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An edition of *De causis torchi Corc' Ōche* and *Aided Echach maic Maireda*

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DECLARATION

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SUMMARY

This thesis consists of a full edition of two early Irish texts relating to the outburst of Loch nEchach ('Echu's Lake', present Lough Neagh). The titles of these tracts are *De causis torchi Corc' Ōche* 'On the reasons for the migration of the Corco Óche' (Part I) and *Aided Echach maic Maireda* 'The death of Echu mac Maireda' (Part II).

Part I: *De causis torchi Corc' Ōche (De causis)*

The text contained in Part I is very early. It consists of two prose sections and the poem *Ba mol Mídend midlaige*, 'There was a prophecy of Mídenn the fool' attributed to Luccreth moccu Chíara. This poem, which seems to be missing a few couplets and does not have a *dúnad*, can be dated to the seventh century, and is composed in an early form of *deibide* metre: the final words of each couplet in the quatrain rhyme (and generally, this rhyme is between a stressed and an unstressed syllable), but verse-lines are not yet heptasyllabic. The prose sections also contain a number of archaic forms, and can be placed slightly later, perhaps at the beginning of the eighth century.

The most complete version of *De causis* is found in the manuscript Laud Misc. 610 (Laud), with variant versions of approximately the first half of the text in the Book of Ballymote (BB) and the Book of Lecan (Lec). It is noteworthy that while Laud is the latest of these three manuscripts, it contains the most archaic version.

The versions in BB and Lec clearly derive from a common exemplar. It is remarkable that the text of that exemplar, as compared to that in Laud, has been revised, and some words that appear in Laud have been replaced, possibly due to them being no longer in use when the exemplar was written down. In addition, the poem as it is found in BB and Lec has been modified in order for it to adhere to the standard heptasyllabic verse-line later required by the *deibide* metre, and a supplementary quatrain has been added in order to provide a *dúnad.*

The text from Laud has previously been published, without translation, by Kuno Meyer in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* (*ZCP*) 8 (1912), pp. 307-09. A full edition has never appeared. Since the version in Laud is evidently the most archaic, and the most complete, it forms the basis for the present edition.

Part II: ***Aided Echach maic Maireda (AE)***

This compilation of predominantly Middle Irish prose and poetry is found in Lebor na hUidre (*LU*), in the hand of the H-interpolator. The text consists of three main parts:

1. A version of the metrical *dindsenchas*-tale of Loch nEchach, conflated with that of Loch Rí, probably composed in the eleventh century.
2. Three poems relating to Echu's daughter Lí Bán, one of the survivors of the outburst: *Ticid, ticid, gebid fāebra* (*Ticid, ticid*, 2 quatrains), *Fo Loch Echach adba dam* (*Fo Loch Echach*, 22 quatrains) and *Murgein is gein co mbúadaib* (*Murgein is gein*, 5 quatrains). Each poem is introduced very briefly in prose. *Fo Loch Echach* is linguistically the earliest poem, and may possibly be placed in the tenth century. The other poems can probably be dated to the eleventh or early twelfth century.
3. A prose account of the life of Lí Bán after the outburst of Loch nEchach. This is linguistically the latest section and can probably be dated to the twelfth century.

The prose sections have no variant versions; a complete version of the poem *Murgein is gein co mbúadaib* can be found in four of the ten manuscripts containing the text *Félire Óengusso*. A number of quatrains from the poem *Fo Loch Echach adba dam* are found in G7, and one quatrain plus a number of otherwise unattested quatrains are found in the same manuscripts containing *Félire Óengusso*.

The text appears, with a translation of the prose, the first poem and the beginning of each of the other two poems, in S. H. O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica* (London 1892), vol. I (text): 233-37, II (translation): 265-69. The only edition of the text with a full translation was published by J. O'Beirne Crowe, in the article 'Ancient Lake Legends of Ireland. - No. I. Aided Echac maic Mairedo (The Destruction of Eochaid, Son of Mairid)', in: *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, Fourth Series, vol. I, part I (Dublin 1870), pp. 94-112. This edition was based on the 1870 lithographic facsimile of *LU*, however, and not on the manuscript itself. O'Beirne Crowe's article appeared over 125 years ago and does not provide adequate notes, variant readings, a linguistic analysis or a discussion of the metres. A new edition is therefore justified.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration 3
Summary 5
Table of contents 7
Acknowledgments 9
Abbreviations used 11
Introduction 15

Part I. *De causis torchi Corc' Ōche*
Contents 25
Manuscript versions 28
Previous editions 31
Comparison of the different manuscript versions 32
Dating 39
Discussion of the metre 56
Editorial practice 71
Text, translation and variant versions 73
Textual notes 87

Part II. *Aided Echach maic Maireda*
Contents 129
Manuscript versions 134
Previous editions 139
Comparison of the different manuscript versions 140
Dating 147
Editorial practice 177
Text, translation and variant versions 178
Textual notes 197
Thematic discussion I: Echu and Rí 244
Thematic discussion II: Lí Bán's names 261
Thematic discussion III: motifs in the final prose section 276

Appendix: a different genealogy for Echu in BB and Lec 284
Vocabulary 285
Index of personal names, tribes and places 325
Index to textual notes 332
Bibliography 340

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The undertaking of this thesis to me felt at times like a long journey in a foreign country (and indeed has been exactly that). There are a number of people I would like to thank, without whose guidance I would have been stranded very early on. To Professor Liam Breatnach, who was my supervisor during my first three years at Trinity College Dublin, I offer my heartfelt gratitude for his valuable advice and time. I also wish to thank Professor Damian McManus, who so kindly took so much precious time out of his busy schedule to assume the role of my supervisor after professor Breatnach's departure to the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

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I am indebted to the Royal Irish Academy for allowing me access to Lebor na hUidre and 23 L 14, to the National Library in Dublin for access to the manuscripts G7 and G10; to the Keeper of Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library for permitting me to consult Laud Misc. 610, Rawlinson B505 and Rawlinson B512. I would like to thank the staff at the manuscript room at Trinity College as well – they have been very helpful over the years, and allowed me to consult a number of manuscripts that, as it turned out, I could not use for this thesis, but that needed to be consulted in order to establish that fact.

A thank-you is also due to the Irish Department of Education (through the Culturele Verdrag Nederland-Ierland), to Trinity College Dublin and to the Irish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences for a number of scholarships that made it possible for me to pursue my studies.

At times when I started to run out of steam, I had the good fortune of having friends to turn to. I would like to thank them all, especially Dr. Angela Gleason for the many lovely (pep-)talks we had over coffee and Kay Saunders for her hospitality and good cheer. A special thank-you also goes out to Dr. Jacqueline Borsje, who read through and provided commentary on a number of presentations I gave during the academic year 2003-2004, the subject-matter of which is incorporated in part II of this thesis in

the second thematic discussion (on Lí Bán's names), and I am grateful to all the people who attended those presentations and pointed out even more interesting material to me.

I would like to thank my family whole-heartedly for their love and support, not only during the writing of this thesis, but also when I made the decision back in 1994 to go and pursue a degree in Celtic Studies in Utrecht.

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This was at times a bumpy excursion, with several interruptions, but as with all journeys, one is all the richer for the experience one has gained at the end of it. And this was an experience I would not have wanted to miss for the world.

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, who has always been incredibly supportive of all of my endeavours, but who unfortunately is no longer here to see the completion of this one. Ik mis je.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

Grammatical abbreviations

acc. accusative

act. active

dat. dative

deut. deuterotonic

f. feminine

gen. genitive

impf. imperfect

inf. pron. infixed pronoun

ipv. imperative

ind. indicative

lit. literally

m. masculine

n. neuter (but note that in page references, n. is used for '(foot)note')

nom. nominative

om. omitted

pass. passive

perf. perfect

pl. plural

pres. present

pret. preterite

prot. prototonic

sg. singular

subj. subjunctive

voc. vocative

OI Old Irish

Other abbreviations

A7: Franciscan manuscript A7 (UCD, formerly in Franciscan Library, Killiney)

Acallamh: *Acallamh na Senórach* in Stokes and Windisch, *Irische Texte* series 4, volume 1 (ed. Whitley Stokes, 1900)

AE: *Aided Echach maic Maireda*

AFM: *The Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. John O'Donovan, Dublin 1848-51)

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

AL: *Ancient laws of Ireland* i-vi (ed. Hancock et al., Dublin 1865-1901)

ALLI: 'Ancient lake legends of Ireland. – No. I. Aided Echac maic Mairedo (The destruction of Eochaid, son of Mairid)', (ed. J. O'Beirne Crowe, in: *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland,* fourth Series, vol. I, part I, Dublin 1870, 94-112)

Anecdota: *Anecdota from Irish manuscripts* i-v (ed. Osborn Bergin et al., Halle 1907-13)

AT: *The Annals of Tigernach* (ed. Stokes in *RC* 16 (1895) 374-419; *RC* 17 (1896) 6-33, 116-263, 337-420; *RC* 18 (1897) 9-59, 150-303)

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

BB: *Book of Ballymote* (RIA 23 P 12)

Ba mol: *Ba mol mídend midlaige* (poem in *De causis*)

Bray Index: *A list of motifs in the Lives of the early Irish saints* (Dorothy Ann Bray, Helsinki 1992)

CCCL: *Conall Corc and the Corco Luigde* (ed. Kuno Meyer in *Anecdota from Irish manuscripts* iii, Halle 1910, 57-63)

CELT: The corpus of electronic texts (www.ucc.ie/celt)

CGH: *Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae* (ed. M. A. O'Brien, Dublin 1962, repr. 1976)

CIH: *Corpus iuris Hibernici* i-vi (ed. Binchy, Dublin 1978)

CMCS: *Cambridge/Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* (Aberystwyth, 1981-)

Conailla: *Conailla Medb míchuru*, (ed. Kuno Meyer in *ZCP* 8, 1912, 305-07)

CS: *Chronicon Scotorum* (ed. William M. Hennessy, London 1866)

De Causis: *De causis torchi Corc' Ōche*

DIAS: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

DIL: (*Contributions to a*) *Dictionary of the Irish language. Compact edition* (ed. Quin et al., Dublin 1983)

EC: *Études Celtiques* (Paris, 1936-)

ECI: *Early Christian Ireland* (Thomas Charles-Edwards, Cambridge 2000)

EIF: *Early Irish farming* (Fergus Kelly, Dublin 1997, repr. 2000)

EIM: *Early Irish metrics* (Gerard Murphy, Dublin 1961)

EIV: *The Early Irish verb*, 2nd edition (Kim McCone, Maynooth 1997)

Fél: *The martyrology of Oengus the culdee* (ed. Whitley Stokes, London 1905)

Fo Loch Echach: *Fo Loch Echach adba dam* (poem in *AE*)

G7: manuscript G7 (National Library, Dublin, formerly Ms. Phillipps 9748)

G10: manuscript G10 (National Library, Dublin, formerly Cheltenham Phillips Library MS 10266)

GEIL: *A guide to early Irish law* (Fergus Kelly, Dublin 1988)

GOI: *A grammar of Old Irish* (Rudolf Thurneysen, Dublin 1946, repr. 1993)

ISOS: Irish Script On Screen (www.isos.dias.ie)

IKHK: *Irish kings and high-kings* (Francis John Byrne, London 1973, repr. Dublin 2001)

ITS: Irish Texts Society

IWK: *Early Irish and Welsh kinship* (Thomas Charles-Edwards, Oxford 1993)

Laud: Laud Misc. 610, Oxford, Bodleian Library

Lec: Book of Lecan (RIA 23 P 2)

LEIA: *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (ed. Joseph Vendryes, E. Bachellery and Pierre-Yves Lambert, Dublin and Paris 1959-96)

LL: Book of Leinster (TCD 1339)

LMU: *Longes Mac nUislenn* (ed. Vernam Hull, New York 1949)

LU: *Lebor na hUidre* (RIA 23 E 25)

M.Ds.: *The metrical dindshenchas* i-v (ed. E.J. Gwynn, Todd Lecture Series viii-xii, Dublin 1903-35, repr. Dublin 1991)

Ml.: The Milan glosses on the Psalms, *Thes. Pal.* I 7-483. References are to folio numbers.

Murgein is gein: *Murgein is gein co mbúadaib* (poem in *AE*)

OG: *Onomasticon goedelicum* (ed. Edmund Hogan, Dublin 1910)

PHCC: *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic colloquium* (Cambridge, MA, 1981-)

PMLA: *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (New York, 1884-)

R: Rawlinson B512 (Oxford, Bodleian Library)

RC: *Revue Celtique* (Paris 1870-1934)

RIA: Royal Irish Academy

RIA Catalogue: *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*. I-xxviii (Dublin 1926-70).

Sg.: The St. Gall glosses on Priscian, *Thes. Pal.* II 49-224. References are to folio numbers.

SG: *Silva Gadelica* i-ii (ed. Standish H. O'Grady, London 1892)

SnaG: *Stair na Gaeilge* (ed. Kim McCone et al., Maynooth 1994)

SnaG III: 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', chapter three of *Stair na Gaeilge* (Liam Breatnach in Kim McCone et al., Maynooth 1994, 221-333)

SR: *Saltair na Rann* (ed. Whitley Stokes, Oxford 1883)

TBC: *Táin Bó Cúailnge*

TBC-LL: *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster* (ed. Cecile O'Rahilly, Dublin 1967, repr. 1984)

TCD: Trinity College Dublin

TDG: *Tóruigheacht Dhíarmada 7 Ghráinne* (ed. Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, Dublin 1967)

Thes. Pal.: *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, i-ii (ed. Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, Cambridge 1901/1903, repr. Dublin 1975)

Ticid, ticid: *Ticid, ticid, gebid fāebra* (poem in *AE*)

UCD: University College Dublin

UJA: *Ulster Journal of Archæology*

Wb.: The Würzberg glosses and scholia on the Pauline Epistles, *Thes. Pal.* I 499-712. References are to folio numbers.

ZCP: *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* (Halle, Tübingen, 1897-)

INTRODUCTION

This thesis consists of a full edition of two early Irish texts. The first text can be found in Part I and is entitled *De causis torchi Corc' Ōche* 'On the reasons for the migration of the Corco Óche' (*De Causis*). It contains the seventh-century poem *Ba mol mídend midlaige* 'It was an evil-hued prophecy constantly repeated by the fool' (*Ba mol*), attributed to the poet Luccreth moccu Chíara. The second text, edited in Part II, is entitled *Aided Echach maic Maireda* 'The death of Echu mac Maireda' (*AE*), and is a compilation of two Middle Irish prose sections and three poems. The prose texts and two of the poems can be dated to the Middle Irish period. The remaining poem was probably composed at the end of the Old Irish or the beginning of the Middle Irish period. Both texts have for subject the origin of Loch nEchach, 'Echu's Lake', present Lough Neagh, named after Echu mac Mairetho (in the later text Eochu/Eochaid mac Maireda).[1] *AE* also contains the story of the origin of Loch Rí, named after Echu's brother Rí or Ríb.[2]

The stories surrounding the origin of this lake seem to have enjoyed a certain amount of popularity. In addition to the texts edited in this thesis, a tale entitled *Tomaidm*

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[1] See Mac Neill 1929-30: 115 for proposed etymologies for the names E(o)chu (*Eqovi(c)s) and E(o)chaid (*Ivocatis). For a dismissal of Mac Neill's etymologies, and for further discussion of the name E(o)chu/E(o)chaid, see Bergin 1932: 136-49, entry 10, pp. 140-6. In later texts, the names E(o)chu, gen. Echach, and E(o)chaid, gen. Echdach, both guttural stems, are often confused. Both Eochu and Eochaid are found in *AE*. This has also been pointed out by J. O'Beirne Crowe in *ALLI*: 96 footnote 2. Since the earlier text (*De causis*) never refers to the main character as E(o)chaid, and the lake named after him is called Loch nEch**ach** rather than Loch nEch**dach**, I use the name Echu in this thesis, with the obvious exception of the transcriptions.

[2] The name of Echu's brother should be taken as Rí, as evidenced by the name Loch Rí (present Lough Ree), the name of the lake in which he drowned. In the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí, his name is spelled Rí. In *AE*, however, his name appears as Ríb, and compare O'Flaherty's *Ogygia* (part iii, p. 289): *Lugadio rege, Neachus, & **Rivius lacus** erumpentes; hic Bannam, ille Sinannum fluvios sua accessione auxerunt. De campis, quos occuparunt, sic Hibernicè legitur; Tomhaidhm lionnmuine tar liathmhuine: agus **locha Ribh** for mhagh nairbhtheann. In **Rivio lacu** est Clothranna Insula à Clothra Lugadii matre appellata.* 'During Lugaid's reign, Loch nEchach and Loch Rí(b) burst out; the former increased [the water in] the river Bann, the latter [the water in] the river Shannon through its addition. Of the plains which they occupy, the following is said in Irish; the outburst of Linnmuine across Líathmuine: and that of Loch Ríb onto Mag nAirbthen. In Loch Ríb, Inis Clothrann is situated, named after Clothra, Lugaid's mother'. The Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí vacillates between the two spellings (Stokes 1894-95: 481-82 (*RC* 15)), and although his name is generally Ríb/Ríbh in the Edinburgh *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí, there is a reference to his name as Rí, and the lake is called Loch Rí – see Stokes 1893: 474-75. *OG* has references to both Loch Rí and Loch Ríb, and identifies a Loch Ríb in West Munster – it is perhaps possible that the name Ríb (rather than Rí) is due to confusion with that lake, especially since Rí and Echu are from Munster in all of these texts. I have no other explanation for this deviant spelling. I adopt the spelling Rí in this thesis (again apart from the transcriptions of the manuscripts), based on the name of the lake in our text and on the spelling of the name of the lake and his name in the metrical *dindshenchas* (*M.Ds.* iii: 450-59 and 560-61 (commentary)).

Locha Echach 'The bursting-forth of Loch nEchach', is mentioned in the Saga-lists as one of the *prímscéla*, 'principal tales', that all poets should know.[3] This tale, which has unfortunately been lost (at least under that title), can be dated to the tenth century or before.[4]

Versions of the origin of Loch nEchach occur in both the prose and metrical *dindshenchas*-tales,[5] and reference is made to Echu in a genealogy of the Dál nAraide.[6] Finally, Giraldus Cambrensis offered a re-telling of the story in his *Topographia Hiberniae*.[7]

When examining these different texts, there are a few recurring elements:

1) King Echu drowns in the eruption of a lake, which is then named Loch nEchach after him.
2) The name of the plain where Echu drowned is called Líathmuine,[8] and the name of the well that inundated the plain is referred to as Linnmuine.[9]

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[3] This has been pointed out by Gwynn in *M.Ds.* iv: 390 and in Bergin 1929-30: 246-52, p. 247. For the mention of *Tomaidm Locha Echach* in the tale lists, see Mac Cana 1980: 48 (List A) and 58 (List B).

[4] For Thurneysen's dating of the (common ancestor of the) tale-lists, see Mac Cana 1980: 66 and 81ff. Mac Cana points out that the *tomaidm* 'bursting forth of lake or river' category belongs to a secondary section which was appended in the tenth century (Mac Cana 1980: 81), and that in list A the *tomadmann* (as well as some other tale-types) are not referred to as *prímscéla*, but 'said to be reckoned as *prímscéla*' (Mac Cana 1980: 83; the list (for which see p. 48) has *Is amal phrímscéla dā ármither na scelasa sís*, literally 'it is as *prímscéla* moreover that these tales below are reckoned' (my translation)). This means that by the time the tale was appended, it had probably been popular for some time.

[5] I follow Gwynn's spelling of the word *dindshenchas* (with *–sh-*) throughout this thesis, except when it occurs differently in the title of an article or book. Prose *dindshenchas*-versions of the story of Echu can be found in Stokes 1894-95: 150-53 (entry 141 in *RC* 16); Stokes 1893: 474-75 (entry 55). The metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach can be found attached to that of Tuag Inbir in *M.Ds.* iv: 64-68. The story of the death of Echu's brother Rí, contained in *Aided Echach maic Maireda*, which essentially follows the same pattern as the tale of Echu, also occurs in the Edinburgh *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach (Stokes 1893: 474-76), the Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí (Stokes 1894-95: 481-83 (entry 79 in *RC* 15)), and in *M.Ds.* iii: 450-59. In the commentary on the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí (*M.Ds.* iii: 560), Gwynn provides a transcription of a separate short poem on the origin of Loch Rí found in the Book of Uí Maine.

[6] Bergin 1929-30: 246. For a transcription of the relevant sections of text found in BB and Lec, see the appendix of this thesis.

[7] For an edition, see O'Meara 1951: 64-65 (second part, 42).

[8] The name Líathmuine can be explained as *líath* 'grey' + *muine*, io, m, 'thicket', and is the standard name for the plain inundated by Linnmuine. When looking at the various *dindshenchas* versions and the texts edited in this thesis, the name is found in *De causis*, *AE*, the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, the Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach and the Edinburgh *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach.

[9] The name Linnmuine occurs in *De causis*, *AE*, the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí and the Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach. It is not always clear if we are to take it as a compound or as a phrase consisting of noun + genitive, as the second element of the name, *-muine*, can be taken in two ways: as *muine*, io, m, 'thicket', or as *múine*, gen. sg. of *mún* 'urine'. The word *mún* is given in *DIL* as a masculine word, but this is problematic, as a masculine word would not produce gen. sg. *múine*. Compare *LEIA* s.v. *mún*, however, where it is stated that the word *mún* was originally a neuter word (confirmation of this comes from gen. sg. *múine*

3) Echu's brother Rí likewise drowns in the eruption of a lake, now known as Loch Rí.
4) While Rí and all of his followers die in the outburst of Loch Rí, some people (generally) survive the outburst of Loch nEchach.[10]

The exact development of the tradition surrounding Echu is difficult to reconstruct, however. The earliest text relating to Echu, the poem *Ba mol* in *De Causis*, can be dated to the seventh century. The remainder of *De Causis*, datable to the eighth century, tells of the re-settling of four sub-divisions of the population group Corco Óche throughout Ireland after the outburst of the lake, and is pseudo-historical. In *De Causis*, the Corco Óche are descended from Dubthach Dóeltengath, a character from the Ulster Cycle, and Echu mac Mairetho is an Ulster king. The (main branch of the) Corco Óche eventually settle in Munster. In the text, there is no reference to Echu's brother Rí, which may mean that there was originally no story about him, or that both tales existed but were independent of each other. As well as the population group Corco Óche, three specific characters are said to have survived the flood: Mídenn (Echu's fool), Uiriu (Echu's daughter) and Conbroc or Senchenn (Echu's dog).[11]

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together with the acc. sg. *mún*). In *De causis*, where the motif of the urinating horse causing the water to spring up is absent, we find a dat. sg. of this name in *–iu* (*i Llinnmu*[*i*]*niu*, §4(d)28). Since this text generally retains dat. sg. of io-stems in *–(i)u* (compare *a Llīathmuiniu* 'from (=out of) Líathmuine' §3,12, *ba moo dīc*[*h*]*rid*[*i*]*u* 'he was greater than a coward' §4(o)65), I suggest that the name in *De Causis* is to be taken as a compound with the second element *muine* 'thicket'. In the later versions, the motif of the urinating horse has been added, and Stokes undoubtedly correctly interpreted the name in his edition of the Rennes *dindshenchas* as *Lind múine* 'pool of urine' (1894-95: 153), and Gwynn interpreted it in the same way in his commentary on the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach (*M.Ds.* iv: 391 ad l. 140). I would suggest that originally, this was a compound *Lindmuine* containing the element *muine* 'thicket', and that this is the term found in *De Causis* (this also seems to be the way in which Carney and Breatnach have interpreted it in their 1985 reconstruction). Later, after the motif of the urinating horse had been added, the element was reinterpreted as phrase consisting of *lind* + *múine* 'lake of urine', and it is this phrase that is found in *AE* – unfortunately, we cannot get conclusive evidence from *AE* itself (i.e. evidence from rhyme). Note that BB, which contains a partial version of *De causis*, consistently writes it as two separate words, but this is not necessarily problematic, since the version in BB was written down long after the motif of the urinating horse had been added to the tradition surrounding Echu (Lec, which contains the other partial version writes it as one word, as does Laud). Further references to Linnmuine and Líathmuine can be found in *Dúil Dromma Cetta* and O'Mulconry's glossary. For a description of the four different manuscripts containing *Dúil Dromma Cetta*, see Paul Russell 1996: 147-49. In three manuscripts, the references to Líathmuine and Linnmuine are found. Two of these have been edited in *CIH* 617.1-2 and 1075.9-12). For a third transcription of the relevant passage from *Dúil Dromma Cetta*, see Russell 1996, Appendix 1, p. 168, number (38). O'Mulconry's glossary was edited by Whitley Stokes in Stokes and Meyer 1900-07, volume 1: 232-324. The references to Linnmuine and Líathmuine are found on p. 270, entries 808 and 809.

[10] See p. 21 f. below for an overview of the survivors in the different tales relating to the tradition.

[11] The names Echu, Airiu (spelled Huiri and Hoeriu) and Conbroc are also found in the alternative genealogy for Echu preceding our text in BB and Lec. For the text, see appendix below.

In an interesting reversal of location, the characters Echu and his brother Rí are sons of Mairid, the king of Munster in *AE*. In that text, Echu elopes with his stepmother and travels to Ulster, where he eventually drowns in the outburst of the lake later named after him. The remainder of *AE* focuses on Lí Bán, Echu's daughter.

The difficulty in the reconstruction is in establishing the relationship between the various *dindshenchas* versions and *AE*. Gwynn has demonstrated that *AE* was based on the metrical *dindshenchas* tale of Loch nEchach conflated with that of Loch Rí.[12] In the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí, reference is actually made to Echu and his death caused by the lake Lindmuine (which then became Loch nEchach); an indication that at that stage, the stories relating to Echu and Rí were known and connected.[13] This connection appears more strongly in the Edinburgh *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach and in the Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí as in those tales, the stories of both brothers are told. Judging from the large number of similarities between the two texts as evidenced in the table below, it seems safe to posit that the Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí was based on the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí:[14]

Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí	***M.Ds.* of Loch Rí**
Ni fil acaind ni beras...ar libedain	*ní fil...ech...béras... ar libedain* (45-48)
berass leiss bar maine	*béras for máine* (51)
Ni tiu[c]fa a fual	*ní thuca...a fúal* (55-56)
legar a srian leis 'mo chenn; 7 bid[at] aithrech[su]	*A śrian 'ma chend lecar leis* (63)... *bid aithrech* (68)
7 tuc in t-ech a fual, 7 dorigne a	*tuc a fúal...is dorigne a immarchur* (77-

[12] *M.Ds.* iv: 390.

[13] *M.Ds.* iii: 450 (text) and 451 (translation): *Eochaid ra láim lécmait ass, / dáig mad-deochaid a śenchass: // feib romairn a chrotha crí / maidm lond Locha Lindmuni.* 'Eochaid we leave on one side / because his story has spread far and wide: - // how the furious outburst of Loch Lindmuine / wrought the ruin of his shapely form.'

[14] *M.Ds.* iii: 450-59. The numbers between brackets in the overview presented here indicate the relevant verse-lines in the metrical *dindshenchas*. The references to the Rennes *dindshenchas* can all be found in Stokes 1894-95: 482. The *dindshenchas* stories can be divided into three groups: metrical *dindshenchas* (Collection A); prose *dindshenchas*, with each entry ending in a poem of one quatrain (Recension B); and an integrated edition of the *dindshenchas* incorporating prose and poetry (Recension C). According to Charles Bowen, Collection A and Recension B 'comprise the raw material out of which the first integrated edition of the *Dindshenchas* [i.e. Recension C] was made' (Bowen 1975-76: 123). The metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí is part of Collection A, whereas the Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí is part of Recension C. This means that the metrical *dindshenchas* cannot have been based on the Rennes *dindshenchas*. Another reason for positing that the prose Rennes *dindshenchas* was based on the metrical *dindshenchas* and not the other way around is the same as one of Gwynn's reasons to posit the basis for the derivation of *AE* from the metrical *dindshenchas* rather than the other way around: 'The Dindshenchas is much fuller than the Aided; and, on general grounds, it is much less likely that a versifier, expanding a brief prose account, would take the trouble to work into his stanzas the exact phrases of the prose, than it is that a writer summarizing a story from a poem would do so by selecting lines here and there' (*M.Ds.* iv: 389-90).

imarchur	78)
7 forfácaib a srian.	*...ocus a ṡrían forácaib* (80)
Rogob dono in fual fotha fo thalmain *corb'egin clar fodluta uasa, 7 dogni Ri tech ina thimchell 7 a lebaid uasa. Tricha bliadan do suidiu co ro muid aidchi luain in lugnasaid de, coro baid Ri cona mnai 7 cona cloind 7 muintir...*	*Rogab fond fo thalmain tais / fúargg (81-82)* *corb écen clár dia dlúthad* (83) *doní [Rí] a thech ina thimchell* (86) *Tricha blíadna uasu anúas, / dó 'na lepaid... cor'maid... aidche lúain in Lugnasaid* (89-92) *Báidid...Rí...ocus cráidid a chóem-chlaind:...robáid in mnái 'sa muintir.* (93-96)
Re bliadna ar deich [ar] cét iar ngen Crist	*Blíadain ar a deich ar chét/ iar mbreith Chríst* (105-06)

As stated above, the Rennes prose *dindshenchas* tale of Loch Rí also refers to Echu's farings. When Echu arrives in Brega, at the Brug Maic Ind Óc, Óengus orders him and his men to leave. They refuse, and Oengus imposes three chief plagues on them (although only two are mentioned in the text):

> *Ataig iarum Oengus tri primplaga foraib .i. a mbu in cettrath, a n-eachrada in trath tanaisti.* 'So Oengus inflicted three chief plagues upon them, to wit, their kine the first day, their horses the second day'.[15]

This motif seems to be taken from the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí, where Midir does the same thing:

Olc la Midir in tṡlúaig sin *In geilt do búaib 'sin bruig-sin,* *co tuc cach* ***plág*** *rofocail:* *fri trí tráth nír'throm-chotail.*	Ill-pleased was Midir at that host grazing their kine on that spot, so he brought upon them every plague that he threatened: for three hours he slept not sound.
Roscacht inna ngubu gnáth ***a mbú*** *'sa ndumu* ***in cét-tráth****:* ***a n-echrad****, cen bráth mbraise,* ***romarb in tráth tánaise****.*	He afflicted them with continual wailing for the loss of their kine and oxen in the first hour, their horses – no sudden destruction – he slew in the second hour.[16]

Note that in both the metrical *dindshenchas* and the Rennes tale, there is no mention of the third plague inflicted.

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[15] Stokes 1894-95: 481 (text) and 482 (translation).
[16] *M.Ds.* iii: 452 (text) and 453 (translation).

The Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach does not include Rí's tale, but it is combined with the *dindshenchas* of Tuag Inbir, which may be significant as this is the same arrangement as that found in the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach. This could indicate that it was based to some extent on the metrical *dindshenchas*. However, it should be pointed out that the metrical *dindshenchas* only mentions Conaing as a survivor of the flood, whereas the Rennes tale of Loch nEchach also mentions Dairiu.

The Edinburgh *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach is a combination of the stories of Rí and Echu. The second part, relating to Rí, was possibly based on *AE* in *LU* – or they may have been based on a common ancestor, as evidenced by the following similarities:

Edinburgh *dindshenchas*:

> *Doluid immorro Rib féin timcheall síar gor'gabh i maigh Fhind: ba head on* ***Tir Cluichi Midhir 7 Maic in Og. Luid*** *fon indas cetna* ***Midhir*** [fo. 4b1] ***cucu 7 capall cengalta*** *lais, gon rallsat* ***a crod fair, gonos-rug leo gorigi Mag nDairbthean*** *forsa ta in loch.* ***Laighid in gerran ann 7 dobeir a mhun gor'bo tiprat, gor' muidh tairsib.*** *Ribh ainm in ríg. baiter in Ríb. Unde Loch Rí[bh] 7 Loch nEchach nominata sunt.*
>
> Howbeit Ríbh himself went around westward and set up on Magh Find: now that was the Playing-ground of Midir and of Mac ind Oc. In the same way Midir went to them, having a haltered horse with him, and they put their wealth upon the horse, and he carried it off with them as far as Magh Dairbthenn, whereon the lake now lies. There the nag lies down and passes his urine until it became a well, which broke over them. Ríbh is the king's name. Ríbh is drowned. Whence Loch Ríbh and Loch nEchach were (so) called.[17]

Aided Echach in *LU* (ll. 2936-41 in Best and Bergin 1929; §4,12-16 in present edition):

> *§4. Luid Rīb síar co* ***Tír*** [39b] ***cluchi Midir*** *.i. Mag Find* ***7 in Meic Óic. Luid Midir chucu 7 capull cengalta*** *oci, co srathair fair, īar marbad dō-som a n-ech uli remi. Do-berat-som* ***a crod*** *uli* ***fair co ruc leó co tici Mag nArbthen*** *.i. āit hi fil Loch Rí indiu.* ***Laigid in gerrān occo and sin 7 siblaís a fūal corbo thipra. Conid hé sin tánic tairsib-sium*** *īar sin, coros-báid uli. Conid hé Loch Rí.*
>
> §4. Rí went westwards to the playing-ground of Midir and the Mac Óc. **i.e. Mag Find** After having killed all of their horses, Midir went up to them with a haltered horse wearing a pack-saddle. They put all their goods on the horse and took it with them as far as Mag nAirbthen, that is, the place in which Loch Rí is situated today. The gelding then lay down there and its urine

[17] Stokes 1893: 474-75.

flowed until it became a well. And it was that [well] which engulfed them after that, and it drowned them all. And this is [what is now] Loch Rí.

I suggest that the metrical *dindshenchas* served as (primary) source for both the first section of *AE* and of the prose Rennes *dindshenchas* tales.[18] It would seem that *AE* is not a copy of the Rennes tales, or vice versa. It is possible that the Edinburgh *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach was based on *AE*. It is unclear where exactly we are to place the genealogical variant for Echu found in BB and Lec. In that genealogy, there is no mention of Rí, Conaing, Curnán or Lí Bán. It does mention Echu's daughter Uiriu and Echu's dog Conbroc. Echu's fool is called Calgmael. Based on the names of the survivors, I would suggest we are to place this between the early text and the metrical *dindshenchas*. Giraldus Cambrensis's version does not seem based on any particular tale, rather on the tradition itself, as no characters are mentioned by name. Below is an overview of the different texts, dates of composition and survivors mentioned:

Title	**Date of composition**	**Survivors of outburst**
De Causis Torchi Corc' Ōche	7th century (poem), 8th century (prose)	- Uiriu / Airiu (Echu's daughter) - Conbroc/Senchenn (Echu's dog) - Mídenn (Echu's fool)[19] - Corco Óche
**Tomaidm Locha Echach*	In or before 10th century	?
Genealogy of Echu in BB/Lec	?	- Uiriu (Echu's daughter) - Conbroc (Echu's dog) - Calgmael (Echu's fool)
M.Ds. of Loch nEchach	11th century	- Conaing (ancestor of Dál Selle and Dál mBúain)

[18] In this I follow Bowen 1975-76: 121: 'The next form in which we find the *Dindshenchas* [= Recension B] is very different from Collection A, although certainly based on it...The contents of this recension [B] reveal that it is at least partly derived from the earlier collection of poems [=Collection A]; where we have both the poem of A and the prose of B, the latter is usually seen to be a summary of the former.'

[19] This is the name given to Echu's fool in the initial prose section. Note however that no name is given for the fool in *Ba mol* – see also the textual note to §3,11 of *De causis* on p. 94 f. below.

M.Ds. of Loch Rí	11th century	none mentioned
Rennes dindshenchas of Loch nEchach	11th /12th century?	- Dairiu (Echu's child) - Conaing (Echu's child, from whom Dál Selle and Dál mBuain are descended)
Rennes dindshenchas of Loch Rí	11th /12th century?	none mentioned
Aided Echach maic Maireda	11th /12th century?	- Conaing (ancestor of Dál mBúain and Dál Saillne) - Curnán (Echu's fool) - Lí Bán (Echu's daughter) - Lí Bán's lapdog Note: Airiu is mentioned as Echu's other daughter and wife of Curnán, but she dies; Rí dies.
Edinburgh dindshenchas	11th /12th century	none mentioned
Giraldus Cambrensis version	11th /12th century	none mentioned

Neither *De Causis* nor *AE* has been satisfactorily edited, and a full edition of the two texts is long overdue. The prose sections from *De Causis* are linguistically very valuable, as they are very early, and the poem *Ba mol* stems from an even earlier period. *Ba mol* is very important, as it is the earliest example of a poem written in a form of *deibide* metre.[20] *AE* is especially valuable with regard to the richness in literary motifs.

As the two texts are so distinct from each other, it was felt that a specific approach was needed in each case. This is most noticable in the sections on dating. In *De Causis*, a date of composition in the Old Irish period is first established. Then, features are pointed out that enable us to push the date of composition back to the early part of the Old Irish period. As *AE* is more sizeable, and a compilation, the approach in this case was based on James Carney's manner of dating the poems of Blathmac,[21] consisting of a discussion of the main Middle Irish features under different headings such as nouns, adjectives, pronouns and verb (and the retention of some earlier features in the case of the poetry).

[20] See Carney 1971: 76 and Mac Mathúna 1985: 304.
[21] Carney 1964.

Each edition consists of a discussion of the contents, a discussion of the manuscript versions, a list of previous editions, a comparison of the different manuscript versions, dating, verbal system, a discussion of the metre(s), editorial practice, text, translation and variant versions and textual notes.. It was felt that since *AE* was so rich in literary motifs, it would be a missed opportunity not to discuss at least some of them. This has been done in three thematic discussions after the edition of *AE*. The text with the different genealogy for Echu from BB and Lec is given in an appendix. An index of words, index of personal names, population groups and places, index to the textual notes for both texts, and a bibliography complete the thesis.

To conclude with, some editorial remarks. Unless stated otherwise, all translations are my own. For the convenience of the reader, I have decided to place text, translation and variant versions (when found) on the same page, even if this meant that, on occasion, part of the page had to be left blank. Finally, I sometimes give words in bold typeface for the convenience of the reader. This is found especially often in the textual notes.

Part I. De causis torchi Corc’ Ōche

CONTENTS

Part I of this thesis consists of an edition of the text *De causis torchi Corc' Ōche* (*De causis*). The (most) complete version of *De causis* can be found in the fifteenth-century manuscript Laud Misc. 610 (Laud), folio 94r°b23 – 94v°b16, in a section on Munster genealogies. These genealogies seem to have been contained originally in the now-lost Psalter of Cashel,[22] and may even have been copied directly from the Psalter.[23] Fragmentary variant versions can be found in the Book of Ballymote (BB) and the Book of Lecan (Lec). *De causis* consists of three distinct parts:

- An initial prose section (§§1-3)
- The poem *Ba mol Mīdend midlaige* (§4)
- A final prose section (§§5-7)

The poem *Ba mol* is the earliest part of our text. It is ascribed in the introductory prose section to a certain Luccreth, and it is generally accepted that this is in fact the poet Luccreth moccu Chíara,[24] who also wrote the poem *Conailla Medb míchuru* (*Conailla*), which is contained in the text *De causis quibus exules Aquilonensium ad Muminenses adducti sunt*, 'On the reasons why the Northern exiles have been led to Munster'.[25] *Conailla* and *Ba mol* have enjoyed a fair amount of scholarly attention. Two relatively recent editions with translation of *Conailla* have been published by

[22] Recently, Bart Jaski discussed the earliest parts of the Munster genealogies and came to the conclusion that the Psalter most likely contained all the Munster pedigrees originally compiled c. 650 (the poems of Luccreth moccu Chíara, the genealogies of Ui Maicc Bróccc, Ui Maicc Iair and Ui Chathbath) and c. 740 (what Jaski refers to as the core of the large section on the genealogies of Éoganacht Locha Léin, Ui Ḟiachach Oele (Ui Duach and Ui Dedaid), Garbraige, Cenél Cormaic, Ui Liatháin and Ui Ḟidgeinte, and probably the pedigrees of Éoganacht Airthir Cliach, Ui Echach and Ui Muiredaig). See Jaski 2003-04: 324-25.

[23] Myles Dillon suggested that folios 73-122 were copied from the Psalter of Cashel in his article 'Laud Misc. 610' in *Celtica* 5 (1960) 64-76, p. 66 and 68. Mac Neill, on the other hand, divided the material in *Laud* into four sections. The two earlier sections (including our text) 'may be regarded as forming the main original text, drawn up about the close of the tenth century' (Mac Neill 1912: 416). A selection was subsequently made at Armagh 'of the portions of greatest local interest' (Mac Neill 1912: 416). Pádraig Ó Riain regarded Mac Neill's view as still valid, and stated that scribes may have made use of the Psalter when there was no other, more modern version of a text available. According to Ó Riain, however, the material in Laud that was contained in the Psalter had come to *Laud* via later manuscript recensions (Ó Riain 1989: 118-20).

[24] Luccreth's authorship of *Ba mol* is never questioned, and he is mentioned as the author of *Ba mol* in Carney 1971: 57 and 75 ff.' Carney 1976 (in Wooding 2000): 79; Carney 1982-83: 177; Carney 1983: 125; Carney 1989: 40; Campanile 1979: 196; Henry 1997: 53, Mac Neill 1912: 411; Mac Neill 1922: 439; Mac Matúna 1985: 304 and Meyer 1913: 52.

[25] Meyer 1912: 306. In Laud, *Conailla* is specifically ascribed to Luccreth moccu Chíara. The poem is introduced with the statement *Is di hūasait in sceōil sea Lucrith mocu Chīara int ēces cecinit*, 'It is to set forth this tale that Luccreth moccu Chíara the poet sang' (for the text, see Meyer 1912: 306).

Garrett Olmsted and P. L. Henry.[26] *Ba mol* has never been edited. It has been mentioned in a number of articles, for the most part from the hand of James Carney.[27] Although Carney stated that an edition of this poem was being prepared, the edition was never published.[28] As stated in the general introduction, the importance of *Ba mol* lies in the fact that it is considered to be the earliest example of the *deibide* metre.[29]

The **poem *Ba mol*** informs us that virtually all of the descendants of Dubthach Dóeltengae drowned in the outburst of Loch nEchach, named after Echu mac Mairetho (later Maireda). This eruption had been prophesied by Echu's fool, Mídenn. The only survivors were the *gens* Corco Óche, and Echu's dog. After the inundation of their land, the Corco Óche split into four groups, who re-established themselves throughout Ireland. One of these four sub-divisions re-settled in Munster, after having been given land by Ailill Flann Becc, king of Munster. The poem seems to presuppose knowledge of the story regarding the outburst of Loch nEchach, as it alludes to it, but does not recount it.

The **initial prose section** borrows elements from *Ba mol*, but also seems to contain elements from an (ancestor of an) early eighth-century text edited by Kuno Meyer

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[26] See Olmsted 1988 and 1991 and Henry 1997.

[27] The poem is mentioned in these articles as either an example of a very early poem, or as the earliest example of a poem written in (a form of) *deibide* metre. See Carney 1971 (especially p. 75 ff. where he discusses the poem as an early form of *deibide* and translates a few lines); see also Carney 1976 (reprinted in Wooding 2000): 79, note 19, where he refers to it as an archaic poem, and p. 83, where he takes the poem as a pre-Christian version of the story of Echu; In Carney 1982-83 on p. 177 it is listed as one of a number of the earliest poems extant. See Carney 1983: 125-26, where he refers to it as an archaic poem written in an ancestor of *deibide* and discusses some of the content of the story. A translation of some of the verse-lines and the initial prose section was published in Dobbs 1956. The poem is also mentioned as a metrical experiment in Mac Neill 1922: 439ff; Mac Neill discusses the contents of it relating to the mythology surrounding the origin of Lough Neagh in 1929-30: 116, 118, 120; Bergin reacts to Mac Neill and discusses a few lines (1929-30: 246, 247, 249-50); Campanile (1979: 196) uses the first four lines of *Ba mol* as an example of a poem that contains five elements also found in the (earlier) *Amra Choluim Chille* (a stanzaic structure, rhyme, alliteration, but no fixed syllable count and no fixed (final) cadence – see Campanile 1979: 195); Mac Mathúna takes the poem to be of critical importance for the analysis of the origins of *deibide* and discusses the metrical features of two couplets in 1985: 304; Sproule discusses the rhyme, with references to a few instances of rhyme between unstressed syllables in 1987: 199; and finally Henry mentions it as one of the poems written by Luccreth moccu Chíara in 1997: 53.

[28] Carney 1971: 56. Carney did discuss and reconstruct the poem *Ba mol* together with Professor Liam Breatnach in a 1985 seminar, but this reconstruction was never published. I am very grateful to Prof. Breatnach for allowing me to use their reconstruction in the present edition.

[29] Carney 1971: 76. It has also been referred to as a rude form of *deibide* by Kuno Meyer, *Über die älteste irische Dichtung* I. Rhythmische alliterierende Reimstrophen (Verlag der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1913) 52 and MacMathúna 1985: 304.

under the title *Conall Corc and the Corco Luigde* (*CCCL*).[30] This text is found in only one manuscript, which happens to be Laud. This initial prose section, like *Ba mol*, presupposes knowledge of the story of Echu mac Mairetho, and some of the details recounted in the prose differ slightly from those in the poem.[31]

The **final prose section**, interestingly, does not mention Echu at all. This section focuses on events set during the lifetime of Conall Corc and his son Coirpre Lúachra (rather than on Conall Corc's grandfather, Ailill Flann Bec, who is mentioned in both the initial prose section and the poem). This may be an indication that the final section was composed separately. The text of the final prose section is convoluted. It seems the Corco Óche fought alongside Conall Corc against the Osairge in a battle referred to as the battle of Droichet Meinde. In order to protect the Corco Óche from the wrath of their enemies (who are not identified by name in this text, but presumably are the Osairge), Corc sent them to West Munster under the protection of his son, Coirpre Lúachra. After this, the text seems to refer to the Corco Óche's removal from power by the Ui Ḟidgeinti. Finally, reference is made to the battle of Cúil Meinde, which was won by the Corco Óche.

The core element of our text is the poem, with the initial section giving information relating to the subject matter of the poem, and the final prose section providing information about what later happened to the Corco Óche.

For this edition, I am providing a diplomatic edition of the text in Laud (though with the addition of hyphens, word-division and capital letters) for the first and the final prose sections. The initial prose section is accompanied by the fully diplomatic variant versions found in BB and Lec. For the poem, I am very grateful to be allowed to use Breatnach and Carney's reconstruction, accompanied by fully diplomatic readings from Laud, BB and Lec.

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[30] See Bergin 1910 (hereafter *Anecdota*): 57-63. A translation with notes was published by Vernam Hull in 'Conall Corc and the Corco Luigde', in *PMLA* 62 (1947) 887-909. Corrections and additions can be found in Hull 1958-59. According to Hull, this text was 'definitely...composed before 750 A.D., ...it probably was composed about 700 A.D., and ...it even may have been composed as early as the last decades of the seventh century.' (1947: 892). Recently, the text has been dated to the reign of Cathal mac Finguine (AD 713-42). See Jaski 2003-04: 327, and see also Ó Corráin 1998: 198 for further references.

[31] The prose, for example, mentions three survivors apart from the Corco Óche: Mídenn, Echu's fool; Uiriu, Echu's daughter, and Conbroc, Echu's dog. The poem only specifically mentions that a cairn remains for the king's dog, whose name is possibly Senchenn. This means that the author of the prose probably had access to a version of the tale of Echu other than our poem.

MANUSCRIPT VERSIONS

1. Complete text

Laud: Laud Misc. 610 (Bodleian Library, Oxford), fol. 94r°b23 – 94v°b16[32]

Vellum; the main part of the manuscript, including our text, was written in 1453-54 by Seaán Buidhe Ó Cléirigh.[33] Measurements: 34 x 28 cm.

The text is preceded in Laud by the heading [De quabsis torc*h*i corcoche,[34] written in a slightly smaller hand after the final verse-line of Luccreth moccu Chíara's poem *Conailla Medb míchuru* (the text preceding ours in Laud). The text is clearly legible throughout. The capital of the first word of the actual text, ***A**cuis*, stands between two and three lines high and has been written in the margin. On folio 94r°b29-30, there is a hole in the vellum. However, this hole must have existed before our text was written down, as the scribe has written around it on both sides of the vellum, and no text has been lost. On folio 94r°, there are a few lines of text written in the lower margin. These lines do not belong to our text. Each quatrain in the poem begins with a capital letter; but looking at the distribution of the capital letters, it would appear that at least three couplets have been lost, unless in this precursor form of *deibide*, the basic unit was not the quatrain but the couplet. The capital letters are found with: ***B**a mol* (two lines seem to have dropped out here), found in §4(a)15 in the present edition, ***L**ia* §4(b)17, ***C**ain* §4(c)21, ***S**ella[th]* §4(d)25, ***A**cht* §4(e)29, ***C**uire* §4(f)33, ***F**oruer* §4(g)37, ***D**o Dāil* §4(g)39, (this could be a mistake, as there are six lines between *do dail* and the following capital, *fri hAilill*, and the variant versions have capitalized ***M**ebais* (*memaid* in this text, line §4(h)41), ***F**ri hAilill* §4(i)45, ***D**o-aisbenad* §4(j)49, ***K**ach* §4(k)53, ***IS** formach* §4(l)57 (two lines may have dropped out here], ***N**ī-thā* [again, two lines seem to have dropped out here] §4(m)59, ***N**i fil* §4(n)61 and ***B**a moo* §4(o)65.

When these capitals stand at the beginning of a line, they are written in the margin. There is no decoration of the text, such as colouring or drawings in the margin.

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[32] Digital photographs of the manuscript can be accessed through the *Early Manuscripts at Oxford University* project http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=mslaudmisc610 (2 September 2004). This project can be accessed via the ISOS website, by selecting 'links' (20 August 2007).

[33] For a detailed description of the manuscript and of its date of compilation, see Dillon 1960. For the identification of Seaán Buidhe Ó Cléirigh as the scribe of our text, see Dillon 1960: 68.

[34] The square bracket is present in the manuscript.

2. Variant versions

BB: Book of Ballymote (Royal Irish Academy 23 P 12), pp. 169b20 - 170a12 (= folio 96r°b20 – 96v°a12)[35]

Vellum, end of fourteenth century. The manuscript has three principal scribes: Solam Ó Droma, Robertus mac Sithigh and Magnus Ó Duibhghennáin.[36] According to Tomás Ó Concheanainn, BB was compiled during the reign and under the patronage of Tomultach mac Taidg Meic Donnchaid, who was king of Tír Ailella from 1383 to 1397.[37]

This manuscript contains the initial prose section, followed by a genealogy of the Corco Óche, not in Laud,[38] and seven-and-a-half quatrains of the poem *Ba mol Mídend midlaige*. The poem ends with a quatrain, not found in Laud, that appears to have been added in order to provide a *dúnad*. After this, BB has a version of the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, introduced with the words *conad don tomaidm cetna ro can fili seo sis*, 'so that it is of the same eruption that a poet sang the following'.

The scribe frequently writes a hair-stroke over the letter *i*, probably to enable the reader to distinguish the *i* from other letters, since it mainly occurs when the *i* forms part of a series of minims – that is to say, in a position where confusion could arise.

Our text is introduced by the sentence *do Corco hOicae ann so*, written above the text in a smaller hand. The genealogy of the Corco Óche is introduced with *do genelach Corco Oiche and so*, also in a smaller hand. The end of the first prose section, and the end of the genealogical list is marked in the manuscript. In addition, capital letters are used at the beginning of the initial prose section (*Cúis*, with an ornamented capital), the first name in the genealogical list ***F**iandgos*, the initial of the first word of the poem, ***B**a* (again an ornamented capital), and the quatrains beginning ***C**ain, **S**ell, **ACHT**,*[39] ***C**uíri,*[40] ***F**ofuair, **M**ebais* and ***N**ī*. The text is clearly legible.

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[35] The manuscript can be consulted online as part of the *Irish Script on Screen* project, www.isos.dias.ie (2 September 2004). For a description of the manuscript, see O'Rahilly, Mulchrone et al. Dublin 1926-70, vol xiii: 1610-16.

[36] *RIA Catalogue* xiii: 1610.

[37] See Ó Concheanainn 1973: 78 and 1980: 56.

[38] The genealogies found in BB and Lec are more elaborate versions than the genealogy of the Corco Óche found in LL 327e35-47 (Best et al. 1954-83, vol. vi: 1425); the text from LL has also been published in *CGH*: 393.

[39] This word is represented in the manuscript by a capital S with a suspension stroke over it.

Lec: Book of Lecan (Royal Irish Academy 23 P 2), fol. 125r°a1 (=134 (124r°) [271]) – 125r°b20[41]

Vellum, early fifteenth century. A description of the manuscript can be found in the *RIA Catalogue,* fasc. 13, 535, pp. 1551-56. Three scribes of the manuscript have been identified: Gilla Ísu Mac Fir Bisich, and two of his pupils, Adam Ó Cuirnín and Murchad Riabach Ó Cuindlis. Our text was copied by Gilla Ísu. According to scribal notes, Gilla Ísu was *ollam* to Ó Dubda, chief of the Uí Ḟiachrach, and began compiling the Book of Lecan before the death of Ruaidrí [mac Domnaill] Ó Dubda (ob. 1417, *AU*). He continued his work in the autumn and winter of the same year, possibly completing his transcription and the colouring of the whole by August 1418.[42]

Like BB, this manuscript has a copy of the initial prose section. It contains a genealogy of the Corco Óche that is even longer than the one in BB, and has the same seven-and-a-half quatrains of *Ba mol Mīdend midlaige* as well as the additional final quatrain found in BB. This text is not followed by the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach.

Our text is introduced by *Do Chorco hOichæ iso*, which appears in a smaller hand at the very top of the folio, with the result that at least the top of the initial *D* has been cut off. The n-stroke over the *i* of *iso* is missing. The first three words of the text itself, *Cuis toirche Chorco* (the first line of the text in the manuscript) are written in capitals.

On the whole, the text is clearly legible, with the exception of a few discolorations of the vellum, the largest of which occurs on folio 125r°b, lines 15-16. Capitals have been decorated in red and yellow. Each *ceann fá eite* (a mark indicating a section of a sentence that is to be added to the end of the next line) is also indicated in red or yellow. Dots in ink and very fine pencil lines are visible.

As for *Ba mol Mīdend midlaige*: the initial of the first word of the poem, *B*, has been capitalized and stands three lines high. After this, capitals occur in the same places in the poem as in BB (***C**ain, **S**ell, **A**cht, **C**uiri, **F**ofuair, **M**ebais* and *Nī*).

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[40] The word *cuire* does not have a long vowel or diphthong, and the use of it therefore seems to be to distinguish the letter i. In the edition, these length-marks are indicated.

[41] Digital photographs of the manuscript can be consulted online as part of the *Irish Script On Screen* project (2 September 2004).

[42] *RIA Catalogue* xiii: 1553.

PREVIOUS EDITIONS

There has been no complete edition of *De causis* to date. The following has been accomplished previously with regard to publication and translation:

- The text from Laud has been published, without translation or discussion, by Kuno Meyer in 'The Laud genealogies and tribal histories', *ZCP* 8 (1912) 291-338, pp. 307-09. The versions in BB and Lec have not previously been published. Some corrections were given by Meyer in the same volume of *ZCP*, pp. 418-19.
- A translation of the initial prose piece in Laud, and some of the verses of the poem up to and including '*marid carnn Senchind chon ind rīg*' appeared in an article by Margaret E. Dobbs, entitled 'Lough Neagh', in: *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, Third Series, volume 19, 1956: 113-115, p. 113.
- James Carney discussed a few verses of the poem in his article 'Three Old Irish accentual poems' in *Éigse* 22, 1971: 76 ff. and on page 126 of 'The history of early Irish literature: the state of research' in Gearóid Mac Eoin (ed.), with Anders Ahlqvist and Donncha Ó hAodha, *Proceedings of the sixth International Congress of Celtic Studies, held in University College, Galway, 6-13 July 1979* (DIAS, Dublin 1983) 113-30.
- Eoin Mac Neill translated a few lines from the initial prose section and a few lines from the poem in his article 'The mythology of Lough Neagh' in *Béaloideas* 2 (1929-30) 115-21.
- Osborn Bergin in 'Observations on "The mythology of Lough Neagh"', *Béaloideas* 2 (1929-30) 246-52, pp. 249-50, provided an alternative translation for two of the verse-lines discussed by Mac Neill.
- During a seminar held in 1985 by James Carney and Liam Breatnach, the poem *Ba mol* was discussed. It was never published. A copy of the reconstructed text with a few marginal notes was kindly made available to me by Liam Breatnach, and he has very kindly allowed me to use their reconstruction in this edition.

COMPARISON OF THE DIFFERENT MANUSCRIPT VERSIONS

The longest version of *De causis*, preserved in Laud, is also the one containing the most archaic forms. A comparison of the text in Laud with BB and Lec reveals that the text in Laud has the superior readings in virtually all cases. Leaving out a number of scribal innovations in BB and Lec, such as *nd* for *n(n)*, confusion of lenited *d* and *g*, falling together of vowels in unstressed [final] position, and *ea* for *e*, the following features demonstrate that the version in Laud is the earlier:

- Loss of neuter in BB/Lec: Laud: *friss**a** tuile* (§2,5), BB/Lec: *fris**in** tuili*.
- Laud has the preposition *acht* followed by the accusative, but BB and Lec no longer have this; compare Laud: *acht cla**ind** Mothaire* (§4(e)29) BB: *acht cla**nn** Mothaire*, Lec: *acht cla**nd** Mothairi*.
- The preposed genitive in Laud, *la* ***hUlad*** *n-ānrotha* (for *n-ānroth**u***) (§4(d)26) seems to have been misunderstood in the two other texts: BB *la* ***hUlltu*** *nanrathu*; Lec *la* ***hUltu*** *nanratu*.
- Laud retains the relative of the t-preterite of *orcaid* in ***orta*** (§4(e)30), but BB and Lec do not. BB: ***d'ort***, Lec: ***ort***.
- The preterite form ***fo-āca(i)b*** in Laud (§4(e)32) is replaced with the perfect ***forfagaib*** and ***forfacaib*** in BB and Lec respectively.
- Laud retains the infixed pronoun class C, whereas BB and Lec do not. Laud: ***rod-n-alt*** (§3,10) BB/Lec ***ronalt***; Laud: ***dod-í*** (§4(f)34), BB/Lec: ***do dib***.
- Laud has the reduplicated preterite form ***memaid*** (§4(h)41), BB/Lec have the later form ***mebais***.
- The consonantal group ***mr***- is preserved in Laud, but occurs in BB/Lec as ***br***-, compare Laud: ***mrogais*** (§4(h)43) with BB: ***brogais***, Lec: ***brodais***.

The fact that the version in Laud is clearly the earlier one is not the only noteworthy feature of the different versions. Most remarkably, the text of the recensions found in BB and Lec has been edited in the following manner:

- It appears that in a number of places in BB and Lec, the text as we find it in Laud has been misunderstood, or even replaced. For example, in §1,3, where Laud has *Linnmuine* ***imbu*** *thipra*; BB and Lec have *Linnmaine* ***eim bá*** *tibra*, and *Lindmuine* ***eim ba*** *tibra* respectively. Laud has the form ***dod-í*** (§4(f)34),

while BB and Lec have replaced this with ***do dib***. The Laud form ***fo-ruer*** (§4(g)37) is replaced in BB/Lec with ***fofuair***. In §4(c)22, Laud has ***i mbī*** *Eochaig mār Mac Mairedo*, whereas BB and Lec have ***baī ag*** *Eochaid mac Maireado* and ***baī ac*** *Eochaid mac Mairedho* respectively.

- In *Ba mol* §4(d)28**,** BB and Lec have replaced a verbal form at the end of the verse-line in order to restore rhyme with *Daíl* (§4(d)27) and supply alliteration with the preceding word. Laud has *i Llinnmuniu nād arrchiuir*; BB has *i* ***Linnmaine leathanchan***, and the version in Lec reads *i* ***Lindmaine lethanchain***.
- Wherever necessary, verse-lines of *Ba mol* in Lec and BB have been modified to reach the requisite seven syllables for the *deibide* metre. This occurs at least once in every quatrain. A full overview of these modifications is given under the section **Discussion of the metre** below.[43]

After quatrain §4(h), the poem in BB and Lec ends with one final quatrain, likely composed to make *dúnad* with the first word of the poem, *ba*. This quatrain is also discussed in the section **Discussion of the metre**.

In addition to this, there is a difference in content between Laud versus BB and Lec, as pointed out above in the section **Description of the manuscripts**.

There are further differences in formal detail that become clear from a comparison of the different recensions. References are to paragraphs and line numbers of the present edition, which is based on the version in Laud. Evidence of the two different strata can be gleaned from the following differences:

***I. Material in* Laud, *not in* BB *and* Lec, *and material in* BB *and* Lec, *not in* Laud**

	Laud[44]	BB	Lec
§1,4	and	-	-
	-	.i.	.i.
§2,5	it é	-	-
§2,6	aile	-	-

[43] See p. 56 f.

[44] Please note that since the Laud text doubles for the edited text in the prose sections, some formal interference was considered necessary for readability in those sections (§§1, 2, 3, the beginning of 4 and 5-7).

§2,7	-	corco oic*h*e cula	corco oichi
		b*r*eg	c*h*ula breag
§2,7	7	-	-
§2,7	-	i	i
§2,8	-	i	i
§3,10	-	.i.	.i.
§4,14	Mīdend profetauit diluuium hoc, ut Lucreth (profetauit) .cecinit.	-	-
		(extra genealogy)	(extra genealogy)
§4(b)17	-	du	du
§4(c)21	-	i	in
§4(c)22	mar	-	-
§4(d)26	ba	-	-
§4(d)27	ar	-	-
§4(e)30	ind	-	-
§4(f)34	ansu	-	-
§4(f)35	in	-	-
§4(g)38	mair	-	-
§4(h)43	bu	-	-

***II. Use of different words or forms of words in* Laud, *as compared to* BB *and* Lec**

	Laud	BB	Lec
§1,2	Acuis	Cúis	Cuis
§1,2	Corc' Ōche	corco hoice	chorco hoichi
§1,3	imbu thipra	eim batibra	eim ba tibra
§1,4	Dōeltengat*h*	dælteangt*h*aic*h*	dæeltengaig
§2,5	Corc' Ōche	corco hoic*h*e	coro oichi
§2,6	hUe Crumthir	.h. crímt*h*ai*n*d	.h. chrimthai*n*d
§2,7	i Mondornd	ímug dor*n*	i*n*mugdornaib
§2,7-8	Corc' Ōche	corco oic*h*e	corco oichi
§2,8	Corc' Ōche	corco oidc*h*e	corco oichi

§2,9	Augaine	nugai*r*e	nugairi
§3,12	é	iad	iad
§3,12	ad-lói	do la	do lai
§4(a)16	memais	tic	tic
§4(a)16	da*r*	ar	ar
§4(b)19	mruit*h*	murbruít	murbruth
§4(c)22	i*m*bī	bai ag	bai ac
§4(c)23	senchind	cind	chi*n*d
§4(d)25	fri	for	for
§4(d)28	nada*r*rchiuir	leat*h*anc*h*an	lethanchai*n*
§4(e)32	Foacaib	f*or*fagaib	forfacaib
§4(e)32	cet*h*ri co*n*cha*i*riu	ceat*ra* cuíríu	.iiii. cu*r*iu
§4(f)33	dochum	i	i
§4(f)33	dercochen	corco cean	corco chean
§4(f)34	dodí	do dib	do dib
§4(f)35	mag	muir	m*uir*
§4(g)37	Foruer	Fo fua*ir*	Fofuair

In one final case, BB and Lec also differ from each other:

	Laud	BB	Lec
§4(g)37	fota	ín ceat*h*a	in lacha

***III. Differences in grammatical cases or forms in* Laud, *compared to* BB *and* Lec**[45]

	Laud	BB	Lec
§2,5	frissa	frisi*n*	frisi*n*
§2,8	Fernmaige	ifear*n* muíg	ifearnmuig
§2,8	Slēbe Mondoirnd	isleb mondair*n*	isleib mondoirn
§3,10-11	rod-n-alt	ronalt	ronalt
§4(d)25	Sella	Sell	Sell
§4(d)26	hulad	hulltu	hultu
§4(e)29	claind	clan*n*	cland

[45] From this discussion, I omit scribal innovations, such as differences in (final) unstressed vowels that are due to the falling together of unstressed vowels in Middle Irish.

§4(e)30	orta	dort	ort
§4(g)38	tip*rai*t	tibrad	thibrad
§4(g)39	dail ocha	dal ocho	dail ocho
§4(h)41	memaid	Mebais	Mebais

The texts in BB and Lec clearly have a common ancestor.[46] Although the differences between the two texts are minor, several different readings suggest that Lec is not a direct copy of BB. This can be demonstrated by the differences between the versions listed in II above, the fact that the genealogy of the Corco Óche is much longer in Lec than in BB, and by the following tables:

IV. Words in Lec, different or absent from Laud or BB

	Lec	Laud	BB
§1,2	.i. sil eachach	-	-
	meic maireda	-	-
§2,9	tir	-	-
§2,9	.i.	-	-
§3,12	heiriu	hUiriu	uíríu
§3,12	in	-	-
§3,12	dogres	-	-

V. Words in BB, different or absent from Laud and Lec

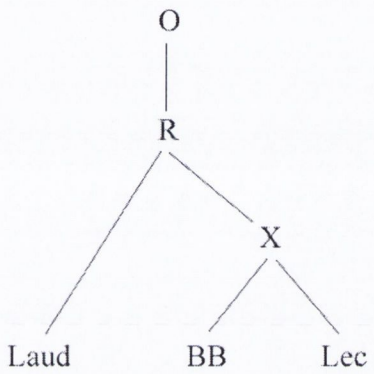
	BB	Laud	Lec
§2,5	*conair*e	conc*h*uire	conchairi
§2,6	ifea*r*andmuíg	hi Fernmaig	ifearndmaig
§2,9	bard	Baird	baird
§3,10	a	-	-
§3,10	lairíne	Láre	lairi
§4(d)25	neacac	Loch nEchach	loch neachach

[46] The strong resemblance in content in general between Lec and BB has been observed before. See for example *RIA Catalogue* xiii: 1555. According to the *RIA Catalogue*, it can be proved that, at one point , the scribes of both manuscripts copied directly from the same original (ibidem).

VI. Cases in which BB differs from Lec, in the sections absent from Laud

Genealogy:	BB	Lec
	índre*cht*ach	rechtg*us*
	fl*acht*aic*h*	fol*acht*aich
	doirbre	corpre

The stemma then can tentatively be reconstructed as follows, with 'O' as the original or archetype, R as an intermediate and X as the common ancestor for BB and Lec:



The common exemplar of BB and Lec, marked X in the stemma, may have been adapted in the Middle Irish period. One of the reasons for positing this is the fact that a preposed genitive construction (*ba scíth*) *la* ***hUlad*** *n-ānrotha* (found in Laud, §4(d)26 in the present edition). occurs in the versions in BB and Lec as *scith la* ***hulltu*** *nānrathu* and *scith la* ***hultu*** *nānratu* respectively, which indicates that at the time the exemplar of BB and Lec was written, this construction was no longer in use or perhaps even understood by the scribes. According to Liam Breatnach, this particular construction (preposition + genitive + noun governed by preposition) is found as late as *Saltair na Rann* and the preposed genitive is present in poetry of Fland Mainistrech.[47] This might point to a date for the composition of the exemplar

[47] *SnaG* III: §14.6, p. 332, and the preposed genitive itself is found as late as Fland Mainistrech who died in A.D. 1056 (Breatnach 1996: 73 n. 18), but note that Breatnach does not state whether this is the combination preposition + genitive + noun governed by preposition. Earlier, Carney concluded that the use of the preposed genitive was 'weakening in the latter part of the tenth century and was dead from about 1000 onwards' (Carney 1982-83: 202).

of BB and Lec after 1056, whereas the version in Laud must have been copied from an exemplar dating ultimately from before this period.

DATING

In trying to establish a date for the composition of a text, it is important to look at three types of evidence:[48]

1) **external evidence**, such as the date of compilation of the manuscripts containing the different recensions of our text and references to our text in other tales or tale-lists

2) **internal evidence relating to contents**, such as historical figures or events

3) **internal linguistic evidence**

1. External evidence

As stated before, the prose and poem sections of *De causis* are found in three manuscripts: Laud, BB and Lec (partial versions in the cases of BB and Lec). The earliest of these three manuscripts is BB, compiled at the end of the fourteenth century, giving us a *terminus ante quem*.

2. Internal evidence, relating to contents

In dating a text, it can be helpful to look at the historical characters and events mentioned. If a date can be established for them, they may enable us to establish a *terminus post quem* or a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of our text. In the following section, only those historical characters and events mentioned in our text that are useful in establishing a date are examined.

2a. The author of Ba mol: Luccreth

We are fortunate enough to know the name of the poet who composed *Ba mol*, the poem contained in our text. The prose section in Laud immediately preceding *Ba mol* ends with *ut Lucreth profetavit*, glossed *.i. cecinit*, 'as Luccreth has prophesied, that is, has sung'. This indicates that the poem was composed earlier than the prose section. The question that needs to be answered is of course 'who was this Luccreth?' It has been universally accepted by scholars, most prominently Carney,

[48] My consideration of external and internal evidence is based on Vernam Hull's discussion of external and internal evidence in his edition of *Noínden Ulad* in Hull 1968: 14 ff.

that this Luccreth may be identified with the poet Luccreth moccu Chíara.[49] There is, in fact, good reason for this.

As stated before, the text preceding ours in Laud contains the poem *Conailla*, which in the manuscript is ascribed specifically to the poet Luccreth moccu Chíara.[50] A comparison between the contents and language used in *Conailla* and in *Ba mol* shows that the two poems are very similar:

- *Conailla* and *Ba mol* have the same subject: the migration of ancient Ulster tribes to Munster.
- Both poems contain a number of archaic features, such as the original preverb *to* and final unstressed *–th* – although it is of course possible that both these features could be introduced (even hypercorrectly) by later copyists. Archaic features are obviously not enough to prove that both texts were written by the same poet, but it demonstrates that both poems were written around the same time.
- In neither poem is the syllabic length of verse-lines fixed, the emphasis being more on stress-patterns, though generally, the number of syllables is between six and nine.[51]
- The two poems have similar contents, connecting historical tribes with legendary characters and tales, including the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and its *remscéla*.[52]

There are two important things to consider in light of these facts:

- The fact that only the first name, Luccreth, is mentioned in our text, as an introduction to *Ba mol,* suggests that this Luccreth was sufficiently well-known not to need further identification. According to Carney, the name Luccreth is exceptionally rare.[53] The name does not occur in the annals, but there is a poet called Luccrad (for earlier Luccreth) moccu Chíara mentioned in the genealogies.[54]

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[49] See p. 25, note 24 above.

[50] See p. 25 above, and p. 25 n. 25 for the Irish text and translation ascribing the poem to Luccreth.

[51] For the length of the verse-lines in *Ba mol*, see discussion of the metre below, p. 56 f.

[52] This has been pointed out, with regard to *Conailla*, by Garrett Olmsted (1991: 337 and see 1988: 3 ff.).

[53] Carney 1971: 74.

[54] Luccreth (later Luccrad) moccu Chíara is introduced as the author of the poem *Cú-cen-máthair* in *CGH* on p. 199 in the following manner: 'Incipiunt *Dūili Sluinti na ṅGenelach ar is friu certaigter na genelaige 7 Luccraid moccu Chiara do-bretha snāithi comgne tria filidecht fōithib.*' 'Here begin the collections of lineages of the Genealogies, for it is by comparing with them that the genealogies are corrected, and [it is by] Luccreth moccu Chíara that the connecting threads of synchronisms have been

- Secondly, the fact that the text immediately preceding ours in Laud contains the poem *Conailla*, specifically ascribed to the poet Luccreth moccu Chíara, could mean that our poet is not mentioned by his full name in our text, since he was already referred to in the preceding text in the manuscript.

Taking into account the fact that the name Luccreth was very rare, the fact that a Luccreth moccu Chíara is mentioned as a poet in the genealogies, and considering the similarities between *Ba mol* and *Conailla*, I believe there are reasonable grounds for the assumption that *Ba mol* was indeed composed by Luccreth moccu Chíara.

2b. The floruit of Luccreth

Now that we have given grounds for considering Luccreth moccu Chíara as the author of our poem *Ba mol*, it is important to determine his *floruit*. This has proven very difficult. There are three elements that may be of use to us:

1. The genealogies name Luccreth moccu Chíara as the author of a versified pedigree of the Munster king *Cú-cen-máthair*, who died in AD 665.[55] If Luccreth moccu Chíara was in fact the author of *Cú-cen-máthair*, we would have to ascribe the composition of our poem to approximately the third quarter of the seventh century at the earliest. While Luccreth's authorship of *Cú-cen-máthair* seems to be largely accepted, it has been dismissed by some, most notably James Carney,[56] who placed Luccreth moccu Chíara's poems

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provided, through his poetic composition about them.' Luccreth is introduced in a slightly different manner in BB and Lec: *Luchred (Lucreth) Moccu Chiarda (Ciara) int ēges is ē do-rad in snāithi coimgni foita ind so.* 'Luccreth moccu Chíara the poet, it is he who has provided these long connecting threads of synchronisms.' (*CGH* 199). For a discussion of the term *dúil* and a translation of *dúili sluinnti* 'collections of lineages', see Russell 1988: 9-10. For the translation of *snāithi coimgne* 'the connecting thread of synchronisms', see *DIL* s.v. *snáithe* 297.30.

[55] For the date of *Cú-cen-máthair*, see Henry 1997: 53. In footnote 5 on this page, Henry provides a number of other references.

[56] Carney 1971: 67. Before Carney, Meyer also dismissed Luccreth's authorship of *Cú-cen-máthair* (1913: 52). Both claimed that *Cú-cen-máthair* was (partly) a copy of the poem *Énna Labraid*; but see Dillon 1973. Dillon dismissed Meyer's claim that *Cú-cen-máthair* must have been a copy of *Énna Labraid* due to the fact that *dúnad* was lacking (1973: 13). Dillon stated that a portion of the poems were so similar that they 'might almost be variant recensions of the same poem as transmitted by oral tradition' (1973: 12) and suggested that *Cú-cen-máthair* was the Munster recension of the genealogy, while *Énna Labraid* was the Leinster recension (1973: 13).

Conailla and *Ba mol* in a group of twelve early poems that he dated to between AD 500 and AD 630.[57]

2. Apart from the authorship of *Cú-cen-máthair*, a second element with possible importance as to the date of the poem can be found in the name Luccreth. In *CGH*, we find three persons bearing the name Luccrad (for earlier Luccreth):[58] Luccrad moccu Chíara, the Leinster poet Luccrad moccu Riadda[59] and Luccrad mac Áine (maic Ambrit) maic Imchada of the Cíarraige.[60] Carney was of the opinion that Luccreth moccu Chíara and Luccreth mac Áine of the Cíarraige were one and the same person:

> 'This Luccrad son of Áine, fictitiously or otherwise, is a descendant of Mug Airt, otherwise Cíar, son or descendant of Fergus mac Roig. Although genealogically of no apparent importance, this Luccrad [son of Áine] must have distinguished himself in some way. He is the last named of six sons, and we are told that he left no issue. Yet it is thought worth-while to give the exact location of his home: *is[s]í a ráth fil ar bélaib Cilli Cluaine andess*, 'His dwelling-place faces the church of Cluain on the south'. Being a man of no great social status, and obviously the occupier of a modest dwelling, he could bear the somewhat plebeian title: Luccreth moccu Chíara, 'Luccreth of the Cíarraige'.[61]

It may be of interest to note that the church of Clúain was likely founded by St. Ita, who is mentioned in our text in Laud. St. Ita used to be the patron saint of the Corco Óche, before their decline in power.[62] Since annalistic sources put her death at no later than AD 579,[63] it would seem that Luccrad son of Áine would have to have lived around or after that time. It would be very tempting to identify this Luccrad son of Áine with our Luccreth moccu Chíara, since he would have been connected with the Corco Óche as rulers

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[57] See for example Carney 1982-83: 177 and Sproule 1987: 199. Olmsted, on the other hand, dismissed Carney's certainty in dating the poem to ca. 600 AD, and was of the opinion that *Conailla* was more likely written after 650 AD (1991: 337).

[58] *CGH*: 676. Note that Carney states that *CGH* only mentions two examples of the name (1971: 74).

[59] *CGH*: 25.

[60] *CGH*: 299, 301.

[61] Carney 1971: 74.

[62] Later in life, Ita became the patron saint of the Uí Ḟidgeinti, apparently as a result of powershifts in Munster, during the second half of the seventh and first half of the eighth century. During these powershifts, it appears the Corco Óche were displaced by the Ui Ḟidgeinti, particularly the Uí Chonaill Gabra lost control of (among other places) Killeedy (Johnston 2000: 424). See also the textual note to §7,79, p. 126 below.

[63] This date occurs in the Annals of Inisfallen. In *AU*, her death is recorded under 570 AD For these dates, see Johnston 2000: 422.

over his area. If Carney is correct in his assumption, this would mean that Carney's date for those poems from the group of twelve early poems[64] that are attributed to Luccreth should be adjusted to around AD 570 – AD 630. The problem with Carney's suggestion for equating Luccrad son of Áine with Luccreth moccu Chíara, however, is that there is no concrete evidence to support it, and I am hesitant to accept it at this stage.

3. Finally, the element *moccu* in our poet's name might point to a date of composition before the year 700, since *moccu* seems to have gone out of use by the beginning of the eighth century.[65]

The exact *floruit* of the poet cannot, then, be established with certainty. Based on the evidence presented above, I would at this stage tentatively date this poem to the seventh century, based on the element *moccu* in the name of the poet.[66]

2c. Historical characters, events and population groups in the poem *Ba mol*

Ui Chrimthainn[67] (§4(f)33 and 36)

The population group Ui Chrimthainn is mentioned in the poem *Ba mol*, §4(f)35-36: *in cuire aile sīar tar mag / co* ***hUa Crimthain*** *hi Fernmaig.* 'The second tribe [went] westwards across the plain to the Ui Chrimthainn in Fernmag'.

The status of the Ui Chrimthainn has been discussed in an article by P. Ó Maolagáin.[68] They were the descendants of Cremthann, fourth in descent from Colla Fo Chríth. The main branches of the Ui Chrimthainn were the Clann Nadsluaigh (later known as Fir Fernmhaighe), the Clann Ceallaigh and the Síl Duibthíre.[69] The power of the Ui Chrimthainn seems to have begun to disintegrate soon after AD

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[64] See above.

[65] McManus 1997: 110-11, §6.17. See also Mac Neill 1907: 42 and MacNeill (=Mac Neill) 1911: 71-81.

[66] In an article on the Uí Derco Chéin, Margaret Dobbs referred to *Ba mol* and stated that according to Mac Neill, the poem was dated about 750 (Dobbs 1939: 113). Mac Neill, however, did not date our poem to 750, but rather a story on the migration of the Déisi (Mac Neill 1912: 411). The dating of the poem around 750 can therefore be dismissed.

[67] The (nom. sg. of the) second element of the name occurs in the genealogies as *Crimthan(n), Cremthann* and *Craumthann* (*DIL* s.v. *crimthan(n)*).

[68] Ó Maolagáin 1947. Ó Maolagáin states that in their heyday, Ui Chremthainn comprised the Clogher Valley (Co. Tyrone), all of county Fermanagh east of Erne and south of Irvinestown, Dartraighe, situated partly in Monaghan, partly in Co. Fermanagh, and the territory of the Clann Nadsluaigh or Fir Fernmaige (1947: 161).

[69] Ó Maolagáin 1947: 157.

800.[70] Since reference is made especially to the Ui Chrimthainn, we may assume that they were a *gens* of some renown at the time of composition of the poem, which would mean that we can push back composition of the poem (not even taking into account the date for Luccreth) to before 800 AD.

2d. Stylistic features in *Ba mol*

Some stylistic features are found in the version of *Ba mol* in Laud that are of some importance for the dating of the text:

Preposed genitive: *la hUlad n-ānrotha* §4(d)26

According to Carney, the use of the preposed genitive preceded by a preposition was weakening in the latter part of the tenth century, and that it was dead from about 1000 onwards[71] (Carney 1982-83: 202). This date may have to be moved forward to 1056, however, as Breatnach has provided some examples of this construction from *Saltair na Rann* and refers to the presence of the preposed genitive in the poetry of Fland Mainistrech.[72]

Adjective – preposition – noun: *cach i n-áit* §4(j)51

Carney stated this feature was 'totally abandoned after the ninth century'[73], and provided as an example *mac do Roig* for *do mac Roig*, found in *Conailla*. This interpretation of adjective – preposition – noun is also found in the reconstruction of this poem as treated during Carney and Breatnach's 1985 seminar.

