45–6 Ni – cetraimti] IS e-so med an uile tiucfus don tsæth-sin co ceithirrib do lu[chi] (lus B) F 46 cetraimti] cetraim t'í B 46 *after* dunibad *omit* -sin F 46 dia] da F 46 ar] uair F 47 *after* lathi *add* an F 47 dos-bera] do-bera F 47 *after* Erenn *add* aris F 48 in tan] IN tan B 48 *before* in tan *add* Oir F 48 tra] *om.* F 48 na tabair] nach tabair F 48 plag] plaig F 48 acht] *om.* F 48 *after* thened *add* dofulaing F 48–9 do neim pheni ifrin] do aicgneadh 7 do cosmailus peine ifrinn F 49 a n-anmand] anmann F 49 didiu] dono F 49–50 geinti – démna] gach neach nach creidinn don lucht-sin ceana biaidh aicgnad deamhan F 50 do thidecht] ac tiachtain F 50 *after* innrud *add* do gnath F 50 iar sin] ann-sin F.

they put a curse and a malediction [on them],<sup>63</sup> and take their prayer<sup>64</sup> from them,<sup>65</sup> that is, on the monks and on the lords and on the superiors who divide the church from within and without, so that for this reason the saints<sup>66</sup> of Ireland desire the coming of the mortality,<sup>67</sup> except only Patrick.

§5. It is unspeakable then, and unendurable, the plague which will come<sup>68</sup> then, unless it is zealously heeded, that is,<sup>69</sup> a flame of fire, as swift as<sup>70</sup> a gust of wind<sup>71</sup> which will cleanse<sup>72</sup> Ireland<sup>73</sup> from the southwest, and this is the fire which will burn three fourths of the men of Ireland in the blink of an eye, men, women, boys and girls, without communion, without confession, without sacrament. Only one out of a<sup>74</sup> hundred of them [will go]<sup>75</sup> to heaven, but all go into hell, and it will make black ashes of their bodies,<sup>76</sup> with the colour of coal on their souls beyond. There will be no protection from hardship for the fourth<sup>77</sup> which the mortality will leave behind in the land of Ireland, for second only to the punishment of Doomsday will be the punishment which God will bring down upon the men of Ireland<sup>78</sup> at the time of that mortality, when<sup>79</sup> he does not bring any other plague to chastise them, except for<sup>80</sup> a hail<sup>81</sup> of fire, of the poison of the torments of hell<sup>82</sup> to burn their bodies and their souls. And indeed heathens who had never even believed at all, with the nature of demons<sup>83</sup> in the bodies of those men, [are] to come<sup>84</sup> to invade them<sup>85</sup> after this.<sup>86</sup>

63 *instead of 'they give ... to them' F reads 'and as they hear the bell they stop'.*

64 *F 'blessing'.*

65 *F 'away from them and they put their curse'.*

66 *F 'all the saints'.*

67 *F adds 'to Ireland'.*

68 *F adds 'to Ireland through the prayer of the saints'.*

69 *F adds 'and it is like this that it will come, like'.*

70 *F 'and its speed is similar to'.*

71 *F 'sharp, rough, strong wind'.*

72 *F 'sweeping and cleansing'.*

73 *F adds 'before her so that this flame of fire is like that wind which comes straight'.*

74 *F 'Not more than one out of a'.*

75 *F reads 'reached', see Notes.*

76 *F adds 'here'.*

77 *for 'There – fourth' F reads 'This is the amount of (the) evil which will come on account of that tribulation to the bands and the crowds'.*

78 *F adds 'once more'.*

79 *F inserts 'when' before 'For'.*

80 *F omits 'except for'.*

81 *F 'an unendurable hail of fire'.*

82 *for 'of the poison ... hell' F reads 'of the nature and likeness of the pain of hell'.*

83 *for 'heathens ... demons' F reads 'every one of those people who does not believe, moreover, there will be the nature of demons'.*

84 *F 'coming'.*

85 *F adds 'always to attack them'.*

86 *F 'then'.*



§6. Hit e tra dethbere dos-bera in plág-sin fo thír nErenn .i. díth cretmi 7  
 irse 7 adartha Dé isna thuathaib, amal ro fácaib Pátraic leo, 7 díth soscela 7  
 a forcetail 7 a timna 7 timthirecta na noem isna heclasib. Ar ro lensat fir  
 Erenn in gentlidecht doridisi amal cétna bui ria cretem, riasiú tised Pátraic,  
 55 acht naro adairset ídlu namá. Ar buí éthech 7 déigbriathar oc géntiu 7 ní fhil  
 indíu, ocus cech olc do-gnítis na génti do-gnither uli i tír nErenn isin amsir-  
 sea, acht na hadrat ídlu namá, acht chena do-gniat guin 7 gait 7 adaltras,  
 7 fingalu 7 duinorcain 7 esorcain chell 7 clerech, sáint 7 éthech 7 goéi 7  
 gúbreth 7 coscrad eclasi Dé, draidecht 7 géntlidecht 7 sénairecht, auptha 7  
 60 felmasa 7 fídlanna.

§7. Nach olc didiu tresa mbuí dígal 7 plág 7 dunibad for cenelu doíne  
 o thús domain, ata sin uli i tír nErenn, conid abaid cech frithorcain do  
 thidecht itir scamach 7 boár 7 dígbail toraid, 7 gorta 7 núna 7 dunibad  
 minas troetha trócaire Dé tria athnugud a crethmi dona dóinib 7 tria itche  
 65 Patraic forsain Coimdid arco tised a trocaire forru. [p. 259a]

§8. IS ead didiu cetharda timarnad o Dia 7 Patraic do breth na plaga for  
 culu o feraib Erenn .i. tredan cecha tremsi, 7 denum redi do amrédib 7 dias  
 cech eclasi De, do æs graid fri bathis 7 comaind 7 g<ab>ail n-ec[n]arci 7  
 70 maccu do legend 7 soire domnaig. Croch Críst do foraire in ce<ch teg>dais  
 cen bes creitem i nErinn. It e tra .iii. heteri gabar dar cend in Choimded fri  
 <din>gbail cecha tedmma dib guras comailter na timna-sa .i. Petur apstal  
 7 Muri Og 7 Michel archaíngel.

51 Hit – dethbere] Is e-so indeadh 7 deifer 7 dighultus F 51 dos-bera] do-bera F 51 in plág-sin] om.  
 F 51 fo] for F 52 ro fácaib] ro fuair F 52 after Pátraic add ar tosaidh F 52 7] om. F 52 díth] Dith  
 F 53 a] om. F 53 a timna 7 timthirecta] timna 7 timthirecta F 53 timthirecta] (a) ~ B 53 after  
 heclasib add ar ceana F 53 Ar ro lensat] Ar doró leansat F 54 cétna – tised] ro badur in cétuair tainic  
 F 54 after Pátraic add da soghain F 55 ídlu] idla F 55 namá] n < m F 55–7 Ar – namá] om. F 58  
 fingalu] fingul F 58 after duinorcain add 7 duineathaighi F 58 after goéi add 7 belgeghuidhe 7 daíne F  
 59 gúbreth] gubreatha F 60 felmasa] feabuasa F.

61 didiu] dano F 61 tresa mbuí] triasa raba F 61 plág] plaigh F 62 cenelu] cinel F 62 thus] tosach F  
 62 after domain add uair F 62 ata] atait F 62 conid abaid] cona dhe-sin ataat F 63 thidecht] tiachtuin  
 F 63 dígbail toraid] digbala gach toraidh F 63 7 núna] om. F 64 Dé] De-sin F 64–5 tria – forru] 7  
 itcidh Padraig forsain Duileamain 7 athnumh creidmhe do-badb ac na dáinib ann-sin F.