2e. Elements helpful in dating the prose sections

Conall Corc mac Luigthig

In the initial prose section, in §3 of our text, a Láir Derg, foster-mother of Conall Corc, is mentioned. This is most likely a reference to an episode about the childhood of Conall Corc, as contained in the text titled 'Conall Corc and the Corco Luigde',

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[70] Ó Maolagáin 1947: 163.
[71] Carney 1982-83: 202 – he quotes this example from our text there.
[72] *SnaG* III: §14.6, p. 332 and Breatnach 1996: 73 n. 18. Breatnach cites examples from *SR* there, and states that the preposed genitive is found in the poetry of Flann Mainistrech, but he does not specify if in those poems this combination of preposition + genitive + noun is found.
[73] Carney 1982-83: 203.

now dated to the reign of Cathal mac Finguine, that is to say, the first half of the eighth century.[74]

The witch Fedelm, daughter of Moathaire of the Corco Óche, occurs in *CCCL* as Conall Corc's fostermother, and reference is made to another name of hers, Láir Derg: *Lær Derg im*murgu *ainm a muimme. Is de ba Corc mac Láre 7 dogairther* (sic) *Hui m*aic *Láre.*[75] 'The name of his foster mother, however [was] Laer Derg. Hence was [said] Corc mac Láre, and [hence, too] the Hui maic Láre are [so] called.'[76]

Compare this to our text: *Ba daltæ doib Corc mac Láre. Láir Derg do Corc' Ōche rod-n-alt; unde uocatur Ēoganacht hUī maic Láre*, 'Corc mac Láre was their foster-son (i.e. of the Corco Óche). It was Láir Derg 'Red Mare' of the Corco Óche who had reared him, whence the Eoganacht are called the Ui maic Láre'.

A further reference to the story of Conall Corc can be found in the final prose section, in §5. In this paragraph, the author reports events that happened during the lifetime of Conall Corc and his son Coirpre Lúachra (rather than Conall Corc's grandfather Ailill Flann Becc who appears in *Ba mol*). In §5, Conall Corc seems to be king of Cashel. The Corco Óche are said to have supported him in a battle against the Osairge. This is mentioned as the reason why the Corco Óche became the arch-enemies of the Osairge, and in order to ensure their safety, Conall Corc sent the Corco Óche to West Munster with his son Coirpre as their protector. This section seems to again reflect the story contained in *CCCL*: Conall Corc spent a number of years in Scotland, married to the daughter of the king of the Picts. He eventually returned to Ireland and assumed the kingship of Munster.[77] But when his reign in Cashel was most exalted, Coirpre Lúachra (Conall Corc's son by the daughter of the king of the Picts) tried to take over Conall Corc's land by grazing his horses on it, reminiscent of the legal procedure referred to as *tellach.*[78] As a punishment for killing the steward who chased off the horses, Coirpre was banished by his father to West Munster.[79] In *De causis*, this element seems to have been adapted into Coirpre Lúachra *escorting* the Corco Óche to West Munster.

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[74] See pp. 27 n. 30 above.
[75] Meyer 1910a: 57.
[76] Hull 1947: 892.
[77] Meyer 1910a: 58-59 (text) and Hull 1947: 894-97 (translation).
[78] For a description of *tellach*, see *GEIL*: 186-87.
[79] The text reads: *Intan ba haniu flaith Cuirc hi Caisiul, is and doluith a mac .i. Coirpre taris inda diaig a hAlpain. Crecais* (p. 60) *eochu isin tuaisciurt co mbui tricha marcach oc Caisiul. Scuirit hi tir Chuirc for arbur. Cartaith in rechtaire na heochu asan gurt arbæ. Attraig Carpri ara cend. Gonti*

When considering the contents of this story, it seems likely that the author of the prose sections of our text was familiar with *CCCL* or a precursor of this text. Since the information contained in *CCCL* is much more elaborate than the information in our text, it is possible that the prose sections of *De causis* were based on elements from *CCCL*. If the assumption that elements from our text were borrowed from *CCCL* is correct, the prose sections of *De causis* must be placed after the beginning of the eighth century.

Saint Ita of Clúain and the Battle of Cúil Meinde

In the final prose section, mention is made of the battle of Cúil Meinde. This battle seems to have been fought by the Corco Óche against the descendants of Maine Munchain.[80] In our text, the battle was won by the Corco Óche through the assistance of Saint Ita of Clúain-Credail, who, as stated previously,[81] died no later than AD 579. The battle, referred to in annals as the battle of Cuilen, was fought no later than AD 553.[82] These dates in themselves are not that interesting, since we already know that the prose sections of our text were written after the poem *Ba mol* was composed and possibly after *CCCL*, both of a much later date.

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hisen cui maledixit pater suus 7 docorastar huad ind-Iarmumain, act iss i Femun ba marb postea, unde dicitur Fert Carpri oc Loch Cend' (Meyer 1910a: 59-60).
'When Corc's sovereignty in Cashel was most exalted, then his son, namely, Coirpre, came across from Scotland in his wake. He bought horses in the north until he arrived, thirty horsemen strong, at Cashel. They unharnessed [them] on Corc's land [to pasture] on the grain. The steward cleared the horses out of the grainfield. Coirpre rose up against him. He slew him there.(?) His father reviled and expelled him to West Munster, but it is in Femen that he afterwards died, whence is said Fert Coirpri at Loch Cend.' (Hull 1947: 898-99).
The settlement of Coirpre in the West was also foretold by Aímend, daughter of Óengus Bolg of the Darfine, who bore Corc sons. Aímend had a dream in which she saw herself as a bird in a nest, hatching nestlings. She foresaw that three birds flew to South Munster, one to the middle of Munster, one remained home – representing the five sons she was to have with Corc. A sixth bird, representing Coirpre, settled to the west of them. See Meyer 1910a: 59, l. 20 ff. and Hull 1947: 897-98.

[80] Our text mentions the victory of the Corco Óche over *firu Érenn,* 'the men of Ireland.' I agree with Elva Johnston's statement that the expression 'men of Ireland' is used to echo the Ulster Cycle idea, namely that Ulster fought (and won) against the rest of Ireland (Johnston 2000: 423-24). Judging from the context, it seems reasonable to substitute 'men of Ireland' in the text with the kindred of Maine Munchain, that is, the Ui Ḟidgeinti.

[81] Page 39.

[82] The Annals of Inisfallen date it to AD 553. See *AI*: 72 (text) and 73 (translation): *Kl. Cath Cuille re Corc Óche per orationem Itae*, 'Kl. The battle of Cuillen [Cuilen] gained by the Corcu Oche [Óche] through the prayer of Ita [Íte]'.

The element of interest lies in who vanquished whom in battle. Whereas the Annals of Inisfallen agree with *De causis*, naming the Corco Óche as victorious, in other annalistic references they are said to have lost this battle through the prayer of Ita.[83] It is known that the Corco Óche were once a population group of some importance.[84] In time, possibly during the second half of the seventh and first half of the eighth centuries, which saw power-shifts in Munster,[85] the Corco Óche lost their prominent position to the Ui Ḟidgeinti. This is possibly echoed in the patronage of Saint Ita, who later became the protector of the Ui Chonaill Gabra, an important branch of the Ui Ḟidgeinti.[86] Since the final prose section of our text refers to the Ui Ḟidgeinti, this version of it is unlikely to have been composed before they became an important *gens*.

2f. Summary

At this point, we can state the following: based on a comparison with *Conailla*, it seems reasonable to attribute authorship of our poem to Luccreth moccu Chíara. It is uncertain when his exact *floruit* was, but the element *moccu* in his name suggests that he was born before 700 AD, which might place our poem in the seventh century. The prose sections of our text were composed after the poem, perhaps originally independently of each other. The influence of the story of *Conall Corc and the Corco Luigde*, as well as references in the final prose section to the Ui Ḟidgeinti, indicates

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[83] See previous note for the text in *AI*. The references to the Corco Óche being vanquished in the battle can be found in the following annalistic sources:

- *AT*, under the year 551 in *RC* 17 (1897): 140 (text and translation)): *K.ii. Cath Cuillne, in quo ceciderunt Corc Oichi Muman per orationem m'Ite Cluana Creadail* 'The battle of Cuillne, wherein fell the Corco Oichi of Munster through the prayer of my Ite of Cluain Credail';
- *AU*, under AD 551 (=552) (edited in Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983: 76 (text) and 77 (translation)): *Bellum Cuilne in quo ceciderunt Corcu Oche Muman orationibus Itae Cluano* 'The battle of Cuilen in which the Corco Óche of Mumu perished through the prayers of Ita of Cluain Credail';
- *CS*, under AD 552 (ed. Hennessy 1866 (reprint Kraus Reprint 1964); 50 (text) and 51 (translation)): *Kl.i. Bellum Cuillne ubi ceciderunt Corco che Muman per orationem Itae Cluana Creadan* 'Kal.i. The battle of Cuillne, in which the Corco-che of Mumham fell, through the prayer of Ita, of Cluain Creadan';
- *AFM*, under AD 546 (ed. O'Donovan 1848-51, volume 1: 184 (text) and 185 (translation)): *Cath Cuilne in ro marbadh sochaidhe do Chorc Oiche tria ernaidhe n-Ide Cluana creadhail* 'The battle of Cuilne, in which many of the Corcoiche were slain through the prayers of [St.] Ida, of Cluain-Creadhail.'

[84] See for example Johnson 2000: 424, where she referred to the text known as the West-Munster Synod in which the Corco Óche had a prominent position (for the text, see Meyer 1912: 315 ff.), and see *IKHK*: 216-17.

[85] Johnston 2000: 424.

[86] Johnston 2000: 423-24.

that the prose may have been written in the eighth century AD.[87] This leaves us with the final, and most important, step: the internal linguistic evidence.

3. Internal linguistic evidence

For the linguistic dating of our text, it is most important to consider the version in Laud, as that is the most complete, and contains markedly earlier forms than the texts in BB and Lec, as stated above.[88] The language of the text in Laud is firmly rooted in Old Irish, and indeed offers us a number of very early features and archaisms, with only a few scribal innovations. First, composition in the Old Irish period is established. When we consider the archaisms present, the date may be pushed to the Early Old Irish period.

Old Irish features

The following examples of linguistic features are consistent with a composition in the Old Irish period:

Phonology/Orthography

- Hiatus: ***fohut*** §4(m)59, ***fo-ruer*** §4(g)37; possibly ***hUe*** §2,6; ***hUa*** §4(f)36.
- *mr-* for *br-*: ***mr****a(i)th* §4(b)19 (ms. *mruith*), ***mr****ogais* §4(h)43.
- Doubling of consonants, to indicate nasalization: *i* ***Ll****innmu[i]niu* §4(d)28; *ta-****ll****ēicc* §4(i)47; *co* ***ll****ī* §4(j)49; *i* ***ll****áim* §5,73.
- Doubling of consonants, to indicate *h*-mutation and regular non-lenition: *a* ***Ll****īathmuiniu* §3,12; *fri hAilill Fland Becc do-****mm****elt a rí(i)* §4(i)45; *co* ***rr****īg nIrluachra(i)* §4(i)48.

Nouns

- Neuter gender: the neuter gender is retained in *friss****a*** *tuile* §2,5; and possibly *hūathmar* ***n****deilm* §4(g)39. The only exception is *a tri* ***cairnd*** for *a tri* ***charnn*** §3,12.
- Genitive of *i*-stems in ***–o*** confirmed by rhyme: *dō*: *Mairedo* §4(c)21-22.
- Genitive of *u*-stems ending in ***–o***, confirmed by rhyme: *mārchatho* §4(o)68 (this word is spelled *marcathu* in the manuscript, but the final ***-o*** is confirmed by

[87] This has previously been suggested in Ó Buachalla 1954: 114.
[88] See the comparison of the different manuscript versions, p. 32 above.

rhyme with *dō* §4(o)67). There is one couplet in which rhyme occurs between *fota*: *Mairetha* §4(g)37-38. Pokorny has analysed the word *fota*, stating the original form was *foto*, gen. sg. of *fut*.[89] The original rhyme *foto*: *Mairetho* may then be reconstructed.

Adjectives

- Comparative followed by dative: *maa* ***clith*** §4(e)29, *moo* ***dīc[h]rid[i]u*** §4(o)65.
- Use of the superlative *mo**am*** §5,73.

Pronouns

- Correct use of infixed pronouns:
  class A: *t**a**-llēicc* §4(i)47; *dos-fuīd* §4(i)48.
  class C: *ro**d**-n-alt* §3,10-11; *do**d**-í* §4(f)34; *con**de**-tubert* §5,73; *con**de**-gegoinn* §6,76.

Verbs

General:

- Compound verbs: no instances are found of simplification or reduction of compound verbs, and deuterotonic verbal forms are left uncontracted (*fo-ācaib* §4(e)32, *do-aisbenad* §4(j)49).
- relative form of preverbs in ***–e***: *ar**e**-rāncatar* §5,72 (discussed in *GOI* §823 'ar', and §493.4); *imm**e**-bērath* (ms. *imme-merath*) §5,75.

Future stem:

- Use of reduplicated future: ***memais*** §4(a)16.

Preterite active stem:

- Use of t-preterite: ***milt*** §4(b)20.
- Relative form of t-preterite: ***orta*** §4(e)30.
- Use of reduplicated preterite: ***memaid*** §4(h)41, *conde-**gegoinn*** §6,76.

[89] See Pokorny 1927: 458.

- Use of perfect: the use of the perfect is confined to real perfect tense and has not yet spread to situations in which one would expect a narrative preterite. There are 39 preterite forms, compared to 9 forms of the perfect.

Preterite passive stem:

- Use of preterite passive: ***to-mēt*** §4(o)67, ***fecta*** §7,79.

Substantive verb:

- The construction ***nī-thā*** §4(m)59, with an infixed pronoun with dative sense.

Archaic forms[90]

The presence of the following archaic features in the version of the text in Laud point to a composition in the Early Old Irish period:

Phonology/Orthography

- Retention of unstressed short vowels in closed syllables: *forue**r*** §4(g)37; *conde-tube**r**t*, §5,73; *conde-gego**i**nn* §6,76.
- Unstressed *–th*: *di-lega**th*** §1,3; *Dōeltenga**th*** §1,4; *Feidlimi**th*** §4(e)29-30 (all three manuscripts have Feidlimthi, but Feidlim**ith**[91] is required for purpose of rhyme with *cli**th*** §4(e)29); *imne**th*** §4(g)37; *Maireth**a*** §4(g)38; *imochi**th*** §5,74; *imme-mera**th*** (for *imme-bērath*) §5,75.

Pronouns

- Infixed pronoun C 3pl ***–de*** for ***–da***: *con**de**-tubert* §5,73; *con**de**-gegoinn* §6,76.

Prepositions

- Preposition *acht* + accusative: ***act cethra conchuiriu*** §1,3-4;[92] ***acht claind Moathaire*** §4(e)29.
- Possibly also the use of ***sethnu*** §4(k)54, which is found in earlier sources for later *sechnó, sechnón*.[93]

[90] The individual archaic forms will also be discussed in the textual notes.

[91] As Jürgen Uhlich has pointed out to me, the form *Feidlimid* would also rhyme, but since all three manuscripts contain *–th*, I have decided to adopt the ending in *-th* here.

[92] It is also possible, however, that this example should be disregarded, as Jürgen Uhlich has pointed out to me that *cethra* can also be taken as a (scribal) nominative, and the final *–u* in conchuiriu could reflect the spelling of /ə/.

Verbs

- Original preverb: ***dí**-legath* §1,3; ***dī**-legad* §4(d)27; ***ta**-llēic* §4(i)47; ***to**-mēt* §4(o)67.
- *nād* ***cumaic*** §4(k)56: 3 sg. pres. ind. prot. of *con-icc*. Archaic form (the usual form in Old Irish is *-cumaing*). See *GOI* §549.

Middle Irish features[94]

There are a number of later features in the text, which are, however, insignificant, as they are mainly orthographical and can be attributed to scribes. We must bear in mind that whereas Luccreth wrote in the seventh century, the only versions we have of his poem are found in manuscripts dated at the earliest to the end of the fourteenth century. It would be peculiar if there were no innovations at all. It is in fact remarkable that so little of the text in Laud has been modernised. Minor modernisations include the use of *nd* for *nn*, as evidenced for example in *Mondor**nd*** §2,7 and §4(h)42, riming with *ndonn*; *Slēbe Mondoir**nd*** §2,7; *cair**nd*** §3,12; *Senchi**nd*** §4(c)23; *hĒre**nd*** §4(k)54; and possibly *Aurchui**nd*** §5,69. Another modernization is *eo* for *e* before lenited gutturals in stressed syllables:[95] ***ġeo**gaind* §5,71, ***Eo**chath* §3,11; ***Eo**chaig* §4(c)22, ***Eo**chu* §4(n)64 and §4(o)66. Some occurrences of vowel confusion of *e* and *i*, and of *a*, *o* and *u* in final unstressed position occurs in prose and poetry, such as gen. sg. *Choirpr**e*** for *Choirpr**i*** §5,73.[96] In the poem, the end-rhyme shows that this is scribal and not part of the original poem, e.g. *ba scíth la hUlad n-ānrotha* §4(d)26 for *n-ānroth**u***, confirmed by rhyme with *brū* §4(d)25; *do-mmelt a rí(**i**) / do-bert-side dó Mag Tálin**e*** §4(i)45-46, with *Tálin**e*** for *Tálin**i***); *tír co **llī** / Clūain Baird maic Augain**e*** (for *Augain**i***) §4(j)49-50. There are three examples where a lenited *ṡ* is spelled with a *h*: ***h**en* §4(c)24 and §4(h)43 and *ro-**h**o*[í] *ēc*(*c*) §4(n)62.[97] In one instance, ***it** hēsom **ba*** §5,72, we find the copula in the singular, where we might expect it to be in the plural.[98] The prose has one example of Middle

[93] Thurneysen 1918: 287.
[94] For Middle Irish developments of the language, see Breatnach 1994 (hereafter *SnaG* III).
[95] *SnaG* III 3.7.
[96] See for example *SnaG* III 3.1.
[97] *SnaG* III 2.7.
[98] *SnaG* III 14.4.

Irish ***sain*** for Old Irish ***sin*** (§7,79),[99] and we find the acc. pl. *fria mbrāithr**iu*** for Old Irish *fria mbráithr**ea*** §5,69.[100]

Verbal system

The verbal system discussed is that of the text in Laud, with forms from BB and Lec given where available.

1. Present stem

Present indicative

3 sg.	abs.	Laud: *marid* §4(c)23 (BB *mairid*, Lec: *mairig*)
		BB/Lec: *tic* §4(a)16 (replacing the verbal form *memais* in Laud)
	deut.	Laud: *forraig* §4(k)55
	prot.	Laud: *-cumaic* §4(k)56

Imperfect indicative

3 sg.		Laud: *-archosced* §5,74

2. Subjunctive stem

Present ā-subjunctive

3 sg.	conj.	Laud: *-bada* §4(n)63

Past ā-subjunctive

3 sg.	deut.	Laud: *chonrualat* §4(l)58

Present s-subjunctive

3 sg.	deut.	Laud: *dodí* §4(f)34 (BB, Lec: *do dib*)

3. Future stem

f-future

rel. sg.	Laud: *baithfas* §4(l)57

[99] *SnaG* III 10.24.
[100] See *SnaG* III 5.13 for two examples of the acc. pl. in *-u* from *Saltair na Rann.*

Reduplicated future

3 sg.	abs.	Laud: *memais* §4(a)16 (replaced in BB and Lec with *tic*)

ē- conditional

3 sg.	deut.	Laud: *immemerath* §5,75

4. Preterite active stem

s-preterite

3 sg.	abs.	Laud: *mrogais* §4(h)43 (BB *brogais*, Lec *brodais*)
	deut.	Laud: *adloí* §3,12 (BB *dola*, Lec *do lai*); *foaca(i)b* §4(e)32 (BB/Lec have replaced this with the perfective form: BB *forfagaib*, Lec *forfacaib*); *talleicc* §4(i)47; *dosfuid* §4(i)48

t-preterite

3 sg.	abs.	Laud: *milt* §4(b)20 (BB: *milt*, Lec: *milt*)
	deut.	Laud: *do-bert-side* §2,9 (BB: *do beart side,* Lec: *dobertsidi*), *do-bert-side* §4(i)46; *do-mmelt* §4(i)45
	prot.	Laud: *conde-tubert* §5,73
	rel.	Laud: *orta* §4(e)30 (BB: *dort*, Lec: *ort*)

Reduplicated preterite

3 sg.	abs.	Laud: *mbī* §4(c)22 (replaced in BB/Lec with *bai*); *memaid* §4(h)41, *ġeogaind* §5,71
	conj.	Laud: *conde-gegoinn* §6,76
3 pl.	deut.	Laud: *con-baetar-sam* §6,77-78[101]

Suffixless preterite

3 sg.	deut.	Laud: *ta-n-ecomnechair* §2,5 (BB, Lec: *tan icomnacair*)
3 pl.	deut.	Laud: *are-rāncatar* §5,73

Suppletive suffixless preterite

3 sg.	deut.	Laud: *ad-bad* §4(b)17 (BB, Lec: *adbath*)

[101] See textual note, and see *GOI* §691 for the preterite of *benaid*.

Perfect[102]

3 sg.	Laud: *rod-n-alt* §3,10 (BB, Lec: *ronalt*); *-arrchīuir* §4(d)28 (BB *lethanchan*, Lec *leathanchain*); BB: *forfagaib*, Lec *forfacaib* (replacing Laud *foaca(i)b*) §4(e)32
	Laud: *do-chuaid* §4(f)34 (BB *docuaid*, Lec *do chuaid*);
	Laud: *fo-ruer* §4(g)37 (BB, Lec: *fofuair*);
	Laud: *ro gab* §4(k)53;
	Laud: *ro ho[í]* (ms. *ro hó*) §4(n)62;
	Laud: *ro bādi* §4(n)64;
	Laud: *do-ratt* §5,69

5. Preterite passive stem

Preterite

3 sg.	abs.	Laud: *fecta* §7,79
	deut.	Laud: *do-lécced* §4(c)21 (BB *doleced*, Lec *doleiced*)
		Laud: *do-aisbenad* §4(j)49
		Laud: *to-mēt* §4(o)67
3 pl.	prot.	Laud: *-tubraid* §6,77

Perfect

3 sg.	Laud: *ro bratad* §6,76

6. The substantive verb

Present indicative

3 pl.	independent	Laud: *atát* §3,12 (BB, Lec *atait*)
3 sg.	dependent	Laud: *nī-thā* §4(m)59; *nī fil* §4(n)61, §4(n)63

Preterite

3 sg.	Laud: *buí* §5,72
	BB/Lec: *bai* §4(c)22 (replacing Laud *mbī*)
3 pl.	Laud: *bādar* §5,72

[102] Please note: this lists perfective forms from all different preterite active stems.

7. The copula

Present indicative

3 sg.	Laud: *nī* §4(k)54; *is* §4(l)57, §4(l)57, §6,76, §7,79; Laud: *iss* §3,12 (BB, Lec: *is*)
3 pl.	Laud: *it é* §2,5; *it hē* §5,71; *it hēsom* §5,72

Present subjunctive

3 sg.	Laud: *manid* §4(n)61; *in*[*d*]*íd* §4(n)64

Past subjunctive

3 pl.	Laud: *amal betis* §4(j)52

Past:

3 sg.	Laud: *ba* §3,10 (BB *bada*, Lec *ba*), §4(a)15 (BB, Lec *ba*), §4(d)26, §4(o)65, §4(o)68, §5,70, §5,73; *imbu* §1,3 (BB, Lec *ba*), *nī bu* §4(c)24 (BB, Lec *ni ba*), §4(o)67, *bu* §4(h)43

Taking all of the preceding evidence into consideration, we can say that our text is firmly rooted in the Old Irish period. The various archaisms present in both prose sections and in the poem allow us to place the poem in the Early Old Irish period. This date supports the evidence found in the internal examination relating to contents, namely a possible date of the seventh century for the poem (based on the element *moccu* in the name Luccreth moccu Chíara) and the early eighth century for the prose (based on similarities with *CCCL* and mention of the Ui Ḟidgeinti).

DISCUSSION OF THE METRE[103]

Overall length of *Ba mol*

The poem *Ba mol* in Laud consists of fifty-four verse-lines, which can be divided into twelve quatrains and three remaining couplets. This division is based on the presence of capital letters in the poem.[104] *Dúnad* is lacking. This in itself is not necessarily significant as there are other early poems lacking *dúnad*. However, given the fact that Luccreth's poem *Conailla* does contain *dúnad* (the final line is a repetition of the first one), it is possible that an original final quatrain making a *dúnad* is now lost. The versions of the poem in Lec and BB consist of the first thirty-four lines of *Ba mol*, followed by a final quatrain not found in Laud and apparently composed in order to provide *dúnad*, here given with a provisional translation:[105]

BB:		Lec:
Nī ternō dui*n*e don dāi*m*		Nī thernō dui*n*e don dāi*m*
a Li*n*muin*e* leat*h*a*n*bāi*n*,		a Lindmaine l*eth*anbāi*n*
ní ternō as, lī[n]ib lā,		nī thernō as, līnib lā
acht ín ceat*r*a*r*-sa, ro*m* bā.	BAMOL	acht in ceathrar-sa. Ro*m* bā. .b.

No-one of the retinue escaped
from Linnmuine, broad and foamy,
none escaped from it, with abundance of days,[106]
except for these four, death [came] too soon.[107]

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[103] In order to distinguish between verse-lines and couplets in this discussion of the poem, different verse-lines are separated by a forward slash /; couplets are divided by a double forward slash //. When indicating rhyme between two final words, these words are separated by a colon :.

[104] See the description of Laud above, p. 28.

[105] For the additional genealogy of Echu not included in the edition, see the appendix (p 284).

[106] The expression *línib lá* 'with abundance of days' is found in §39 of a poem edited in O'Brien 1955: 46 (text) and 47 (translation). O'Brien actually omitted *línib lá* from his translation on p. 47, but translated it in a note on p. 51 of that article. I therefore take the line to mean that (except for four people) everyone drowned, and therefore nobody lived out his/her life.

[107] The phrase *rom bā* is problematic. One would expect a polysyllabic word here in order to get the rhyme stressed / unstressed, although there is an example of rhyme between stressed and stressed (basically *deibide guilbnech,* see *EIM*: 29, 68) in *Ba mol*, *áit* : *bāirc* §4(j)51 and 52 and *mbair*: *fair* §4(k)55-56. I suggest this is another example of that. There is a word *rom* 'too soon, early', usually found as predicate with the copula preceding *rom*. The vowel of the word ***bā*** has to be long in order to rhyme with ***lā***. There is a word ***ba*** 'death' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *ba*), that would fit contextually. The word *ba* in *DIL* seems to have a short *a*, but *DIL* does have one example ***baa***. Perhaps it is significant that verbal forms from the stem ***ba-*** in later manuscripts often occur with a long *á*,as ***–báth, -báthatar*** (see *GOI* § 704). Also note the word ***bás*** 'death', which may have been the verbal noun of ***ba-***, with either a long or short vowel (*GOI* §728, given in *DIL* as a hiatus verb *baïd* s.v. 1 *bás*), and the verbal noun ***bath*** 'death', which also occurs as ***baath, báth*** (*DIL* s.v. 1 *bath*).

That this quatrain is a secondary addition is confirmed by the form ***lā*** 'of days'. Originally, this word was disyllabic, but in this quatrain it is monosyllabic, as confirmed by metre.

Metre and rhyming pattern of *Ba mol*

The metre of *Ba mol* can be classified as a form of *deibide*.[108] In each quatrain, rhyme occurs between the final syllables of verse-lines a and b and again of c and d. Generally, the rhyme is between a stressed monosyllabic word (frequently with a long vowel) and an unstressed final syllable in a trisyllabic word. This pattern, x^1x^3, is found in early *deibide* poems, though avoided in the classical flowering of *deibide*.[109] In two cases we find rhyme between two stressed syllables (*áit*: *bāirc* §4(j)51-52 and *mb**air***: ***fair*** §4(k)55-56). In three cases, we find rhyme between unstressed and unstressed: (*midlaig**e***: *Līathmuin**e*** §4(a)15-16; *fot**a***: *Mairetha* (for *fot**o***: *Mairetho*) §4(g)37-38 and *dīc*[*h*]*rid*[***i***]***u***: *suid**iu*** §4(o)65-66).

The rhyme between two unstressed final syllables has prompted David Sproule's theory that rhyme in Irish poetry developed from the last syllable to the front of the word.[110] When comparing our poem to *Conailla*, it transpires that in *Conailla* most of the rhymes occur between two unstressed syllables, something which has previously been pointed out by Sproule.[111]

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[108] See p. 26, n. 27 above.

[109] Murphy stated in *EIM*: 66 that Thurneysen pointed out 'that 7^17^3 couplets preponderate in the two early examples of *deibide scaílte* from the Milan codex' (printed in *Thes. Pal.*, vol. 2, pp. 291-2). It may be noted here that the Middle Irish poem *Murgein is gein co mbúadaib*, contained in the other text edited in this thesis, is also written in the *deibide* metre, but there the basic pattern is 7^17^2. In Classical *deibide*, rhyme was strictly between words with no more than one syllable's difference.

[110] See Sproule 1987: 198-99: 'The last two poems discussed [*Nuadu Necht ní dámair anflaith* and *Nidu dír dermait dála cach ríg rómdae*] have provided us with evidence of the final unstressed syllables of words as focuses of attention for the purposes of rhyme, a feature not recognized in standard works on Irish metrics, and have indeed, in reinforcement of that idea, given us several examples of rhymes of unstressed syllables with no rhyme at all of stressed syllables. It may not be overstating the matter to say that the poems suggest a phase in Irish metrics when the attention of the poet, in creating rhyme, worked from the final syllable backwards, rather than from the stressed syllable forwards...Unstressed rhyme did of course survive in Irish verse in metres of the *deibide* type, where in a rhyming pair of words of different syllabic length one word would have stressed rhyme and one unstressed rhyme, e.g *ech* rhyming with *Luigdech*. There is always stressed rhyme in one of the rhyming words in the standard syllabic metres. But it is easy to imagine how *deibide* would have arisen, by the rhyming of words of differing length, at a time when final unstressed rhyme in both rhyming words was practised. In other words the stressed/unstressed effect would have been a secondary result originally, resulting from the rhyming of a one-syllable word (which would, of course, have given a stressed rhyme) with a polysyllable. In this metrical environment one would also expect to find rhyming polysyllables of different lengths with no stressed rhyme in either word. The poem *Ba mol Mídend midlaige*...exemplifies just such a situation.'

[111] Sproule 1987: 199-200.

Syllabic length of the verse-lines in *Ba mol*

The version of *Ba mol* in Laud

The version of *Ba mol*, as found in Laud, differs most notably from later *deibide*-poems in that the number of syllables per verse-line has not yet been fixed to seven. Carney has stated that the 'syllabic length of the line is of no importance. As the text stands, the shortest line has four syllables and the longest eleven'.[112]

Carney's statement can easily be misconstrued. It could lead one to believe that there is no fixed pattern to the syllabic length of the verse-lines, but when we look at the number of syllables, fifty of the fifty-four verse-lines in the poem contain between six and nine syllables, with heptasyllabic lines being the most common, followed by octo- and enneasyllabic lines:

Line / syllables		Line / syllables		Line / syllables	
§4(a)15	7^3	§4(f)33	9^1	§4(k)53	8^1
§4(a)16	9^3	§4(f)34	10^3	§4(k)54	8^2
		§4(f)35	8^1	§4(k)55	9^1
		§4(f)36	8^2	§4(k)56	10^1
§4(b)17	6^1	§4(g)37	7^2	§4(l)57	11^1
§4(b)18	7^2	§4(g)38	8^3	§4(l)58	9^3
§4(b)19	6^1	§4(g)39	7^1		
§4(b)20	7^3	§4(g)40	6^2		
§4(c)21	6^1	§4(h)41	7^1	§4(m)59	7^1
§4(c)22	9^3	§4(h)42	6^2	§4(m)60	8^3
§4(c)23	8^1	§4(h)43	8^1		
§4(c)24	7^3	§4(h)44	7^2		
§4(d)25	8^1	§4(i)45	9^1	§4(n)61	7^1
§4(d)26	8^3	§4(i)46	9^3	§4(n)62	9^3
§4(d)27	8^1	§4(i)47	9^3	§4(n)63	7^1
§4(d)28	7^3	§4(i)48	7^3	§4(n)64	8^2

[112] Carney 1971:76.

§4(e)29	7^1	§4(j)49	9^1	§4(o)65	7^2
§4(e)30	9^3	§4(j)50	6^3	§4(o)66	4^2
§4(e)31	7^1	§4(j)51	7^1	§4(o)67	7^1
§4(e)32	8^3	§4(j)52	9^1	§4(o)68	7^3

A table is provided below, highlighting the total number of occurrences of each syllable count per line and indicating the number of syllables of the final word:

Number of syllables per verse-line in Laud	Number of times a verse-line of this syllabic length occurs in the poem	Number of times the final word is **monosyllabic**	Number of times the final word is **disyllabic**	Number of times the final word is **trisyllabic**
4 syllables	1	-	1	-
6 syllables	6	3	1	2
7 syllables	**19**	9	4	6
8 syllables	**13**	6	3	4
9 syllables	12	5	-	7
10 syllables	2	1	-	1
11 syllables	1	1	-	-
Total	54	25	9	20

Figure 1 - syllabic length of verse-lines in Laud and syllabic composition of the final word

As can be seen from the figure above, only four lines fall outside the six to nine syllable norm. According to Carney, the shortest verse-line of the poem has only four syllables.[113] This is not necessarily true, however. Just as Meyer did in his edition of the text, Carney reconstructed the couplet in which the extremely short verse-line occurs as follows from the manuscript: *ba moo di chridiu Eochu / **rí maith suidiu***.[114] This line can also be divided as follows: *ba moo di chridiu / **Eochu rí maith suidiu***, with a preposition having dropped out before ***suidiu***, as Damian McManus has suggested to me, in order to account for the dat. sg. form *suidiu*. I would suggest supplying the preposition ***i***, giving us ***i suidiu*** 'at that time, then'[115] (*DIL* s.v. 1 *suide* 414.54 ff), possibly 'back then'. The first line of the couplet would then become ***ba***

[113] Carney 1971: 76.
[114] These verse-lines correspond to §4(o)65-66 in the edition.
[115] *DIL* s.v. 1 *suide* 414.54 ff.

moo di chridiu, with five syllables,[116] and the line with four syllables would now have seven syllables: ***Eochu, rïi maith [i] suidiu.*** Carney's view that 'syllabic length of the line is of no importance' therefore seems rather strong. It should be noted here that the number of syllables per verse-line in Luccreth's other poem, *Conailla*, also generally lies between six and nine, with a marked preference for hepta- and octosyllabic verse-lines.

The version of *Ba mol* in BB and Lec

What is most remarkable is that the syllabic length per verse-line in the version of *Ba mol* in BB and Lec has been tampered with, as mentioned previously in the section on the comparison of the manuscripts. Wherever necessary, verse-lines of *Ba mol* in Lec and BB have been modified to reach the requisite seven syllables for the *deibide* metre. This occurs at least once in every quatrain. All examples of this "editing" process, presumably the work of the author of the sub-archetype from which the versions in Lec and BB were copied, are discussed below (different words and extra syllables are marked in bold typeface - paragraph references after 'Laud' refer to the present edition):

Laud §4(a)16:	**memais** lin*n*mui*n*e **dar** liathmui*n*e
BB:	**tic** lind maíne **ar** liat*h*mai*n*e
Lec:	**tic** li*n*dmai*n*e **ar** liathmai*n*e

In the variant versions, the verbal form *memais* has been replaced with *tic*, reducing the line to eight syllables, and use is made of the preposition *ar* (for earlier *for*) which provides metrical elision to achieve seven syllables. In addition, the following editorial emendations occur for BB and Lec to attain seven syllables per verse-line:

[116] While the form *moo* can be disyllabic, Jürgen Uhlich has pointed out to me that the form *moo* (with double spelling of the vowel to indicate a long vowel) could stand for *mó* < Early Old Irish **máu* which was originally monosyllabic (compare McCone 2000: 148).

Laud §4(b)17: Lia hairim sluag adbad

BB: lia na*irea*m sluaig **du** adbat*h*

Lec: lia nairem sluaig **du** adbat*h*

The line in Laud has six syllables; BB and Lec therefore have an extra monosyllabic word in order to adhere to the heptasyllabic standard. The nasalisation after *lia* indicates that in the exemplar, the form *lia* was not interpreted as the comparative of *il* 'many', but rather as *lía*, io,n, 'flood, spate', possibly with *dū* introducing a relative clause, meaning 'where' (*DIL* s.v. dú 417.48), '[there was] a flood of numbers of a crowd (i.e. a huge number of people) on the place where it perished'?

Laud §4(c)21: Caín tir dolécced do

BB: Cain **i** tir doleced do

Lec: Cain **in** tir doleiced do

Again, Laud has six syllables. Note the use of the Middle Irish feminine article before *tir* (where a neuter article nom. sg. is expected) in Lec. BB has *i*, but this may be a mistake for *in*, with omission of the n-stroke.

Laud §4(c)22: i*m*bi eoch*aig* **mar** m*a*c mairedo

BB: bai ag eoc*h*aid m*aic* mai*r*eado

Lec: bai ac eochaid m*a*c mai*retho*

Laud has nine syllables here. BB and Lec have replaced *i mbī* 'when it slew' with *bai ag* 'which X had'. This allows for elision (with *bai ag* counting as one syllable). The length of the line is further reduced by omitting *már*.

Laud §4(c)23: marid carn*n* **sen**chind chon indrig

BB: mai*r*id carn*n* cind con i rig

Lec: mairig carn chi*n*d chon in rig

BB and Lec have *c(h)ind* rather than *Senchind* here, which makes the line in BB and Lec heptasyllabic. The meaning of the sentence also changes; rather than 'a cairn

remains for Senchenn, the king's dog', it means 'a cairn remains for the head of the king's dog'.

Laud §4(d)25:	**Sella** fri loch nechach diabru
BB:	Sell for neacac dia bru
Lec:	Sell for loch neachach dia bru

Laud has eight syllables here. In order to BB and Lec here have *sell* 'eye, glance' rather than Laud's *sella* (for *sellath*).

Laud §4(d)26:	**ba**scíth lahulad nanrot*h*a
BB:	scit*h* la hulltu nanrat*h*u
Lec:	scith la hultu nanratu

BB and Lec do not have the verbal form *ba* found in Laud, which reduces the number of syllables from eight to seven in BB and Lec. It is apparent that the preposed genitive construction found in Laud (preposition + genitive + case governed by preposition) was no longer understood by the person who wrote the exemplar of BB and Lec, since both manuscripts have replaced the genitive plural *Ulad* with accusative plural ***hUl(l)tu***. Note however that BB and Lec retain the nasalisation after *hUl(l)tu*, even though it is now ungrammatical.

Laud §4(d)27:	**ar**dilegad síl dubt*h*aig dáil
BB:	dileagad sil dubt*h*aid dail
Lec:	dilegad sil dubt*h*aich dail

For this line, the exemplar of BB and Lec has omitted the conjunction *ar* in order to arrive at seven syllables.

Laud §4(e)30:	cenel **ind**fír **orta** feidlimthi[117]
BB:	cen*e*l fir dort feidlímt*h*i
Lec:	cenel fír ort feidlimt*h*i

[117] The manuscript has *Feidlimthi.*

The line in Laud is enneasyllabic. BB and Lec omit the article *ind*, and the verbal form *orta*, 3 sg. relative form of the t-preterite of *orcaid* 'slays', has in both manuscripts been replaced by a non-relative form. The form ***d'ort*** in BB presumably stands for *do ort*, with elision of the final vowel of *do* and with replacement of *ro* with *do*.

Laud §4(e)32:	foacaib cet*h*ri **co*n****c**hair*i*u
BB:	f*o*rfagaib ceat*ra* cuíríu
Lec:	forfacaib .iiii c*ur*iu

BB and Lec have replaced *conchairiu* with *cuíríu* and *cariu* respectively in order to reduce the number of syllables by one.

Laud §4(f)33:	Cuire díb **dochum** dercochen
BB:	Cuíri dib **i** corco cean
Lec:	Cuiri dib **i** corco chean

The line in Laud has nine syllables, counting disyllabic *díb*. BB and Lec therefore do not only have the preposition *i* where Laud has *dochum*, but also take *dib* to be monosyllabic.

Laud §4(f)34:	**ansu** dodí doc*h*uaid etirc*h*en
BB:	do dib docuaid et*ir* cean
Lec:	do dib do chuaid eit*ir*chen

The line in Laud has ten syllables, with tri-syllabic *do-chuaid*. BB and Lec do not have *ansu*, giving us eight syllables. In order to arrive at seven syllables, *do-c(h)uaid* must have been taken as disyllabic.

Laud §4(f)35:	**i*n***cuire aile siar tarmag
BB:	cuire ele sia*r* dar muir
Lec:	C*ur*i aili siar t*h*ar m*uir*

BB and Lec achieve the seven syllables required by omitting the article.

Laud §4(g)37:	Foruer imneth fota
BB.	Fo fua*ir* ímnead **ín** ceat*h*a
Lec:	Fofuair imnead **in** lacha

The line in Laud is already heptasyllabic, as *fo-ruër* is a trisyllabic word. The writer of the exemplar of BB and Lec apparently understand neither the hiatus nor the verb and replaced it with disyllabic *fo-fuair*. This resulted in a line with six syllables, and in order to arrive at seven, the article was added.

Laud §4(g)38:	maidm tip*rai*t mair m*ai*c mairet*h*a
BB:	maidm tibrad m*ai*c ma*ir*eat*h*a
Lec:	maidm thibrad m*ai*c maireda

Laud has eight syllables, and BB and Lec achieve the seven syllables required by omitting *māir*.

Laud §4(g)40:	loc*h* echach dot*h*omaidm
BB:	**lac*h*a** ech*ach* do t*h*omaid*m*
Lec:	**lac*h*a** echach do thomaidm

In order to arrive at seven syllables, the versions found in BB and Lec needed on extra syllable. This has been achieved by changing *loch* to a gen. sg. *locha/lacha* and taking it with *uathmar nailm* (giving us *do dal ocho uathmar nailm lacha echach do thomaidm*, 'for the Corco Óche the terrible noise of Loch nEchach was to burst forth').

Laud §4(h)43:	mrogais cliathaire cia**bu**hen
BB:	brogais cliat*hair*e ce hen
Lec:	brodais cliathairi ce hen

In the final occurrence, Laud has an octosyllabic line that is reduced by one syllable by omitting the copula. Usually however, the conjunction *ce/cía* is found with a verb, and one would expect some form of the copula 3 sg. here – perhaps this is an elliptical construction?

Division of the verse-lines in *Ba mol* in Laud

In discussions of *Ba mol* by others, the verse-lines of our poem have often been separated by *caesura*.[118] The problem with reconstructing *caesura* in our poem is that it is often too loose to determine exactly where this *caesura* would be, and for all the rules that could be applied to the poem with regard to *caesura*, examples to the contrary can be produced.[119] Because of the problems the positing of *caesura* would cause, I have decided to omit it from this discussion.

Number of stresses per verse-line in *Ba mol*

Since there is no fixed number of syllables in our poem, it is important to consider the number of stressed words per verse-line. The total number of stresses per verse-line lies between two and five. It should be stated that in this, I am considering a trisyllabic word to have only one (initial) stress, rather than Carney's postulation of

[118] See for example the divisions of the verse-lines in Carney 1971: 76-77 and MacMathúna 1985: 304. Carney and Breatnach have posited *caesura* in their reconstruction of the poem, and their separation of the lines is shown in the edition below.

[119] One would expect to have a verse-line consisting of an initial portion of three to five syllables (with four syllables being the norm), *caesura* and then (provided that there is regular cadence in this poem) a final cadence consisting of three syllables. The pattern for this cadence would either be stressed-unstressed-stressed ('xx'x) or stressed-unstressed-unstressed ('xxx) - compare Watkins 1963: 219 and 225 ff. However, there are a number of lines where the words after supposed *caesura* are unstressed. See for example *memais Linnmuine / **dar** Līathmuine* §4(a)16 and *i Linnmag Mis / **i** murbrath* §4(b)18 (for the division of these lines, see Carney in 1971: 77). MacMathúna postulated a final cadence of either (x)'xxx or (x)'xx'x (1985: 304), which could account for the unstressed syllables. MacMathúna's solution, however, does not work for all verse-lines; see for example the verse-lines *amal [m]betis murchortaig hi [m]bāirc* (§4(j)52) and *For-raig friu Líndmaine co mbair* (§4(k)55).

Carney stated that 'There are two phrases in each line, each phrase linked to the next by alliteration' (1971: 76) and cited the first four lines of the poem as one quatrain (this is erroneous, judging from the distribution of the capital letters in the manuscript, and the two couplets should not be taken together). Alliteration, however, is not found throughout; in fact, less than half the verse-lines in our poem would alliterate across *caesura*. See for example the verse-lines *Lia hairim / slūag ad-bad* §4(b)17 (the *caesura* is indicated by forward slash as given by Carney in his article) and *co rrīg Muman / hi Femen* §4(h)44 (again with *caesura* as given in Carney 1971: 76).

secondary stress on the final syllable of a tri-syllabic word. In addition to this, I am taking Linnmuine as a compound word containing one stress:[120]

Two stresses: §4(d)28; §4(j)52; §4(o)65; §4(o)68.

Three stresses: §4(a)15; §4(a)16; §4(b)18; §4(b)19; §4(b)20; §4(c)24; §4(d)26; §4(e)31; §4(e)32; §4(f)36; §4(g)37; §4(g)40; §4(h)42[121]; §4(h)43; §4(h)44; §4(i)48; §4(j)51; §4(k)54[122]; §4(l)58; §4(m)59; §4(n)61; §4(n)63; §4(n)64; §4(o)67.

Four stresses: §4(b)17; §4(c)21; §4(d)25; §4(d)27; §4(e)29; §4(e)30; §4(f)33; §4(f)34; §4(f)35; §4(g)39; §4(h)41; §4(i)46; §4(i)47; §4(i)48; §4(j)49; §4(j)50; §4(k)55; §4(l)57; §4(n)62; §4(o)66.

Five stresses: §4(c)22; §4(c)23; §4(g)38; §4(i)45; §4(k)53; §4(k)56.

As can be seen from the above, of the fifty-four verse-lines, four verse-lines have two stresses (7%), twenty-four verse-lines contain three stresses (44%), twenty have four stresses (37%), and six have five stresses (12%).

Basic pattern of the poem

The basic pattern of the poem is then the following: while each line consists of between five and eleven syllables, they predominantly have seven, eight or nine syllables. There is a tendency for the final line in a couplet to contain more syllables than the first line, and contain a final word consisting of more syllables than the first line. Usually, each verse-line contains three or four stresses. Rhyme is found between final words of couplets. Although there are some examples of rhyme between two stressed syllables (e.g. *áit* : *[m]bāirc* in §4(j)51-52 and *mbair* : *fair* in §4(k)55-56) or between two unstressed syllables (e.g. *midlaige* : *Līathmuine* in §4(a)15-16; *Cennibræ* : *nIrlúachrai* §4(i)47-48; *dīc[h]rid[i]u* : *suidiu* §4(o)65-66), rhyme most frequently occurs between monosyllabic words in the first half of the couplet and

[120] Carney stated that 'There are normally – this may be a matter involving discussion – four stresses in the line.' (1971: 76). It appears that Carney divides the verse-line with two stresses on each side of the *caesura*, which means one has to postulate secondary stress on a final trisyllabic word in order to attain the two stressed syllables. Carney thought 'this type of rhyming trisyllable, bearing an initial stress, and a secondary stress, suggests a plausible explanation of the origin of rhyme between stressed and unstressed syllables.' (Carney 1971: 76). MacMathúna was not convinced of the presence of secondary stress. See Mac Mathúna 1985: 304: 'That there are two phrases per line in the poem is generally the case; what is questionable is the assumption that there are two stresses in both phrases in the line and that we therefore must have recourse to the theory of a secondary stress on trisyllables after the *caesura* in order to explain the genesis of *deibide*.'

[121] I take *síardes* 'south-westwards' as one word. If one takes it as two words, however, the line would have four stresses.

[122] I take *sethnu* 'throughout' as proclitic and therefore unstressed, like *dochum* (for *dochum* as proclitic, see *GOI* §858.

trisyllabic words in the second half of the couplet, in other words, between stressed and unstressed syllables (e.g. *dú* : *comaithchu* §4(b)19-20) – which is the basic pattern for the *deibide scaílte* metre.[123]

Ornamental Features

1. Alliteration

Alliteration abounds in *Ba mol*. In this discussion, I distinguish between **internal alliteration**, **linking alliteration** (*fidrad freccomail*) and finally **complex alliteration**. The different types of alliteration, with an explanation of what each type is, are discussed under separate headings below.

1a. Internal alliteration[124]

In the poem, internal alliteration, that is, alliteration between different words in the same verse-line, can be found anywhere in the verse-line, like ***m**ol **M**ídend **m**idlaige* §4(a)15, and *Memaid **s**aithe **s**carthach ndonn* §4(h)41. Alliteration sometimes occurs between the two final stressed words, as is the case in the first example just cited, and also in (for example) ***c**ēt **c**etharlíth* §4(c)24; *h**U**lad n-**ā**nrotha* §4(d)26; ***D**ubthaig **D**áil* §4(d)27 ***c**ethri **c**onchairiu* §4(e)32; ***m**āir **m**aic **M**airetha* §4(g)38; ***c**ath **C**ennibrae* §4(i)47; ***a**ugre n-**a**itherach* §4(l)58 and ***f**ohut **f**ris* §4(m)59.[125] It can also occur when the last part of a verse-line is a cheville, as in ***M**oathaire, **m**aa clith* §4(e)29.

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[123] This view has also been put forward by Mac Mathúna (1985: 304).

[124] For a discussion of the rules for (internal) alliteration in early Irish poetry, see *EIM* 36-37. Generally, alliteration occurs between the initials of two stressed words, when the initials are identical, or if both words begin in any vowel. Sounds can also alliterate with their mutated forms (so *b-* can alliterate with *mb-*), with the exception of the sounds *f-*, *p-* and *s-*, which cannot alliterate with their lenited forms.

[125] In his edition of the poem *Fo réir Choluimb céin ad-fias* that Fergus Kelly dated to the seventh century, Kelly stated that the 'later rule that only stressed words may alliterate is not in force' (Kelly 1973: 5). If Kelly is correct in this statement, the alliteration ***rí r**o bādi* §4(n)64 can be posited. Other examples of this type of alliteration in our poem are ***d**o **D**āil* §4(g)39, ***i** n-**á**it* §4(j)51 and ***bu b**ādud* §4(o)67.

1b. Linking alliteration (*fidrad freccomail*)[126]

Linking alliteration connecting verse-lines within a couplet

In most couplets, there are examples of linking alliteration. In this case, the final word of the first verse-line of the couplet alliterates with the initial (stressed or unstressed) word of the second verse-line. This seems to be found most frequently in the first couplet of a quatrain, e.g. ***m**idlaige / **m**emais* §4(a), first couplet; ***br**ū / **b**a* §4(d) first couplet; ***c**lith / **c**enēl* §4(e), first couplet; ***ll**ī / **Cl**ūain* §4(j), first couplet; ***á**it / **a**mal* §4(j), second couplet; and *dī**c**[**h**]rid[i]u / Eo**ch**u* (§4(o), first couplet.

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[126] The most elaborate description of *fidrad freccomail* can be found in Carney 1981. Carney took *fidrad freccomail* 'as the linking together of verse units, that is, stanzas, lines, half lines, or, as frequently, lesser units, by the use of corresponding sounds' (Carney 1981: 251). Carney described the different kinds of alliterative linking found in texts he dated from the sixth century to about 1100, perceiving the *Félire Óengusso* as central to any study of linking (Carney 1981: 252-53). According to Carney, the following forms of linking are found:
(a) the **initial** of the **last accented word in a unit** alliterates with the **initial of the first accented word of the unit following** (p. 253)
(b) **one** or **both** alliterating elements are **unstressed** (p. 253);
(c) **p (ph)** and **b**, **t** and **d** and **c (q)** and **g** respectively may form an alliterative link (p. 254)
(d) the **final letter** of a word may link with the **first letter** in the next unit or with the **initial** of the **first accented word** (p. 254) – the problem with this is that alliteration between the final sound (rather than letter) of a word and the first sound of the next word is rather counter-intuitive and this still remains to be proven beyond being a theory of Carney's based on a handful of cases.
(e) The initial of the **second element in a compound** can form linking alliteration, and linking 'may be secured by a more or less arbitrary division of a word or name' (p. 255)
(f) **s** may alliterate with **lenited s** (p. 256)
(g) f possibly alliterates with lenited f, but according to Carney there is insufficient evidence for such an alliteration (pp. 256-7)
(h) **s** and **z** can link alliteratively (p. 257)
(i) 'An adjective, or a defining genititve, so close to the noun it qualifies as to form with it a single concept, may be disregarded for purposes of alliteration' (p. 257)
(j) **prefixed n** may alliterate with a **radical n** (p. 257)
In the following examples, a number of alternatives are offered if linking alliteration is absent:
(k) in archaic verse, a perfect, partial or imperfect **rhyme** may be substituted for functional alliteration (pp. 257-58)
(l) quatrains without linking alliteration can be linked by **marked resemblance** (repetition, echo, parallelism) between the last line of one quatrain and the first line of the following quatrain (p. 258-59). Under this heading, Carney draws attention to what Fergus Kelly described as '**crossed alliteration**' – basically in parallel constructions, the repeated or echoed words can alliterate, e.g. ***d**ín mo **a**nmai / **d**ún mo **u**äd.*
(m) in archaic verse, a series of **three or more alliterating words** may be **broken** by a non-alliterating word (p. 259)
(n) when regular alliteration is missing between units, the poet can use what Fergus Kelly described as **compensatory alliteration**, that is, alliteration where it is not strictly necessary (p. 261). This means that for instead of linking alliteration, regular internal alliteration can occur.
(o) units can be linked by sense (p. 261).
In this thesis, I will employ Carney's interpretation of the term, and I discuss alliteration linking verse-lines, couplets or stanzas in this section. As I omit *caesura* from the edition, I do not consider alliteration within a verse-line as linking alliteration.

Linking alliteration connecting couplets

Linking alliteration between couplets (that is, between the second and third verse-line of each quatrain) occurs almost invariably: ***m**urbrath // **mr**a(i)th* §4(b)18-19; ***M**airedo // **m**arid* §4(c)22-23; *n-**ā**nrotha // **ar*** §4(d)26-27; ***F**eidlimith // **f**ūaim* §4(e)30-31; ***e**tircé[i]n // **in*** §4(f)34-35; *Mairet**h**a // **d**o* §4(g)38-39; ***M**ondornd // **m**rogais* §4(h)42-43; ***T**álini // **t**a-llēicc* §4(i)46-47; ***A**ugaine // **ō*** §4(j)50-51; ***f**ochraíb // **f**or-raig* §4(k)54-55. It is absent from §4(n)62-63: *Līathmuine // Nī fil*, but here the lack of alliteration is compensated by the parallel construction of both couplets (see the section on parallelism, p. 70 below). There is no linking alliteration in §4(o)66-67.

Linking alliteration connecting quatrains

Linking alliteration occurs between each quatrain.

1c. Complex alliteration

The concept of complex alliteration was first examined by David Sproule. His definition was the following:

> '...we will take complex alliteration as occurring between two or more stressed words in sequence and between a stressed word at the end of a line and an unstressed word at the beginning of the next line (as in normal alliteration) when the initial consonants are the same (whether mutated or not, as in normal alliteration) and the second consonants are the same. In the case of words beginning with a vowel, since such words alliterate with each other in Irish metrics, complex alliteration can be said to occur when the first consonants in the word are identical.'[127]

According to Sproule, there is sufficient evidence that complex alliteration was a feature of Old Irish accentual verse.[128] It abounds in *Conailla*,[129] but not in *Ba mol*, where examples of complex alliteration are relatively sparse and may therefore be accidental rather than deliberate:[130]

[127] Sproule 1987: 186-87.
[128] Sproule 1987: 195.
[129] For examples, see Sproule 1987: 188-90.
[130] Compare Sproule 1987: 187.

Mid**end **mid**laige* §4(a)15; ***mār** mac **Mair**edo* §4(c)22; *Sen**chin**d **chon §4(c)23; ***cēt** **cet**harlíth* §4(c)24; ***Fer**nmaig / **For**uer* §4(f)36-37; *tiprait **māir** maic **Mair**etha* §4(g)38 and ***Táli**ne / **Ta-ll**ēicc* §4(i)46-§4(i)47.

2. Parallelism

In instances where *fidrad freccomail* is absent, the lack of alliteration may be compensated for. This compensation can take different shapes, one of them being syntactic or verbal parallelism.[131] There is one instance in particular where parallelism takes the place of alliteration linking two couplets, as discussed under ***Linking alliteration connecting verse-lines within a couplet***, p. 68 above, where *Líathmuine* does not alliterate with *nī fil* §4(n), but both couplets in the quatrain begin with *nī fil*: ***Nī fil** tangnai manid hē* §4(n)61 and ***nī fil** nād bāda a chlí* §4(n)63.

[131] Carney 1981: 258-59.

EDITORIAL PRACTICE

This edition of prose sections of *De causis torchi Corc' Ōche* is based on the text in Laud, as that version is clearly the oldest, and the most complete.

The variant versions for the initial prose section are given after the Laud version, followed by a translation (there are no other versions of the final prose section).

In the case of *Ba mol*, I first provide the Breatnach/Carney reconstruction. In their reconstruction, Breatnach and Carney have provided reconstructions for three quatrains twice. This is why I distinguish between Breatnach/Carney A and B (B representing the second reconstruction of the three quatrains). Next to their reconstruction I provide the fully diplomatic version of the poem in Laud, followed by the translation and the versions from BB and Lec. For the convenience of the reader and for ease of reference, I give the poem in landscape format. In addition, the following editorial conventions have been adopted:

General:

- **Line numbers** have been added to the Irish text for convenience of reference.
- **No silent expansions** have been made in the text. All expansions are given in italics. A *punctum delens* over a letter is shown in the text.
- **Lenition** indicated in the manuscript by a diacritical mark appears in the edition as an italicised *h*. In this I am following James Carney in his 1964 diplomatic edition of the poems of Blathmac.
- **Parentheses** and **square brackets** are used occasionally in the translation for purposes of elucidation. Parentheses are used for explanation, square brackets for adding words intended to make a sentence more intelligible.

Additional conventions for the prose sections:

- The **initials** of personal names, tribal names and place names are written with capital letters, as are the first words of new sentences.
- Where deemed appropriate, **punctuation** has been added.
- Some forms have been **emended**. If a letter has been added, this is indicated by the use of square brackets. If a letter is to be omitted, it has been placed between round brackets. Where something in the word itself has been changed, the word is printed

in **bold typeface**, for the reader's convenience. In the case of an emendation, the original manuscript reading is given in a footnote, and the reasons for the emendation are discussed in the textual notes.

- **Accents** present in the manuscript are indicated by an accute accent (i.e. *mór*). If a vowel is conventionally considered to be long, but this is not indicated in the text, it is marked by a macron over the letter (i.e. *mōr*).
- A **hyphen** is used after preverbal particles, like *do-beir*, infixed pronouns, and before emphasizing and demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *ros-marb-side*. A hyphen is *not* used after the particle *ro*, unless it is followed by an infixed pronoun, e.g. *ro boí* but *ros-gab*. A hyphen is omitted in combinations of conjunctions and other pronouns or particles.

Part I: Initial prose section

Laud

1 §1. De **causis**[132] torchi Corc' Ōche

2 Acuis torge Corc' Ōche - ō Loc*h* Echac*h* a **mbun*a*d*us***[133] - tomaidm Li*n*mune ta*r*

3 Līat*h*mui*n*e. Lin*n*mui*n*e imbu thipra. Loc*h* nEchac*h* ind ōr-so. Di-legath síl Dubthig

4 Dōeltengat*h* and act cet*h*ra conc*h*uiriu.

BB

Cuís toirche corco hoice oloc*h* neac*h*ach ambunad tomaidm lind mui*n*e tar liatmui*n*e lin*n* maíne eim batibra loc*h*neac*h*ac*h* inddoirsa dileagad sil[134] dubtaich dælteangt*h*aic*h* *acht* .i. ceit*h*re conc*h*uiri.

Lec

Cuis toirche chorco[135] hoichi o loch neachach ambunad*us* .i. sil[136] eachach meic maireda Tomaidm li*n*dmai*n*e tar liathmai*n*e lindmui*n*e eim ba tibra loch neachach indorrsa dileagad sil[137] dubthaich dæltengaig *acht* .i. ceithri conchoiri

On the reasons for the migration of the Corco Óche

§1. The reason for the migration of the Corco Óche - they originated in [the vicinity of] Loch nEchach - [was] the bursting forth of [the well called] Linnmuine across [the plain of] Líathmuine. When it was a well, [it was called] Linnmuine. Now [it is called] Loch nEchach. With the exception of four population groups, [all of] the descendants of Dubthach Dōeltengae were killed in it (in the bursting forth of Linnmuine).

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[132] Ms. quabsis.
[133] Ms. mbunad*h*.
[134] *i* subscript.
[135] The first three words are in larger writing.
[136] *i* subscript.
[137] *i* subscript.

Laud

§2. In cet*h*ramad conc*h*uire - frissa tuile anair ta-n-ecomnec(h)air - it é Corc' Ōche. Cruit*h*ne i*n* tr*e*s conc*h*aire (aile). Cāc*h* a leth. Ōen n-ē hi tīr hUe Crumthir hi Fernmaig, alaile i Mondornd 7 hi Cūla Breg, dia-tāt [Corc' Ōche Cūla Breg] Corc' Ōche Fernmaige 7 Corc' Ōche Slēbe Mondoirnd. In saithe aile do C*h*assiul co hAilill Flan*n* Becc, co rīg Mu*m*an. Do-b*e*r*t*-side doib Clúain Baird m*a*i*c* Āugaine.

BB

IN ceatra*m*ad *con*ai*r*e frisi*n* tuili ana*ir* tan ico*m*naca*ir* corco hoic*h*e cruí*th*e íntresco*nch*aire gac*h*alet*h*. Onæ itir .h. crímt*h*ai*n*d ifea*r*andmuíg alaili ímug dor*n* icuala b*reg*[138] diatait corco oic*h*e cula br*eg*. corco oic*h*e ifear*n* muíg 7 corco oidc*h*e isleb mondair*n*. IN sait*h*i aile do caisil[139] cohail*il*l fland bec cori m*um*an do bea*r*t side[140] doib cluai*n* bard m*a*c nuga*ir*e

Lec

IN ceathromad conchairi frisi*n* tuili ana*ir* tan icomnacair coro oichi Cruithne in tres conchoiri cacha leath Onæ itir .h. chrimthai*n*d ifearndmaig Alaili i*m*mugdornaib iculbreag diata corco oichi cula breag Corco oichi ifearnmuig 7 corco oichi isleib mondoirn IN saithi aili do chaisil[141] cohailill fland bec corim*um*an do b*e*rtsidi tir doib .i. cluain baird m*a*i*c* nugairi

§2. The fourth group – it happened to be to the east of the flood – they are the Corco Óche. The Cruithni [was] the third. Each [lived] on their [own] side [of the lake]. One of them (i.e. of the sub-divisions of the Corco Óche) [settled] in the land of the Uï Chruimthir (*recte* Uï Chrimthainn) in Fernmag. Another [settled] in Mondorn and in Cúil Breg, from whom are named [the Corco Óche of Cúil Breg,] the Corco Óche of Fernmag and the Corco Óche of Slíab Mondoirn. The other (i.e. the fourth) party [of the Corco Óche went] to Cashel to Ailill Fland Becc, the king of Munster. The latter gave them Clúain Baird maic Augaini, 'the Meadow of Bard, son of Áugaine'.

[138] *g* subscript.
[139] Second *i* subscript.
[140] *i* subscript, *d* and *e* in ligature.
[141] Second *i* subscript.

Laud

10 §3. Ba daltæ doib Corc mac Láre. Láir Derg [fo. 94v^{o} a] do Corc' Ōche rod-n-alt,
11 un*de* uocat*ur* Ēogan*acht* hUi m*aic* Láre. Mīdend drūth Eoc*h*ath m*aic* Muireda 7
12 Conbroc a chú 7 hUiriu a hingen, iss é triar ad-loí a lLīathmuiníu. A-tát a t*ri* cairnd
13 f*or* brú loc*h*a anair.

BB

bada d*h*alta doib corc m*ac* lairíne .i. lair dearc[142] do corco oic*h*e ronalt un*de*. uocat*ur* eogan*acht* .h. m*aic* la*ir*e. Midea*n*d druí*th* ech*ach* m*aic* maireada[143] 7*con*broc a c*h*u 7 uíríu aíngen isiad t*ri*ar dola aliat*h*mai*n*e atait at*ri* cair*n* forbru loc*h*a anair.[144]

Lec

Badalta doib corc m*ac* lairi .i. lairderg dochorc oichi ronalt .un*de*. uocat*ur* eogan*acht* .h. m*eic* lairi Mideand druith eachach m*eic* maireada 7 co*m*broc achu 7 heiriu a .i*ngen*. isiadt*ri*ar do lai aliat*h*mu*n*i atait at*ri* cairn*n* for bru in lac*h*a anoir dogres

§3. Corc mac Láre was their fosterson (i.e. of the Corco Óche). It was Láir Derg 'Red mare' of the Corco Óche who had reared him, whence the Éoganacht are called the Ui maic Láre. Echu mac Mairetho's fool Mídenn, his dog Conbroc and his daughter Uiriu were the three who escaped from [the outburst of] Líathmuine. Their three cairns are situated on the eastern edge of the lake.

14 §4. Mīdend p*ro*fetauit diluuiu*m* h*oc*, ut Lucreth (p*ro*fetauit) .*cecinit*.[145]:

§4. Mídenn prophesied this deluge, as Luccreth sang:

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[142] *a* subscript.
[143] Second *a* subscript.
[144] The manuscript here ends the line with a stop plus check mark.
[145] Laud here has utlu creth p*ro*fetauit, with .cc. written over p*ro*fetauit. BB and Lec omit this sentence and instead have a genealogy, which I give after the poem.

Translation	BB	Lec
'Linnmuine will burst forth across Líathmuine'	Ba mol mid a*n*d midlaide	[125r^{o}b] Ba mol midend midlaidi
was an evil-hued phrase constantly repeated by the fool	tic lind maíne ar liat*h*mai*n*e	tic li*n*dmai*n*e ar liathmai*n*e.
Immeasurable [was the size of] the host which perished	lia nai*r*ea*m* sluaig du adbat*h*	lia nairem sluaig du adbat*h*
in flooded Mag Mis in a sea-boiling:	i línd mag míssi murbrat*h*	i lind mag misi murbrath.
the incursion Lindmuine [bursting out] over [the] land,	murbruít línd mui*n*e as du	murbruth li*n*dmai*n*e as du
it ground its hardness onto its neighbours.	milt a cruas f*ri* co*m*aic*h*iu.	milt a cruas f*ri* comaichiu
Beautiful was the land which was given up to it (Linnmuine)	Cain i tir doleced do	Cain in tir doleiced do
when it slew great Echu, son of Mairith;	bai ag eoc*h*aid m*ai*c mai*r*eado	bai ac eochaid m*ac* mai*r*et*h*o
there remains the cairn of Senchenn, the dog of the king	mai*r*id carn*n* cind con i rig	mairig carn chi*n*d chon in rig
he (Echu) was not an old man of hundreds of years[149].	ni ba he ín .c. cethear.lid.	ni ba hein ced cethirlith
The Ulster warriors disliked	Sell for [170a = 96v] neacac dia bru	Sell for loch neachach dia bru
to look towards Loch nEchach from its shore,	sci*th* la hulltu nanrat*h*u	scith la hultu nanratu.
since the descendants of Dubthach the Beetle were destroyed	dileagad sil dubt*h*aid dail	dilegad sil dubt*h*aich dail
in Linnmuine, which still endures.[150]	i lin*n* mai*n*e leat*h*anc*h*an.	i li*n*dmai*n*e leathanchai*n*

[149] i.e. when he drowned
[150] 'In broad, beautiful Linnmuine' BB, Lec.

II. The poem: *Ba mol mídend midlaige*

		Breatnach/Carney A		Breatnach/Carney B		Laud
15	§4(a)	Ba mol Mídenn	midlaige	-		Bamol mídend midlaige
16		memais Linnmuine tar	Liathmuine;	-		memais lin*n*mui*n*e[151] da*r* liathmui*n*e.
17	§4(b)	lia árim	in sluag ad-bath	-		Lia hairim sluag adbad
18		i linnmaig Mis	i murbruth	-		alin*n* mag misi[152] murbra*th*
19		indreth Linnmuini	ós dú	-		mrui*th* lind mui*n*e asdú.
20		milt a chrós for	comaithchu.	-		milt acruas f*o*rcomai*th*chu
21	§4(c)	Caín tír	to-lécced do	-		Caín tir dolécced do
22		i mbí Eochu[153] Már macc	Mairetho;	-		i*m*bi eoch*aig* mar m*a*c mairedo.
23		mairid Carn Senchinn	chon ind ríg,	-		marid carn*n* senchind chon indrig
24		nibu sen cét	cetharlith.	-		nibu hencet cetharlith
25	§4(d)	Sellath fri Loch	nEchach dia brú	Sellath fri Loch	nEchach dia brú	Sella fri loch nechach diabru
26		ba scíth la Ulad	n-ánrothu	ba scíth la hUlath	n-ánrothu	bascíth lahulad nanrot*h*a
27		ar dílegad síl	Dubthaig Daíl	ar dílegad síl	Dubthaich Duíl	ardilegad síl[154] dubt*h*aig dáil
28		i Llinmuiniu nád	arrchiúir.	i lLindmuiniu nád	airrchiúir	illin*n*muniu nada*r*rchiuir

[151] Second *i* subscript.
[152] Second *i* subscript.
[153] Probably this should be *Eochaig* – see textual note.
[154] *i* subscript.

Translation	BB	Lec
Except for the kindred of Mothaire, whose renown could not be	*Acht* clan*n* mot*hair*e mo clit*h*	Acht cland mothairi mo clith
disguised, / the kindred of the man who slew Feidlimith;	cen*e*l fir dort feidlímt*h*i.	cenel f̓ir ort feidlimt*h*i.
the din of the lake [bursting out] everywhere	fuaím i lac*h*a for gac*h* du	fuaim in lac*h*a tar cac*h* du
left [only] four tribes.	f*or*fagaib ceat*ra* cuíríu.	forfacaib .iiii c*ur*iu
One of the tribes [went] to the Ui Derco Chéin,	Cuíri dib i corco cean	Cuiri dib i corco chean
[it would be] more arduous to return for someone who	do dib docuaid et*ir* cean	do dib do chuaid eit*ir*chen.
has gone [as] far away [as that],		
the second tribe [went] westwards across the plain,	cuire ele sia*r* dar muir	C*ur*i aili siar t*h*ar m*uir*
to the Ui Chrimthainn, into Fernmag.	co fua c*re*mth*ainn* i fernmuíg.	co .h. creamthai*n*d i fer*n*muig
The bursting forth of the great well of the son of Mairith	Fo fua*ir* ímnead ín ceat*h*a	Fofuair imnead in lacha
has caused enduring sorrow;	maidm tibrad m*aic* m*air*eat*h*a	maidm thibrad m*aic* maireda.
for the Dál (i.e. Corco) nÓche [it was] a terrible sound	do dal ocho uat*h*m*ar* nailm	do dail ocho uathmar nailm
that Loch nEchach should burst forth.	lac*h*a ech*ach* do t*h*omaid*m*.	lac*h*a echach do thomaidm
A group of nobles, separated [from the rest], fled	Mebais sait*h*i sc*ar*t*h*ac*h* ndo*n*d	Mebais saithi scarthach ndond
from it (Linnmuine) [and went] south-westwards to Mondorn;	uada siardeas co mug dorn*n*	uada sia*r*deas co mutorn.
a tribe, though ancient, pressed on	brogais cliat*h*air*e* ce hen	brodais cliathairi ce hen
to the king of Munster in Femen.	co ri m*um*an i femen.	co rig mu*m*an i femen

		Breatnach/Carney A	Breatnach/Carney B	Laud
29	§4(e)	acht claind Moathaire maa clith	acht claind Moíthairi - máa clith –	Acht claind mo at*h*aire maa clith
30		cenél ind ḟir ortae Feidlimith;	cenél ind ḟir ortae Feidlimith;	cenel indḟir orta feidlimthi
31		fúam ind locho dar cach dú	fúam ind lacho dar cach dú	fuai*m* indloc*h*a darcachdu
32		fo-ácab cethri conchairiu	fo-ácab ceithri conchuiriu.	Foacaib cet*h*ri co*nchair*iu
33	§4(f)	Cuire díb dochum Derco Ceín	Cuire diib dochum Derco Céin	Cuire díb dochum dercochen
34		(ansu do-d-í do-choid etircéin)	- ansu do dí do-choïd etercéin	ansu dodí doc*h*uaid etirc*h*en
35		in cuire aile siar tar mag	in cuire aile siar tar mag	i*n*cuire aile siar[155] tarmag
36		co Auu Cremthain hi Fernmaig.	co hAuu Cremthain i Fernmag	cohua c*r*imt*h*ai*n* hifernmaig.
37	§4(g)	Fo-ruër imneth foto	-	Foruer imneth fota
38		maidm tiprat máir maicc Mairetho	-	maidm tip*r*ait mair m*a*i*c* mairet*h*a
39		do Dáil Óche; óthmar ndeilm	-	Dodail ocha huat*h*mar ndeilm
40		Loch nEchach do thomaidm.	-	loc*h* echach dot*h*omaidm.
41	§4(h)	Memaid saithe scarthach ndonn	-	memaid saithe scart*h*ac*h* ndo*nn*
42		uad síardess do Mondorn;	-	huad siardes[156] do mondornd
43		mrogais Clíathaire ciabu ṡen	-	mrogais cliathaire ciabuhen
44		co ríg Mumen hi Femen	-	corrig mu*m*an hifemen

[155] *i* subscript.
[156] *i* subscript.

Translation	BB	Lec
Their king spent his time beside Ailill Flann Becc:	[Ni terno duine don daim	[Ni therno duine don daim
the latter gave him (the king of the fourth group) Mag Tálini;	a lin muine leathan bain	a lindmaine lethanbain.
his descendants abandoned him (the same king) after the battle of	níterno as liib la	ni therno as linib la
Cennibrae,	*acht* ín ceatrarsa rom ba; B A M O L;][157]	*acht* in ceathrarsa romba. B.]
[and] he sent them away to the king of Irluachair.		
[There] the Meadow of Bard son of Augaine,		
a beautiful land, was shown to them;		
[they went] from here to there [and] everywhere,		
as if they were people cast adrift in a ship.		
Each of their bands has set up a [new] branch (of the Corco Óche)		
throughout Ireland, [but they live so far apart that] a meeting is not impending.		
The confluence of Linnmuine bears down on them		
on whom (the confluence) no-one can avenge himself		

[157] For the translation of this quatrain, see p. 56 above.

		Breatnach/Carney A		Breatnach/Carney B	Laud
45	§4(i)	Fri hAilill Fland mbec	to-mmelt a rí	-	Fri hailill fland becc do*m*meltarí*i*
46		to-bert-side dó	Mag Tailini;	-	dob*er*tside[158] dó mag táline
47		ta-lléic a ṡíl	iar cath Cennibrae	-	talleic aṡíl[159] iarcat*h* cennibræ
48		to-s-foíd co ríg	nIrlóchrae.	-	dosfuid corrig nirluac*h*rai
49	§4(j)	To-aisbenath doïb	tír co llí,	-	Doaisbenad doib tír colli
50		Cluain Baird maicc	Augaini;	-	cluai*n* baird m*ai*c augai*n*e
51		ó ṡen co sen	cach i n-áit	-	oṡen cosen cac*h* inait
52		amail mbetis[160]	murchorthaig[161] i mbáirc	-	amal betis[162] murc*h*orthaig hibairc
53	§4(k)	Cach sathe diib	ro-gab cruíb	-	Kach sathe díib rogab cruib
54		sethnu Éren	- ní dál fochruíb[163] -	-	sethnu herend nidál foc*h*raib
55		for-r-aig friu	Lindmuini combar	-	fo*r*raig fr*i*u líndmai*n*e combair
56		nád cumaic nech diib	a dígail far.	-	nad cu*m*aic nech dib adigail fair

[158] *i* subscript.
[159] *i* subscript.
[160] Carney has *betis*, but *m* added by Breatnach.
[161] Carney places murchorthaig before *caesura*, but Breatnach has added two vertical stripes to indicate it should come after *caesura*.
[162] *i* subscript.
[163] Carney has written *fo chruíb*, but Breatnach has indicated that the words should be taken as one.

Translation

Now that it is a lake it will drown a great many (people)
if trouble should arise again.
It (the lake) has nothing [left] alongside it but sod,
believe it or not.
There is no treachery if it be not this:
that a small pool has spread death onto Líathmuine;
there is none whose body it (the lake) may not drown
since it has drowned king Echu.
Echu was far from a coward,
[he was] a noble king back then;
it was not a [death by] drowning that was anticipated for him:
it was the danger of some great battle (i.e. he was expected to die in battle).

		Breatnach/Carney A	Breatnach/Carney B	Laud
57	§4(l)	Is formach báidfess diib in tan as loch	-	IS forniach baithfas dib i*n*tan isloch
58		cé chon-r-úalath augre n-aitherroch	-	cechonrualat augre naitheclra*ch*[164]
59	§4(m)	ní-thá inge foüt fris	-	Nitha ínge fohut f*ri*s
60		di ris[165] ocus amiris.	-	doris 7 amhiris
61	§4(n)	Ní fil ta ngni[166] manid é	-	Nifil tangui manidhe
62		uisceán ro śoí[167] éc for Liathmuine,	-	huiscan rohóecc forliat*h*mui*n*e
63		ni fil nád báda acht	-	nifil nadbada acht
64		indid[168] Eochu rí robádath.[169]	-	inídeochu rí robadi
65	§4(o)	Ba má di chridiu Eochu,	-	Ba moo dicridu eoc*h*u
66		rí maith suidiu;	-	ríi mait*h* suidiu
67		níbu báduth to-mét dó,	-	nibu badud tomet to
68		ba gábuth nach márchatho.	-	ba gabud nach marcathu

[164] Sic, for naitherac*h*.
[165] Breatnach has written *do iris* in the left margin.
[166] Carney has *tangni* but Breatnach indicated one is to divide *ta* and *ngni* by a vertical line.
[167] Carney has *ro śó*, but Breatnach has added *–i*, giving us *ro śoí*.
[168] Carney has written *indid* after *acht* on the previous verse-line; this has been crossed out by Breatnach and moved to the beginning of this line.
[169] Carney has *ro bádath*, but Breatnach has indicated we are to take this as one word.

BB

Dogenel*ach* corco oic*h*e andso. Fiandgos 7índre*cht*ach da m*aic* ailgile m*aic* fl*acht*aic*h* m*aic* guai*r*e m*aic* lugdach m*aic* coluim cruim m*aic* cainnich m*aic* forgo m*aic* m*aic* eirc m*aic* lugdac*h* m*aic* cruind doib luígdeac*h* íngabail sin m*aic* imc*h*ada m*aic* laim*e* feola m*aic* cliat*h*air*e* m*aic* mot*h*air*e* m*aic* ferg*us*a m*aic* dubt*h*aic*h* duind m*aic* bædam bric m*aic* luígdeach luindich m*aic* c*r*imt*h*aind m*aic* ec*h*ach m*aic* feidlímíd m*aic* roso m*aic* irel m*aic* magach muindich m*aic* mænai*r*e m*aic* f*ergus*a oic*h*e q*ui et*fogai m*aic* dubt*h*aic*h* dælteangaich m*aic* lug*dach* m*aic* glasruibe m*aic* lubair m*aic* doirbre m*aic* loga sund *con*drecait fri ciarraigi.

Lec

g*enelach* corco hoichiso

Fiang*us* 7 rechtg*us* da m ailgili m fol*acht*aich m guairi m lugdach m coluim c*h*ruim m cain*d*ig m ḟorgo m meic erc m lugdach m cruind doib lugdac*h* ingabailsin m imchada m laimi feola m cliathairi m mothairi m ḟearg*us*a m dubt*h*aich duind m bædain bric m luigdeach luindic*h* m crimthaind m echach m feidlimid m rosa m ireil m magach muindich m mænairi m fearg*us*a oichi q*ui et* foga m dubthaich dæltengach m lugdach m glasruibi m lubair m corpre m loga Sund condrecaid fri ciarraidi m eithneand m donand m brat*h*a m condaich m deithi m ceu m ceilebair m boais m anboais m eb*er* m airech februaid m milead esp*ain*. Ate andso clanda airich februaid fo erind .i. ulaid 7 ciarr*aige* 7 con*mai*cne 7 corca*m*ruad 7 dal moga ruith 7 fir maigifeine 7 corco ele 7 cænraidi 7 erna 7 corqo soillgend s*h*emne 7 oda*r*raidi 7 dalnaraidi 7 dalríada 7 albanaich 7 laigsi finit do cl*anda* airic*h* *No* corco oichi 7 dailmbuain 7 dail saillne do cl*anda* ech*ach* *maic*[170] mai*redh*a a*r* slic*h*t tig*er*nni*us* m*aic* ḟollaig *maic*[171] eithriail.

[170] Lec here has .i. with a superscript *c*, but clearly *maic* is meant here.

[171] Again, Lec has *i* with superscript *c* for *maic* – for the name Ethrēl (mac Iarēoil Fātha), see *CGH* 623, and for Foliach m. Ethrēoil m. Iarēoil, see *CGH* 654.

Part III: Final prose section

69 §5. Ríí Caisil t*rā* do-ratt fond 7 grian doib hi toib Aurchuind f*ri*a mbrāit*h*riu, f*ri*
70 Cīarraige Lóchræ, ara coicill la Corc m*a*c Luigt*h*ig, ón mid ba ndalta doib. [94v°b]
71 Ar it hē ġeogaind Aurmumu ima láma īar cath Droc*h*et Meinde f*or* Osairge, hē-sa*m*
72 bād*a*r riasi*n* rīg hisin c[h]ath si*n*. 7 buí a hēcraite foraib sech cách, ar it hē-som ba
73 moam are-rāncatar and. Conde-tubert Corc i lláim Choirpre, a m*a*ic fodesin, do
74 chomairgi fríu 7 corarc*h*osced doib a crícha for cech leth, cona n-imochith im chāch
75 **imme-bērath**[172] anfir foraib.

§5. Since the Corco Óche had been spared by [Conall] Corc mac Luigthig, due to the fact that he was a fosterson of theirs, the king of Cashel (i.e. Conall Corc mac Luigthig) gave them land and territory beside Aurchonn(?), adjacent to their allies, the Cíarraige Lúachra. For it was they (the Corco Óche) whose hands Aurmumu had wounded after the battle of Droichet Meinde against the Osraige, [and it is] they (the Corco Óche) who stood before the king (i.e. fought on the side of Conall Corc) in (that) battle. And her enmity (i.e. the enmity of Aurmumu) was on them (the Corco Óche) more than on anyone else, since they (the Corco Óche) were the largest number [of men] whom they (the Osraige) had encountered there. And Corc placed them (i.e. the Corco Óche) in the hand of Coirpre, his own son, for protection, so that he might point out territory to them on all sides, and ask them about everyone who would do them an injustice.

76 §6. Conde-gegoin*n* clan*n* Mai*n*e Munchaī*n* ar ulc f*ri* clai*n*d C(h)uirc, **ōn mith**[173] ro
77 bratad flait*h* Mu*m*an seccu. Contubraid mucca cona muccaidib forru. Is de *con-*
78 baetar-sam a muiccit*h*i cona m[uc]trētaib.

§6. And the kindred of Maine Munchaín (i.e. the Ui Ḟidgeinti) wounded them (the Corco Óche) because of [the] ill will [the Ui Ḟidgeinti bore] towards the kindred of Corc, to such an extent that the kingdom of Munster had been plundered despite them (i.e. despite the best efforts of the Corco Óche). And they (the Corco Óche)

[172] Ms. immemerath.
[173] Ms. omnith.

were called pigs with their swineherds. It is for that reason that they (the Corco Óche) slew [all] their swineherds and their herds of swine.

79 §7. Is dind anglund sain fecta cath Cūla Meinde ri Corc' Ōche for firu hĒir*enn* t*ri*
80 f*or*tac*h*t nÍta Clūana 7 rl.

§7. It was as a result of that exploit that the Corco Óche fought and won the battle of Cúil Meinde against the men of Ireland, with the help of [St.] Ita of Clúain, *et cetera.*

TEXTUAL NOTES

§1,1. ***causis***

The manuscript has ***quabsis***, a unique spelling. I follow Greene and Quin in emending to ***causis*** (*DIL* s.v. *toirge*). The *De causis* phrase is formulaic; compare the title of the tale of the expulsion of the Déssi in Laud, ***De causis*** *torchi na nDéssi*. Compare also the title *De* ***causis*** *quibus exules Aquilonensium ad Muminenses adducti sunt*, which is the beginning of the text immediately preceding ours in Laud. The variant readings have the headings ***Do Corco hOicæ ann so*** (BB) and ***Do Chorco hOichæ i[n] so*** (Lec).

§1,1. ***Corc' Ōche***

The correct name of this *gens* is ***Corco Óche*** (also *Foche* or *Oiche* – see Mac Neill 1911: 66-67), but the scribe of Laud spells Corcoche throughout the genealogies. It can also be found, for example, in *CCCL* (Meyer 1910a: 57-63). Note that Mac Neill does provide an entry for the population group Corcu Ce, but in a note on the name, he states that this is perhaps for Corco Oche (1911: 66). That we are to take the eponym as Óche rather than Ce or Che is confirmed further on in this text, in *Ba mol*, when this population group is referred to as ***Dál nÓcha*** (do ***Dāil Ōcha***), §4(g)39. In *CGH* it is stated that the Corco Óche were the descendants of Fergus Foga. Fergus Foga was the result of the incestuous union between Fróechair Fortrén and his sister Óche (Óche was raped by Fróechair). Fróechair and Óche were the children of Crond ba Druí and his second wife, Findcháem of Cíanacht Glinne Geimin (*CGH* 155 and 325; see also *IWK*: 113, figures 1 and 2).

§1,2. ***Acuis***

DIL s.v. ***accais***, f. Loanword from Late Latin *occasio*, probably through Brittanic, fluctuating between i and n-declensions (*GOI* §302.3). In the glosses, ***ac(c)uis*** is used rather than ***accais***. The variant readings here have ***Cúis*** (BB) and ***Cuis*** (Lec), a different loanword, from Latin ***causa***.

§1,2. ***a mbunadus***

The manuscript has ***a mbunad*h**, with a lenition mark over the letter d. Since there

are no other instances in our text in Laud of lenited *-d* spelled *-dh*, I would suggest that the lenition mark is a scribal error for a suspension stroke, for an original ***a mbunadus***. Compare the version in Lec, which does in fact have the reading ***bunadus*** here. For this reason I felt justified in emending the text.

§1,3. ***imbu***

I take ***imbu*** as a combination of the 3 sg. past of the copula and the prepositional relative ***i*** 'in which, when' (for the meaning 'when' with examples, see Uhlich 2006: 41 n. 58). The prepositional relative ***i*** meaning 'when' occurs below in §4(c)22, and the combination of the prepositional relative and the 3 sg. of the copula can also be found later on in the text, in the form ***in[d]íd*** (see note to §4(n)64 below). That form can be rendered 'since/when it is', based on Myles Dillon's discussion of the word ***inid*** 'when it is' in his edition of *Serglige Con Culainn* (Dillon 1975: 31, n 94) and Strachan 1904a, under '**Indid, Innách**', p.12. Strachan translated the examples 'since it is', and this is also the translation given for ***indid*** in *DIL* s.v. ***i*** 7.4-7. The variant readings have ***eim ba tibra*** 'indeed it was a well', seemingly misunderstanding ***imbu***.

§1,3. ***ind ōr-so***

The word ***ór*** 'hour' used with the article and demonstrative is equivalent to an adverb of time, with the meaning 'now' (*DIL* s.v. 2 *úar* 33.80-81, and see also s.v *indorsa*). The expected form of this, however, would have been *ind óir-se*. BB retains the palatal ending in ***inddoirsa***. Lec has ***indorrsa***, but the first r is possibly a copying error for earlier *indoirsa*. Note however that the form *indorsa* is found as early as Wb $12^{c}35$, $14^{d}28$. It is perhaps possible that the form in Laud is a later scribal form, based on *indorsa*, or simply an error.

§1,3. ***Di-legath***

Compare this with verse-line §4(d)27 of *Ba mol*: *ar* ***di-legad*** *síl Dubthaig Daíl*. Meyer suggested reading ***dīlgud*** for ***dilegad*** in that verse-line in his corrigenda to the Laud genealogies (1912: 419). However, this is entirely unnecessary if one takes the forms in both instances to be the pret. pass. sg. of ***do-lega***, with the retention of the original preverb ***dí-***. The pret. pass. sg. of ***do-lega*** is used in a very similar passage in an entry in the First Fragment of the Annals of Tigernach, which refers to the

outburst of Loch nEchach (*AT* in *RC* 16 (1895): 413 (text and translation)):

> *Tomaidim Locha Rib maic Maireda dar Mag n-Airbthen.*
> *Tomaidim Linmuine tar Liathmuine, edón Locha Echach aítt* ***dollégad síl ṅDubthaich Dóelteṅgad*** *acht Curcuf́óche namma combrathair síde in Dubthach do Ḟergus mac Roaig.*
> [<< The outbreak of the lake of Rib son of Mairid, over Mag Airbthen.
> The outbreak of Linn-múne (<< stagnum mictus >>) over Liath-muine, to wit, of Lough Neagh, in a place **where the seed of Dubthach Chafertongue**, save only the Corcu-f́oche, **was overwhelmed**. This Dubthach was a comrade of Fergus son of Roach >>]

Note that *DIL* cites our examples from Lec under *dílegud*, the verbal noun of *dílegaid*, the Middle Irish simplified verb (for Old Irish *do-lega*). If I am right in my interpretation, the examples from our text would have to be moved in the dictionary to *do-lega*.

§1,3. ***síl***

After ***síl***, o, n, nom. sg., one would expect nasalisation of *Dubthig* to *nDubthig*. However, consonant groups consisting of three or more consonants (such as ***lnd*** in our case) are frequently reduced by the loss of a consonant - especially the letter *n* between consonants. Compare for example the adjective ***álaind***, with a comparative ***áildiu*** instead of ****áilndiu*** (*GOI* §180.2 and 180.3), and see Wb.4^{c}23 *...arní asse tuidecht fritoil dé* '...for resistance to God's will is not easy', Wb.11^{b}17a *...fritoil dée...* '...against God's will...', Wb. 20^{d}1*...forsnahí comalnatar toil dáe* '...on those who fulfill God's will' 20^{d}2 *...comalnatar toil dáe* '... who fulfill God's will', where one would expect nasalization of *dé* after the acc. sg. *toil*. It is also possible that the early verbal form ***dí-legath*** was misinterpreted by a scribe as ***dílegud***, the verbal noun of the Middle Irish simple verb ***dílegaid***. The sentence would then become 'the destruction of the descendants of Dubthach', with ***síl*** as a genitive case, which would of course not nasalize.

§1,3-4. ***Dubthig Dōeltengath***

The variants retain final *–ch* in the genitive singular: *Dubtaich* (BB) and *Dubthaich* (Lec). Note the retention of ***–th*** in the gen. sg. of ***tenga***, 'tongue', t, f. The variant readings have the adjectival ***Dælteanghthaich*** (BB) and ***Dæltengaig*** (Lec)

§1,4. *act cethra conchuiriu*

The spelling ***act*** instead of ***acht*** is used extensively in the glosses, see for example Wb23^{d}5 *cách* ***act*** *tiamthe* 'every one save Timothy'. The word is used here in its original sense, as a preposition (see *GOI* §908), followed by the accusative case. This use seems to occur in very early texts, and was discussed in Binchy 1955: 79, in a note to §5, p. 79: 'As *acht* was originally a preposition (cf. Gr. [= *GOI*] §908), it may have governed the acc. [= accusative] in the earlier period of the language when used in the sense of 'except'. I have noted other instances in the archaic stratum of legal texts, e.g. *imrim eich ach*[*t*] *tri heocha* (= eochu) AL v. 474.9; cf. also iv. 194.26'.
See further Hull 1956, where he also discussed examples of *acht* + accusative. Another example of this can be found in §4(e)29 of our text: ***Acht claind Moathaire, maa clith***, where again ***acht*** is followed by an accusative. BB and Lec have ***acht .i. ceithre conchuiri*** and ***acht .i. ceithri conchoiri*** respectively. Regarding content, note that the scribe proceeds to mention only two population groups, and not four: the Corco Óche and the Cruithni.

§2,5. *ta-n-ecomnec(h)air*

This is the 3 sg. suffixless pret. act. from ***do-ecmaing***, 'happens to be', with deponent inflexion, used as an impersonal verb with an accusative, here with an infixed pronoun class a 3 sg. m. Note the retention of the original preverb ***to***-. BB and Lec have ***tan icomnacair***. The lenition of the second –c– in Laud is odd. The form *tond-echomnuchuir* with lenition occurs in the Cambrai Homily, edited in Thurneysen 1949: 36, seventh line from the bottom. However, in *GOI* §855B. it is stated one should read *-ecomnucuir*. *DIL* states that *ch* should be taken as *cc* in the example from the Cambrai Homily. Jürgen Uhlich has kindly pointed out a number of other cases from the Cambrai Homily in which this is the case: *i* ***ch****omus, ar* ***ch****ruche, ma gori****ch*** *loch* ***ch****anisin*, and has referred me to *GOI* §232.8 n., where it is stated that in the Cambrai Homily manuscript *ch* is frequently written for *c*.

§2,6. *Cruithne*

The Cruithni, usually translated 'Picts', were a group of peoples in north-eastern Ireland, consisting of the *gentes* Dál nAraide, Latharnae and the Ui Derco Chéin. Apparently, around 800, the term Dál nAraide was used for all Cruithni (*ECI*: 99).

The Cruithni also occur in *CCCL*, as Conall Corc marries the daughter of the king of the Picts (Meyer 1910a: 58 ff. and Hull 1947: 894 f).

§2,6. *tres*

Generally, the form found in Old Irish texts is ***tris(s)***, although ***tres*** occurs in Sg. 104[b]1: *.i. foxlidi* ***tresdiil*** *inso sís a nominibus tiagdde in .es.* 'i.e. these below are ablatives of the third declension, from nouns that end in –es' and in later manuscripts (*GOI* § 395). Thurneysen points out that ***tres(s)*** may be the earlier form which then survived alongside the form ***triss***, and ultimately prevailed (*GOI* § 398).

§2,6. *aile*

The phrase *in tres conchaire aile* is problematic. It is possibly a conflation of *in tres conchaire* and *in conchaire aile*. I omit the word *aile* as an error in Laud, as this makes the text more intelligible, and it is not found in the variant readings.

§2,6. *Ōen n-ē*

Ōen n-ē probably stands for OI ***óen n-aí*** one of them. See *GOI* §444 for a discussion of the form ***aí, áe, é*** and for the example ***áen n-aí*** from the Laws V 314.9, which, like our example, is nom. sg., so equally with generalized nasalisation, cf. *cechtar (n)-aí, indala n-aí* (*DIL* s.v. 1 aí 87.79 f., and 87.84 f respectively), and see the prologue of *Fél* 136 (p. 22): *ainm naich hé* 'the name of any of them'. It is also discussed by Vernam Hull in relation to *CCCL* (1947: 893, n. 16): '***Oenne*** is really two words: the numeral ***oen*** followed by the fully stressed partitive gen. 3rd pl. of the pers. pron., the normal spelling of which is ***aí*** or ***áe***.' Note that *CCCL* is found only in Laud, as mentioned on p. 27 above.

§2,7. [*Corc' Ōche Cūla Breg*]

Note that the placenames Fernmag, Cúil Breg and Mondornd occur in the text, but that Laud only mentions the Corco Óche of Fernmag and of Mondornd – so the Corco Óche of Cúil Breg seem to be missing. They are, however, mentioned in the versions in BB and Lec, which is why I have added them here in square brackets. The location of Slíab Monduirn has been plausibly identified, according to Kaarina Hollo, as Fincairn Hill, situated approximately three miles south of Castleblayney,

Co. Monaghan (see Hollo 1998: 19, n. 41, referring to an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by Gene Haley).

§2,7. *dia tat*

This form consists of the preposition ***de*** or ***di*** 'from' + relative ***a*** followed by 3 pl. conj. pres. ind. of the substantive verb (OI disyllabic ***–taat***). Note that the reading in BB has ***dia tait***, with an absolute ending, whereas Lec has a singular, ***dia ta*** (for *dia tá*). For *dia tá*, *DIL* gives the meaning 'from whom is (are)', relating to origin, descent or native place – (*DIL* s.v. 1 *de*, *di*, xxvii (a) 141.65-142.1). The verbal forms *dia tā* and *dia tāt* could also be examples of xxvii (c), where *di* + *a* + substantive verb is used to indicate the origin or derivation of a name (*DIL* D 142.13-19).

§2,9. *Clúain Baird maic Āugaine*

This placename also occurs later on in this text, in §4(j)50. The expected form would be ***Áugaini***, gen. sg. of ***Áugaine***. This is confirmed by the other occurrence, since there it has to rhyme with ***llī***. For a discussion of the name **Áugaine** and references to further literature, see Uhlich 1993: 170. Meyer stated we are to take the words ***maic Āugaine*** in Laud as ***mocu Augaini*** (Meyer 1912: 308, n. 4).

It should be noted that both Lec and BB have *Cluain Bard* ***mac Nugairi***. Compare *OG,* which has the placename ***Cluain Baird mac n-Ugaire***. Since the name Baird appears to be gen. sg., we would expect *maic* rather than *mac*. The nasalization of the initial U- in *OG* is rather odd. Perhaps then we are to read ***macu Ūgairi***, for *mac nUgairi*, with the ***n*** as an error for the ***u***. The name Úgaire/Áugaire 'shepherd' is attested in the annals (see Uhlich 1993: 171 for references), and also contains the compositional forms ***au-/u-*** for ***oí***, 'sheep'.

§3,10. *Corc*

This is the famous Conall Corc mac Luigthig, (mythical) founder of Cashel and ancestor of the Éoganacht (*IKHK* 291-95), often referred to in texts as Corc (meaning 'purple'; this epithet was given to him after he burnt his ear, for which see Meyer 1910a: 57, ll. 16-17 and Hull 1947: 893). He was conceived after his father Luigthech was put under an *áilges* by a female satirist named Bolce Banbretnach (on variants of her name, see Sproule 1985: 12 n.6). The earliest version of the *compert*

story of Conall Corc is the text *CCCL* (Sproule 1985: 12). An overview of the other sources and stories about Conall Corc is given in Sproule 1985: 11 n. 3. For a discussion of *áilges*, either a *geis* which would bring disgrace if refused or a *geis* imposed to fulfill someone's desire depending on the interpretation of the element *ail/áil*, see textual notes to §2,6 in *AE* below, p. 199.

§3,10. *Láir Derg*

In our text, Láir Derg is named as Conall Corc's foster-mother. In *CCCL*, both Láir Derg and Fedelm are given as names of Conall Corc's foster-mother:

> ***Fedelm*** *ingen Moethaire de Chorco Che, ind aimmit,* ***muimme*** *Chonaill Chuirc maic Luigthig. ...* ***Lær Derg*** *immurgu ainm a* ***muimme*** (Meyer 1910a: 57).
> 'Fedelm the witch, daughter of Moethaire of Corco Che, [was] the foster mother of Conall Corc mac Luigthig. ... The name of his foster mother, however, [was] Laer Derg' (Hull 1947: 892).

In footnote 6 on the same page, Hull states that Láir Derg was Fedelm's nickname, and it does indeed appear that in *CCCL*, the two names are used for the same person, since both Fedelm and Láir Derg appear to be referred to as *ind aimmit* 'the witch', see Meyer 1910a: 57 (text) and Hull 1947: 892 (translation). Sproule pointed out that Láir is only mentioned at the beginning of *CCCL*, in the above example, and after that does not appear again. According to Sproule, this caused a problem with redactors trying to determine what Láir's relationship to the other figures in the story was. As a result, Láir was accorded different roles in different texts, such as Corc's mother and as Fedelm's sister (Sproule 1985: 14). In our text, there is no mention of Fedelm, only of Láir, as is the case in the poem *A rí ríchid réidig dam* (edited in Best, Bergin, O'Brien and O'Sullivan vol. 3 (1957): 587, and see Sproule 1985: 14). Finally, both Láir and Fedelm are dropped from the story in *An Leabhar Muimhneach* (Sproule 1985: 14).

§3,10. *rod-n-alt*

This is the 3 sg. of the perfect of ***ailid*** 'rears', formed on the t-preterite (*GOI* §682). Note the correct use of the infixed pronoun 3 sg. m. class C in a relative verb. The variant readings have ***ro-nalt***, possibly for ***ra-nalt***, with class A infixed pronoun 3 sg. m.

§3,11. *hUi maic Láre*

In our text, at least judging from context, the word *Láre* is intended to be interpreted by the reader as the gen. sg. of ***láir*** 'mare', i, f, later k, f. The word *láir*, however, has gen. sg. *láro*. Other explanations for the element *Láre* have been offered by Liam Ó Buachalla and David Sproule. Ó Buachalla suggested that the Éoganacht may have had an ancestor named **Mac Láire**, who was later replaced by Corc (Ó Buachalla 1952: 67-68). This view was rejected by David Sproule, who took **Láre** to be an element of Corc's father's name, based on evidence in the Laud genealogies (Meyer 1912: 303, my translation): *Ceithri maic Ailella Fla[i]nn Bicc maic Ḟīachach .i.* ***Lugaid (Lāre) Fidach*** *.i. athair Crimthaind 7 Mongḟinne. Mane Munchāini, is hūad Ui Fidginte. Dāre Cerba, is hūad Ūi Līatháin.* 'Ailill Flann Becc mac Fíachu had four sons, that is, Lugaid (Láre) Fidach, that is, the father of Crimthann and Mongḟind. Maine Muncháin, it is from him [that are descended] the Ui Ḟidgeinti. Dáire Cerba, it is from him [that are descended] the Ui Líatháin'. As Sproule pointed out, unless we divide **Lugaid (Lāre) Fidach** into two personal names, the text only mentions three people. Fidach was the father of Crimthan Már mac Fidaig, which leaves Lugaid as Corc's father (Sproule 1984: 35, but note that Corc's name is often given as Corc mac Luigthig, which suggests nom. sg. Luigthech). As another name given to Corc is Corc mac Láre, it seems sensible to follow Sproule's suggestion to divide the names as Lugaid Láre and Fidach, since in that case both Corc mac Luigthig/Luigdech and Corc mac Láre would refer to the same parental figure (Sproule 1984: 35). BB has the name Láiríne (ms. lairíne) here (cf. Láiríne, father of Dron, wife of Mug Roith in *CGH* 157,42).

§3,11. *Mīdend*

This name should probably be read as ***Mídenn***, a compound of ***mí*** and ***denn*** (ā, f), meaning 'evil-hued,' as suggested to me by Liam Breatnach. Jürgen Uhlich has pointed out to me that the form ***mídenn*** that occurs in §4(a)15 cannot be a personal name as the name in that line (Laud *Bamol* ***mídend*** *midlaige*) would have to stand in the gen. sg. (which would give us **Mídinne*), and that it seems rather a noun in the gen. pl. meaning 'of evil hues', or an adjective 'evil-hued' here. I suggest that the word ***mídenn*** from our poem was (falsely) interpreted as a personal name in the (later) initial prose section. In this light it is perhaps important to point out that the

other names given to Echu's fools are Curnán (*AE*) and Calgmael (in the genealogy of Echu in BB and Lec, which precedes our text in BB and follows it in Lec), for which see appendix below). It is possible that Calgmael was the original name of the fool, since the genealogy of Echu does mention a certain ***huiri*** (BB)/ ***hoeriu*** (Lec) as Echu's daughter, as well as a dog called Conbroc. This is of course pure speculation, however, and very likely impossible to prove.

§3,11. ***drūth***

DIL gives the meaning 'professional jester, buffoon' and states that in later texts this word was sometimes used for poet or learned man, probably through confusion with the word ***druí***; s.v. 2 ***drúth.*** The variant readings here have ***druíth*** (BB) and ***druith*** (Lec) which may be an indication of this confusion. In the law texts, a ***drúth*** was a person not responsible for his actions. In *GEIL*, Fergus Kelly explained the term ***drúth*** as either a mentally retarded person or a professional buffoon (*GEIL* 64-5), saying that the ***drúth*** might provide entertainment by telling stories or composing satirical verse (*GEIL* 204-5). In this case, ***drúth*** is clearly not used in the sense 'retarded person'.

Both ***drúth*** and ***midlach*** are used in this text to describe Mídenn. The two terms seem to be used to denote the same type of person: a professional buffoon who is also known to utter prophecies.

§3,11. ***Eochath***

The expected form here is *Echach*, with Middle Irish ***eo-*** for ***e-*** before a lenited guttural (this *Eo-* is found throughout the text in occurrences of the name Echu, but note in the placename *Loch n**E**chach*) and with an ending in ***–ch*** in the gen. sg. *Echa**ch***, found in the variants. I cannot explain the final ***–th*** in this example (the only other examples of the gen. sg. in this text are in the placename Loch n**Echach**). It may be a peculiarity of the scribe of Laud, as Bart Jaski tells me the form with *–th* is also found in *CCCL*, the story on Conall Corc found in Laud. The only form in *-th* I have been able to find in that text is the acc. sg. form ***Eochaith***, for which see Meyer 1910a: 62, line 24: *Húi Echach dano ni rucsat orbe, ar toruarith Mac Caiss a horbu i mbethu Chuirc araill Corc* ***Eochaith*** *forsna tótha dislúi,* 'The Uí Echach also did not obtain a patrimony; for in the lifetime of Corc, Mac Caiss had run (?) out of [his]

patrimony. Corc imposed (?) Eochu on the septs.' (Hull 1947: 904). Hull took this spelling as a mistake for *Eochaich* (Hull 1947: 905, n. 252).

§3,12. *hUiriu*

The name of Echu's daughter is probably to be read as Airiu, with *u* for original *a*, as in the later tradition, her name occurs as Aire/Airiu. This name for Echu's daughter can be found in *AE* (in §11,157, p. 193 below), and compare the placename *Carn Airenn* (spelled *Carnd Airend*) in §17,194 of *AE*), in the commentary on the *Félire Óengusso* for January 27 (*Fél*: 54-55) and the third fragment of the Annals of Tigernach, under the year 564 (Stokes 1896: 147). Note the variant *hEiriu* in Lec, which is found nowhere else. As stated in the note on Mīdend (ad §3,11) above, the genealogy on Echu contained in BB and Lec in a separate text refer to Echu's daughter ***huiri*** (*hUiri*?) and ***hoeriu*** (*hOeriu*?) - see Appendix for the text.

§3,12. *ad-loí*

This is the 3 sg. pret. deut. of the verb ***as-luí*** 'escapes', with an infixed pronoun 3 sg. masculine or neuter, class B. The preverb ***ess-***, when followed by a 3 sg. m or n infixed pronoun class B, changes to ***at-***, sometimes spelled ***ad-*** (*GOI* §§412 and 834). In this instance it would appear to be an infixed pronoun common with verbs of motion or alternatively a petrified infixed pronoun, which is found in later occurrences of the verb (*DIL* s.v.). The verb ***as-luí*** is used with *o, a(s)* or *de* of the person or place escaped from (*DIL* s.v.). The variant readings have ***do-lai***, which might come from ***do-lá***, 'puts away, expels, rejects', from ***do-cuirethar*** 'puts, comes', or stand for earlier ***ad-loí***, with confusion of the preverb.

§3,12. *a lLīathmuiniu*

The name Líathmuine, io, m, is generally interpreted as consisting of the elements *líath* 'grey' and *muine* io, m, 'thicket, brake' (See for example *ALLI*: 98 n. 3, O'Grady 1892: 266). See also the note on the name Linnmuine on p. 16, n. 9 above.

§3,12. *a-tát*

The form ***a-tát*** shows (basically) Middle Irish contraction of the hiatus form *a(t)-taat*.

§4,14. *ut Lucreth (profetauit) .cecinit.*

The text has ***ut Lucreth profetauit***. Meyer separated this in his edition as ***Utlu Creth profetauit*** (Meyer 1912: 307) – the mistake in the name has been corrected in Mac Neill 1912: 411 n. 2. The text has ***.cc.*** (***cecinit***) written over ***profetauit***, and adopting this in the text makes more sense: while Mídenn actually uttered the prophecy, Luccreth's poem records Mídenn's prophecy and its fulfilment. This may also have been Mac Neill's view of it, as he omitted *profetauit*, and rendered this sentence ***ut Lucreth cecinit*** in his correction (Mac Neill 1912: 411 n. 2).

§4(a)15. *mol*[174]

This word has a number of meanings. According to *DIL*, ***mol*** can mean 'axle' or 'rotation shaft', and is especially used of the shaft of a mill-wheel (*DIL* s.v. *1 mol*). It is also used for a 'constantly reiterated refrain' or 'noise' (*DIL* s.v. *2 mol*). *DIL* cites our example under *1 mol* and quotes Margaret Dobbs's translation of the line (see Dobbs 1956: 113, where she translates 'Midend was like a millshaft driven by a mill-race'). *DIL* also refers forward to *milt a c[h]rūas for comaithchu* (§4(b)20), where the metaphor is kept up. I think we can consider this as belonging to *2 mol* – a constantly reiterated noise or phrase. The sense of the verse-line is then that Echu's fool kept repeating the same phrase (*'memais Linnmuine tar Líathmuine'*) over and over. According to *LEIA* M 62, the word *mol* in the sense 'babbling' (my translation of French *bavardage*) is derived from the same root that is found in the verbal stem *mol-* (compare *molaid* 'he praises'). Originally, the root had a religious connotation, meaning 'declaim ritually, celebrate, pray', but it can also be used in an ironic and pejorative manner. Carney translated *mol* 'prophetic utterance' in Carney 1971: 76, but offered no explanation for his interpretation of the word.

§4(a)15. *Mídenn*

Since the name ***Mídenn*** is declinable, and *denn* is a feminine ā-stem, this can not be the gen. sg. of that name, but it must be a nom. sg. adjective ('evil-hued') or gen. pl. ('of evil hues') with *mol*. See the note to §3,11 above.

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[174] The textual note entries for the poem *Ba mol* have been based on the spelling in the Breatnach/Carney reconstruction. Where the spelling from Laud differs from their reconstruction, I give the Laud spelling in the note.

§4(a)15. *midlaige*

This is the gen. sg. of ***midlach***, o, m and ā, f. The gen. sg. in *–e* here points to ā, f. According to *DIL*, the term ***midlach*** might originally have been used to signify a person incapable of bearing arms, below the status of a warrior, perhaps a weakwitted person. It seems sometimes to be equated with *drúth*. Note the use of the word *drúth* in §3,11 of our text, when Mídenn is mentioned as one of the three beings to escape from the outburst of Loch nEchach (see §3,11, p. 75 above). The term ***midlach*** was probably chosen for alliterative purposes.

§4(a)16. *memais*

This is the 3 sg. of the reduplicated s-future of ***maidid***, 'breaks, bursts', formed on the s-subjunctive (see *GOI* §§ 657, 667 and 756). The variant versions have ***tic***, in order to conform to the heptasyllabic standard.

§4(b)17. *lia árim*

Laud has **Lia hairim**, literally 'more numerous than reckoning'. ***Lia*** is the comparative of ***il***, 'many', followed by a dative of comparison. On the development of final ***–a*** in the comparative degree, see *GOI* §375. Here, it is followed by the dat. sg. of ***áram***, ā, f, the verbal noun of ***ad-rími***, 'counts'. The earlier dat. sg. form *áraim* may then be reconstructed. Jürgen Uhlich has pointed out to me that the palatal –r- in Laud is the result of the Middle Irish spread of palatalisation from the genitival form *áirme*.

§4(b)17. *ad-bath*

The ending in ***–d*** in Laud (**adbad**) is hypercorrect, as ***–bad*** is a stressed syllable originally ending in ***–th*** The original ending *–th* (see *GOI* §130) has therefore been reconstructed by Breatnach and Carney and is indeed the form found in BB and Lec.

§4(b)18. *i linnmaig Mis i murbruth*

Laud has **alin*n* mag misi murbrat*h***. Liam Breatnach has suggested reading the preposition *i* 'in' for *a*, with Middle Irish confusion of *a* and *i* in proclitic words (*SnaG* III 3.29). This reading fits much better contextually than *a* 'out of'. One would expect the preposition *i* to be followed by a dative case here, and I am

following Carney and Breatnach who emended to *linnma**ig***. There is no placename Linnmag Mis – but there is a Mag Mis (Mag Mhís) mentioned in *OG*, which appears to be located near Slíab Mis. This Slíab Mis must in this case be present Slemish in Antrim, rather than present Slieve Mish in Kerry, as the Mag Mis referred to in our text seems to be equivalent to Líathmuine, or at least refers to the place over which Loch nEchach is now situated. We are then to take *linnma[i]g* as a compound consisting of *linn* 'pool, lake' and *mag* 'plain'. The meaning of *i linn-Ma[i]g Mis* is then 'in the pool-plain of Mis' (as Carney translated in 1971: 76), or perhaps better 'in flooded Mag Mis'. It is noteworthy that the Mis after whom the Slíab Mis in Kerry is named is presented in the metrical *dindshenchas* as the daughter of Mairid mac Cairedo, and therefore is the sister of our Echu and Rí (*M. Ds.* iii: 240 (text) and 241 (translation)).

§4(b)18. *murbruth*

All three manuscripts have *murbrath*. Breatnach and Carney interpreted this as *murbruth* 'sea-boiling' in their seminar. This would require emendation of *brath* to *bruth*. Emendation is unnecessary here, however, as there is a word *brath*, of which the earlier form is *mrath*, o, n, 'the act of betraying, deceiving' (*DIL* s.v. *mrath* – in a reconstruction of the text, one would restore *murmrath* here). The word *murmrath* 'sea-betrayal' fits contextually. I take the 'sea-betrayal' to mean that Echu was unable to die a honourable death on the battlefield, but was drowned. Compare the end of the poem, where it is stated that Echu was expected to die in an important battle rather than by drowning (§4(o)67-68).

§4(b)19. *indreth*

Laud has **mruit*h***. Meyer has *inriuth* in his edition of the text (Meyer 1912: 308; for the meaning of *inriuth*, 'devastation, laying waste' see *DIL* s.v. ***indred***), and Breatnach and Carney emended to *indreth* in their 1985 reconstruction. I would like to offer another explanation that is closer to the text from the manuscript. There are some examples in our text where there may be confusion of the letters *a* and *u* in stressed position, perhaps due to misreading of an open *a* (a possible example of this is the initial of the name *Uiriu* §3,12). This may be another occurrence of this, and I would suggest emending the initial word of §4(c) to ***mra(i)th***. Not only do we then

have linking alliteration, we actually have a repetition of the word *mrath*: ***mur*mrath / *mra(i)th***, and a parallel construction: *murmrath* and *mrath Linnmuini*, a betrayal by the sea and a betrayal by Linnmuine. Note that the other manuscripts have *murbruít* (BB) *murbruth* (Lec) for *mruith*, echoing *murbrath*.

§4(b)19. *Linnmuini*

Laud has **lind muin*e***. In a reconstruction, one would expect gen. sg. ***Linnmuini*** for ***Lindmuine***, and this is in fact the form Breatnach and Carney have.

§4(b)19. *ós dú*

All three manuscripts have *as dú*, but the meaning 'which is fitting' does not seem appropriate contextually. I follow Liam Breatnach, who suggested reading *as* as *ás*, a Middle Irish variant of *ós* 'above, over' (for an example of *ás*, see *DIL* s.v. 1 *ós*) with *dú* 'place, spot, land'.

§4(b)20. *milt*

This is the 3 sg. abs. of the t-preterite of ***meilid***, 'grinds, crushes' (*GOI* §§ 682, 684). The verb *meilid* can be used in a construction with an abstract object and *for* of persons as is the case here (*DIL* s.v. *meilid* 82.78 ff and 82.83 where our example is given). There is a wordplay with the word ***mol*** §4(a)15 (this was already mentioned above, p. 97 in the textual note to *mol*) as *mol* can mean an axle of a mill-shaft, and the verb ***meilid*** is often used for grinding grain.

§4(b)20. *a chrós*

Laud has **acruas**. We would expect lenition after the possessive 3 sg. m. Carney and Breatnach restored ***chrós***, with the lenition, and with *ó* for later *úa*.

§4(c)21. *to-lécced*

Laud has **dolécced**, but the original preverb would of course have been *to-*, and Breatnach and Carney have restored this in their reconstruction.

§4(c)22. *i mbí*

Laud has **im*b*i**. Mac Neill translated ***i mbī*** 'in which [great Eochu, son of Mairid,]

dwells' (Mac Neill 1929-30: 116), taking ***mbī*** as 3 sg. of the habitual present of the substantive verb. This translation can be dismissed, since the poem further on mentions that Eochu was drowned (as Bergin points out in 1929: 251). I follow Bergin's suggestion in taking the form ***mbī*** as 3 sg. pret. of *benaid* (Bergin 1929-30: 249-50), translating 'when it smote' or 'in which it smote', with the prepositional relative ***i*** 'when' (see also note at §1,3 ***imbu*** above). The versions in Lec and BB have replaced ***i mbī*** with ***bai ac/ag*** 'which was in the possession of...' respectively, replacing the preterite 3 sg. of ***benaid*** with pret. 3 sg. of the substantive verb.

§4(c)22. *Eochu*

Laud here has **eoch-**, with a suspension stroke attached to the ***h***. The case needed here is either a nominative or accusative sg., depending on how we take *i mbī*. The nominative, as Bergin has pointed out (Bergin 1929-30: 250), seems the less likely choice, since the use of a suspension stroke for ***–u*** would be uncommon – however, this is the form restored by Carney and Breatnach. Meyer emends to ***Eochaid*** (Meyer 1912: 308). Since there are no further instances of ***Eochaid***, gen. sg. ***Echdach*** to be found in our text, it seems more plausible to expand this as an accusative sg. of the guttural stem ***E(o)chu***, giving us ***Eochaig***, with *i mbī Eochaig* 'when it (Linnmuine) slew Echu'. This ending in *–aig* has previously been suggested by Bergin (1929-30: 250).

§4(c)23. *Senchinn*

Laud has **senchind**. Both BB and Lec omit *sen-* for metrical purposes. ***Senchenn*** can be taken as either meaning 'old head', or it may stand for the dog's name, as Carney took it (Carney 1983: 126). Of course, the dog is called Conbroc in the preceding prose section (and in the genealogy of Echu found in BB and Lec – see Appendix). If Carney was correct in his assumption, this may confirm the suspicion that the prose and poetry sections were not written at the same time or may indicate that prose and poetry do not follow the same tradition – or that Echu had more than one dog. This, however, seems unlikely since all references to a dog in the tradition surrounding Echu are of just one.

§4(c)24. *sen*

Laud has **hen** for **ṡen**, with substantive use of the adjective ***sen***, o, ā. As pointed out to me by Jürgen Uhlich, the absolute verbal form of the copula ***bu*** 'was' should not lenite in Old Irish, and one would have expected ***bu sen***. For another example of this, see §4(h)43, where Laud has mrogais cliathaire cia**buhen** (notice again the spelling *h* for lenited *s*; BB and Lec omit the copula). *Hen* could either refer to the king mentioned in the previous line, or to the dog. I take *hen* to refer to the king mentioned in the previous line, and the line to mean that the king drowned at a young age, which forms a contrast with the king's dog, who lived on after the outburst and now has a cairn still remaining. Carney (1983: 126) took *hen* to mean 'old man', and translated this verse-line '...'he was not an old man of a hundred times a four-festival period' but seems to have taken 'old man' to refer to the dog, rather than Echu. For lenited ***s*** spelled ***h***, see *SnaG* III 2.7.

§4(c)24. *cetharlith*

This is a compound of *cethar* 'four' and *líth,* u, m, 'feastday', in the meaning 'four feastdays', signifying the four main feasts of the year (Samain, Imbolc, Beltaine and Lugnasad), thus used as *pars pro toto* for 'a year', just as *cethairdúil* (*DIL*, s.v.) can mean 'the universe'. In this I follow Carney (1983: 126).

§4(d)25. *Sellath*

Laud has **sella**, but Carney and Breatnach have emended to *sellath*, verbal noun of *sellaid* 'sees, perceives', in their 1985 seminar. BB and Lec have *for* instead of *fri* here. For the expression *sellaid fri* 'looks to (?)', perhaps 'looks towards' and *sellaid for* 'looks upon, gazes at', see *DIL* s.v. *sellaid.*

§4(d)26. *la Ulad n-ánrothu* (Breatnach/Carney A)/ *la hUlath n-ánrothu* (Breatnach/Carney B)

Laud has **lahulad nanrot*h*a**. The original must have had *n-ánroth**u**,* acc. pl. of *ánrath*, o, m, 'warrior', as it is supported by rhyme with *brū* in the next line. BB and Lec actually have an ending in *–u* (*anrath**u*** in BB and *anrat**u*** in Lec). Note the preposed genitive. Carney quoted this passage as an example of preposition + dependent genitive + governed noun (Carney 1982-83: 202). The other versions here

have *la hUlltu n-anrat(h)u*, presumably no longer understanding the preposed genitive according to the mechanism also pointed out by Carney (Carney 1982-83: 201). This is an especially telling example of this misunderstanding, as the nasalisation of the original phrase is retained in BB and Lec.

§4(d)27. *ar dílegad* (Breatnach/Carney A and B)

Laud has **ardilegad**. See the discussion of ***di-legath*** above (ad §1,3).

§4(d)28. *nád arrchiúir* (Breatnach/Carney A)/ *nád airrchiúir* (Breatnach/Carney B)

Laud has **nadarrchiuir** (BB and Lec replace this with leat*h*anc*h*an and leathanchai*n* 'broad and beautiful' respectively, restoring alliteration, and in the case of the version in Lec full rhyme). This form, consisting of the relative negation ***nád*** and the 3 sg perfect prot. of ***ara-chrin***, 'decays, fails, withers' can be rendered 'which has not perished'. I take it in the sense that if it has not perished, it still exists to this day, which is why I have translated more loosely 'which still endures'. The verbal form is usually accompanied by an infixed pronoun 3 sg. n. (*GOI* § 423), but that is not the case here (see also various examples without the infixed pronoun in *GOI* §424 and §691).

§4(e)29. *Moathaire* (Breatnach/Carney A)/ *Moíthairi* (Breatnach/Carney B)

This is probably Mothaire son of Clíathaire of the Corco Óche. He is the father of the witch Fedelm, who occurs in *CCCL* as Corc's foster-mother (see note to Láir derg, §3,10, p. 93 above). Mothaire is mentioned in *CGH* p. 393 in a genealogy of the Corco Óche. In LL iii: 587, in the poem *Rí ríchid réidig dam*, his name is spelled Maethaire, and in Meyer 1910a: 57 l. 1 it is found as Moethaire. One would expect the original form to have been gen. sg. *Mothair**i***, and it therefore seems that the form in Breatnach and Carney's reconstruction B is closer to the original. His name appears as two separate words in Laud: **mo at*h*aire**.

§4(e)29. *maa clith* (Breatnach/Carney A)/ *máa clith* (Breatnach/Carney B)

Laud has **maa clith**. Taking ***clith*** as the dat. sg. of *DIL* 2 ***cleth***, ā, f, verbal noun of ***ceilid***, 'act of hiding, concealing', this passage can be translated 'greater than

concealing'. I take this to mean that the kindred of Moathaire were greater than could be concealed, in other words, very well-known. Alternatively, ***maa clith*** could be read in the sense that this event is something so important, it has to be recounted. The spelling with the double *a* is likely the early orthographic convention of showing long vowels by doubling.

§4(e)30. ***ortae***

Laud has **orta** for ***ortae***, rel. 3 sg. of the t-preterite of ***orcaid*** 'slays'. For the preterite stem ***ort-*** see *GOI* §§ 682 and 684. The variant readings have ***ort*** (Lec) and ***dort*** (BB). I take ***dort*** to stand for ***d'ort***, of ***do ort***, with elision of the final vowel of ***do*** before an initial vowel, and with Middle Irish replacement of ***ro*** by ***do*** (*SnaG* III 11.4).

§4(e)30. ***Feidlimith***

Laud has **feidlimthi**, as do in fact BB and Lec, but we must emend to *Feidlimid* or *Feidlimith* for it to rhyme with ***clith***. I have taken this line as 'the kindred of the man who slew Feidlimid', referring to Mothaire. It is unclear to me who this Feidlimid is, but presumably he is a man of renown since he is mentioned by name, and is named as an example of the greatness of Mothaire. Mac Neill interpreted the line as '...whom Feidlimid slew' and took this person to be ***Feidlimid Rechtaid***, son of Túathal Techtmar. Túathal, high-king of Ireland, was killed by Mál mac Rochridi of the Ulster Picts, who became high-king after Túathal. Mál was then killed by Feidlimid, who subsequently became king (compare Mac Neill, 1929-30: 120, and see *CGH*: 121). Mál mac Rochridi is mentioned in a different genealogical list in which a Crond ba Druí is found (this occurs in the genealogy of the hUi Echach, *CGH* 324 and 325). Crond ba Druí was also considered to be the ancestor of the Corco Óche (see above, p. 87 note ad *Corc' Ōche*, §1,1). If Mac Neill was correct in his supposition, the couplet could mean that the Corco Óche were (via Crond ba Druí) related to Mál mac Rochridi, the man killed by Feidlimid. The problem with this interpretation, of course, is that there is absolutely no mention of Crond ba Druí or Mál mac Rochridi in the genealogy of the Corco Óche given in *CGH*: 393.

§4(e)31. *fúam* (Breatnach/Carney A and B)

Laud has **fuai*m***. The word *fúamm, fúaimm*, n,n, later m, means 'a sound, noise, in a wide sense of inarticulate sounds whether natural or artificial, harmonious or discordant' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *fúaimm*). In this instance the word *fúaim* is used as *pars pro toto* for the eruption of the lake – it is the *eruption* itself, not the *sound* of the eruption, that left only four tribes or population groups, since it drowned the rest.

§4(e)31. *locho* (Breatnach/Carney A)/ *lacho* (Breatnach/Carney B)

Laud has **loc*h*a**. The earlier gen. sg. form would of course have been *loch**o***. Compare the rhymes *dō*: *Mairedo* (for *Mairetho*) in §4(c)21-22, and *foto*: *Mairetho* §4(g)37-38 (the manuscript has *fota* and *Mairetha*, but see textual note ad *fota* below, p. 107).

§4(e)32. *fo-ácab* (Breatnach/Carney A and B)

Laud has **Foacaib**. The form *fo-ācaib* as it stands in Laud is present tense. BB and Lec both have the later form of the perfect ***for-facaib*** with palatal -b. I have chosen to follow Carney and Breatnach, who reconstructed the preterite *fo-ácab* here in the 1985 seminar as this meaning is more appropriately in the context (the outburst of the lake to which is referred happened prior to the point of speaking). The form in *–ib* in the manuscript may be due to the fact that in verbs like *gaibid* and its compounds, there was a loss of distinction between palatal present *gaib-* and non-palatal *gab-* elsewhere, including pret. 3 sg. conj. *–gab* (see *EIV*, chapter 12, 6.2, p. 212). The palatal ending in the past can be found as early as the Milan Glosses (*du-rurgai**b*** 'arose', see *EIV*: 212). For an example of the form *forfaccaib*, with 3sg. perfect ending in palatal *b*, see *DIL* s.v. *fo-ácaib*, F 176.53.

§4(e)32. *conchairiu* (Breatnach/Carney A)/ *conchuiriu* (Breatnach/Carney B)

Laud has **co*n*cha*i*riu**. The original form would have been *conch**u**iriu*. The variants have *cuíríu* (BB) and *curiu* (Lec), in order to comply with the heptasyllabic *deibide* standard. See p. 60 above, where this has already been discussed

§4(f)33. *díb* (Breatnach/Carney A)/ *diib* (Breatnach/Carney B)

Laud has **díb**, with the final two letters *in rasura*. In the original, we would expect to find disyllabic *diib* for *díb* throughout the text, which is the form restored by Carney

and Breatnach in their 1985 reconstruction B.

§4(f)33. *Derco Ceín* (Breatnach/Carney A) / *Derco Céin* (Breatnach/Carney B)
Laud has **dercochen**. According to Thomas Charles-Edwards, the Ui Derca Céin were a dynasty of the Cruithni of northeastern Ireland, and probably ruled over the area now around Belfast (*IWK* 114 and 559). In the genealogies, they were an inferior *gens*, descended from the second marriage of Crond ba Druí (*CGH* 155 and 324-325, and *IWK* 113-14), from whom the Corco Óche are also said to be descended (see note ad Corc' Ōche, p. 87, §1,1 above). Byrne identified the element ***derco*** as a feminine gentilic formula, meaning '[a woman] belonging to the race of', the feminine equivalent of ***moccu*** (Byrne 1994-95: 42). Byrne referred to this verse-line as an early occurrence of the form ***dercu*** (1994-95: 54 n. 55), and pointed out that the word had been previously misinterpreted, for example in the name Ui Derco Chéin, whose ancestor has been taken to be a man named ***Derc*** (*DIL* s.v.) or a woman named ***Dercco*** or ***Darca*** (*CGH* 463f – references from Byrne 1994-95: 42 and 42 n.3). Byrne identified Findchóem of the Cíannachta as the legendary early fifth-century ancestress of the Ui Derco Chéin (Byrne 1994-95: 68).

§4(f)34. *ansu do-d-í* (Breatnach/Carney A)/ *ansu do dí* (Breatnach/Carney B)
Laud has **dodí**. I divide the form as in Breatnach/Carney A, *do-d-í*. Literally, the verse-line means 'more difficult that one might so return who has gone far away'. I have adapted the translation to make it more understandable for the reader. The form ***do-d-í*** consists of pres. subj. 3 sg. deut. of ***do-icc*** and an infixed pronoun 3 sg. n. class C. The neuter pronoun is often used with verbs of going, and can be used to indicate that the action or state, expressed by the verb, refers to an element already defined at an earlier stage, e.g. *dos-n-iccfa cobir cid mall, bith maith immurgu in tain* ***dond-iccfa***, 'help shall come to them though it be slow; it will, however, be good when **it so comes** (lit. shall come it'), Wb. 5^{c}5 (discussed in *GOI* §422). The construction, with an adverbial form of comparison, requires a nasalizing relative clause (*GOI* §383, and compare §498), and therefore the expected form in a reconstruction would be *dond-í*. The variant versions seem to have misunderstood this form, as they have replaced the verbal form with ***do dib***.

§4(f)34. *etircéin* (Breatnach/Carney A)/ *etercéin* (Breatnach/Carney B)

Laud has **etirchen**. According to *DIL* (s.v. ***etercían***, o, ā, 'far, distant, remote'), this word is often used as an adverb in the sense 'far away', for example in Wb. 26[a]14 *cona roib* ***etarcéin***, 'that he may not be far away', and this seems to be the case here as well. The palatal ending of the word is confirmed by rhyme with *Ché[i]n*. For the omission of the *i*-glide, especially after *e/é*, see *GOI* §86. Furthermore, see *GOI* §835 on the spelling of the preposition ***eter, etar***.

§4(f)36. *co Auu Cremthain* (Breatnach/Carney A)/ *co hAuu Cremthain* (Breatnach/Carney B)

Laud has **cohua crimthain**. The acc. pl. of ***aue***, io, m, is ***auu*** (found in the Book of Armagh, see *Thes. Pal.* ii 241.6), which is the form we might expect in the original..

§4(f)36. *hi Fernmaig* (Breatnach/Carney A)/ i Fernmag (Breatnach/Carney B)

Laud has **hifernmaig**. We would expect *hi Fernmag* here, with a neutral *-g*, as the preposition *(h)i* should be followed here by an accusative case. In addition, this restores rhyme with *mag*.

§4(g)37. *Fo-ruër*

Laud has **foruer**. ***Fo-ruër*** is the perfect 3 sg. of ***fo-fera***, 'causes, brings to pass'. This is an archaic form, in which the original vowel has been retained in unstressed position. See *GOI* §79 for the form *fo-ru-ar*, with *-ar* from earlier *-er*. The variant readings have replaced this form with ***fo-fuair***, from *fo-gaib* 'finds, gets, meets with'.

§4(g)37. *imneth*

Note the retention of original ***–th***. In Old Irish, this comes to be spelled and pronounced ***imned***, o, n, 'sorrow'.

§4(g)37. *foto*

Laud has **fota**. As pointed out already by Sproule (Sproule 1987:199), this seems to be ***foto***, the gen. sg. of ***fut*** (this genitive later became the adjective ***fotae***, io, iā), since it rhymes with ***Mairetha*** (see p. 49 above, where this has been mentioned already).

This, bearing in mind the rhyme *dó: marchatho* in §4(o)68, where the original –o is retained, means we can reconstruct the rhyme as ***foto*: *Mairetho***. See also Pokorny 1927: 458. The variant readings have *fo-fuair ímnead* ***ín ceatha*** (BB) and *fo-fuair imnead* ***in lacha*** (Lec).

§4(g)38. *maidm tiprat máir*

Laud has **maidm tiprait mair**. The word ***tipra*** is given by *DIL* as t, f, but here it seems to be t, m, based on the adjective ***māir***, gen. sg. m. As it stands in the gen. sg., the expected form would have been ***tiprat.*** The variant readings here in fact have ***tibrad*** (BB) and ***thibrad*** (Lec), with a final neutral consonant. It is possible that this is a later form added by the scribe, but it is also possible that this is a scribal slip of the eye, anticipating the following word, as all the other words in the verse-line have ***-ai-*** (*maidm tipra(i)t māir maic Mairetha*). James Carney discussed the masculine gender of ***tiprait*** as an archaic feature in his article 'The Earliest Bran Material' (1976, reprint in Wooding 2000: 79, n.19):

> 'Another feature pointing in the same direction [a date for the poem of Bran and the prophetess on Loch Febuil at the latest to the early seventh century] is *tiprait nglan* 3*a* [*Ro-saig mo fius tiprait nglan*, 'my knowledge has reached a clear well'] showing *tiprae* as a masculine noun [i.e. based on the form ***nglan***, o, ā, as accusative singular masculine, rhyming with *hi fil sáss cuiri cét mban*]. The *DIL* has no such example; one is found, however, in the archaic poem *Ba mol Midend midlaige* attributed to Lucreth [moccu Chiara], *c.* 600: 'maidm tiprait (leg. tiprat) mair…'.

However, John Carey has rightly pointed out that there are in fact examples of ***tipra*** as a masculine noun in late Old Irish and early Middle Irish texts like *Sanas Cormaic* and *In Tenga Bithnua*, meaning that we cannot see this feature as being archaic (see Carey 2002: 80, note ad §3a *tiprait glan*).

§4(g)39. *do Dáil Óche*

Laud has **Dodail ocha**. Presumably, the Corco Óche are meant, as the terms used to designate a population group, ***Dál X, Corcu X, Xrige*** and ***Xacht*** could be used interchangeably (*IWK* 116). The word *dál* is originally o, n, so a dat. sg. ***Dāl*** can here be reconstructed.

§4(g)39. *óthmar ndeilm*

Laud has **huat*h*mar ndeilm**. The word ***ūathmar***, o, ā, 'dreadful, terrifying', is here used as a preposed adjective to ***deilm***, n, n. Carney and Breatnach reconstructed the earlier form ***óthmar*** here in the poem discussed at their seminar, possibly because of the word *Ōcha* (which produces the sequence *do **Dā**(i)l **Ō**cha **óthmar ndeilm***). The nasalization of ***deilm*** is the result of the fact that ***hūathmar*** nasalizes as nominative sg. neuter adjective. Another example of a transposed adjective can be found in *saithe **scarthach ndonn*** in §4(h)41 (see note *infra*).

§4(g)40. *Loch nEchach do thomaidm*

Laud has **lo*ch* echach dot*h*omaidm**. For this construction, see *GOI* §720. This construction occurs as early as Wb10^{d}6: *is bés leo-som in daim do thúarcuin*, 'it is a custom with them that the oxen thresh', literally 'the oxen for (the) threshing'. I follow Carney here in my translation (Carney 1971: 77).

§4(h)41. *scarthach ndonn*

According to *DIL*, ***scarthach*** is the name of a particular type of fish, but that meaning does not fit here. I posit that this verse represents the third of the tribes that escaped the flood. One of the tribes went to the Ui Derco Chéin (§4(f)33), the second tribe went westwards across the plain (§4(f)35), the final tribe mentioned went to Femen (§4(h)43-44). One tribe is missing. In particular, the line following this line seems to point in this direction: A throng or multitude of *scarthach ndonn* fled from it, south-westwards to Mondornn. The adjective ***scarthach***, o, ā, can mean 'separated' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *scarthach, scarthanach*), and the word ***donn***, o, m, can mean 'chief, noble'. If we consider *scarthach* to be a preposed adjective, we can translate ***saithe scarthach ndonn*** 'a group of separated nobles', in the sense that they have been separated from the other tribes. The nasalization of ***ndonn*** is due to the gen. pl. m. *scarthach*.

§4(h)43. *Clíathaire*

Laud has **cliathaire**. Carney translated ***clīathaire*** as 'branch' (Carney 1971: 76), but appears to have taken it as a personal name in the 1985 seminar; Kuno Meyer took ***Cliathaire*** as a personal name in his edition (1912: 308). In the genealogy of the

Corco Óche in the versions in BB and Lec, a certain Cliathaire son of Mothaire is indeed mentioned (see p. 76 above):

> Fiang*us ocus* Rechtg*us* da m*ac* Ailgili m. Fol*acht*aich m. Guairi m. Lugdach m. Colui*m* C*h*rui*m* m. Cai*n*dig m. Ḟorgo m. Meic Erc m. Lugdach m. Crui*n*d doib Lugdac*h* in gabail-si*n* m. Imchada m. Laimi Feola m. **Cliathairi m. Mothairi**...

However, since we are looking for the fourth tribe that escaped drowning, I would be inclined to take it as 'pack, group, tribe' rather than a personal name.

§4(h)43. ***ciabu ṡen***

Laud has **ciabuhen**. The lenition and its spelling *h-* (for ***ṡ*** in ***ṡen***) is therefore a Middle Irish scribal feature. See also the textual note to §4(c)24.

§4(h)44. ***co ríg Mumen hi Femen***

Laud has **corrig mu*m*an hifemen**. After this couplet, BB and Lec finish with a final quatrain. This quatrain has already been discussed in the section on the discussion of the metre of this poem.

§4(i)45. ***to-mmelt a rí***

Laud has **do*m*meltaríi**. The original verbal form would have been ***to****-mmelt*, with original preverb *to-*. This is the 3 sg. deut. of the t-preterite of ***do-meil***, 'spends, consumes', and it can be used of time. Usually, the verb is then accompanied by a noun expressing the period of time, for example *uaire doromailt do ré* '[because] thou hast spent thy time (thy time is up)' LL 246[a]8 (*DIL* s.v *do-meil*). But note that *do-meil* in the sense 'eats' is sometimes used absolutely (for examples, see *DIL* s.v. *do-meil* 337.37). I would suggest this is an example of absolute use in the former meaning, with omission of the period of time.

§4(i)46. ***Mag Tailini***

Laud has **mag táline**. Because of the rhyme with *rí*(*i*), the word originally must have ended in *-i* in the gen. sg., giving us ***Tálini*** (with glide ***Tailini*** as Carney and Breatnach restored). I have not been able to identify the place to which this name

refers.

§4(i)47. ***ta-lléic***

Laud has **talleic**. This is the pret. 3 sg. of ***do-léici, -teilci***. Note the retention of the original ***t-*** here, as well as the doubling of the ***-ll-*** to indicate non-lenition.

§4(i)47, §4(i)48. ***Cennibrae/ nIrlóchrae***

Laud has **cennibræ/nirluac*h*rai**. I have not yet been able to identify the place Cennibra(e). In his edition of *CCCL* Vernam Hull has a footnote on a word 'Cennibria' (Hull 1947: 902 n.198), in which he explains that this word may denote a placename – and that if it does, it is possibly the same placename as this one. In our text, *Cennibræ* rhymes with *nIrlūachrai* (an area comprising south-east Kerry, see Hogan s.v. *Irlochir*). Carney and Breatnach's 1985 reconstruction has *nIrlóchrae*, and compare Sproule 1987: 199 who suggests *Irlūachrae*. See also §5,70 of this text, where the genitival form (Cīarraige) ***Lóchræ*** is found. If the second element of this placename is *–lúachair*, i,f, 'rushes, marshy place', however, the original gen. sg. would have ended in *–o/-a*, and in fact Hogan cites a number of examples with gen. sg. in *–a*. It is therefore possible that then we are to reconstruct *Cennibra/ Irlóchra*.

Liam Ó Buachalla took the Battle of Cennibrae to be the same as the Battle of Droichet Meinde, to which reference is made in our text in Laud in the final prose section (§5,71 in the edition):

> 'In [*Ba mol*]..., it is stated that the Corca Ché first settled at Mag Taline and went to Irluachair (west Munster) after the battle of Cennibrae. This is apparently identical with the battle of Drochat Ménne of the prose text' (Ó Buachalla 1954: 115)

Presumably this identification is based on the move of the Corco Óche to West Munster mentioned in both the poem and in the final prose section, but the subject matter of the final prose section differs markedly from that of the poem, and may have been composed on a different occasion. It is therefore unwise to follow Ó Buachalla here without further evidence.

§4(i)48. ***to-s-foíd***

Laud has the spelling **dosfuid** here, pret. 3 sg. of ***do-fóidi*** 'sends', here with infixed

pronoun 3 pl. class A.

§4(j)49. *To-aisbenath*

Laud has **Doaisbenad**. This is pret. pass. sg. of ***do-aisféna***, 'shows, exhibits, sets forth' (from **to-ess-fēn-*, see *DIL* s.v. *do-aisféna*), here with lenited ***–b-*** as the voiced counterpart of ***–f-***, with the opposition voiceless : voiced neutralized after *s*. The earlier forms appear to be with *-f-* (see also *GOI* §187, where Thurneysen gives the earlier form *asfenad*, with *-f-*). Later, *-sf-* was replaced by *-sp-*, as evidenced by the form *aspenad*, found in the Milan glosses (*GOI* §187, and see also §834A(b)). The compound verb later developed into the Middle Irish simplified verb *taisfénaid, taisbénaid, taispénaid, taisénaid*, and an earlier *to-aisfenath* can be reconstructed. In their 1985 reconstruction, Carney and Breatnach left the *-b-*, and restored *to-aisbenath.*

§4(j)50. *Augaini*

Laud has **augai*n*e**, with final *–e*, but as it has to rhyme with ***llī***, the original genitive *Áugaini* in *–i* can be restored. The form in ***-i*** was also restored by Carney and Breatnach.

§4(j)51. *ó ṡen co sen*

Laud has **oṡen cosen**. Old Irish *sin* had the Middle Irish variants *sein, sain* and, more rarely, *sen* (*SnaG* III 10.24) The expected forms here would be *o* ***ṡin*** *co* ***sin***, literally 'from that [point] to (until) that [point]'. Note *GOI* §475b, where Thurneysen refers to ***sen*** occurring in *Thes. Pal.* I, 4.25 and see Thes. II 255.7 for the form ***hoṡen***.

§4(j)51. *cach i n-áit*

Laud has **cac*h* inait**. This phrase incorporates a transposed preposition, for regular ***i cach n-áit*** 'in(to) every place' hence 'everywhere'.

§4(j)52. *amail mbetis*

Laud has **amal betis**. The earlier form of *amal* was *amail*, leniting, 'as if', and in the reconstruction, Carney and Breatnach do have *amail betis*, but the letter *m* has been added above the text in writing before the ***b***. This ***m*** should be removed from the

reconstruction, as *amail*, followed by past subjunctive, would not normally cause a nasalizing relative clause.

§4(j)52. *murchorthaig*

This is the nom. pl. m. of the substantively used adjective ***murchorthach***, o, ā, in the substantivized meaning 'one coming from overseas'. The adjective ***murchorthach*** is derived from the substantive ***murchoirthe*** (see *DIL* s.v. ***murchuirthe*** and ***murchorthach***). A *murchoirthe*, lit. 'one thrown up by the sea, a castaway' had no legal standing unless he was taken into service. In some cases, he may have been a criminal who was punished by being set adrift (*GEIL*: 6). See also Charles-Edwards 1976, reprinted in Wooding 2000: 98-99). This verse-line can be interpreted in different manners: 1) the Corco Óche went from place to place, as if they were *murchorthaig*, i.e. people of no legal standing, set adrift, perhaps as a punishment – with the underlying implication that they are not *murchorthaig*; 2) the Corco Óche had to abandon everything when the flood happened, and no longer had a home. They had to start over in a new place, just like a *muirchuirthe* would have had to do.

§4(j)52. *i mbáirc*

Laud has **hibairc**. After the preposition *i,* nasalization of *bāirc* to *mbāirc* would be expected. Carney and Breatnach restored this nasalization in their 1985 reconstruction.

§4(k)53. *Cach*

Laud has **Kach**. Carney and Breatnach, like Meyer (1912: 308), have normalized Kach to Cach.

§4(k)53. *cruíb*

Laud has **cruib**, which I take to stand for *craíb*, the acc. sg. of ***cráeb***, 'branch, bough, sprig,' also in the sense of 'pedigree, genealogy, descent, branch of a family tree, scion' ā, f (*DIL* s.v.). *DIL* has this verse-line with a question mark under *cráeb* (*DIL* s.v. 504.64-65). I would suggest translating 'each of their bands has set up a branch'. I take the passage to mean that the different groups resettled in different parts of Ireland, where they established new branches or subdivisions of the Corco Óche.

§4(k)54. *sethnu*

For a discussion of *sethnu* 'throughout', which is earlier than *sechnó, sechnón*, and for a proposed derivation see Thurneysen 1918: 287, entry 9. Our example is cited there.

§4(k)54. *ní dál fochruíb*

Laud has **nidál foc*h*raib**. *DIL* has this example with a question mark s.v. **2 *fochraíb***, 'a subordinate branch (of a family or race)', taking this to be the genitive plural. This, however, would destroy the rhyme, as the gen. pl. ends in a neutral *–b* and therefore cannot rhyme with *craíb*, an acc. sg. ending in a palatal *-b*. An alternative that does not destroy the rhyme, and that I follow here, was suggested to me by Liam Breatnach. This is to take *fochraib* as *DIL* 1 ***fochraíb***, meaning 'near, close to hand, at hand' when used adverbially or predicatively with the copula. In that case, we are to read ***dál*** 'meeting', and construe the sentence as *nī fochraíb dál*. The meaning of the verse-line would then be that the different branches or divisions of the Corco Óche re-settled in different places that were so far removed from each other, that it would be difficult to meet up.

§4(k)55. *for-r-raig*

Laud has **forraig**. Breatnach and Carney take this as ***for-r-aig***. *DIL* lists one possible example of the verb *for-aig, forid-racht*, and gives the meaning 'that has done it' for *forid-acht* with a question mark. Perhaps Carney and Breatnach took this as ***for-aig*** with ***ro*** expressing possibility or ability (*GOI* §531), which might give us something like ***for-r-aig friu Lindmuini combar*** 'the confluence of Lindmuine can do (act?) against them', with Lindmuini as a preposed genitive. There is another solution that I adopt here. *DIL* cites this passage from our text under the simplex ***foirrgid*** (where an older compound ****for-raig*** is suggested). The meaning of ***foirrgid*** is 'presses hard, bears down, overpowers, often (but not always) with a notion of undue or wrongful aggression', which is contextually entirely appropriate. Although rare, this verb can be used intransitively with *fri* (*DIL* s.v. ***foirrgid***, F 259.32, where this verse-line is cited along with one parallel).

§4(k)55. *combar*

Laud has **combair**. Perhaps this is an example of the adverbial use of ***bair***, 'heavy', meaning 'heavily' (*DIL* s.v. 2 *bair*), although *co bair* would then be the expected form, without nasalisation (compare *GOI* §381). Another instance of *bair* is found in the text immediately following ours in Laud (edited in Meyer 1910b: 36, l. 19, where the words *in* ***bair*** have been left untranslated). Breatnach and Carney restored ***combar*** (*DIL* s.v. *commar* 'confluence'). It is possible to combine *combar* with *Lindmuini*, taking *Lindmuini* as a preposed genitive in the sense 'the confluence of Lindmuine', as given in the previous note, and this seems to be how Carney and Breatnach took it. This would mean that we find rhyme between an unstressed and a stressed syllable, which does not occur elsewhere in the poem (although see the collection given by Meyer in *Ériu* 7 (1914): 10 f). The form *combar*, with a neutral ending, would compromise the rhyme with *fair*, with a palatal ending, unless the old dative form *for* can be restored for *far* (and Breatnach and Carney do in fact restore *far* in the next line) – at this stage, I do not have a better suggestion for *combair* and I follow Breatnach and Carney here.

§4(k)56. *nád cumaic*

Laud has **nad cu*m*aic**. Thurneysen stated that ***cumaic*** is a rare archaic form of 3 sg. prot. pres. ind. of ***con-icc*** (*GOI* §549). The negative particle ***nád*** indicates we are dealing with a relative clause. I take *Lindmuini combar* as the antecedent, and *nád cumaic...fair* to be an example of the relative construction described in *GOI* §507(e)n., in which the relative pronoun has not been added to the preposition and followed by a dependent form of the verb, but where instead a relative form of the verb is used, followed (at the end of the sentence) by preposition + pronoun 3 sg.- compare Sg. 26^{b}7 *ní-fail ní nad-taí mo dligeth-sa fair* 'there is nothing on which my law does not touch', with ***nad-taí...fair*** instead of ***forna-taí***. The sentence in our text can then be translated 'on whom/which no-one can avenge himself'.

§4(l)57. *formach*

Laud has **forniach**. Since there is no word **forniach* in *DIL*, one is to follow Meyer's suggestion (Meyer 1912: 308 n.4) and emend to ***formach***, 'increase, increment' – as Breatnach and Carney have done.

§4(l)57. *báidfess*

Laud has **baithfas**. Carney and Breatnach restored the earlier form *báidfess* in their edition of the poem, even though *-th-* is perfectly acceptable (<*-d-* next to the voiceless *-f-*).

§4(l)58. *cé chon-r-úalath*

Laud has **cechonrualat**. The form ***chonrualat*** comes from the verb ***con-úala*** (**com-uss-lu*, see *DIL* s.v. ***con-úala***), which, when used intransitively, means 'ascends, goes up', and when used transively means 'mount, arouse, raise'. Carney and Breatnach have supplied lenition after *cé*, and read ***cé chon-r-úalath***, the 3 sg. act. past subj., used intransitively, with ***ro***. It seems preferable here to take *cé chon-r-úalath* as impersonal use of the transitive, '(even) if it should stir up trouble', with *augre* as the object, which accounts for the nasalization after *augre*.

§4(l)58. *n-aitherroch*

Laud has **naitheclrac*h***, with dots under the letters *cl*, indicating a scribal error for ***naitherach*** (see Meyer 1912: 308). The word ***aitherrach***, o, n, serves as the verbal noun of ***ad-eirrig***, 'act of repeating, repetition; act of changing, altering, change'. The dative ***aithirriuch*** is often used as a temporal adjective (*GOI* § 251.3) meaning 'again, a second time', which is a likely candidate here. However, the form needed in order to rhyme with *loch* is *aitheroch*, and Carney and Breatnach did in fact restore *aitherroch* in the 1985 reconstruction. Their reconstruction is warranted, since the form ***oitherroch*** is actually found in the Book of Armagh (*Thes. Pal.* ii: 242, line 18).

§4(m)59. *foüt*

Laud has **fohut**. I take *fohut* to be an earlier disyllabic form of later ***fót*** 'sod', with the letter *h* between the letters *o* and *u* indicating retention of hiatus. For a reference to disyllabic *foot, fout* see *GOI* §114. I take this verse-line to mean that once upon a time, people used to live in the area where the lake is, but now, after the outburst, the area is deserted, and no evidence of habitation remains.

§4(m)60. *di ris ocus amiris*

Laud has **doris 7 amhiris**. As stated in footnote 181 under the text of the

reconstruction, Breatnach has written *do iris* in the left margin of the page with the reconstruction. I suggest following Breatnach and emending to ***do iris***. I take this to consist of the preposition ***do*** followed by ***iris***, dat. sg. of ***iress***, ā, f, 'faith'. For ***am-hiris***, see *DIL* s.v ***am(a)ires***, ā, f, later m. This word consists of ***iress*** 'faith', preceded by the negative prefix ***am-***, thus meaning 'non-belief', 'disbelief' (here in the dative singular). For a discussion of the composition of forms of the negative prefix *am-*, see *GOI* §871(b). *GOI* §166 discusses the use of *am-* as an autonomous member of the compound, that is to say, ending in a neutral consonant while the second element of the compound, *iris*, begins with a palatal vowel (see *GOI* §159(a) for compounds in which the final consonant of the first element and the first consonant of the second element retain their quality). I suggest taking ***do [i]ris 7 am-hiris*** as 'for belief and disbelief', i.e. 'believe it or not'.

§4(n)61. ***ta ngni***

Laud has **tangui**, but *DIL* (s.v.) offers no translation of this word. I suggest this is a scribal error, for either ***tangni***, with *-n-* for *-u-*, or for ***tang[n]ai***, with omission of an n-stroke. I take these forms to stand for the acc. sg. of ***tangnae***, iā, f, 'treachery'.

§4(n)62. ***uisceán***

Laud has **huiscan**. The meaning of OI ***usceán*** is 'small amount of water'. It consists of the word ***uisce***, and the diminutive suffix ***-án*** (discussed in *GOI* §271). In 'The Irish Gospel of Thomas' (edited in Carney 1964: 90-91 §1), the meaning 'small pool' is given: *Imbu macán cóic bliadnae / Ísu mac Dé bí / sénais* ***da huiscén deäc****, arros-fí de chrí*: 'When Jesus son of the living God, was a small boy, five years of age, he blessed **twelve small pools**; he had fenced them in with clay' (confirming the masculine gender of *huiscén* in Laud in the reference *he* in the preceding line). For the *h*, see the note to this verse-line on p. 153 of Carney 1964: '***huiscén*** 'pool', a diminutive of ***uisce***. The h is merely orthographical here and in other instances'. For the meaning of the word, Carney refers to Sg. $49^{b}2$ (Carney 1964: 153). The section of Priscian's Grammar in which this gloss is found discusses diminutives: '...'Aqua' similiter 'aqula'...' where *aqula* is glossed *.i.* ***usceán*** (*Thes. Pal.* ii, p. 103). The treachery then referred to in the preceding verse-line is that Linnmuine, originally a small well, overflowed, became a large body of water and caused the deaths of many.

§4(n)62. *ro-ṡoí éc*

Laud has **rohóecc**. Liam Breatnach has suggested to me that this is to be read as ***ro-ṡoí écc***, perf. 3 sg. of ***soïd***, 'turns', which may be used both transitively and intransitively, and ***éc***, m, 'death'. The ***h*** in this case would stand for a lenited *s* – which is also found above in §4(c)24 and §4(h)43, where ***hen*** stands for ***ṡen***.

§4(n)63. *acht*

The word ***acht*** poses a problem, as this is the final word of the verse-line in Laud, and it does not rhyme with the final word in the next verse-line, **robadi** (= *ro bádi*) Breatnach and Carney left *acht*, and reconstructed *robád**ath*** in the next verse-line. The most plausible translation of *acht* in this verse-line is then 'body', as suggested to me by Liam Breatnach (*DIL* s.v. *5 acht*). Damian McManus has suggested emending *acht* to *a chlí* (making this an archaic genitival relative not involving the copula, cf. *GOI* §507), which is a less radical emendation than *robád**ath***. The word *clí* also means 'body' (*DIL* s.v. *3 clí*), and this would give us the final *–í* required for the rhyme with *ro bádi*.

§4(n)64. *indid*

Laud has **iníd**. For a discussion of ***in[d]íd*** (for ***indid***) 'since it is', see the note above to ***imbu*** (p. 88, §1,3). For other examples see *DIL* s.v. ***i*** 7.4-7.

§4(n)64. *robádath*

Laud has **robadi**, which has been emended by Breatnach and Carney in order to restore rhyme with *acht*, but if we emend *acht* to *a chlí*, as discussed previously, we can leave *robadi*. The ending of the preterite 3 sg. of ***báidid*** 'drowns' in *–i* should be noted. There are a number of (weak ī-) verbs that have an (occasional) ending in *–i* - see *GOI* §678 and *EIV* 56:

> 'In W2a [weak ī-verbs] there is fluctuation between forms which lose the *s* only and others that lose the whole syllable in accordance with the pattern prevalent elsewhere. The former system seems to prevail marginally in Wb. with *–creti* 'believed', *as:ro-choili* 'judged', *-foídi* 'sent' and *-rádi* 'said' versus *–creit* 'believed', *-é-r*†*-choil* 'judged' and unstressed *–dail* (stressed pres. *–dáli*), whereas the latter apparently had a virtual monopoly in Ml. … It thus looks as though the 3sg. conj. in *-i* was the oldest in W2a *s*-preterites but was early beginning to give way to the endingless type of W2b etc…'

I suggest that *robadi* is an example of this ending in *-i* as well.

§4(o)65. *di chridiu*

Laud has **dicridu**, which Liam Breatnach has suggested to me should probably be taken as the dat. sg. of ***díchride***, a compound consisting of the negative prefix ***dí-*** (*GOI* § 873, and see §831) and ***cride***, io, n, 'heart', in the sense 'coward', after the comparative ***moo***, 'greater,' giving us 'he was greater than a coward'. This word is not attested, but the meaning 'coward' fits perfectly contextually: Echu was no coward, therefore it was anticipated he would surely die in some important battle, and not drown in the eruption of a lake.

§4(o)66. *suidiu*

As discussed in the discussion of the metre (p. 56 above), it is likely that a preposition was present here to account for the dative ***suidiu***.

§4(o)67. *to-mét dó*

Laud has **tomet to** (***do-mét dó*** in Meyer's transcription). ***To-mét*** is the pret. pass. sg. of ***do-moinethar*** 'thinks' (see *GOI* §§710, 756). I take ***to*** as a scribal error for ***dó***, influenced by the preceding ***to-mét***.

§4(o)68. *nach*

One might expect gen. sg. *naich* in the original (see *GOI* §489(b) for an example), but that particular form is not found in the Breatnach/Carney reconstruction.

§4(o)68. *márchatho*

Laud has **marcathu**. I follow Carney and Breatnach and Meyer in adding lenition of ***-c-*** (Meyer 1912: 419). Since ***marcathu*** should rhyme with ***dó***, we can construct the original ***mārchatho***, a compound of the adjective ***már*** and gen. sg. of ***cath***, u, m, rhyming with ***dō***. This verse-line is used by Carney (1982-83: 196 and 196 n. 22) to demonstrate that our poem belongs to a period where the gen. sg. of a u-stem ended in ***–o***.

§5,69-70.

The meaning of the sentence as I take it (also based on the remainder of the text) is that the Corco Óche were rescued by Conall Corc, who was a fosterson of theirs. When their lives were in danger, Conall sent the Corco Óche to West Munster, to live beside their allies, the Cíarraige Lóchrae. In order to make the sentence more intelligible, I have rearranged some of the sections in my translation.

§5,69. *Rí Caisil*

This probably refers to Conall Corc, rather than to his grandfather, Ailill Flann Becc, since Conall Corc was considered to be the founder of Cashel (Sproule 1985: 11), and while Corc seems to be the main character in this final prose section, there is no mention of Ailill.

§5,69. *Aurchuind*

I have been unable to identify a place called Aurchonn. Hogan does mention an Aircin, situated on Inishmore, but that is an unlikely candidate, as that is situated too far north. One might expect this place to be situated in the area from Tralee to Listowel, as that seems to have been the area where the Cíarraige Lóchrae were situated (compare *IKHK*: 172).

§5,69. *fria mbrāithriu*

The acc. pl. of ***bráthair*** here looks an o-stem masculine, which means this spelling as it stands is Middle Irish. The expected OI form would have been ***fria mbráithrea***. The reference to the Cíarraige Lóchrae as the ***bráithir*** of the Corco Óche may refer to there being an alliance between them, rather than their being brothers or kinsmen. Compare the document contained in the section on genealogies in Laud on a West Munster synod, supposedly held in the sixth century. In the text, the word ***bráthirse***, is rendered 'alliance':

> *Macc Ardæ mac Fidaig ba rī Cīarraige Lūachra co muir. Mac māthar som do Chīarān mac an tsāir. Imusacallat didiu Mac Ardæ 7 Cīarān 7 Brēndān mac huí Altæ. Dosnānic Mochuta Rathin. Ba hēolach side and. Asbert Cīarān fri Brēndān 7 fri Mac Ardæ ara nderndais brāithirse fri Corco Chē 7 frisna huili Mūscraigi. 'Arubta amser bas trom co n-artrig Lūachra 7 Locha Lēin foraib.' Is īarum dogēnsat brāthirse frisna tūatha imdatāat.* (Meyer 1912: 315).

> 'Mac Arddae mac Fidaig was king of the Ciarraige Luachrae as far as the sea. He was mother's son to Ciarán mac int saír. Mac Arddae then and Ciarán and Brendán moccu Altai hold a conference. Mo-chutu Rathin came to them: he was knowledgeable in this matter. Ciarán said to Brendán and to Mac Arddae that they should make an alliance (***bráithirse*** 'brotherhood') with the Corco Óchae and with all the Múscraige: 'A difficult time is in store for you under the high king of Luachair and Loch Léin.' It was after that that they made an alliance with the surrounding *tuatha.*' (*IKHK*: 216).