§6. These are the reasons<sup>87</sup> that will bring that plague<sup>88</sup> upon the land of Ireland: that is, destruction of belief and faith and worshipping God amongst the people, just as Patrick had left [them] with them;<sup>89</sup> and<sup>90</sup> destruction of the gospel and its teaching and its commandments<sup>91</sup> and of ministering to the saints in the churches.<sup>92</sup> For the men of Ireland have followed paganism again as it was at first before the Faith, before Patrick came,<sup>93</sup> except only that they have not worshipped idols. For there was a false oath and a good word amongst the heathens and there is not today, and every evil which the heathens used to commit, is committed by all in the land of Ireland at this time, except only that they do not worship idols.<sup>94</sup> However they commit wounding and theft and adultery, and kinslaying and manslaughter<sup>95</sup> and harrying churches and clerics, avarice and perjury and falsehood<sup>96</sup> and false judgement and overthrowing of God's church, druidry and paganism and augury, spells and charms, and divination.

§7. Any evil, then, through which there was punishment and plague and mortality upon the races of men from the beginning of the world, they are all in the land of Ireland so that every retaliation is ripe to come,<sup>97</sup> both cattle plagues and want of produce,<sup>98</sup> and hunger and famine<sup>99</sup> and mortality, unless God's mercy abates them, on account of the people renewing their faith and through Patrick's prayer to the Lord that his mercy may come upon them.<sup>100</sup>

§8. These, then, are the four things commanded by God and Patrick in order to turn the plague back from the men of Ireland: that is, a three-day fast every three months; and 'making smooth from rough'; and two ordained men in every church of God for baptism, communion and singing requiems; and boys for studying; and Sunday free. Christ's cross [is] to be watched in every house for as long as faith is in Ireland. These, then, are the three guarantors taken on behalf of the Lord for warding off every pestilence from them, so that these commands may be fulfilled, that is, the apostle Peter and the Virgin Mary and the archangel Michael.

87 *F* 'This is the meaning and cause and vengeance'.

88 *F* 'he will bring'.

89 *F* 'just as Patrick had found with them at first'.

90 *F* omits 'and'.

91 *F* 'teaching and commandments'.

92 *F* adds 'besides'.

93 *for* 'as it ... came' *F* reads 'as they were on the first occasion that Patrick came to them'.

94 *F* omits this sentence.

95 *F* adds 'secret murder'.

96 *F* adds 'garbled prayer (?) and slavery (?)'

97 *for* 'so that ... come' *F* reads 'so that it is as a result of that, that every retaliation is to come'.

98 *F* 'every produce'.

99 *F* omits 'and famine'.

100 *for* 'unless ... them' *F* reads 'unless God's mercy and Patrick's prayer to the Lord, and there being a renewal of belief among the people at that time, abate them'. *F* breaks off here.

75 §9. IS he tra tosach in cetramad timna do-ratad o Dia 7 o Pátraic co firu Erenn  
 .i. tredan cecha trémsi fri haine 7 fri hirnaigthi, 7 denum redi do amredib, ar is í  
 fri tidecht genti nó dunibad nó angcis for doine nó cetra nó torthi .i. teora laa  
 co n-aidchib cen dig cen biad dona n-anmanna biu, itir doine 7 cetra; do neoch  
 dib is forglide cidtus dia ticfa a denum. Ar nis fil do plaig nó dunibad for bith  
 80 nachus bera sin for culu, acht corup leir guidter Dia occai. Mad fri hécin moir  
 didiu tuaslaicthir i mmedon in tredain-sin; híccaid didiu laa imm aidche mad  
 do-gnither lubair i suidib do drochtib 7 tocraib inntib.

85 §10. IS ann tra dlegur in cétna tredan do gres ma[ni] chumscaigid echen .i.  
 in cétna aine iar n-init chorgais ghemrid. In tredan tanaisi tra in chetaine iar  
 n-init chorgais erraig. IN tres tredan in cétna iar cingcidis. IN cetramad  
 90 tredan in cetaine iar taite fhogamair. Troscaid *immorro* i feoil Eoin Baupstist do  
 gres, uair is ann frisa-hicthar in dunibad do thidecht. Nach æn tra femidfes  
 na trednu-sa ar scís aine 7 ernaigthi 7 adartha Dé 7 lessa a anma fodesin at-  
 renat boin co n-uingi as cech urthobach bus tresi 7 bus nesa doib bes in cech  
 95 thuaith, 7 ni fhuigbe lesa nó adnaicthi co cend mbliadna la miscaid cech oin  
 bes isin tredan-sin i cinaid in tredain do lott do, 7 didiu ni bí sær forsna  
 trednu-sa, acht æs galair 7 noidin 7 senori na fuilngat aine 7 oes coimeta  
 cetra 7 cech tharba olchena 7 cid iat-side aínit 7 figlit co medon lai amal oes  
 bis isin tredan. Soire tresi tra resin tredan 7 ina diaid di cech oen bís and.

95 §11. IS dar sarugud Dé 7 Patraic *immorro* da cech duine erfas a cheli ann im *séta*  
 nó im biad, 7 berid miscaid cech oín bís isin tredan 7 as-ren boin co n-uingi  
 int-i do-bera nach ceist nó caingen do neoch bís ann, 7 smachtaigter comanad  
 furri co cend mbliadna. Ar ni dlegar ní *eile* do imradud isin amsir do-berar do  
 Dia fri haine 7 irnaigthi, acht less anma itir *precept* 7 *celebrad* .i. cét slechtain  
 100 fri Bait 7 *Magnificat* 7 *Benedictus* 7 *Miserere mei Dominus*, 7 crosfigell fri  
 himmund Patraic, 7 immund na n-apstal 7 lamchomairt fri Himmnum dicat  
 7 innum Míchil 7 slechtain uli fo tri hi forcend cech immuind 7 buailit a  
 mbruinde fo tri la cech slechtain 7 at-berat uli: 'Don-fair trocaire, a De, 7 ron  
 be flaith nime, 7 don-ringbai Dia dind cech plag 7 cech dunibad.' IS iarum  
 105 con-ocbat a llamu dochumm nime, 7 dos-berut *benachtu* for Dia 7 Patraic  
 co noemu Erenn, 7 for cech n-anmain bis oc tinol na *tre*(d)an-sa, itir uathad  
 7 sochaide, 7 cech itge chuinchit ina degaid co Dia 7 Patraic do-berair doib,  
 uair dos-beir Dia doib cech ni thurit trí aine 7 ernaigthi.

78 ticfa] ti'c'fa B.

83 cétna] cét'na' B.

§9. This, then, is the beginning of the fourth command given by God and Patrick to the men of Ireland, that is, a three-day fast every three months for fasting and prayer, and 'making smooth from rough', for this is the work which God deems best [of that which] is done on earth. This, then, is the lawful three-day fast which is performed to prevent the coming of heathens or mortality or ailment on men or cattle or produce, that is, three days and nights without food or drink for the living creatures, be it men or cattle; for any of them [of whom it] is proven [that] he will be able to accomplish it. For there is no plague or mortality in the world which that will not turn back, provided that God is earnestly beseeched concerning it. If it be on account of great necessity, it is released in the middle of that fast; moreover, a day and a night pay for [it], if work be done in them then on bridges and causeways.

§10. This, then, is when the first three-day fast is always due unless necessity upsets it, that is, the first fast after the beginning of the winter Lent. The second fast, then, the Wednesday after the beginning of the spring Lent. The third fast, the Wednesday after Pentecost. The fourth fast, the Wednesday after the beginning of autumn. Moreover, [there should be] fasting always on the feast of John the Baptist, for it is then that the mortality is expected to come. Anyone who refuses these fasts on account of dislike of fasting and prayer and worshipping God and the care of his own soul, they pay a cow with an ounce [of silver] out of each levy which is strongest and nearest to them, which there will be in every tribe, and he will not get benefits nor gifts for a year with the curse of everyone who is [participating] in that fast, in atonement for his damaging the fast, and moreover no-one is exempt from these fasts, except for sick people and infants and old people who cannot endure a fast and those who herd cattle and perform any other useful labour; and even they fast and keep vigil until midday, like the folk who are keeping the fast. Three days' exemption, then, before and after the fast for everyone who keeps it.

§11. It is in violation of God and Patrick, moreover, for any man to refuse his friend valuables and food then, and he carries the curse of everyone who is keeping the fast, and he who would bring any inquiry or suit against anyone who is keeping it, pays a cow with an ounce [of silver], and he is required to delay it for a year. For it is not allowed to think of any other thing, in the time given to God in fasting and prayer, other than the care of the soul, by preaching and celebrating the offices; that is, a hundred prostrations at the *Beati* and *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* and *Miserere mei Dominus*, and a cross-vigil with Patrick's hymn, and the hymn of the apostles and clapping the hands together at the *Hymnum dicat* and Michael's hymn, and three prostrations by all at the end of each hymn and they beat their breast three times at every prostration and all say: 'May mercy come to us, O God, and may we have the kingdom of heaven, and may God avert from us every plague and mortality'. After that they raise their hands to heaven and they give blessings to God and Patrick with the saints of Ireland, and to each soul which is in the assembly of these fasts, both individuals and groups, and every request they ask thereafter of God and Patrick is given to them, for God gives them everything they seek through fasting and prayer.

§12. IS tria aine tucad do thuaith Dé tidecht tria Muir *Ruad* cossaib tirmaib  
 .i. triasin aine a mbui Moysi tria forcongra Dé fair. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi  
 110 tra do-ratad in muireoin, .i. manda, do nim doib dia sasad isin dithrub, coro  
 shærustar .x. mbliadna cen lubair cen sæthar iat. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi 7  
 oibre Dé didiu do-ratad do Moysi acallaim in Choimded gnuis do gnuis dia  
 tarut recht litre do. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi ro bui Moysi .xl. aidche cen dig  
 cen biad i sleib Sína mac nIsrabel. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi tra ro mebaid in  
 115 cath ré Moysi for tuathu Amalech, uair in tan con-ócbad Moysi a lamu hi  
 crosfigill fri Dia no muided forsna gentib. IN tan *immorro* no leced síis la  
 thoeb no mhuided fora muinntir fesin, conid de-sin do-bertha ailge arda foa  
 doitib coru scaich slaide na ngenti, 7 ro soud in grian on trath co araile tria  
 ernaigthi Moysi a oenur. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi tra ro scail sruth Iordanen  
 120 re tuaith De co nderna all slébe de don dara leith 7 co luid in leth n-aill i  
 mMuir Mairb.

§13. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi tra ro selaig Iesáu maic Nuin .uii. tuatha Cannán  
 7 ron bris in cathraig .i. Herico cor thuitset na .uii. muir batar immpe tria  
 125 ernaigthi Iesáu 7 tuathi Dé conus farcaib *popul* na catrach forsín lomthalmáin  
 cen fial impu 7 do-rochuir fo gin goei 7 chlodim in *popul*-sin la tuaith  
 De fri hoenlathi. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi tra ro særad Iesu maic Nuin cona  
*popul* do chumachtu rig na n-Asardai, [p. 259b] conus tanic aingel De do  
 chathugud friu tara cend coro selaig-sium .lxxx. ar .c. míle díb fri prapud sula.  
 IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi didiu ro soerad Ionas faith a broind in míl moir iarna  
 130 *beth* tredenus ind, conro la in míl asa beolu i tracht mara Perss co luid i crich  
 Med do *precept*, nó co Ninuen amal ro herbad de.

110 .i. manda] `i. manda' B.

123 Herico] Her `i' co *subscript B* 128 chlodim] chlod `i' m *subscript B* 129 tuaith] tua `i' th *subscript B*.

§12. It is through fasting that God's people were given passage through the Red Sea with dry feet, that is, through the fast which Moses kept on account of God's command to him. It is through fasting and prayer, moreover, that the sea-birds – that is, manna – were given to them from heaven to satisfy [their hunger] in the wilderness, so that that freed them from work and labour for ten years. It is through fasting and prayer and godly works that it was granted to Moses to speak with the Lord, face to face, when he gave him the law of Scripture. It is through fasting and prayer that Moses was forty nights without drink or food on Mount Sinai of the sons of Israel. It is through fasting and prayer, moreover, that Moses won the battle against the tribes of Amalek, for whenever Moses raised his hands in a cross-vigil towards God, the heathens were defeated. When, however, he let [them] down by his side, his own people were defeated, so that for this reason tall rocks were placed under his arms, until the slaughter of the heathens had ended, and the sun was turned from one day to the next through Moses' prayer alone. It is through fasting and prayer, indeed, that he divided the river Jordan before God's people, so that he made a mountain cliff of one half of it and the other half went into the Dead Sea.

§13. It is through fasting and prayer, indeed, that Joshua son of Nun defeated the seven tribes of Canaan and destroyed the city, that is, Jericho, so that the seven walls which were around her fell down through the prayers of Joshua and God's people, so that he left the people of the city on the bare ground without a covering around them and that people died by the edge of spear and sword at the hands of God's people in a single day. It is through fasting and prayer, indeed, that Joshua son of Nun with his people was saved from the power of the king of the Assyrians when the angel of God came to fight against them (the Assyrians) on their behalf, so that he slew one hundred and eighty thousand of them in the blink of an eye. It is through prayer and fasting, moreover, that Jonah the prophet was freed from the belly of the great whale after being in it for three days until the whale cast [him] out of its mouth onto the shore of the Persian sea, and he went into the territory of the Medes to preach, or to Nineveh, as he had been assigned to do.

135 §14. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi tra ro soerad Daniel faith do chuithe na leoman, conid e praind do-ratad co Daniel on Choimdid iarsan aine dos-gní .i. araile fáith oca raba methel oc beín phupu na finemnu, 7 Bacucc a ainmm in fáthasín. Co lu[i]d in fáid la biad dia methil conus tanic aingel ina agaid 7 tuarcaib lais in fáith cusin mbiad 7 oenfoiltne dia folt-sum i llaim in aingil co dú a mbuí Daniel isin cuthi leoman curas caithset hi n-oentaíd .i. Daniel 7 na leomain. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi tra ro soertha na tri macu asin surnd tened .i. Setrach, Mísácc, Abdinócc, ro cuirir la Nabcudon isin teníd uair naro adairset a delb-som. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi tra ro soerad Nadcudón rig na Babiloine don mheracht forsa mbui .i. .iii. bliadna itir na halltu isin dithreb conus fácaib a chumachtu 7 a rige dia eis. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi tra ro soerad popul Ninuen don phlaig ro tomaithed forru i cind .ix. laa .xl. coro marb *fichit* mile ar .c. *míle* dib, co ndernsat dubthredan itir dóine 7 cethra dia tuaslucad.

145 §15. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi tra ro tullit .xu. bliadna fora soeghul do Ezeccias maic Achaist rig Isabel iarna rad fris o Dia at-belad don galur bui fair, conid de-sin teit grian for culu dochum thurgabala tria *ner*t a ernaigthe-sium do chomurtha a lanti 7 tormmaig a amsire iarum. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi didiu tucait cen[é]la na ndoine o chumachtu Diabuil iar mbeth do *Críst* .xl. lathi co n-aidche cen dig cen biad oc cathugud fri Diabul dar cend clanni Adaim, nó is ar airchisecht do-rigne *Críst* insin cómad ead clethi soethair cech duine, aine 7 ernaigthi, fria cech n-écin don-icfad do nim 7 talmain doib.