§5,70. ***ón mid ba ndalta doib***

Meyer divides this as ***Ónmid bandalta doib*** (Meyer 1912: 308). He may have interpreted ***ónmid*** as ***óinmit***, a word meaning 'jester', or 'half-wit', and presumably took ***bandalta*** to mean 'a woman's fosterson'. Liam Breatnach has suggested to me that we are dealing with a conjunction here, consisting of the preposition ***ó***, the article dat. sg. feminine and the dat. sg. of the noun ***med***, ā, f, meaning 'measure, weight'. The conjunction would mean 'to the extent that', 'due to the fact that', 'on account of', and would be followed by a nasalizing relative clause denoting cause, in our case ***ba ndalta dōib***. I follow him here. This option fits contextually, offering an explanation as to why Conall Corc would help the Corco Óche. Note also the use of ***ōn mith*** (emended from ***omnith***) further on, in §6,76. On that occasion, however, it is not followed by a nasalizing relative clause in the manuscript (this may, however, be scribal – or it may be a case of the nasalizing relative clause being replaced by a principal clause, for which see *GOI* §505).

§5,71. ***Ar it hē ġeogaind***

Laud has **arithe ġeogaind aurmumu**. The form *ġeogaind* looks like the pret. 3 sg. of *gonaid, geguin* with Middle Irish *–eo-* before a lenited guttural for earlier *–e-* (see *SnaG* III 3.7) and with *–nd* (for *–nn*) for *–n* (compare the form *–gegoinn* in §6,76, with *–nn* for *–n*). At this place in the sentence, however (after *ar it hē*), we would expect to find a relative form. The appropriate relative form would be pret. 3 sg. ***gegnae***, since it is followed by *Aurmumu*, a word in the nom. sg. and the subject of the relative clause. I suggest that *geogaind* here is an example of the Middle Irish use of the absolute form for the relative.

§5,71. *Aurmumu*

Aurmumu is the name given to the northeastern region of Munster. Perhaps we can take it to stand here for the warriors of the whole of Aurmumu.

§5,71. *ima láma*

There is no example of *gonaid im* in *DIL*, but *gonaid* should most likely be taken in the sense of 'wounds' rather than 'kills'. The text seems to suggest here that the hands of the (warriors of the) Corco Óche were (deliberately) wounded - perhaps they were cut off after the battle, in order to render them unable to take up arms against Aurmumu again.

§5,71. *Drochet Meinde*

One would expect the gen. sg. form *Droichit* here.

§5,71-72. *bādar*

Note the form *bādar* for substantive verb pret. 3 pl., ***bátar*** (with d in this case representing the sound [d]).

§5,72. *riasin rīg*

The meaning 'before the king' seems to indicate in this instance that the Corco Óche supported the king. The king referred to is presumably Conall Corc, who later places them under the protection of his son Coirpre.

§5,73. *are-rāncatar*

DIL cites this as a late form s.v. ***ar-icc***, 'reaches, finds'. The expected form of the preterite and perfect would have been ***are-āncatar***, as the compounds formed with *–icc* usually have a preterite/perfect 3 sg. *–án(a)ic* 3 pl. *-áncatar*, without the augment *ro*, but there are in fact examples of the augmented preterite of *do-icc* (*DIL* s.v. *do-icc* 298.5 f.). The augmented ***–rāncatar*** may have been used here in order to convey completion of the action previous to the action in the rest of the clause (expressing a pluperfect here). Note also the spelling ***are-*** for later *ara-*.

§5,73. *Conde-tubert*

This is a very interesting verbal form, as it contains a number of archaisms. Note the early infixed pronoun 3 pl. ***de-*** (*GOI* § 415, where our *conde-tubert* is cited); the preverbal particle ***tu*** in the preterite (see *GOI* §82, where our *-tubert* is cited), and the retention of the original root vowel ***-e-*** in unstressed position.

§5,73. *Choirpre*

The expected form would be gen. sg. *Choirpri*.

§5,74. *corarchosced*

It is possible that the original had ***co n-archosced***. The verbal form ***-archosced*** is past subj. 3 sg. of *in-coisig*, containing *–ro-* (for *en-ro* > *ar* in the verbal form *do-d·n-archosaig*, see GOI §768). Although the s-subjunctive *–coissised* has been attested (GOI §768), this does not exclude the possibility of an alternative ā-subjunctive from a weak version of the verb (cf. *GOI* §768) A scribe could have changed *co n-* to *co r-* in imitation of the more common proclitic *ro* in Middle Irish.

§5,74. *cona n-imochith im chāch*

Presumably a lenited *f* has dropped out (it has been supplied by Meyer in his transcription (1912: 309)), and one is to read *cona n-imḟochith*, literally 'with their asking'..For the word ***imḟoichid, imḟochaid*** (verbal noun of **imm-fo-saig*), *DIL* gives the meaning 'act of assailing, impugning, annulling, abrogating', but note the *DIL* entry for *imm-foacht*, 'asked, inquired' which is said to come from **imb-fo-saig* (*DIL* s.v.). It would appear that this is an example of the verbal noun with the more general meaning, rather than the technical meanings given in *DIL* under ***imḟoichid, imḟochaid***. The preposition *im* can be used in conjunction with verbs of asking, praying or entreating (*DIL* s.v. *imm*, 104.80) to express what is asked for or about. The sense of the passage would then be that Coirpre asked the Corco Óche to tell him about everyone who was unjust to them, so he could take action against them.

§5,75. *imme-bērath*

The manuscript has ***immemerath***. The verb ***marnaid*** 'betrays' has a future stem ***mér-*** but that meaning does not fit here. We are dealing here with a leniting relative clause,

since the antecedent *cāch* stands in subject-relation to the relative clause. The *-m-* of ***-mērath*** is therefore lenited. I posit that that *-m-* in this case is a Middle Irish spelling, prompted by the falling together of [β] and [μ] in a word with another nasal in it (*SnaG* III 3.20) and I suggest emending the verbal form to ***imme-bērath***, sec. fut. 3 sg. of ***imm-beir***, 'practices, exercises, inflicts' with relative form of the preverb *imm-*. Note the retention of *imme-* for later *imma-* and the ending in ***-th***. ***Imm-beir*** can be followed by ***for*** expressing the person afflicted by the generally negative action (*DIL*, s.v. ***imm-beir***), as is the case here.

§6,76. *clann Maine Munchaīn*

The *clann Maine Munchaīn* are the Ui Ḟidgeinti. Maine Munchaín was a son of Ailill Flann Becc (*IKHK*: 291 and 296), which makes him Conall Corc's uncle. His descendants were known as the Ui Ḟidgeinti, named after Maine's son Fiachu Fidgennid (*IKHK* 291). In *CGH*, Maine Munchaín occurs several times in lists on the Éoganacht Glennamnach and the Ui Chairpri (p. 204), in a section on the sons of Ailill Flann Becc (p. 205), in a genealogy of the Ui Liatháin (p. 224), and in two genealogies of the Ui Ḟidgeinti (pp. 231 and 252).

§6,76. *fri claind C(h)uirc*

The expected mutation of the final word would of course be nasalisation, rather than lenition. The lenition could be the result of the generalization in other cases of *cland Chuirc*.

§6,76. *ōn mith*

The manuscript has ***ōmnith***, which I suggest should be emended to ***ōn mith***. For the meaning of ***ōnmith***, see the note on §5,70.

§6,77. *con tubraid...forru*

Note the use of ***con-*** with restored *–n*, which may be the result of having been copied from an exemplar containing the abbreviation ɔ (see Uhlich 2006: 19 n. 10 For other examples of this, see *GOI* §896 and Uhlich 2006: 40 f., n.56). The verb ***do-beir*** can be used with ***do*** or ***for*** to express a name given to someone, and it seems likely that this is the construction found here as well. According to *DIL*, the construction is

usually *do-beir do* in Old Irish, see s.v. ***do-beir*** 209.6-8, but *DIL* cites two examples of *do-beir* + *for*, one from Sg 31[a]6, *is diairisin* ***doratad foir*** *anainmm sin...* ''tis therefore that name was given to him...' (for text and translation, see *Thes. Pal.* II, p. 83) and the other ***do-bretha*** *ainm* ***fair***... '[the] name was given him' (my translation) quoted from *RC* 6,177. Note that the forms of ***do-beir*** in the two examples cited in *DIL* are passive (***doratad*** and ***do-bretha***). Looking at the context, one would then expect a third person pl. passive: 'so that they were called 'pigs with their swineherds'. Perhaps we are to take the form ***-tubraid*** as *–tubrait*, with a Middle Irish 3 pl. preterite passive ending (see *EIV* 229-32 and Carney 1982-83: 206-07) and spelling of the sound [d] with *–d* here rather than *–t* (compare the form *bādar* in §5,72, with d representing [d]). One would of course have expected the archetype to have had an earlier passive preterite plural ***–tubratha***.

§6,77-78. ***con-baetar-sam***

DIL suggests this form comes from the verb ***con-ben***, 'smites, hacks, cuts off', but says that all the examples are 'in varying degrees doubtful'. The more regular form would be ***con-béotar-som***, pret. 3 pl. active (compare *GOI* §691(a), where an example is given of *-béotar* from LU). I have no other explanation for this form. The sense of this line is ambiguous: as a result of being called 'swine and their swineherds', the Corco Óche slew swineherds and swine, but it is not entirely clear to me whose swine and swineherds they kill – their own or those of the kindred of Maine Munchain.

§6,78. ***cona m[uc]trētaib***

The manuscript has **conamtretaib**. I have taken this to stand for ***cona muctretaib***, with omission of a suspension-stroke over the letter *m*, as Liam Breatnach has suggested to me.

§7,79. ***fecta***

This is the pass. sg. pret. of ***fichid***, 'fights' (*DIL* s.v.), for earlier ***fechtae***. As with the construction ***maidid re x for y***, 'x wins from y', the victorious party is here preceded by the preposition *re*, the vanquished party by *for* (for use of ***fichid*** with ***for*** in the sense of 'prevails over', see *DIL* s.v. 124.48-49). Note the absence of lenition of the

c; this may simply be an omission of a lenition mark, but note that the sound-group –*cht* is often represented by –*ct* (*GOI* §28).

§7,79. *cath Cūla Meinde*

Hogan referred to a ***Cúl Méine*** (*OG*: 321), stating it may be Coolmain townland, near Kinsale, co. Cork. This battle is referred to in the Annals of Ulster as the ***battle of Cuillen***, and was fought in 552 AD against the Ui Chonaill Gabra. Keating referred to the battle of ***Cuil***, 'in which many men of Corcach fell through the prayer of St. Midhe...' (Dinneen 1914: 243). It seems that all of these names are used for the same battle.

With the exception of the entry in the Annals of Inisfallen, under the year 553 AD, the Corco Óche are said to have lost the battle. Elva Johnston discussed the battle briefly in Johnston 2000: 423-24). She attributed this discrepancy, as well as the fact that Ita was first the patron saint of the Corco Óche, but later the patron saint of the Ui Ḟidgeinti, to powershifts in Munster, where the Corco Óche were displaced by the Ui Ḟidgeinti, particularly the Ui Chonaill Gabra (Johnston 2000: 424). The fact that in our text, the Corco Óche are said to be victorious through the help of Ita, might point to the political situation before this power-shift.

§7,79. *fíru hĒirenn*

As pointed out by Elva Johnston, it would seem that the opponents of the Corco Óche were exaggerated into the men of Ireland, and that the phrase *fíru hĒirenn* echoes the idea found in the Ulster cycle that the men of Ulster stood (victorious) against an army comprised of all the other peoples in Ireland (Johnston 2000: 423-24).

§7,80. *nÍta*

This is Saint Ita of Clúain Creadhail, whose main religious foundation was Killeedy (*Cell Íte*, 'Íte's Church', see Johnston 2000: 422). Her feastday is January 15. The latest date given for her death is 579 AD (in the Annals of Inisfallen). Her ancestry is given in *Fél* as:

> *Míde ingen Chind ḟaelad mic Cormaic mic Concorp mic Conchobair mic Conaill, mic Aengusa, mic Artchruib, mic Choirpri Rigḟota, mic Fiachrach Suighi, mic Feili[mi]d Rechtmair.* (*Fél* 1905: 44)

See also *Fél* pp. 36-37, January 15 (I give Stokes's text and translation here):

Foráith már ṅgur ngalar,	'She succoured many grievous diseases;
carais már tromm tredan,	she loved many severe fastings,
in grían bán ban Muman,	the white sun of Munster's women,
Íte Chluana credal'.	Íte the devout of Cluan'. (*Fél*: 36-37)

According to the notes in *Fél* (pp. 42-45) Ita had a dungbeetle (*dáel*) sucking on her side that grew as big as a lap-dog (*oirce*). One day she left her cell in Ui Chonaill Gabra in Munster and the other nuns perceived the beetle coming out of its den after her. They killed the beetle in order to help Ita, but upon her return she cursed the nuns, saying no nun would succeed her. John Carey took this to be a rationalisation of the fact that Clúain Credail was administered by men, even though its patron saint was a woman (Carey 2000: 195, note 12). The Annals of the Four Masters, for example, mention the death of an abbot of Killeedy in 815, and another one in 834 (Johnston 2000: 422). There are, however, some literary sources referring to a female successor of Ita's (Johnston 2000: 422 n.7). Elva Johnston very tentatively offered the suggestion that the shift from abbess to abbot may have coincided with the Ui Ḟidgeinti's gaining power at the expense of the Corco Óche, where a female abbess of the Corco Óche was supplanted by a male abbot from the Ui Ḟidgeinti (Johnston 2000: 424).

It may be interesting to note that in the above genealogy, Ita is said to be a descendant of Túathal Rechtmar and of Feidlimid Rechtaid, who is possibly mentioned in our poem (§4(e)30) as the person who killed an ancestor of the Corco Óche.

Part II. Aided Echach maic Maireda

CONTENTS

The second part of this thesis consists of an edition of the text titled *Aided Echach maic Maireda* (hereafter *AE*), 'The death of Echu mac Maireda'. *AE* is found in its entirety only in Lebor na hUidre (LU) on pp. 39a22-41b8 in the hand of the interpolator H. The title of the text is somewhat misleading, as it is in fact a compilation of two portions in prose and three poems, and only one prose section in the text actually deals with Echu. The text can be divided into three parts:

- The deaths of Echu and his brother Rí (§§1-7)
- A number of poems regarding the survivors of the outburst of Loch nEchach, in particular Lí Bán, daughter of Echu (§§8-10)
- A prose account of the life of Lí Bán after the creation of Loch nEchach (§§11-18)

Each section will be discussed in turn below.

Section I: Echu and Rí

The first segment, LU pp. 39a22-39b28, is a prose account of the origins of Loch Rí and Loch nEchach, named after Rí mac Maireda and Echu mac Maireda respectively, sons of Mairid, the king of Munster. There are no variant versions for this section. We do however possess some material for comparison in the different *dindshenchas* tales about Loch Rí and Loch nEchach.[175] Gwynn has demonstrated that the story of Echu has been based on the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach and that the first section of *AE* is a conflation of the metrical *dindshenchas* tales of Loch Rí and Loch nEchach:

> 'It [the *dindshenchas* of Lough Neagh] corresponds so closely with the story of Eochu's death in Aided Echach ma[i]c Maireda,... that one version must be directly taken from the other...The Dindshenchas is much fuller than the Aided; and, on general grounds, it is much less likely that a versifier, expanding a brief prose account, would take the trouble to work into his stanzas the exact phrases of the prose, than it is that a writer summarizing a story from a poem would do so by selecting lines here and there. But there is more precise evidence. The form *lessed*...is an old sigmatic subjunctive from *laigim*..., and belongs to an earlier period than that of Bard Maile [the poet to

[175] For references to the different *dindshenchas* tales about Loch Rí and Loch nEchach, see p. 16 n. 5 above.

> whom the *dinshenchas* has been attributed in one of the manuscripts].[176] He must have borrowed it from the original on which his poem is based; but the word does not occur in the Aided Echach, which is therefore not his original. It is pretty clear that Aided Echach is a conflation of the ds. of Lough Neagh, as told in this poem, with the ds. of Lough Ree...The two dindshenchas stories must be variants of the same legend.'[177]

The story of this section of *AE* in LU briefly runs as follows: Echu and Rí are the sons of king Mairid of Munster. Mairid's wife, Ébliu, falls in love with Echu. Accompanied by his brother, Echu elopes with his stepmother after she has imposed an *áilges* on him. Eventually, they reach the place Belach da Liac, where each brother goes his own way based on the advice of their druids.

Rí and half the men go westwards to *Tír cluchi Midir 7 in Maic Óic* 'the Playing-ground of Midir and the Mac Óc', also referred to as Mag Find, while Echu and Ébliu take the rest of the men eastwards to Brug Maic Ind Óic (where Ébliu's father is from). But both brothers are not meant to stay in either place: Midir comes up to Rí and orders him to leave, while Óengus comes up to Echu and demands his departure. Both brothers initially refuse, but after finding all of their horses killed, they comply.

In order to facilitate their departures, the brothers are given supernatural horses. Rí then leaves Tír cluchi Midir 7 in Maic Óic and travels to a place called Mag nAirbthen; Echu exchanges Brug Maic Ind Óic for Líathmuine, in Ulster.

Upon arriving, however, neither brother sends the horse back to its owner, causing the horses to urinate to such an extent that a well springs up. In this text, Rí drowns immediately, whereas Echu succeeds in building a house around the well, with a lid on it and a woman guarding it. One fateful day, the well-watcher does not close the well. As a result, the well overflows and Echu drowns in it with all his kin, except for his daughter Lí Bán, Conaing, ancestor of the Dál mBúain and the Dál Saillne, and Curnán the Fool.

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[176] Gwynn has stated that nothing seems to be know of Bard Maile, the poet to whom the poem has been atttributed in the Book of Leinster (*M.Ds.* iv: 388). His date for Bard Maile is therefore presumably based on the reference made by this poet to a Niall, ruler of Ailech (*M.Ds.* iv: 68, l. 159). Gwynn suggested that this might be Niall mac Maelsechlainn, who was king of Ailech from 1044-61 according to *AU* (*M.Ds.* iv: 391). If Gwynn is correct in this, this would place Bard Maile's *floruit* around or after that time.

[177] *M.Ds.* iv: 389-90.

Section II: the poems

The second section, LU pp. 39b28-40b18, is a compilation of three poems, titled *Ticid, ticid, gebid fāebra* (**hereafter** *Ticid, ticid* - 2 quatrains), *Fo Loch Echach adba dam* (hereafter *Fo Loch Echach* - 22 quatrains) and *Murgein is gein co mbúadaib* (hereafter *Murgein is gein* - 5 quatrains), each preceded by a brief prose introduction. The only variant versions that we have for *AE* are for sections of the poems.

- *Ticid, ticid* (§8 in the edition below, LU p. 39b30-39b34) is a prophecy of the outburst of the lake, put in the mouth of Curnán, Echu's jester. An alternate version of the second couplet of the first quatrain of this poem is found in the glossary *Dúil Dromma Cetta*.[178] In addition, a version of the text in *Dúil Dromma Cetta* can be found in O'Mulconry's Glossary.[179]
- *Fo Loch Echach* (§9, LU p. 40a1-40b3) is sung by Lí Bán, Echu's daughter, to Beóán, fisherman of abbot Comgall of Bangor, and has for subject her life under and in the water. In this poem, she addresses saint Brendan. Variant versions for eleven quatrains of *Fo Loch Echach adba dam* can be found in the manuscript G7 in the National Library, Dublin. A variant version of one quatrain of *Fo Loch Echach*, as well as two otherwise unattested quatrains, and a complete version of *Murgein is gein* can be found in four manuscripts containing the commentary for January 27 of *Félire Óengusso* (*Fél*), the feastday of St. Muirgein.[180]
- The final poem, *Murgein is gein* (§10, LU p. 40b9-40b18), is a short account that deals with Lí Bán's appearance, her capture by Beóán, and her baptism. In this poem, a verse-line from January 27 of *Fél* is quoted.[181]

Section III: the prose account of Lí Bán's life

The third and final section focuses almost exclusively on Lí Bán's life after the outburst of Loch nEchach. Initially, she lives in her bower under Loch nEchach for a full year, with only her lapdog as company. She then transforms herself into a

[178] Russell 1996: 168, number (38) and *CIH* 617.1-4 and 1075.9-15.
[179] Stokes 1900a: 232-324, pp. 270-71.
[180] An edition of the commentary (but without a clear distinction of different manuscript versions) can be found in *Fél*: 52-55.
[181] For this verse-line, see *Fél*: 38.

salmon, and her lapdog turns into an otter. The two of them live this way from then on until the days of Comgall, founder and abbot of the monastery of Bangor.[182]

At that time, Comgall sends his fisherman Beóán to Rome, in order to obtain a monastic order and rule. During his journey, Beóán hears singing coming from under his coracle. He asks who is singing, and Lí Bán answers him. She then asks him to set up a meeting between her and the saints of the Dál nAraide at Inber Ollarba a year hence. Eventually, he agrees.

A year later, nets are cast out and she is caught in the nets of Fergus, another fisherman of Comgall's. She is taken to land and put on display in a vessel. There, people come to watch her. One of these is the leader of the Uí Chonaing, upon whom she bestows a blessing. After this, she curses a black warrior for killing her lapdog.

One day, strife breaks out between Comgall, Beóán and Fergus regarding ownership of Lí Bán. They fast against God, and an angel appears with a solution, resulting in Lí Bán going to Comgall. She is then given the choice of being baptized and dying on the spot, or of returning to her former life for another 300 years, and dying of extreme old age. Lí Bán chooses the former, and is given the Christian name *Muirgein*, *Muirgeilt* or *Fuinche*.

That the text *AE*, as contained in LU, is a compilation is shown by the many discrepancies between the poems and the prose. To give a few examples:

- In the initial prose section, Conaing is mentioned as one of the survivors of the outburst, but in *Ticid, ticid* only a few lines down in the manuscript, he is specifically said to drown.
- In the same section, Lí Bán is said to have been captured by Fergus of the monastery of Bangor (§14,178-79). However, in all the annalistic references to her, as well as in the prose introducing *Fo Loch Echach adba dam* (§9), and in the poem *Murgein is gein co mbúadaib* (§10) in our own text, *Beóán* is said to have been Lí Bán's captor, and no mention whatsoever is made of Fergus. It would seem that his character was not originally part of this section, but added to the tale at a later stage.

[182] On this point, the final prose section actually contradicts itself: in §12 of the present edition, Lí Bán is said to live with her lapdog under the lake after Echu's death for a full year before changing into a salmon and an otter respectively – but further on in the same paragraph, the text says she was in the shape of a salmon from the time of Echu to the time of Comgall of Bangor.

- A final example of a discrepancy present in the text: Lí Bán talks to Brendan in the poem *Fo Loch Echach*, but he does not appear in the prose section. In the prose account, she talks to Comgall, founder of the monastery of Bangor, and his fisherman, Beóán.

The poem *Fo Loch Echach* is linguistically the most conservative part of our text. This could mean that the references to Brendan in the poem were composed before the association of Lí Bán with Ulster and the monastery of Bangor became widespread. In *Murgein is gein* and the final prose section, she is associated with Bangor. The standardisation of this connection is also evident in the annals, as all references to Lí Bán connect her with Bangor.

The monastery of Bangor was one of the principal churches in Ireland during the seventh and eighth centuries, but because of its position, it was vulnerable to attack by Norsemen. The monastic body seems to have disappeared by the tenth century, but was restored by St. Malachy in the twelfth century.[183] The dating of the final prose section roughly coincides with this time. It seems reasonable to suggest that the connection of Lí Bán with Bangor originated at that time, in order to attach importance to the monastery. The references to the monastery of Bangor in the text would have reminded the public of its illustrious past, and can perhaps be taken as a suggestion that the monastery will once again be as important as it was in the times of Comgall.

[183] Kenney 1929: 396.

MANUSCRIPT VERSIONS

1. Main text

LU: Lebor na hUidre (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 23 E 25) pp. 39a22 – 41b8

Vellum, eleventh/twelfth century. This manuscript is also available in a digitised version through the *Irish Script on Screen* (*ISOS*) project (http://www.isos.dias.ie). For particulars of the manuscript and orthography, see *Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy* fasc. xxvi 1229, p. 3367 f, and Best and Bergin's 1929 edition of LU, pp. xxiv- xxvii.

LU has two principal scribes, A and M, and an interpolator H. Our text is in the hand of H.[184] Thurneysen placed H in the thirteenth century,[185] but more recently H has been dated to the twelfth century.[186] H appears to have written *AE in rasura* on existing leaves.

Judging from the penmanship, it appears different sections of the text were written at different stages. The title of the text, *Aided Echach maic Maireda inso*, is written above the text in ink that is lighter than the text on the rest of the page, and in smaller writing. The colour of the ink used for the title seems to match that of the ink used on p. 41. The title was therefore probably added after copying the text.

On p. 40, the handwriting of the left column, containing all but the final quatrain of *Fo Loch Echach*, as well as the writing of *Murgein is gein* and its prose introduction in the right column differ from the writing on the rest of the page (although the hand is still that of H). The ink of *Murgein is gein* and its prose introduction appears darker than the surrounding text. The writing of the final quatrain of *Fo Loch Echach* that appears at the top of the right column of p. 40 and the writing after *Murgein is gein* match the writing on p. 39. The vellum of p. 40 is in places very thin to the extent that some of the text of p. 39 is discernible.

Based on the differences in writing, I would posit that at some stage after having written down the text in its entirety, H erased the sections of *Fo Loch Echach* and *Murgein is gein* just described and copied out a different (earlier?) version.

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[184] See for example Best 1912: 167. For scribal peculiarities of H, see Best 1912: 165 (adapted in Best and Bergin 1929: xvi ff.).

[185] *IHK*: 31.

[186] Most recently, Tomás Ó Concheanainn has discussed the date of H in Ó Concheanainn 1984: 225 and Ó Concheanainn 1996: 66-67. See also *SnaG* III 222-23 (1.5) for further references.

[188] This has been previously remarked by Best in 1912: 167, and by Best and Bergin in their edition of *LU*. See Best and Bergin 1929: 99, n. 5.

The text in the right column and at the top of p. 39 is at times barely legible, and there is a black spot over the ending of the word *Mumai*n in the first line of the text. Some of the length-marks provided in Best and Bergin's edition of the manuscript are no longer discernible. A large discoloured area is present on p. 40 at the bottom of the left column. The final page, p. 41, has some spots that make the text difficult to read at times. In addition to that, the vellum of p. 41 is thin as a result of abrasion, and in places perforated.[188]

The prose is divided into paragraphs. The first letter of each section is marked by a capital letter. In the poetry, the initial of each quatrain appears as a large capital letter, with some colour-decoration in the letters.

The capital R of the first word of the body of our text, ***Rí***, stands between four and five lines high. It shows some decoration, and has violet marks inside the top and bottom half of the R.

2. Variant versions

2a. Variant versions of *Fo Loch Echach* (see also under 2b)

Eleven quatrains of *Fo Loch Echach adba dam* appear in two manuscripts:[189]

G7 (National Library Dublin, formerly Ms. Phillipps 9748), col.12,12–col.13,11.

Vellum, sixteenth century, 11 ff., scribe unknown..[190] The manuscript contains a variety of prose and poetry fragments, ranging from a section of *Cath Maige Mucrama* to the Lament of the old woman of Beare. This manuscript contains eleven quatrains of *Fo Loch Echach adba dam*, corresponding to quatrains §9(a),(c),(d),(e),(f),(h),(i),(k),(r),(s) and (t) in the edition below. The section is headed ***Muirgelt [fi]lia Ethach cecinit .i. Li ban ingen Ech*ach** 'Muirgeilt, daughter of Echu sang, that is, Lí Bán daughter of Echu.' The initial F of ***Fo***, the first word of the poem, is missing. A space has been left open for it by the scribe, but this space was never filled.[191] The end of a verse-line is frequently indicated by a full stop.

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[189] Please note that the manuscripts containing the commentary to *Félire Oengusso* in which variant versions of one quatrain of *Fo Loch Echach* are found are treated under heading 2b. below (p. 136).

[190] The manuscript can be accessed online at Irish Script On Screen, www.isos.dias.ie. A full description of the manuscript and its contents can be found in the online catalogue description of the manuscript that appears when the manuscript is selected from the menu. (7 April 2006).

[191] All texts in G7 have in fact a space left for a decorated initial, but only one text in column 18 of the manuscript has had this space filled. See the catalogue description of the online version at www.isos.dias.ie (19 September 2006).

23 L 14 (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin) p. 24m ff.

Paper, eighteenth century. Our poem forms part of a section (pages 2b-80) copied from G7. The scribe of this manuscript was originally taken to be Dermuid Ó Mulchoine, who wrote the book for the use of Domhnall Mac Carrtha and finished it on the twenty-seventh of September, 1765.[192] However, in the online catalogue description of G7, on the website of the *ISOS* project, it is stated that the scribe of 23 L 14 appears to have been James McQuigge rather than Ó Mulchoine.[193] As 23 L 14 is a direct copy of G7, this manuscript version will not be considered in this thesis, except in one instance, where it differs from G7. In that particular instance, a variant reading has been given.

2b. Sources for *Murgein is gein*

Apart from LU, the poem plus one quatrain from *Fo Loch Echach Adba Dam* and one or two supplemental quatrains not found in LU[194] are found in four of the ten manuscripts containing the commentary for January 27 of the text *Félire Óengusso* (*Fél*): Laud Misc. 610 (Laud), Rawlinson B512 (R), G10 and Franciscan Ms A7. The text of the *Félire Óengusso* has been edited on two previous occasions by Whitley Stokes.[195] Stokes's earlier edition compared only four of the ten manuscripts that contain the text *Fél.* His 1905 edition did provide variants from all ten manuscripts. In this edition Stokes seems to have collated different manuscript versions, without providing them in full. It was therefore necessary to consider the variants from these manuscripts separately here, rather than relying on Stokes's edition.

Unfortunately, only three of the four manuscript were available to me for this thesis, Laud, R and G10. I was unable to consult A7. It is in very poor condition, currently awaiting restoration before it can be digitized, and at this stage it is unknown when restoration will take place.

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[192] *RIA Catalogue*: 3405.

[193] This comment can be found on www.isos.dias.ie, under manuscript G7 from the National Library of Ireland section (6 September 2006).

[194] Of the three manuscripts I was able to consult, Laud has one quatrain not found in *LU*, whereas R and G10 have two extra quatrains.

[195] The earlier of the two is *On the calendar of Oengus*, Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Irish Manuscript Serites, volume 1, part 1 (Dublin 1880); the second version, the version used throughout in this thesis, is *Fél.* A description of the problems associated with the editions can be found under the heading 'Editions' on the website of the Corpus Of Electronic Texts (CELT) project, http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/G200001/header.html (May 14, 2005).

In addition to the versions of *Murgein is gein*, Laud, R and G10 also contain one quatrain of the poem *Fo Loch Echach* (§9(i) in the present edition), and one or two otherwise unattested quatrains.

Laud: Laud Misc. 610 (Bodleian Library, Oxford), fo. 61v°a28-46 (section under main text)

Vellum, main part written in 1453-54 by Seaán Buidhe Ó Cléirigh. For a description of the manuscript see part I of this thesis.[196] The text is clearly legible with the exception of one small blotch that partially obscures a letter (*e*). The poem can be found in the commentary immediately under the main text. The initials of the first word of each quatrain have been capitalized and decorated with red, yellow and green, and each *ceann fá eite* is decorated in red. This version has only one of the two otherwise unattested quatrains. Verse-lines within a couplet are often divided by a full stop; the final line of a couplet is often separated from the first line of the following couplet with a colon. At the end of a quatrain, the rest of the line is filled with a *ceann fa eite*.

G10 (National Library, Dublin, formerly Cheltenham Phillips Library, MS 10266), p. 27, ll. 9-23.[197]

Vellum, sixteenth century, scribe unknown. For a description of the manuscript, see Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland*, fasc. 1, (Dublin 1967) 60-65, and the catalogue description of the digital photographs of the manuscript on *ISOS*. The text is clearly legible. There are some stains in the right margin, but these do not affect our text. The initial of the first word of each quatrain has been capitalised. Verse-lines have been separated by a full stop. All but one line of the poem in the manuscript are preceded in the left margin by the letter *.r.* This version has both of the quatrains not found in LU.

[196] See p. 28 above.
[197] This manuscript can be consulted online as part of the *ISOS* project.

R: Rawlinson B512 (Bodleian Library, Oxford), fo. 57v°21- 57v°45[198]

Vellum, written in the fourteenth or fifteenth[199] or fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[200] The scribe of the manuscript was Dubthach Ua Duibgennáin.[201]

Although some of the ink has faded, the text is overall clearly legible. At the end of the relevant section, something has been written in the left margin which is difficult to discern. The formula *7rl*, *et relicta*, can be seen twice, and a capital S seems to stand before the second *7rl*, but it is virtually impossible to read the remaining few letters. The initials of each quatrain have been capitalized, and show black discolorations that look like they were originally decorations of the initials. Scribal lines are visible. Verse-lines are usually separated by a full stop (this is sometimes absent if the final word in a verse-line stands at the end of a column). This version contains both of the otherwise unattested quatrains.

[198] For a description of the manuscript, see *Fél*: xxii—xxiv. See also the section 'about this manuscript' accompanying the digitized manuscript, which was reproduced online as part of the Early Manuscripts at Oxford University project, that can be found at http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msrawlb512 (7 April 2006).
[199] *Fél*: xxii.
[200] This is the date accorded to the manuscript in the digitized version (see footnote 147 for a reference to the website).
[201] *Fél*: xxiii.

PREVIOUS EDITIONS

- A diplomatic edition of the text of *AE* can be found in Best and Bergin's *Lebor na hUidre – The Book of the Dun Cow* (DIAS, Dublin 1929) 95-100.
- *AE* has been edited, with a translation and a few textual notes, by J. O'Beirne Crowe in the article 'Ancient lake legends of Ireland. - No. I. Aided Echac maic Mairedo (The destruction of Eochaid, son of Mairid)', in: *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* (originally founded as the *Kilkenny Archaeological Society*), Fourth Series, vol. I, part I (Dublin 1870) 94-112. The text and translation, however, seem to have been based on the 1870 transcription of LU,[202] rather than the original manuscript, as evidenced for example by his use of the words *lleth lia* in the poem *Ticid, ticid*, which is a misspelling in the facsimile for *llethba* in the original.[203] The article does not contain an in-depth discussion of metre, dating etc. and has very few notes.
- *AE* has been published, with a translation of the prose sections and the poem *Ticid ticid*, but without translation of *Fo Loch Echach* and *Murgein is gein*, by Standish H. O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica* i: 233-37 (text) and ii: 265-69 (translation).
- Quatrain §10(i) of *Fo Loch Echach adba dam*, as well as two otherwise unattested quatrains, and a version of *Murgein is gein co mbúadaib*, with a translation, can be found in the commentary on January 27 in the *Félire Óengusso*; see *Fél*: 52-55.
- A retelling of the story can be found in P.W. Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances* (third expanded edition by Longmans, Green & Co., 1907 (reprint by Dover Publications 2001)) 68-73.

[202] O'Longan 1870.
[203] Best and Bergin 1929: 96 n. 2.

LU and G7

Generally, LU has the superior readings, although in a few instances the text G7 is to be preferred. In line §9(e)65, *conid etha(i)r* ***imma****-rá*, G7 has the better reading *conit ethar* ***imme****-rā*; in §9(h)76, LU has *dom-****fuc*** with hypercorrect *f*, while G7 has *dom-****uc***, and ***ro snaass*** in G7 (for LU *ro snadius* §9(h)75), which, if it is to conform to the heptasyllabic standard, would have to consist of three syllables, is the superior reading. LU has ***fomtiu*** whereas G7 has the superior ***foimti*** §9(r)114, and G7 has the form ***scar*** in §9(t)123, which is preferable to LU ***scarad***, since this form in LU would leave us with an octosyllabic line.

LU and the commentaries on *Fél*

In a few instances, the commentaries have the superior reading:

- In line §10(a)140 *cé* ***do-rat*** *Ísu i n-anrecht*, a direct object is absent. The version in Laud has the superior reading ***dus****-rat*, with an infixed pronoun 3 sg. f. class a.
- In *Fo Loch Echach*, the couplets *ní ba lesainm,* ***bāine a llí*** (Laud) and *nī ba lesainm* ***bāine lí*** (G10) (as well as the reading ***baínae líi*** in G7, §9(i)80 in the edition below) seem more appropriate contextually than the LU reading *nírbo lesainm,* ***básá lí***, as the readings in Laud, G10 and G7, refer to both elements in Lí Bán's name, rather than to merely the initial element as is the case in LU.[204]
- In *Murgein is gein co mbúadaib*, we may point out the following superior readings: the (here normalized) couplet *ro char* ***in inber sech*** *treib / Lí Bán ingen ind fir sin* (§10(b)142) in the *Fél* versions is superior to LU's *ro char* ***in ben secech*** *treib / Lí Bán ingen ind fir sein*, as the former couplet juxtaposes water and land and the latter couplet lacks a direct object. Also, the words *in ben* could be considered superfluous in the LU version, as Lí Bán is referred to in the next verse-line.

[204] The version in R has *ba mé lí*, but this may be a mistake for earlier *báine lí*, with *m* miscopied for *in*.

In line §10(e)155, LU has ***moe*** *mo Día*, which seems to be an explanation of the citation '*carais m'áeda*', found two lines previously. The *Fél* versions here have ***m'oeda*** (R), ***m'óeda*** (Laud) and ***m'aeda*** (G10), with repetition of the entire word.

Further comparison of the different versions will allow us to formulate tentative stemmae for *Fo Loch Echach* and *Murgein is gein*, as they are the only sections of *AE* with variant versions. These poems will be considered separately below, and a stemma for each will be provided. First, the poem *Murgein is gein* will be considered. This is contrary to the order in which the poems appear in *LU*, but it is necessary to discuss *Murgein is gein* first so that a (tentative) stemma for the commentaries on *Fél* can be established. The relationship of these commentaries is of importance to the reconstruction of the stemma for *Fo Loch Echach*, since the commentaries all contain one quatrain from *Fo Loch Echach* – but the material they have in common from *Fo Loch Echach* is too limited to reconstruct a stemma from that alone. The stemma for *Murgein is gein* will of necessity be tentative, and incomplete, since one of the manuscripts containing a version, Franciscan Ms. A7, was unavailable to me, as stated before.[205] References to paragraph, quatrain and line numbers in the current edition are also given.

1. *Murgein is gein co mbúadaib*

If one were to give an accurate description of the mutual relationships between the *Fél* manuscripts, one would have to provide a new collation of all ten versions, based on a comparison of the whole text. Unfortunately, that lies far beyond the scope of this thesis. Below, a provisional stemma for the poem is provided. The major differences between the manuscripts are (the reading adopted in the edition is in bold typeface):

LU differs from R, Laud and G10

	LU	R	Laud	G10
§10(b)141	be*n*	**inber**	**n-*in*dbe*r***	***in*ber**
§10(b)141	secec*h*	**sech**	**seo*ch***	**se*ch***
§10(b)142	sei*n*	**si*n***	**sin**	**si*n***
§10(e)155	moe	**moeda**	**moéda**	**maeda**

[205] See the descriptions of the manuscripts above, p. 134.

§10(e)156	**mór**	-	-	-

Laud differs from LU, R, and G10

	Laud	LU	R	G10
§10(a)140	**du*s*-rat**	dorat	dorad	dorat
§10(b)143	is	-	-	-
§10(c)146	Beccan	**Beōān**	**Beoan**	**Beoan**
§10(c)148	coro baist	**coro baisted**	coros-baisted	**coro baist*edh***
§10(c)148	i*n*a adbaid	**i *n*dabaig**	**i *n*dabaig**	**a ndab*aig***
§10(d)150	ó	**Dīa**	**Dia**	**Dia**
§10(e)153	-	**carais**	**carais**	**car*a*is**
§10(e)156	Muiregei*n*	**Mu*r*gei*n***	**Mu*r*gei*n***	**Muirgei*n***

R differs from LU, Laud and G10

	R	LU	Laud	G10
§10(b)144	C*h*omgall	**C*h*olo*m***	**C*h*olom**	**C*h*olo*m***
§10(c)147	toír	**tair**	**tair**	**tair**
§10(d)149	i*n*	-	-	-

LU and Laud agree against R and G10

	LU	Laud	R	G10
§10(b)143	**bit*h***	beit*h*	a beth	a b*eth*
§10(d)151	**abbā*n***	**abban**	bán *acht*	ban ac*h*
§10(e)155	**is ada si*n***	**is ad*h*a sin**	badesi*n*	badeisi*n*

LU and R show agreement against Laud and G10

	LU	R	Laud	G10
§10(a)139	**císu**	**cissu**	Issu	Isa

Laud and G10 show agreement against LU and R

	Laud	G10	LU	R
§10(b)143	do erb	ro erb	**ro airbir**	ro erb*ad*

R and G10 show agreement against LU and Laud

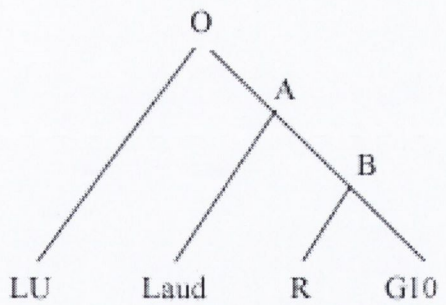
	R	G10	LU	Laud
§10(e)156	fa	fo	-	is

LU, R and Laud agree against G10

	LU	R	Laud	*G10*
§10(a)137	**M*urgei*n**	**Muirgein**	**Muirgen**	Murgine

It is clear that none of these versions are exact copies of each other. An examination of the supplementary quatrains absent from LU and G7 shows that the versions contained in R and G10 may be more closely related to each other than the version in Laud is to them, since R and G10 contain a quatrain absent from Laud. Furthermore, the quatrain beginning *nocha biu-sa i mbethaid de* (R) is introduced in only one manuscript, Laud, with *A[i]re cecinit.*

Finally, the commentary at the end of the poem in R (*Unnde Carn Curnāin .i. īar n-éc Curnāin ann do cumaid Aire 7 cetera*) corresponds to the commentary in G10: *Unde Carn Curnan ar n-ēc Curnan ann do cumaid Aire.* The commentary in Laud is more comprehensive: *Lí bán 7 Aire da ingin Echach meic Muirid. Aire seitig Churnāin ó ta Carnn Curnāin, īarna éc ann do cumaid Aire.* Based on the above filiation, I would suggest the following tentative stemma for *Murgein is gein*:[206]



[206] In the reconstruction, the letter O is given to the original or archetype, and A and B to the precursors.

2. Fo Loch Echach, adba dam

For this poem, there are at least three different strata: that from which the version in LU is derived, that of G7 (and therefore also 23 L 14, as that is a copy of G7), and finally, the stratum from which the versions in the commentary on *Félire Oengusso* in R, Laud and G10 have come down. G7 is unlikely to be a direct copy of LU, as it only has eleven of the twenty-two quatrains in LU. Likewise, R, Laud and G10 are unlikely direct copies of either G7 or LU. More concrete evidence for the different strata can be observed from a comparison of the manuscripts:[207]

2A. *LU and G7*

Words in LU, not in G7

	LU	G7
§9(d)61	**and**	-

Lack of Agreement in words, endings and/or cases in LU and G7

	LU	G7
§9(a)47	**in sceng**	i*m* sci*n*g
§9(a)48	**fo bru*n*nib**	fo bruin*n*d
§9(a)49	**mo tugi**	mo túg*h*a
§9(c)54	**fossod**	foss*edh*
§9(c)56	**do (f)rāig**	to gaír
§9(c)57	**nom-léic**	rom-lécc
§9(d)59	**ō**	ho ai*m*
§9(d)61	**ō bāte**	o rom-baiti
§9(e)62	**i*m*ned**	m'imneth
§9(e)63	**ní mád-c*h*in**	ni [i]*m*ma(i) cichi
§9(e)64	drongu ec*h*	**druingg Ech*ach***
§9(e)65	**con*id***	*con*it
§9(e)65	*e*thai*r*	**e*th*ar**
§9(h)75	ro snadi*us*	**ro snaass**

[207] The reading adopted in the edition is highlighted in bold for each case, or indicated below the form if spelled differently from the forms found.
[210] In the edition, this has been emended to *báine*.

§9(h)76	**ós**	ua
§9(h)76	**Let*h*a**	leth*an*
§9(k)88	**done*n*d**	domen*n*
§9(k)89	**dom-ruacht**	dom-ruart
§9(r)117	**mided ar**	midith*er*
§9(s)119	**trā*i*gnec*h***	trigmech
§9(t)122	**dul f*or* cel**	dul ar cel
§9(t)123	sca*r*ad	**scar**
§9(t)123	**etal**	fethal
§9(t)124	**blaisiu**	blaisi*m*

2B. ***LU, G7 and the commentaries on Fél: Laud, R and G10***

LU differs from G7, Laud, R and G10

	LU	G7	Laud	R	G10
§9(i)80	básá lí[210]	**báinae líi**	bai*n*e a llí	ba mé lí	**baine lí**

G7 differs from LU, Laud, R and G10

	G7	LU	Laud	R	G10
§9(i)78	bl*ed* mil	**dui*n*e**	**dui*n*e**	**dui*n*e**	**dui*n*e**
§9(i)78	nipsa	**ciapsa**	cia*r*sam	cia*rsam*	ciabs*am*
§9(i)80	nirbsa	**nírbo**	ní ba	nirbo	ni ba

Laud, R and G10 differ from LU and G7

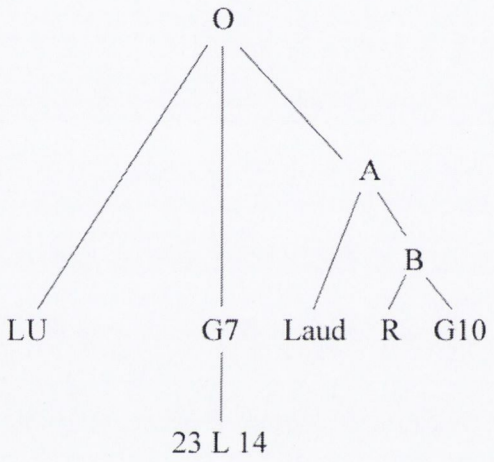
	Laud	R	G10	LU	G7
§9(i)78	cia*r*sam	ciarsa*m*	ciabs*am*	**ciapsa**	ciabsa
§9(i)79	nom-cardais	ro*m*-cardais	no*m*-cardais	**ro*m*-*ch*arsat**	ro*m*-carsat
§9(i)81	ro *ch*arus	ro ca*r*as	do ca*r*us	**ro*m*-anacht**	rom-anas*us*
§9(i)81	ri ai*n*gel ṅgeal	rí ai*n*gel ngel	ri ai*n*gel ngeal	**rí reth*e*s ler**	rí reth*e*s nem*h*

1C. ***LU, G7 and 23 L 14***

23 L 14 differs from LU and G7

	23 L 14	LU	G7
§9(t)124	femaig	**maigri**	**maig*ri***

I am hesitant to attempt a reconstruction of the stemma, as the variant versions are incomplete, and manuscript A7 could not be included in this edition. It would appear that none of the versions is an exact copy of one of the other versions, with the exception of 23 L 14, which is, as said before, a copy of G7. It is possible that the three main variant versions developed via four different paths, for example:[211]



[211] In the overview, O represents the original or archetype.

DATING

1. External evidence

Since the earliest manuscript in which the full text (or indeed any part of the text) is found is LU, in the hand of the H-interpolator, this gives us a *terminus ante quem* of either the twelfth or thirteenth century depending on the dating of H, for which see p. 134 above.

2. Internal evidence, relating to contents

As stated before, *AE* consists of three different sections, which will we considered separately below.

2a. Section I: Echu and Rí (§§1-7)

The basis for the LU version of this part of our story was shown by Gwynn to be the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, which is appended to the metrical *dindshenchas* of Tuag Inbir.[212] As Gwynn suggests, our text appears to be a deliberate conflation of the *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach and that of Loch Rí.[213] The metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach is attributed in one manuscript to the poet Bard Maile, who is unfortunately otherwise unidentified.[214] The final quatrain of a version of the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach in the Book of Lecan refers to a Níall of Ailech:

Rop sen in flaith, fegait raind,	Long live the chieftain Níall – verses
tairnec i nAiliuch oebind,	admire him – who has come to lovely
Níall, rodnerta Dia de nim	Ailech! God send him strength from heaven,
don táib thíar do Thuaig Inbir	on the western shore of Tuag Inbir![215]

This Niall was identified by Gwynn as possibly being Níall mac Maelsechlainn, king of Ailech, 1044-1061, rather than Níall *glún-dub*, king of Ailech and later of Ireland, who died in 918.[216] If Gwynn is correct, this could be an indication that this section of our text was composed between 1044 and the date of the H-interpolator.

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[212] *M.Ds.*iv: 60-69. The *dindshenchas* of Tuag Inbir can be found on pp. 60-62, and the *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach on pp. 62-69. See also *M.Ds.* iv: 388.
[213] *M.Ds.*iv: 390, also referred to on p. 129 above.
[214] *M.Ds* iv: 388.
[215] *M.Ds.* iv: 68 (text) and 69 (translation).
[216] *M.Ds.*iv: 391.

2b. Section II: The poems (§§8-10)

This section consists of the three aforementioned poems that will be discussed in turn.

Ticid ticid

There are no specific clues in *Ticid ticid* that aid in establishing a date of composition.

Fo Loch Echach

The only reference possibly of assistance in dating this poem is the question Lí Bán poses to Brendan: *cīa rī do-fil for Loch Lēin?*, 'who is the king who rules over Loch Léin?' §9(p)109. The people who ruled over Loch Léin were the Éoganacht Locha Léin. They appear to have been influential before the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth century, as their kings up to that point are referred to as *rí Irluachra* or *rí Iarmuman* 'king of West-Munster'. After that time, they are merely called *rí Locha Léin*, which comprises a much smaller area, around the lakes of Killarney.[217] If we can take the question posed by Lí Bán to be 'who is king of [the Éoganacht of] Loch Léin', this might indicate that this version of our poem was written after the end of the eighth century. However, it must be stated that this verse might simply refer to where Brendan is from, and not have a political overtone.

As stated before, the variant versions are contained in the commentary on January 27 of *Fél.* This commentary is generally dated to the eleventh or twelfth century, which may give us a slightly earlier *terminus ante quem* than the date of H.[218]

Murgein is gein

The only evidence in this section that is of use to us with regard to dating this poem is the verse-line *Día n-ebart 'carais m'aéda' / Ōengus hUa Āiblenn áebda* (§9(e)153-54). This is a quotation of the beginning line of a quatrain from *Fél*, January 27 (given here with Stokes' translation):

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[217] *IKHK*: 218 and Ó Buachalla (1952: 68). Byrne states that the last king of the Éoganacht of Loch Léin to bear the title *rí Iarmuman* in the Annals of Inisfallen is Cú Chongelt mac Coirpri, at his death in 791. Ó Buachalla, however, cites the year 834 as a cut-off point, following *AU*, which mentions the death of Cobthach mac Máele Dúin in 833.

[218] See Dumville 2002: 25 and p. 25 n. 43.

Carais moéda, *Muirgein*	My Lord loved Muirgein
Mírbail gein co m-búadaib:	a wondrous birth with victories:
birt glan-búaid fiad rígaib	Agna with ten virgins won
Agnetis deich n-úagaib	a pure victory before kings

In addition, it refers to Óengus, descendant of Oíblenn, the composer of *Fél.* Since *Fél* was written no earlier than the end of the eighth and possibly as late as the end of the ninth century,[219] this gives us a *terminus post quem* for *Murgein is gein.*

2c. Section III. The prose version of the life of Lí Bán

The historical characters mentioned in the text are too early in order to be of assistance in dating the text. As stated before, the text clearly favours the monastery of Bangor. It seems likely that the final prose section was added by someone with interest in or connected to the monastery of Bangor. Since H is placed either in Clonmacnoise, where LU was compiled,[220] or in the territory of the Uí Maol Chonaire,[221] it would seem that H was not the original author of the final prose section. Since the monastery saw a revival in the twelfth century, it could be that this promotion of Bangor coincided with it.

3. Internal linguistic evidence

For this linguistic analysis, the text from LU is considered, along with the versions of the poems from all manuscripts when present. The language of both prose sections is clearly Middle Irish. The poems are more conservative, especially *Fo Loch Echach.* Some of the most important Middle Irish features found in the text, as well as evidence of the retention of earlier forms in the poetry, are discussed below. Examples of these features are, where applicable, organized by section (initial prose section; prose introduction to *Ticid, ticid*; *Ticid, ticid*; prose introduction to *Fo Loch Echach*; *Fo Loch Echach*; prose introduction to *Murgein is gein*; *Murgein is gein*;

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[219] The date of *Fél* is still open to discussion. Thurneysen dated *Fél* to between 797 and 808 (see Thurneysen 1908). Ó Riain pushed this date forward to between 828 and 833 (1990), but Ó Riain's claim has been refuted by Breatnach (1996: 74 f.), who stated that there is no good reason to reject Thurneysen's dating (1996: 75), and also by Dumville (2002, especially 25-31), who has stated that the text cannot be earlier than 797 (2002: 25). In this article, Dumville discusses the problems with Ó Riain's date, and the obstacles in establishing a *terminus ante quem* – and gives a date of 797-ca. 900, based on linguistic grounds (Dumville 2002: 46).

[220] For the composition of LU in Clonmacnoise, see Kenney 1929: 377; for the placement of H in Clonmacnoise, see for example Mac Eoin 1994: 40.

[221] Mac Eoin 1994: 46.

and final prose section). References are to paragraph and line numbers, and, in poetry, to the quatrain where the form is found. Quatrains are referred to by letters between brackets. After the discussion of internal linguistic evidence, the verbal system is given. Special forms are also discussed in the textual notes.

3.A. Phonological and orthographical developments

3.A.1. Vowels in stressed syllables

- *a for o* before neutral consonant (*SnaG* III 3.6): ***mara*** is the form used throughout the text in all manuscripts for ***moro***, the gen. sg. of *muir* 'sea', i, n.
- *e* > *eo* before *ch* or lenited *g* (*SnaG* III 3.7): spelling of ***Eochu/Eochaid*** throughout the text for earlier *Echu/Echaid*, and note the following:
  Initial prose section: ***eo****chu* §5,18 and §5,21
  Fo Loch Echach: *do-d****eo****chad*, §9(n)99
- *re->ra-* at the beginning of a word (*SnaG* III 3.12) is found in the initial prose section: *at-****ra****racht* §7,29
- *ó* > *ú* (all pres. ind. 1 sg. of the substantive verb):
  Fo Loch Echach: *o tú* §9(d)60 (G7 hotu)
  Final prose section: *attū* §13,171; *atú* §15,183
- Falling together of *i* and *iu* to represent the sound *i* before neutral consonant (*SnaG* III 3.11) is found once in *Fo Loch Echach*: *ar cind* §9(o)105.
- Falling together of diphthongs áe/aí/óe/oí (*SnaG* III 3.8): *náem* is used for *nóeb* throughout the text in LU, and see also:
  Final prose section: *nāemaib* for *nóebaib* §13,173 and 174

3.A.2. Hiatus[223]

Hiatus is found only in *Fo Loch Echach*, on three occasions: ***ia****ich* §9(h)77 (G7 íaich), ***ar****dom-****neat*** *anfuth úar* §9(m)94 and the verbal form ***ro snaass*** from G7 (LU has *ro snadius*, §9(h)75) – if the verse-line in which it occurs is to conform to the heptasyllabic standard, *ro snaass* would have to consist of three syllables.[224] Counter-examples (supported by metre) are also found in *Fo Loch Echach* in

[223] For a discussion of hiatus in poetry, see Carney 1982-83: 194-96.
[224] This is also mentioned on p. 140 above and in the textual note ad §9(h)75, *ro snaass*.

monosyllabic ***ón*** for earlier *uän* (§9(h)74), in disyllabic ***siachtsom*** §9(k)88, and in disyllabic *dom-**ruacht*** §9(k)89 (G7 domruart, also disyllabic, confirmed by syllable count). Compare also the disyllabic form *do-**chúaid*** which is found in *Murgein is gein* §10(a)139 (Laud do *ch*oid, G10 doch*o*id, R dochoid), confirmed by syllable count.

3.A.3. Consonants

- Falling together of [β] and [μ] in a word with another nasal (*SnaG* III 3.20): with *m* instead of *b*: *náe**m*** is used throughout the text for OI *nóeb*;
  Prose introduction to *Murgein is gein* (with *b* instead of *m*): *tomaid**b*** §10,134.
  Final prose section: *mīr**m**aili* §18,201
- Simplification of the consonant cluster *-ndn-* to *-dn-* (*SnaG* III 3.14) occurs in the final prose section: *do-ri**d**[**n**]acht* §18,202.

3.B. Old Irish *ol*, 'said'

In the prose, we find ***for*** is used instead of OI ***ol*** in 14 instances (82%); ***ar*** occurs once (6%), and there are 2 examples of ***ol*** (12%). Only two examples of *for* are found in the initial prose section (§5,19 and §5,20); all of the other occurrences of *for*, *ar* and *ol* occur in the final prose section.

3.C. The Article[225]

- Both ***inna*** and ***na*** are found (*SnaG* III 7.6), but the latter occurs more often:
  Prose introduction to *Fo Loch Echach*: acc. pl. ***inna*** *brīat[h]ra* §9,45
  Fo Loch Echach: gen. sg. f. *mac* ***na*** *mnā* §9(e)63, gen. pl. m. *comsid* ***na*** *nāem* §9(r)116, both confirmed by syllable count.
  Prose introduction to *Murgein is gein*: ***na*** *runnu-sa* §10,136
  Final prose section: gen. sg. f. *scéla* ***na*** *Murgelti* §14,177-78; nom. pl. ***na*** *līna* §14,178; gen. pl. *i rricht* ***na*** *mbratān* §12,162
- The new nom. pl. m. (***in***)***na*** is found for OI ***in/ind/int*** (*SnaG* III.7.4) in the final prose section[226]: ***ina*** *naīm* §17,192; ***na*** *daim* §17,195; ***na*** *clérig* §18,197.

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[225] *SnaG* III 7.1-7.8. Carney has provided a date for the complete absence of *inna* from ca. 900 (Carney 1982-83: 199.

[226] *GOI* provides two early examples of this from the Milan glosses and the epilogue of *Fél*, see §468.

- In the dat. pl., the ending ***–(i)b*** of the article is dropped (*SnaG* III.7.5) in the final prose section[227]: ***dona*** *clēirchi* §14,177; ***fóna*** *uscib* §12,163-64; ***fóna*** *murib* §12,164.
- Elision of the preposition ***i*** combined with the article can be found (*SnaG* III 7.8) in the poem *Ticid ticid*: ***'sin*** *lind lethain* for ***isin*** §8(b)39.

3.D. The Noun[228]

- The neuter gender is retained in the placenames *Slīab* ***n****Ēblinde* §1,4-5; *Mag* ***n****Arbthen* §4,14; *Dál* ***m****Búain* §7,31 (all these examples in the initial prose section), and as demonstrated in the following instances:
  Fo Loch Echach: *ba scél* ***n****glē* §9(j)84?[229]
  Final prose section: *ainm* ***n****-aill* §18,200 (nom. sg.)
  Prose introduction to *Murgein is gein*: ***a*** *lleth* ***n****-aill* §10,136 (with neuter article)
- However, there is also evidence of the loss of the neuter (*SnaG* III 5.4):
  Initial prose section: ***in*** *tír* §5,20
  Fo Loch Echach: ***in*** *scēl-sa* §9(n)99
  Final prose section: ***in*** *leth* §17,194; *iss* ***é*** *ainm* §18,199
- In some instances we find the dat. sg. shows u-quality, e.g.:
  Initial prose section: *oc Bel****u****ch da Liac* §3,11;
  Prose introduction to *Ticid, ticid*: *oc taircet****u****l* §8,32;
  Final prose section: *fon chur****u****ch* §13,169; *'na fer****u****nd* §17,189.
- There are a few instances of the acc. pl. in *-u*:
  Initial prose section: *eoch****u*** §5,18; §5,21
  Prose introduction to *Murgein is gein*: *Ult****u*** §10,134; *na runn****u*** (for *inna rannu*) §10,136.
- However, there is also spreading of the ***–(a)ib*** ending in the noun: in one instance in the final prose section, we find ***frisna*** followed by the dative case, rather than the accusative (*SnaG* III 5.1): Middle Irish ***frisna nāemaib*** for Old Irish *frisna noíbu* §13,174.

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[227] Although very rare, there are a few examples of this as early as the glosses, see *GOI* §468.
[228] *SnaG* III 5.1-5.14.
[229] It is also possible that the nasalization is due to the fact that *ba scēl nglé* stands in *cheville* (*SnaG* III 4.14).
[231] *SnaG* III 6.1-6.15.

3.E. The Adjective[231]

3.E.1. i-stems (*SnaG* III 6.7)

Only a few i-stem adjectives are found in our text:

Initial prose section: *Rī* ***maith*** §1,2 (nom. sg. m.), *dá mac* ***mathi*** (nom. dual m.) §1,2

Final prose section: *da dam* ***allaid*** (nom. dual m.) §17,193 (for Old Irish ***da daim alltai***), with the adjective in the singular after a noun in the dual.

3.F. Pronouns[232]

3.F.1. Suffixed pronouns

Two instances of the use of a suffixed pronoun can be found. Both examples occur in the poem *Fo Loch Echach adba dam* and are further discussed in the textual notes: *siachtsom* §9(k)88; *baíthium* §9(l)93.

3.F.2. Infixed pronouns (*SnaG* III 10.5)

The use of the infixed pronoun is almost exclusively confined to the poetry:

Initial prose section: infixed pronoun class A 3 pl.: *coros-báid* §4,15

Fo Loch Echach:

- OI Class A: *nom-léic* §9(c)57; *dom-fuc* §9(h)76; *rom-charsat* §9(i)79; *rom-anacht* §9(i)81; *immom-racht* §9(k)87; *dom-ruacht* §9(k)89; *non-curfed* §9(n)101; *rom-ordaig* §9(o)103; *rom-chertaig* §9(o)104; *rom-áin* §9(u)129.
- OI Class B: *ardom-neat* §9(m)94;[233] *at-bēr-sa* §9(q)110.
- OI Class C: *conid-ārlasar* §9(p)107.

Murgein is gein: infixed pronoun class A 3 sg. f.: *dos-rat* §10(c)147.

Final prose section: infixed pronoun class A 2 sg.: *rot-fia-su* §13,176; *rot-fia* §15,182, where the infixed pronoun is part of a petrified expression with old dative meaning. In the remainder of the final prose section, the independent pronoun is used instead of the infixed pronoun.

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[232] *SnaG* III 10.1-10.28.

[233] This is an example of the Middle Irish use of the infixed pronoun, that is, a syllabic form beginning in a dental after *ar-* (see *SnaG* III 10.8). The verbal form here is not part of a relative construction here – the expected form would have been an OI class B infixed pronoun.

3.F.3. Independent personal pronouns (*SnaG* III 10.9 ff.)

The independent pronoun is regularly found after *ar/ol/for* 'said' (*SnaG* III 10.12), which is already found in Old Irish (*GOI* §408). There are examples of the use of the independent pronoun as predicative nominatives after the copula (*GOI* §406):

Initial prose section: *conid* ***hé*** §4,15 and §4,16

Prose introduction to *Fo Loch Echach*: *conid* ***si*** §9,43

Fo Loch Echach: ***mé*** (with omission of copula for syllable count) §9(l)92; *conid* (ms. cenid) ***mé*** §9(m)97; *is* ***sí*** §9(n)101 *iss* ***ē*** §9(r)115; *nīrbo* ***mé*** §9(s)118, *nīrbó* ***mé*** §9(s)119)

Prose introduction to *Murgein is gein*: *iss* ***ed*** §10,134

Final prose section: ***messi*** §13,170, ***missi*** §13,171 (both with omission of the copula), *iss* ***é*** §18,199

An example of the independent pronoun after an interrogative particle is found in the final prose section: *cīa* ***thusu*** §13,170.

The Middle Irish use of the independent pronoun, representing a subject or object, occurs almost exclusively in the final prose section (with one instance in the introduction to *Fo Loch Echach dia ragaib* ***hí*** §9,44, with use of the pronoun as object with active verbal form). Almost all examples in the text of this use are of a personal pronoun 3 sg. feminine, spelled ***(h)í*** for earlier ***sí***. Below, only those examples of the Middle Irish independent use of the pronoun that are beyond doubt are given – they all come from the final prose section:

- Use as subject of the copula 3 sg. (*SnaG* III 10.14):

  Final prose section: *robo leis* ***hí***, §17,189 and 191 (example given in *SnaG* III 10.14); *corbo leis* ***hī*** §17,191-92.

- Use with passive verbal forms (*SnaG* III 10.15 and 16):

  Final prose section: *frithāilter* ***misi*** *acaib-si* §13,173 (example given in *SnaG* III 10.16); *tucad co tír* ***hí***, §14,179 (example given in *SnaG* III 10.15); *in lá ro báided* ***hé*** §15,183 (example given in *SnaG* III 10.15); *ro gabad* ***hí*** §17,189-90.

- Use as object with active verbal forms (*SnaG* III.10.15 and 17):

  Final prose section: *tarras* ***hí*** §17,191; *bertait sin* ***hí*** §17,195; *rucsat* ***hí*** §17,196; *ro baist Comgall* ***hí*** §18,199 (example given in *SnaG* III 10.17).

3.F.4. Prepositions combined with pronouns or possessive pronouns

- In some instances, the initial of a combination of preposition and pronoun is lenited:

  Initial prose section: ***chucu*** §4,12 and §5,16;

  Final prose section: ***chucut-su*** §13,173 (*SnaG* III.13.7).

- In two instances, we find ***tairsib*** for earlier ***tairsiu***, consisting of the preposition ***tar*** and the pronoun 3 pl. dat. (*SnaG* III 5.1, 13.1,13.25):

  Initial prose section: ***tairsib-sium*** §4,15

  Prose introduction to *Ticid, ticid*: ***táirsib*** §8,32

- In combinations of the preposition ***i*** + possessive pronoun, the vowel ***i*** is sometimes lost:[234]

  Prose introduction to *Murgein is gein*: *i* + poss. pr.3 sg. f. ***'na*** §10,135, §10,136

  Final prose section: *i* + poss. pr. 3 sg. m.: ***'na*** §17,189, §17,191; *i* + poss. pr.3 sg. f. ***'na*** §12,163.

3.F.5. Demonstratives

Usually, the demonstrative ***sin*** is spelled ***sin***, but there are a few occurrences of the (Middle Irish) spelling ***sein*** (*SnaG* III10.24):

Murgein is gein: ***sein*** §10(b)142, spelled ***sein*** in LU only for visual rhyme between ***treib*** and *fir-**sein*** (note that all of the other versions have *sin* here)

Final prose section ***insein*** §13,175.

3.G. Verbs

3.G.1. Simplification of compound verbs[235]

In the prose sections of this text, and once each in *Fo Loch Echach* and *Murgein is gein co mbúadaib*, simplification of compound verbal forms can be found. See for example:

Initial prose section: ***imtigit*** §6,24 (for earlier *imm-tíagat*); ***tecait*** §6,25 (for earlier *do-eccat* or the contracted deuterotonic[236] *teccat*). The form ***curit*** §5,22 also occurs, from *cuirid*, which replaces earlier *fo-ceird* and *do-cuiretar* (*DIL* s.v. 1 *cuirid*)

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[234] For the loss of the first syllable of an unstressed word, see *SnaG* III 3.26.
[235] *SnaG* III 11.16 ff.
[236] For a discussion of the contracted deuterotonic, see Schrijver 1997: 113 f.

Fo Loch Echach: ***innis*** §9(p)108

Muirgein is gein: ***ro airbir*** (for original *ar-rubert*, with the simple verb *airbeirid* replacing *ar-beir* §10(b)143; but the other manuscripts here use the verb *erbaid* 'entrusts' (Laud is do erb, G10 roerb, R roerb*ad*)

Final prose section: ***no imthiged-si*** §12,164 (for earlier *imma-téged*; compare this with the form ***immá-tēged***, in *Fo Loch Echach* §9(f)69)[237]; ***conaigi*** §13,176 (for earlier *con-daigi*); ***ro indiltea*** §14,178; ***īarfaigid*** §15,184; *amal* ***ro thingell*** *int aingel* (*tingellaid* replaces OI *do-ingella*) §17,195

Against the single simplified form in *Fo Loch Echach*, the following deuterotonic verbal forms are present: ***immá-teged*** §9(f)69; ***ateoch*** (for *ad-teuch*) §9(g)72; ***ardom-neat*** §9(m)94; ***do-rairngert*** §9(n)98

3.G.2. Strong verbs conjugated as weak verbs[239]

Examples are found of strong verbs conjugated as weak verbs (i.e. a verb that originally had a reduplicated preterite now has an s-preterite, or a reduplicated future now has an f-future):

Initial prose section: ***siblaís***, §4,15; ***silis*** §6,26

Ticid, ticid: ***snáifid*** §8(b)40[240]

Prose introduction to *Fo Loch Echach*: *ro* ***chan****-si* §9,44 (for OI *ro cechan*)

Fo Loch Echach: the form ***ro snadius*** is found in LU (§9(h)75 in the present edition), but compare the earlier form ***ro snaass*** found in G7, which means that the original did not have this late form *ro snadius*.

Final prose section: ***coro íarfaig*** (with *íarfaigid* replacing OI *íarmi-foïch*, see also *SnaG* III.11.17) §13,169. Notable is the hybrid form ***ro íarfacht*** §15,181-82 (*SnaG* III 11.17), where the new simplified verb ***íarfaigid*** has its original strong perfect rather than the expected ***ro íarfaig***.

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[237] Examples of the simplified verb *imthigid* can also be found in *SnaG* III 11.16. For the use of old and new forms in the same text, see *SnaG* III 11.18.

[239] *SnaG* III 11.15.

[240] See *GOI* §644n.: '**snáifid** 'she will swim' LU 2965 is not an old form.'

3.G.3. Presence of deponent forms

In our text, a few deponent forms are found:

Initial prose section: ***ainmnigthir***, §1,4

Fo Loch Echach: ***atlochor*** §9(g)73, ***-ārlasar*** §9(p)107, ***midedar*** §9(r)117

Final prose section: ***cūalatar*** §13,168

Counter examples of verbal forms that were originally deponentia, but now have been conjugated as active verbs occur in *Fo Loch Echach*: ***rom-ordaig*** §9(o)103 (from *ordaigidir)*, ***rom-chertaig*** §9(o)104 (from *certaigidir*); and in the final prose section: ***frithāilter*** (*misi*) §13,173[241]

3.G.4. Relative clauses

- In our text, examples can possibly be found of leniting relative clauses in a construction that would not have been considered relative in Old Irish. An example of this is a cleft construction in which the part brought forward is an adverb(ial phrase), which is usually followed by a formally independent clause (*GOI* §506). Note, however, that *GOI* §506 gives examples of the adverbial cleft sentence used in periphrasis with *is* or *ní* followed by a leniting or nasalizing relative clause from the Milan and St. Gall glosses. However, this statement must be considered with caution, as the instances in *AE* could also be examples of lenition after ***ro*** (*SnaG* III.4.8 and 11.1 – and see G.5. below for examples from *AE*), as all of the verbal forms are in the perfect:

  Initial prose section: *Is ón Chonaing sin* ***ro chinset***... §7,31

  Prose introduction to *Fo Loch Echach*: *conid and sin* ***ro chan-si*** §9,44

  Prose introduction to *Murgein is gein*: *is di-si* ***ro chét*** §10,136

- The relative form of the preverb *imm*, ***imma***, occurs twice in *Fo Loch Echach*, and in both instances the form is supported by the metre: ***imma****-rá* §9(e)65; ***immá****-teged* §9(f)69.

- In a number of instances in *Fo Loch Echach*, the 3 sg. relative is found: ***rethes*** §9(i)81, ***méthas*** §9(l)92, and ***mandras*** §9(c)55. Especially notable is the form ***midedar*** §9(r)117, which retains the deponent conjugation (see also G.3. above).

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[241] The from *frithāilter*, passive imperative 3 sg., could come from either *fris-áilethar* 'expects', or the Middle Irish simplified verb based on it, *frithāilid*. However, since the independent pronoun expressing the object is used here, it seems likely that here we have the simplified verbal form (as one would expect an infixed pronoun with the compound verbal form).

- There are no examples present of nasalizing relative clauses, even where one would be expected. See the following instances in the final prose section: *in tan immorro ro* ***batar*** *lucht* §13,168, *amal ro* ***thingell*** *int aingel* §17,195-96. It should be noted, however, that a nasalizing relative clause can be replaced by a formally independent clause in almost every instance (*GOI* §505, including an example with *in ta(i)n*), although *amal* in this meaning is almost always followed by a nasalizing relative clause (see *DIL* s.v. *amail* for examples, 296.57f, and *GOI* §498).

3.G.5. Use of perfect now preterite in meaning[242]

Throughout the prose, there are many instances of the perfect used where in OI a preterite would be expected. Occurrences of preterite compared to perfect:

	Preterite	**Perfect**	**Total**
Initial prose section	**14** (45%)	**17** (55%)	**31** (100%)
Prose introduction to *Ticid, ticid*[243]	**2** (100%)	**0** (0%)	**2** (100%)
Prose introduction to *Fo Loch Echach*	**0** (0%)	**4** (100%)	**4** (100%)
Fo Loch Echach	**6** (25%)	**18** (75%)	**24** (100%)
Prose introduction to *Murgein is gein*	**0** (0%)	**4** (100%)	**4** (100%)
Murgein is gein	**2** (18%)	**9** (82%)	**11** (100%)
Final prose section	**6** (15%)	**35** (85%)	**41** (100%)

Although the poem *Fo Loch Echach* does have a fairly large number of perfective forms, the use of preterite and perfect conforms to the Old Irish standard. In *Murgein is gein*, one might have expected the preterite ***–epert*** rather than the perfect in *Día n-****ēbart*** 'when he (=Óengus) said'. The prose introductions to *Fo Loch Echach* and *Murgein is gein* only have perfective forms. The initial prose section has a fairly even distribution of preterite and perfect, but there is an example of a perfect used where a preterite would be expected in: *dlomaid dóib asind ferand 7* ***ní der[n]sat*** *fair*

[242] *SnaG* III 12.27.

[243] There are no preterite or perfect forms present in the poem *Ticid, ticid*, which is why it is not being considered in this overview.

§5,17-18. The final prose section clearly favours the use of the perfect, and many instances can be found of the use of the perfect now preterite in meaning, e.g. *in tan immorro* ***ro batar*** *lucht...oc imrum* §13,168 and especially the sequence ***As-bert*** *Comgall...****As-bert*** *Fergus...****Ro rāid*** *Beōān*, §17,189-91.

3.G.6. Lenition after *ro, do* and *ní*[244]

Examples of this Middle Irish feature can be found in the following sections:

Initial prose section: ***ro chinset*** §7,31

Prose introduction to *Fo Loch Echach*: ***ro chan-si*** §9,44

Prose introduction to *Murgein is gein*: ***ro chēt*** (with Middle Irish use of the preterite passive stem as preterite active, see textual note) §10,136

Murgein is gein: LU: ***do-chúaid*** §10(a)139 (Laud: do *ch*oid, G10: doc*h*oid, R dochoid); ***ro char*** §10(b)141 (in all manuscripts).

Final prose section: possibly *amal* ***ro thingell*** *int aingel* (this could also be an example of a leniting relative clause used instead of a nasalizing relative clause – see G.3. above) §17,195

The poem *Fo Loch Echach* has no examples of Middle Irish lenition after *ro, do* and *ní*; *Ticid, ticid* contains no forms with *ro, do* or *ní*.

The following examples may instead contain an Old Irish proleptic neuter pronoun:

Initial prose section: ***ro*** *chosain* §6,27 (for ***ra*** *chosain...lethrigi*, with *ríge* io,n)

Final prose section: *mani* ***th****ucthar a lóg dam* §13,175, with *log*, s,n

3.G.7. Use of *ro* as a conjunct particle

In the prose sections of *AE, ro* regularly occurs as a proclitic conjunct particle, rather than a stressed preverb, as evidenced by the following examples:[245]

Initial prose section: ***arnár*** *siblad* §5,23; ***nīro*** *soí* §6,25-26; ***náro*** *íad* §7,29

Murgein is gein: ***coro*** *baisted* §10(c)148

Compare *Fo Loch Echach* where there is an instance of fixed *ro*[246] retained in the compound *ad-gládathar* 'adresses': *conid* ***ā****rlasar* (§9(p)107).

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[244] *SnaG* III 11.1.
[245] See *EIV*: chapter 12.4.2, p. 187 f.
[246] *GOI* §527(b).