155 §16. IS tria aine 7 ernaigthi didiu do-berair d'anmain cech duine uair n-etsechta a tarrachtain do bas oc aine 7 oc e<r>naigthi, uair nach firt n-adamrai do-rigne isin domun-sa 7 nach plag ros dingaib do doínib 7 cethraib is tria aine 7 ernaigthi ro hir Dia cech ní. Fo bíth is muir dithoglaide re togail do *gres* in aine, 7 is *sét* díriuch dochumm flatha nime, 7 is athnuidiugud cairdesa fri Dia. Is tormach n-etla 7 derci i cride cech duine do-gena amal do-ruirmissiumm.

141 dithreb] dith`r`eb *superscript B* 147 fichit] .xx`it` *superscript B*.

149 cen[é]la] cendla *B* 153 Diabuil] diabu`i`l *superscript B*.

§14. It is through fasting and prayer, indeed, that Daniel the prophet was freed from the lions' den, and this is the meal that was given to Daniel by the Lord after the fast he performed, that is, a certain prophet had a band of workers reaping the shoots of the vines, and [Ha]bakkuk was the name of that prophet. And the prophet went with food to his workers, and an angel met him and he lifted up the prophet with the food, with a single hair of the hair on his head in the angel's hand, [bringing him] to where Daniel was in the lions' den and they ate [the food] together, that is, Daniel and the lions. It is through fasting and prayer, indeed, that the three boys were released from the fiery furnace, that is, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, who were put in the fire by Nebuchadnezzar, because they did not worship his image. It is through fasting and prayer, indeed, that Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was freed from the derangement in which he was, that is, [he was] seven years among the wild animals in the wilderness, and he left his powers and his kingship behind him. It is through fasting and prayer, indeed, that the people of Nineveh were saved from the plague, with which they were threatened at the end of forty-nine days, and which killed a hundred and twenty thousand of them, so that they kept a black three-day fast including people as well as cattle for their deliverance.

§15. It is through fasting and prayer, indeed, that Hezekiah son of Ahaz, king of Israel, earned fifteen years to be added to his life, after he was told by God that he would die of the sickness from which he suffered, so that for this reason the sun went back to sunrise through the strength of his prayer as a sign of his health and of the increase of his time thereafter. It is through fasting and prayer, moreover, that the races of mankind were released from the power of the Devil after Christ battled against the Devil for forty days and nights without drink or food on behalf of the children of Adam; or it is out of compassion that Christ did that, so that it is everyone's chief labour: fasting and prayer against every hardship which may come to them from heaven and earth.

§16. It is through fasting and prayer, moreover, that it is granted to the soul of every man that he be seized by death at the hour of his departure [whilst] fasting and praying, because any wonderful miracle which he has done in this world and any plague which he has warded off from men and cattle, it is through fasting and prayer that God has granted everything. Because fasting is always an indestructible rampart against destruction and a straight path towards the kingdom of heaven, and renewal of friendship with God. It is an increase in purity and charity in the heart of every man who will do as we have related.



## Notes

§1. *haec est*] The scribe here uses the abbreviation for *autem*, which is meaningless at this point. I take this to be an error: the scribe likely intended a similar form for *haec* (referring back to the feminine noun *visio*),<sup>101</sup> though the syntax would suggest that the original reading must have been the phrase *id est*. As it happens, *haec* is also the reading adopted here by *T*.

§1. *dixit haec verba eius illum*] The word *eius*, abbreviated in the manuscript as  $\vartheta$ , is a little out of place here as one would expect *ad* as in *T*'s *ad illum*. Though *T* would appear to have the better grammatical reading, I am inclined to regard this not as a reflection of the original, but as an improvement on the part of Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, the scribe, who otherwise follows the *B* text extremely closely. I have not been able to find any evidence that the siglum  $\vartheta$ , or a similar siglum, can be used to represent *ad*. It seems to me more prudent, therefore, to follow *B* here.

§1. *qui non di[l]igunt*] MS *dirigunt*. Stokes emended to *diligunt*, and I have decided to follow his example. The scribe uses the abbreviation for *quia* here, as in *qui non docent* and *qui sicut foenum*. *T* reads *qui ... qui ... quia*, though the scribe of *B* appears not to have differentiated between the two sigla. Both readings are possible, but I have adopted *qui* on the basis of the syntax.

§1. *circuli*] MS *c`i`culi* (superscript). Stokes edited this as *cycli*, in line with his interpretation of the word as meaning 'cycle', but there is no reason to diverge from the manuscript reading. The cycle here referred to is a cycle of the calendar as discussed above. The word *circuli* is already used to indicate a (Paschal) cycle by Bede.<sup>102</sup> The scribe uses an abnormally curled superscript *i* here, also found on *nisi*, which almost looks like the siglum for *-ur*.

§1. *stipula*] cf. *sicut stipulam* Exodus 15:7. The author draws extensively on Exodus in §12 below.

§1. *a bura ignita*] The word *bura* (if that is what it ought to be) is rather obscure, the present instance being the only example cited in the *Archive of Celtic Latin Literature*.<sup>103</sup> A word *bura* is otherwise occasionally attested with the meaning 'ploughbeam' and once (as far as I am aware) with the meaning 'shed'.<sup>104</sup> However, neither of these would seem to apply here. Instead, John

101 Cf. A. Capelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latini ed italiani* (Milan, 1912), p. 156.

102 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* V.21.

103 CD-ROM version, ed. Anthony Harvey *et al.* (Turnhout, 1994).

104 It is glossed with this meaning in W. W. Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols (Berkeley, 1979), iii.145, and occurs in the *Consuetudines Corbeienses* (Directives of Adalhard of Corbie) translated by C. Jones in the same volume (pp 91–130; cf. PL 105.543CD). The text reads: *Carra vero accipient hortolani de bura omni anno secundum consuetudinem*, translated by Jones as 'The gardeners should receive

Carey has suggested to me that the word may be related to Hiberno-Latin *pira*, and/or to a verb *buro* extrapolated from *comburo* 'I burn' mistakenly analysed as *com-buro* rather than *com(b)-uro*. *Pira* occurs with the meaning 'fire' in, among other sources, Adomnán's *Vita Sancti Columbae*, which describes how Laisrán *quasi quadam pira intrinsecus succensus iubet monachos a labore cessare* 'as if kindled with an inward fire, ordered that the monks should cease work';<sup>105</sup> and in the Irish hymn *Cantemus in omni die*, which includes the request *ut non possit flamma pira nos dirae decipere* 'that the flame of grim fire not be able to deceive us'.<sup>106</sup>

§1. *ut Níniuetae fecerunt*] See Jonah 2–3. The author returns to this subject in the exempla which follow the main body of the text, at §§13–14 below.

§2. *Arro foichlit ... ara nd-aigset*] In his edition of *B*, Stokes translated this sentence 'Now the men of Ireland have by their misdeeds completely deserved (?) and chosen (?) the mortality'. *DIL*, s.v. *ar-foichlea* translates the first words in the same passage as 'Let the men of Ireland diligently guard ...'. Though it is possible that our verb is a form of *ar-foichlea* 'get ready, prepare', the prototonic stem which provides the basis for the later univerted form of the latter is *airichl-*, so that one would expect Middle Irish *ro-airichl-* (as opposed to Old Irish *ar-roichl-*).<sup>107</sup> A form with type II (proclitic) augment coupled with the preverbal particle *ar* is not attested in *DIL* (apart from the present example). I think it therefore likelier that the scribe intended a form of the simple verb *foichlid*, derived from *fo-ciallaibhar* (prototonic *-foichl-*) 'pays heed; provides; prepares for; beware, is on guard'. The palatal ending of *-foichlit* is also somewhat problematic. One could read *ro foichlit* as a past (perfect) tense with (late) Middle Irish passive 3 pl. ending. The problem with this interpretation is that the subject of the passive voice of this verb is traditionally the thing to be heeded or to prepare for,<sup>108</sup> i.e. it would seem inappropriate to take 'the men of Ireland' as the subject, unless we allow for the free translation 'for the men of Ireland have been cautioned/put on their guard/warned'. Alternatively, the form could be interpreted as a 3 pl. augmented jussive subjunctive, so that we would read 'for the men of Ireland should heed/be on guard'. *F* reads *ro foichleat* in this position. As the clause stands, then, I take both verbs to be subjunctive. The use of acc.pl. *firu* here instead of regular nom. pl. *fir* is noteworthy as the noun *fer* typically retains the distinction between nom. and acc. very well; this variant usage is however not uncommon in Middle Irish.<sup>109</sup>

The syntax of this sentence is clearly a little confused. It is possible that the exemplar

carts from the shed every year according to custom' (p. 109).