3.H. The verbal stem

3.H.1. Present Stem

Present indicative

1 sg.	abs.	*Fo Loch Echach*:	LU: *blaisiu* §9(s)120 (G7 blaissium), §9(t)124 (G7 blaisim)
			LU: *gudim* §9(u)126
	deut.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *a-teoch* §9(g)72
	prot.	Final prose section	LU: *-ebur* §13,175
1 sg.	deut. dep.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *a-tlochor* §9(g)73
2 sg.	abs.	Final prose section	LU: *conaigi* §13,176 (new absolute)
3 sg.	abs.	Initial prose section	LU: *laigid* §4,14
			LU: *dlomaid* §5,17
			LU: *marbaid* §5,18
		Fo Loch Echach	LU: *benaid* §9(f)67 (G7 benait, with *t* for [d])
		Final prose section	LU: *téit* §15,182
			LU: *slēchtaid* §16,188
	deut.[247]	Initial prose section	LU: *tic* §2,9, §5,19 (contracted deut.)
			LU: *do-beir* §5,21
			LU: *do-gní* §6,26
		Fo Loch Echach	LU: *frisi-tibi* §9(b)52
			LU: *imma-rá* §9(e)65 (G7 immera)
			LU: *ardom-neat* §9(m)94
			LU: *con-ic* §9(r)115 (G7 connic)
		Final prose section	LU: *do-gnī* §13,170
	rel.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *māndras* §9(c)55 (G7 mandrus)
			LU: *méthas* §9(l)92
		Final prose section	LU: *fotera* §13,171
		Fo Loch Echach	LU: *rethes* §9(i)81 (G7 rethes) (Laud rocharus, G10 docarus, R rocaras)
	rel. dep.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *midedar* §9(r)117 (G7 midither)

[247] Also included here are contracted deuterotonic forms.

	pass.	Initial prose section	LU: *ainmnigt[h]ir* §1,4
1 pl.	prot.	Initial prose section	LU: *-ētam* §5,21
3 pl.	abs.	Initial prose section	LU: *curit* §5,22 (from new verb *cuirid*)
			LU: *imtigit* §6,24 (new absolute)
			LU: *tecait* §6,25 (new absolute)
		Final prose section	LU: *bertait* §17,195
	deut.	Initial prose section	LU: *do-berat-som* §4,13
	pass. deut.	Final prose section	LU: *do-gnīter* §18,201

Imperfect indicative

3 sg.	Initial prose section	LU: *no thēiged* §9,43 (rel.)
	Fo Loch Echach	LU: *immá-teged* §9(f)69 (G7 imateig*edh*) (rel.)
	Final prose section	LU: *no imthiged-si* §12,164 (new absolute)

Imperative

2 sg.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *tairind* §9(c)56 (G7 tairind)
		LU: *nom-léic* §9(c)57 (G7 romlécc)
		LU: *asta* §9(d)58 (G7 asta)
		LU: *nā tēig* §9(p)106 (2x)
		LU: *innis* §9(p)108 (new absolute)
	Final prose section	LU: *abair-siu* §13,174 (Middle Irish)
2 pl.	*Ticid, ticid*	LU: *ticid* §8(a)34 (2x)
		LU: *gebid* §8(a)34 (Middle Irish)
		LU: *snaidid* §8(a)35
	Final prose section	LU: *frithāilter* §13,173 (possible from Middle Irish simplified verb *frithāilid* – see textual note)
		LU: *tabraid-si* §17,194
		LU: *lēcid* §17,195

3.H.2. Subjunctive Stem

Present ā-subjunctive

2 pl.	conj.	Initial prose section	LU: *mani fácthai* §5,20 (Middle Irish ending)
pass.	sg.	Final prose section	LU: *mani thucthar* §13,174

Past ā-subjunctive

3 sg.	Initial prose section	LU: *co tudchad* §2,6-7
		LU: *ara mberad* §2,7
		LU: *arnár siblad* §5,23
	Fo Loch Echach	LU: *do-deochad* §9(n)99
	Final prose section	LU: *co rucad* §17,192

Present s-subjunctive

1 sg.	prot. dep.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *conid-ārlasar* §9(p)107
3 sg.	conj.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *rom-ain* §9(u)129

3.H.3. Future stem

f-future

1 sg.	abs.	Initial prose section	LU: *mairfet-sa* §5,19 (Middle Irish ending)
3 sg.	abs.	*Ticid, ticid*	LU: *snáifid* §8(b)40
	conj.	*Ticid, ticid*	LU: *co llethba* §8(a)37
	deut.	*Ticid, ticid*	LU: *ticfa* §8(a)36 (contracted deut.)
3 pl.	deut.	Final prose section	LU: *ticfat* §17,193 (contracted deut.)
pass.	sg.	*Ticid, ticid*	LU: *bāidfidir* §8(b)38

f-conditional

3 sg.	conj.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *non-curfed* §9(n)101 (new form from simple verb *cuirid*)

ē-future

1 sg.	deut.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *at-bēr-sa* §9(q)110

3.H.4. Preterite active stem

Preterite

3 sg.	abs.	Initial prose section	LU: *siblaís* §4,15 (Middle Irish form)
			LU: *silis* §6,26 (Middle Irish form)
		Fo Loch Echach	LU: *siachtsom* (with suffixed pronoun, see textual note) §9(k)88 (G7 ro*m*siact som*h*)
1 sg.	conj.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *ní fúar* §9(j)83, *nī fūar* §9(j)83
	deut.	Final prose section	LU: *at-bath* §11,158
1 pl.	abs.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *lodomar* §9(v)131
3 pl.	deut. dep.	Final prose section	LU: *co cūalatar* §13,168

Perfect

1 sg.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *im-rordus* §9(g)71
		LU: *ro snadius* §9(h)75 (G7 rosnaass) (new s- preterite)
3 sg.	Initial prose section	LU: *ro láe-side* §1,3-4
		LU: *ro lai-si* §2,6
		LU: *at-raracht* §7,29
		LU: *ro chan-si* §9,44 (earlier *ro cechan*, now based on s-preterite)
	Fo Loch Echach	LU: *ra ét* §9(d)59 (G7 ro*h*et)
		LU: *dom-fuc* §9(h)76 (G7 do*m* uc)
		LU: *ro snó* §9(l)91
		LU: *rom-ordaig* §9(o)103
		LU: *rom-chertaig* §9(o)104
		LU: *do-dechaid* §9(q)113
	Murgein is gein	LU: *ro char* §10(b)141 (Laud Roc*h*ar, G10 Roc*h*ar, R Roc*h*ar)
		LU: *ro airbir* §10(b)143 (Laud is do erb, G10 roerb, R roerb*ad*) (LU has new simplified verb *airbeirid*)
	Final prose section	LU: *ro laí* §13,166

			LU: *ro íarfaig* §13,169
			LU: *ro íarfacht* §15,181-82
			LU: *ruc-si* §18,199
3 sg.	prot.	*Murgein is gein*	LU: *noco tard* §10(b)144 (Laud noco tard, G10 *no*cotard R nogutar*d*) (Middle Irish form for OI *–tarat*)
			LU: *día n-ēbart* §10(e)153 (Laud Dia ṅdebairt; G10 Diandeba*ir*t, R Diandeb*er*t)

3.H.5. Preterite passive stem

Preterite

3 sg.	abs.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *ō bāte* §9(d)61 (G7 orombaiti)

Perfect

3 sg.		Initial prose section	LU: *ro báded* §7,29-30
		Final prose section	LU: *ro bāided* §11,157
			LU: *ro soīed-si* §12,162-63
			LU: *ro soīed* §12,163
			LU: *ro gabad-si* §14,178
			LU: *tucad* §14,179
			LU: *ro báided* §15,183

3.H.6. The substantive verb

Present indicative

1 sg.	abs.	Final prose section	LU: *attū* §13,171
			LU: *atú* §15,183
	conj.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *-tú* §9(d)60 (G7 tu)
3 sg.	deut.	Final prose section	LU: *itā* §18,201
		Fo Loch Echach	LU: *do-fil* §9(p)109
	conj.	Initial prose section	LU: *hi fil* §4,14
		Fo Loch Echach	LU: *hi fuil* §9(v)133
		Final prose section	LU: *dia tā* §13,169

2 pl. conj.	Initial prose section	LU: *forsa táthi* §5,20 (Middle Irish ending)
Imperfect indicative		
3 sg.	Final prose section	LU: *co mbíd* §12,163
3 pl.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *i mbītis* §9(e)64 (G7 imbitiss)
Present subjunctive		
1 sg.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *-béo* §9(u)127
Past subjunctive		
3 sg.	Initial prose section	LU: *no beth* §2,7-8
	Final prose section	LU: *co mbeth* §12,162
Future		
3 sg.	Final prose section	LU: *rot-fía-su* §13,176
		LU: *rot-fia* §15,182
Secondary future		
3 sg.	Final prose section	LU: *no bíad* §12,162
Past		
1 sg.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *dīa mbá* §9(g)70
		LU: *bá-sa* §9(h)74 (G7 Pasa)
3 sg.	Initial prose section	LU: *baī-si* §2,6
		LU: *boí* §3,10
	Intro *Ticid, ticid*	LU: *baī* §8,32
	Fo Loch Echach	LU: *baíthium* §9(l)93
	Murgein is gein	LU: *as* [*m*]*baí* §10(d)149 (Laud asboí, G10 asmi, R asmboí)
3 pl.	Initial prose section	LU: *batár* §1,2

Perfect

3 sg.	Intro *Murgein is gein*	LU: §10,135-36
	Fo Loch Echach	LU: *ro boí* §9(n)100
	Intro *Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *ro boī* §9,42
	Final prose section	LU: *co rabi-si* §12,164
		LU: *ro boí* §15,180
		LU: *ro boī* §15,181, §17,189
3 pl.	Final prose section	LU: *ro bātar* §13,168

3.H.7. Copula

Present indicative

3 sg.	abs.	Initial prose section	LU: *is* §1,3, §1,4
		Fo Loch Echach	LU: *is* §9(b)52, §9(j)84, §9(n)101 §9(q)111, §9(v)133,
			LU: *iss* §9(r)115 (G7 is)
		Intro *Murgein is gein*	LU: *iss* §10,134
			LU: *is* §10,136
		Murgein is gein	LU: *is* §10(a)137 (Laud as, G10 is, R is), §10(e)155 (Laud *is*)
		Final prose section	LU: *is* §13,172, §17,189; §17,191
			LU: *iss* §18,198; §18,199
3 sg.	conj.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *ní* §9(b)51, §9(e)63 (G7 ni), §9(q)110
			LU: *nī* §9(t)123 (G7 ni),
		Final prose section	LU: *nī* §15,182
3 sg.	rel.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *is* (for *as*) §9(g)72
		Intro *Murgein is gein*	LU: *is* §10,134

Present subjunctive

3 sg.	*Fo Loch Echach*	LU: *ba* §9(j)84
	Murgein is gein	LU: *ceirbo* §10(d)151 (Laud ciarbo, G10 ciarbo, R giarbo)

	Final prose section	LU: *masa* §15,182
	Final prose section	LU: *nīrab* §15,184
Past subjunctive		
3 sg.	Initial prose section	LU: *bad* §5,21, §5,23
Past		
3 sg.	Initial prose section	LU: *ba* §1,3
		LU: *combo* §6,26
	Final prose section	LU: *ba* §14,179
Perfect		
3 sg.	Initial prose section	LU: *corbo* §4,15
	Fo Loch Echach	LU: *nīrbo* §9(s)118, *nīrbó* §9(s)119
	Final prose section	LU: *corbo* §17,191
		LU: *ro bo* §17,189, §17,191

Summary

The earliest section of *AE* is the poem *Fo Loch Echach*. On the whole it retains Old Irish compound verbal forms, it distinguishes between preterite and perfect; hiatus is present, as are suffixed pronouns and infixed pronouns. Although there are a few later elements present in the poem, they do not prevent dating to the early Middle Irish period. *Fo Loch Echach* contains a number of preposed genitives, such as ***ós Letha*** *lind* 'the sea of Brittany' §9(h)76, *fri* ***trethan*** *tracht* 'by the sea-shore' §9(k)89, *im'* ***romra*** *ró* 'in my vast ocean' §9(l)90. If Carney is correct in dating the weakening of the structure prepostion – genitive - noun to the latter part of the tenth century, and its demise from about 1000 onwards, the presence of this structure seems to indicate that the earliest version of this poem must have been composed before the eleventh century.[248] There are three examples of hiatus in *Fo Loch Echach*, and three counter-examples. In his study of early Irish verse, Carney has looked at hiatus forms in poetry and has found that in three of the poems of

[248] Carney 1982-83: 202. See also p. 37 and p. 37 n. 46 above, for Breatnach's statement that the preposed genitive is still found in the work of Fland Mainistrech (d. 1056), so that this date may have to be adjusted.

Orthanach, that he dated to ca. AD 770-800, hiatus is dominant, but contracted forms confirmed by metre are also found, while in *Saltair na Rann* (which Carney dated to ca. 870)[249], contracted forms dominate, although a lot of hiatus forms are present.[250] It would seem that we can place our poem around the dates of the poems of Orthanach and *Saltair na Rann*.

A final clue as to the date of the poem can possible be found in the form ***mar*** (for OI ***amal***) with the intermediate form ***immar*** that occur for the first time in *Saltair na Rann*, a poem by Maelmuru Othna and a poem on Cormac mac Cuilennáin.

Generally, compound verbs are retained in this poem, but here is one example of a simplified verbal form ***innis*** §9(p)108. This is not necessarily of importance regarding the date of the poem, as it may have been a later scribal innovation for earlier ***innid***. *Fo Loch Echach* also has three examples of a deponent verbal form, but two counter-examples of formerly deponent verbs that now have clearly been conjugated as an active verb. Based on the previous points, I suggest that our poem can be dated roughly to the time when *Saltair na Rann* was composed.

The poem *Murgein is gein* has a number of clearly Middle Irish forms in it and can possibly be placed at a later date than *Fo Loch Echach*. The form ***noco*** 'until' is found for *co* in §10(b)144. Notable also is the simplified verbal form ***ro airbir (bith)*** 'she lived' §10(b)143 from *airbeirid* (for OI *ar-beir*), for OI ***ar-rubart (biuth)***, although this could be a later innovation, and not original to the poem. Finally, the *deibide* rhymes ***treib*** 'dwelling': ***ind fir-sein*** (with unstressed *sein* for OI *sin*) §10(b)141-42 and ***sin***: *Murgein* §10(e)155-56 are found.[251]

The poem *Ticid, ticid* is extremely difficult to date, as it is only two quatrains in length. The only elements that may point to a composition in the Middle Irish period are the verbal form ***snáifid*** (which was referred to by Thurneysen as 'not an old form')[252] and the elision of the initial vowel ***i*** in ***isin*** (giving us ***'sin***, §8(b)39).[253] To *Murgein is gein* and *Ticid, ticid*, I would ascribe a date of composition of the eleventh century.

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[249] But see *SnaG* III 1.6, where Breatnach states it is usually dated to the end of the tenth century: 'Is é deireadh an 10ú haois a chruitear mar dháta leis seo de ghnáth'.
[250] Carney 1982-83: 195 f.
[251] Compare *EIM*: 32, end of n. 3 from p. 31.
[252] *GOI* §644.
[253] *SnaG* III 7.8.

This then leaves the prose sections. As discussed above, the initial prose section may have been composed between 1044 (possibly the date of the poet of the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach on which the initial prose section was based)[254] and the date of the H interpolator. The language in the initial part of the tale is markedly more conservative than the prose in the second section, and it is therefore possible that it was composed before that section.

The final prose section and the prose sections introducing the poems contain the largest amount of Middle Irish features, including the use of the independent pronoun to express a direct object. Liam Breatnach discusses this phenomenon, and states that it does not occur in *Saltair na Rann*, but can be found in texts from the eleventh century onwards (*SnaG* III 10.15, p. 271). This would mean that these prose sections were composed no earlier than the eleventh century. If the date 1044 is correct, a date in the eleventh century might be suggested for the initial prose section, and the composition of the final section and the prose introductions to the poems can probably be placed in the twelfth century.

Based solely on its contents, the first prose section was (tentatively) given a *terminus post quem* of 1044. The poem *Ticid, ticid* could not be accorded a date based solely on contents; *Fo Loch Echach* was probably composed after the eighth century (based on the line *cīa rī do-fil for Loch Lēin* (coinciding with the loss of power of the Éoganacht Locha Léin), but before the eleventh/twelfth century, as that is the date accorded to the commentary on *Fél. Muirgein is gein* was composed after 800 (or at least the date of composition of *Fél*), but before the commentary on *Fél* was written. The final prose section may have been composed in the twelfth century, to coincide with the revival of the monastery of Bangor. Thus, the evidence based on the various historical references is confirmed by the linguistic evidence.

[254] See p. 129, n. 172 above.

DISCUSSION OF THE METRES

In this section, the three poems contained in *Aided Echach maic Maireda*, i.e. *Ticid, ticid, Fo Loch Echach* and *Murgein is gein*, will be discussed in turn.

1. Ticid ticid gebid fāebra (2 quatrains)

Ticid ticid is most consistent with the pattern $8^2 4^2 8^2 4^2$, although one of the couplets in each quatrain deviates from this. Murphy classifies the $8^2 4^2 8^2 4^2$ type as ***dechnad cummaisc***.[255] Each quatrain is considered below in turn.

Quatrain a.

Ticid ticid gebid fæbra	8^2
snaidid et*h*ra	4^2
ticfa Li*n*dmuni dar Līat*h*muni	9^3
co llet*h*ba	3^2

The second couplet does not conform to the $8^2 4^2 8^2 4^2$ pattern, but note that the number of syllables in each line of that couplet combined does amount to twelve syllables – perhaps the two lines in the couplet should be considered as one unit?

Rhyme occurs between verse-lines b and d. Three alternate versions of the second couplet can be found in three of the four versions of *Dúil Dromma Cétta*[256] and a third one occurs in O'Mulconry's Glossary.[257] In these versions, not only do the lines differ significantly, but the couplets of the first quatrain are inverted, compared to our version:

CIH 617.3-4 (*Dúil Dromma Cétta*)
Doragha linmuine tar liathmuine.
fo leich bado
cuinghid béla, trascraid omna
denuid ethra[258]

CIH 1075.12-15 (*Dúil Dromma Cétta*)
Doraga linmuine tar liathmuine.
fo leich bada
cuinghi beala, trascraidh omnae
denaidh ethra

[255] *EIM*: 50-51 (no. 12).
[256] Two of the versions of *Dúil Dromma Cétta* can be found in *CIH*, and the other one, H.1.13, was transcribed by Paul Russell (1996), pp. 167-68 (also referred to on p. 131 above). Russell also transcribed a version on *Dúil Dromma Cétta* from Egerton MS 1782, but this is very fragmentary and does not have a version of the poem.
[257] Stokes 1900a: 270-71, entries 808 and 809.
[258] This can be translated 'Linnmuine will flow over Líathmuine, under a side of sea(?), ask for axes, fell trees, make boats.' Perhaps we can take *fo* ***leich*** *bada* as *fo* ***léich*** *bada* 'under a measure of sea'

H.1.13 (*Dúil Dromma Cétta*)	*O'Mulconry's Glossary* (entry 808/809)
doraga linmuine tar liethmuine	***Doraga Lindmaine tar Liethmuine,***
fo leich bada	***folethfa,***
cingid beala trascraid omnu	*cuingid bela, trascraid omna,*
denuid ethra	*dēnaid ethra*

Ornamentation

- There are instances of alliteration, e.g. a: ***t**icid*, ***t**icid*, and in c: ***L**indmūni*, ***L**īathmuni*.
- A parallel structure is found in lines a and b: *gebid fœbra*: *snaidid ethra*, which is even clearer in the versions from *Dúil Dromma Cétta* and O'Mulconry's Glossary, where there is a summing-up of three elements (*cuingid bela, trascraid omna, dēnaid ethra*).

Quatrain b.

Bāidfid*ir* Airiu 7 *Conaing*	8^2
'si*n* lin*d* let*h*ain;	4^2
snáifid Lī Bā*n* sair sīar sa*nchan*	8^1
ta*r* ca*ch* t*re*t*h*ain.	4^2

The third line of the couplet counts as 8^1, since *sanchan* is apparently stressed on the last syllable.[259] Rhyme occurs between b and d, and the final word in a imperfectly consonates with b and d:[260] a. *Conaing*; b. *lethain*; d. *trethain*.

Ornamentation

- Alliteration is found in b, c and d: b. ***l**ind **l**ethain*; c. ***s**air **s**íar **s**anchan*.
- In line b, we find an example of the (Middle Irish) elision of an unstressed vowel at the beginning of a word[261]: ***'sin*** for ***isin***.

(i.e. a tidal wave) from *DIL* 2 *líach* ā, f, 'trowel, ladle, measure'. The version from O'Mulconry's Glossary here has 'it will spread', from *folethaid* 'spreads'.

[259] See *DIL* s.v. *sanchan*.

[260] Murphy treated consonance in *EIM* 33-36, and described it as follows: 'Consonance differs from rime mainly in its treatment of stressed vowels. In consonance corresponding stressed vowels are not the same: they agree in quantity only [i.e. long or short]. Consonance differs from rime also in the fact that corresponding interior consonants, though they must belong to the same class, need not agree in quality; that is to say, broad interior consonants may consonate with slender interior consonants of the same class. Final consonants, however, must agree both in class and quality. As in rime, so in consonance, unstressed final vowels must be identical. (Owing to the weakening of the distinction between unstressed final vowels in the Middle Irish period,..., this rule has little bearing on consonance after the Old Irish period...' (*EIM*: 34).

- The poem lacks ***dúnad***, which may point to loss or corruption of part of the poem.

2. Fo Loch Echach adba dam (22 quatrains)

Fo Loch Echach is written almost entirely in ***rannaigecht mór***, that is, heptasyllabic verse-lines with a final monosyllabic word ($7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}7^{1}$ or 7^{1}x 4), with final rhyme between lines b and d.[262] There are two exceptions to this pattern:

- **Quatrain §9(b)** follows the pattern $\mathbf{7^{3}7^{2}7^{1}7^{2}}$, which differs from the regular 7^{1} x 4. According to Murphy, in early examples of *rannaigecht*, there is a great variation of the length of the final feet, with the only rule being that the feet that rhyme (i.e. the final words in verse-lines b and d) must have the same rhythm.[263] This may therefore be an example of an early *rannaigecht bec*, with a pattern of $7^{2}7^{2}$.
- **Quatrain §9(j)** is written in ***deibide***, rather than *rannaigecht*.[264] The pattern of the first couplet is $7^{1}7^{1}$, or a *deibide nguilbnech ndialtach*.[265] This is followed by a couplet in *deibide scaílte (fota)*, with a pattern of $7^{1}7^{3}$.[266] It should be pointed out that a variant version of quatrain §9(i), found in *Fél* is in *deibide nguilbnech ndialtach*, while in LU and G7 it appears in *rannaigecht*:

LU	**G7**	***Fél***
Ciapsa dui*n*e, ciapsa **bled**	Ciabsa bl*e*d mil, nipsa **bl*e*d**	Ciarsam duine, ciarsam **bled**
ro*m*-c*h*arsat máil Maigi **Breg**	ro*m*-carsat mail Máighe **Breg*h***	rom-cardais mail Muige**Breg**
nírbo lesai*n*m, bá-sá **lí**	nirbsa lesainm, baínae **líi**	nirbo leasainm, báine **lí**
ro*m*-anacht rí ret*h*es **ler**	rom-anas*us* rí reth*e*s **nemh**	ro carus aingel ngel **rí**[267]

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[261] *SnaG* III 3.26, and for examples of the elision of the *i-* in the combination of the preposition *i* + article with examples, see *SnaG* III 7.8. This is to be distinguished from metrical elision, which is different from this; the rule for metrical elysion in Old and Middle Irish poetry is summarized by Murphy as follows: 'an unstressed vowel may (or may not) be elided when another vowel precedes it' (*EIM* 39, and see *EIM* 39 f. for a more detailed description).

[262] *EIM*: 52, no. 15.

[263] *EIM*: 52.

[264] §9(j) *Már é matan, matan* ***mairt****/ní fúar ethar, nī fúar* ***bāirc****// is and do-lluid, ba scél* ***nglē****/Lind Mūni dar* ***Líathmune***.

[265] *EIM*: 68, no. 68.

[266] *EIM*: 65, no. 63.

[267] *Fél*: 52-53.

It would appear that the reading used by Stokes is the reading of manuscript A7,[268] as the quatrain in the other versions ends differently, and is in *rannaigecht*, rhyming with Breg:

Laud	**R**	**G10**
Ro charus ri **aingel ṅgeal**	Ro caras rí **aingel ngel**	Do-car*us* ri **ai*n*gel ngeal**

There are a few occasions where verse-line a rhymes with b and d, e.g.

§9(g): *láin*: *ráin*: *báin*

§9(i): *bled*: *breg*: *ler*

§9(p): *tēig*: *léir*: *Lēin*.

Rhyme of line c with b and d:

§9(t) *rom*: *moch*: *dam* (= *dom*)

Consonance of verse-line a with b and d can be found in:

§9(f) *mais*: *n-uis*: *chuis*

§9(h) *oll*: *mend*: *chend*

§9(k) *Cecht*: *immom-racht*: *tracht*

§9(m) *úar*: *fál*: *már*

§9(s) *már*: *thrēn*: *én*

Consonance of verse-line c with b and d can be found in:

§9(d) *lind*: *sund*: *Find*

§9(l) *glend*: *tond*: *mend*

Consonance of a and c with b and d occurs in one quatrain:

§9(t) *cel*: *rom*: *dam* (for *dom*)

[268] Note that at this stage, this statement cannot be corroborated by evidence from A7 (called F in the *Fél* edition), as the manuscript is awaiting restoration and cannot be consulted, as stated before.

Ornamentation

- *Aicill* occurs, though not invariably (see for example quatrains §9(a) *bárc*: *trācht*; in §9(k): *úacht*: *dom-ruacht*; §9(q): *Dé*: *inné*; §9(r): *n-án*: *már*, and §9(s) and §9(t): *moch*: *loch*).
- *Alliteration* occurs frequently. It can be found:
  - between words in the same verse-line
  - between the final word of the first verse-line of a quatrain and the first word of the next line ('linking alliteration').[269] See for example quatrains §9(c): ***m**edrach **m**end / **m**andras*, §9(l): ***r**ó / **r**o snó*, §9(m) ***ú**ar / fri **ū**ar-farrci*, and §9(r): ***D**é / **d**áig*. Linking alliteration between verse-lines c and d in a quatrain does not occur.
  - linking alliteration between two couplets is found in quatrains §9(d): ***c**ind* : ***c**ían*, §9(e): ***m**ac na **m**ná* : ***m**ag*.
  - there are three instances of linking alliteration between quatrains §9(g) and §9(h), ***b**áin*: ***b**á-sa*, between §9(h) and §9(i) ***ch**end*: ***c**iapsa*, between §9(r) and §9(s), ***n**í*: ***nī**rbo*.
- Repetition of words or elements is found in §9(d) lines b, c and d, where the temporal conjunction ***ó*** is followed by a verb: ***ō** ra ét / **ō** tú / **ō** bāte*. A parallel sentence structure can be found in §9(i)78: ***ciapsa** duine, **ciapsa** bled*. Another instance occurs in §9(j)82: *már é* ***matan**, **matan** mairt*; in §9(j)83: ***ní fúar** ethar, **nī fūar** bāirc*; and see §9(p)106: ***nā tēig**, a Brénaind, **nā tēig***. In §9(i)b and d: ***rom-charsat m**áil **M**aigi Breg / **rom-anacht r**í **r**ethes ler*, we find a verbal form in the perfect with an infixed pronoun class a 1 sg., followed by two alliterating words. Finally, the structures of §9(s) lines a and b are parallel, with repetition of the verbal form, independent personal pronoun, followed by the article nom. sg. feminine, a noun and finally an adjective that alliterates with the noun: ***nīrbo mé in** Murgeilt már / **nīrbó mé in** trāignech thrēn*.
- *Dúnad* of the ***saigid***-type[270] is found in quatrains §9(u) (*rom-áin co cían, funchi **fó***, echoing the first word of the poem) and §9(v) (*7 is tír hi fuil **fó***, also echoing the first word), and note §9(t) (***fo Loch Echach adba dam***), where the entire first

[269] For a description of linking alliteration, see p. 68, n. 126 above.
[270] This is *dúnad* with repetition of the entire first word, see *EIM*: 44.

verse-line has been repeated. It is possible that some of these quatrains were not originally part of the poem, but were added at a later date.

3. Muirgein is gein co mbúadaib (5 quatrains)

This poem is written in ***deibide scaílte*** **(*fota*)**, and follows the pattern $7^{x}7^{x+1 \text{ or } 2}$. Rhyme of the *rinn*: *ardrinn* type (i.e. of a stressed syllable with an unstressed syllable) occurs between verse-lines a and b and between c and d. In two couplets, we find rhyme between words of equal length, giving us *deibide nguilbnech*. In the second quatrain (b), both lines in the first couplet are heptasyllabic. In the first couplet of the final quatrain (e), rhyme occurs between disyllabic endwords, or a *deibide nguilbnech recomarcach* (letters between brackets refer to quatrains):

§10(a)	couplet 1:	$7^{2}7^{3}$	couplet 2:	$7^{1}7^{2}$
§10(b)	couplet 1:	$7^{1}7^{2}$	couplet 2:	$7^{1}7^{2}$
§10(c)	couplet 1:	$7^{1}7^{2}$	couplet 2:	$7^{1}7^{2}$
§10(d)	couplet 1:	$7^{1}7^{2}$	couplet 2:	$7^{1}7^{2}$
§10(e)	couplet 1:	$7^{2}7^{2}$	couplet 2:	$7^{1}7^{2}$

Endwords in the **first** line of each couplet are predominantly monosyllabic (in eight out of ten couplets), with two instances of a disyllabic end-word, in the first line of quatrain (a): *mbúadaib*, and in the first verse-line of quatrain (e) *áeda*.

Endwords in the **second** line of each couplet are predominantly disyllabic (in eight of the ten couplets). There is one trisyllabic end-word (*imúallaig*) and one monosyllabic endword (*sein*, in the first couplet of quatrain (b)). The above overview shows us that the predominant pattern is $7^{1}7^{2}$, present in 7 of the 10 couplets. It is interesting to note that this differs from the much earlier poem *Ba mol* in part I of this thesis, as in that poem, rhyme tends to occur between a monosyllabic final word and a trisyllabic final word, giving us $7^{1}7^{3}$.

Ornamentation

- Alliteration is found:

  - between stressed words within verse-lines, e.g. in §10(a)138 ***i**ngen **E**chach **i**mũallaig, **c**ísu co **c**ert, **Í**su in* [*n*-]***a**inrecht*; §10(c)145 *a **ll**os a **l**ín, **t**aistel **t**air*;

§10(d) ***f**irt **f**ollus* and ***b**ratān **b**itbalc* and §10(e) ***Ō**engus h**U**a **Ā**iblenn **á**ebda, gein **m**ór in **m**ara, **M**urgein.*

- on two occasions, there is linking alliteration between the final word of a line and the initial of the following line, §10(a)139-40 ***c**ert*: ***c**é* and §10(e)153-54 *m'**á**eda* (a contraction of *mo ḟéda*): ***Ō**engus.*

- linking alliteration occurs between quatrains §10(a) and §10(b): *n-an**r**echt // **R**o char*

- *Dúnad* of the ***saigid***-type is found at the end of the poem, where ***Murgein*** is repeated.

EDITORIAL PRACTICE

The edition of *Aided Echach* is based on the text in LU, simply because it is the only manuscript containing the entire text. The text has been divided into paragraphs. After each paragraph, the translation is given. Variant readings for the poems, when available, are given in the main text. In editing the text, the same standard has been adopted as described in the editorial practice for the edition of *De causis*, with the addition that occasionally, **apostrophes** have been used to indicate an elided vowel.

Section I: the story of Echu and Rí

§1. Aided Ec*h*ac*h* ma*i*c Máireda i*n*so

Rī mait*h* ro gab Mumai*n* .i. Mairid m*a*c Cáiredo. Batá*r* dá m*a*c mat*h*i leis .i. Eoc*h*aid 7 Rīb. Ēbliu, im*m*orro, i*n*gen Gúari a Bruig Me*i*c I*n*d Óc, is í ba be*n* do Maírid. Ro láeside me*n*mai*n* fo*r*a m*a*c-so*m* .i. fo*r* Eoc*h*aid. Is ōnd Ēbli*n*d si*n* da*n*o ai*n*mnigt[h]i*r* Slīab nĒblinde.

§1. This is the death of Echu son of Mairid

A noble king assumed the kingship of Munster, that is Mairid, son of Cairid. He had two noble sons, Echu and Rí. Ébliu, moreover, daughter of Gúaire from the Land of Mac Ind Óc, was Mairid's wife. The latter had taken an interest in his (Mairid's) son, that is, on Echu. It is after that [same] Ébliu that Slíab nÉblinde is named.

§2. Baī-si t*r*ā oc tot*h*logud i*n* gilli f*ri* rē cīana. Ro lai-si trā fo deoid ālgis fair-siu*m* co tudc*h*ad fo*r* ait*h*ed lēi. As-be*r*t im*m*orro Rīb f*ri*a brāt*h*air ara mbe*r*ad leis in mnaí, síu no bet*h* fo at*h*is, 7 no ragad-so*m* a tír leis. Do-be*r*t īaro*m* Eoch*aid* Ēbl*ind* leis fo*r* aithed 7 tic Rīb leo. Deic*h* *cét* a llī*n* do feraib. Is a*m*laid tā*n*catar, *co n*-étaib 7 *co n*-almaib léo.

§2. She then was enticing the youth (Echu) for a long time. At last she demanded that he elope with her. Rí then told his brother to take the woman away before he (Echu) would be disgraced, and that he (Rí) would leave the country with him. Echu then eloped with Ébliu, and Rí went with them. One thousand was their full complement of men. And so they came, with [their] flocks and herds of cattle with them.

§3. As-be*r*tatar a ndruid f*ri*u-so*m* co*n*ách i *n*-óeni*n*ad boí i *n*dā*n* dóib orba do gabáil. Scarait īaro*m* oc Belu*c*h da Liac.

§3. Their druids told them that they were not fated to obtain a hereditary piece of land in the same area. And so they parted ways at Belach Da Liac.

§4. Luid Rīb síar co Tīr [39b] cluchi Midir .i. Mag Find 7 in Meic Óic. Luid Midir chucu 7 capull cengalta oci, co srathair fair, īar marbad do-som a n-ech uli remi. Do-berat-som a crod uli fair co ruc leo co tici Mag nArbthen .i. āit hi fil Loch Rí indiu. Laigid in gerrān occo and sin 7 siblaís a fūal corbo thipra. Conid hé sin tánic tairsib-sium īar sin, coros-bāid uli. Conid hé Loch Rí.

§4. Rí went westwards to the playing-ground of Midir and the Mac Óc. i.e. Mag Find After having killed all of their horses, Midir went up to them with a haltered horse wearing a pack-saddle. They put all their goods on the horse and took it with them as far as Mag nAirbthen, that is, the place in which Loch Rí is situated today. The gelding then lay down there and it let its urine flow until it became a well. And it was that [well] which engulfed them after that, and it drowned them all. And this is [what is now] Loch Rí.

§5. Luid dano Eocho co ránic in mBruig Meic Ind Ōc. Tánic fer mór chucu 7 dlomaid dóib asind ferand 7 nī der[n]sat fair. Marbaid in fer dano a n-eochu uli ind aidchi-sin. Tic in fer cétna ara bárach 7 as-bert friu: 'Mairfet-sa for ndóeni uli innocht,' for sē, 'mani fácthai in tír forsa táthi.' 'Do-rignis mór d'ulc frind chena,' for Eochaid, 'ar n-eich uli do marbad. Cīa bad áil dūn techt, ní ētam dul cen eochu.' Do-beir Ōengus ech mór doib 7 curit a crod uli fair. *Ocus* as-bert friu cen scor ind eich 7 arná léictis airisium dó arnár siblad a fúal, arnabad fochond báis doib.

§5. Echu, on the other hand, went on until he reached the Land of Mac Ind Óc. A tall man came up to them and ordered them away from the (i.e. his) land, but they did not do it for him. That night, the man killed all of their horses. The same man returned the next morning and said to them: 'I will kill all your men tonight,' he said, 'if you do not leave the land on which you are.' 'You have already done us great wrong,' said Echu, 'by killing all our horses. Even if we desired to go, we cannot go without horses.' Óengus [then] gave them a big horse and they put all their goods on it. He told them not to unharness the horse, and not to allow it to stop, lest it would let its urine flow and be the cause of their deaths.

§6. Imtigit íar sin dīa Domnaig isin mís medōnaig ind fogomair, co rāncatar Līathmuine i nUltaib. Tecait uli dia saigthin ind eich 7 berait a crod uli i n-óenfecht de. *Ocus* nīro soí nech díb aiged ind eich i(n) frithlorg. Silis int ech oco īar sin combo thipra. Do-gní Eocho īar sin tech immon tiprait 7 comla forri 7 ōenben oca hathigid. Ro chosain Eocho lethrigi nUlad īar sin fri Muridach mac Fīachach Findamnais.

§6. After that, they set out on a Sunday in the middle month of Autumn, until they reached [the place] Líathmuine in Ulster. They all approached the horse and took all their goods from its back in one go. But none of them turned the horse around and sent it back to where it came from. Then, at that moment, the horse urinated until it (his urine) became a well. Eocho then built a house around the well, with a lid on it, and a single woman [was] guarding it. After that, Eocho contested joint kingship over Ulster with Muiredach son of Fíachu Findamnas.

§7. Fecht and trā náro íad in ben in tiprait, at-raracht Lindmuni dar Líathmuni. *Ocus* ro báded Eocho cona chlaind and *acht* Lī Bān 7 Conaing 7 Curnān ōnmit. Is ón *Chonaing*-sin dano ro chinset Dál mBúain 7 Dál Sailne.

§7. On one occasion, however, when the woman did not cover the well, [as a result the water] Linnmuine flowed across Líathmuine. Echu was drowned in it with [all] his kin except for Lí Bán, Conaing and Curnán the fool. It is from that [same] Conaing then that the [population groups] Dál mBúain and Dál Sailne have originated.

Section II: the poems

§8. Baī trá Curnān oc taircetul doib ind locha do thīchtain táirsib, conid and as-bert-som:

§8. Curnán then was prophesying to them that the lake would engulf them, and he then said:

§8(a). Ticid ticid gebid fæbra
snaidid et*h*ra
ticfa Li*n*dmuni dar Līat*h*mu*n*i
co llet*h*ba

Come, come, take up axes, / carve vessels // Linnmuine will overflow Líathmuine / and it will spread out

§8(b). Bāidfid*ir* Airiu 7 *Con*ai*n*g
'si*n* li*n*d let*h*ain.
snáifid Lī Bā*n* sair sīar sa*nch*a*n*
ta*r* ca*ch* t*reth*ai*n*.

Airiu and Conaing will be drowned / in the broad lake.// Lí Bán will swim to and fro and here and there / across every stormy sea.

§9. Fīr ō*n* dō-s*om* si*n*, ar ro boī Lī Bā*n* t*ri* c*h*ēt blīa*dnae* ar fut i*n* mara 7 a orci i rric*ht* dobrā*n* i*n*a díaid, ca*ch* conair no t*h*ēiged, ca*n* scarad f*ri*a eteir do gréss. *Con*id si fēi*n* ro i*n*nis a i*mthech*ta do Beōān m*ac* I*n*li dīa ragaib hí i*n*a lí*n*aib, *con*id a*n*d si*n* ro c*han*-si i*n*na brīat[h]*ra* sīs īaro*m*:

§9. He spoke the truth, for Lí Bán roamed the sea for 300 years with her lapdog in the shape of an otter behind her, wherever she went, continually, without ever being separated from her. And it is she herself who recounted her travels to Beóán son of Inle, when he captured her in his nets, and it is then that she sang the following words:

		LU	G7[271]
46	§9(a)	[fo. 40a] Fo Loc*h* Ec*h*ac*h*, adba da*m*,	[F]o[272] loch ech*ach* adb*h*a dam*h*.[273]
47		- ard in sceng dro*n* dri*n*ged g*r*a*i*g -	ardi*m*sci*n*g dron dring*edh* graig
48		erdalta fo bru*nn*ib bárc	erdalta fobruin*nd* barc.
49		to*nd* mo tugi, t*r*ā*ch*t mo f*r*a*i*g.	tontt mo túg*h*a tra*cht* mofraig

Under Loch nEchach, my dwelling, / - high [was] the firm bed where horses stepped - // [I am] destined [to dwell] under ships' bows / the wave [is] my roof, the shore [is] my wall.

		LU	G7
50	§9(b)	**Dāil**[274] ec*h*nat i*n*d airmairi .i. don topur	-
51		- ní gnát*h* brónā*n* f*or* sudi;	-
52		is mairg f*ri*si tibi ge*n*	-
53		i*n* be*n* di t*h*on*n*aib .i. in tipra tuli.	-

A meeting of the little mares of the seashore i.e. to the well / - it is not customary to grieve over that; // woe is he on whom the woman / smiles from the flood's waves i.e. the well.

		LU	G7
54	§9(c)	Fossod a tond medrach mend	Foss*edh* atond medrach mend.
55		mandras ál fri ainbthe hír .i. in fírinni	mandrus sal fri hainb*h*thi hír
56		tairind dinetān do (f)rāig, .i. tabair haig*id* form	tairind dindetán to gáir.
57		nom-léic bicatān do thír!	romlécc becatán dothír

Steady [is] her (i.e. of the woman of the flood's waves) joyous clear wave / which destroys a brood with a tempest of anger; i.e. the truth // abate your anger a little, i.e. face me / allow me onto land for a little while!

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[271] G7 begins with Muirgelt *fil*i*a* Ethach c*ecinit* .i. li ban inge*n* Ech*ach*. The word *ban* has been written over *li* and *ingen* with a mark indicating it is to be inserted after *li*.
[272] A space two lines high has been left open for the initial F, which was never filled.
[273] The end of a verse-line is often marked with a dot resembling a full stop – I have indicated this in the transcription with a full stop.
[274] Laud has *Duil* – see textual note.

		LU	G7
58	§9(d)	Asta di*n*etān **fo*r*tched**[275]	Asta dindetán fo*r*t ciund.
59		cía*n* ō ra ét locha li*n*d:	cían ho ai*m* ro*h*et locho lind
60		t*ri* c*h*ét blīa*dnae* ō **[a]tú** su*n*d	.300. pl*íadnae* hotusunt
61		ō bāte a*n*d Eoc*h*o Fi*n*d.	orombaiti eocha find

Keep the slaughter a little in check;/ long ago since the water of the lake has been obtained: // three hundred years since I am here / since Echu Finn was drowned in it.

		LU	G7
62	§9(e)	Imda i*m*ned i*n* cec*h* dū	IMda[276] mimneth in cach du
63		ní mád-c*h*in dún mac na mná;	ni*m*mai cichi[277,278] dun m*a*c na m*n*a.
64		mag i mbītis **druing Echach**[279]	mag*h* imbitiss druingg ech*ach*
65		*con*id *e*tha(*i*)*r* i*m*ma-rá.	*con*it et*h*ar im*m*era

Sorrow is abundant everywhere / would that the son of the wife [of Mairid] had not been born for us; // [this used to be] a plain upon which Echu's bands used to dwell, / and [now] it is a boat that navigates it.

		LU	G7
66	§9(f)	Tip*ra* m*e*i*c* Maireda mais	Tip*ra* m*e*i*c* mair*edh*a maiss.
67		be*n*aid fr*a*is fri *h*adba n-uis;	be*n*ait frais fr*i* hadb*h*a nois
68		a lli*n*d laic*h*nec*h* let*han* gla(i)s	illind loíchnech leth*an* glaiss.
69		i*m*má-tēged cách dia c*h*uis	imateig*edh* cach dia coiss.

The well of the handsome son of Mairid / batters with a gush the deer's dwelling: // its pool, blanketed with ducks, broad and grey, / which could once be crossed by all on foot.

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[275] Laud has fortchind here, corresponding to G7 *fort ciund*, which requires emendation – see textual note to §9(d)58.
[276] The letters *imd* have been repeated after *imda* in the manuscript, with dots under the letters *imd* indicating it is a scribal error.
[277] For *ni* [*i*]*mma cichi* – see textual note.
[278] Second *i* subscript.
[279] LU has dro*n*gu ec*h* – see textual note.

		LU	G7
70	§9(g)	Dīa *m*bá fo li*n*d loc*h*a lái*n*	-
71		i*m*-rord*us* .i. rí*g* ric*h*id rái*n*;	-
72		a-teoch .i. atchim in n-at*h*air is náe*m*,	-
73		a-tloc*h*or brāen bat[h]is bái*n*.	-

When I dwelt under the water of the full lake / I reflected on glorious Heaven's King; // I entreat i.e. I entreat the father who is holy, / I rejoice at the water of blessed baptism.

		LU	G7
74	§9(h)	Bá-sa i n-ón bíasta n-oll	Pasa inon biasta noll.
75		**ro snaass**[280] muir medra*ch* me*n*d;	rosnaass mui*r*[281] medr*ach* mend
76		do*m*-(f)uc to*n*d ós Le*th*a lind	do*m* uc tont ua leth*an* lind.
77		i rricht īaic*h* *acht* mo c*hen*d.	irrict íaich *acht* mo cen*n*

I dwelled in the foam of (i.e. the sea inhabited by) great monsters, / I swam across the joyous clear sea; // A wave brought me across the sea of Brittany / [while I was] in the shape of a salmon but for my head.

		LU	G7
78	§9(i)	Ciapsa dui*n*e, ciapsa bled	Ciabsa bl*ed*mil nipsa bl*edh*
79		ro*m*-c*h*arsat māil Maigi Breg	ro*m*carsat mail máighe bre*gh*
80		nírbo lesai*n*m, **báine**[282] lí;	nirbsa lesai*n*m báinæ líi
81		ro*m*-anacht rí ret*h*es ler.	[col. 13] romanas*us* rí reth*es* nem*h*.

Laud	G10	R
Cia*r*samdui*n*e cia*r*sambleid.	Ciabs*am*dui*n*e ciabs*am*bl*edh*.	Ciarsa*m* dui*n*e cia*r*sa*m* bled.
nomcardais mail maigi breg:	no*m*car*d*ais mil muige b*r*e*g*.	ro*m*cardais mail muide breg.
níba lesai*n*m bai*n*e allí.	nibalesain*m* baine lí.	nirbo leasain*m*[283] bamé lí.
roc*h*arus rí ai*n*gel ṅgeal	doca*r*us ri ai*n*gel ngeal.	roca*r*as rí ai*n*gel ngel.

[280] LU has rosnadi*us*.
[281] *i* subscript, with stroke through *i* for the *r*.
[282] LU has *básá lí* 'I was a beauty', against G7, Laud and G10 (R has *bamé lí*, but this may simply be a misinterpretation of *baine li* by the copyist).
[283] First *a* subscript.

Whether I was a person, or a sea-monster, / Mag Breg's noble people loved me [all the same]; 'whiteness of beauty' was no nickname; / the King who causes the ocean to move has saved me.

		LU	G7
82	§9(j)	**M'aire**[284] mata*n*, matan māirt:	-
83		ní fúar et*h*ar, nī fūar bāirc	-
84		is a*n*d do-lluid, ba scél nglē,	-
85		Li*n*dmuni dar Líat*h*mune.	-

My burden was the morning, the morning of Tuesday: I found no ship, I found no boat. // It is then, may it be a clear story, / that Linnmuine overflowed Líathmuine.

		LU	G7
86	§9(k)	Fó mo mata*n* do Maig Cec*h*t	Foi mo maton domoig*h* cecht[285].
87		so*n* fo*r*cetul i*m*mo*m*-rac*h*t;	son f*orcethul* imomrac*ht*[286]
88		siac*h*tso*m* done*n*d 7 ūac*h*t	ro*m*siact som*h* domen*n* is úacht.
89		dom-ruacht to*n*d f*ri* tret*h*an t*rach*t	domruart tont f*or* treth*an* tract

Good my morning journey(?) to Mag Cecht / happy [are] the instructions that have driven me; // storm and cold approached me, / a wave has come to me by the sea-shore.

		LU	G7
90	§9(l)	M'ōenurā*n* im romra ró	-
91		ro snó farrci, garb a gle*n*d;	-
92		mé muc mara méthas to*n*d,	-
93		baít*h*iu*m* anfud mīlac*h* me*n*d	-

[It is I] by myself going around (i.e. travelling) a vast ocean / who have swum across the sea, rough its valley; // I, a porpoise which a wave fattens, I had a clear storm [at my disposal], awash with creatures.

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[284] Laud has *Máré*, but this requires emendation – see textual note.
[285] *t* subscript.
[286] ra*cht* has been added over the words *imom romsiact*, indicating it has to be inserted after *imom*.

		LU	G7
94	§9(m)	Ardo*m*-neät anfut*h* úar	-
95		f*ri* ūar-farrci, dulgi fál;	-
96		murbruc*h*t Loc*h*a Ec*h*ac*h*(ac*h*) āi*n*	-
97		**conid**[287] mé i*n* Murgelt már.	-

The cold storm sustains me / against the cold sea, harsh barrier; // The outburst of bright Echu's Lake [took place] / so that I am [now] the famous *Muirgeilt*.

		LU	G7
98	§9(n)	Do-rairngert C*ur*nā*n* cé[i]t gal	-
99		in scēl-sa do-deoc*h*ad dú*n*;	-
100		tip*ra* ro boí i*n*ar tig	-
101		is sí no*n*-c*ur*fed dar múr.	-

Curnán of the hundred feats of valour had prophesied / this event, that it might befall us; // the well that was in our home, / it is she that would send us across the shoal.

		LU	G7
102	§9(o)	Fota mo c*hom*naidi sund	-
103		am*al* ro*m*-o*r*daig mo rí	-
104		ma*r* ro*m*-c*h*ertaig Día do ni*m*	-
105		a*r* ci*n*d i*n*d fir, Brēnai*n*d bí.	-

Long my stay here, / as my King has ordered me, // as God of Heaven has scolded me / in front of the man, living Brénainn.

[287] Laud has *cenid*, but emendation is justified here – see textual note.

		LU	G7
106	§9(p)	Nā tēig, a Brénai*n*d, nā tēig	-
107		*con*id-ārlasar do léir:	-
108		i*n*nis da*m*, a*r* Día do ni*m*,	-
109		cīa rī do-fil f*or* Loc*h* Lēin?	-

Do not go, Brénainn, do not go, / so that I may address you diligently: // tell me, for the sake of God in Heaven, / who is the king who rules over Loch Léin?

		LU	G7
110	§9(q)	At-bē*r*-sa fr*i*t, ní rád mer,	-
111		is rí Fīac*h*na f*or*mna gil -	-
112		ro tec*h*t aic*h*ni do m*a*c Dé,	-
113		i*n*né do-dec*h*aid do ni*m*	-

I will tell you, it is no foolhardy talk, // Fíachna of the white shoulder is king - // he obtained [this] distinguishing feature from God's son, / yesterday (i.e. recently) he came from Heaven.

		LU	G7
114	§9(r)	**Foimti**[288] do c*h*āc*h* cr*ā*d m*ei*c Dé	Foimti di cach crad*h* m*ei*c dé.
115		dáig iss ē *co*n-ic cac*h* ní	déig ise co*nn*ic cachní
116		Comsid na nāe*m* násad n-ān -	Coimse*dh* nanae*m*h nas*adh* nán.
117		Día már midedar[289] *cach* ní	die már midithe*r* ce*ch* ní.

Let everyone be on his guard against the wrath of God's Son, / because he is omnipotent; // the Ruler of the Saints of bright assemblies - / the great God who judges everything.

[288] LU has Fo*m*tiu – see textual note.
[289] LU has mided ar, as two separat words.

		LU	G7
118	§9(s)	Nīrbo mé i*n* M*ur*geilt má*r*	Nirpo mé indmuirg*el*t már.
119		nīrbó mé in t*rāi*gnec*h* t*hr*ē*n*	nirpo mé in trigmech tré*n*.
120		blaisiu magri mata*n* moc*h*	blaissiu*m* maigri mat*an* m*och*
121		fo Loc*h* Ec*h*ac*h*, adba én	fol*och* ech*ach* adb*h*a én

I was never really the famous *Muirgeilt* / I was never really the strong landdweller(?) // I taste salmon in the early morning / under Loch nEchach, dwelling of birds.

		LU	G7
122	§9(t)	Mit*h*ig da*m*-sa dul f*or* cel;	Mith*igh* da*m*sae dul arcel.
123		**scar** [290]f*ri m*'etal, bēs nī ro*m*:	scar[291] f*ri*m fethal bess nirro*m*
124		blaisiu maigri mata*n* moc*h*	blaisi*m*[292] maig*ri* mat*an* moch
125		fo Loc*h* Ec*h*ac*h* adba **dom**[293]. .f.	fol*och* ech*ach* adb*h*a damh Fo Loc*h*

It is time for me to pass away; / parting with my pleasure, perhaps it is not too soon: // I taste salmon in the early morning / under Loch nEchach [is] my dwelling.

		LU	G7
126	§9(u)	Gudi*m* Brénai*n*d t*ri*a bit*h* sír	-
127		hi cē*in* bēo fo li*n*dib lō,	-
128		cobair fir a culc*h*i c*hí*ar	-
129		ro*m*-á*in* co cía*n*, fu*nch*i fó. .fó.L.	-

I beseech Brénainn forever, / as long as I may be under oceans of water, // may the assistance of a man in a dark garment / save me for a long time, [me being] a *fuinche* under it (i.e. the lake).

[290] LU has sca*r*ad here – see textual note.
[291] G7 has *scar* with a suspension stroke, but with marks under it to indicate a scribal error. This is followed by *scar* without suspension stroke.
[292] Second *i* subscript.
[293] LU has *dam* here, but *dom* is required if it is to rhyme with *rom*.

		LU	G7
130	§9(v)	Tip*ra* m*aic* Maireda mais [fo.40b]	-
131		f*or* lin*d* laiss lodo*mar* dō;	-
132		úasu i*mm*i ro ās muir	-
133		7 is tír hi fuil fó. Fo L*och* E	-

The well of the handsome son of Mairid / on a blue lake we went to him; // above and around him (Echu), the sea arose, / and that which is under it (i.e. the sea) is land.

134 §10. Iss *ed* s*i*n da*no* is mō ro scaīl Ultu fo Éri*n*d: tomaidb Loc*h*a Ec*hach* fō t*hí*r. Do-
135 ratad da*no* ai*n*m do Lí Bā*n* īa*r*na baisted .i. Murgen .i. gein mara. A leth 'na bratā*n* ro
136 boī 7 a lleth n-aill 'na duni. Is dī-si ro c*hē*t i*n* se*nch*aid na runnu-sa:

§10. That is what most scattered the Ulstermen throughout Ireland: the bursting forth of Loch nEchach throughout his (Echu's) land. A name then was given to Lí Bán after her baptism, that is Murgein, that is Sea-Birth. She was half fish, half human. It is about her that the reciter of lore sang these quatrains:

		LU	Laud
137	§10(a)	M*ur*gei*n* is gei*n* co mbúadaib,	Muirgen as gei*n* combuadaib
138		i*ng*e*n* Ec*hach* i*m*ūallaig,	.i*ng*e*n*. ec*hach* imuallaig:
139		do-c*h*úaid se*ch* císu co cert	do c*h*oid seo*ch* issu co cert.
140		cé **do[s]-rat**[294] Ísu **in [n-]ainricht**.[295]	Cia d*us*rat issu anaonra*cht*[296]

G10[297]	R
(.r.) Muirgine isgen co*m*buadaib.	Muirgein is gein co*m*buadaib.
i*ng*e*n* ech*ach* i*m*uall*aig*.	i*ng*e*n* eac*hach*[298] i*m*uall*aig*.

[294] LU has *cedorat*, but an infixed pronoun is required here and is actually found in the Laud version, which is why I have added it here – see also textual note.
[295] LU has i*n*a*n*rec*h*t – see also textual note.
[296] *aon* (with *ao* in ligature) has been written above *an* and *racht* indicating it is to be inserted after *an*.
[297] G10 has .r. written in the margin before almost every line of poetry in order to indicate this is a poem. I have placed the .r. between brackets to indicate that this is not part of the actual text of the poem. Generally, lines are separated by a dot, which I have transcribed here.
[298] First *a* subscript.

doch*o*id sec*h* isa coc*er*t.	dochoid sech cissu[299] co c*er*t.
gedorat isa i*n*an*n*rec*ht*.	ge dorad ísu i*n*anrecht.

Muirgein is a birth with virtues, / daughter of proud Echu, // she went rightly beyond tributes (i.e. she went straight to Heaven) / although Jesus gave her a dreadful appearance.

	LU	Laud
141	§10(b) Ro c*h*ar **in n-inber sech** treib[300]	Roc*h*ar i*n* ni*n*db*er* seoc*h* t*r*eib.
142	Lí Bā*n* i*n*ge*n* i*n*d fir sei*n*:	líbán .i*n*ge*n*. i*n*fi̇rsin[301]:
143	ro airbir bit*h* fo*n*t srut*h* t*r*om	is do erb beit*h* fán sruth t*r*óm.
144	*no* co tard gut*h* do C*h*olo*m*.	noco tard guth don c*h*olom

	G10	R
	.r. Roc*h*ar inin*n*ber sec*hthr*eib.	Roc*h*ar*r* i*n* inber sechtreib.
	liban ingen i*n*firsi*n*.[302]	liba*n* i*n*gen i*n*dfirsi*n*[303].
	roerb abe*th* fa*n*srut*h* tro*m*.	roerb*ad* a beth fo*n* srut*h* trom
	*no*cotard .r. gut*h* doc*h*olo*m*.	nogutar*d* gut*h* doc*h*o*m*gall.

She preferred the estuary to a house, / Lí Bán, daughter of that man: // she lived under the heavy stream / until she addressed Columbanus [of Bobbio].

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[299] *i* subscript.
[300] LU has Roc*h*ar i*n*be*n* secec*h* treib – see textual note.
[301] Final *i* subscript.
[302] Final *i* subscript.
[303] Final *i* subscript.

		LU	Laud
145	§10(c)	A llos a lí*n* is a c[h]rai*n*d	Alos alín is ac*h*rai*n*d.
146		Beōān, īascairi Co*m*gaill,	beccan iasccaire comgaill:
147		dos-rat īa*r*na t[h]aistel tair	dosrat ia*r*na t*h*aistel tair.
148		coro-baisted i *n*dabaig.	corobaist i*n*a adbaid.

	G10	R
	Alos alin isac*rain*n.	Allos alín isacrain*n*.
	beoan iasca*i*re co*m*gaill.	beoa*n* iasca*i*re co*m*gaill.
	dosrat ia*r*nataistel ta*ir*.	dosrat iarnataistel toír.
	.r. corobaist*edh* andab*aig*.	coros baisted i*n*dabaig.

By means of his net and his fishing rod / Beóán, fisherman of Comgall, // handed her over [to Comgall] after his travels in the east, / so that she was baptised in a vessel.

		LU	Laud
149	§10(d)	Ingnad i*n* ric*h*t as [m]baí l*us*	Ing*en*nad i*n* ric*h*t asboíl*us*.
150		- Dīa do-rigni i*n* firt foll*us* -	ó do rigne i*n*firt foll*us*:
151		a drec*h* abbā*n* ceirbo cac*h*t;	adrec*h* abban cia*r*bo c*h*ac*h*t.
152		a llet*h* do bratā*n* bitbalc.	al*eth* do bratan bit*h*balcc

	G10	R
	INgnad i*n*ric*ht* asmilus.	INgnad i*n*richt asmboí i*n* lus.
	dia dorigne i*n*firt foll*us*.	dia dorigne i*n*firt foll*us*
	adrec*h* .r. ban ac*h* cia*r*boc*acht*.	adrech bán *acht* gia*r*bo cac*h*t.
	al*eth* dob*r*adan bit*h*balc.	aleat[304] do brada*n* bith balcc.

Remarkable was the (i.e. her) shape, out of which grew a tail / - God has wrought the (i.e. this) manifest miracle - // her face [was] very white, although she was a captive; / half of her [was] that of a very strong salmon.

[304] Second *a* subscript.

		LU	Laud
153	§10(e)	Día **n-ēba[i]*rt***[305] 'carais maéda'	Dia ṅdebairt móeda.
154		Ōeng*us* h*Ūa* Āiblen*n* áebda,	æng*us* hohaiblea*in* æbda:
155		'm'ōe[da]' **mo**[306] Dīa, is ada si*n*,	móeda modia isad*h*a sin[307].
156		gei*n* mór i*n* mar*a*, M*ur*gei*n* .m.is.g.	gei*n* i*n* mara is muiregei*n*.

	G10	R
	Diandeba*ir*t car*a*is moeda.	Diandeb*er*t carais moeda.
	æng*us* .h. aiblei*n* oebdai.	oe*ngus* uaoiblen ædbd*h*a.
	maeda modia badeisi*n*[308].	moeda modia badesi*n*[309].
	gei*n* inmar*a* fomuirgei*n*.	gei*n* i*n*mara fa m*ur*gei*n*

When beautiful Óengus, descendant of Oiblén said 'my Lord loved', // 'my Lord' [referred to] my God, that is fitting, [while] 'Murgein' [referred to] the great birth of the sea.

[305] LU has *Díanebart*, but see textual note.
[306] LU has *moe mó*, but this requires emendation – see textual note.
[307] *i* subscript.
[308] Second *i* subscript.
[309] Last *i* subscript.

Section III: the prose account of the life of Lí Bán

§11. Lí Bān trā 7 Airiu dā ingin Echach Find meic Maireda. Ro bāided Airiu, ben Curnān, and. At-bath dano Curnān dia cumaid-side. Inde Carnd Cornā[i]n nominatur, ar ēc Curnān and sin.

§11. Lí Bán and Airiu were the two daughters of Echu Finn, son of Mairid. Airiu, Curnán's wife, was drowned then. Curnán died out of grief for her. Hence Carn Cornáin is so named, because the death of Curnán [occurred] there.

§12. Blīadain lān trā do Lī Bān ina grīanān fon loch 7 a mesān inna farrud and 7 Dīa oca anacul ar uscib Locha hEchach. Co n-érbairt-si i n-araili lō and: 'A Chomdi,' for sī, 'mogēnair no bíad i richt na mbratān co mbeth sechnón in mara for comsnām friu.' Ro soīed-si īar sin i richt bratān 7 ro soīed a orci i richt dobrān, co mbíd 'na degaid-si fóna uscib 7 fóna murib cach conair no imthiged-si for cach n-aird. Co rabi-si ó amsir Echach meic Maireda co amsir Comgaill Bendchair fon n-innas-sin.

§12. Lí Bán then spent an entire year in her bower under the lake, with her lapdog in her company, and with God protecting her from the waters of Loch nEchach. And she said on a certain day: 'O Lord,' she said, 'happy is one who would be in the shape of the salmon so that she could roam the sea, swimming together with them.' She was turned into a salmon after that, and her lapdog was turned into an otter, and it (the otter) used to follow her under the waters and under the seas, wherever she went, in every direction. And she (Lí Bán) remained in that condition from the time of Echu son of Mairid until the time of Comgall of Bangor.

§13. Ro laí Comgall úaid Beōán mac [n-]Indli ō Thig Dabeóc co Rōim, do accallaim Grigair for cend Uird 7 Rīagla.

§13. Comgall sent Beóán son of Innle from Tech Dabeóc to Rome, to talk to [Pope] Gregory regarding a monastic order and a monastic rule.

168 (§13) I*n* tan imm*orro* ro bātar luc*h*t c*ur*aig Beōān oc i*mr*u*m* fo*r*si*n*d far*r*ci, co cúalatar
169 celebrad ai*n*gel fo*n* c*h*uruc*h*. Coro íarfaig Beōān: 'Cid dia tā i*n* celebrad-sa?' fo*r* sē.
170 'Messi do-gnī,' fo*r* Lī Bā*n*. 'Cīa t*h*usu?' fo*r* Be[ō]ān. 'Lī Bān i*n*ge*n* Ec*h*ac*h* me*i*c
171 Maireda missi,' fo*r* sī. 'Cid fote*r*a duit bit*h* a*m*laid sin?' ar ē-siu*m*. 'Attú t*ri* ch*é*t
172 blīa*dnae* fo*n*d farrci,' fo*r* sī. '*Ocus* is dō tā*nac* [fo. 41a], dia innisi*n* duit-siu mo dāla
173 c*h*ucut-su síar co I*n*be*r* Ollorba. *Ocus* fr*i*thāilte*r* misi acaib-si [7] fo*r* nāe*m*aib Dāil
174 Araide isi*n*d ló-sa hi ci*n*d blīad*nae*, *ocus* abair-siu f*ri* Co*m*gall *ocus* fr*i*sna nāe*m*aib
175 olc*h*ena i*n*sei*n*.' 'Nī ebur-si*n*,' fo*r* Beōān, '*acht* ma*n*i t*h*uct*h*ar a lōg da*m*.' 'Cīa lōg
176 *con*aigi?' ol ī-si. 'T'adnacul oc*um*-sa fēi*n* i'*m* manist*ir*.' 'Rot-fia-su si*n* t*r*ā,' ol ī-si.

(§13) When the crew of Beóán's coracle were traversing the ocean, they heard the liturgical chanting of angels under the[ir] coracle. And Beóán inquired: 'Whence comes that chanting?' (he said). 'I am doing it,' said Lí Bán. 'Who are you?' said Bé[o]án. 'I am Lí Bán, daughter of Echu son of Mairid,' she said. 'What causes you to be this way?' said he. 'I have been under the sea for three hundred years,' she said. 'And it is for this that I have come; to tell you of my meeting with you west of here at Inber Ollorba. And expect me [to be] with you, you saints of the Dál nAraide, on this day in a year's time, and tell that to Comgall and to the other saints.' 'I will not say that,' said Beóán, 'unless I am given a reward for it.' 'What reward are you looking for?' she said. 'Your burial with me in my monastery.' 'You will have that then,' she said.

177 §14. Tánic Beōán ana*ir* íar si*n* 7 ro i*n*nis do C*h*o*m*gall 7 dona clēirc*h*i olc*h*ena scéla na
178 M*ur*gelti. Tánic i*n* blīadai*n* ass foī-si*n* 7 ro i*n*diltea na lī*n*a 7 ro gabad-si i llí*n* Ferg*us*a o
179 Míliuc. Tucad co tír hí īar si*n* 7 ba i*n*gnad a túarascbail 7 a delb.

§14. Beóán came [back] from the east after that and conveyed the tidings of the *Muirgeilt* to Comgall and the other clerics. The year came to its close, the nets were cast out and she was captured in the net of Fergus from Míliuc. She was taken to land after that, and her appearance and shape were remarkable.

§15. Tāncatar sochaidi dia dēscin 7 sī isind ethur 7 usci impi and. Ro boí toīsech Ūa Conaing and cumma cáich 7 brat corcra immi. Ro boī-si dano ocá sírdescin-side. Ro íarfacht int óclaech dī: 'Masa th'airi téit don brut,' for sē, 'rot-fia.' 'Ac,' for sī, 'nī hairi atú [o]ca dēscin etir acht brat corcra ro boī im Eochaid in lá ro báided hé. Rath fort-su dano,' for sī , 'ocus for fir t'inaid ina lōg sin. 7 nīrab écen īarfaigid fir t'inaid do grēs, in cach airiucht i mbia.'

§15. Crowds of people came to look at her, while she was in the vessel, surrounded by water. Like everybody else, the leader of the Uí Chonaing was there, and he was wearing a purple mantle. She was staring at it for a long time. The warrior inquired of her: 'If your mind is set on the mantle,' he said, 'you shall have it.' 'No,' she said, 'it is not for that reason that I am staring at it at all, but it was a purple mantle that Echu wore on the day he was drowned. Prosperity to you then,' she said, 'and on your successor as a reward for that: may it never be necessary to inquire as to the identity of your successor, in any assembly in which you will be.'

§16. Tánic lāech forgrāinni dub mór 7 ro marb-side a mesān-si. Fo-rācaib-si dō-side 7 día thúaith a ngaisced fora n-ottraigib, 7 can a n-uilc do dígail dóib nóco ro troisctis acci-si. Slēchtaid int ōclæch dī īar sin.

§16. A hideous, big, black warrior came and killed her lapdog. She bequeathed to him and his people [that] their weapons [would be] on their dungheaps, and that they could not avenge any evils that would befall them until they would fast to her. The warrior submitted to her after that.

§17. Ro boī íarom imcosnam impi-si. As-bert Comgall ro bo leis hí, ar is 'na ferund ro gabad hí.

§17. Then there was contention regarding her (i.e. whom she belonged to). Comgall said that she was his, because it was on his territory that she had been captured.

191 (§17) As-b*e*r*t* da*no* Ferg*us* ro bo leis hí, ar is 'na lí*n* tarras hí. Ro rāid Beōān da*no* corbo
192 leis hī, ar ro gell fēin dó. Ro t*ro*iscset ule i*n*a naī*m*-si*n* t*rā* co rucad Dīa breit*h* etorro
193 i*m*ma n-i*m*resai*n*. As-be*r*t int ai*n*gel f*ri* araili nduni a*n*d: 'Ticfat da da*m* allaid i
194 *m*bārach,' f*or* sē, 'a Carnd Airend, *ocus* tabraid-si in carpat f*or*aib,' f*or* sē. '7 i*n* let*h*
195 be*r*tait si*n* hí, lēcid-si dóib.' Tā*n*catar na dai*m* arna bárac*h*, am*al* ro t*hin*gell i*n*t ai*n*gel, 7
196 rucsat hí co Tec*h* Dabeóc.

(§17) Fergus, too, said that she was his, for it was in his net that she had been caught. Beóán, too, stated that she belonged to him, because she had promised herself to him. All those saints then fasted, so that God might pass judgment between them regarding their dispute. The angel said to a certain man there: 'Tomorrow, two stags will come,' he said, 'from Carn Airenn. Yoke them to a chariot,' he said, 'and in whichever direction they might carry her, leave [her] with them.' The stags came the following morning, as the angel had promised, and they carried her off to Tech Dabeóc.

197 §18. Tucsat na clérig a rogo dī īar si*n* .i. a baisted 7 a toc*h*t doc*hum* nimi fo c*h*ētóir,
198 isi*n*d ūair-sin. *Nó* a fuirec*h* i*n* co*m*fot cétna 7 a tec*h*t doc*hum* ni*m*i íar sírsæglaib. Iss ē
199 roga ruc-si: [fo. 41 b] a **estec*ht*** a*n*d si*n*. Ro baist Co*m*gall hí 7 iss é ai*n*m do-rat dī:
200 Muirgein .i. gein in mara. Nó Muirgeilt .i. geilt in mara. Ainm n-aill di*n* dano Funchi.
201 Do-gnīter dano ferta 7 mīrmaili trethi-si and sin. 7 itā amal cach nāemóig co n-onōir
202 7 co n-airmiten amal do-rid[n]acht Dīa dī i nnim.

§18. The clerics then gave her a choice. She could either be baptised and go to Heaven immediately, or she could live on for the same amount of time [that she had already lived] and go to Heaven after many ages. The choice that she made was to depart (i.e. die) then. Comgall baptised her and this was the name he gave to her: Muirgein, i.e. 'sea-birth'. Or Muirgeilt, that is 'wild woman (*geilt*) of the sea'. Another name for her [was] Funchi 'scald-crow'. Wonders and miracles are done through her there (at Tech da Beoc). And, like every holy virgin, she enjoys honour and veneration as God bestowed it upon her in Heaven.

For a discussion relating to contents and motifs, see the **thematic discussions** below, pp. 244–83.

§1,1. Aided E*ch*a*ch* m*aic* Máireda i*nso*

The length-mark on the name **Máirid** seems to be spurious. Apart from the form **Maírid** (with accent over the *i* rather than the *a* in §1,3), all other occurrences are without the length-mark. The name of Mairid's father also seems to be Cairid rather than Cáirid, the nominative of the form Cáiredo found in §1,2. For a discussion of the (incorrect) use of length-mark in both names, see O'Rahilly 1946: 148-49.

§1,2. Rī mai*th* ro gab Mumai*n*

Note the word-order. For the opening of a medieval Irish text with a sentence deviating from the normal VSO prose order (with the verb in second position), see Mac Cana 1996: 104, where our opening is cited. According to Mac Cana, most often this deviant word-order served to introduce a famous personage (Mac Cana 1996: 104). In the Edinburgh *dindshenchas* version of the origins of Loch nEchach, Echu and Rí were based in Irluachair (Stokes 1893: 474-75), while the two brothers set out on their journey from Tara into Luachair in the Rennes *dindshenchas* (Stokes 1895: 481-82).

§1,2. batár

Kim McCone discussed the Middle Irish tendency, which seems to be fairly common in LU, to lengthen the vowel of (mostly non-passive) personal endings consisting basically of consonant + vowel (and plus or minus final consonant) in *EIV* chapter 12 2.4 (p. 178-79). See also Greene 1973: 124, who discusses variants in verbal endings in Middle Irish (examples he gives are *-mit* with variant *–mít*, 1 pl. pret. *–mar* with variant *–már* and 3 pl. pret. *–tar* with variant *–tár*) and *SnaG* III 12.5. This phenomenon occurs at several instances in the text and can be easily accounted for as purely scribal.

§1,3. Ēbliu

The name Ébliu poses a problem. The nominative Ébliu seems to be an n-stem. However, the mountain named after her in this text, *Slíab* ***nÉblinde***, has a gen. sg. ending in *–e*, suggesting the name is to be taken as an ā-stem with nom. sg. Éblenn,

rather than an n-stem. The Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach refer to her as *Eiblind ingen Guairi* (Stokes 1895:151; there is no mention of her in the Edinburgh *dindshenchas*). The metrical *dindshenchas* has the nominative sg. ***Eblend***, and the mountain range named after her is called *slíab* ***nEbline*** (*M.Ds.* iv 64-65, ll. 73-76 – in all citations of the metrical *dindshenchas*, I use Gwynn's text and translation):

Eblend, ingen Guairi gil,	Eblend, daughter of bright Guaire
a Brug maic ind Óc adbail,	from the Brug of mighty Mac Ind Óc –
is uadi sin iar sine	from her, by old tradition,
atberar **slíab nEbline**	Slíab Eblinde has its name.

This then means that the name Ébliu cannot have been taken directly from the metrical *dindshenchas* version. It is possible, however, that Ébliu is the older form of the name. In a poem entitled 'The Five Munsters', edited by J.H. Lloyd in *Ériu* 2 (1905): 49-54, two instances are found of the name of the mountain range named after her. The poem contains a mixture of ancient and modern forms, and the instances of the mountain range are noted especially by Lloyd as the most striking instances of this mixture (Lloyd 1905: 49). In both cases, however, the earlier forms have been reconstructed by Lloyd, confirmed by the internal rhyme that occurs throughout the poem in the second couplet of each quatrain. See the internal rhymes *Ó hAichtgi* ***co hĒblinn*** (normalized by Lloyd from ***go hEiplind***) *āin / Is ē a dāil fri* ***hĒrinn*** *hōig*, 'from Sliabh Aichtghi to noble Sliabh Eibhlinne, such is the distribution of it as compared with the whole of Ireland.' and *O' tā* ***Sliab n-Ēblenn*** (restored by Lloyd from ***Fedhlim***) *co n-āib / Co Sliab Cāin na* ***cēmenn*** *crūaid,* '...[and] from where Sliabh Eibhlinne is pleasantly situated to Sliabh Caoin of the difficult passes.' (Lloyd 1905: 50 and 51, quatrains 3 and 5; he discussed his justification for reconstructing Fedhlim to original Ēblenn of the n-stem Ébliu on p. 49). The name Ébliu has therefore been retained in the present edition. See also the note ad *Slīab nĒblinde* below (ad §1,4-5, p. 199).

§1,3-4. Ro láe-side

The Old Irish form would have been *ro laë* (originally trisyllabic, see *GOI* §§680 and 762, and *EIV* 134), with a suppletive verb supplying the perfect for *–cuirethar* and *fo-ceird*. A different spelling of this verbal form can be found in §2,6: *ro lai-si*.

§1,4. *fo*ra mac-so*m*

As *–som* is used to emphasize that Echu is *Mairid*'s son; we may posit that Echu is a child from a previous marriage of Mairid's. This makes Echu Ébliu's stepson. It is

perhaps also significant that Ébliu is never said to be Echu's and Rí's mother, merely their father's wife.

§1,4. ai*n*mnigt[h]*ir*

The Old Irish form would have been *ainmnigthir*, pass. sg. pres. ind. of *ainmnigidir* 'names'. Since the element brought forward is neither subject nor object, the sentence would not have been considered to be relative in Old Irish, but as the endings *–thir* and *–ther* were confused in Middle Irish, it is difficult to say whether the form was regarded as relative in this case.

§1,4-5. Slīab nĒblinde

Note the retention of the neuter gender of *slíab* in the name. This is at present Slieve Phelim, situated in north county Limerick. As pointed out by Gwynn (*M.Ds.* iv: 390), these hills are also mentioned in the text *Mesca Ulad*, where they are called *Sliab n-Eblinni ingini Guaire*. For the forms occurring in Lloyd's edition of the poem on the Five Munsters, see note above on the name Ébliu (p. 197 f.). Lloyd offered an explanation for the development of the modern name of the mountain range on p. 53 of his article. Lloyd stated that Féilim had an intermediate form Féilinn (based on different versions of a song by the poet Peadar Ó Doirnín), and that the form Féilinn 'probably comes from *Éblinne, Éibhlinn*', by loss of final vowel [*-e*] and metathesis of *Éibh* to *Féi, f-* being the Irish initial modification of *v-* (*-bh-*) [after *Slía**b***, possibly originally taken over from a dative case, which therefore did not have the nasalisation], as is well known'.

§2,6. ālgis

DIL translates ***Ro lai-si trā fo deoid ālgis fair-sium co tudchad for aithed lēi*** this sentence 'she begged him to elope with her' (*DIL* s.v. *áilges* 122.81-82), but 'begged' does not convey the element of compulsion present in the imposing of a *geis*. The meaning of the word *áilges* and the length of the *a* in the word are problematic. The basic translation is given in the Dictionary as 'demand' (*DIL* s.v. *áilges*), which is how I have translated it in the text, but this translation does not entirely cover the meaning of the word. In early texts the word *ailges* is found with a short *a* (*DIL* s.v. *áilges*). Thurneysen interpreted the word as a compound consisting of *ail* 'shame, reproach' and *geis* based on *Sanas Cormaic* 62 (*DIL* s.v. *áilges* 122.32-33 and see 122.46-49 for the

citation of *Sanas Cormaic*). In later texts, the *a* generally does have an accent (the long *á* is confirmed by rhyme in *M.Ds.* ii: 62, ll. 107-08, where there is internal rhyme of *áilgis* with *fáid-lis*). The *áilges* would then be a compound of *áil* 'desire, wish' and *geis*, and could be interpreted as a *geis* imposed in order to fulfill someone's desire. I take the word in our text in this way, as this fits the context of *AE* perfectly: the *áilges* is imposed to fulfill Ébliu's desire to elope (and have a relationship) with her stepson Echu. In our text, the word *áilges* incorporates the later expanded use of the concept of *geis*, which impels someone to do something ('x must do y'), rather than the earlier, prohibitive *geis* ('x must not do y'). For the expansion of the meaning of the word *geis*, see Charles-Edwards 1999: 53 ff., and for *geis* used to compel someone, see p. 58.

§2,7. ait*h*ed

The *aithed* 'elopement, flight' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *aithed*) is classified as a separate tale-type in the saga lists. The *aithed*-tale as a literary genre is discussed in Martin 1975-76. In all *aithed*-tales, an offence against the honour-code occurs, which is followed by punishment or revenge. This type of tale can generally be seen as a 'triangle-story' about a woman, a possessor, and a rival lover, and their meaning appears to be social, rather than religious (Martin 1975-76: 147, 150 and 151). These elements are also present in our tale.

§2,7. síu

The standard form in Old Irish would have been *resíu* 'before (this)', consisting of the preposition *ré* and *síu*, the dative sg. of the pronoun *so/se*, but in later Irish the element *re-* is dropped (*DIL* s.v. *resíu*), as is the case here. The word (*re*)*síu* is usually followed by a subjunctive case (*GOI* §517(d)), although here it is not followed by a perfective subjunctive (see *GOI* §895, where Thurneysen says *resíu* is followed by the perfective subjunctive) but by an unaugmented past subjunctive 3 sg. *no beth*.

§2,9. Deic*h cét* a llī*n* do feraib

The metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach states that Echu was accompanied by a thousand men (*Nirb úathad don dédiu dil / co n-almaib co n-indilib*: *// míle fer mór, maídit raind, / scurset cen brón co Bóïnd* 'Not alone went the loving pair (Echu and Ébliu), but with flocks and herds: a thousand tall men, verses proclaim, loosed their horses blithely, by Boand' *M.Ds.* iv: 64-65, ll. 81-84). It would seem that our author has

taken this particular element from the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, with the difference that in our tale Echu and Ébliu did not set out alone, but with Rí. The metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí states that at some stage the sons of Mairid came out of the west with thousands of hostages, *mílib gíall* (*M.Ds.* iii: 450-51, l. 10).

§2,9. *co n*-étaib 7 *co n*-almaib

The word *éit* is used for a herd of cattle, while *alam* seems to be a more general term for herd or flock. The metrical *dindshenchas* has *co n-almaib co n-indilib*, which Gwynn renders 'with flocks and herds' (*M.Ds.* iv: 64-65, l. 82).

§3,11. Beluch da Liac

It is unclear where exactly this place is. The metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí (and NOT Loch nEchach, *M.Ds.* iii: 450, l.13) refers to this place as ***Belach Liac***, which Gwynn identifies as Ballyleague, near Lanesborough, co. Westmeath. (*M.Ds.* v, Index of places). The fact that this occurs in the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí may be another indication of the conflation of the two *dindshenchas*-poems. In the (prose) Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí and the (prose) Edinburgh *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, the place where the two brothers separate is *Belach **da** Liac*, as in our text. In the Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, the brothers do not separate, but both continue on to Brug Maic Ind Óc.

§4,12. Tīr cluchi Midir 7 *in* Meic Óic

The second word *cluchi* is the gen. sg. of *cluiche* 'game'. I follow Stokes, who translated *Tir Cluichi Midhir 7 Maic in Og* as 'the Playing ground of Midir and of Mac Ind Oc' (Stokes 1893: 475, and note the Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí, where Stokes rendered *tir cluichi Aengusa 7 Midir* 'the playground of Oengus and Midir'. This place-name is reminiscent of the place where Óengus was raised in the text *Tochmarc Étaine*. In this tale, Óengus (the Mac Óc) was fostered by Midir in Brí Léith, and Midir had a *cluichemag* in Brí Léith where Óengus played (for the text, Best and Bergin 1938: 142 (text) and 143 (translation), §2 ff.).

The metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí has a different name for this place (*M.Ds.* iii 452 (text) and 453 (translation)):

Tir n-Óenaig Midir *'masech,*	The plain was called in turn Tir Oenaig Midir
Mag Find co róenaib robreth,	and Mag Find, with triumphs of rich winnings;
crich fo nóemaib indossa,	it is now a land guarded by saints
iar ndíth Óenaig Óengossa.	since the destruction of Oenach Oengusso.

Gwynn stated that O'Donovan identified *Tír nÓenaig Midir* with Keogh's Country, between Loch Rí and the river Suck (*M.Ds.* iii 560). The word *óenach* generally means assembly, but it can also be taken to be a green or playground adjoining a chief's residence (*DIL* s.v. 1 *oenach*), in this case Midir's residence. It is clear that all of these names (*Tīr cluchi Midir 7 in Meic Óic*, *Tir Cluichi Midhir 7 Maic in Og*, *tir cluichi Aengusa 7 Midir* and *Tir n-Óenaig Midir*) refer to the same place, since Mag Find is given as an alternate name in all of the texts. It is unclear what exact place the place referred to as Óenach Óengusso is. Perhaps it is yet another name for the same place. Gwynn pointed out that Hogan identified one Óenach Óengusso in Mag Find (*M.Ds.* iii 561).

§4,13. ce*n*galta

Cengalta is the past participle of *cenglaid* 'tied, bound'. *DIL* cites our text and gives the meaning 'harnessed', although 'harnessed' does not seem to be the word one is to use for a halter. I am following O'Beirne Crowe and Stokes, who render it 'haltered' (*ALLI*: 97 and see Stokes 1895: 482).

§4,13. remi

The word ***ríam*** was originally a conjugated preposition (*ré/ría* 'before' + 3 sg. m./n., producing disyllabic ***riäm***). This form became ***ríam*** in Middle Irish, then came to be used as an adverb meaning 'before that, previously, ever', and was supplanted by *reme* (***remi***, *roime*) – see *DIL* s.v. 6 *ré* and *ría* (21.59-60) and s.v. 1 *ríam*.

§4,14. hi fil

The form ***fil*** is the dependent form of the substantive verb. In Old Irish it was used after conjunct particles not followed by a dative pronoun, in leniting relative clauses, in response to a question and (in archaic texts and poetry) it could be used in other positions with the meaning 'there is, are' (*GOI* §780). However, in Old Irish, *fil* was *not* used after preposition + relative *a* (including i^n 'in which'; see *GOI* §777(b)). The classical Old Irish for the ***hi fil*** we have here would have been ***i tá*** 'in which is'

(compare for example Wb. 3^{c}2. *.i. trichretim inísu ł isinbeothu* ***itáa*** *ísu iarnesséirgu* 'i.e. through belief in Jesus, or in the life wherein Jesus is after resurrection' (*Thes. Pal.* I 512)). There is, however, one very early case of *i fil* in *Immram Brain* §19, supported by all manuscripts.