105 *Vita Columbae* I.29: A. O. Anderson and M. O. Anderson, ed. and trans., *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (Oxford, 1991), pp 56–7.

106 J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, ed. and trans., *The Irish Liber hymnorum*, 2 vols, HBS 13–14 (London, 1898), i.34.

107 Cf. *ra hairichlit* (*Mesca Ulad*; LL 35147).

108 I owe this suggestion to John Carey. I would like to thank both Dr Carey and Prof. Damian McManus for discussing the possibilities with me.

109 Cf. K. McCone, *A First Old Irish Grammar and Reader* (Maynooth, 2005), p. 180.

had *ar(r)a fochlit* where the text now reads *Ar ro fochlit*, and I have edited the text accordingly. Both *B* and *F*, however, start a new sentence here in the manuscript, possibly due to having interpreted *ara* as the conjunction *ar*. This implies that the confusion likely arose in the common source. The scribe of *F*, however, did not recognise the second verb in the sentence, which he represents as *innsaidbfid*. This appears to be a garbled reading of *B*'s *arandaigset*, in which the scribe recognised a conjunction *ar* and a form of *innsaigid* 'reach, attain, seek out'. He subsequently took *in duinebath* as this verb's subject (rather than its object as in *B*) to read 'that the mortality will diligently approach'.

§2. *idaladrud*] The scribe of *F* appears to have misread his exemplar and writes *aridbla druagh* for what must have been *ar idaladrud*; cf. *B*.

§3. *inna popul fil indib*] The scribe of *F* has broken up the sentence here and attached this part to the following sentence, resulting in a muddling of the sense (see the translation of *F* in the footnote). To add to the confusion, he appears to have intended to start a new sentence with *As*; but he never coloured the capital. The sentence should in all likelihood be restored to read 'For the fruit of fasting and the prayers of the saints in whom they believe, it is those which the impious, wicked people consume'.

The use of the verb *caithid* 'consumes' in this context seems to have caused the scribes some confusion. Where *F* has added *aingighi mar cuid*, *B* reads *a mbetha*. Whilst *aingighi* is clearly an embellishment of *eccraibfeacha, mar cuid* appears to be an attempt at clarifying the meaning of *caithit*. The scribe of *B* interpreted *caithit* as the first part of the idiom *caithid ... bethaid* 'to spend one's life' and consequently added the missing piece. Alternatively, John Carey has suggested to me that it could have been inserted into the text as a gloss on *thorud aine 7 ernaighi*. The evidence as to whether the two additions represent a somewhat garbled common exemplar appears inconclusive. The phrasing is not straightforward, and could have led each scribe to attempt to rectify the situation independently.

§3. *relced*] Stokes emends to *relce*, but the MS form is an acceptable Middle Irish gen.pl. dental ending and should be retained.<sup>110</sup>

§3. *Ar is e-sin in cetramud inad torramus in animm*] The motif of the four places which the soul visits after death is discussed by Charles Wright on pp 357–60 above; he provides an analogue from a manuscript with Celtic connections, namely Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 279 (Tours region, s. ix<sup>2</sup>), pp 186–7.<sup>111</sup>

§4. *do-berat ... forsna manchaib*] In this place the sentence structure is interrupted by the phrase *7 berait a n-oráit uadib*, after which the sentence picks up, not with the preposition *ó*, but with

<sup>110</sup> Cf. L. Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', in *Stair na Gaeilge in Omós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta*, ed. K. McCone et al. (Maynooth, 1994), pp 221–333 (p. 246).

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 258.

the preposition *for*, which seems to go together best with the phrase *do-berat tríst 7 míscaid*. The intervening phrase was possibly originally an addition later copied into the text. Note that the scribe of *F* has sought to correct the flow of the sentence by changing the word order.

§5. *lasar thened*] In *B* the first letter of *lasar* is coloured with red, but not capitalised. The colouring appears to be in error, possibly as a result of misinterpreting the *punctum* following *i*. by the scribe who coloured the capitals. The syntax does not require a break here.

§5. *ac sguapadh F*] This is a reference to the legend of the *Scuap a Fánait* or 'Broom out of Fánat' (see pp 685–96 below). There are various texts dealing with this tradition, several of them edited elsewhere in this volume; but the most important for purposes of comparison with the *Second Vision of Adomnán* is the verse prophecy ascribed to Mo Ling included in the *Lore of the Fiery Arrow* (see pp 705–13 below),<sup>112</sup> which is preserved some 15 pages before our text in *B*.<sup>113</sup> The legend accompanying the poem states that the fire that will come on the feast of John the Baptist will issue from a dragon, living in Loch Béal Sét, which will arise at the time of the prophecy. This fire is referred to as a 'fiery arrow'.<sup>114</sup> The poem also contains a number of close parallels to our own text. Compare the *Second Vision's* statement (§5):

*Oen do cét dib namá dochumm nime, acht a n-ifrind tiagat uli, 7 do-géna  
dúbluaitriud dia corpaib, co ndath in guail fora n-anmanna thall.*

Only one out of a hundred of them [will go] to heaven, but all go into hell, and it will make black ashes of their bodies, with the colour of coal on their souls beyond.

with the following quatrain from the poem (§3):

*Drem dhubh dhorcha bregus bruth,  
at-belat fri briatra cruth.  
Is æn do .c.aib namá  
do neoch dib do-ernabha.*<sup>115</sup>

A black, dark crowd which fury deceives  
will perish just as words [disappear].  
Only one out of hundreds,  
from all of them, will escape.

<sup>112</sup> This is called the legend of *Loch Béal Sét* or *Loch Béal Dragain* in O'Curry, *Lectures*, pp 426–8.

<sup>113</sup> This appears on p. 242. A second copy exists in another RIA manuscript; see now p. 705 below.

<sup>114</sup> Though these texts frequently merge existing traditions, the prose introduction to the poem suggests that the 'Broom' and the 'Arrow' were conceived as separate occurrences.

<sup>115</sup> See p. 712 below.

Though the verbal parallels are slight, the contents agree closely. The author of the *Second Vision* has elaborated on the reference to the *drem dbubb dborcha*, the 'dark, black crowd', by explaining that the black colour of the souls comes from the black ashes which remain from their bodies (cf. the following note), and he has preserved a variant of the dramatic statement that only one out of hundreds will survive. Note here also how a misinterpretation or misspelling of the poem's *cétaib* could have resulted in the *cét dib* of the *Second Vision*. §5, moreover, describes the plague which will come as a

*lasar thened, luathaigther athach ngáithe glanfús Eirinn aniarde, 7 is í insin tene loiscfes teora cetrainmi fer nErenn fri prapad súla, firu, mná, macu sceo ingena, cen chomand, cen cóibsin, cen sacarbaic.*

a flame of fire, as swift as a gust of wind which will cleanse Ireland from the southwest, and this is the fire which will burn three fourths of the men of Ireland in the blink of an eye, men, women, boys and girls, without communion, without confession, without sacrament.

Here the scribe paraphrases the second stanza of the poem, which states that the plague<sup>116</sup> will come from the southwest and will mercilessly kill nearly everyone in its path, without confession or sacrament. The phrase *loiscfes teora cetrainmi fer nErenn* ('which will burn three fourths of the men of Ireland') echoes rather the prose introduction to the poem, which reads (in *B*) *marbus teora ceathraime fer ndomain eter mnai 7 mac 7 ingin* ('which kills three fourths of the men of the world, with women and boys and girls'). This confirms that the author of the *Second Vision of Adomnán* was indeed familiar with the whole text – or a similar enough version of it. The second stanza of the poem here referred to is, incidentally, cited in the notes to *Féilire Oengusso*.<sup>117</sup>

The introduction to the *Second Vision* is, moreover, closely paralleled in stanzas five and seven (the final stanza) of the poem. This can be seen in the following lines from the Latin introduction to the *Second Vision*:

*Vae, uae, uae uiris Hiberniae insolae mandata Domini transgredientibus!*  
... *concremabuntur a bura ignita in anno bisextili et embolesmi et in fine circuli et in Decollatione Iohannis Bautistae! IN sexta feria autem plaga conueni[e]t in illo anno, nisi deuota poenitentia prohibuerit.*

Woe! Woe! Woe to the men of the island of Ireland transgressing the Lord's commandments! ... [they] will be burned up like hay and stubble by a fire kindled in an embolismic leap year and at the end of a cycle and on the [Feast

116 *tress B*. Translated 'contention' by John Carey (see p. 711) and 'assault' by O'Curry, p. 427.

117 Stokes printed the text as it appears in Dublin, UCD Franciscan A 7: *A feil Eoin tigfa in tres / sirfess Eirinn anairdhes, / draic lonn loiscfes cach conic / cen comann, cen sacarbaic* (*Fél.*, pp 190–91).

of] the Decollation of John the Baptist! On a Friday in this year a plague will come, unless devout penance will have prevented it.

The exclamations of woe opening our text mirror the exclamations starting with *mairg* found in stanza five and seven, and the poem's phrase *Mairg na fochlithir in pláig!* ('Woe to the one who does not beware of the plague!')<sup>118</sup> is echoed in the phrase *mine foichligther co lléir* ('unless it is zealously heeded'; §5 above) and elsewhere in the text. The author could also have drawn the requirement that the year of the plague will be bissextile from the poem's *i mbia bliadain bisexa* ('in which there will be a leap year').<sup>119</sup> Yet, whether the *Second Vision's* reference to Friday (*sexta feria*) could be explained by reference to the poem is uncertain: the poem's *ain for ain* can be interpreted in more than one way, *ain* meaning both 'fast' and 'Friday'.<sup>120</sup> The notion that the year ought to be an embolismic one is not mentioned in the poem. Thus, while it seems reasonable to infer that the poem served as a source of inspiration for the introduction and for paragraph five of the *Second Vision of Adomnán*, it cannot have been its only source. Rather, it seems that both texts drew independently on an existing tradition. More research is needed before any definite conclusions can be drawn.

§5. *co nidath in guail fora n-anmanna*] The colour of souls in the afterlife is a common allegorical *topos* in visions and related literature. The souls are thought to bear the sins committed in life with them as visible black stains. The colour of the soul thus represents the character of the soul and may vary from bright white to black as coal, as described here. Similar examples may be found elsewhere in this volume, in the texts called *The Two Deaths* and *A Soul Freed from Hell by Prayer*.<sup>121</sup> The blackness of sin or the whiteness of purity can also be manifested as a cloak worn by the soul, as in *The Dialogue of the Body and the Soul*.<sup>122</sup>

§5. *co ceithirrib F*] The phrase is evidently a corruption of *cetramad*, possibly due to the misinterpretation of a scribal abbreviation.

§6. *ro lensat fir Erenn in genilidecht doridisi*] The statement that Ireland reverted to paganism is remarkable to say the least. It is probably best understood in light of the political turmoil that preceded the reform movement of the twelfth century.<sup>123</sup> The annals of the eleventh century are in effect a relentless list of cattle-raids, murders, blindings and battles. The increasing secularisation of the Church, which would give rise to the reform councils only decades later,

<sup>118</sup> § 5, p. 712 below. The verb *fo-ciallathar* is, naturally enough, found fairly frequently in eschatological contexts; thus e.g. *SR* 80.49–50: *Mairg cech noen ... nach foichlidar ...*

<sup>119</sup> As in *B. RIA D iv 2* reads *a mbia bliadain bisexca*, p. 712 below.

<sup>120</sup> See §7 and the accompanying note to *ain* on p. 713 below.

<sup>121</sup> See p. 108 and p. 454 respectively.

<sup>122</sup> Pp 54–7 above. Cf. further Charles D. Wright's discussion, pp 341–3 above.

<sup>123</sup> See for instance M.-T. Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2010); D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel, ed., *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006).

should also be taken into account. This is not to say that this text should necessarily be read as reformist, but rather as an expression of collective concern. In the face of disaster, the rhetoric of sin and penance is often employed as a means of accounting for it and of redeeming oneself from it.

§6. *IS e-so indeadh 7 deifer 7 dighultus do-bera for tir n-Erinn F*] The scribe of *F* likely had a different exemplar at this point from which he erroneously copied *7 dighultus* instead of a more plausible *in dighultuis*, giving 'the cause of the vengeance'. I deem it unlikely that the phrase as it stands was an innovation on the part of the scribe of *F*: it is an embellishment of *B*'s *Hit e tra dethbere*. Note that the scribe of *F* has placed the emphasis of the action on God (the 'he' implied in the active verb in this phrase), whilst in *B* it is the 'causes', i.e. the guilt of the people as described in this paragraph, which bring the plague.

§6. *amal ro fuair Padraic ar tosaib leo F*] The scribe of *F* has here misunderstood *B*'s *ro-fácaib*, reading it as a form of *fo-gaib* 'find' rather than *fo-ácaib* 'leave'.

§6. *Ar buí ... namá*] This line is omitted in *F*, most likely due to homoeoteleuton caused by the phrase *idlu namá* appearing with a form of *adraid* twice in consecutive sentences.

§6. *belgeghuidhe 7 dáine F*] This phrase has likely suffered from some corruption. I am not certain of the meaning intended. The first word is possibly intended as a compound of *belgach* 'babbling' and *guide* 'prayer' or, alternatively, perhaps as an abstract noun *belgaige* derived from *belgach*.<sup>124</sup> I have provided 'garbled prayer' as a tentative translation. I am equally uncertain regarding the second word. In translating, I have taken it to be an error for *doire*, though I am not convinced that this fits the context.

§6. *sénairacht, auptha 7 felmasa 7 fídlanna*] As Stokes already remarked in his notes to our text, the list of sinful activities includes four works associated with 'magical processes'.<sup>125</sup> The word *sénairacht* 'divination', derived from *sén*, primarily refers to reading signs, omens or portents, including the reading of astrological signs,<sup>126</sup> but it is also attested with the meaning 'charm'. *Auptha* are charms or spells, as are *felmasa*, though the word can also mean 'sorcery'.<sup>127</sup> *Fídlann*, with *fid* 'wood' as its first element, seems to designate a form of divination using wood. Stokes adduced a passage from the late version of *Tochmarc Étaíne* preserved in London, BL Egerton 1782, f. 118a to illustrate what this could have been like: the tale describes a druid who wishes to attain knowledge of the whereabouts of Étaín and makes 'four rods of yew and writes ogham thereon; and by his keys of knowledge, and by his ogham, it is revealed to him that

124 I owe this last suggestion to John Carey.

125 *Op. cit.*, p. 440.

126 See *Thes.* ii 17.32, where *sén* 'sign' is used in this connection in the glosses to the *De temporum ratione* in the Carlsruhe Bede.