§4,14-15. Laigid *i*n gerrā*n* ...*7* siblaís a fūal corbo *th*ipr*a*

It is perhaps interesting to point out that in his translation of our text, O'Grady omits the motif of the urinating horse altogether and translates: 'At this spot the garran lay down with them, then stood up again, and in that spot burst forth a spring...' (*SG* ii 266). A similar passage can be found in §5,22-23: *arnár siblad a fúal, arnabad fochond báis doib.* O'Grady renders 'lest where he stood there happened that which should be to them an occasion of their death.' (*SG* ii 266), and §6,26 *Silis int ech oco īar sin combo thipra*, which is translated by O'Grady as 'The animal stood with them therefore, and here too there was a spring well.'

§4,15. tairsib-siu*m*

The Old Irish form would have been *tairsi**u*** rather than *tairsi**b*** – see *SnaG* III 5.1 for the dative found with prepositions in Middle Irish that originally were followed by the accusative, and see *SnaG* III 13.25 for examples of *tairsib*.

§5,17. i*n* mBruig M*ei*c i*n*d Ōc

That is, Newgrange, the ancestral home of Ébliu, Echu's stepmother.

§5,17. fer mór

This *fer mór*, as it turns out, is Óengus, otherwise known as Mac ind Óc, the ruler of the Bruig Maic ind Óc. In our text and in the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, Echu and his followers encounter Óengus in the shape of a man (*M.Ds.* has *fer cen chess* 'a man glad of mien' (*M.Ds.* iv: 64 and 65)). In the prose Rennes and Edinburgh *dindshenchas*, more information is given and Oengus is said to be in the shape of (disguised as?) a hospitaller (*a richt brugad*, Stokes 1895: 481 and *ir-richt brughad*, Stokes 1893: 474).

§5,17-18. dlomaid dóib

The verb *dlomaid* 'warns off, turns out, expels, rejects' (*DIL* s.v. *dlomaid*) uses the preposition *do* to express the object. It also occurs in the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach (*M.Ds.* iv, pp. 64-65, ll.85-86): *Boí fer ara cind cen chess*: ***dlomais dóib*** *da thír díless,...* 'There met them a man glad of mien, who warned them off his lawful land...' Gwynn cites this as an example of the very close correspondence between the metrical *dindshenchas* and our text (*M.Ds.* iv 389). The verbal form *dlomais* is also found in all of the prose *dindshenchas* versions, though in the Rennes version of Loch nEchach, the verb is used with *fri*, not *do*. For *dlomaid fri*, see *DIL* s.v. *dlomaid*, 165.18 f.

§5,18. ní der[n]sat fair

I follow Best and Bergin in their emendation, and accept their statement that the n-stroke over the letter *r* has been omitted (Best and Bergin 1929: 95 n.5). This expression also occurs in the Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí, which has ***ni dearnnsad fair*** (Stokes 1894: 481), which also confirms the *n*. The OI form of this verb might have been expected to be *ní dergénsat*, but the simplified prototonic stem (for which see *EIV* 190) occurs as early as Ml. 39[a]11. For more forms without *-gé-* see *DIL* s.v. *do-gní* 285.58-60. The expression ***do-gní x ar y*** (and, later, ***do-gní x for y***, which is found here) means 'x obeys y', 'x acts according to the wish/advice of y', see *DIL* s.v. *do-gní* III(b).

§5,19. mairfet-sa

This is the Middle Irish form for OI 1 sg. fut. abs. ***marbfa-sa*** (or ***mairbfea-sa***). The ending ***–et/-at*** is discussed in *SnaG III* 12.122, p. 316. For a discussion of the development of final *–t* in 1 sg. fut. abs., see *EIV* 189 and 249. The form *mairfet-sa* is also found in the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach (*M.Ds.* iv 64: 96).

§5,20. ma*n*i fáct*h*ai

The ending ***–thai,*** with the absolute ending of the pres. subj. 2 pl. used as a conjunct ending is a Middle Irish development (see *SnaG* III 12.84, where our example is cited).

§5,20. f*o*rsa táthi

This ending is another example of the new Middle Irish dependent ending for the 2 pl., with an extension of the absolute ending to the conjunct position, then spreading to

compound verbs. In this case, it stands in the pres. ind. This particular form is discussed in *SnaG* III 12.16.

§5,20. Do-rignis mór d'ulc fri*n*d

Compare the metrical *dindshenchas*, which has *At* ***móra th'uilc rind***, 'Great harms hast thou done us,' (*M.Ds.* iv 64 and 65, l. 97), but LU has the earlier form ***frind***.

§5,22. ce*n* scor i*n*d eic*h*

Compare *M.D.* iv: 66 and 67, ll.105-06: *Atbert Óengus ilair ngal/* ***na ro scurthea int ech*** *ingnad*: 'Oengus of the many exploits bade that the wondrous horse should not be unharnessed'.

§6,24. I*m*tigit...isi*n* mís medōnaig i*n*d fogomair

Imtigit is 3 pl. pres. ind. abs. of the Middle Irish simplified verb ***imthigid***, formed on OI ***imm-tét***; the OI form would have been ***imm-tíagat***. This sentence is inspired by the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, as pointed out by Gwynn (*M.Ds.* iv, p. 389; for the text and translation, see pp. 66-67, ll. 113-16):

Dothiagat *dia domnaig dil*	'They come there on a pleasant Sunday
im-mís medóin fogamair:	in the month of mid-harvest:
laigis int ech iar n-uide	the horse lay down after his journey at
fescor lúain il-Liathmuine	the hour of Sunday vespers in Liathmuine.'

The Rennes *dindshenchas* corresponds to the metrical *dindshenchas,* and also has Echu and Rí set out for Líathmuine in September, and arriving there on *feascur luain*: *Mus-luat for cai mis medon fogamair* ***feascur luain*** *i Liathmuine*, 'In the mid-month of autumn, on a Monday evening, they wend their way into Liathmuine' (Stokes 1895: 151 (text) and 152 (translation)). Note that Stokes translates 'Monday evening', while Gwynn translates 'Sunday vespers'. Gwynn explains that *fescor lúain* is to be taken in a similar way as *aidche luain* 'Sunday evening' (*M.Ds.* iv: 390). It should be pointed out that the author of our text has actually changed the time, having Echu *set out* on a Sunday, rather than *arriving* at his destination on a Sunday. For a discussion of the possible significance of this, see **thematic discussion I** below, p. 244 f.

§6,26. Silis int ech oco īar si*n* co*m*bo t*h*ip*ra*

This is another example of our text copying the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, which reads ***silis accu int ech*** *anbaid* **/ *corbo thipra*** *is' trom-thalmain* 'the plaguey horse staled in spite of them so that it made a well deep in the ground.' (*M.Ds.* iv: 66 (text) and 67 translation).

§6,27. tec*h* i*m*mon tip*rai*t...7 ōenbe*n* oca *h*at*h*igid

Compare *M.Ds.* iv 68 and 69, ll.137-38 (similarities with our text are pointed out in *M.Ds.* iv: 389): ***IN tipra*** *thall* ***ina thaig,/ óen-ben and 'ca athigid***:... 'The well being in his house yonder, with a woman there, watching it,...' The motif of the well-watcher is absent from the prose *dindshenchas* versions.

§6,28. let*h*rigi

According to F. J. Byrne (*IKHK* 36), a ***leth-ríge***, a joint kingship, could be held in certain instances, in order to avoid strife and feuds between claimants to the throne, which might result in *fingal* 'kin-slaying'. The term *leth-ríge* is clearly not used in that sense here. It seems possible to me that the Muiredach mentioned in the text was an ancestor of one of the authors either of our text or of the Muiredach mentioned in the corresponding section of the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach (see next note), and was added with the purpose of connecting him with the character of Echu.

§6,28. f*ri* Muridac*h* m*a*c Fīac*h*ac*h* Fi*n*damnais

The metrical *dindshenchas* gives us additional information on a Muiredach with whom Echu shared his kingship, called Muiredach Menn (*M.Ds.*iv: 68 and 69, ll. 129-32):

Atnaig Eochu i cocud crúaid	Eochu departs to stern strife
ri claind Rudraige rorúaid:	with red-stained Clann Rudraige:
rannais ri Muiredach menn	he divided with Muredach Menn
ard-rígi n-Ulad n-Erenn.	the overkingship of the Ulaid of Erin.

Unfortunately, there is no one of the name Muiredach mac Fiachach Findamnais or Muiredach Menn (the person mentioned in the metrical *dindshenchas*) known in historical documents. O'Beirne Crowe states this Findamnas was the son of Iriel Glunmair, son of Conall Cernach (*ALLI* 99, n. 5).

§7,29. Fe*ch*t a*n*d t*rā* náro íad i*n* ben i*n* tip*ra*it, at-*ra*rac*h*t Li*n*dmuni dar Líathmuni

Again, compare this with the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach: ***fecht ná rosíad in ben*** *búan* ***/ atracht Lindmuine*** *lind-úar* 'one day that the worthy woman left it open, up swelled the cold depths of Lindmuine' (for text and translation, see *M.Ds.* iv 68-69, ll. 139-40).

§7,29. at-*ra*racht

In Old Irish, the verb ***at-reig*** 'rises' (*DIL* s.v.) had an infixed pronoun agreeing in number, person and gender with the subject. Later, this infixed pronoun became obsolete.

§7,30. Lī Bā*n*

It is from the name itself unclear whether the vowel in the second element is long or short. However, based on verse-line §9(i)80, where three of the manuscript versions have (normalized) *nírbo lesainm, báine lí*, I take the second element to be long (see textual note ad §9(i)80, p. 220). See also **thematic discussion 2** on Lí Bán's background below, p. 261 f.

§7,30. ōnmit

The basic translation for ***óinmit*** is 'fool, jester'. The word ***óinmit*** is sometimes equated with the word ***drúth*** (the term also used of Mídenn in *De causis* §3,11), see *DIL* s.v. *óinmit* 122.40. Like the *drúth*, the *óinmit* can sometimes also foretell the future, as is the case in our story. The figure of Mac Dá Cherda, for example, demonstrates his powers after he has become an *óinmit*, that consist of walking on water dryshod, sleeping under the water, drinking from a well of poisoned wine and, above all, by prophesying, revealing hidden information (Clancy 1993: 113).

§7,30-31. Is ón *Chon*ai*n*g si*n* da*no* ro *chi*n*s*et Dál mBúai*n* 7 Dál Sailne

Compare *M.Ds.* iv 68 (text) and 69 (translation), ll.145-46 and p. 389 (commentary):

Conid ***ó Chonaing*** *cen chess*	So from Conaing, glad of cheer,
rocinset *in chland chomdess,*	sprang that seemly line,
Dál *sáer* ***Selle****, slúag cor-rath,*	noble Dal Selle - a prosperous people,
ocus Dál mBúan *mbendachtach.*	and Dal Buan, rich in blessings.

Note that in the metrical *dindshenchas*, Conaing is the *only* survivor of the outburst, and

there is no mention of Lí Bán or Curnán surviving (or indeed Lí Bán's lapdog mentioned later on). O'Beirne Crowe stated that the Dál mBúain was a sub-division of the Dál nAraide, and that the genitival epithets Búain and Saillne were derived from the two brothers Fedlimid Búan and Fedlimid Saillne, both sons of Clothrach, a descendant of Echu's (*ALLI* 99, n.7). The Dál mBúain and Dál Saillne were located to the east and north of Loch nEchach, see for example *ECI*: 56 and *ALLI*: 99 n. 7. In the Rennes *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, Dairiu (presumably for Airiu) and Conaing are mentioned as survivors (no survivors are mentioned in the Edinburgh *dindshenchas*): *Is ann luid Lind-mune tar Liathmuine, cor' baidead Eochaid 7 a cland uile acht mad Dairiu 7 Conaing, conad o Chonaing Dal Selle 7 Dal mBuain.* 'Then went Lind-múne over Liathmuine, and Eochaid was drowned with all his children save only Dairiu and Conaing. And from Conaing Dál Selle and Dál mBuain descend.' (Stokes 1894-95: 152-53).

§8(a)34. fæbra

Fáebar or ***fóebar*** is the term used for the sharp edge of a weapon (see *DIL* s.v. *fáebar*), but also for the cutting edge of an axe (*EIF*, index s.v. ***fáebar***: 'blade, cutting-edge', and see *EIF* 486 for description and suggested drawing). On this occasion, I take it to be a *pars pro toto* for 'axes'. For the variant versions of the second couplet, see pp. 170-71 above.

§8(a)37. co llet*h*ba

Possibly, this is a scribal error for ***co llethfa*** 'so that it will spread out', from a verb *lethaid*, as suggested to me by Liam Breatnach. This seems to be confirmed by the variant reading in O'Mulconry's Glossary, which has ***folethfa*** (see p. 171 above), and compare the Edinburgh *dindshenchas*, where the verb is also used: *conid e Loch nEachach .i. Eochu in rí 7 fual a eich* ***roleath*** *ann*, 'So *that* is Loch n-Echach, to wit, Eochu the king and his horse's water, which there spread out' (Stokes 1893: 474 and 475). The versions of the glossary of Dúil Dromma Cétta have ***fo leich bada***. O'Beirne Crowe here follows the text of the facsimile, which mistakenly has ***co lleth lia***, and translates it with 'with a side of surge'.

§8(b)40. snáifid Lī Bā*n*

Originally, the verb ***snaïd*** was a hiatus verb, class A III (*GOI* §547). The AIII verbs with -a- and -i- generally have strong futures (*GOI* §644). The expected future form would have been reduplicated. According to Thurneysen, the form ***snáifid*** is late (*GOI* §644). As noted by Bergin (1929-30: 247), O'Grady has, for obscure reasons, omitted the name Lí Bán from his text, and translates the passage *snáifid Lī Bān sair síar sanchan* 'swim east and west and up and down through every sea!' in *SG* ii: 266.

§9,42. a orci

Only certain classes of people were allowed to have pet dogs or lapdogs. They are particularly associated with high-ranking women (*EIF* 120). Lí Bán's possession of a lapdog is consistent with her social position, as she is the daughter of Echu, son of the king of Munster. In *Ba mol mídend midlaige*, Echu is actually said to be a king himself.

§9,43. dobrā*n*

The word *dobrán*, o, m, is translated 'beaver' in the Dictionary (*DIL* s.v.). Joseph Falaky Nagy points out, however, that in almost all extant contexts, the word *dobrán* means 'otter' in his article 'Otter, salmon, and eel in traditional Gaelic narrative' (Nagy: 1985-86: 140 n. 2). The word ***dobrán*** functions as a diminutive of ***doborchú*** 'otter' (*GOI* §270), dropping the element *chú*.

§9(a)47. sceng dro*n*

The word ***sceng*** is given the meaning 'bed' in *DIL* (listing our example with a question mark). *Sceng* is glossed ***.i. imdae*** in Sanas Cormaic, and *lebaid* in the Lecan Glossary (*DIL* s.v. *sceng*). As for the meaning of the verse-line, I take it that since Lí Bán is living deep under the water now, the land where she used to live before the outburst, and where horses used to run used to be high above water. A similar idea is expressed in §9(e)64, *mag i mbītis dronga ech* 'the plain in which bands of horses used to dwell'. *G7* here has ***imscing***, which is a term used for a bed-room, apartment, enclosure, pavilion, or court (*DIL* s.v. ***imscing*** **(a)**). This would alter the meaning to 'high up a firm enclosure where horses used to step'. O'Beirne Crowe takes this line as ***ar din sceng dron dringed graig***, 'on protection of strong tents, a flock used to ascend' (*ALLI* 100 (text) and 101 (translation)).

§9(a)47. dri*n*ged

This is the 3 sg. impf. ind. of *dringid* 'climbs, steps, advances'. The verb is in the singular because of the subject, the collective *graig* 'horses'. Note the omission of the particle *no* before *dringed*. The particle *no* is sometimes omitted in poetry (*GOI* §538.1), and Jürgen Uhlich has kindly pointed me to an article by P. Kelly (1999), that unfortunately was unavailable to me at the time of writing this note.

§9(a)48. erdalta fo bru*n*nib bárc

G7 here has **fo bruinnd bārc**, with ***bruinnd*** in the singular, which means that in that line in G7 the metre is compromised.

§9(b)50. Dāil

The manuscript has ***Duil***, which if taken as ***dúil*** can mean 'being, element, creature' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *dúil*). Another word ***dúil***, which, according to *DIL* is not found in the earliest literature, means 'desire, fondness, inclination' (*DIL* s.v. 2 ***dúil***). O'Beirne Crowe took it to mean 'desire' here. However, neither the sense 'being' nor the sense 'desire' seems to me to fit contextually. I suggest emending this word to ***dáil***, a later nom. sg. form for ***dál*** 'meeting, convention,' ā, f (*DIL* s.v. ***2 dál*** 43.11). The meaning of the sentence would then be that horses that come or run together by the seashore (or running to the well, as the gloss suggests) is an extremely common sight for people who live in the regular world. For Lí Bán, however, it is a sight she will not see anymore, and that causes her grief. This couplet seems to stand in contrast to the second couplet of this quatrain – while Lí Bán, a woman in the water, misses the land, a person who lives on land is doomed on the water.

§9(b)50. ec*h*nat

I follow O'Beirne Crowe's translation 'little mares' (*ALLI*: 101), since the suffix *–nat* is as a rule feminine (*ALLI*: 101 n. 4 and see *GOI* §273). It could also stand for 'little horses' in general. *DIL* gives the meaning 'little mare', followed by a question mark.

§9(b)50. i*n*d airmairi

O'Beirne Crowe translated this verse-line 'The desire of little mares, the closet' (*ALLI*: 101), but offered no explanation as to this translation. The gloss *.i. don topur* 'i.e. to the well' seems to suggest that the glossator associated this word with water. Under

airmairi, *DIL* cites our example (without translation) and refers to an entry ***airmiriu***, the dative of a compound consisting of ***air*** and ***muir*** 'sea-shore', where an example from *CCCL* is quoted. The element *air* '(the district) facing, in front of' was discussed in O'Brien 1939: 348 ad §12. In that article, O'Brien cited a number of Gaulish, Welsh and Irish words containing this element, and gave an example from *CCCL* (this is the example also quoted in *DIL*): *contuil Corc issind airmiriu* 'Corc fell asleep on the seashore', O'Brien 1939: 348. Hull did not discuss the word in his translation of the text (Hull translated the passage 'Corc slept yonder on the seacoast' (1947: 894). I would suggest taking ***airmairi*** as the gen. sg. of this compound. This meaning seems to me to make more sense than 'the closet'.

§9(b)52. *fri*si tibi g*en*

The form ***frisi*** *tibi* stands for ***frisa*** *tibi*, of which the ***a*** is the relative particle. The basic meaning of the verb *tibid* (*fri*) is 'touches, breaks (against)', but it developed the meaning 'laughs, smiles' through the phrase *tibid gen* (*DIL* s.v. *tibid* 165.39-40). The expression ***tibid x gen fri y*** means 'x smiles (a smile) at y'. For a discussion of the verb *tibid*, see Vendryes 1938: 42 ff. The verb *tibid* is often associated with water and used of (the sound made by) waves or wind. It is a metaphor used often in poetry (Vendryes 1938: 44, and for examples of the use of *tibid* with waves and wind, see Vendryes 1938: 43-44).

§9(b)53. *in* be*n* di t*h*onn*a*ib tuli

O'Beirne Crowe takes ***in ben di thonnaib tuli*** to refer to Venus (*ALLI*: 101 n. 6):

> 'This woman is probably Venus, who in Grecian mythology was fabled to have sprung from the foam of the sea; and the allusion is to the misfortune of Eochaid, who, through her, yielded to the wishes of Ebliu. Perhaps, however, we may venture to make her the chief of the Sirens.'

This explanation seems a bit fanciful to me, as no other references are made to Greek goddesses in our text. Moreover, Echu did not fall in love with Ébliu, as O'Beirne Crowe's note seems to suggest: he decided (on a suggestion of his brother) to elope with his stepmother as the result of the *áilges* imposed on him. I feel it is not necessary to venture as far as Greek mythology. ***In ben di thonnaib tuli*** is probably a kenning for the sea. Note the following passage quoted in Muhr 1999: 194-95 (text and translation), which is part of an elegy on the drowning of Conaing, son of Aedán mac Gabráin of the

Dál Ríata:

In ben *ro-lá a mong find*	The woman has cast her white tresses
ina churach fri Conaing	into his coracle upon Conaing
is cas ro-tibi a gen	hatefully she has smiled her smile
indiu fri Bili Tortan.	today upon the tree of Tortu.

Muhr pointed out that the woman occurring in the quatrain must represent the sea, as previously noted in Jackson 1935 (for references, see Muhr 1999: 195, n. 14). In poem xxxii of Jackson's work (which begins 'A great tempest on the plain of Ler'), there is another reference to 'the wife of Manannán', which must again stand for the sea (Muhr ibidem, see Jackson 1935: 31 quatrain 8). This association of the smiling woman found in Muhr's quote is of course also present in our text.

§9(b)53. di *th*on*n*aib

This is glossed *.i. in tipra*, which seems to suggest that the glossator wanted to remind the reader that the 'waves of the flood' were originally a well, which overflowed.

§9(c)54. a tond

I take *a* as the possessive 3 sg. f. and take it to refer back to *in ben di thonnaib tuli.*

§9(c)55. mandras ál

The version in G7 has *mandrus sal* 'which the sea destroys'. It is possible that we are to reconstruct the s, and read *mándras sál.* The couplet would then mean that while the water of the lake (or of the 'woman of the flood's waves') is calm and clear, the sea (Loch nEchach runs into the sea at Túag Inbir, via the river Bann) crashes its waves upon the calm water. I have chosen not to supply the *s*, and read *mándras ál* 'which destroys a brood' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *ál* – perhaps we can take it as 'people' in general, or 'a population group'), with *mandras* as relative sg. of the pres. subj. of *mandraid.* The meaning of the couplet would then be that while the water is now calm, but it is capable of killing people in a violent outburst.

O'Beirne Crowe read *mandra sál* and translated this couplet 'As rest from wild, raging wave, / which scatters brine with storms of angers;', presumably taking *mandra* as a relative form. I have been unable to find the meaning 'rest' for *fossod* – perhaps O'Beirne Crowe got it from the word *foss*, o, m, 'rest, remaining quiet or stationary'. The meanings 'wild' and 'raging' I have also been unable to find for *medrach* and *mend* (earlier *menn*) – *medrach* means 'joyous, merry, in high spirits', and *menn* in connection

with liquid means 'clear, limp, pellucid'.

§9(c)55. .i. in fírinni

The meaning of the gloss is not entirely clear to me – it does not seem to refer back to anything in the verse-line; rather, I take it to mean that Lí Bán is speaking the truth in saying that many people could be wiped out by the flood (as this has happened before with Echu and his kin).

§9(c)56. dinetān

O'Beirne Crowe stated that he had not encountered the words *dinetan* and *bicatan* before, and translated this line 'Pull thou Drinker to strand' (*ALLI*: 102 n.1; for the translation see p. 103). He connected it with a verb *dín* which he said meant 'to drink' or 'to suck' in the deponent form, and with the words *dine, dinech* 'drink', and offered the alternative suggestion that *dinetan* was to be read as *dignetan* 'deformed one'. He offered no explanation as to what his translation meant. I take this to be ***dinetán***, an adverb meaning 'a little' (*DIL* s.v. ***dinetán***), which is also the meaning of *bicatán*, §9(c)57 below.

§9(c)56. tairind dinetān do (f)rāig

Rather than reading *fraig* 'wall', I take this as *rāig* 'a sudden rush, a fit of anger, rage', with a hypercorrect *f* (see *SnaG* III 3.21). The verb *do-airindi* can be used with words of anger - compare the expressions *tairinn tho gail* 'abate thy rage', *SR* 6019 (*DIL* s.v. *do-airindi* 189.44) The element of rage and destruction is echoed in the previous line (*mandras* 'destroys', *fri ainbthe hír* 'with a tempest of anger'), and compare also line §9(d)58, where another element of anger is possibly expressed in ***asta fortched***, 'keep the slaughter in check', if the emendation is correct (see note below). G7 has ***to gaír***, 'your shout' for *do (f)rāig* – possibly this has to do with the sound of the ocean. This line is glossed *.i. tabair haigid form*, 'face me' in LU, but at this stage I have no clear idea of what its relevance to the line is.

§9(c)57. nom-léic

G7 has ***rom-lécc*** 'it has allowed me' or, possibly 'allow me', with Middle Irish confusion of *no* and *ro*.

§9(c)57. bicatān

O'Beirne Crowe translates 'little one', with a question mark (*ALLI*: 103), but the word ***biucatán*** 'a little' (*DIL* s.v.), seems here to refer to a short period of time. The different elements in the word are discussed in *GOI* §273.3 (in the small print under the main section).

§9(d)58. Asta...*for*tched

LU has the problematic ***fortchind*** here. It could be interpreted as the preposition *for* 'on' + possessive pronoun 2 sg. 'your' + *cenn* 'head'. However, the verb *ad-suidi* 'stops, holds back, detains, hinders' is not regularly followed by *for* (our example is given in *DIL* s.v. ***ad-suidi***, though without translating *fort cind*), and 'hold back a little on your head' does not make much sense. I suggest emending to ***fortched***, a word meaning 'slaughter', 'smiting' – in the sense 'hold back (keep control of, stop) your slaughter a little', which fits very well contextually. O'Beirne Crowe translates this line 'Seize thou Drinker in thy presence'.

§9(d)59. cía*n* ō ra ét locha li*n*d

Note the preposed genitive ***locha*** *lind*, 'the water of the lake'. Jürgen Uhlich has pointed out to me that *lind*, ā,f, has to end in a neutral consonant group in order for it to rhyme with *find*, and that this means that the verbal form ***ra ét*** must be taken as a passive perfect 3 sg. of ***ad-cota*** 'obtains', in the sense 'long ago the water of the lake was obtained (= originated)'. Also the regular expected form of that would have been ***-étad***, and ***-ét*** must then be an analogical back-formation from the plural form ***–étta*** (**-ét-tha*) according to the strong pattern (that is, with a singular ending in *–th*, not in *–ad/-ed*). This form is actually attested – see *DIL* with one early Modern Irish case of *ro étt* (*DIL* s.v. *ad-cota*, 46.67). O'Beirne Crowe has *Cian o roáet locha lind*, 'Long since it received lake's flood (*ALLI*: 102 (text) and 103 (translation)) but there is no *o* after the *r* in LU, and his translation is impossible given that *lind* has to be a nom. sg. G7 seems to have a corruption here: *cian ho* ***aim*** *ro het locho lind*, with an octosyllabic line. Perhaps we are to take *ho aim* as an incorporated gloss on *cian*, for *a n-am* 'when'.

§9(d)60. *tri* ché*t* blīa*dnae*

As O'Beirne Crowe already points out (*ALLI*: 103, footnote 2), there is a discrepancy in time in the tale. The final prose section mentions that Lí Bán lived from the time of

Echu to the time of Comgall of Bangor. In the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, Echu lives for 19 years after the outburst of the lake, and dies in AD 100 (*M.Ds.* iv 68, lines 134 and 154). In the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí, Rí rules for thirty years after the outburst, until he dies in AD 111 (*M.Ds.* iii 456, l. 89 and 458, l. 105). This would mean the date suggested for the overflowing of the wells which were to eventually become Loch nEchach and Loch Rí was AD 81. As Comgall died around the year 600, this gives us a period of over five hundred years, not three hundred.

§9(d)60. ō [a]tú su*n*d

LU has otú. As ***ó*** 'since' is not a conjunct particle (compare the examples in *GOI* §893 and see the next textual note), the expected form would have been ***ó at-tú*** 'since I am', with *at-tú* as the 1 sg. pres. ind. of the substantive **verb *at-tá*.** This seems to have been reduced to ***ō tú*** by metrical elision.

§9(d)61. ō bāte a*n*d Eoc*h*o Fi*n*d

The form ***bāte*** is pass. preterite sg. absolute of *báidid*. G7 has ***o rom baiti Eocha Find***. Perhaps we are to read ***o ro mbaiti*** *Eocha Find* for G7 which might stand for *ó ro báite*, with Middle Irish absolute for conjunct, and with unusual nasalization after ***ó***. I take ***and*** 'there, in it' to refer to the lake mentioned in line 59.

§9(e)62. i*m*ned

G7 here has IMda mimneth, with the possessive pronoun 1 sg. preceding *imneth. Imda m'imneth* can be translated 'abundant my sorrow', or perhaps also 'long my sorrow'.

§9(e)63. mád-c*h*in

The manuscript has ***mád***, with a spurious length-mark. *DIL* has this line under ***cinid***, under the phrase ***mad-cin x*** 'happy, blessed is x' (*DIL* s.v. *cinid* 194.22-23). ***Mad*** is an adverbial preverb formed from the adjective ***maith***, and is followed by a dependent verbal form; see *GOI* §384 and *DIL* s.v. *mad*. ***Mad-chin*** is a combination of the adverbial preverb ***mad***, combined with the conj. 3 sg. pret. of ***cinid*** 'is born'. If *mad* is followed by a pret./perf., it can be translated 'did not well to, would that...had not...', giving us the meaning 'would that the son of the wife had not been born for us', which fits better contextually, as Echu is responsible for the death of all by not sending the horse back to Óengus and causing it to urinate. O'Beirne Crowe translates 'Not well has

destined for us the Son of the Woman' (*ALLI*: 103). G7 has ***nimmai cichi*** *dun mac na mna*, which can be restored to *ni* [*i*]*mma*(*i*) *cichi dun mac na mna*. I take this a construction in which a plural concept is expressed consisting of two elements, one already known and one about to be mentioned – that is to say, *dún mac na mná* (with omission of 7 after *dún*) can be taken as 'to us, (to me) and the son of the woman', referring to Lí Bán and Echu. Compare *GOI* §402 *dún-ni ocus Barnaip* 'to us, (to me) and Barnabas'. The verse-line can then be translated 'we, I and the woman's son, will not see each other again'. Note, however, that the line has 8 syllables in G7.

§9(e)63. mac na mná

O'Beirne Crowe takes ***mac na mná*** 'the son of the woman' to refer to Christ (*ALLI*: 103 n. 3), but I take it to refer to Echu.

§9(e)64. mag i mbītis druing Echach

LU has **dro*n*gu ec*h***, but the text in LU requires emendation since a nom. pl. is needed. It is possible to emend to ***dronga***, as the word ***drong*** appears as an ā-stem in *Saltair na Rann* (*DIL* s.v. *drong* 406.4-5), but G7 actually has the superior reading *mag i mbitiss* ***druingg Echach*** 'the plain in which Echu's bands used to dwell', as this gives us the correct nom. pl., and the word *drong* is normally used for a group of persons. I have therefore adopted G7's reading into the edition.

§9(e)65. con*id et*ha(*i*)*r im*ma-rá

G7 has the form *imme-rā*, with retention of the earlier vowel *–e* found with the relative form of *imm-*. Based on the verbal form ***-rá***, one would expect the nom. sg. ***ethar*** 'boat, ferry-boat' (*DIL* s.v.). G7 is superior here, and has the nom. sg. *conit* ***ethar*** *imme-rā*. There are more occurrences of a final *–t* for a final *–d* in G7, as evidenced by the form ***benait*** that occurs in the next quatrain, which must have the singular word ***tipra*** as subject.

§9(f)67. fri *h*adba n-uis

I am taking ***uis*** as gen. sg. of ***oss***, o, m 'deer', as both genitival forms ***uis*** and ***ois*** are found for this word, and it has to rhyme with ***dia chuis*** (with ***chuis*** as dat. sg. of ***cos***(***s***) 'leg', 'foot'), line §9(f)69. It is possible that ***chuis*** is an example of an early dat. sg. for later *cois* (the form *cuis* appears in the Cambrai Homily, but Thurneysen (*GOI* §76)

states it is unclear whether *cuis* for normal *cois(s)* is analogical, dialectal or archaic). See Kim McCone's discussion of the ā-stems in his chapter on Old Irish in *SnaG* (chapter II, 13.4), where the dat. sg. form ***tuil*** of *tol* 'will' is given (from **tolī*, with raising of the stressed vowel *-o-*). See also Breatnach 1997 on this ā-stem pattern. G7 here has the reading *fri hadba* ***nois***...*dia* ***coiss***.

§9(f)68. a lli*n*d laic*h*nec*h*

I take the word ***a*** as poss. pron. 3 sg. f, referring back to *tipra* (§9(f)66). O'Beirne Crowe divides this couplet *Al lind láichn ech lethan, glais / Immáteged cách di a chuis*, and translates 'Its tide of heroes of broad steeds, a stream / Which every one used to traverse on foot'. The word ***laichnech*** can be found in *DIL* s.v. ***lachnach***, earlier ***laichnech***, meaning 'abounding in ducks'. G7 has ***i llind loíchnech***, where I take *-oí-* to stand for *-ai-*.

§9(f)68. gla(i)s

We would expect *glas* after the nom. sg. *linn*. It is possible that the palatal *–s* was written through the influence of the final words *mais*, *n-uis* and *chuis*. O'Beirne Crowe separates *lethan* and *glais* and takes *lethan* as an adjective with *ech* (see previous note).

§9(g)70. Dīa *m*bá

O'Beirne Crowe transcribed *Diam bá-sa* (*ALLI*: 102), but *–sa* is not found in the manuscript.

§9(g)71. .i.

LU here has .i. over *im-rordus*, as if introducing a gloss. This gloss, however, was never added.

§9(g)72. a-teoch (glossed .i. atchim)

I follow Liam Breatnach's suggestion that the word ***a-teoch*** is the pres. ind. 1 sg. deut. of the OI compound verb ***ad-teich*** 'entreats, calls on'. It is glossed ***atchim*** in the manuscript, from the Middle Irish simple verb equivalent of *ad-teich*, ***aitchid***.

§9(g)72. in n-at*h*air as náe*m*

LU has ***is***. I am following O'Beirne Crowe, who translates ***is*** as pres. ind. rel. sg. of the

copula, ***as***. (*ALLI*: 103).

§9(g)73. a-tloc*h*or

Note the retention of the compound verb. The form *a-tlochor* is pres. ind. 1 sg. of ***ad-tluichethar*** or ***ad-tluchedar*** 'rejoices at (with acc.)'. The expected form would be *a-tluchur*, with an ending *–ur*, although between a neutral and a u-quality consonant, an unstressed vowel can be written *o* or *u* (*GOI* §102.9). For a discussion of the consonant group *-tl-* in this verb and examples of the forms found, see Ó Cuív 1971-72: 59-62. Our example is referred to on p. 59 (the reference is LU 2998, taken from Best and Bergin's edition of the manuscript).

§9(h)74. i n-ón

O'Beirne Crowe translates 'I was the likeness of great monsters', presumably taking ***inón*** as ***innonn*** 'the same'. The problem is that the expression 'the same as' is *innonn* ***ocus*** (*GOI* §484), and there is no *ocus* in our text. After *innonn ocus*, the genitive case would not be expected. Perhaps we are to take this *ón* as ***úan*** 'foam, froth'. The form *ón* is not found under the entry in *DIL* (s.v. 1 *úan*), but compare the word *ón* 'lending' (*DIL* s.v 2 *ón*), which is also spelled *úan*. The word *úan* was originally disyllabic (see Uhlich 1995: 41), but here it has to be monosyllabic for the syllable count. The meaning of the verse-line (literally 'I was in the foam of great monsters') would be that Lí Bán dwelled herself in the same surroundings as other sea-monsters (for this interpretation of *bíasta*, see the next textual note).

§9(h)74. bíasta

See *DIL* s.v. ***píast*** and also ***bíast***. The word ***píast*** is used for a beast or monster, in early literature generally for fabulous monsters. *DIL* states that in sagas and folk-lore, the term is used of 'marine or more commonly sublacustrine monsters, often bearing special names and in hagiographical literature frequently ejected by the power of saints; an oubreak of pestilence was sometimes ascribed to the ravages of a 'píast'' (*DIL*, P 186.6-11). In later literature, it was used for a creeping reptile, especially a worm (*DIL* P 186.33). Here, we seem to have the earlier meaning, and it appears that Lí Bán identifies herself as or being like a fabulous monster. For two examples of gen. pl. *bíasta* see *DIL* s.v. *bíast* (B 95.8).

§9(h)75. ro snaass

LU has **ro snadi*us***. This is the 1 sg. of the perfect of the verb ***snáidid*** 'swims.' Originally, the verb for 'swims' was disyllabic ***snaïd***, which then became ***snáid***. The verbs *snaïd/snáid/snáidid* with a following accusative mean 'swims across' (*DIL* s.v. *snáïd* 293.60). For this line, G7 has ***ro snaass*** *muir medrach mend*, which means that in order for the line to conform to the heptasyllabic standard, *ro snaass* would have to be three syllables long. See also the form ***ro snó*** in §9(l)91 below, p. 223.

§9(h)76. Let*h*a lind

This is an example of a preposed genitive. O'Beirne Crowe translates ***letha lind*** with 'Letha's flood' (*ALLI* 103, under quatrain VIII), but offers no explanation as to who or what this Letha is. The word *letha* is found for Armoric Gaul or Brittany, or Latium (*DIL* s.v. 1 *letha*). The most likely candidate here is Brittany, since a large number of inundation stories are found in Welsh and Breton literature, especially the stories of Cantre'r Gwaelod and that of Ker Is (for a discussion of these and similar inundations, see Minard 2002). I take the sense of the verse-line to be that Lí Bán swam around in the seas surrounding Ireland and did not only live under Loch nEchach. There are plenty of examples from our text that place Lí Bán in the ocean rather than the lake. Compare for example §12,162 of our text: *co mbeth sechnón in mara* 'so that she could roam the sea' and §12,163-64: *co mbíd 'na degaid-si fóna uscib 7 fóna murib cach conair no imthiged-si for cach n-aird* 'and it (the otter) used to follow her under the waters and under the seas, wherever she went, in every direction'. Also, Beóán encounters her while he is rowing across the sea, when he is on his way to Rome (§13,168-69), and she is captured at Inber Ollarba (§13,173), which, according to Hogan, pointed to the sea at Larne, rather than Loch nEchach.

§9(h)77. īaic*h*

The form as it stands seems to be the gen. sg. of ***íach*** 'salmon'. This seems to be a new o-stem, based on the classical Old Irish guttural masculine stem ***é***, gen. ***íach***. Note that it is disyllabic here (confirmed by syllable count).

§9(i)78. ciapsa...ciapsa

The form *ciapsa* consists of *cia* + past 1 sg. of copula (*p* combined with emphasizing pronoun 1 sg. *sa*). *G10* has *ciabsa**m*** for *ciapsa* (*G10*), (*cia* + *bsa* + *m* to indicate the 1

sg.), while the manuscript versions in *R* and Laud have the verbal forms *ciarsam* (*R*, Laud), consisting of *cia* + *ro* + *sa* + *m*. For the Middle Irish ending of the copula, in which the first or second person subject is indicated by the addition of an infixed pronoun, see *EIV* ch 12, 6.7(e), p. 231 and *SnaG* III 12.194. LU therefore has the earlier reading. G7 here has ***ciapsa…nipsa***, also retaining the form without *–m*.

Fél has the following quatrain: *Ciarsam duine, ciarsam bled / rom-cardais mail Muige Breg // nirbo leasainm, báine lí / ro carus aingel ngel rí* – at least the final line of this quatrain (as pointed out on page 169 above) must have come from A7, as none of the other versions have this particular line.

§9(i)78. bled

The sense of the couplet is that the people of Mag Breg loved Lí Bán despite her appearance. *DIL* gives the meaning 'whale, seamonster' for *bled*. Either meaning fits the text in LU. G7 has *Ciabsa bledmil nipsa bledh* for this verse-line. The word ***bledmíl*** can mean 'sea-monster, some kind of reptile; whale, nerea' (*DIL* s.v.). I would suggest that in the version contained in G7, the reading is 'although I was a whale, I was no sea-monster'.

§9(i)80. báine lí

LU here has *básá lí*, 'I was a beauty'. But note the other manuscripts: G7 has ***báinae líi***, Laud has ***baine a llí*** and G10 ***bāine lí***, 'whiteness of beauty'. R has ***ba mé*** – but this could involve a misreading of the letters ***i*** and ***n***. The readings of G7, Laud and G10 are the preferred readings, since in those versions ***lesainm*** refers to both elements of Lí Bán's name, and not just the element ***lí*** as in *básá lí*. These manuscript versions confirm that we are to interpret the second element of the name ***Lí Bán*** as ***Bán*** 'white' rather than ***Ban*** 'of Women'.

§9(j)82. M'aire

LU has ***máré***. This word is very problematic. *DIL* gives it with a question mark (*DIL* s.v.). In his article 'De etymologie van Iers *mart*', Peter Schrijver emends to ***mara***, presumably the gen. sg. of ***muir*** 'sea', i, n, and translates *mara matan, matan mairt* 'Ochtend van de vloed, ochtend van de *mart*', 'Morning of the flood, morning of the *mart* (my translation; Schrijver 2003: p. 166).' The use of the word ***mara*** as gen. sg. of *muir* seems unsatisfactory to me in this line, since Linnmuine is mentioned in the same

quatrain, and that is not a sea, but a stream.

I suggest emending to ***m'aire***, consisting of *mo* 'my' and *aire* 'burden'. The meaning of the verse-line is ambiguous: it could be that Lí Bán's was charged with finding a boat when the lake burst out, or possibly that the morning when everyone died lies heavy on her mind. There are some other alternatives as well that are closer to the text in the manuscript, but I believe they are less satisfactory:

1. ***már-[r]é***, taking this to be a compound of *már* and *ré*, meaning 'a long period of time' (see *DIL* 1 ***ré*** 20.35 *rée mór* 'for a long time'), possibly by extension 'a long time ago'. The translation would be 'a long time ago the morning, the morning of the untimely demise [happened]'. There is no example in *DIL* of the meaning 'long ago', however.

2. ***már é*** 'great salmon' (for *é* 'salmon', see *DIL* s.v. 4 ***é***), giving us '[me] a great salmon the morning, the morning of the *mart*, I did not find a boat, I did not find a ship', but there is no indication that Lí Bán was a salmon at the moment the lake burst out (in fact, the final prose section states she lived for a year under the lake before transforming, see §12).

3. ***már é***: the word ***é*** can be an exclamation of woe and is sometimes glossed ***.i. truag*** (*DIL*, s.v. 5 ***é*** E 6.30 ff). It may be of interest to point out verses 3531 ff. in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, where a verse is found, almost identical to *máré matan, matan mairt*, which makes use of the word ***trúag***: ***trúag in maten, maten máirt*** 'Sad was the battle, that slaughtering battle' (*TBC-LL*: 98 (text) and p. 233 (translation)). The problem with reading ***már é*** is that an exclamation tends not to be preceded by anything. O'Beirne Crowe translated 'Alas' (*ALLI*: 105, quatrain X at the top of the page), but does not address the problem of ***már*** preceding ***é***.

§9(j)82. māirt

Peter Schrijver took this word to be the gen. sg. of ***mart***, o, m (*DIL* s.v. 1 ***mart***) 'a death, especially one caused by accident or violence, a slaughter, a massacre' and discussed the word ***mart*** in this passage in detail (Schrijver 2003). This meaning fits the context very well, but this interpretation is problematic, as in order for this word to rhyme with ***báirc*** in the next verse-line, we would have to have a long ***á*** here and no forms of this word with a long á have been attested (although the quotation from *TBC-LL* in the previous note has *máirt*, the rhyme shows the vowel *a* must be short (*máirt* : *dithraicht*). O'Beirne Crowe has taken this as ***máirt*** 'Tuesday', which would solve the problem of

the length of the vowel. It is possible that the author intended for this line to be reminiscent of the one in *TBC-LL*.

§9(k)86. Fó mo mata*n* do Maig Cec*h*t

I am unsure as to how to translate this line. I take the word ***fó*** here to mean 'good', as the word ***son***, which can mean 'happy', is used in the next line, giving us a similar construction of two positive statements. As ***matan*** can also be used for matins (*DIL* s.v. ***1 matan***) and a battle, possibly in the morning (*DIL* s.v. ***2 matan***), it is possible that the word ***matan*** can refer to any action early in the morning. From the context, I would suggest translating 'early journey'. O'Beirne Crowe reads this as ***fo'm ó matan do Mag Cecht*** 'With me from morn to Mag Cecht' (*ALLI*: 105), but that does not seem to fit contextually, as it is not specified who or what exactly is accompanying Lí Bán.

§9(k)87. so*n*

I am following Liam Breatnach who suggests to me this is from *DIL* 2 ***son***: happy. O'Beirne Crowe takes it to be ***són***, 'this'.

§9(k)88. siac*h*tso*m*

I follow Liam Breatnach's suggestion to take ***siachtsom*** as the 3 sg. pret. of ***saigid***, 'approaches', with an intrusive *-s-* and a suffixed pronoun 1 sg. The development of this intrusive *-s-* is discussed in Breatnach 1977: 98. O'Beirne Crowe translated this verse-line 'we reached storm and cold' (*ALLI* 105). G7 has *rom-siactsomh*, with both an infixed pronoun 1 sg. class A and an suffixed pronoun 1 sg.

§9(k)88. done*n*d

I take this to be the nom. sg. of ***doinenn***, 'foul or stormy weather; tempest', ā, f, (*DIL* s.v.). G7 here has ***domenn***, presumably a scribal error for ***doinenn*** as no word ***domenn*** has been attested.

§9(k)89. dom-ruacht

This is 3 sg. perfect of ***do-roich*** 'reaches, comes to, approach', with infixed pronoun 1 sg. class A, and it is disyllabic (confirmed by syllable count). The version in G7 has ***dom-ruart*** is possibly for ***dom-ruairt***, 3 sg. perfect of ***do-fortai***, 'sheds, pours (out)' with infixed pronoun 1 sg. class A.

§9(k)89. tre*th*an

I take this as a preposed genitive, coming from ***triath*** 'sea, wave', n (*DIL* s.v. 3 *tríath*, where our example is given).

§9(k)89. *trach*t

In order for *tracht* to rhyme with *immom-racht*, the vowel has to be short. According to *DIL*, originally the vowel in *trácht* 'strand, shore' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *trácht*) was a short one. This is an example of such a short a.

§9(l)90. romra ró

Note the preposed genitive *romra*, of ***romuir*** 'the sea, ocean'.

§9(l)91. ro snó

I take ***ro snó*** to stand for ***ro snáid***, perfect 3 sg. of ***snáid*** 'swims'. The vowel ***–ó*** here is peculiar. It seems to be deliberate in order to achieve optical *aicill* rhyme between ***ró*** and ***snó***. In the construction 'It is I who swim', the verb in Old Irish would stand in 3 sg., rather than 1 sg., and would form a leniting relative clause: *Is mé* ***ro ṡnó*** 'It is I who have swum'. This seems to be a similar construction, with omission of the copula and the antecedent pronoun ***mé***: *m'ōenurān...ro snó*.

§9(l)92. muc mara méthas

The use of ***muc mara***, 'porpoise' was likely used to form a pun with ***méthas*** as the verb ***méthaid***, 'fattens', is commonly used with ***muc(c)***, 'pig' (see *DIL* s.v. *méthaid* for examples, and see *EIF* 449 n. 72, where Kelly states the adjective *méth* 'plump, fat' is most commonly applied to pigs).

§9(l)93. baí*th*iu*m*

This is the pret. 3 sg. of the substantive verb, with ***-th-*** and a suffixed pronoun 1 sg. For a discussion of this form, see Breatnach 1977: 98: 'When a suffixed pronoun is attached to the 3 sg. pret. of the substantive verb, it is preceded by a *-th-* as in ***boíthi*** etc. This has been taken over from the present *táithi* where is [sic] is regular.' He states that this form was probably established in the Old Irish period (ibidem). Breatnach cites our example on p. 76 of his article, translating the verbal form 'there was to me'. See also *EIV* chapter 1, 3.3(d), p. 11. The meaning of this line is somewhat obscure – I take 'clear

storm' (see also *DIL* s.v. 1 menn, 103.42 f. for this translation) to refer to the sea, and the line to mean that Lí Bán says she has plenty of food at her disposal, which may echo the idea of the abundance of food provided by nature that sometimes appears in tales of *geilti* (compare for example the poem *A bhennáin, a bhúiredháin*, O'Keeffe 1931 (reprint 1975): 34 f.)

§9(m)94. Ardo*m*-neät

Note the retention of hiatus, confirmed by the metre, but also the Middle Irish class (B or C) of the infixed pronoun. Binchy discusses the meaning of the hiatus verb ***ar-neät*** in 'Féchem, fethem, aigne', (Binchy 1976: 20, note 13):

> '...in the law-tracts *ar-neät* invariably means 'sustains, assumes liability for' (cf. *Críth Gablach* p. 35)...'

§9(m)95. dulgi fál

The meaning of this is not entirely clear to me. The word ***doilge***, iā, f, can mean (a) trouble, difficulty, (b) distress, sorrow, grief, (c) direness, severity, harshness (*DIL* s.v.). Among other things, the word ***fál*** can mean 'enclosure, wall, hedge, fence' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *fál*). ***Dulgi fál*** could be taken with *dulgi* as a preposed genitive, in the sense of 'barrier/enclosure of grief', but it can also be taken to mean 'harshness of barriers,' thus perhaps 'harsh barrier', referring to the cold sea, which separates Lí Bán from the land. This is how I chose to read it, as it seems most contextually appropriate.

§9(m)96. Loc*h*a Ec*h*ac*h*(ac*h*)

This is a scribal error for *Locha Echach*, as *Echachach* would leave us with eight syllables in the verse-line.

§9(m)97. conid mé

LU has ***cenid mé***, 'although I am not', but this poses a problem with regards to the understanding of the character of Lí Bán. Unfortunately, we have no variants for this quatrain. There are two options:

1. Leave ***cenid*** as it stands. In that case, the Muirgeilt, literally '*geilt* of the sea' (*in Muirgeilt*, generally used with the definite article) is a different, perhaps evil, creature. We might then take this to mean that even though Lí Bán has things in common with this Muirgeilt, she is in fact not her. If one were to adopt this

possibility, one might prefer reading ***nirbo mé in Murgeilt már***, later on in the poem (§9(s)118) as 'I was not the great Muirgeilt/geilt of the sea' rather than 'may I not be the great geilt of the sea'

2. Alternatively, we could read ***cenid*** as ***conid***, as O'Beirne Crowe does: Lí Bán says she is protected from the cold sea by a storm, and the outburst of the lake has left her living under the water, where she has changed shape. As a result of it all, she is now known as 'the Muirgeilt'.

In the final prose section of this text, §18,199-200, she is specifically given the name Muirgeilt: *Ro baist Comgall hí 7 iss é ainm do-rat dī: Muirgein .i. gein in mara. Nó* ***Muirgeilt*** *.i. geilt in mara.* The name Muirgeilt is also specifically used in reference to Lí Bán in three annalistic sources, in *CS* 565, *AFM* 558 and in the Annals in Cotton MS. Titus A xxv, 565:

Chronicon Scotorum [565]: *In hoc anno capta est an Muirgeilt .i. Líban, ingen Echach mic Muiredha, for tracd Ollorba a lín Bedan mic Innle, .i. iasgaire Comgaill Benncair.* 'In this year the Muirgeilt, i.e. Líban, daughter of Eochaidh mac Muiredha, was caught on the strand of Ollarbha, in the net of Bedan, son of Innle, fisherman of Comgall of Bennchair' (Hennessy 1866: 56 and 57).

Annals of the Four Masters [558]: *Isin m-bliadhain si ro gabhadh an muirgelt .i. Liban inghean Eathach, mic Muiredha, for tracht Ollarbha h-i lín Beoain, mic Inli, iascaire Comhgaill Bendchair.*' 'In this year was taken the Mermaid, i.e. Liban, the daughter of Eochaidh, son of Muireadh, on the strand of Ollarbha, in the net of Beoan, son of Inli, the fisherman of Comhgall of Beannchair.' (text on pp. 200 and 202, translation on pp. 201 and 203).

The Annals in Cotton MS. Titus A XXV 183 [565]: *...In hoc tempore capta est in murgeilt.* 'At this time, the Muirgeilt was caught' (Freeman 1924-27: 321 (*RC* 41)).

There is a marginal entry on the word *murgeilt, .i. Lí Bán ingen Echach meic Muredaigh for tracht Ollorba illín .i. Beonán meic Inli .i. iasgari Comghaill Benncir* 'that is, Lí Bán, daughter of Echu mac Maireda on the strand of Larne in the nets, that is, of Beóán son of Inle, that is, the fisherman of Comgall of Bangor.'

Based on O'Beirne Crowe's translation, and the identification of Lí Bán as the Muirgeilt, I felt justified in emending to *conid*, following O'Beirne Crowe.

§9(n)98. C*urnān* cé[i]t gal

LU has ***cétgal***. If we take this as two separate words, the expected gen. sg. form of ***cét***, 'hundred' o, n, would be ***céit*** (cét is a possible defective spelling for this, cf. *GOI* §86, I(a) and McCone 1996: 58 f.).

§9(n)99. do-deoc*h*ad dú*n*

The form ***do-deochad***, 'which might befall us' is a Middle Irish past subjunctive 3 sg. depending regularly on *do-rairngert* (on this construction, without nasalizing relative clause here, see Uhlich 2006: 53). For the expression ***do-tét do***, *DIL* gives the meaning 'accrues to, comes to'. In this context, I take it to mean 'comes to', in the sense of 'befalls'.

§9(n)101. múr

We can take this to be *DIL* **1** ***múr*** 'wall, rampart, abundance', or *DIL* **3** ***múr*** 'mire,' or 'sand-bank, shoal.' I think the latter option fits better contextually. O'Beirne Crowe translates 'sea', taking ***múr*** as ***muir***. This is problematic, since that would compromise rhyme with ***dún***.

§9(o)103. ro*m*-ordaig

Originally, this was a deponent verb ***ordaigidir*** 'orders, ordains, institutes', but the form in our example is of an active verb. Another example of this can be found in *Saltair na Rann*, which has the form ***ro horddaig*** (*DIL* s.v. *ord(d)aigid(ir)*). Another example of an originally deponent verb that stands in an active form is ***rom-chertaig*** (from original ***certaigidir***) in §9(o)104 below.

§9(o)104. ma*r*

Mar (< OI **amal**), and its intermediate ***immar*** is found for the first time (in poetry) in *Saltair na Rann*, the poem *Can a mbunadas na nGoídel* by Maelmuru Othna and the poem *Trúag an dála domnan dil* on the death of Cormac mac Cuilennáin in AD. 908 (Carney 1982-83: 200 and 179).

§9(o)105. Brēnai*n*d

For a discussion of the indeclinable name ***Brénainn*** 'Brendan', that was borrowed twice into Irish from Britannic **brigantīnos*, see Uhlich 1997. The name *Brénainn* could refer

to Brendan of Birr or to Brendan of Clonfert, famous for his *Navigatio*. Since mention is made in the next quatrain of Loch Léin, I follow O'Beirne Crowe in taking this to be Brendan of Clonfert, since he was 'of the race of Ciar, and consequently interested in Loch Lein...' (*ALLI*: 104-05 n. 1). It is important to note that Lí Bán addresses Brénainn in this poem, and *not* Beóán, who occurs in the prose sections. The purpose of this replacement of Brénainn by Beóán could be in order to connect Lí Bán with the monastery of Bangor. Another possibility is that the quatrains relating to Brénainn (§9(o), §9(p), §9(q) and §9(u)) are themselves additions – it may be of some significance that G7 does not have them.

§9(p)106. Nā tēig

For the imperative 2 sg. form ***–téig*** (of téit 'goes'), used after the negative ***ná***, see *GOI* §769.

§9(p)107. *con*id-ārlasar

The form ***–ārlasar*** is the 1 sg. pres. s-subjunctive prot. of ***ad-gládathar***, 'addresses', with augment *ro* (here with fixed *ro*). According to Thurneysen, ***ad-gládathar*** originally took the ā-subjunctive, and later forms with *-s-*, citing our example, are secondary formations modelled on the s-preterite (*GOI* §596). The infixed pronoun is problematic – one would expect an infixed pronoun 2 sg. here, since Lí Bán is addressing Brendan. It is possible that this is a Middle Irish form of ***condat*** (perhaps with misspelling of final *-d* for 2 sg. *-t*?), for which, apart from forms with initial *-d*, the forms *-ot/-at* (i.e. ***conot***, ***conat***) are found (*SnaG* III 10.6, and see also Strachan 1904b: 160).

§9(p)109. rī do-fil

Do-fil is an impersonal verb with the notional subject in the accusative. The meaning of the verb is 'is (are) coming, is (are) at hand', although it often approximates in meaning to the substantive verb, and in some cases seems to be an extension of Old Irish *fil* (*DIL* s.v. *do-fil*). It can be used with *for*, see ***do-fil for*** *ar tí Tuathal* (*DIL* s.v. 265.41). This is a reference to *Aided Muirchertaig maic Erca*: ***Dofil for ar tí*** *etir, ol se, Tuathal Maelgarb mac Cormaic Caich maic Cairpri maic Neill Nóigiallaig*, which Stokes rendered 'Truly there is coming with designs upon us Tuathal Maelgarb son of Cormac the Blind-of-an-eye, son of Cairbre, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages' (Stokes 1902: 420 (text) and 421 (translation)).

Here, I take the meaning as approximating in meaning to the substantive verb, as Lí Bán appears to be asking Brendan who currently rules over Loch Léin (the lakes of Killarney). This meaning is corroborated in the next quatrain, where it is stated that Fíachna is king (*is rí Fīachna* §9(q)111). Joseph Nagy has kindly referred me in this light to the verse-line *Déca a gúalaind lán do glain* from *Serglige Con Culainn* (Dillon 1975: 14, line 395: 'Look at his shoulder, full of shine', apparently a characteristic of the king of Macha).

§9(q)111. Fīac*h*na f*or*mna gil

I have been unable to find a reference to this Fíachna. The word ***formna***, literally 'shoulder', can also figuratively mean 'apex, climax, perfection'. *DIL* cites our example under the meaning 'apex' (*DIL* F 349.81), but suggests that we are possibly to take ***formna*** in its literal sense. I have opted to do so here, and follow O'Beirne Crowe who translates 'of white shoulder' (*ALLI*: 105). Perhaps we are to take this 'white shoulder' as a birth-mark or a distinguishing mark that singles him out to be king.

§9(q)112. aic*h*ni

I take ***aichni*** to stand for ***aithne***, 'that by which something may be recognised, characteristic' (for this meaning see *DIL* s.v. *aithne* 270.37), with *-ch-* for *-th-*, and am translating 'distinguishing feature'. In this I am loosely following O'Beirne Crowe's translation of the verse-line 'he hath possessed a mark from the Son of God (*ALLI*: 105, quatrain xvii)'. The characteristic I take to be the white shoulder, mentioned in the previous line.

§9(q)113. i*nn*é do-dec*h*aid do ni*m*

I take ***inné*** to stand for ***indé***, an adverb meaning 'yesterday', here used in the sense 'recently'. O'Beirne Crowe here translates ***inné do-dechaid do nim*** 'the same who came from heaven' (*ALLI* 105), possibly taking *inné* as *intí*.

§9(r)114. Foimti do *ch*āc*h*

LU has **fo*m*tiu** for ***foimti*** (for the spelling *foimtriu* see *DIL* , is the verbal of necessity of ***fo-moinethar*** 'to be heeded, guarded against' (*DIL* s.v. *foimti*, and see also s.v. *foimtiu* 250.23-4, where this example is given with the suggestion one might have to take this as *foimti*. G7 here has the superior reading **foimti**. O'Beirne Crowe translates this with 'a

thought'.

§9(r)114. *crād*

For ***crád,*** *DIL* gives the meaning 'torment, anguish, misery'; this example is translated 'afflicting the son of God' (*DIL crád* 503.44). I follow Liam Breatnach, who tells me this idiom is used to express the idea of blasphemy, suggesting the translation 'wrath'. O'Beirne Crowe translates ***crád*** 'torture'.

§9(r)117. midedar

H has written this as two words here, ***mided ar***. The classical Old Irish form would have been a pres. ind. 3 sg. rel. ***midethar*** 'who judges'. G7 here has ***midither.***

§9(s)118 Nīrbo mé

Nírbo consists of ***ní*** + ***ro*** + ***-bo***, 3 sg. perfect of the copula. The personal pronouns are used most commonly as predicative nominatives after the copula, which is in the third person (*GOI* §406) in all cases except 3 pl. This may be translated either 'I was never [really] the *Muirgeilt*'.

§9(s)119. *trāignech*

DIL offers no translation of the word ***traignech*** itself, but refers (with a question mark) to the entry ***tragna*** 'corncrake'. The word 'corncrake' does not seem to me to fit contextually. From the parallel structure of verse-lines §9(s)118 and §9(s)119, it would seem to follow that this word should form either a contrast or a synonym to ***muirgeilt***, '*geilt* of the sea'. Perhaps this is a compound consisting of ***trogan***, meaning 'earth' and the suffix ***–ech***?

It could perhaps also be a compound of ***tráig*** 'strand, shore,' and the suffix ***–ech***, with an intrusive ***-n-*** developed in analogy with ***trethnach***, 'stormy', from ***trethan***, '(stormy) sea, storm'. O'Beirne Crowe translated 'strander', possibly based on *tráig* 'strand', but offers no further explanation for his translation. The version in G7 has ***trigmech***. I have been unable to find reference to such a word.

§9(s)121. fo loc*h* ec*h*ac*h* adba én

This is the first of four quatrains providing a *dúnad*: §9(t) ends in ***adba dom***, and both §9(u) and §9(v) end in ***fó***. It is possible that the *dúnad* found here, *adba én*, was the original end of the poem, and the other quatrains were added later. Against this, however, may be the fact that G7 also has quatrain §9(t) (it does not have quatrains §9(u) and §9(v)). Since the final line in quatrain §9(t) echoes the entire first sentence of the poem, it is perhaps likely that that quatrain is the original final quatrain of the poem.

§9(t)123. sca*r*

LU here has **sca*r*ad**, but this is problematic, as it leaves us with a line of eight syllables, whereas virtually all other lines consist of seven syllables G7 here has ***scarad*** corrected to ***scar***, which solves this problem.

§9(t)123. etal

G7 has *fethal*, with hypercorrect *f.* O'Beirne Crowe rendered ***scarad fri etal***, 'parting with trouble'. I have not been able to find the meaning 'trouble' for *etal*. I take this word to be *DIL* s.v. 2 *etal* 'ray, (sun)beam; a lucid beam of light; delight, pleasure; fair weather, sunlight'. The meaning of the sentence would then be that Lí Bán is ready to die.

§9(t)125. dom

LU has ***dam*** and G7 has ***damh***, but this would not give us rhyme with rom, and therefore this must be emended to ***dom*** (preposition ***do*** + 1 sg.).

§9(u)126. t*r*ia bit*h* sír

The regular expression is ***tre/tria bithu sír*** 'forever, everlastingly', but this would require emendation to ***bithu***, which would leave us with eight syllables in the verse-line. However, according to *DIL*, this phrase later frequently occurs as ***tré bith sír*** (*DIL* s.v. ***sír*** 242.35). As this metre requires heptasyllabic lines, it would seem that we here have an instance of the later form ***bith***. It is possible that this quatrain (as well as the following quatrain) was a later addition to the poem: it is absent from G7, and follows two quatrains that make a *dúnad*.

§9(u)127. -béo

This is 1 sg. pres. subj. of ***attá***. For ***céin*** followed by the subjunctive, including examples of the form ***–béo***, see Uhlich 2006: 20-24.

§9(u)128. cobair fir a culc*h*i c*h*íar

O'Beirne Crowe translated *guidim Brenaind...cobair fir a culchi chíar* 'I pray Brenaind...For true assistance from black profanity' (*ALLI*: 106-07 quatrain xxi), but there is no word ***cuilche*** meaning 'profanity' in the Dictionary. O'Beirne Crowe took ***cobair*** to be the direct object of ***guidim***, but this seems unlikely, as in that case one would expect a preposition such as ***im*** to be used to indicate the direct object (see *DIL* s.v. *guidid* 173.45). I take ***culchi*** to stand for ***cuilchiu***, dative sg. of ***cuilche***, a term for an outer garment or covering made of skins, worn by monks (*DIL* s.v.). I suggest translating 'the assistance of a man in a dark garment', with ***a*** for earlier ***i*** 'in' (see *SnaG* III 3.29). The man in the dark garment could refer to Brendan, in the sense that Lí Bán asks Brendan for help, and she utters the hope that his assistance will save her. It could also refer to a monk in general, and then the sense would be that she hopes she will be aided (rescued?) by a Christian person.

§9(u)129. ro*m*-ái*n*

I take the length-mark to be spurious here as there is no verb *áingid* in *DIL*, and take this to be an example of the 3 sg. pres. subj. conj. of *aingid* 'saves, protects', with an infixed pronoun 1 sg. and *ro* used in an optative sense, 'may...save me'. I take *cobair* 'assistance' to be the subject of ***rom-ain***.

§9(u)129. fu*nch*i

This word poses a problem. It is translated in *DIL* as 'scald-crow' or 'black fox' (perhaps signifying a bat? I have been unable to find any references to or other attestations of this, but I would like to offer this meaning as a theoretical possibility). These two terms, *fuinche* 'scald-crow' and *sindach dub* 'black fox', are also used to gloss the word *gudomuin/gudemain* 'spectres' (or, as Jacqueline Borsje suggested in a presentation read by her during a conference in Uppsala on May 21, 2004, 'false demons'), and *gladomuin*, translated by Jacqueline Borsje during the same presentation as 'howlers, howler demons' (compare *glaidem* 'wolf', literally 'howler' (*DIL* s.v.)). I therefore believe that the word *fuinche* here signifies a kind of howling demon. For a

more detailed explanation, with references to the entries in the glossaries, see the discussion on *fuinche* in the **second thematic discussion** below, p. 261 f. O'Beirne Crowe translated 'whiting' (*ALLI*: 106-07, quatrain xxi), but according to Fergus Kelly, there is no evidence that *fuinche* means 'whiting' (personal correspondence).

§9(v)130-33.

It should be noted that H's hand in writing this quatrain differs from his writing in the rest of the poem, as pointed out in the section on the description of the manuscripts, p. 134 above.

§9(v)130-31. Tip*ra* m*aic* Maireda mais / f*or* lin*d* laiss lodo*mar* dó

O'Beirne Crowe translates 'The well of the handsome son of Mairid / On bright flood we went from it' (*ALLI*: 106-07, quatrain xxii), possibly taking *laiss* for *loise*, iā, f, 'flame, blaze'? I suggest following *DIL* in taking *laiss* as the preposition *la* combined with a personal pronoun 3 sg. m. (*DIL* s.v. 2 *lais*), referring to Echu, to whom reference is made in the previous line. The preposition *for* can also be used to express 'in' (*DIL* s.v. 1 *for*, 295.80ff.), which is how I take it here: Lí Bán went away to the ocean, swimming through the lake and the river Bann.

§9(v)131. lodo*mar*

The form ***lodomar*** is pret. 1 pl. of *téit* 'goes'. The expected form would have been ***lodmar*** (with ending *-mar* mentioned in *GOI* §699 as the more regular form found beside the ending *–ammar*), but see *DIL* s.v. *téit* 127.66 for another example of ***lodamur*** (although Jürgen Uhlich has pointed out to me that this example is from Lism. L. 3817, and the form ***lodmar*** would fit better there (***lodamur*** would bring the count up to eight syllables rather than the seven required ones), so it is possible this is not a real example of this trisyllabic form). The vowel between *-d-* and *-m-* here seems to be in analogy with other verbal forms such as *–gádammar*, *–génammar* (*GOI* §699) and *bertamar* and *bertatar* (pret. 1 pl. and 3 pl. of *beirid* 'carries' respectively. See *DIL* s.v. *téit* 127.68-69 for examples of 3 pl. *lodatar*).

§9(v)131. dō

The word ***tipra*** appears elsewhere in the text as a feminine noun, as evidenced by §9(n)100 of this poem, where the 3 sg. feminine independent pronoun ***sí*** refers back to

tipra, in the previous line. If one were to take ***dó*** as referring to the well, as O'Beirne Crowe does (his translation is 'On bright flood we went **from it**', *ALLI*: 107), we would have to reconstruct the preposition ***di*** combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. f. giving us ***dí***, which would compromise the rhyme with ***fó***. I suggest taking it as ***lodomar dō*** as 'we went to him' (i.e. Echu), although the exact meaning of this line is uncertain to me.

§9(v)132. úasu, *im*mi

Again, O'Beirne Crowe connects this with ***tipra***. I would suggest translating 'above him, around him,' referring to Echu, rather than the well.

§9(v)133. 7 is tír hi fuil fó

O'Beirne Crowe translates this line '...And in the land in which it is under it', but this does not make sense contextually. I am grateful to Liam Breatnach for suggesting to me that ***hi fuil*** is to be read as ***a fil***, 'that which is'. For this confusion of ***a*** and ***i*** see *SnaG* III 3.29, where a similar example is quoted. I take ***fó*** as 'under it', i.e. under the sea, to which reference is made in the previous line.

End of poem

In the manuscripts R and G10, under the commentary on January 27 of *Félire Óengusso*, a quatrain occurs that is not found in LU, which may originally have belonged to *Fo Loch Echach adba dam*, or to a now lost poem. The text reads as follows (I here give Stokes' text and translation for both):

'Eochaid mac Muireda mais	Eochaid, son of handsome Muirid,
ata fon tuinn trethanglais	he is under the ocean-blue wave
in mál maith 'ma laigdis mná	the good noble with whom women used to lie
do sin ropam ingen-sa.	I was a daughter of his.'
(*Fél*: 52-53)	

The manuscripts Laud, G10 and Rawlinson B512 also have a quatrain which in Laud is said to have been uttered by Airiu, in our text another daughter of Echu, and wife of Curnán the fool who prophesied the deluge:

Nocha biusa i mbethaid de	I am not alive for this[310]
ocus atbel do naire,	and I will die of shame
na doine thall ica rádh	the men here saying it

[310] The translation of *de* should be 'on account of this', or possibly 'therefore' – see *DIL* s.v. *de* 153.46 f., and especially lines 52-53, where it is stated that this word often occurs in poetry in a vague sense, especially at the end of a verse-line to suit the metre.

is me Aire bean Curnán that I am Airiu, Curnán's wife
(*Fél*: 54-55)

Note that both quatrains are in the *deibide* metre, as is quatrain §9(j) above.

§10,134. fō

I take *fo* in LU to stand for *fó*, consisting of the preposition *fo* + poss. pronoun 3 sg. m. *a*, referring to Echu. For *fo* meaning 'throughout', see *DIL* s.v. *for* I (d) 169.55 ff.

§10,135-36. A leth 'na bratā*n* ro boī 7 a lleth n-aill 'na duni

Literally 'half of her was in its salmon and her other half in its human'. For this idiom, see *SnaG* III 14.5.

§10,136. ro c*h*ēt

This is the Middle Irish use of the preterite passive stem as preterite active, by analogy with certain strong verbs with a t-preterite (such as *aigid* and *orgaid*), in which the dependent 3 sg. active form is identical with the dependent 3 sg. passive. This is discussed in *SnaG* III 12.66, and there another example of the use of ***c(h)ét*** can be found in *dīarro chēt* 'when he sang', from *Saltair na Rann* 7533. See also Quiggin, 1910: 200, who discusses the form *ro cét* and cites our example.

§10(a)139. sec*h* císu co cert

The word ***cís*** 'tax, tribute, cess' u, m, can be used in a religious sense of 'sin', as it is found glossed ***peccata*** (*Thes. Pal.* II 325.19 and 38) and ***peacadh*** (*DIL* s.v. 202.32 ff – but note that that meaning 'sin' is not given specifically in *DIL*), and compare *ar colno císu* 'the taxes of our flesh', *Thes. Pal.* II 325.19. The meaning of this verse-line is somewhat obscure. I take it to mean that Lí Bán died sinless, and therefore went straight to Heaven. The reason for her being without sin might be that she died immediately after being baptized into the Christian faith. Another possibility is that Lí Bán should be considered an Otherworld being, as in numerous texts the idea is developed of Otherworld beings as sinless. This idea occurs for example in *Immram Brain*, *Echtra Chonlai, Serglige Con Culaind* and *Tochmarc Étaine* (see Mac Cana in Wooding 2000: 57, where he refers to these texts). The creatures from the Otherworld were not yet touched by the Fall from grace, which produced the evils of the mortal world such as sickness and age (Mac Cana in Wooding 2000: 57; against Mac Cana, see McCone

2000: 62 f.). Lí Bán lives under the water, often a location where the Otherworld can be found, and she displays other characteristics of Otherworld beings, such as unnaturally long life and (partial) transformation into a salmon. Therefore, she could be considered to be an Otherworld creature, which would mean she was sinless.

§10(a)140. do[s]-rat

Clearly, an infixed pronoun 3 sg. f. class a is missing from LU, which I have supplied here based on the version of the poem in *L*, which does in fact have *dus-rat*, with the infixed pronoun class a 3 sg. f.

§10(a)140. in [n-]ainricht

I take ***anrecht*** here as ***ainricht*** 'dreadful shape' (*DIL* s.v.). Since the final syllable is unstressed, this would not prevent rhyme with ***cert***. The ***-e-*** in ***anrecht*** may then have been used by a copyist purely for producing optical rhyme. O'Beirne Crowe has the similar translation 'strange shape' (*ALLI*: 107). Stokes translates 'a pitiful state' (*Fél*: 53). I would prefer to take this in the meaning 'dreadful shape', since later on in this poem, Lí Bán is said to have a tail, and half the body of a salmon (§10(d)151-52 – and there are of course other examples from the rest of the text – see for example *Fo Loch Echach* §9(h)77 *i rricht īa*(i)*ch acht mo chend* '[while I was] in the shape of a salmon but for my head'; §9(i)78 *ciapsa duine, ciapsa bled* 'whether I was a person or a sea-monster' and §9(l)92 *mé muc mara méthad tond* 'I a porpoise which a wave fattens'. See also §10,134 *A leth 'na bratān ro boī 7 a lleth n-aill 'na duni* 'She was half fish, half human' and §12,162-63 in the prose: *Ro soīed-si īar sin i rricht bratān* 'She was turned into a salmon after that'.

§10(b)141. Ro c*h*ar in n-inber sech treib

LU has Ro c*h*ar ***in ben secech*** treib 'the woman loved beyond every place' (following Best and Bergin in taking ***secech*** (with regular homorganic delenition) as ***sech cech***, see Best and Bergin 1929: 99 n. 1). O'Beirne Crowe takes ***–se*** as a demonstrative and translates 'This woman loved every dwelling' (*ALLI*: 108-09)). The other manuscripts have (with normalized spelling) *ro char* ***in (n-) inber*** *sech treib*, 'she preferred the estuary to a house', which I take as the superior reading, as it fits much better contextually. This statement gives us a juxtaposition of two contrasting lifestyles: a stationary lifestyle in a house (and in 'civilized' society), or an itinerant lifestyle in the

water (i.e. in the wilderness), of which Lí Bán prefers the latter. I therefore felt justified in adopting the text from the other versions.

§10(b)143. ro airbir bit*h*

The verb *ar-beir* is found combined with *biuth* or *bith* (the dative of *bith,* 'world') (*GOI* § 251.3(b)), and means 'lives' (*DIL* s.v. *ar-beir* I (a)). This perfective form seems to have been formed on the Middle Irish simplified verb *airbeirid* (*DIL* s.v. *ar-beir*). The variant versions here have *ro erb*ad *a beth* (R), *is do erb beith* (Laud) and *ro erb a beth* (G10), from the verb *erbaid* 'entrusts, commits'.

§10(b)144. tard gut*h* do C*h*olo*m*

Note the Middle Irish verbal form ***–tard*** for OI ***–tarat***. *Colom* probably refers to Columbanus of Bobbio, who was himself from the monastery of Bangor. The variant version R has *Chomgall.* Both Cholom and Comgall would be possible with regards to the metre. O'Beirne Crowe's interpretation of this verse-line is that Colom refers to St. Columba and takes the line to mean that Columba was one of the saints present at the capture of Lí Bán, and that she had a conversation with him, five years before retiring to Iona (*ALLI*: 108-09 n.). This seems a bit too presumptuous, as there is no mention of his being present at the capture of Lí Bán in the final prose section; nor is mention made in our text of the specific year in which Lí Bán was caught. I believe this couplet means that Lí Bán spent her time under the water, and did not surface until she had the opportunity to speak to Columbanus of Bobbio, who was associated with the monastery of Bangor (see Kenney 1929: 396). A similar episode occurs in the *Acallam na Senórach*, where Lí Bán has been under the water for 100 years, until she decides to surface in order to speak with Caílte (for the episode, see Nagy 1985: 117-18).

§10(c)145. a c[h]rai*n*d

Both O'Beirne Crowe and Stokes translate this with 'tree' and take it to refer to a boat (*ALLI*: 109 and *Fél*: 53), but see *DIL* s.v. *crann*, where our *craind* is translated 'fishing-rod'. One would expect lenition after the poss. 3 sg. m.

§10(c)146. Co*m*gaill

This is Comgall moccu Aridi of the *Dál nAraide*, founder of the monastery of Bangor. According to the Annals of Ulster he lived from 515 [*recte* 516] or 519 [*recte* 520] to

600 [*recte* 601] or 601 [*recte* 602]; the Annals of Tigernach state that he died in 602 and according to Kenney, the Martyrology of Tallaght states that he died on May 10, 602, at the age of 91 (so dating his year of birth as 511) and in the fiftieth year, third month and tenth day of his abbacy – for these dates, see Kenney 1929: 396.

§10(c)147. dos-rat

I take this to mean that Beóán captured Lí Bán and when he came back to the monastery of Bangor, he gave her (or handed her over) to Comgall, his abbot, so she could be baptized. Note that this contradicts the information given later in the final prose section, where there is disagreement about whom she belonged to: Comgall, Fergus or Beóán.

§10(c)148. i *n*dabaig

The term *dabach* is used here in the sense of a vessel, large enough for Lí Bán to be baptized (submerged?) in. In the final prose section, she is said to be in an *ethur*, which also seems to mean 'vessel', rather than 'boat'. O'Beirne Crowe interpreted *i n-dabaig* as ***in dubaig***, and translated his reading of the verse-line *Co robaisted in dubaig* 'So that he [Comgall] baptized the mournful one' (*ALLI*: 108-09). This translation is grammatically impossible, however, as the form *-baisted* is preceded by *ro*, and this construction with *co*, denoting a final resulting event or outcome, is generally followed by a perfect. This form must therefore be taken as a perfect, with the passive ending *–ed*, and not the 3 sg. imperfect indicative ending, as O'Beirne Crowe translated.

§10(d)149. as [m]baí

One might expect *asa,* with relative ***a***, but sometimes this relative ***a*** is elided before the substantive verb, and in poetry before other verbs also (*GOI* §492). One would still expect nasalization of the verbal form, as found in R, which has ***as mboí***, and G10, which has ***as mi***.

§10(d)149. l*us*

O'Beirne Crowe translates this verse-line 'Wonderful the shape, out of it was water', but there is no word *lus* meaning 'water' in *DIL*, and O'Beirne Crowe offers no justification for his translation. Stokes follows the reading of *R* for his edition of *FO*, and has ***as mbói in lus***, which he translated 'out of which was might' (*Fél*: 52-53). I am adopting Liam Breatnach's suggestion to take ***lus*** as earlier ***los***, *DIL* s.v. 1 *los*, I(c) 'tail

of an animal' – in this case presumably referring to a fish's tail. This would fit contextually, as it explains the word ***ingnad*** at the beginning of this line, and it is stated earlier in the text (§10,135 f.) that Lí Bán was in the shape of half woman, half fish.

§10(d)151. ceirbo cac*h*t

Stokes translates this with 'though she was a bondmaid' in his edition of *Fél* (*Fél*: 53). O'Beirne Crowe divides this verse-line ***a drech abban-ceir bo cacht*** 'Her face water-black was a girl' (*ALLI*: 108-09), but offers no explanation for this division or for translating *cacht* as 'girl'. The meanings of *cacht* are given in *DIL* as follows (s.v. *1 cacht*): (a) person in bondage, slave; (b) bond, fetter, bondage, captivity; (c) in figurative and extended uses: duress, hardship, asceticism; (d) various. Our example is given under (d) and translated with 'deformed' (*DIL* C 6.54). I opted to translate it here with the basic meaning 'although she was a captive' since it is unclear to me what the exact meaning of this couplet is; perhaps the sense is that her face was beautiful, but that the rest of her body was monstrous (i.e. that of a salmon), since her legs were encased by the tail of a fish (hence the 'captive' element).

§10(e)153. n-ēba[i]*r*t

I take this as the Middle Irish 3 sg. perfect prototonic of *as-beir* (compare the Old Irish form ***–érbart***). The development of the form ***–ébairt*** was discussed by Brian Ó Cuív (Ó Cuív 1971-72: 68 and 71 f. on the length of the *ē*-). I take the omission of the *i* as scribal, as Liam Breatnach states that the *–rt* in the 3 sg. of the perfect of *as-beir* is always slender in unstressed syllables ('Chomh fada le m'eolas bíonn an *–rt* sa 3 u. de *as-beir* 'deir' i gcónaí caol i siolla neamhaiceanta'). See *SnaG* III 12.45, where he gives the examples *dīa n-ēbairt, SR* 7639, *cu n-ēbairt LL* 35199.

§10(e)153. 'carais maéda'

Carais maéda (for ***carais mo ḟēda***) is a quotation of the beginning of a quatrain that can be found in *Fél* under January 27, given here with Stokes's translation (*Fél*: 38):

Carais moéda *Muirgein*	My Lord loved Muirgein,
mírbail gein co mbúadaib:	a wondrous birth with victories!
birt glanbúaid fiad rígaib	Agna with ten virgins won a
Agnetis deich n-úagaib	pure victory before kings.

§10(e)154. Ōeng*us* h*Ūa* Āiblen*n* áebda

This Óengus is Óengus the Culdee, author of *Félire Óengusso*. For his background, see *Fél*: xxiv-xxviii.

§10(e)155. 'mōe[da]' mo Dīa

LU has ***moe mó Dīa***. I take the accent on ***mó*** (for possessive pronoun 1 sg.) as spurious. O'Beirne Crowe divides this ***m oe mó Dia***, and translates 'my science Great God'. I am following Best and Bergin (1929: 99, n. 3), in reading ***moe*** *as* ***móe[da] = mo ḟéda***. The reading *móeda* is supported by all other manuscripts. The poet is here clearly offering an explanation of the word ***móeda*** from *Fél*, saying that it means 'my God'.

§11,157. dā i*n*gi*n*

The expected form of the numeral 'two' followed by a feminine word in the nominative would be ***dí***, but in the course of the Middle Irish period, there is a generalization of the masculine nominative/accusative form *dá* (leniting), see *SnaG* III 8.3 (with examples also on the length of the vowel in *dá*).

§11,159. ar ēc

O'Grady translates *ar ēc Curnān and sin* 'and that is 'the invention of Curnan'' in *SG* ii: 267, rather than 'because the death of Curnán's [occurred] there', possibly taking *ar ec* as ***arec*** (for ***airec***) 'act of inventing', as suggested to me by Jürgen Uhlich. I have been unable to find the meaning 'invention' for ***éc***, and the translation 'Curnán's death' seems more appropriate here, since the text has just mentioned that Curnán died of grief (§11,158).

§12,162. f*or* co*m*snām *fr*i*u*

I follow O'Beirne Crowe, who translates 'co-swimming with them' (*ALLI*: 108-09), rather than the meanings given in *DIL* 'act of floating, swimming (in competition)' (*DIL* s.v. ***comṡnám***).

§12,162-63. Ro soīed

Originally, the verb was disyllabic ***soïd***, with perfect *ro soad*, *ro sód*. Here, the verb is *soíd*, and the passive ending *–ed* was added to *soí*.

§13,166. T*h*ig Dabeóc

O'Beirne Crowe identified Tech da Beóc with Tamlacht Menand (*ALLI*: 95). He quotes a gloss from *Fél*, but without specifying from which manuscript, in which Tamlacht Menand is mentioned (*Tres (recte, duo) sancti de Bretnaib: in una ecclesia sunt, .i. hi Tamlachta Menand hic Loch Bricrend in Uib Echach Ulad*, 'Three (*recte,* two) saints of the Britons [Beoan and Mellan]: in one church they are, that is, in Tamlachta Menand at Lochbrickland [in county Down] in Ui Echach Ulad', see *ALLI*: 95 for text and translation). But see Stokes's edition of *Fél*, where three saints (Nassán or Nasad, Beóán and Mellán) are in fact mentioned (*Fél*: 226 and 228). Note that there is no mention of the actual placename Tech Dabeóc in *Fél*. O'Beirne Crowe took Beóán (the name of the person to whom Lí Bán speaks) as another form of Beóc or Dabeóc (*ALLI*: 95). If he is correct in this, Tech Dabeóc would refer to Beóán's home. O'Hanlon discussed a St. Muirgen (alternatively Muirgeilt) under January 27, article vii, of his *Lives of the Irish Saints*, volume i, Dublin, (1875--). She is said to be a (holy) virgin of Teach Dabeoc, which, according to O'Hanlon, is situated in county Donegal.

§13,167. Uird 7 Rīagla

The terms *Ord* (from Latin *ordo*) and *Ríagal* (from Latin *regula*) can both be used to signify a Rule of a religious communtity (*DIL*, s.v. 1 *ord(d)* O 155.22, and *ríagal* R 55.81 ff. (our example is cited there)). John Strachan has edited a monastic Rule that in one manuscript is referred to as the Rule of Comgall of Bangor (Strachan 1904c: 192). Strachan states that the poem 'can hardly be put later than about 800 A.D.' (ibidem), but makes no statement as to whether he takes the Rule he is editing to be Comgall's Rule. Kenney refers to this text, and says that the fact it is attributed to Comgall in one manuscript hardly justifies inclusion among the documents of (the monastery of) Bangor (1929: 397). According to Kenney, there was a ninth-century copy of the Rule of Comgall in the monastery of Fulda, apparently in Latin, and now lost. Kenney was of the opinion that it probably formed the base for the later Rule of Columbanus (Kenney 1929: 397).

§13,169. celebrad ai*n*gel

According to Plummer (cited from *DIL* s.v. *celebrad* 108.69 ff), the word *celebrad*, when used in native contexts without qualification, refers almost exclusively to the celebration of the canonical hours, and only later to Mass. I am grateful to Liam

Breatnach for suggesting 'liturgical chanting of angels', which I have adopted here.

§13,172-73. mo dāla *ch*ucut-su

The expression ***dálaid x co y*** (also *fri*, later *la*), when used intransitively, means 'x makes a tryst, assignation with y' (for examples, see *DIL* s.v. *dálaid* 50.23-24 – for us the intransitive examples are of interest). This verb was formed on the word ***dál*** 'meeting', ā, f (given in *DIL* s.v. *2 dál*). It would appear that this is a similar construction to the verbal noun + *co*, '(to tell you) of my meeting with you'.

§13,173. fr*i*thāilt*er*

Frithailter misi 'let me be received, let me be expected' is the passive sg. of the imperative of either ***fris-áilethar*** 'expects, looks forward to, is prepared for', or of the later simplified verb ***fritháilid*** based on *fris-áilethar*. One might posit that we are likely dealing here with the imperative of the simplified verb, as the final prose section does not retain compound verbal forms. In addition to this, we here find an independent pronoun 1 sg. expressing the object, rather than an infixed pronoun (see *SnaG* III 10.15 and 10.16, where this line is given). I have translated it here as an active verbal form in order to make the translation flow more smoothly.

§13,176. *con*aigi

Conaigi is a Middle Irish simplex for OI ***con-daigi*** (from *con-dieig* 'seeks, asks')

§16,187. a ngaisced f*o*ra n-ott*ra*igib

The meaning of this section, literally 'their weapons on their dungheaps', is obscure. O'Grady does not use the word 'dungheap', translating instead: '...that never should they triumph over any but ignoblest foes...' (*SG* ii 268). O'Beirne Crowe translates 'their heroism on their filths' (*ALLI*: 111), but does not explain the meaning of his translation. *DIL* (s.v. *gaisced*, 33.50ff) states that this is a curse and that the weapons of the warrior and his descendants shall be flung on the midden-heap unused and abandoned. But why are their weapons discarded and unused? The only thing I can think of is that somehow, the social status of the killer and his descendants is reduced to such an extent that they were no longer allowed to carry arms.

§17,189 'na feru*n*d

Note the absence of the *punctum delens* on the *f* of *ferund.*

§17,192. ro gell fēin dó

Presumably, this is a reference to Lí Bán agreeing to be buried with Beóán.

§17,193. da da*m* allaid

The term *dam allaid*, 'stag' literally means 'untamed ox' (*EIF*: 272 f.). For a short discussion of the motif of stags being yoked to a chariot to end a dispute about a place a saint should be brought to, see thematic discussion III, p. 276 below.

§17,194. Carnd Airend

This probably refers to the cairn of Lí Bán's sister Airiu. Note that *De causis Torchi Corco Ché*, the other text edited in this thesis, mentions Uiriu (for Airiu?), daughter of Echu, survived the outburst of the lake, together with Echu's dog Conbroc and Echu's fool Mídenn, and that their three cairns are situated to the east of Loch nEchach.

§18,199. estec*h*t

The manuscript has ***éstecht***. As it stands, the word ***éstecht*** means 'hearing' (*DIL* s.v. ***étsecht***), which clearly does not fit contextually. I take the accent to be spurious and emend to ***estecht***, 'exit, departure, death', the verbal noun of ***as-tét*** (*DIL* s.v. ***estecht***).

§18,201-02. ferta 7 mīrmaili…co n-onōir 7 co n-airmiten

Compare with this passage the following line from the Life of Patrick from the Lebar Brecc: *Roadnacht, tra, Pátraic* ***conanoir ocus ormitin, cofhertaib ocus mirbulib*** *cechlathidib hiṅDun Lethglassi* 'Patrick was buried, with honour and veneration, with daily wonders and miracles, in Dún-lethglaisse' (Stokes 1887: 486 (text) and 487 (translation)).

§18,202. do-rid[n]acht

This verbal form comes from what was originally the verb ***do-indnaig*** in Old Irish 'gives, bestows, grants'. This verb has perfective forms with both *com* and *ro* (*GOI* §533). In Middle Irish, the consonant group *-ndn-* is reduced to *-dn-* with lenited *d* (*SnaG* III.3.14), and for ***do-indnaig***, the new form ***do-idnaig***- is found (see *DIL* s.v. *do-*

indnaig 315.1 ff), with a perfect 3 sg. deut. ***do-ridnacht*** (an example of this perfect 3 sg. deut. is given in *SnaG* III 3.14, and see *DIL* D 315.3 ff.). This appears to be the form intended here, with omission of the n-stroke, and I am following Best and Bergin in emending to *do-rid*[*n*]*acht* (Best and Bergin 1929: 100, l. 3133).

THEMATIC DISCUSSION I: ECHU AND RÍ

As the text *Aided Echach maic Maireda* (hereafter *AE*) is rich in motifs, it was felt that a discussion of its contents would not be not out of place. The purpose of the thematics section is to highlight some of the complexities and subtleties present in the text. This thematic section is divided into three different parts. This first part focuses on the stories of Echu and Rí. Part II considers the different names of Lí Bán, and part III is a short overview of a number of motifs present in the final prose section, mainly derived from hagiography.

In this first thematic section, several (obscure) narratorial elements present in the initial prose section, especially with relation to Echu, are discussed. The question 'what clues are present in this text as to how the story will progress and end?' has hereby served as a guiding principle.

The Title (§1,1)

The title, *Aided Echach maic Maireda inso*, written in H's hand above the main text, immediately gives away the ending (at least as far as Echu is concerned). The word *aided* can be translated with 'violent death', or perhaps 'unnatural death', as opposed to a death by natural causes.[311]

The *aided* is listed as a category belonging to the *prímscéla* (major or primary tales) in tale list A: *Acus iss iatso na prímsceóil .i. Togla 7 tána 7 tochmarca 7 catha 7 uatha 7 imrama 7* ***oitte*** *7 fessa [7] forbassa 7 echtrada* et *aithid 7 airggne.* 'And these are the major tales, viz. destructions, cattle-raids, wooings, battles, terrors, voyages, **death-tales**, feasts, sieges, adventures, elopements, and plunderings.'[312]

Daniel Melia has analyzed the *aided*-tales together with the text *Fingal Rónáin* and *Echtra Fergusa mac Léti*, in his article 'Remarks on the structure and composition of the Ulster Death Tales',[313] and describes a common recurring pattern. He concludes that a woman always plays a part in the *aided*-tale.[314] Furthermore, the hero breaks an important behavioural code or the social honour-code, resulting in his death.[315] He distills this into the following formula:

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[311] See *DIL* s.v. *aided*.
[312] Mac Cana 1980: 41.
[313] 1977-78: 36-57.
[314] Melia 1977-78: 48 and 51.
[315] Melia 1977-78: 40. Melia's article offers a number of different patterns for the *aided*-tale. His distinction between Woman-Revenge and Tabu-Revenge (Melia 1977-78: 39 and 40) seems a little too rigid to me and is

Woman + Man

Breaking of Rules

Death [in Revenge][316]

Melia goes one step further, and points out that it is important to distinguish between socially acceptable relations (i.e. those between husband and wife), and illicit ones (i.e. an incestuous or adulterous relationship). In a socially acceptable union, the personal needs of the man and the woman are inferior to the needs imposed on them by society. Such a relationship produces fertility for the man. In an illicit relationship, however, the man and woman place their own needs before societal needs, resulting in death for the man (and sometimes the woman).[317]

If Melia's general pattern for *aided*-tales is correct, one might expect the common elements set out by him to be present in our text, as it is presented as an *aided*-tale. Indeed, these elements can be found in the tale: Echu elopes with his stepmother, thus engaging in an illicit relationship, which results in Echu's death, and presumably, though this is not explicitly mentioned in the text, the death of his stepmother as well.

It may be of interest to point out that in a number of the Ulster *aided*-tales, the death of the hero holds some connection to a lake. In *Aided Lóegairi Búadaig*, for example, Lóegaire accidentally kills himself by hitting his head on the lintel of the door of his house, while trying to run out the door to stop Conchobar's men from drowning the poet Áed in Lóegaire's lake for sleeping with Conchobar's wife Mugain.[318] Fergus mac Roïch is killed while he is in the lake at Mag nAí,[319] and Fergus mac Léti does not survive his fight with the *muirdris*.[320]

It would be interesting to further investigate the hero's death and the association with water to see if this is a recurring theme, but that lies beyond the scope of this thesis.

The structure of the tale of Echu and Rí

One of the most important clues as to the progression of the tale is the way in which it is presented. This section of our text is a conflation, based, as stated before,[321] on the

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somewhat confusing, especially as he himself goes on to say that elements from both patterns are present in each tale to some extent (Melia 1977-78: 42). I am therefore not adopting this distinction in my discussion.

[316] Melia 1977-78: 48.

[317] Melia 1977-78: 50.

[318] Meyer 1906: 22-23.

[319] Meyer 1906: 32-35.

[320] Binchy 1952: 37 and 39 (text) and 44 (translation).

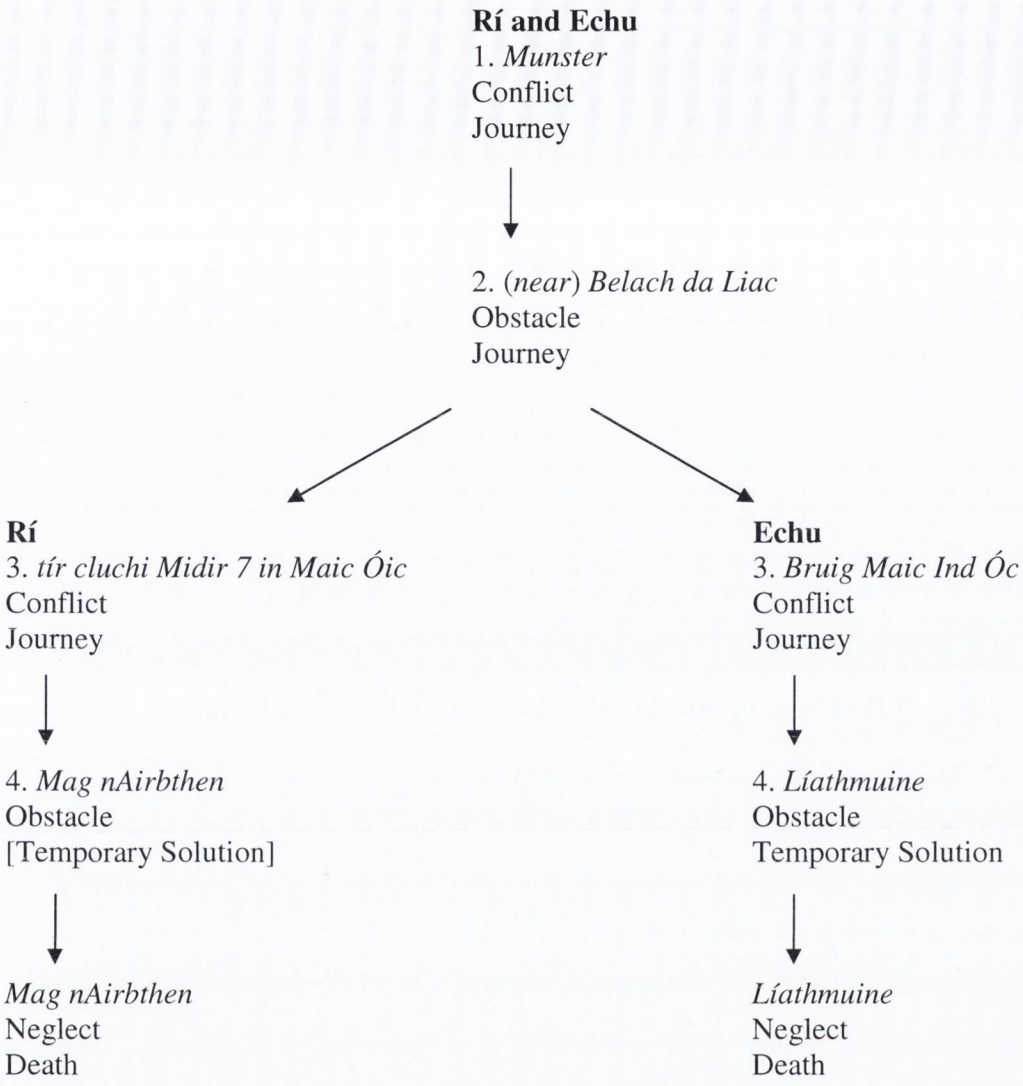
[321] See p. 129.

metrical *dindshenchas*-tales of Loch nEchach and Loch Rí, and shows a remarkably parallel structure. Three times, the same three steps are repeated:

1. The hero finds himself in a certain place
2. A conflict/obstacle arises
3. This conflict/obstacle necessitates a journey

As soon as the journey ends, the cycle starts anew. During the fourth repetition, however, the cycle is broken, and a temporary solution is found, rather than the hero going on a journey. As soon as this happens, it is clear that the end of the story is near. The structure of our tale is given below in an overview. The overview is to be read from top to bottom; the column on the left represent steps taken by Rí. The column on top represents Rí and Echu together; finally, the column on the right represents Echu. The words in square brackets under the heading 'Rí' indicate that these elements are actually absent from *AE*. It was, however, felt justifiable to include these elements in the overview, based on the paralliel structure of the tale, and on the fact the elements are present in the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí.[322] After the overview, different steps in the journey are treated under separate headings. As the focus of this section of our tale is primarily on Echu, I will mainly treat Echu's tale, with references to Rí's adventures.

[322] *M.Ds.* iii 456-57.



Location 1*: *Munster

At the beginning of *AE*, we are told that Echu and Rí are the sons of the king of Munster, Mairid, son of Cairid. Mairid is married to a woman named Ébliu. Her introduction marks the event that sets the whole tale in motion.

Munster*: *Conflict

Ébliu, the áilges *and the elopement* (§2)[323]

The event leading to Echu and Rí's first journey is actually a combination of two important elements. In short, Ébliu, daughter of Gúaire from Bruig Maic Ind Óc, falls in love with her stepson Echu, and tries to persuade him to have a relationship with her. Echu refuses, however, and she resorts to imposing an *áilges*[324] on him to take her on a flitting (*aithed*).[325]

The first significant element is the imposition of the *áilges*. This is a very dramatic element in the tale, as Echu has to choose between two evils, neither of which bode well for him:

- Echu can decide to elope with his stepmother. In this case, he acts in his own best interest, and engages in an unlawful relationship with his father's wife, which, according to Melia's analysis, will have disastrous effects. His father, moreover, will be shamed.
- Echu can choose not to shame his father, by refusing to elope with Ébliu. However, in this case, he will break his *geis*, leading to shame and death.

The second important element has to do with the (sometimes considered to be incestuous) relationship between stepson and stepmother. Such an affair is, of course, an illicit one, condemned in the Bible,[326] and one might expect repercussions in the after-life. The motif of this adulterous relationship is possibly referred to later on in our text, in the prose account of the life of Lí Bán, Echu's daughter, when her lapdog is killed by a warrior.[327]

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[323] For relevant motifs, see Cross 1952: F300: marriage or liaison with fairy; T230 Faithlessness in marriage, T418 Lustful Stepmother, P282.3* Stepmother in love with stepson; T92.1.2* Young wife of old man (king) loves (is loved by) younger man; C192: tabu: refusing to elope with woman who desires it; R225: elopement, T98*: Lovers' flight and R326*: escape to fairyland.

[324] For a discussion of the meaning of *áilges*, a *geis* imposed to fulfill the desire of the person imposing it, see the textual notes for §2,6, p. 199 above.

[325] The *aithed*, 'flitting, elopement', forms its own class in the two early Irish saga-lists. B. K. Martin extrapolated the basic structure of an *aithed*-tale by analysing *Longes mac nUislenn (LMU), Tóruigheacht Dhíarmada 7 Ghráinne (TDG)* and *Aided Con Roí maic Dairi*. He concludes that in all *aithed*-stories, an offence against the honour code is followed by punishment or revenge (Martin 1975-76: 147 and 151). The *aithed*-tales, so Martin states, belong to the class of 'triangle stories' about a woman, her 'possessor', and a rival lover (150). This is of course a very similar pattern to that of the *aided*-tale. Our story also contains this triangle, where Ébliu is the woman, Mairid the 'possessor', as Ébliu's husband, and Eochu the rival lover. In the cases of *LMU* and *TDG*, Derdriu and Gráinne are set to be married off to an older man, whereas Ébliu is married to Mairid, Eochu's father. One must bear in mind that many early Irish saga tales can in fact be said to belong to different categories, and sometimes in the manuscripts are given more than one title. Our tale, for example, could also be considered an *aithed* tale, although in the tale lists, (a version of?) our story appears as a *tomaidm*-tale.

[326] See for example *Leviticus* 18:8 and 20:11 and *Deuteronomy* 27:20 and 27:23.

[327] See the edition of *AE* above, §16,186: *ro marb-side a mesān-si*, '[the latter] killed her lapdog'.

The death of Lí Bán's lapdog is reminiscent of the story of the first adultery in Ireland, namely that of Partholón's wife and his servant, related in *Lebor Gabála Érenn*. This story is discussed in an article by Thomas Owen Clancy.[328] While Partholón is off fishing and hunting, his wife Elgnat or Delgnat tells the servant Topa to sleep with her. At first, the servant refuses, upon which Delgnat calls him cowardly (*midlachda*). The servant then gives in to her. A thirst seizes them, and they drink from Partholón's measures and pipes. Partholón notices this upon his return. He is seized by anger, and kills his wife's lapdog Saimér. The island upon which they are is therefore called Inis Saimér.[329]

Lí Bán's lapdog might then have been killed in retribution for the adulterous relationship between her father and Ébliu.

The motif of the killing of the lapdog is not incorporated in the story very well, as Lí Bán's lapdog, who has been in the shape of an otter for most of the text, is now all of a sudden again referred to as a lapdog. This might indicate that this motif was a later addition.What makes this element (the relationship between Echu and Ébliu) so important is not just the adultery itself, but the combination of the adultery with the fact that Ébliu is a supernatural woman, descended from Gúaire, from the *síd* of Bruig Maic Ind Óc. In his article 'The Origin and Development of the Cesair Legend', John Carey discusses a number of *dindshenchas* tales, including those of Tonn Clidna, Ess Ruaid and Tuag Inbir, in which the abduction or elopement of a supernatural woman leads to her death by drowning in a tidal wave.[330] Carey suggests that the locations in the stories described by him were estuaries characterized by violent breakers or sudden tides.[331]

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[328] Clancy 1993.

[329] Clancy 1993: 108-09.

[330] Carey 1987. In one of the stories relating to the origin of **Tonn Clidna** 'Clidna's Wave', Clidna is abducted by Ciabán. Upon their arrival in Ireland, he leaves her on the beach while he sets out to hunt, and she is drowned on the beach by a tidal wave (Carey 1987:42; *Acallamh* 3725-852 and *M.Ds.* iii 206ff). In a second version, Clidna is said to be the daughter of Genann, daughter of the king of Mag Mell, 'the Plain of Delights', an underworld Otherworld location. After her abduction by Ciabán, Clidna's father prophesies her drowning, and that he will die that same day. His prophecy is then fulfilled (Carey 1987: 42). In a third (prose) version of the story, Clidna is once again abducted; this time, however, her captor is not Ciabán, but Iuchna Ciabainech, who takes her with him for the Mac Óc. Iuchna puts Clidna in an enchanted sleep, and sails from Mag Mell to Ireland. Clidna is left on the beach, and is drowned by a mysterious tidal wave (Carey 1987: 42). In the tale of **Ess Ruaid** (*M.Ds.* iv, 2 ff), Ruad, daughter of Maine Milscothach leaves with the supernatural harp-player Abcán. He brings her in a bronze boat from Mag Moen (also an Otherworld location) to a tryst with Aed Srónmár mac Labrada. When they arrive at the estuary of Ess Ruaid, Ruad hears singing coming from the elfmounds, and she falls asleep because of the *dord síd*, the 'humming of the fairy-mounds'. She is then drowned in the boat, by a wave that falls into the boat (Carey 1987: 43). Finally, in the story of **Tuag Inbir**, Manannán falls in love with Tuag, foster-daughter of Conaire Mór. The only problem is that Tuag is being kept away from men, and she is living with a group of girls. Manannán then sends the druid Fer Fí to her, disguised as a young woman. Fer Fí puts Tuag in an enchanted sleep and abducts her. He then leaves her on the beach at Tuag Inbir, but

Tuag Inbir, the estuary of the Bann, seems to have been especially subject to these conditions. Apart from the story on the drowning of Tuag, John Carey discusses a poem, entitled *Capa is Laigne is Luasat grind*, in his article on the Cesair legend. The poem tells how the boat of three men from Spain (a fisherman, a physician and a fisherman), was caught by a wind while out fishing. The three men arrive in Ireland, a year before the Flood. They decide to settle in Ireland, but first, they return to Spain in order to fetch their wives. Upon their arrival in Ireland, they land at Tuag Inbir, where they are overtaken by the Flood, and drowned.[332]

The location of Tuag Inbir is also of significance with regards to our tale. Tuag Inbir is the estuary where the river Bann, which originates in Loch nEchach, flows into the ocean.[333] In this light, it is interesting to note that the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach makes up the (independent) second half of the *dindshenchas* of Tuag Inbir.[334]

The stealing of Mairid's supernatural wife then confirms the tale's catastrophic ending, and at this stage in the story, after only eight lines of text, we can posit that Echu and Ébliu will die, and that Ébliu is likely to die by drowning.

Munster*: *Journey

After the imposition of the *áilges*, Echu asks his brother what to do. There are a number of other tales, in which a woman attempts to force the hero to elope with her. In some of these, for example *Longes mac nUislenn* 'The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'[335] and *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*, 'The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne',[336] the hero asks people close to him for advice. In both instances, as is the case in our tale, the hero is advised to elope, and, in the case of *Longes mac nUislenn*, Noisiu's advisers, his brothers, accompany him. When Echu asks Rí for advice, one might anticipate that Rí would encourage his brother to elope, and perhaps even that Rí would accompany his brother – which, of course, is what happens.

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while he is away in search of a boat, she is drowned by a wave (Carey 1987: 42, Stokes 1895: 150-1, *M.Ds.* iv: 58-62).

[331] Carey 1987: 43.

[332] Carey 1987: 41.

[333] *M.Ds.* iv: 388.

[334] Carey 1987: 44 and see *M.Ds.* iv: 62-68 and 388.

[335] Edited by Vernam Hull, 1949. Noísiu asks his brothers for advice in §10, text p. 46, translation pp. 63-64.

[336] Ní Shéaghdha 1967: 10-11.

Location 2: Belach da Liac

Belach da Liac: Obstacle and Journey

After their initial journey, Echu and Rí's druids tell them that they need to separate, as it is not their destiny to remain together. Echu and Rí follow their druids' advice and separate at Belach da Liac, 'Way of the Two Flagstones'.[337]

Location 3: Bruig Maic Ind Óc

Bruig Maic Ind Óc: Conflict

Echu and Ébliu arrive with their half of their retinue in Bruig Maic Ind Óc, the place Ébliu's father is from. As soon as they are there, a big man (who turns out to be Óengus, the ruler of Bruig Maic Ind Óc), comes up to them and orders them to leave his land. They refuse. The next morning, Echu discovers that all of their horses have been killed.[338]

At first glance, this element seems peculiar: why does Echu not leave, when ordered to do so? The logical answer is that Echu wants to claim this land as his own, as he and Rí have been told by their druids that they needed to obtain their own land.[339] Mac Neill discusses the fact that Echu enters the lands of the Bruig with horses, and mentions this 'was the traditional method in Irish law for instituting a process to recover possession of land'.[340] Fergus Kelly describes this process, known as *tellach*.[341]

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[337] It is of interest to note that this place is mentioned in the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí (and not in that of Loch nEchach) as *Belach Liac*. This seems to confirm the conflation of the two *dindshenchas*-tales in *AE*. Gwynn identifies this with present Ballyleague, on the borders of counties Longford and Roscommon (*M.Ds.* v, index, under *Belach Liac*). In two of the prose *dindshenchas*-tales, the placename is *Belach da Liac*. See the entry on Loch nEchach in the Edinburgh *dindshenchas* (Stokes 1893: 474), and see the entry on Loch Rí in the Rennes *dindshenchas* (Stokes 1894: 481). It is of course conjecture, but it is possible that the *da* was added deliberately, in order to refer to the two brothers. The meaning of the word *lia* 'stone' in this context is not entirely clear to me. It has many extended meanings, including that of pillar-stone or standing stone, used to mark a place of death or burial; possibly it can refer to a flagstone as well (*DIL* s.v 1 *lía*), which can be used for covering wells, and could therefore point to the origin of the wells caused by the two horses.

[338] In the Rennes prose *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí, Óengus, who comes up to Eochu disguised as a hospitaller, inflicts upon Eochu and his men three chief plagues: *Ataig iarum Oengus tri primplaga foraib .i. a mbu in cettrath, a n-eachrada in trath tanaisti* 'So Oengus inflicted three chief plagues upon them, to wit, their kine the first day, their horses the second day', see Stokes 1894-95: 481 and 482). The prose *dindshenchas* version does not mention the third plague, but presumably this is the threat of killing Eochu's men, as is mentioned in our story, and in both the metrical and Rennes prose *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach (see *M.Ds.* IV: 64ff. and Stokes 1894-95: 150-3).

[339] Mac Neill assumes that our Eochu is in fact Eochu Ollathair, who had been ousted from the Bruig Maic Ind Óc before, by Óengus, and that he was trying to recapture the land that was once his (Mac Neill 1929-30: 120). His reasons for this assumption, based on the name Eochu, the (faulty) interpretation of two passages from *De Causis Torchi Corc' Ōché*, and finally on the presence of the character Óengus and horses, are dispelled by Bergin (1929-30: 249-51).

[340] Mac Neill 1929-30: 1920.

[341] *GEIL*: 186-87.

In the process of *tellach*, a claimant initiates his claim by 'formally entering the land, holding two horsed and accompanied by a witness and sureties. He must cross the boundary mound (*fertae*) of the holding to which he is laying claim. After this 'first entry' (*céttellach*) the claimant withdraws, and the person who is occupying the land may submit the dispute to arbitraiton after five days'.[342] If there are no objections, the claimant must enter the land again after ten days, accompanied by two witnesses and four horses that may graze on the land. The occupant then has three days to object. If he does not, then a final entry is made after twenty days after the original entry, this time with three witnesses and eight horses. The claimant may feed and stable the horses at this occasion. If the owner fails to submit to arbitration, the claimant may take possession of the land, after which he must spend the night on the property, kindle a fire and tend his animals to demonstrate his ownership.[343]

There are, however, some problems with identifying the procedure in our text as *tellach*: there is no question of Echu producing sureties or witnesses, nor of crossing the boundary mound, nor of withdrawing, and Óengus does not wait five days to submit to arbitration.

There is another legal procedure more consistent with what happens in our text: that of *rudrad*, relating to the usucaption of land. According to the laws, one was entitled to try and settle on any piece of land, even if this land already belonged to another. A *rudrad* is a proscriptive period. If the owner of the land did not object within a certain time, the land would go to the person claiming it.[344] The laws distinguish between a long *rudrad*, *rudrad mór*, and a short *rudrad*. The shortest *rudrad* is a period of one day, *rudrad ar aenlá*. This means then that the owner of a tract of land would have to object within a day - as Óengus does in our text. The laws mention fifteen measures the owner of the land could take in order to protest the claim of the intruder. One of these is:

Fogal....i. gona 7 marbad do denam ris .i. muna eta a chor de[345]

'*fogal*...that is, to wound and kill him, if he (the owner) does not get him off [the land].'

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[342] *GEIL*: 186.

[343] *GEIL*: 186-87. A possible example of the process of *tellach* in literature can be found in the story of the exile of Conall Corc: 'When Corc's sovereignty in Cashel was most exalted, then his son, namely, Coirpre, came across from Scotland in his wake. He bought horses in the north until he arrived, thirty horsemen strong, at Cashel. They unharnessed [them] on Corc's land [to pasture] on the grain. The steward cleared the horses out of the grainfield. Coirpre rose up against him. He slew him there... His father reviled and expelled him to West Munster, but it is in Femen that he afterwards died, whence is said Fert Coirpri at Loch Cend' (Hull 1947: 898-99).

[344] *GEIL*: 109 and *EIF*: 434.

[345] *CIH* 749.29, my translation; see also *CIH* 1276.22.

Legally, Óengus would then have been entitled to kill Echu and his men.

Upon Óengus's return the next day, and his reiteration of his demand to Echu to depart from his land, the latter states that he and his people want to leave, but are unable to, since they do not have horses to carry their loads. Óengus then lends him a supernatural horse,[346] which can carry the load of all his men, on the condition that upon his arrival, Echu sends it back.[347] Óengus further advises Echu not to unharness the horse, and not to let it stop, as that would cause the horse to urinate, thus causing the deaths of Echu and his men.

As for Rí, after the separation at Belach da Liac, he heads westwards until he arrives in tír cluchi Midir ocus in Meic Óic, 'The Land of the Game of Midir and the Mac Óc' or possibly 'The Playing-ground of Midir and the Mac Óc', also known as Mag Find, owned by Midir.[348]

In *AE*, Rí's story is not given as much attention as that of Echu.[349] The element of the killing of the horses for failing to leave, and the warning to send back the horse are absent, for example, but we are able to find some information in the section devoted to Rí's adventures, not found in Echu's tale: the horse led to Rí and his men by Midir was haltered (*cengalta*), and wore a pack-saddle (*srathar*). Because of the very parallel structure of the tales of the two brothers, both in our text and in the different *dindshenchas* tales, we may posit these elements were at one point present in Echu's tale.

Regarding the parallel structure of the two episodes, it is interesting to note that even the characters they encounter are connected. Whereas Echu meets the Mac ind Óc, Rí encounters Midir, who of course fostered the Mac ind Óc and helped him obtain the rule over Bruig Maic Ind Óc.[350] This connection is in fact stressed in the Edinburgh *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, in a poem found at the end of the text:

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[346] The motif of a supernatural horse is a very common one. See for example Cross 1952: B181: magic horse and F241.1 Fairies' horses.

[347] Although this is not stated specifically at this location in LU, this is in fact implied in §6.

[348] This is also the name given to it in the Edinburgh dinnshenchas (Stokes 1893: 474), together with its alternative name, Mag Find. In the prose version of the Rennes dindshenchas, this land is referred to as *Mag Find* and *tir cluichi Aengusa 7 Midir* (Stokes 1894: 481-82), the playing-ground of Óengus and Midir. In the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí, it is stated that in turn, the location was known as *Tir n-Óenaig Midir* and *Mag Find* and perhaps later Óenach Óengusso (*M.Ds.* iii: 452). I think we can identify *tír cluchi Midir ocus in Meic Óic* with Midir's *cluichemag*, a 'playing-field' in Brí Léith – for a description, see Best and Bergin 1938: 142-43, §2.

[349] In the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí, however, an elaborate description is given of all the elements of the tale of Rí missing from *AE*, including a long warning of Midir's which can be found in *M.Ds.* iii: 452-57).

[350] This is told for example in *Tochmarc Étaine*, edited by Best and Bergin in Ériu 12 (1938) 137-196. The fostering of Óengus by Midir is described in §2: *Birt an Dagda a mac coleig for altrom do tig Midir i*

*Baidhis **Ængus Eocho** uais*	Oengus drowned haughty Echo
tre fhual a eich go n-athluais,	By means of his steed's urine, with great speed:
*doluidh **Midhir**, brigh ron-lean,*	Midir went – force followed him –
*gor'baidh **Rib** i Maigh Dairbthenn.*	And drowned Ríbh on Magh Dairbthenn.[351]

Bruig Maic Ind Óc: Journey

Echu now sets out with his men and the supernatural horse on a Sunday in September (*Imtigit íar sin día Domnaig isin mís medōnaig ind fogomair*, §6,24), which could give an indication of what is to come. This motif seems to have been altered by one of the copyists of our text or even by H himself, since in the metrical *dindshenchas*, Echu *arrives* in Líathmuine on Sunday night.[352] There is a small but significant difference here. The Old Irish text *Cáin Domnaig*, 'the Law of Sunday', edited by Vernam Hull, in *Ériu* 20, 1966, pp. 151-77,[353] describes the various ways in which the sanctity of Sunday can be violated. The first paragraph states (I have printed some of the text in bold typeface for emphasis):

> '[Sunday shall be] **without riding, without wandering about**...**without a load** on ox **or horse** or man...without wandering about by any one outside of the boundary of the territory in which he happens to be **except for lawful excuses**; i.e. ... **[to travel] the little [distance] of a journey that remains** over to a person who is coming from afar on the eve of Sunday until he attain a dwelling that shall shelter him...'[354]

In our text, Echu does not travel on a Sunday for any of the excuses mentioned in *Cáin Domnaig*. He does not travel on a Sunday to finish a journey, as is the case in the metrical *dindshenchas*: indeed, he *sets out* on a Sunday, with a *horse* carrying the load

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mBrig Leith i Teathbai, 'The Dagda meanwhile brought his son to Midir's house in Brí Léith in Tethba, to be fostered' (Best and Bergin 1938: 142-143). For Midir helping to obtain Brug Maic Ind Óc by taking him to Eochaid Ollathair, see Best and Bergin 1938: §§4-6 (144-47). It is interesting to point out that Óengus was conceived in an adulterous relationship that Eochaid (Echu) Ollathair (with the same first name as our protagonist) had with the wife of the ruler of the Brug, while Echu, who is committing adultery with the daughter of a man of the Brug, now tries to take over the Brug.

[351] Stokes 1893: 474 and 475.

[352] The metrical *dindshenchas* has: *Do-thíagat dia domnaig dil / im-mís medóin fogamair: // laigis int ech iar n-uide / fescor lúain il-Líathmuine* 'They come there on a pleasant Sunday in the month of mid-harvest: the horse lay down after his journey at the hour of Sunday vespers in Liathmuine' (*M.Ds. iv*: 66-67). In the Rennes *dindshenchas*, it is not entirely clear when exactly they set out: *Mus-luat for cai mis medon fogamair feascur luain i Liathmuine* 'In the mid-month of autumn, on a Monday evening, they wend their way into Liathmuine' (Stokes 1894-95: 151-52). There is no mention of a day of travel in the Edinburgh *dindshenchas* (Stokes 1893: 474-75).

[353] See also Breatnach 2005: 191 ff. on *Cáin* in general, and pp. 209-12 for *Cáin Domnaig* in particular.

[354] Hull 1966: 161. For the Irish text, see p. 160: ...***cen imrim, cen imthecht...cen eire for** dam na **ech** na duine...cen imthecht do neoch a crích thíre ini[d]-tecmai **acht dethbirse téchtai .i.** ... **bec ara-bí di uidiu** do neuch do-théit di céin aidche nDomnuig co roa tegdais dod-coisse.*

[356] Hull 1966: 171.

of 500 men. Of course, the horse carrying a load already means violating the sanctity of Sunday, but the fact that the day of departure is deliberately changed to a Sunday makes it all the more clear that something bad will happen to Echu and all of his kin and men. The consequences of breaking the Law of Sunday are of course not only material, i.e. paying fines, but also spiritual, as explained in §11, and therefore of a much more serious nature than Óengus's killing of Echu's horses:[356]

> §11. *Is ed beres for cúlu cech torath do-cuirethar muir 7 tíre eter ith 7 mblicht 7 mes. 7 is ed di-gní íascratha ambriti. Is ed do-beir nauna 7 gortai 7 sína sóeba for tótha cloéna. Is ed do-beir cenéla echtranna co claidbib díglae dia mbrith hi fignam i tire geinte. Is ed do-beir catha 7 choicthiu eter na cenéla cona bí síd na subæ na cairde i cech dú. Is ed imme-folngi ír 7 ingar 7 debaith i cach tegdais co llína brón 7 dubæ 7 doichell cride cech duine. Ar it messa indáta demnae in duíni con-scarat recht Domnuin 7 no-dúnfaitis flaith nime ma chot-ístais connacon biath cumsanath indi do gréss.*
>
> §11. This [violating the Law of Sunday] it is that sets back every produce that sea and earth bring forth, including corn, milk, and mast. This it is that makes fisheries barren. This it is that brings famines, hungers, and unseasonable weathers on perverse peoples. This it is that rings foreign races with avenging swords to bear them in bondage into pagan lands. This is it that brings battles and wars among the races so that nowhere is there either peace or happiness or friendship. This it is that causes anger, impiety (?), and discord in every dwelling so that sorrow, gloom, and ill-will fill the heart of every one. For worse than demons are the persons who violate the Law of Sunday, and they would, if they could, close the kingdom of Heaven so that there never would be repose therein.[357]

Location 4: Líathmuine

Líathmuine: Obstacle

Upon their arrival in Líathmuine in Ulster, Echu's men unload the baggage from the supernatural horse, but fail to send it back to Óengus. The horse begins to urinate, to such an extent that a well springs up.[358] I have not encountered any other instances of this motif.

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[357] Hull 1966: 170 (text) and 171 (translation).

[358] See further Cross 1952 under entries A941.1.2: spring breaks forth where fairy horse lies down; A1011: local deluges, A920.1.8.1: lake from violating tabu and A920.1 Origin of lakes; C884.2: tabu:

I would suggest that we have here a combination of two motifs: first, that of violent urination, and secondly, that of horses causing water to spring up by means other than urination. With regard to the first motif, there are some instances of urination so violent it can make land disappear or rocks melt, though in all cases, the urination is done by people.

Doris Edel has pointed out some examples of urination from saga literature in a paper given at the 12th International Congress of Celtic Studies in Aberystwyth (2003). There is a well-known passage in *TBC* relating to Medb, whose urine digs three trenches, and each trench is big enough to contain a household (with a variant in *Táin Bó Flidais* II), cf. *TBC-LL* (ll. 4824-32):[359]

> *Is and drecgais a fúal fola for Meidb [7 itbert: 'Geib, a Ḟerguis,' bar Medb], 'scíath díten dar éis fer ṅHérend goro ṡiblur-sa m'fúal úaim.' 'Dar ar cubus,' ar Fergus, 'is olc in tráth 7 ní cóir a dénam.' 'Gid ed ní étaim-sea chena,' bar Medb, 'dáig nída beó-sa meni ṡiblur-sa m'fúal úaim.' Tánic Fergus 7 gebid scíath díten dar éis fer ṅHerend. Siblais Medb a fúal úathi co nderna trí tulchlassa móra de co taille munter in cach thurchlaiss. Conid Fúal Medba atberar friss.*
>
> 'Then her issue of blood came upon Medb (and she said: 'O Fergus, cover) the retreat of the men of Ireland that I may pass my water.' 'By my conscience,' said Fergus, 'It is ill-timed and it is not right to do so.' 'Yet I cannot but do so,' said Medb, 'for I shall not live unless I do.' Fergus came then and covered the retreat of the men of Ireland. Medb passed her water and it made three great trenches in each of which a household can fit. Hence the place is called Fúal Medba ['Medb's Urine].'

In her paper, Edel also referred to the text *Aided Derbforgaill*, in which a urinating contest is held for the purpose of demonstrating the sexual prowess of the women.[360] A third example can be found in the story of Conall Corc and the Corco Luigde. When Conall Corc decides to return to Ireland, after living in Scotland, his foster brother accompanies him to the sea. There, on the strand, Corc sheds blood, and urinates blood, and the rocks melt under it. This is said to be the reason for a urinary disease which afflicts the Uí Cairpri.[361]

The second motif, that of a horse causing water to spring up, though by means other than urination, also occurs in a number of stories.

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allowing horse to lose its bridle, stray, or stale; C884.1: tabu: halting or unloading horse.

[359] O'Rahilly 1967 (repr. 1984): 133 (text) and 269 (translation). For this motif, see also Bowen 1975.

[360] The story of Derbforgaill has been edited in Marstrander 1911 and is currently being edited by Kicki Ingridsdotter in her forthcoming Ph.D. thesis. For the contest, see Marstrander 1911: 208-209 (text) and 214-15 (translation).

[361] Hull 1947: 897.

One of these is a tale on the origin of Loch Gabra. In this story, discussed by Joseph Nagy,[362] Áed, son of Bricc, a saint of the southern Uí Néill,[363] is the protagonist. At some point, Áed's territory in northern Leinster is in danger of being invaded by the king of Munster. Then,

> 'The local king importunes Áed to talk with the Munstermen, who are his kinsmen on his mother's side. The saint sets out in his chariot...At the army camp, Áed demands that the Munstermen cancel the invasion. The king's obstinate refusal to do so provokes a terrible demonstration of the power of Áed's wrath. The king's favorite counselor is struck dead, and his two favorite chariot horses are swallowed by the earth. The king, now willing to relent, sends a messenger after Áed. When the saint returns in his chariot, he drives it over the penitent king three times...The king agrees to withdraw his forces but requests in return that Áed restore the counselor and the two horses. The saint does bring back the king's friend, who in classic revenant fashion has become a talking advertisement for the saint's authority and takes the king to task for his obstinacy. Of the two horses, however, Áed agrees to restore only one. **The other remains underground, at a spot whence a spring erupts,** producing what the text says is called in Irish Loch Gabra 'Lake of the Horse.''[364]

A second story, in which horses cause a stream, can be found in the metrical *dindshenchas* of Oin Aub:

> *Oin Aub, cidh diata? Ní ansa. Baí óglach amra la Gaidhela ir-righi. Alais dá each for áes Sidhe Earcmon, hi scaitib Auae Cenindáin. Nemedh mac Namha ainm an rígh. Doleicthea dó íarom an da each asin tsídh.* ***Domeabaidh sruaim ina ndeghaidh asin tšidh, 7 baí aúan már forsin tsrúaim sin ina ndeghaidh, 7 lethais tarsan tír an t-úan romór,*** *7 bai samlaidh co cenn mbliadna, conidh aire sin asrubradh Úanob don uisce sin, 7 conidh aire atrubairt Cúchulaind, 'For úan da each nEmna tánic' .i. an tan tánic do thochmurc Eímire. Unde Oin ub dicitur.*
>
> Oin Aub, whence the name? Not hard to say. There was a famous warrior reigning over the Gaedil. He reared two horses with the fairy folk of Sid Ercmon, among the droves of Aba Cenindain. The king's name was Nemed mac Nama. The two horses were loosed for him from the Sid. **A stream broke forth after them out of the Sid, and there was much foam on that stream, following them, and the foam spread over the land exceedingly,** and so it remained a year's length. Therefore that water was called Uanob (Foam-river): and of it Cú Chulainn said, 'over the foam of the two horses of Emain am I come' (that is, when he came to woo Emer). Hence men say Oinub.[365]

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[362] Nagy 1997: 240-41.
[363] Nagy 1997: 236 ff.
[364] Nagy 1997: 241.
[365] *M.Ds.* iv: 302 (text) and 303 (translation). This tale is also recounted in the tale *Tochmarc Emire*. The text was edited in Meyer 1901; our passage on p. 241. Meyer also translated the tale in Meyer 1888, and for our passage see p. 153.

The punishment inflicted on Echu for not sending back the borrowed horse seems to be a conflation of the element of urination with that of a horse causing water to spring up.

Líathmuine*: *Temporary Solution and Neglect

At this stage in the story, a journey would be the anticipated course of action. However, Echu does not leave Líathmuine; instead, he builds a house over the well (*tech immon tiprait* §6,27), in which he and his family live.[366] This is mentioned explicitly by Lí Bán, when she refers to the well as *tipra ro boí inar tig*, 'the well which was in our house' (§9(n)100). It also occurs in the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach (*M.Ds.* iv 66, ll. 125-128 (text) and p. 67 (translation), and p. 68, ll. 137-140 (text) and p. 69 (translation)):

Dotháet Eocho, aille dremm,	'Eochu, praise of troops, comes up
dogní tech inna thimchell,	and **builds a house round the spot**:
córaigis comlaid cen chol	he fixed a lid, without offence,
forin tiprait dia bádod.	over the well, to stifle it.'
IN tipra thall ina thaig,	**'The well being in his house yonder,**
óen-ben and 'ca athigid:	with a woman there, watching it,
fecht ná rosíad in ben búan	one day that the worthy woman left it open,
atracht Lindmuine lind-úar.	up swelled the cold depths of Lindmuine.'

Not only does Echu build a house around the well, he covers the well (*comla furri*), and sets a woman to guard it (*ōenben ocá hathigid*). One day, the woman leaves the cover off the well, and it overflows. The theme of the female well-watcher, a woman who is supposed to guard a well, but leaves it uncovered, thus causing the outburst of a lake, is common throughout Celtic literature. John Carey mentions a number of these tales in an article in *Celtica* 23.[367] Carey refers to an article by Rachel Bromwich, in which she

[366] The metrical *dindshenchas* mentions that Eochu lived for nineteen years as a chieftain in Emain (*M.Ds.* iv 68-69). This motif also occurs in the stories about Rí in both the Rennes prose *dindshenchas* and the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí. After constructing a house over the well, Rí lives for another thirty years after the outburst of the lake. The time for the building of the house over the well can be reconstructed to AD 81 – in Eochu's tale, the lake is said to have broken out in AD 100 (*M.Ds.* iv 68-69), and in Rí's tale, Loch Rí burst forth in AD 111 (*M.Ds.* iii 458-59). Compare also the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch Ríach (modern Lough Rea in Co. Galway). A well springs up in the spot where the heads of three kings are placed after a battle. Ríach builds a house over the well, and puts a cover on the well. Once, the well is not sealed up and it overflows, killing all (*M.Ds.* iii; for text, see pp. 326 and 328, ll. 33-48, and for translation see pp. 327 and 329).

[367] Carey 1999: 34. In addition, see Carey 1987: 45, footnote 38. In Giraldus Cambrensis's version of the outburst of Loch nEchach in his *Topographia Hiberniae* (O'Meara 1951: 64-65), a reason is given as to why the woman leaves the well uncovered: she runs to her crying child. Incidentally, Giraldus gives as the ultimate reason for the drowning of the people the fact they engaged in bestiality, and has no reference to borrowing a horse without sending it back.

discusses the origin of Cantre'r Gwaelod, 'the Bottom Cantref', caused by a neglectful maid.[368] The tale of Cantre'r Gwaelod had been previously edited by (among others) John Rhŷs.[369] Rhŷs took this well-keeper to be the same person as Lí Bán, Echu's daughter, who is the protagonist of the remainder of the tale in *AE*. I believe this to be unlikely, considering the fact that our text is a compilation, and Lí Bán does not actively feature in the first part (she is merely mentioned as a survivor).

Líathmuine*: *Death

When the well Linnmuine overflows, there is no escape, and Echu drowns in the lake, with almost all of his kind (§7,29-30). Taking into consideration the earlier stories of the abduction of supernatural women, this motif can be seen as the fulfillment of Echu and Ébliu's destinies.[370] It is interesting to note that one of the poems is supposed to be a prophecy about the bursting forth of Loch nEchach, uttered by Curnán, Echu's son-in-law,[371] but that this prophecy is not incorporated in the initial prose section.

Summary

This then concludes the story of Echu and Rí. Some of the elements used to further the story, such as that of the urinating horse, may be quite unexpected for the modern reader. Echu's death, of course, is anticipated by the reader because of the title. From some of the elements in the story, we can gather information with regards to the progression of the tale. Our story shows a remarkable parallelism with regard to what happens to both brothers, and the structure of the tale, where the same three steps are repeated.

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[368] Bromwich 1950: 217, stanzas 2 and 3:

2. *Boed emendiceid y morvin*	Accursed be the maiden
ae hellygaut guydi cvin	who released it after the feast;
finaun wenestir mor terrain.	The fountain-cupbearer of the barren sea.
3. *Boed emendiceid y vachteith*	Accursed be the maid
ae golligaut guydi gueith	who let it in after the battle;
finaun wenestir mor diffeith.	The fountain-cupbearer of the barren sea.

See now also Minard 2002 for a discussion of Welsh and Breton stories relating to 'drowned lands', lands that have been inundated by wells or the sea.

[369] Rhŷs 1892-93: 16. For references to more editions of the text, see Bromwich 1950: 217.

[370] Cross 1952: Q428.1: Drowning (by a magic well) as punishment for adultery and possibly Q499.1.1* Humiliating death as punishment for adultery. Nothing in this text explicitly refers to a humiliating death, but compare the last verses of *Ba mol mīdend midlaige*: *ní bu badud do-mét dó / ba gabud nach márchatho*, 'it was not a [death by] drowning that was anticipated for him: it was the danger of some great battle (i.e. he was expected to die in battle).' And death by drowning is hardly a hero's death. As in *Ba mol mīdend midlaige*, the eruption of the lake is prophesied by Echu's fool. For this motif, see Cross 1952: M341.2.3.1* Prophecy: death by drowning. Forgotten uncovered well to rise and drown household.

[371] See §8 of the edition above.

As soon as the repetition of the three steps (semblance of peace followed by event, followed by journey) is broken, it becomes clear that the resolution of the story is at hand. It is interesting to note that during the first three cycles, the journey is imposed on Echu (first, he is forced by his stepmother, then by his druids, and finally, by Óengus). As soon as Echu decides for himself, he chooses not to depart, thus setting a series of catastrophic events in motion.

It is also interesting that the people imposing the different journeys have a connection with the supernatural: Ébliu is a supernatural woman, daughter of a man from Bruig na Bóinne; Óengus, ruler of the *síd* at Bruig na Bóinne is of course supernatural, as is his horse, and the druids, though not supernatural themselves, can predict the future, and can therefore be considered beyond the natural.

It may be that our story is a conflation of two metrical *dindshenchas* tales, but some of the content of the two tales has been altered: *AE* contains some original elements (that is to say, not present in the metrical *dindshenchas* upon which the tale was based), such as the imposition of the *áilges* by Echu's stepmother. The author has also adapted elements present in the metrical *dindshenchas*, such as the setting out on Sunday. This has been used to great dramatic effect, especially tied in with the structure of the story.

THEMATIC DISCUSSION II: LÍ BÁN'S NAMES

After relating the outburst of Loch nEchach, Lí Bán, daughter of Echu, becomes the focus of the final prose section of *AE*. Lí Bán lives under and in the water for three hundred years, devoid of human company, until she talks to a saint about her travels. She is brought to land and, after her baptism, dies, revered as a holy virgin. This description of her character is deceptively simple. In fact, the text is fairly convoluted, with many inconsistencies, and the character of Lí Bán is hugely complex. This is evidenced, for example, by the fact that she is the recipient of four different names in *AE*, that is, Lí Bán, Muirgeilt, Muirgein and Fuinche. In this section, I will focus on this very small part of her persona: I want to attempt to provide a contextual background for her names.

Before discussing the different names, I would like to look at the different shapes Lí Bán adopts. In *Fo Loch Echach*, Lí Bán is described as a salmon with a human head (§9(h)77), a *bled* ('whale' or 'sea-monster', §9(i)78) and a porpoise (*muc mara* §9(l)92). In *Murgein is gein*, she is said to be a person with a tail (§10(d)149), half-salmon (§10(d)152) and the word *ainricht* is used to describe her, which can be translated as 'dreadful appearance' (§10(a)140; see also textual note, p. 235 above). In the prose sections (including the prose preceding the poems), she is said to be half-salmon (§10,135-36) and in the shape of a salmon (§12,163). These descriptions can be divided into two groups: (a) transformation into an animal and (b) transformation into part human, part animal.

From the text, we can discern three stages in Lí Bán's life: (1) her life on land, before the outburst; (2) her life as a water-creature; and (3) life after her capture. I posit that originally, each name with the exception of the name Fuinche represented a different stage in Lí Bán's life. Each name will be considered below in turn.

A. The person on land: Lí Bán

The name Lí Bán itself is somewhat problematic. It is unclear, from our text, whether we are to take the second element of her name as *Ban*, 'of Women', or as *Bán* 'White'. The metre in *Fo Loch Echach adba dam* gives us no definite answer with regards to the length of the *-a-*. A possible clue can be gathered from the variants of verse-line §9(i)80 from the poem *Fo Loch Echach adba dam*. The text in LU has *nírbo lesainm, básá lí,* 'it was not a nickname, I was a beauty'. The variants here read *nirbsa lesainm, báinae lí*

(G7), *ní ba lesainm, bāine a llí* (Laud), *nī ba lesainm, bāine lí* (G10) 'it was not a nickname, whiteness of beauty'. This would seem to suggest we are to read Lí Bán.

The name Lí Bán appears to be the name used for the human manifestation of our character. It was her name before the outburst of the lake (note for example the tense used in *Fo Loch Echach* §9(i)80: *nírbo lesainm*, 'it was no nickname', and is used also when she engages in conversation with people after surfacing.

It may be of interest to note that while we do have a number of literary characters named Lí Ban (with short *a*), we have only one other Lí Bán (with long *a*), in *Acallam na Senórach*, and she is likely a later occurrence of our Lí Bán. It is possible that originally, her name was taken to be Lí Ban, but that this was later re-interpreted as Lí Bán. The characters from other tales named Lí Ban or Lí Bán are:

- Lóegaire mac Crimthainn, who is given the epithet Lí Ban[373]
- Lí Ban, wife of Tadg[374]
- Lí Ban, wife of Labraid Lúathlam ar Claideb from *Serglige Con Culainn*[375]
- Lí Bán from *Acallam na Senórach*[376]

Each character will be considered briefly below.

A.1. Lóegaire Lí Ban mac Crimthainn

This text is probably the earliest of the tales in which a character named Lí Ban occurs. Jackson dated the prose section of the tale to the second half of the ninth century, and the poetry to the second quarter or middle of the tenth century.[377]

The tale runs as follows: The men of Connacht are assembled at Énloch on Mag nAí. Fíachna son of Réda, a man from the síd, comes up to them and asks them for help. It transpires that his wife has been abducted by Eochaid, son of Sál. Eochaid has been killed, but now his wife has been taken by Eochaid's brother, Goll, son of Dolb, who is the king of Mag Mell. Nobody wants to go to Fiachna's aid, except for Lóegaire Lí Ban ('Lóegaire Delight of Women'), who is the son of Crimthann, the king of Connacht. Lóegaire brings fifty men and follows the man under the lake. Lóegaire kills Goll and his men, and then frees Fiachna's wife from the fort of Mag Mell. Lóegaire is given

[373] This character was pointed out to me by John Carey. Lóegaire occurs in a text edited by Kenneth Jackson (Jackson 1942).
[374] *Echtra Taidhg meic Chéin,* edited by S. H. O'Grady in *SG* I: 342-59, II: 385-401.
[375] Dillon 1975.
[376] See Nagy 1985: 117-18.
[377] Jackson 1942: 377 and 378.

Fiachna's daughter, Der Gréine, and other women are given to his warriors. A year later, Lóegaire wants to return to his home. He and his men are given horses, but they are told not to dismount. Lóegaire goes home to his father and bids him farewell before returning to the fairy mound, where he shares the kingship with Fiachna in the fort of Mag Mell.

A.2. Lí Ban, wife of Tadg

Another Lí Ban is found in the Middle Irish tale *Echtra Thaidg mheic Chéin*, 'The Adventure of Tadg mac Céin'. In this story, Lí Ban is the wife of Tadg son of Cían son of Ailill Ólomm. Lí Ban briefly features at the beginning of the text, when she is abducted (together with Tadg's brothers) by Cathmann, son of Tabarn, a man from Fresen, a land situated near Spain. The remainder of the tale relates the wondrous adventures of Tadg, on his mission to retrieve his wife and brothers. Lí Ban is mentioned again at the end, when her husband frees her and takes her home.

A.3. Lí Ban from *Serglige Con Culainn*

The text *Serglige Con Culainn*, 'The wasting sickness of Cú Chulainn' (hereafter SCC), is, as we possess it, an eleventh-century compilation with ninth-century fragments.[378] In this text, Cú Chulainn catches birds for all the Ulsterwomen, except his own wife, while waiting for an assembly to begin. He promises his wife to catch two birds for her, and attempts to bring down a pair of supernatural birds. To his astonishment, he keeps missing the birds with his projectiles and the birds disappear under a lake. Then, two Otherworld women appear to Cú Chulainn in a vision, and beat him to within an inch of his life before disappearing. Cú Chulainn spends a year in bed, until a man from the Otherworld comes to him, announcing the arrival of his sister, Lí Ban. She comes from the Otherworld as a messenger in order to tell Cú Chulainn of Fand's love for him, and to ask Cú Chulainn's assistance in helping her own husband, Labraid Lúathlam ar Claideb, defeat an Otherworld foe. In exchange for his help, Cú Chulainn will have the love of Fand. Cú Chulainn comes to Labraid's aid, defeats his foe and Fand and Cú Chulainn spend a month together, and then agree to meet at Ibor Cind Tráchta in Ireland. Emer, Cú Chulainn's wife, comes to this place in order to kill Fand. Eventually, Fand decides to leave Cú Chulainn, and go back to her husband, Manannán mac Lir. When Cú Chulainn discovers this, he suffers from temporary madness until he is cured

[378] Dillon 1975: xiii.

by the druids of Conchobar mac Nessa. Emer is given a drink of forgetfulness, and Manannán waves his cloak between Fand and Cú Chulainn so they never meet again.

It is of interest to note that in all three preceding stories, the character Lí Ban is connected with or dwells in the Otherworld. Of these three characters, the figure our Lí Bán has most in common with would appear to be the third Lí Ban (from *SCC*). Both characters are women who address people in poetry. It is generally assumed that the two birds Cú Chulainn fails to catch in *SCC* are in fact Lí Ban and Fand, although this is not specifically stated in the text. If the identification of the two women with the birds is true, then both Lí Ban and Lí Bán are shape-shifters.[379] Usually, shape-shifting creatures undergo a full transformation, rather than a partial one. I would therefore suggest that we are to regard the examples described above, in which Lí Bán describes herself as an animal (*muc mara, bled* and *i rricht bratan*) as belonging to this stage of Lí Bán's life, and that Lí Bán was originally a woman who had the ability to transform herself into a sea-creature.

A final similarity is that both women live in a world separated from the regular world by water: Lí Ban wife of Labraid lives in Mag Mell, a name given to the Otherworld, which in the text is sometimes reached by boat,[380] whereas our Lí Bán stays in her bower under Loch nEchach.

A.4. Lí Bán from *Acallam na Senórach*

This is essentially a later version of our Lí Bán. When Caílte and the king of Ulster are at Tonn Tuile, looking out on the sea, they see Lí Bán swimming in the sea and sitting on the waves. When she sees the men, she lifts her head and asks if that is Caílte, son of Rónán, and says that she has seen him many a day, in the company of Finn mac Cumaill. Caílte asks who she is, and Lí Bán responds that she is Lí Bán, daughter of Echu, son of Éogan, son of Ailill, and that she has lived in the water for 100 years,

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[379] For the motif of transformation, see Cross 1952: D521 Transformation through wish, D1761 Magic results produced by wishing, D176 Transformation: man to salmon, D683.8* Transformation by angel (God), D179 Transformation: man to fish – miscellaneous, and compare D179.1 Transformation: man to trout and D197 Transformation: man to eel. See also E617.1* Reincarnation as salmon and E617 Reincarnation as fish.

[380] See for example Dillon 1975: 5-6: *Lotar ass íarom co ráncatar tóeb na indse. Co n-accatar in lungine crédume forsind loch ara cind. Tíagait íarom isin lunga, 7 tíagait isin n-insi...* 'They set out then and came opposite to an island. They saw a little boat of bronze on the lake before them. They went then into the boat, and came on to the island' (ll. 151-53, and see Dillon 1953: 53 for the translation); *Atá Labraid for lind glan* 'Labraid dwells upon clear water' (p. 15, l. 421 and Dillon 1953: 62 (translation)), and ... *inis hi tá Labraid* '...the island where Labraid dwells' (p. 15, l. 444 and Dillon 1953: 63). Later on in the text, however, the place where Fand and Lí Ban are can be reached by land (p. 16, ll. 455 ff., see Dillon 1953: 63).

without lifting her head for anyone. This echoes an instance in the poem *Murgein is gein co mbúadaib* in our text, where our Lí Bán states she has spent her life under the water, until she spoke to Colum Cille (§10(b)143-44).[381]

In the *Acallam*, Lí Bán then aids Caílte in hunting deer, who flee into the sea.[382] Note that she is said to be the daughter of a different Echu in this text. Since the *Acallam* is later than the poetry in *AE*, it is possible that this element was inspired by our text, or taken from the tradition surrounding Lí Bán.

B. The creature in the water: Fuinche and Muirgeilt

After the outburst of the lake, Lí Bán lives under and in the water, and her appearance changes. Two of the names given to Lí Bán appear to reflect this stage in her life: Fuinche and Muirgeilt.

B.1. Fuinche

This name for Lí Bán occurs only in LU, and never appears in the annals, unlike the other names given to her. *Fuinche* occurs twice in our text. The first occurrence is at the end of the poem *Fo Loch Echach*, §9(u)128-29: *cobair fir a culchi chíar / rom-áin co cían,* ***funchi*** *fó*, 'may the assistance of a in a dark garment/ save me for a long time, [me being] a *fuinche* under it.' While this could be taken as a personal name, it is likely that on this occasion it refers to Lí Bán's appearance.

The meaning of the word *fuinche* is obscure. In his edition of the text, O'Beirne Crowe mentions in a footnote that *fuinche* means 'whiting.'[383] For the word ***fuinche***, however, *DIL* gives the meanings 'scald-crow' and 'black fox' (*DIL* s.v.).

It would appear that these two completely different meanings are derived from the glossaries. The word *fuinche* is glossed *.i. feannog* 'that is, scald-crow' in O'Clery's

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[381] *Ro airbir bith font sruth trom / noco tard guth do Cholom*, 'she lived under the heavy stream / until she addressed Colum Cille'.

[382] See Nagy 1985: 117-18. The disappearance of animals under the water can also be found in *SCC*, where the birds Cú Chulainn fails to catch go under the lake (Dillon 1975: 3, l.70).

[383] *ALLI*: 106, note l: '*Funche*.- This is the name for the fish called "*Whiting*," conveying the same idea as lí bán, as above quatrain ix., where the writer takes lí to mean "beauty," and consequently bán to mean "white;" for a compound lí-bán, with ban, to mean "woman," is inadmissible.' The second element of her name is also discussed in the textual notes, p. 207 (§7,30) and p. 220 (§9(i)80) above. Joseph Nagy has pointed out to me that it is possible that O'Beirne Crowe was thinking of the term *feannóg* 'whiting', and this seems to be a reasonable suggestion, as the word *fuinche* is glossed *feannog* in O'Clery's glossary and *feandoc* in the Lecan glossary, although in those instances it is always interpreted as 'scaldcrow'. For *feannóg* 'whiting', see Ó Baoill 1994: 183.

[385] Edited in Miller 1879-80; for *fuinche* see p. 427.

Irish Glossary.[385] In the Lecan Glossary, *fuinche* is glossed *.i. feandoc* in one location but *.i. sindach dub*, 'that is, black fox' in another.[386]

Recently, Jacqueline Borsje has drawn attention to the terms *gladomuin*, 'howlers' or perhaps 'howler demons', and *gudomuin* 'false demons'.[387] She stated that in a glossary on *Bretha Nemed Déidenach*, found in Trinity manuscript H.3.18, these two terms are glossed as follows:

> ***Glaidomuin*** *.i.* ***sindaigh*** *ł mac tire*, 'Howlers, that is: foxes or a wolf,[388]
> ***Gudomhuin*** *.i.* ***fennóga*** *ł bansigaidhe*, '*Gudomuin* (*Gúdemain*, false demons), that is: scald-crows, or fairy women.[389]

In a commentary to the text in the upper margin of the manuscript, *gudomuin* is confused with *glaidomuin*:

> *ut est* ***glaidhomuin*** *.g. .i. na demuin. goacha, na* ***morrigna****. ł go conach deamain iat na bansighaide, go conach demain iffrinn iat acht .d. aeoir na* ***fendóga****.*
> Ut est: false (?) howlers, that is the false demons, the *morrígna*; or it is a falsehood so that the women of the *síd* are not demons; it is a falsehood so that they are not demons of hell, but the scald crows are demons of the air.[390]

A note in the right margin also connects the howling of the wolves with the voices of the scald-crows:

> *ł eamnait a nglaedha na* ***sinnaigh****, 7 .e. a ngotha na* ***fennoga****.*
> Or: the foxes double their howls, and the scald crows double their vowels/sounds [voices].[391]

Here we see this same confusion between scald-crow and fox that we find with the word *fuinche*. I would suggest therefore that a *fuinche* is a creature like the *glaidem/gudemuin*, a demonic (howling) creature, or possibly an infernal demon, living in the wilderness in or under the water.

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[386] See Stokes 1900b: 60, entry 545: *Fuindchi .i. feandoc* and entry 548: *Fuinchi .i. sindach dub.*

[387] Borsje 1999: 241 ff. Borsje also presented a paper on the subject at a 2004 conference in Uppsala.

[388] For the Irish text, see Borsje 1999: 241-42. W. H. Hennessy also pointed out this reference in Hennessy 1870-72: 36.

[389] See Borsje 1999: 241-42 for this translation.

[390] Borsje (handout 2004 presentation). An alternative translation for this passage and the next one can be found in Hennessy 1870-72: 36, 'ut est *glaidhomuin goa*, the false demons, the *morrigna*; or it is false that the *bansigaidhe* are not demons; it is false that the *fendoga* (scald crows) are not hellish but aery demons…'.

[391] Borsje (handout 2004 presentation), and see Borsje 1999: 242. Hennessy stated that the word *glaidomuin* was explained as *sinnaig* or *maic tire* because 'in barking they double the sound' – the glossator seemed therefore to associate *glaidomuin* with wolves or foxes, while he connects *guthemain* with the crow (Hennessy 1870-72: 36-37). It is of course possible to translate *guth* as 'voice', rather than 'vowels' or 'sounds'. It could then refer to the voice of the raven, compared to the barking of the wolf or fox. If we take *fennoga* as demonic creatures, the reading 'voices' might be more appropriate.

In the second occurrence of *fuinche*, the word undoubtedly represents a personal name. The sentence in which this name is mentioned occurs at the end of the text: *Ainm n-aill di*[*n*] *dano Funchi* (§18,200), 'Another name for her then [was] Fuinche'. This seems to be a gloss or narratorial intrusion, rather than an integral part of the text. In the *Félire Oengusso*, a reference to a Saint Fuinche may be found under January 21:[392]

Ropat óin dom ṡnádud	'May they be one to protect me
com ríg – réim as díxu –	to my King – course that is nobler!
***Fuinche**, feidm as uaisliu,*	Fuinche – effort that is highest –
Agna ingen Íssu	Agnes a daughter of Jesus.'

The notes to this entry mention a Fuinche Garb, whose story is similar to that of Lí Bán, as becomes clear from the notes to the entry for January 21:[393]

> *Roptar oin 7rl. .i. Fainche ingen Cairill isin tuaiscirt .i. o Rus Airthir ic Loch Erne, 7 Fainchi Cluana cain i n-Eoganacht Caisil. No Fuinchi Garb o Loch Erne .i. i Tuaith ratha i n-Uib Echach Ulad. Nó Feme .i. icon-Ernaide i Muig Itha ita .i. Feme ingen Cairill derbsiur do Daig mac Cairill. Nó* ***Fuinchi**, Feme, et duae anus sunt. As airi atrubram* ***Garb** fria, ar ro triallad a ernaidm do fir, 7 o'tcuala-si sin ro ling il-Loch n-Erne, 7 ro imthig fon usci, itir firusci 7 muir, co tuarcaib a cenn a n-Inis Clothrann conas-tarla do Diarmait,*[394] *co ror-iarfaig di cia imthus forsa raibe. Indisid dó a scéla, 7 is amlaid bui 7 sliceda 7 turscair muiride ina lenmain. Conid isin gairbi sin atberar* ***Fuinche Garb** fria. Asbert Diarmait fria:* ***as garb a Fainch**[**e**], ar se.*
>
> '*May they be one* etc., i.e. Fainche daughter of Carell in the north, i.e. from Ross airthir at Lough Erne, and Fainche of Clúain cain in Eoganacht Caisil. Or Fuinche the Rough from Lough Erne, i.e. in Tuath ratha in Húi Echach Ulad. Or Féme i.e. at the Ernaide in Mag Itha she is, even Féme daughter of Cairell own-sister of Daig son of Cairell. Or Fuinche, Féme, *et duae anus sunt*. This is why she was called 'Rough': for they sought to wed her to a husband, and when she heard of that she sprang into Lough Erne, and passed under water, both freshwater and sea, till she appeared at Inis Clothrann, and came to Diarmait, who asked her on what business she was bound. Then she tells him her tales, and thus was she, with shells and sea-slime cleaving to her. So that for that roughness she is called Fuinche the Rough. Said Diarmait to her: "'Tis rough, O Fainche," says he.'

The similarities between this tale and our text (Fuinche lives under the lake and seems to swim in the ocean as well; she lives under the water until she appears and speaks to a saint; she looks unusual) are likely to be the reason the author added the reference to Fuinche as alternate name for Lí Bán to our text. Since this connection with Fuinche

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[392] *Fél*: 37 (text and translation).
[393] *Fél*: 50 (text) and 51 (translation).
[394] This is likely to be Saint Diarmait of Inis Clothrann, whose feastday, according to *Fél*, is January 10.

Garb is found nowhere else, and the first occurrence does not seem to refer to a personal name, I think we can consider the name Fuinche as a later addition and not original to the text.

B.2. Muirgeilt

The name Muirgeilt '*geilt* of the sea' likewise appears to represent the phase of Lí Bán's life in which she lives in the water. The name is usually preceded by the definite article, which may indicate that the Muirgeilt was a unique (and well-known?) character, or that, as Jürgen Uhlich suggests, it is not to be seen as a real name but as an appellative (comparable to *in Dagdae*, for example). The name appears twice in *Fo Loch Echach* and also occurs in the final prose section of *AE*,[395] and in some annalistic sources.[396] It immediately recalls the figure of the *geilt*.[397] Closer inspection will show that Lí Bán's character does in fact have a lot in common with *geilti*. In an article in *Éigse* 14, Padraig Ó Ríain discussed a basic pattern underlying the transformation of a person into a *geilt*.[398] This pattern, of the novitiate, conforms to the three phases in the rites of passage as described in Arnold van Gennep's *Rites de Passage*: *séparation, marge, aggrégation*: separation, transition and incorporation.[399]

The novice, that is, a person about to receive instruction, or, in our case, a person who becomes a *geilt*, is separated from his former environment, and taken to the wilderness, where a transition takes place. The wilderness, of course, serves as a boundary: it is situated between the real world and the Otherworld, and can therefore be regarded as a portal through which knowledge from the Otherworld can be passed on. The transition itself can take numerous forms, including the painting of the body, nakedness, the

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[395] There may be some difficulty regarding references to Muirgeilt in the poem *Fo Loch Echach adba dam,* as Lí Bán states *cenid mé in Murgelt már* 'although I am not the big *geilt* of the sea' §9(m)96u. This part of the text, however, should probably be amended to *conid* 'so that I am [now]', see note to AE §9(m)97 above. In the final prose section Lí Bán is identified with Muirgeilt: *Ro baist Comgall hí 7 iss é ainm do-rat dī: Muirgein .i. gein in mara. Nó Muirgeilt .i. geilt in mara.* 'Comgall baptised her and this was the name he gave to her: Muirgein, i.e. 'sea-birth'. Or Muirgeilt, that is 'geilt of the sea' (§18,199-200).

[396] For the references, see textual note to §9(m)97 *conid* above (p. 224). In the *Annals of Tigernach,* it is in fact Airiu, Lí Bán's sister, who is said to be the Muirgeilt (Stokes 1896: 147). Combined with the first text edited here, it would be tempting to suggest that originally, there was no Lí Bán, but Airiu, who is said to survive the outburst. Airiu is the person who transforms herself, but by the time of composition of our story, this has become Lí Bán, and Airiu is made out to be Lí Bán's sister and Curnán's wife, and drowns in the outburst of the lake. This merits further investigation.

[397] This has also been remarked by Basil Clarke in (Clarke 1973: 205) and in Bowen 1978: 148. Bowen also refers to Lí Bán as 'what was later to become, throughout Europe, the traditional mermaid form' (idem, p. 147). This statement should be approached with extreme caution, especially since Bowen only draws attention to the fact that Lí Bán transforms herself into part human, part salmon, and ignores references to her as a porpoise (*muc mara*, §9(l)92), *fuinche* (*funchi* §9(u)126) and salmon (§13,163).

[398] Ó Riain 1972.

[399] Ó Riain 1972: 205 and Van Gennep 1909 and 1960.

obligation to remain in a forest-retreat while receiving instruction by a *sacerdos*,[400] the speaking of a special language and the eating of special foods. The transitional period is finally followed by rites of incorporation, which also consist of a series of ceremonies, in which the novice is re-integrated in to everyday life.

The most famous of the *geilti* is probably Suibhne, king of the Dál nAraide (the same *gens* with whose saints Lí Bán wishes to meet). His character and shamanistic life in the wilderness have been the subject of many different studies.[401] Basically, Suibne loses his sanity after a traumatic experience. He then shuns human contact, adopts animal characteristics, composes poetry about life in the wilderness (usually either in praise of the abundance of food in nature, or a lament on his hard life), and finally befriends a saint.

This pattern is very similar to the story of Lí Bán:

- Lí Bán is separated from her family after a traumatic experience (the outburst of Loch nEchach, in which almost all her kin drowns);
- She shuns human contact, living under the water for hundreds of years. Her only companion is her lapdog, who follows her around wherever she goes.[402]
- Lí Bán adopts animal characteristics. The transformation of the *geilti* is not complete, and here the second set of descriptions of Lí Bán's appearance fits in: part salmon (*i rricht* ***íaich*** *acht mo chend*); the prose states she is half woman half salmon (§10,135-36, *A leth 'na* ***bratān*** *ro boī 7 a lleth n-aill 'na* ***duni***). The poem *Murgein is gein co mbúadaib* mentions that she is half salmon, and that she has a tail: *ingnad in richt as [m]baí* ***lus*** and *a drech abbān ceirbo cacht*: *a lleth do* ***bratān*** *bitbalc*.[403]

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[400] Ó Riain uses the term *sacerdos* for a sacred or priestly person, who can be either Christian or non-Christian (Ó Riain 1972: 182, n. 8).

[401] See for example Chadwick 1942, Carney 1948-52 (reprinted with changes and appendix in Carney 1955: 129-64), Jackson 1940, and Jackson 1953-55, and, more recently Nagy 1982. It should be noted that Suibne can be considered to be an exception to the regular pattern of the novice, since Suibne himself never completely regains his sanity (see Nagy 1982: 44). He functions as a character living in the borderland between worlds, and conveys his supernatural knowledge to his *sacerdos* and friend, St Moling (Nagy 1982: 45).

[402] Cross 1952: B575 Animal as constant attendant of man again, B579.1* Animal accompanies man on journey and B256 Animal as servant of saint.

[403] It should be noted that the *geilti* seem to exhibit animal characteristics associated with birds rather than fish. There are a number of stories in which the protagonist changes into multiple animals, such as the tales of Tuán mac Cairill, and Fintan mac Bóchra, who both adopt different animal shapes, including that of a salmon. The purpose of their transformations seems to be the extension of life, in order to impart information about the past – just as Lí Bán relates her story to Beóán in our text. For the ninth-century story of Tuán, see Carey 1984a (for Carey's dating of the tale, see p. 99). For an edition of the text, see Carey 1984b. Another example can be found in the tenth- or eleventh-century text *Suidigud Tellaig Temra*, 'Establishment of the hearth of Tara', discussed in Nagy 1997: 3 ff; for the story of Fintan, see

- The lapdog transforms himself into an otter. This transformation is interesting on a number of levels:
  1. On a literal level, the word ***dobrán*** is a shortened version of ***doborchú***,[404] 'water-dog' - this of course is a logical transformation, from a dog on land to a dog in the water.[405]
  2. The otter occurs in some stories relating to *geilti*.[406] In the story of Suibne, for example, it is an otter who retrieves the book Suibne has cast into the water.[407]
  3. Otters are sometimes portrayed as servants of saints.[408]
- Lí Bán discusses her life in the wilderness. She complains about the harshness of the sea,[409] but also refers to dietary habits, elements often found in poetry uttered by *geilti*.[410]
- Finally, she befriends saints, to whom she relates her story. In *Fo Loch Echach adba dam*, she talks to saint Brendan (who does not occur in the prose); in the prose version of her life, she talks to Beóán, fisherman of Comgall, abbot of Bangor.