127 Míchéal Ó Cléirigh glosses the word as *droichfhiós* 'evil knowledge': A. W. K. Miller, ed. and trans., 'O'Clery's Irish Glossary', *RC* 4 (1880) 349-428, 5 (1881) 1-69 (p. 415).

Étáin is in the Fairy Mound of Breg Leith'.<sup>128</sup>

Of the other sins listed here, adultery, kinslaying, manslaughter and secret murder (*F*), perjury, and druidry (which perhaps may have included the above?) are considered irredeemable in the 'Old Irish Table of Penitential Commutations'.<sup>129</sup>

§7. *scamach* 7 *boár*] Both these words refer to cattle-plagues. The first is usually translated as 'murrain', and appears to be a disease affecting the lungs (*scam*), whilst the meaning of the second is literally 'cow-mortality'. The distinction between these diseases is now no longer fully understood.<sup>130</sup>

§8. *denum redi do amréidib*] This literally translates as 'making smooth from rough'; less literally, it could mean something along the lines of 'making easy what is difficult' or even 'calming unrest'. The original reference is now lost to us, but it is possible that this is an echo of a Latin quotation. A comparable phrase is found in Columbanus' Letter VI, which contains a list of good qualities to which one ought to aspire: among these he lists *levigans deasperata*, which G. S. M. Walker translates as 'smoothing the rough places'.<sup>131</sup> In his *Confessions* Augustine describes how God helped him *tortuosa mea direxeris et aspera lenieris* 'straighten my crookedness and smooth my rough ways'.<sup>132</sup> These quotations appear ultimately to derive from Isaiah 40:4, cited in Luke 3:5 as *et erunt prava in directa, et aspera in vias planas* 'and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways plain'.<sup>133</sup> Stokes took the phrase to refer to reconciling differences, but was not specific in his interpretation.<sup>134</sup> It could certainly refer to smoothing out quarrels or feuds, but in this context, I suggest it might also refer to penance or atonement (cf. *deuota penitentia* §1), in the sense of spiritual reconciliation with God. This requirement could be regarded as part of or drawing on the expression in the sentence preceding this one (in §7) that the people ought to 'renew their faith'.

§8. *It e tra .iii. heteri ... .i. Petur apstal 7 Muri Og 7 Michel archainge]* The Virgin Mary, the archangel Michael and the apostle Peter are presented here as guarantors to ensure that the Irish will be saved. The commands given by God are thus presented, in effect, as a contract supported

128 Stokes, 'Adamnan's Second Vision', p. 440 n. 12; cf. Ernst Windisch, ed., 'Das Freien um Etain', *IrI* 1 (Leipzig, 1891), pp 113–33 (p. 129).

129 Ludwig Bieler, ed. and trans., *The Irish Penitentials* (Dublin, 1963), p. 278.

130 Cf. F. Kelly's discussion of cattle-diseases in *Early Irish Farming* (Dublin, 1997), pp 196–8. These terms occur in other prophecies, e.g. pp 634–5 above.

131 G. S. M. Walker, ed. and trans., *Sancti Columbani opera* (Dublin, 1957), p. 59.

132 *Confessions* IX.4. Translation from *The Confessions and Letters of St. Augustine, with a Sketch of his Life and Work.*, trans. J. G. Pilkington, Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church Series I, vol. 1 (repr. : Buffalo, 1886), p. 131; text in Augustine, *Confessions*, ed. J. J. Donnell, 3 vols (Oxford, 1922), i.166.

133 For a possible reflection of the same theme in the text known as *The Three Utterances*, see pp 122–3, 126–7 above.

134 *Op. cit.*, p. 441 n. 14.



by these saints. The description is probably inspired by an intercession motif involving these three figures as intercessors, in all likelihood ultimately derived from a Greek source of the *Transitus Mariae*.<sup>135</sup> In a version of this text in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 3550 (s. xiii) which seems to be 'an independent translation of a Greek source similar to that which lies behind *Transitus W*' (one of the Latin recensions), Michael, Mary and the apostles appeal, successfully, to Christ to obtain respite for the tormented souls.<sup>136</sup> In the Irish *Transitus Mariae*, however, Mary is duly accompanied by Michael and the apostles, but only she is involved in the intercession.<sup>137</sup> In the *Apocalypse of the Virgin*, a text believed to represent a tradition later than the *Transitus Mariae*, the motif of Mary, Michael and the saints interceding on behalf of the damned has become firmly established.<sup>138</sup>

This motif has also been attested in the New Minster *Liber uitae* (A.D. 1031), in which Mary, Michael and Peter are made intercessors for the queen, king and the extended Winchester community, and the trio appear together in Anglo-Saxon prayers, homilies and charters.<sup>139</sup> I have not, however, been able to locate parallels in other Irish sources.

§9. *dona n-anmanna biu, itir doine 7 cetra*] Stokes noted here a reference to a poem in *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaihb* which seems to confirm the practice of making calves fast.<sup>140</sup> A Biblical precedent is afforded by Jonah 3:7, alluded to in §13 below. Stokes proposed that the usage appears to confirm 'belief in the souls of animals, and of the tendency to treat them as human', an idea which he evidently took to be reflected in the application to both men and beasts of the term *anmanna*, understood by him to be plural of *ainimm* 'soul'. It seems however considerably likelier that the word represents *anmandae* 'living creature, animal'; the translation accordingly reads 'creatures'.

§9. *do neoch dib is forglide cidtus dia ticfa a denum*] Stokes acknowledged that his translation 'it is nobleness indeed if it shall come to keep it' was only tentative. I have taken *cidtus* to be a variant form of *cétamus* 'indeed' (cf. *PH* 2353 etc. *citus*, 2926 *cidus*), and *dia ticfa* to be an example of the construction *tic dím* 'I am able, I can'. Kuno Meyer discussed this idiom in connection

135 M. Clayton, 'The *Transitus Mariae*: The Tradition and its Origins', *Apocrypha* 10 (1999) 74–98.

136 *Ibid.*, pp 88, 93. Clayton concludes that Mary's role as intercessor 'almost certainly goes back to the beginning' of this textual tradition (p. 93).

137 C. Breatnach, 'An Irish Homily on the Life of the Virgin Mary', *Ériu* 51 (2000) 23–58.

138 A. Rutherford, trans., 'The Apocalypse of the Virgin, or the Apocalypse of the Holy Mother of God concerning the Chastisements', in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 9: *The Gospel of Peter, Apocalypses and Romances, Commentaries of Origen*, ed. A. Menzies (5th ed.: New York, 1912), pp 335–44., esp. §§ 25–9.

139 C. Karkov, 'Judgment and Salvation in the New Minster Liber Vitae', in *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Kathryn Powell and Donald Scragg (Cambridge, 2003), pp 151–64 (esp. pp 152, 156–8).

140 *Op. cit.* n. 16, p. 441, citing J. H. Todd, ed. and trans., *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaihb: The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (London, 1867), p. 100. See further A. T. Lucas, *Cattle in Ancient Ireland* (Kilkenny, 1989), pp 7–12; and Vernam Hull 'The Death of Conla', *ZCP* 29 (1962–4) 190–91.

with the statement *is iat-sin lānemain dia ticfa mo lesugud-sa* in the tale *Goire Conaill Chernaig*, which he translated 'they are the couple that are able to provide for me'.<sup>141</sup> Hence in our text the subject of *dia ticfa*, 3 sg. fut. of *do-icc*, is expressed by the relative pronoun, referring back to *neoch*, which is used as an indeclinable relative pronoun. Whether the scribe still understood the meaning of the relative pronoun is uncertain. If one were to argue that he did not, we should read *dia* as *do* and it would be better to translate 'for any of them [who] is proven to be able to accomplish it'.

The sentence here foreshadows the exemptions mentioned in §10, in particular the phrase *senori na fuilngét aine*, 'old people who cannot endure a fast'. The implication, therefore, is that the fast will not be expected of those who are not able to keep it successfully.

§10. *in cétna aine iar n-init chorgais ghemrid*] The text here describes the fasts prescribed to ward off the fulfilment of the prophecy. They take place at four times in the year, the first one beginning after the beginning of the winter Lent (corresponding to Advent); the second one the Wednesday after the beginning of the spring Lent; the third the Wednesday after Pentecost; and the fourth fast, the Wednesday after the beginning of autumn. This scheme largely corresponds to the fasts now known as the Ember days. These are customarily held on the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday after the feast of St Lucy (13 December), Ash Wednesday, Whitsunday and Holy Cross day (14 September). The Ember days are of obscure origin, but they were certainly celebrated in Rome by Pope Leo I (440–61),<sup>142</sup> who considered their observance to be an apostolic tradition; and they were officially prescribed by Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085).<sup>143</sup> Note, however, that in our text the first fast, that normally due on 13 December, begins not on a Wednesday but on a Friday, and that the first three fasts are dated with reference to the three Lents traditionally observed in Ireland. The winter Lent, or *gamchorgus*, is the Lenten period terminating at Christmas and would normally have started, not on 13 December, but on 13 November (assuming a six-week Lent),<sup>144</sup> which places the start of the three-day fast on the nineteenth of November in this year, or on the fourteenth if we assume they started at the end of 1095 to complete a full year of fasting before the feast of the Decollation of John the Baptist on 29 August. It would seem, moreover, from the statements

<sup>141</sup> 'Goire Conaill Chernaig i Cruachain agus Aided Ailella agus Conaill Chernaig', *ZCP* 1 (1897) 102–11 (p. 109 n. 7).

<sup>142</sup> 'Ember Days', in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (repr.: Oxford, 1984), p. 445.

<sup>143</sup> Francis Mershman, 'Ember Days', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols (New York, 1907–12), v.399.

<sup>144</sup> The six-week Lent was the model followed in the earlier medieval period in the Western Church, but it was gradually replaced from the seventh century onwards, under pressure of complaints from (among others) Gregory the Great, by a true forty-day fast (6 weeks only amounting to 36 days, as Sundays were not regarded as fast days). There is a particular problem with applying this to the winter Lent, however, as a forty-day Lent would clash with the feast of St Michael on 11 November. Consequently, I follow P. Ó Néill in assuming that this would have been a six-week Lent; see his 'Irish Observance of the Three Lents and the Date of the St. Gall Priscian (MS 904)', *Ériu* 51 (2000) 159–180 (esp. pp 171–2).

in this text, that the festivals of Easter and Pentecost were celebrated with a three-day feast rather than an octave, as was customary after the ninth century, unless we assume that the fast started the Wednesday after the festival.<sup>145</sup> The nature of the fast here prescribed is actually quite severe: §9 states that it entails three days and three nights without food or drink, which is stricter than the allowance of one meal per day which was standard in the Western Church.<sup>146</sup>

§10. *frisa-bictar*] I take this form to represent the 3 sg. pres. passive of *fris-acci*, misinterpreted as a form of *íccaid* with a prepositional relative, and rewritten with an inorganic *b*.

§10. *at-renat boin co n-uingi as cech urthobach bus tresi 7 bus nesa doib bes in cech thuaitb*] The reference here to a 'cow with an ounce of silver' is possibly intended as *boin co uingi*, lit. 'a cow up to an ounce of silver', referring to a milch cow, which is the equivalent of an ounce of silver.<sup>147</sup> Alternatively, Dr Kevin Murray suggests that *uingi* should rather be read as 'fine'. I have translated *cech urthobach bus tresi 7 bus nesa* as 'each levy which is strongest and nearest to them', but am uncertain as to the meaning of this.

§11. *Biait*, etc.] The *Biait* is the famous *Beati immaculati* (Psalm 118/9), the saving efficacy of which is asserted in several medieval Irish legends.<sup>148</sup> The *Magnificat* is the canticle uttered by Mary in Luke 1:46–55, while the *Benedictus* is another Canticle (Luke 1:68–79). *Miserere mei Dominus* is Psalm 50; 'Patrick's hymn' is the hymn beginning *Audite omnes amantes*, traditionally ascribed to Patrick's follower Secundinus or Sechnall; the 'hymn of the apostles' is Cuimmíne Fota's *Celebra Iuda*; the *Hymnum dicat* is the well-known hymn by St. Hilary of Poitiers; 'Michael's hymn' is the antiphon *In Trinitate spes mea* attributed to St Colmán mac Murchon. As noted above, this list is very similar to an office from the late eighth-century gospel codex known as the Book of Mulling.<sup>149</sup>

§12. *muireoin*, *i. manda*] The notion that the manna which rained from heaven in the desert (Exodus 16:13; Numbers 11:6–9) could be construed as 'sea-birds' seems to derive from a confused reminiscence of Numbers 11:31, where the quails which served as a supplement to the manna are blown in from the sea.

145 *Ibid.*, pp 174–5.

146 'Ember Days', in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 446.

147 Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, p. 587. The basic unit, *bó mlicht* (milch cow) is equivalent to 1 *ungae* or 24 scruples or 2 *sét* or 1/3 *cumal*.

148 Cf. for instance *The Two Clerical Students*, p. 142 above, and further discussion in the introduction to that text.

149 Dublin, TCD 60 (shelf-mark A.I.15). Cf. Bernard and Atkinson, *The Irish Liber hymnorum* i.xxiv; and P. Jeffery, 'Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. M. E. Fassler and R. A. Baltzer (Oxford, 2000), pp 99–144.

§12. The Israelites cross the Red Sea 'with dry feet' in Exodus 14:16, 21; 15:19. That Moses was on Mount Sinai for forty days and nights without food or drink is described in Exodus 34:28 (and earlier in 24:18 but without the reference to food and drink). The Lord speaks to Moses face to face (*facie ad faciem*) in Exodus 33:11 and he is given the law of Scripture in Exodus 31:18 and 34:28–9. The victory of Moses (and Joshua) over the Amalekites is found in Exodus 17:8–14. The statement that the sun was turned from one day to the next (*on trath co araille*) is possibly inspired by the statement that Moses was able to hold up his arms until sunset, this being the start of the next day at the time. The reference to the two halves of the river Jordan comes from Joshua 3:15, where it is Joshua rather than Moses who mediates between God and the Israelites.

§13. Joshua destroys Jericho with God's help in Joshua 6:20–21. The phrase 'by the edge (literally 'mouth') of spear and sword' echoes the Biblical *in ore gladii*. In the section on the destruction of the Assyrians the author has confused Hezekiah with Joshua: in 2 Kings 19:35 and Isaiah 37:36 an angel of the Lord comes to Hezekiah's aid and slays one hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrians. Cf. 2 Chronicles 32:20–22.

§13. *i crich Med]* The Medes are not, in fact, mentioned in the account of these events in Jonah 3.

§14. For the story of Daniel, the lions and the prophet Habakkuk see Daniel 14:29–38. For the story of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in the fiery furnace see Daniel 3. For Nebuchadnezzar's derangement see Daniel 4:30. The people of Nineveh were saved from the plague in Jonah 3:3.

§15. Hezekiah gains fifteen years in 2 Kings 20:1–11, where God has the sun go backwards a few degrees as a sign that he will heal Hezekiah. Christ fights against the Devil's temptation in Luke 4:1–13.

§16. *do-rigne]* Stokes emended this form to a Middle Irish passive *do-rigned*,<sup>150</sup> but there is no need to do so as the agent of the actions in this paragraph is quite clearly God. Moreover, the verb *ros-dinguib* in the adjoined clause is not so easily read as a passive.

<sup>150</sup> For the use of active root *do-rign-* for the passive in Middle Irish see K. McCone, *The Early Irish Verb* (2nd ed.: Maynooth, 1997), pp 232–4.