One obvious difference between Suibhne and Lí Bán is their gender. In this light, it is important to consider a number of stories featuring wild women. Like the wild men, they are removed from their place in society, live in the wilderness in an ugly state, and eventually are brought back to sanity and society. Their return to sanity also entails a loss of their former ugliness, transforming them into beautiful women. The way in which wild women return to sanity is usually through sexual intercourse, as is demonstrated in the stories of two famous wild women, Mór Muman, the embodiment

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ibidem pp. 4-5. It may be interesting to note here that Fuinche Garb, discussed above, is said to be the daughter of a certain Cairell in her tale as discussed in *Fél.*

[404] For the terms *dobrán* and *doborchú* used for the same animal see *EIF* p. 130, note 200, and see also the textual note to §9,43 above, p. 206.

[405] For the association of the otter with the dog, see Nagy 1985-86: 124.

[406] Chadwick 1942: 125, 141.

[407] Chadwick 1942: 108.

[408] Nagy 1985-86: 126. See Cross 1952: D412.5.3* transformation of dog to otter (with this text as the only instance of this); more generally B301 Faithful animal, B303 Sympathetic animals, B449.3 Helpful otter and B250 Religious animals; finally, see also the following references in Dorothy Ann Bray's *A List of Motifs in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints*: animal provides for saint (p. 89), animals follow saint (p. 90) and animal transformed (p. 91).

[409] The element of Lí Bán's (difficult) life in the ocean is also very reminiscent of the poem by the *Caillech* of Beare (ed. Ó hAodha 1989), as both women lament their long lives in the ocean and wish to depart after a number of centuries. I hope to be able to draw attention to this elsewhere.

[410] Lí Bán refers to her dietary habits in the following verse-lines: *mé muc mara méthas tond* §9(l)91'I a porpoise which a wave fattens'; *baíthium anfud mílach mend* §9(l)93 'I had a clear storm [at my disposal], awash with creatures'; *blaisiu magri matan moch* §9(s)120 *blaisiu maigri matan moch* §9(t)124 'I taste salmon in the early morning'. A variant of this line in the manuscript 23 L 14, (copied from G7), has *femaig* for *maigri*, of *fem(m)ach*, o,m, 'seaweed'. For examples of diet in stories of *geilti*, see the poems *A bhennáin, a bhúiredháin* (O'Keeffe 1931 (reprint 1975) §40, pp. 34-44 and *Fuar anocht Benna Boirche* §58, pp. 61-62, especially p. 62).

of the sovereignty of Munster, and Mis.[411]

The story of Mis is of particular interest to us. Her relationship with the harper Dub Ruis is featured in a Modern Irish tale edited in *Celtica* 2 by Brian Ó Cuív.[412] There is, however, reason to believe that the tale goes back to an earlier narrative tradition, as has been suggested by Proinsias Mac Cana.[413] There is a tale included in Tale Lists A and B entitled *Aithed Muirne re Dub Ruis*, 'the elopement of Muirenn with Dub Ruis', which seems to indicate that at least by the time of composition of the Tale lists (ca. tenth century), there was some tradition relating to the character Dub Ruis and his involvement with a woman.[414] In short, this is the story contained in the later version:[415]

> Mis is the only daughter of a Dáire Dóidgheal (or Dáire Mór), who has come to conquer Ireland. He is killed in the battle of Ventry and left on the battlefield. Mis seeks out his body on the battlefield and drinks the blood that flows from his wounds. She then goes mad and flees to Slíab Mis, where she stays for either 7 score or 300 years. She grows extremely long hair and nails, gains the ability to run like the wind, and tears up any animal or human she meets. Eventually, her sense is restored to her by Dub Ruis, the harper of the king of Munster. Dub Ruis accomplishes this by having intercourse with Mis, and by showing her civilized life. They stay together for two months, until reason is restored to her and the hair covering her body falls out. He then dresses her, brings her home with him and marries her. She bears him four children and becomes one of the beautiful women of Munster. Then one day, Dub Ruis is murdered and Mis composes a lament for him.

The story of Mis offers some similarities with the story of Lí Bán, as can be seen below:

- For both women, the separation from society is the result of the death of their fathers. Mis is seized by madness and lives in the wild; Lí Bán, though not specifically said to go mad, is referred to as *Muirgeilt*, '*geilt* of the sea'.
- Mis journeys in the wilderness from place to place for either seven score years or 300 years. *Aided Echach* mentions a number of times that Lí Bán lives for three hundred years after Echu's death. This is remarkable, since the prose mentions that she lives on from the time of Echu to the time of Comgall of Bangor. According to

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[411] Ó Riain 1972: 202. The story and character of Mór Muman, and several tales relating to the story of Mór Muman, have been discussed extensively by Mac Cana in his episodic article entitled 'Aspects of the theme of king and goddess in Irish literature', that appeared in *EC* 7 (1955-56) 76-114 (on the significance and origin of Mór Muman) and 356-413 (on several tales relating to the theme discussed in the first section) and *EC* 8 (1958-59) 59-65 (conclusion).

[412] Ó Cuív 1954. A translation of the tale has appeared in the 2003 edition of *The Celtic Heroic Age*, edited by Koch and Carey, pp. 280 ff.

[413] Mac Cana 1955-56: 381.

[414] Mac Cana 1955-56: 381. This is also referred to in a short piece by T.F. O'Rahilly, entitled 'Lost legends of Mis and Dubh Ruis' (O'Rahilly 1950: 382, entry 25 and further, p. 384.

[415] This is a paraphrasis of the synopsis given by Ó Cuív.

the *dindshenchas* version of the story of Loch nEchach, the lake was formed in 100 AD.[416] The annals show that Comgall of Bangor lived around 600, which gives us a period spanning about 500 years rather than 300 years.[417]

- Mis returns to sanity over a period of two months, in which she loses her former wild characteristics. She is exposed to regular society in the form of Dub Ruis. Lí Bán, upon capture, seems to begin her re-integration into society by standing on display in a vessel, with people coming to look at her. Her standing in a vessel can be considered to be standing outside of society, in the wilderness.[418]
- Finally, it is of interest to note that in the *dindshenchas*, a woman named Mis appears as the daughter of Mairid.[419] This makes her Echu's sister and Lí Bán's aunt. It has been argued by Mac Cana that this development must have taken place after the composition of the metrical *dindshenchas* of Loch nEchach, but the fact that the connection was made is significant.[420]

There is a group of supernatural characters who can be said to conform to the characteristics of wild women like Mis: the *geniti*. The word *genit* (*DIL*, s.v.) refers to a female mythical being of malevolent powers,[421] and often occurs in the phrase *geniti glinne*, where it is frequently confused with the word *geilt*.[422] The *genit* is known for

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[416] This is not to be confused with the initial well which later became Loch nEchach. According to the *dindshenchas*, both Eochu and Rí's wells, over which they built their houses, originated in AD 81. See the Rennes prose *dindshenchas* of Loch Rí and Loch nEchach (Stokes 1894: 482 and Stokes 1895: 151-52 respectively), and the metrical *dindshenchas* versions (*M.Ds.* iii 458-59 (Loch Rí) and *M.Ds.* iv 68-69 (Loch nEchach).

[417] This could mean that the connection with Comgall was added later, as references to the 300 years occur in *Fo Loch*, the earliest part of our text, and the reference with Comgall is only found in the final prose section, linguistically the latest section of text. The time discrepancy was also noted by O'Beirne Crowe in *ALLI*: 103 n. 2.

[418] It could also be interpreted differently; see the third thematic discussion below, on standing in water, p. 278.

[419] The Rennes *dindshenchas* gives the most detailed information: *Mis ingen Mairedha, ben Caeimgin Congancnis meic Degad, is di tucad Sliab Senaig Gairb meic Degad ina tochra 7 ar airisem 'go a fir tareis na himirce dia tanic Eochaid 7 Rib da mac Maireda meic Cairedha, a quibus Loch nEchach 7 Loch Rí...* 'Mis daughter of Mairid son of Cairid and wife of Coimgen Hornskin son of Dega. 'Tis to her the mountain of Senach the Rough son of Dega was given as her dowry and for staying with her husband after the flitting (of her family) when Eochaid and Ríb, Mairid's two sons (*a quibus* Lough Neagh and Lough Ree) set forth.' (Stokes 1894-85: 445-46). For the metrical *dindshenchas* of Slíab Mis, see *M.Ds.* iii 240-41.

[420] Mac Cana 1955-56: 371 n.3.

[421] The word *genit* is also explained in O'Mulconry's glossary as 'woman' – see Jacqueline Borsje 1999: 234-35, n. 57.

[422] *Genit* often occurs in the phrase *geniti glinne*, 'valley women' (see Breatnach 1994: 196 n. 9; for a few examples, se Borsje 1999: 234-35, n. 57). Confusion arose between the terms *geilt/genit*, *geilti glinne / geniti glinne* and *geltacht / genidecht*. This has been pointed out on multiple occasions; see for example Carney 1955: 388 ff., and Carey 1984a: 98. One example of this confusion can be found in the text *Mesca Ulad*, where Cú Chulainn is called a *genid* (see Best and Bergin 1929: 50, l. 1439, referred to by John

raising battle cries,[423] sometimes out of fear, sometimes to instil fear. Her cries cause or heighten frenzy on the battlefield.[424]

It would be very tempting to suggest that wild women in Irish literature ultimately derive from the *geniti*, whereas wild men go back to *geilti*, but that the similarities in their characters led to the confusion of the two terms. In this light, it is of interest to note that both creatures are associated with battlefields, but from different perspectives: the *geniti* cause fear and frenzy, whereas the *geilti* are seized by fear and frenzy on the battlefield. It is hoped this theory can be looked at in more detail in the near future.

Regarding our tale, it should be noted that the term *genaiti* is in fact used in *Serglige Con Culainn*, in reference to Lí Ban and her sister Fand:[425]

> *Mór espa do láech / laigi fri súan serglige,/ ar donadbat* ***genaiti*** */ áesa a Tenmag Trogaigi,/ condot rodbsat,...*
>
> 'It is great idleness for a warrior to lie in a sleep of wasting sickness, for it shows demons (gl. i.e., women) folk from Tenmag Trogaigi, and they have injured(?) thee,...'[426]

It should be pointed out that *geniti* are often malevolent, whereas the Muirgeilt is not. While there are similarities in the basic patterns of *geilti* and *geniti*, it would appear that the behaviour of the Muirgeilt as she appears in *AE* is more consistent with that of a *geilt* than that of a *genit*. It is possible this can be attributed in part to the confusion between *geilt* and *genit*.[427]

Carey (1984a: 98)). Finally, Jacqueline Borsje refers to the *geniti glinne* and *geilti glinne*, and to a host of other battle creatures, in the second section of her 1999 article 224-48, 231 ff., see especially p. 236 ff.

[423] Borsje 1999: 234 ff. and Carey 1984a: 98.

[424] Borsje 1999: 235 and 236.

[425] I am grateful to Jacqueline Borsje for providing me with this reference.

[426] Dillon 1975: 11, ll. 316-20; for the translation, see Dillon 1953: 59.

[427] An example of the opposite case can be found at the end of *Serglige Con Culainn* (*SCC*, pp 28-9, ll. 819-43). In this episode, Cú Chulainn loses his mind after seeing his lover Fand return to her husband. He takes three leaps and dwells in the wilderness without food or drink, sleeping on Slige Mídlúachra every evening. His wife Emer goes to Conchobar, who sends poets, druids and gifted folk to retrieve him. Cú Chulainn tries to kill them, and they have to bind his hands with druidic incantations. He temporarily comes to his senses, and they give him a drink of forgetfulness. This behavioural pattern is more consistent with that of a *genit* than a *geilt*.

[430] O'Donovan, Todd and Reeves 1864: pp 28-9, under January 27 (text and translation): *Muirghein, i. gein do bhí isin muir da ngoirid na leabhair libán, inghen Eachdhach, mic Muireadha, do bhi a ttimchell 300 bliadhain fon muir go haimsir na naomh gur gabh Beoan naomh i líon í, acus gur baistead í, iar n-innisin a sgeoil acus a himtheachta.* 'Muirghein: i.e., a woman who was in the sea, whom the Books call Libán, daughter of Eochaidh, son of Muireadh; she was about three hundred years under the sea, till the

C. The water-creature reborn: Muirgein

While the connection between *–gein* and *genit* is reasonable enough, and it is possible to explain the name Muirgen along these lines, there is an alternative explanation that I would like to offer. The name Muirgein literally means 'sea-birth'. This name is given to Lí Bán after her baptism, and can therefore be considered her Christian name. She has been taken from the water, and is reborn into the Christian faith and thus is a (re)birth from the sea.

It should be noted that all references to this character outside *AE* are always to either Muirgein or Muirgeilt, never the two of them together. It would appear that she is referred to as the Muirgeilt in the annals, whereas Muirgein is the name that occurs in religious texts such as the *Martyrology of Donegal*[430] and the commentary on *Félire Óengusso*.[431] Since *AE* is a compilation, the fact that the names are mentioned together does not pose a problem. It is notable that in the poetry in *AE*, the two names are not mixed: Muirgeilt occurs in *Fo Loch Echach*, whereas Muirgein is found in *Murgein is gein*.

D. Summary

While the story of Lí Bán as it is told in *AE* is convoluted and in places contradictory, it is possible to provide a background for the different names given to her, and to reconstruct the different aspects to her persona.

Judging from our text, and taking into account the lack of references elsewhere, the interpretation of the word *fuinche* as a personal name seems to be due to similarities with the tale of *Fuinche garb*. Originally, however, it was not a name but a term for a supernatural demonic creature. Lí Bán therefore has three actual names, rather than four: Lí Bán, Muirgeilt and Muirgein, and each name arguably represents a different stage in her life. The name Lí Bán seems to refer to the human state of the character, and her shape before her life under the water. This includes her being in the water, but in human form, and possibly also her character as shape-shifter.

The Muirgeilt appears to be the name (originally used) for Lí Bán in her altered,

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time of the saints, when Beoan the saint took her in a net, so that she was baptized, after having told her history and her adventures.'

[431] *Fél*: 52-55.

partially-human state. It is possible that at one stage she may have been a malevolent female creature in the tradition of the *genit*, and of the *glaídemain/gudomain*, as seems to be implied by the word *funchi* in *Fo Loch Echach*. At the time our text was written down, however, possibly because of the confusion between *geilt* and *genit*, the character of the Muirgeilt appears to have more in common with *geilt*, which might explain the element *geilt* in her name.

While there is a connection between the words *genit* and *gein*, in this text, the name Muirgein is the new Christian name for Lí Bán after her baptism (she is 'reborn' as a Christian, after living in the sea). The name Muirgein generally occurs in association with saints, as in the commentary on *Félire Óengusso*, *Murgein is gein* and the final prose section. Note that there is no mention of the name or word Muirgein in the linguistically earlier *Fo Loch Echach*.

From the preceding, it is clear that there is much more to the character of Lí Bán than one might think. Just as Lí Bán's character in our text lived in different ages, so did her development draw from and influence other texts throughout time, ranging from *Serglige Con Culainn* to *Acallamh na Senórach*, and from the tale of Mis to that of Suibhne and the old woman of Beare, while at the same time not being a direct copy of any of the characters in these texts. She is therefore a derivative original.

One should remember that the discussion of Lí Bán's names is only a very small and specific part of the whole picture. It leaves many elements in her story undiscussed that are reminiscent of episodes in many other texts and tales of different cultures. If one is to create a full overview of her character and story and attempt to place it into its proper international context, all these elements must be taken into account. Hopefully this can be done by me in the future.

THEMATIC DISCUSSION III: MOTIFS IN THE FINAL PROSE SECTION

In this final thematic section, I wish to briefly draw attention to a number of motifs in the story of Lí Bán that show some striking similarities with motifs found in other, mainly hagiographical, texts. It should be noted that all these motifs occur in the final prose section, linguistically the latest part of *AE*.

1. Obtaining a monastic rule

Beóán has been sent to Rome by Comgall of Bangor in order to talk to Pope Gregory about obtaining a monastic order and rule (*do accallaim Grigair for cend Uird 7 Rīagla*, §13,166-67). John Carey has pointed out to me the parallel with the legend of St. Brigit, where Brigit sends emissaries to Rome in order to obtain a monastic rule. This anecdote can be found in the commentary attached to Broccán's hymn on Brigit, dated to possibly the eleventh century.[432] This commentary explains the thirteenth line of the hymn, *Amra sámud sanct Brigte, amra plea conhúala* 'Famous was the congregation of St. Brigit; famous was the place to which it went'.[433] In this story, St. Brigit sends seven people to Rome in order to learn a monastic rule because she cannot go herself. Upon their return, they no longer remember what they have learned. Again seven messengers are sent out; again they forget the rule. The third time, seven people are sent out, one of them a blind boy who is able memorize everything he hears. They reach the Sea of Wight, and a storm breaks out. They let down their anchor, which gets stuck on the dome of an underwater oratory. After casting lots, the blind boy loses, and is forced to jump overboard to free the anchor. He frees the anchor, but the boat sails off without him. A year later the boat returns, and again gets detained on the water above the oratory. The blind boy re-surfaces with an *ordo* (monastic order) and a bell.[434]

2. Underwater singing and detainment on the water

While Beóán is on the ocean, he and his crew appear to be detained on the water when they hear the liturgical chanting of angels under their coracle (*co cúalatar celebrad aingel fon churuch*, §13,168-69). There are two motifs to be distinguished here: detention on the water and underwater singing.

The motif of saints or people being detained on the water is a common one. It is found,

[432] Edel 2001: 87 n. 35. See also Carey, 1992: 22.
[433] Edel 2001: 87 and compare Carey 1992: 22.
[434] Edel 2001: 87-88 and Carey 1992: 22.

for example, in the episode of the blind boy, mentioned in the previous section, where the anchor of the ship becomes stuck in the dome of the oratory.[435]

The second motif is that of underwater singing. In our text, the word *celebrad* is found, which refers to liturgical chanting and religious ceremony,[436] and I believe the reference to *celebrad* can be placed in the tradition of underwater monasteries and aerial ships.

In the stories in which aerial ships appear,[437] people are gathered for an assembly or attending mass when they see a ship in the air that drops its anchor (or an anchor is dropped, and then the people perceive the ship). A person from the ship may jump overboard and swim through the air in order to retrieve the anchor. Usually, people attempt to grab the swimming man, but they have to let him go, as they realize he cannot breathe like they can. Sometimes, the anchor is cut loose, and the iron from the (melted) anchor is subsequently used in the (ornamentation of the) doors of the church on which it has been dropped. In the tales of the underwater monastery,[438] we find the same elements, but from a different perspective.[439] In this type of tale, sailors sometimes see an underwater church or monastery, or become stuck on the water. One of the sailors then jumps overboard to investigate, and then discovers the underwater monastery. A variant on this theme can be found in a Middle Dutch version of the Voyage of Brendan, in which the boat crew hear sounds from under the water, but cannot see underneath the waves.[440] In *AE*, the element of underwater singing is merely

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[435] Apart from the episode of the blind boy, Edel refers to an instance where God detains a fleet of *peregrini* in the middle of the sea until they choose a leader, and one episode relating to St. Cíarán of Clonmacnoise, who stops the ships of a Viking who is trying to escape punishment for robbing St. Cíarán's foundation of its treasures (Edel 2001: 91). Not all instances of detention on water are found in hagiographical sources. In the metrical *dindshenchas* of Inber Ailbine, a man named Ruad is traveling the ocean and detained on the water. He then dives under water and sees nine women, who bring him gifts. He has relations with all women, and leaves one of them pregnant. He promises to return, but reneges on his promise, and his infant son is killed. See Edel 2001: 89, and compare Carey 1992: 22. For the text of the *dindshenchas*, see M.Ds. ii: 26-35.

[436] *DIL* s.v. *celebrad*.

[437] In his article, John Carey discusses versions from *De mirabilibus Hiberniae* (p. 16), *De Ingantaib Érenn* (p. 17), a version from MS xxvi in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh (p. 18), the Norse text *Konungs Skuggsjá* (p. 19), a text from the *Otia Imperialia* by Gervase of Tilbury (p. 20) and an article from the Houston Post of 28 April 1897 (pp. 20-21).

[438] The most famous version of this can be found in the commentary attached to Broccán's hymn on Brigit, for which see p. 260.

[439] As John Carey pointed out, the difference between the two types (aerial ship and underwater monastery) is mostly one of perspective, as in one case the monks are normal mortals, and in the other case the sailors (Carey 1992: 23), that is, in one case the monks are living in the regular world, while in the other case the sailors are travelling in the regular world.

[440] Edel referred to a very descriptive episode in the medieval Dutch adaptation of the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani abbatis*, in which the seafarers cannot see through the murky water from their boat, but hear the following: *klokken luden ende klingen / ende ook papen zingen. / Zi hoorden paarden neien / ende ook vogelen schreien. / Zi hoorden die honden bilen; / ende met hoornen gilen, / ende vroolike zingen, / dansen ende springen / van mannen ende wijven: / zoo hoorden zi onlede drijven*, 'bells ringing and

alluded to, and not fully worked out – while the chanting is heard, no-one leaves the boat to investigate. Rather, Lí Bán herself comes to the surface to address Beóán.

3. Standing in a vat with water

After her capture, Lí Bán is put on display in a vessel of water (*...sī isind ethur 7 usci impi and*, §15,180). The function of the vat of water, as a barrier, indicating that Lí Bán is still standing outside of society, has already been mentioned. This motif is also reminiscent of that of a saint standing in the water. This element can be found in several *Vitae* of early Irish saints. Often, this occurs in the context of having the water in which the saint is praying turning hot. This occurs in the *Vitae* of Ciarán Saigir, Cóemgen, Fechin, Lasrian, Monenna and Patrick, and, perhaps significantly, in the *Vita* of Comgall of Bangor.[441]

The practice of someone's anger or fervour warming up water, or of standing in water to cool off is of course also found in the saga-literature, when Cú Chulainn's rage dissipates only after having been immersed in three vats of water.[442]

The function of the vessel in which Lí Bán stands could be to keep her alive out of the water, as she is part fish. Perhaps it could also be seen as a symbol of regeneration, or of her re-birth as a Christian, in a baptismal vessel. According to a Scottish legend, the Caillech Béara went through a process of rejuvenation every hundred years by immersing herself in the waters of Loch Bá on the island of Mull: She needed to bathe in the instant before daybreak, before any animals would start making sounds. If she did not do this, she would perish.[443]

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priests chanting; they heard horses neighing and birds singing; they heard a dog bark and a horn blow, and merry singing and dancing by men and women, all making great noise' (Edel 2001: 84; for the English translation, see p. 84, n. 28).

[441] See Ireland 1997, where he cites occurrences from p. 53 onwards. See also Bray 1992: 135. Kay Muhr also mentions this practice, and refers to St. Patrick, Bishop Earc Sláine and the 'very late saint's life' (Muhr does not give a date) of Farandán (Muhr 1999: 207-08).

[442] See for example Dillon 1975: 21 (and note that the word *dabach* is used for the vessels Cú Chulainn goes into): *'Atágamar trá,' for Lóeg, 'in fer d'imbirt a ferci fornd úair nách lór leis di chath fúair. Tíagar,' for Lóeg, '7 inliter téora dabcha úarusci do dibdúd a brotha.' In chétna dabach i tét fichid tairse. In dabach tánaise nís fodaim nech ara tes. In tres dabach is comse a tes.* (ll. 594-99). ''But we fear,' said Lóeg, 'that the man will wreak his anger upon us, for that he does not thingk he has had battle enough.' 'Go,' said Lóeg, 'and let three vats of cold water be prepared to quench his fury.' The first vat into which he went boiled over. The second, none endured it on account of its heat. The heat of the third vat was moderate' (Dillon 1953: 67).

[443] Carey 1999: 34.

4. Blessing

Lí Bán bestows a blessing on the leader of the Uí Chonaing, presumably the descendants of her brother, expressing the hope that his descendants will always have an exalted position (*Rath fort-su dano,' for sī , 'ocus for fir t'inaid ina lōg sin. 7 nīrab écen īarfaigid fir t'inaid do grēs, in cach airiucht i mbia.'* 'Prosperity to you then,' she said, 'and on your successor as a reward for that: may it never be necessary to inquire as to the identity of your successor, in any assembly in which you will be.' (§15,183-85)).

A saint had the power to bestow either a blessing or a curse that could last for a number of generations.[444] In her article 'Malediction and Benediction in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints',[445] Dorothy Ann Bray gives an example of such a blessing: St. Ailbe blesses the successors of Mac Creiche, so that no successor of his shall die a violent death, and that they shall all live long lives.[446] In our text, the blessing is juxtaposed with the cursing of the black warrior, who kills Lí Bán's lapdog.

5. Curse[447]

After the bestowal of the blessing, a black warrior comes up to Lí Bán and kills her lapdog. She then curses the warrior, wishing that his and his descendants' weapons will end up on a dungheap (*a ngaisced fora n-ottraigib* 'their weapons on their dungheaps'), and that they would be unable to avenge any injustice done to them until they fast by her side. The verb used for the curse is *fo-ácaib*, and it can mean to bequeathe something, or to leave something as a curse, as is the case here. The word *fácbála*, literally 'leavings', derived from the same verb *fo-ácaib*, is a term used for the blessings and curses left by a saint as endowments, and these endowments can pass from generation to generation.[448]

In her article, Bray also highlights the saints' frequent practice of malediction. She states that a proper malediction would have to be uttered in public, according to strict rules.[449] However, in hagiography, saints often take to personal or private malediction

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[444] The motif of the bestowal of success on a person's descendants can also be found in Cross 1952: M310.1.1*.
[445] Bray 2002.
[446] Bray 2002: 55.
[447] For relevant motifs, see Cross 1952:: Q556.10* curse for murder, also B330 Death of a helpful animal. See also *Bray Index*, p.112: Saint curses sinners: in lives of Brendan, Brigit, Ciaran, Coemgen, Colman, Elo, Columba, Comgall, Enda, Fechin, Finan, Finnian, lasrian, Maedoc, Mo-Choemog, Mo-Chuda, Patrick: Muirchu-Hood, Ruadan, Samthann. The color black is classified by Cross under D1293.4, Black as magic color, and Z133 Symbolic color: black. Perhaps also Q211.6 Killing an animal revenged.
[448] Bray 2002: 55.
[449] Bray 2002: 58.

motivated by a personal affront.[450] Here the curse appears to be uttered in public, but motivated by a personal affront (the killing of Lí Bán's lapdog). Curses can be seen as attempts to stop anti-social and anticlerical behaviour, direct social actions and define the relationship of men to God and the Church. This results in conversion, submission or a donation from the laity.[451] As stated above, the motif of the killing of the lapdog by the warrior can be regarded as an echo of the tale of the first adultery in Ireland.[452] Additionally, it fulfills the role of an *exemplum* from which a lesson may be learned.

Compare Bray:

> 'the lessons to be learned from the *exempla* of the saints are not very subtle or complex: one must always act rightly towards the saint, lest punishment with no hope of forgiveness follow...The key point here is the respect which is owed to saint and poet...
> ...disrespect is a sign of disorder and social breakdown, of sin and of lack of faith, whether on the part of children or adults.'[453]

The person who offers to give Lí Bán his cloak therefore receives a blessing, while the black warrior is cursed for killing her lapdog.

6. Fasting against God [454]

After Lí Bán's capture, Fergus, Beóán and Comgall cannot decide to whom she belongs. The three of them fast against God for a solution, which eventually comes.

The motif of fasting in order to achieve a goal is very common in not only the stories but also the real world of medieval Ireland. In his *Guide to Early Irish Law*, Fergus Kelly discusses the practice of fasting in order to pressure a person of high status into conceding justice.[455] In Irish literature, the fasting occurs both in religious and non-religious contexts. A number of instances in relation to a saint can for example be found in the Life of Colum Cille,[456] and in tales relating to Saint Senán.[457]

7. Angel resolves a dispute between clerics

The solution for the problem appears in the form of an angel, who offers advice. For the motif of an angel instructing saints, see *Bray Index*: Angel instructs Saint. This motif

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[450] Bray 2002: 49 and 58.
[451] Bray 2002: 58.
[452] See p. 248 above.
[453] Bray 2002: 56.
[454] Cross 1952: P623.0.1* Fasting against God.
[455] *GEIL*: 182-83.
[456] See Kelleher 1913: 244-47, 249 and 265.
[457] See Plummer 1914: 17.

can be found in the Vitae of Abban,[458] Boece, Brendan, Declan, Fintan, Moling, Molua and in Muirchú's Life of Patrick.

8. The yoking of two stags

The term *dam allaid* 'stag', literally means 'wild oxen'.[459] Bray points out that the motif of burying a saint where the designated oxen (*recte* stags) stop occurs in the Vitae of Enda, Molua and St. Patrick.[461] In the Life of Patrick from the Lebar Brecc, the term used for the animals bearing away Patrick's body is *dam allaid*, as in our text:[462]

> *Roas cosnam mor etir Airgiallu ocus Ulltu imoncorp, coneracht gabul fairrge etarru, conamarbad cach dib a cele. Atconaicset indsin airrthiur* ***da dam allaid*** *rempu cofhen etarru ocus incorp and. Tancatar rempu coArdmachai. Ocus roptar budig doDia. Roadnacht, tra, Pátraic conanoir occur ormitin, co fhertaib & mirbulib cechlathidib hiṅ Dun Lethglassi.*
>
> 'There grew up a great strife between the men of Oriel and the men of Ulster about the body, and an arm of sea arose between them, so that they might not kill each other. They saw before them in the east **two stags**, with a wain between them and the body therein. They went forward to Armagh and they were thankful to God. Patrick was buried, with honour and veneration, with daily wonders and miracles, in Dunlethglasse.'

The motif in our text then is very similar to that in the Life of Patrick, with one exception: Patrick is already dead, and Lí Bán chooses to die after she is taken by the stags. Thus the presence of this motif at this juncture in Lí Bán's story may signal her impending death,

9. *Death and baptism*

Lí Bán's death is one of her own choosing: after her capture, she is allowed to choose between living for another three hundred years, or of receiving baptism, dying immediately afterwards, and going to heaven to be revered as a saint. Lí Bán chooses the latter. Baptism of important or famous pre-Christian or non-Christian women occurs in a number of tales. Dan Wiley has discussed three of these baptisms and deaths in his

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[458] See *Betha Abáin* in Plummer 1922, vol. I: 7 = II: 6-7.
[459] *EIF* 272.
[461] *Bray Index*: 88. See also Cross 1952: B188 Magic Deer, B557.2* Saint carried by wild oxen [*recte* stags] and B557.3* Man carried by deer.
[462] See Stokes 1887: 486 (text) and 487 (translation).

article on the Christian-conversion typescene as a *rite de passage*.[463] Apart from our text, he discusses the baptism of Eithne by St. Patrick in *Altram Tige dá Medar*,[464] and that of the conversion of the daughters of Loégaire (also by St. Patrick) in Tírechan's *Collectanea*.[465] This element is also reminiscent of an episode in the Life of St. Brendan (of Clonfert). In three versions of his Life,[466] Brendan happens across the body of a dead giant heathen girl lying on the beach.[467]

According to Strijbosch, the basis for the story of the heathen giantess was an early story, similar to a story found in the *Liber monstrorum*, composed between 650 and 750 by an Irish or Anglo-Saxon author,[468] in which a fifty-foot girl was found dressed in a purple cloak, bound with saplings, and fatally wounded in the head. Strijbosch also refers to several entries in the annals about a dead girl.[469]

The story of the giantess in the Life of Brendan is more elaborate: she has been killed by a spear that pierced her shoulder and passed between her breasts. Her hair is yellow and her skin whiter than snow, or the foam of the wave. She is also enormous: she is a hundred feet long, with nine feet between her two breasts, and a middle finger seven feet long. Brendan brings the girl to life, baptizes her and asks her where she came from (or who her kindred are – the word used in the Irish text is *cenél*). The girl replies that she is of the inhabitants of the sea who pray and expect their resurrection. Brendan then asks the giant whether she wishes to go to Heaven at once, or return to her fatherland. The girl answers (in a language only Brendan can understand) that she wishes to go to Heaven. The girl is given the sacraments and promptly dies, after which she is buried by Brendan.

The similarities between this episode and our text are obvious: the skin of the giantess is very white, similar to the element *Bán* (white) in Lí Bán's name that possibly refers to her appearance.[470] They both live in the sea, speak to saints,[471] are baptized[472] and are

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[463] Wiley 1995.

[464] For and edition of the texts, see Duncan 1932; for Eithne's baptism and death, see p. 203.

[465] Bieler 1979; for the scene with the conversion, see pp. 142-45. See also Nagy 1997: 100-03.

[466] Clara Strijbosch mentions the following versions in Strijbosch 1999: 376 (both on the page and in footnote 30): The Vita of Brendan from the Book of Lismore (ed. Stokes 1890: 109-10, ll. 3678-91 (text) and p. 255 (translation); the so-called Vita of Brendan 2, which can be found in Plummer 1910, vol. I: 135; and the Vita of Brendan 7, edited in Plummer 1922, vol. II: 61.

[467] I am paraphrasing the following from the episode from Stokes 1890: 109-10.

[468] Strijbosch 1999: 382-83.

[469] Strijbosch 1999: 383 n. 61. The woman in the annals was found in Scotland, with a length of over 190 feet, with plaits between fifteen and eighteen feet long, fingers and a nose that were six or seven feet long, with a body as white as a swan or the foam of a wave; see AI 906, AU 891, AFM 887 and CS 900.

[470] See the discussion on p. 261 f. above.

[471] Lí Bán speaks to Beóán and Comgall (and in *Murgein is gein* to Columbanus of Bobbio)., and in *Fo Loch Echach* she even addresses Brendan.

given the choice of dying or returning to their life in the ocean.[473] Both women opt to die, and go to Heaven.[474]

This final section includes a significant number of motifs also found in hagiographical texts. Although many of the motifs in our text are not fully developed or elaborated on, I posit that the final prose section was a conscious effort to compose a (text reminiscent of a) saint's Life for Lí Bán, inspired by and/or modelled on other Lives. This would not only contribute to the reputation of Lí Bán herself, first a king's daughter, then a holy virgin who can cause miracles to happen, but would also increase the status of the monastery with which she was associated (Bangor in Ulster) and its founder Comgall. The composition of the prose section in which these elements have been incorporated may have coincided with the twelfth-century revival of this monastery, and Lí Bán would have been an important bridge between Bangor and characters from an illustrious past that deserves to be brought to light.

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[472] See *AE* §18, 199: *Ro baist Comgall hí...* 'Comgall baptized her...'.

[473] See *AE* §18,197-98: *a baisted 7 a tocht dochum nimi fo chētóir, isind ūair-sin. Nó a fuirech in comfot cétna...* 'She could either be baptised and go to Heaven immediately, or she could live for the same amount of time [that she had already lived]...'

[474] See *AE* §18,198-99: *Iss ē roga ruc-si: a estecht and sin.* 'The choice that she made was to depart (i.e. die) then.'

APPENDIX: A DIFFERENT GENEALOGY FOR ECHU IN BB AND LEC

Apart from the variant readings in BB and Lec, both manuscripts contain a different genealogy for Echu, immediately preceding our text in BB,[475] and on the page after our text in Lec, and forming part of the genealogy of the Dál nAraide. Notably, in this section, Echu is called Echu Saillne, and is associated with the place Duma mBó. Echu is here said to be of the Dál Sailne, and he is the son of Mairid mac Cairedo Boatho maic Mídgleith. Uiriu is his daughter, and she has a lapdog named Conbroc. Carn Uirenn and Carn Conbroic are named after them. Echu's fool is here named Calgmael. The Dál mBúain and Dál Saillne, descended from Conaing in *Aided Echach maic Maireda,* are here named after the brothers Feidlimid Búan and Feidlimid Saillne. The text in the manuscripts read as follows (I have added capitals and punctuation):

Book of Ballymote 168e (column on the far right towards the bottom of the page)

T*ri* m*e*ic Scan*n*lan Mælcaich: *Con*gal Cu*m*ascach, Feidlímíd Buan a q*uo* Dail mBuai*n*, Feidlimid Saillne. Hi*n*c Dail Saillne. Da m*e*ic índs*in* Eac*h*d*h*ac*h* Saillne m*e*ic M*a*red*h*o m*e*ic Cai*r*edo Boat*h*o m*e*ic Mídgleit*h*. Huiri soror eoru*m* i*n*gean Eac*h*d*h*ac*h*. Is di d*a*no ata Car*n* Uirea*n*d. *Con*broc, a hoirc, is de ata Ca*rnn Con*bruíc. Duma mBo Imbrib .i. mulluíg*h*e bo Eac*h*ac*h* Saillne. Calgmael a drut*h*, in*n*de Drui*m* Calgmail. D*icu*nt alíí ar de illo no*mi*nat*us* Loc*h* Ec*h*dac*h*.

Book of Lecan, 125v°b45-126r°a6

Eathach thuatha Dāl nAraide and so .i. Feidliimid (sic) Buan hic Dal mBuain, Feidlimid Saillne hic Dail Saillne. Da m*e*ic andsi*n* Eachach Saillne meic Maireadeatha m*e*ic Muireda m*e*ic Basaoto m*e*ic Midlaich. Hoeriu soror aidein .i. ingean Ech*ach*. Is de ita Carnd Eri*n*d. Conbroc a hoirce, is de ita Carn *Con*bruic. Duma mBo I*m*birb .i. i mBreagaib .i. muillchi bo Eachach Saillne Imbirb. Calcmael a druith inde Drai Calcmæil. D*icu*nt alii ar de [i]llo no[mi]nat*ur* Loch nEachach.

[475] This has been pointed out by Osborn Bergin (1929-30) 246.

VOCABULARY

This index contains a glossary for *De causis* and *AE*. After each entry, the text in which it can be found is given between brackets. If a word occurs in both texts, occurrences are listed per text. If stem and gender of a word are not given, they are unknown. An apostrophe after a word indicates lenition. A superscript n indicates nasalization.
Combinations, such as preposition + pronoun, can be found under the *first* element (e.g. ***duit*** can be found under ***do***). If a preposition forms part of an expression, the expression is given under the noun or adjective.
Verbal forms are listed under the pres. ind. 3 sg. absolute / deuterotonic. Early Old Irish words are indexed according to standard Old Irish spelling (e.g. ***ta-llēic*** may be found under ***do***-*léici*, rather than ***to***-*léici*). In the cases of simplified verbs, the new Middle Irish verb is given first, with the Old Irish form between brackets, e.g. **íarfaigid** (OI **íarmi-foïch**). If a verb occurs in both compound and simplified form, both are given under separate entries, e.g. **imm-tét** and **im(m)tigid.** Personal, tribal and place-names are given in a separate index. I have omitted the abbreviation *7* (*ocus*) from the index.

A

a', 'his', possessive pronoun 3 sg. m.

De causis: ***a*** §2,6, §3,12, §3,12, §4(b)20, §4(i)47, §4(k)56, §5,73

AE: ***a*** §4,15, §5,23, §10(c)145, §10(c)145

a, 'her', possessive pronoun 3 singular f.

De causis: ***a*** §5,72

AE*: *a §9,42, §9,44, §9(c)54, §9(l)91, §10,135, §10,136, §10(d)151, 10(d)152, §9(f)68, §12,160, §12,163, §14,179, §14,179, §16,186, §18,197, §18,197, §18,197, §18,198, §18,198, §18,199

a^{n} (***AE***), 'its', poss. pron. neuter, *a* §13,175

a^{n}, 'their', possessive pronoun 3 pl.

De causis: ***a*** §1,2, §3,12, §4(i)45, §5,74, §6,78

AE: ***a*** §2,9, §3,10, §4,13, §4,13, §5,18, §5,22, §6,25, §16,187, §16,187

a (***AE***), 'in', see **i** 'in', preposition

a, 'out of, from', preposition followed by dative

De causis: ***a*** §3,12

AE: ***a*** §1,3, §2,8, §17,194; combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. m/n. ***ass*** §14,178; combined with article dat. sg. n. ***asind*** §5,18; ***as*** for the preposition *a* + relative *a* 'out of which' §10(d)149

abair-siu, see **as-beir**

ab-bán (*AE*), 'very white', o, ā, nom. sg. ***ab-bān*** §10(d)151

acallam (*AE*), 'act of conversing with, conversation', ā, f, verbal noun of *ad-gládathar*, dat. sg. ***do accallaim*** §13,166

accuis (*De causis*), 'cause, reason', f, nom. sg. ***acuis*** §1,2

acht (*AE*), 'except', conjunction §7,30, §9(h)77, §13,175, §15,183

acht (*De causis*), 'except', preposition followed by accusative (see textual notes), ***act*** §1,4; ***acht*** §4(e)29

acht (*De causis*), 'body', ***acht*** §4(n)63

ada(e) (*AE*), 'fitting', io, iā, nom. sg. m/n. ***ada*** 'fitting' §10(e)155

adaig (*AE*), 'night', ī, f, dat. sg. ***ind aidchi-sin*** §5,18

adba (*AE*), 'abode, dwelling', iā, f, verbal noun of *ad-fen*, nom. sg. ***adba*** §9(a)46, §9(s)121, §9(t)125, acc.sg. ***hadba*** §9(f)67

ad-bad, see **at-bail**

ad-cota (*AE*), 'obtains, is able to, can', pres. ind. 1 pl ***ní ētam*** §5,21, perf. 3 sg. ***ra ét*** §9(d)59

ad-gládathar (*AE*), 'addresses', pres. subj. 1 sg. with infixed pronoun 3 sg. n. class c ***conid-ārlasar*** §9(p)107

ad-lói, see **as-luí**

adnacul (*AE*), 'burial', o, n, verbal noun of *ad-anaig*, nom. sg. ***adnacul*** §13,176

ad-suidi (*AE*), 'detains', ipv. 2 sg. ***asta*** §9(d)58

ad-teich (*AE*), 'entreats, prays to', pres. ind. 1 sg. ***a-teoch*** §9(g)72

ad-tluichethar (*AE*), 'rejoices at (with acc.)', pres. ind. 1 sg. ***a-tlochor*** §9(g)73

áebda (*AE*) (OI **oíbda**), 'beautiful, gracious, fine', io, iā, nom. sg. m. ***áebda*** §10(e)154

áeda, see **fíada**

agad, **aiged** (*AE*), 'face, countenance', f, acc. sg. ***aiged*** §6,26, ***haigid*** §9(c)56 gloss

aichne, **aithne** (*AE*), 'knowledge, recognition', io, n, later also f., vb. n. of *ad-gnin*, acc. sg. ***aichni*** §9(q)112

aided (*AE*), 'death (by unnatural causes', f, nom. sg. ***aided*** §1,1

áil (*AE*), 'wish, desire', nom. sg. ***áil*** §5,21

aile (***De causis***), 'other', io, iā, nom. sg. m. ***aile*** §2,6, §2,8, §4(f)35

áilges (***AE***), 'unrefusable request', ā, f, nom. sg. ***ālgis*** §2,6 (see textual note)

ailid (***De causis***), 'rears', perf. 3 sg. deut. with inf. pron. class c, 3 sg. m. ***rod-n-alt*** §3,10

aill (***AE***), 'other', o, ā, nom. sg. n. ***lleth n-aill*** §10,136, ***ainm n-aill***, §18,200

aimser (***AE***), 'time', ā, f, dat sg. ***ó amsir*** §12,164, acc.sg. ***co amsir*** §12,165

-ain, see **aingid**

aingel (***AE***), 'angel', o, m, nom. sg. ***aingel*** §17,193, §17,195; gen. pl. ***aingel*** §13,169

aingid (***AE***), 'saves, protects', fut. 3 sg. with infixed pronoun 1 sg. class a ***rom-ain*** §9(u)129; perf. 3 sg. with infixed pronoun 1 sg. class a ***rom-anacht*** §9(i)81

ainm (***AE***), 'name', n, n, nom sg. ***ainm*** §10,135, §18,199, §18,200

ainmnigidir (***AE***), 'names', pres. ind. pass. sg. ***ainmnigt[h]er*** §1,4

ainricht (***AE***), 'dreadful appearance', acc. sg. ***in [n-]anrecht*** §10(a)140

airbeirid (***AE***) (OI **ar-beir**), 'enjoys', in: **ar-beir bi(u)th** 'lives', perf. 3 sg. ***ro airbir bith*** §10(b)143

airdalta (***AE***), 'appointed, pre-ordained, fixed', participium of *ar-dáili*, ***erdalta*** §9(a)48

aire (***AE***), 'caring for, attention', ā, f, in: **téit aire** 'the mind goes to, is set on' ***masa th'airi téit*** §15,182

aire (***AE***), 'load, burden', io, m, nom. sg. ***m'aire*** (ms. ***máré***) §9(j)82

airecht (***AE***), 'assembly', f, here m? dat. sg. ***airiucht*** §15,185

airisem (***AE***), 'act of stopping', u, m, verbal noun of *ar-sissedar*, acc. sg. ***airisium*** §5,23

airmitiu (***AE***), 'honour, respect', n, f, verbal noun of *ar-muinethar*, dat. sg. ***co n-airmiten*** §18,202

airmuire (***AE***), 'sea-shore', io, n? gen. sg. ***airmairi*** §9(b)50

aitchid (***AE***), 'entreats, invokes', pres. ind. 1 sg. ***at-chim*** §9(g)72 gloss

aithed (***AE***), 'flitting, elopement', verbal noun of *aith-eth, o, acc. sg. ***aithed*** §2,7, §2,8

aitherrach (***De causis***), 'act of repeating', o, n, verbal noun of *ad-eirrig*; dat. sg. often used as a temporal adverb, meaning 'again, a second time' dat. sg. ***n-aitherroch*** §4(l)58

aithigid (*AE*), 'visiting, frequenting, occupying, inhabiting', verbal noun of *aithigid*, dat. sg. ***oca hathigid*** §6,27

aithis (*AE*), 'shame, reviling', f, dat. sg. ***fo athis*** §2,8

áit(t), 'place, dwelling', f.

De causis: acc. sg. ***cach i n-áit*** §4(j)51

AE: nom.sg. ***āit*** §4,14

ál (*AE*), 'brood', o, m?, nom sg. ***ál*** §9(c)55

alaile (*De causis*), 'another', io, iā, used substantivally, nom. sg. m. ***alaile*** §2,7

alam (*AE*), 'flock', n? dat. pl. ***co n-almaib*** §2,9

allaid (*AE*), 'wild' (in ***dam allaid*** 'stag'), i, nom. dual ***da dam allaid*** §17,193

amaires (*De causis*), 'disbelief, doubt', ā, f, dat. sg. ***amiris*** §4(m)60

amal, 'as (if)', conjunction, followed by a nasalising relative clause

De causis: ***amal*** §4(j)52

AE: ***amal*** §9(o)103, §17,195, §18,201, §18,202

amlaid (*AE*), (OI **samlaid**) 'thus, so', adverb, §2,9, §13,171

án (*AE*), 'bright', o, ā, gen. sg. n. ***āin*** §9(m)96; gen. pl. ***násad n-ān*** §9(r)116

-anacht, see **aingid**

anacul (*AE*), 'guarding, watching', o, n?, verbal noun of *aingid*, in: **anacul x ar y** 'protecting x from y' dat. sg. ***oca anacul ar uscib*** §12,161

anair, 'east of, from the east', adverb of place

De causis: ***anair*** §2,5, §3,13

AE: ***anair*** §14,177

and, see **i**

anfir (*De causis*), 'injustice', o, n, acc. sg. ***anfir*** §5,75

anfud (*AE*), (earlier **anbod**), 'storm, tempest', nom. sg. ***anfud*** §9(l)93, ***anfuth*** §9(m)94, acc. sg ***ainbthe*** §9(c)55

anglond (*De causis*), 'heroic deed, exploit', o, m, dat. sg. ***anglund*** §7,78

ánrath (*De causis*), 'warrior', o, m, acc. pl. ***n-ánrothu*** §4(d)26

ansae (*De causis*), 'difficult', io, iā, comparative ***ansu*** §4(f)34

ar (*AE*), 'said', §13,171; see also **for** and **ol**

ar, 'since, for, because', conjunction

De causis: ***ar*** §4(d)27, §5,71, §5,72

AE: ***ar*** §9,42, §11,158, §17,189, §17,191, §17,192

ar', 'before, out of, on account of, for the sake of', preposition followed by dative or accusative

De causis: ***ar*** §6,76, combined with poss. pron. 3 pl. ***ara*** §5,70

AE: ***ar*** §9(p)108; combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. n. ***hairi*** §15,182; combined with poss. pron. 3 sg. m/n ***ara*** §5,19, ***arna*** §17,195

ar^{n} (*AE*), 'our', poss. pron. 1 pl. ***ar*** §5,20

ara^{n} (*AE*), 'so that, in order that', conjunction, §2,7, with negative particle ***arná*** §5,22, ***arna*** §5,23; with negative particle and *ro* ***arnár (siblad)*** §5,23

ara-chrin (***De causis***), 'withers, fails, perishes', perf. 3 sg. prot. ***nád arrchiúir*** §4(d)28

araile (*AE*), 'a certain, some, another', acc. sg. m. araili §17,193; dat. sg. n. ***i n-araili lō*** §12,161

aram (***De causis***), 'act of reckoning', ā, f, verbal noun of *ad-rími*, dat. sg. ***árim*** §4(b)17

-archos(c)ed, see **in-coisig**

ard (*AE*), 'high', o, ā, nom.sg. f? *ard* §9(a)47, used substantivally acc. sg. ***for cach n-aird*** §12,164

are-rāncatar, see **ar-icc**

ar-icc (***De causis***), 'reaches, comes up against', perf. 3 sg. deut. ***are-rāncatar*** §5,73

-ārlasar, see **ad-gládathar**

ar-neät (*AE*), 'sustains, supports, protects', pres. ind. 3 sg. with Middle Irish infixed pronoun 1 sg. ***ardom-neät*** §9(m)94

ásaid (*AE*), 'grows, increases, arises, surges', perf. 3 sg. ***ro as*** §9(v)132

as-beir (*AE*), 'says, speaks', pres. ind. 1 sg. ***nī ebur*** §13,175; ipv. 2 sg. ***abair-siu*** §13,174; fut. 1 sg. with infixed pronoun 3 sg. n. class b ***at-bēr*** §9(q)110; pret. 3 sg. ***as-bert*** §2,7, §5,19, §5,22, §8,32; §17,189, §17,191, §17,192; pret. 3 pl. ***as-bertatar*** §3,10; perf. 3 sg. ***día n-ēba[i]rt*** §10(e)153; ***co n-érbairt-si*** §12,161

as-luí (***De causis***), 'escapes', pret. 3 sg. deut. with inf. pron. 3 sg. m/n ***ad-lói*** §3,12

asta (*AE*), see **ad-suidi**

at-bail, 'dies, perishes'

De causis: pret. 3 sg. deut. ***ad-bath*** §4(b)17

AE: pret. 3 sg. ***at-bath*** §11,158

at-bath, see **at-bail**

a-teoch, see **ad-teich**

athair (*AE*), 'father', r, m, acc. sg. ***in n-athair*** §9(g)72

a-tlochor (*AE*), see **ad-tluichethar**

at-reig (*AE*), 'rises', perf. 3 sg. ***at-raracht*** §7,29

at-tá, 'is', substantive verb

De causis: pres. ind. 3 pl. ***atát*** §3,12; conj. ***-fil*** §4(n)61, §4(n)63; conj. ***–thā*** §4(m)59; 3 pl. ***–tāt*** §2,7; pret. 3 sg. ***buí*** §5,72, 3 pl. ***bādar*** §5,72

AE: pres. ind. 1 sg. ***tú*** §9(d)60, ***at-tū*** §13,171, ***a-tú*** §15,183; 3 sg. ***i-tā*** §18,201; ***dia tā*** §13,169; ***fil***, §4,14; 2 pl. ***táthi***, §5,20; rel. ***fuil*** §9(v)133; impf. 3 pl. ***i mbūtis*** §9(e)64; pres. subj. 1 sg. ***-bēo*** §9(u)127, past subj. 3 sg. ***no beth***, §2,7-8, ***co mbeth*** §12,162, ***co mbíd*** §12, 163; fut. 2 sg. ***-mbia*** §15,185; 3 sg. with infixed pronoun 2 sg. class a dative ***rot fia-su*** sg §13,176, ***rot-fia*** §15,182; sec. fut. 3 sg. ***no bíad*** §12,162; pret. 1 sg. ***dīa mbá*** §9(g)70, ***bá-sa*** §9(h)74; 3 sg. ***baí*** §10(d)149, ***baī*** §2,6, §8,32, ***boí*** §3,10; pret. 3 sg. with suffixed pronoun 1 sg. ***baíthium*** §9(l)93; pret. 3 pl. ***batár*** §1,2, perf. 3 sg. ***ro boí*** §9(n)100, §15,180, ***ro boī*** §9,42, §10,135-36, §15,181, §15,183, §17,189; ***ro bo*** §17,189, §17,191; ***co rabi-si*** §12,163; perf. 3 pl. ***ro batar*** §13,168

aue (*De causis*), 'descendant', io, m, nom. pl. ***hUi*** §3,11; gen. pl. ***hUe*** §2,6; acc. pl. ***Auu*** §4(f)36, see also **úa**

augra (*De causis*), 'strife, trouble', acc. sg. ***augre*** §4(l)58

B

bádud (*De causis*), '(act of) drowing', o, m, verbal noun of *báidid*, nom. sg. ***báduth*** §4(o)67

baí, see **at-tá**

báidid, 'drowns'

De causis: pres. subj. 3 sg conj. ***–báda***, §4(n)63, fut. 3 sg. rel. ***báidfess***, §4(l)57, perf. 3 sg. pass. ***robádath*** §4(n)64

AE: fut. pass. sg. ***bāidfidir*** §8(b)38; pret. pass. sg. ***ō bate*** §9(d)61; perf. 3 sg. with infixed pronoun class a 3 pl. ***coros-báid*** §4,15-16; perf. pass. sg. ***ro báded*** §7,29-30, ***ro bāided*** §11,157, ***ro báided*** §15,183

báine (*AE*), 'whiteness', iā,f, nom. sg. §9(i)80

baisted, **baithsed** (*AE*), 'baptism', u, m, verbal noun of *baistid / baithsid*, nom. sg. ***baisted*** §18,197, dat. sg. ***īarna baisted*** §10,135

baistid, baithsid (*AE*), 'baptizes', perf. 3 sg. ***ro baist*** §18,199; perf. sg. pass. ***coro baisted*** §10(c)148

baithes, baithis, bathais (*AE*), 'baptism', m and f, gen. sg. ***bat[h]is*** §9(g)73

baíthium, see **at-tá**

bán (*AE*), 'white, blessed', o, ā, gen sg. m. ***báin*** §9(g)73

bárach (*AE*), 'morning', in: **ara bárach** 'the next day, on the morrow', ***ara bárach*** §5,19; ***arna bárach*** §17,195; in: **i mbárach** 'tomorrow', ***i mbārach*** §17,193 94

bárc, 'boat', ā, f

De causis: dat. sg. ***mbáirc*** §4(j)52

AE: acc. sg. ***bāirc*** §9(j)83; gen. pl. ***bárc*** §9(a)48

bás (*AE*), 'death', o, n later m, gen. sg. ***báis*** §5,23

batár, -batar, see **at-tá**

beirid (*AE*), 'carries', pres. ind. 3 pl. ***berait*** §6,25, ***bertait*** §17,195; past subj. 3 sg. ***ara mberad*** §2,7; past subj. 3 sg. with *ro*: ***co rucad*** §17,192; perf. 3 sg. ***ruc*** §4,14, ***ruc-si*** §18,199; 3 pl. ***rucsat*** §17,196

ben (*AE*), 'woman, wife', f, nom. sg. §1,3, §7,29, §9(b)53, §11,157; gen. sg. ***mná*** §9(e)63; acc. sg. ***mnaí*** §2,7

benaid, 'strikes, pounds, slays'

De causis: pret. 3 sg abs. ***mbí*** §4(c)22

AE: pres. ind. 3 sg. ***benaid*** §9(f)67

béo (*AE*), 'living', o, ā, gen. sg. m. ***bí*** §9(o)105

bés (*AE*), 'perhaps, indeed', adverb and conjunction, ***bēs*** §9(t)123

bíast (*AE*), '(sublacustre) monster', ā, f, gen. pl. ***bíasta*** §9(h)74

bicatán, see **biucatán**

bitbalc (*AE*), 'ever strong', compound of **bith** u, m, 'perpetual, ever' and **balc** 'strong', o, ā, dat. sg. m. ***bitbalc*** §10(d)152

bith (*AE*) (OI **buith**), 'being', ā, f, verbal noun of *at-tá*, acc. sg. ***bith*** §13,171

bith (*AE*), 'world, age', u, m, acc. ***tria bith sír*** §9(u)126

biucatán (*AE*), 'a little (while)', o, m, nom. sg. ***bicatān*** §9(c)57

blaissid (*AE*), 'eats', pres. ind. 1 sg. ***blaisiu*** §9(s)120, §9(t)124

bled (*AE*), 'whale, sea-monster', ***bled*** §9(i)78

blíadain (*AE*), 'year', ī, f, nom. sg. ***blīadain*** §12,160, §14,178; gen. sg. ***blīadnae*** §13,174; gen. pl. ***tri chēt blīadnae*** §9,42, ***tri chét blīadnae*** §9(d)60, §13,172

bráen (*AE*), 'moisture, water', o, m, acc.sg. ***brāen*** §9(g)73

brat (*AE*), 'mantle, cloak', ā, f, here o, m? nom. sg. ***brat*** §15,181, §15,183 dat. sg. ***don brut*** §15,182

brataid (*De causis*), 'plunders', perf. pass. sg. ***ro bratad*** §6,76

bratán (*AE*), 'salmon', o, m, dat. sg. ***bratān*** §10(d)152; gen. pl. ***bratān*** §10,135, §12,162, §12,163

bráthair, 'ally, brother', r, m,

De causis: acc. pl. ***mbrāithriu*** §5,69

AE: acc. sg. ***brāthair*** §2,7

breth (*AE*), 'bearing, carrying away, judging', ā, f, verbal noun of *beirid* acc.sg. ***breith*** §17,192

bríathar (*AE*), 'word', ā, f, acc. pl. ***inna brīat[h]ra*** §9,45

brónán (*AE*), 'sorrow, grief, distress', o, m, nom. sg. ***brónān*** §9(b)51

brú (*De causis*), 'edge', dat.sg. §3,12; ***brú*** §4(d)25

bruinne (*AE*), 'bosom, bow (of a ship)', io, m, dat. pl. ***fo brunnib*** §9(a)48

búaid (*AE*), 'victory', i, f, dat. pl. ***co mbúadaib*** §10(a)137

bunadas (*De causis*), 'origin, source', u, m, nom. sg. ***mbunadus*** (see note) §1,2

C

cach, 'every', pronominal adjective

De causis: nom. sg. m. ***cach*** §4(k)53, acc. sg. f. ***cach*** §4(e)31, §4(j)51, dat. sg. n. *cech* §5,74

AE: dat. sg. m. ***cach*** §15,185; acc. sg. m. ***cach*** §8(b)41; nom. sg. f. ***cach*** §18,201; dat. sg. f. §9,43; acc. sg. n. §9(r)118, §9(r)115, §12,164, ***cech*** dat.sg. f. §9(e)62

cách, '(every)one', m/f, substantivized use of *cach* 'every'

De causis: nom. sg. m. ***cāch*** §2,6; acc. sg. m. ***cách*** §5,72, ***chāch*** §5,75

AE: nom. sg. m. ***cách***; dat. sg. m. ***cāch*** §9(f)69

cacht (*AE*), 'captive, bond-maiden', nom. sg. ***cacht*** §10(d)151

caín (*De causis*), 'beautiful', i, nom. sg. n. ***caín*** §4(c)21

can, see **cen**

canaid (*AE*), 'sings', perf. 3 sg. ***ro chan-si*** §9,44; perf. pass. sg. used as act. ***ro chēt*** §10,136

capall (*AE*), '(work)horse', o, m, dat. sg. ***capull*** §4,13

caraid (*AE*), 'loves', pret. 3 sg. abs. ***carais*** §10(e)153; perf. 3 sg. ***ro char*** §10(b)141; perf. 3 pl. with infixed pronoun 1 sg. class a ***rom-charsat*** §9(i)79

carn (***De causis***), 'cairn, burial mound', o, n, nom. pl. ***cairnd*** §3,12, nom. sg. ***carn*** §4(c)23, see also **index of place-names**

carpat (*AE*), 'chariot', o, m, acc sg. *carpat* §17,194

cath (***De causis***), 'battle', u, m, nom. sg. ***cath*** §7,79; acc. sg. ***cath*** §4(i)47, §5,71; dat. sg. ***c[h]ath*** §5,72

ce', cía', 'although', conjunction

De causis: ***cé*** §4(l)58; ***ciabu*** §4(h)43

AE: ***cé*** §10(a)140; ***cīa*** §5,21; combined with copula past 1 sg. ***ciapsa*** §9(i)78, §9(i)78; combined with *ro* and copula past 3 sg. ***ceirbo*** §10(d)151

cel (*AE*), 'concealment, extinction, death', o, in: **téit for cel** 'dies', ***dul for cel*** §9(t)122

celebrad (*AE*), 'liturgical chanting', u, m, acc.sg. ***celebrad*** §13,169

cen' (*AE*), 'without', preposition followed by accusative, ***cen*** §5,21, §5,22, ***can*** §9,43, §16,187

cenn (*AE*), 'head', o, n, nom. sg. ***mo chend*** §9(h)77; dat. sg. ***fort cind*** §9(d)58; ***hi cind*** §13,174; in: **ar chiunn** 'before': ***ar cind*** §9(o)105; in: **for cenn** (for *ar chenn*) 'coming for, to fetch something', ***for cend*** §13,167

cenél (***De causis***), 'kindred', o, n, nom. sg. ***cenél*** §4(e)30

cengalta (*AE*), 'haltered', participle of *cenglaid* 'binds', ***cengalta*** §4,13

cert (*AE*), 'right', o, ā, adverbially **co cert** 'justly' ***co cert*** §10(a)139

certaigid (*AE*), 'scolds, admonishes', perf. 3 sg. with infixed pronoun 1 sg. class a ***rom-chertaig*** §9(o)104

cét, 'hundred', o, n

De causis: gen. pl. ***cét*** §4(c)24

AE: nom. pl. ***deich cét*** §2,9; ***tri chēt*** §9,42, ***tri chét*** §9(d)60; §13,171, see also index of names under Curnán

cethair (***De causis***), 'four', acc. pl. m. ***cethra*** §1,4, ***cethri*** §4(e)32

cetharlíth (***De causis***), compound of *cethair* and *líth*, u, m, 'four feast-days', hence 'a year', gen. pl. ***cetharlith*** §4(c)24

cethramad (***De causis***), 'fourth', o, ā, nom. sg. m. ***cethramad*** §2,5

cétna(e) (*AE*), 'same', io, iā, nom. sg. m. ***cétna*** §5,19, §18,198

cétóir (*AE*), 'the first time', in: **fo chétóir** 'at once, immediately', ***fo chētóir*** §18,197

chena (*AE*), 'indeed', ***chena*** §5,20

-chēt, see **canaid**

chon-rūalat[h], see **con-úala**

cía, see **ce**

cía (*AE*), 'who', ***cīa*** §9(p)109, §13,170, §13,175

cían (*AE*), 'long, enduring', o, ā, ***cían*** §9(d)59; ***hi cēin*** §9(u)127; ***co cían*** §9(u)129

cíanae (*AE*), 'length, distance', iā, f, ***fri rē ciana*** 'for a long time' §2,6

cíar (*AE*), 'dark, black', i, ā, dat. sg. ***a culchi chíar*** §9(u)128

cid (*AE*), 'what', neuter interrogative pronoun ***cid*** §13,169, §13,171

cinid (*AE*), 'is born, descends (from)', perf. 3 pl. ***ro chinset*** §7,31 see also **mad-chin**

cís (*AE*), 'tribute', u, m, acc. pl. ***císu*** §10(a)139

cland, 'kin, kindred', ā, f

De causis: nom. sg. ***clann*** § 6,76; acc. sg. ***claind*** §4(e)29, §6,76

AE: dat. sg. ***cona chlaind*** §7,30

cléirech (*AE*), 'cleric', o, m, nom. pl. ***na clérig*** §18,197; dat. pl. ***dona clēirchi*** §14,177

cleth (***De causis***), 'act of hiding, concealing', ā, f, verbal noun of *ceilid*, dat. sg. ***clith*** §4(e)29

clíathaire (***De causis***), 'sept, group, tribe', io, m, nom. sg. ***clíathaire*** §4(h)43

co, 'to', preposition followed by accusative

De causis: ***co*** §2,9, §4(f)36, §4(h)44, §4(i)48, §4(j)51

AE: *co* §4,12, §12,165, §13,166, §13,173, §14,179, §17,196; combined with personal pronoun 2 sg. ***chucut-su*** §13,173; 3 pl. ***chucu*** §4,12, §5,17

co^{n}, 'until, so that', conjunction

De causis: ***conde-tubert*** §5,73; ***corarchosced*** §5,74; ***conde-gegoinn*** §6,76; ***con tubraid*** §6,77

AE: ***co*** §2,6, §4,14, §5,17, §6,24, §8(a)37, §12,161, §12,162, §12,163, §12,164, §17,192; with infixed pronoun 2 sg.? ***conid-arlasar*** §9(p)107; combined with *ro*: ***coro baisted*** §10(c)148; ***coro troisctis*** §16,187 combined with copula ***conid*** §4,15, §4,16, §8,32, §9,43, §9,44, §9(e)65, §9(m)97; combined with copula and negative ***connách*** §3,10, conjunction combined with copula past 3 sg. ***combo*** §6,26; combined with copula and perfective *ro*: ***corbo*** §4,15, §17,191

co^{n}, 'with', preposition followed by dative

De causis: ***co*** §4(j)49; combined with poss. pron. 3 pl. ***cona***, §5,74, §6,77, §6,78

AE: ***co*** §2,9, §2,9, §4,13, §10(a)137, §18,201, §18,202; combined with poss. pron. 3 sg. m. ***cona*** §7,30

co cúalatar, see **ro-cluinethar**

co n-érbairt-si, see **as-beir**

co tici see **do-icc**

cobair (***AE***), 'assistance', f, nom sg. ***cobair*** §9(u)128

coicill (***De causis***), perhaps originally **coicell**, 'act of sparing', ā, f?, verbal noun of *con-ceil*, dat. sg. ***coicill*** §5,70

coimdiu (***AE***), 'the Lord', t, m, voc. sg. ***a Chomdi*** §12,161

coimsid (***AE***), 'ruler, lord', i, m nom sg. ***comsid*** §9(r)116

comairge, see **commairge**

comaithech (***De causis***), 'neighbour', o, m, acc. pl. ***comaithchu*** §4(b)20

commar (***De causis***), 'confluence', o, nom. sg. ***combar*** §4(k)55

comḟot (***AE***), 'equal length (of time or space)', ***comfot*** §18,198

comla (***AE***), 'lid, covering', d, f, nom. sg. ***comla*** §6,27

commairge (***De causis***), 'protection, security, refuge', dat. sg. ***chomairgi*** §5,74

comnaide (***AE***), 'act of abiding, stay', nom. sg. ***mo chomnaidi*** §9(o)102

comṡnám (***AE***), 'swimming (together)', dat. ***for comsnām*** §12,162

conar (***AE***), 'way, road, path', ā, f, dat. sg. ***conair*** §9,43, §12,163

con-baetar-sam, see **con-ben**

con-ben (***De causis***), 'smites', pret. 3 pl. deut. ***con-baetar-sam*** §6,77-78

conchuire (***De causis***), 'group, tribe', io, m, nom. sg. ***conchuire*** §2,5, ***conchaire*** §2,6, acc. pl. ***conchuiriu*** §1,4, ***conchairiu*** §4(e)32

conde-gegoinn, see **gonaid**

conde-tubert, see **do-beir**

con-icc, 'is able to, can'

De causis; pres. ind. 3 sg. prot. *-cumaic* §4(k)56

AE: pres. ind. 3 sg. deut. *con-ic* §9(r)115

conid-arlasar, see **ad-gládathar**

connaigid (***AE***) (OI **con-dieig**), 'seeks, demands', pres. ind. 2 sg. ***conaigi*** §13,176

contubratha, see **do-beir**

con-úala (***De causis***), 'ascends, goes up, mounts, raises', past subj. 3 sg. act., with *ro*, ***chon-r-úalath*** §4(l)58

corcra (*AE*), 'purple', io, iā? nom. sg. f. ***corcra*** §15,181, §15,183

cos (*AE*), 'foot', ā, f, dat. sg. ***chuis*** §9(f)69

cosnaid (*AE*) (OI **con-sní**), 'obtains', perf. 3 sg. ***ro chosain*** §6,27

crád (*AE*), 'wrath', acc.sg. ***crād*** §9(r)114

cráeb (*De causis*), 'branch', ā, f, acc. sg. ***cruíb*** §4(k)53

crann (*AE*), 'staff, pole, fishing rod', o, n, gen. sg. ***craind*** §10(c)145

crích (*De causis*), 'boundary', ā, f, acc. pl. ***crícha*** §5,74

crod (*AE*), 'stock, goods, load', o, m, acc. sg. ***crod*** §4,14, §5,22, §6,25

crós, see **crúas**

crúas (*De causis*), 'hardness', m, acc. sg. ***chrós*** §4(b)20

cruíb, see **cráeb**

cú (*De causis*), 'dog', n, m, nom. sg. ***chú*** §3,12 ; gen. sg. ***chon*** §4(c)23

-cúalatar, see **ro-cluinethar**

cuilche (*AE*), 'outer garment of skins (worn by monks), garment', m, dat. sg. ***culchi*** §9(u)128

cuire (*De causis*), 'group, pack', io, n/m, nom. sg. ***cuire*** §4(f)33, §4(f)35

cuirid (*AE*) (OI **fo-ceird / -cuirethar**), 'places, puts', pres. ind. 3 pl. ***curit*** §5,22; sec. fut. 3 sg. with infixed pronoun 1 pl. class a ***non-curfed*** §9(n)101

cuma (*AE*), 'grief, sorrow', t, f, dat. sg. ***cumaid*** §11,158

-cumaic, see **con-icc**

cummae (*AE*), 'shape, carving', io, n, verbal noun of *con-ben*, in: **cumma cáich** 'like everyone else' ***cumma cáich*** §15,181

curach (*AE*), 'coracle', o, m, gen. sg. ***curaig*** §13,168, dat. sg. ***fon churuch*** §13,169

-curfed, see **cuirid**

D

dā, see under **ingen**

dabach (*AE*), 'vessel', ā, f, dat. sg. ***i ndabaig*** §10(c)148

dáig (*AE*), 'because', conjunction, ***dáig*** §9(r)115

dáil (*AE*) (OI **dál**), 'convening', ā, f, nom. sg. ***dāil*** (ms. ***dūil***) §9(b)50.

dál, 'meeting', ā, f

De causis: nom. sg. ***dál*** §4(k)54

AE: gen. sg. ***mo dāla*** §13,172

daltae (*De causis*), 'foster-son', io, m, nom. sg. ***daltæ*** §3,10, ***ndalta*** §5,70

dam allaid (*AE*), 'stag', nom. pl. ***daim*** §17,195; nom. dual ***da dam allaid*** §17,193

dán (*AE*), 'gift', u, m, in: **i ndán (do)** 'destined to, fated', ***i ndān dóib*** §3,10

dano (*AE*), 'moreover, then', adverb, ***dano*** §1,4, §5,17, §5,18, §7,31, §10,134, §10,135, §11,158, §15,181, §15,184, §17,191, §17,191, §18,200, §18,201

dar, 'across', preposition followed by accusative, see also **tar**

De causis: §4(e)31

AE: §7,29, §8(a)36, §9(j)85, §9(n)101

dead (*AE*), 'end, conclusion', o, n/ ā, f, in: **fo deoid**, (OI **fo deud**, **fo diud**), 'at last, ultimately, eventually', ***fo deoid*** §2,6; in: **i ndiaid** (OI **i ndead**, **i ndiad**) '(following) after', combined with poss. pron. 3 sg. f. ***ina dīaid*** §9,43

degaid (*AE*), 'after, behind', old verbal noun of **do-saig*, in: **i ndegaid**, ***'na degaid-si*** §12,163

deich (*AE*), 'ten', numeral, ***deich*** §2,9

déicsiu (*AE*), 'act of looking, gazing', n, f, verbal noun of *do-éccai*, dat. sg. ***dēscin*** §15,180, §15,183.

deilm (*De causis*), 'sound, din', n, n, nom. sg. ***ndeilm*** §4(g)39

delb (*AE*), 'shape, form', ā, f, nom. sg. ***delb*** §14,179

-der[n]sat, see **do-gní**

derg (*De causis*), 'red', o, ā, nom. sg. f. ***derg*** §3,10, see also **index to personal names**

di', 'of, from', preposition followed by dative

De causis: combined with pronoun 3 sg. m. ***de*** §6,76, 3 pl. ***díb*** §4(f)33, ***diib*** §4(k)53, §4(k)56, §4(l)57; combined with poss. pron. 3 sg. m/n ***dia*** (*brú*) §4(d)25; combined with article dat. sg. m. ***dind*** §7,79; combined with relative *a* and pres. ind. 3 pl conj. substantive verb ***diatāt*** §2,7

AE: ***di*** §9(b)53; combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. m. ***de*** §6,25; 3 sg. f. ***dī*** §15,182, ***dī-si*** §10,136; 3 pl. ***díb*** §6,26; combined with poss. pron. 3 sg. f. ***dia*** §11,158; combined with relative *a*, ***dia*** §13,169

día (*AE*), 'day', used with qualifying gen. *dīa Domnaig* 'Sunday', §6,24

Día (*AE*), 'God', o, m, nom. sg. ***Día*** §9(o)104, §9(r)117, ***Dīa*** §10(d)150, §10(e)155, §12,160, §17,192, §18,202; gen. sg. ***Dé*** §9(r)114, §9(q)112, dat. sg. ***Dīa*** §9(p)108

día^{n} (*AE*), 'if', with subj. 'when', with pret./perf., conjunction, ***día*** §10(e)153; ***dīa*** §9,44, §9(g)70

díchride (*De causis*), 'coward', io, m, dat.sg. ***dí chridiu*** §4(o)65

dígal, 'vengeance, revenge', ā, f, verbal noun of *do-fich*

De causis: acc.sg. ***dígail*** §4(k)56

AE: dat. sg. ***dígail*** §16,187

di-legad, **di-legath**, see **do-lega**

dinetán (***AE***), 'a little (bit)', ***dinetān*** §9(c)56, §9(d)58

dlomaid (***AE***), 'announces, orders', in: **dlomaid x do y** 'expels, gives notice', pres. ind. 3 sg. ***dlomaid dóib*** §5,17-18

do', **t'**, **th'** (***AE***), 'your', leniting, poss. pron. 2 sg. ***do*** §9(c)56; ***th'airi*** §15,182; ***t'adnacul*** §13,176, ***t'inaid*** §15,184, §15,184

do', 'to, for', preposition followed by dative

De causis: *do* §2,8, §3,10, §4(g)39; §4(g)40, §4(h)42, §5,73; combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. m.: ***do***, §4(c)21; ***dó*** §4(i)46; §4(o)67; with personal pronoun 3 pl.: ***doib*** §2,9, §3,10, §5,69, §5,70, §5,74, ***doïb*** §4(j)49

AE: §1,3, §2,9, §3,10, §5,21, §8,32, §9,44, §9(c)57, §9(k)86, §9(o)104, §9(p)107, §9(p)108, §9(r)114, §10,135, §10(b)144, §10(d)152, §12,160, §13,166, §14,177, §16,187; ***d'*** §5,20; combined with article dat. sg. m. ***don*** §9(b)50 gloss; dat. pl. m. ***dona*** §14,177; dat. sg. m/f. ***don*** §15,182; combined with personal pronoun 1 sg. ***dam*** §9(a)46, §9(p)108, §9(t)122, §9(t)125, §13,175; 2 sg. ***duit*** §13,171, ***duit-siu*** §13,172; 3 sg. m. ***dó*** §5,23, §17,192, ***dō***, §9,42, §9(v)131, ***dō-som***, §4,13, ***dō-side*** §16,186; 3 sg. f. ***dī*** §16,188, §18,197, §18,199, §18,202, ***din*** 'for her' §18,200; 3 sg. n. ***dō*** §13,172; 1 pl. ***dūn*** §5,21, ***dún*** §9(e)63, §9(n)99; 3 pl. ***dóib*** §3,10, §5,18, §16,186, §17,195, ***doib*** §5,22, §5,23, §8,32; combined with poss. pron. 3 sg. m. ***día*** §16,185, ***dia*** §6,25, §9(f)69; 3 sg f. ***dia*** §15,180; sg. n. ***dia*** §13,172

do-airret (***AE***), 'catches, seizes, grasps', pret/perf. passive sg. ***tarras*** **§17,191**

do-airindi (***AE***) , 'lowers', ipv. 2 sg. ***tairind*** §9(c)56

do-airngir (***AE***), 'foretells, prophesies', perf. 3 sg. ***do-raingert*** §9(n)98

do-aisbenad, see **do-aisféna**

do-aisféna (***De causis***), 'shows', pret. pass. sg. deut. ***to-aisbenath***, §4(j)49

do-beir, 'brings, gives'

De causis: pret. 3 sg. deut. ***do-bert*** §2,9; ***to-bert-side*** §4(i)46; prot. ***conde-tubert*** §5,73; pret. pass. pl. ***contubrat[h]a*** §6,77; perf. 3 sg. deut. ***do-ratt*** §5,69

AE: pres. ind. 3 sg. ***do-beir*** §5,21; 3 pl. ***do-berat-som*** §4,13; ipv. 2 sg. ***tabair*** §9(c)56 gloss; 2 pl. ***tabraid-si*** §17,194; pret. 3 sg. ***do-bert*** §2,8, perfective pres. corresponding to *do-ucc* 3 sg. pass. ***mani thucthar*** §13,175; perf. 3 sg. ***do-rat*** §18,199, ***do[s]-rat*** §10(a)140; with infixed pronoun class a 3 sg. f. ***dos-rat*** §10(c)147; ***–tard*** (for ***–tarat***) §10(b)144; perf. pass. sg. ***do-ratad*** §10,134-35; pret. 3 pl. ***tucsat*** §18,197; pret. pass. sg. ***tucad*** §14,179; perf. 3 sg. with infixed pronoun class a 1 sg and hypercorrect f ***dom-fuc*** §9(h)76

dobrán (*AE*), 'otter', o, m, gen. pl. ***dobrān*** §9,43, §12,163

do-chúaid (*AE*), see **téit**

dochum, 'to', preposition followed by genitive

De causis: ***dochum*** §4(f)33

AE: ***dochum*** §18,197, §18,198

do-dechaid, **do-deochad**, see **do-tét**

do-ecmaing (*De causis*), 'happens to be', used as an impersonal verb with acc. and following adverbial phrase or equivalent, pret. 3 sg. deut. with deponent inflexion, with inf. pron. class a 3 sg. m. ***ta-n-ecomnec(h)air*** §2,5

do-fil (*AE*), 'is coming, is at hand', perhaps here 'rules', pres. ind. 3 sg. ***do-fil*** §9(p)109

do-fóidi (*De causis*), 'sends', pret. and perf. 3 sg. deut. with inf. pron. class a 3 pl. ***to-s-foíd*** §4(i)48

do-gní (*AE*), 'does, makes', pres. ind. 3 sg. ***do-gní*** §6,27, ***do-gnī*** §13,170; 3 pl. pass. ***do-gnīter*** §18,201; perf. 2 sg. ***do-rignis*** §5,20; 3 sg. ***do-rigni*** §10(d)150; in: **do-gní x for y** 'obeys', ***ní der[n]sat fair*** §5,18

do-icc, 'comes'

De causis: pres. subj. 3 sg. deut. with inf. pron. 3 sg. neuter, class c, ***do-d-í*** §4(f)34

AE, 'comes', pres. ind. 3 sg. ***tic*** §2,9, §5,19; ipv. 2 pl. ***ticid*** §8(a)34, §8(a)34; fut. 3 sg. ***ticfa*** §8(a)36; 3 pl. ***ticfat*** §17,193; past 1 sg. *tānac* §13,172; 3 sg. ***tánic*** §4,15, §5,17, §14,177, §14,178, §16,186; 3 pl. ***tāncatar*** §2,9, §15,180, §17,195; in: **co tici** 'until', ***co tici*** §4,14

do-idnaig (*AE*) (OI **do-indnaig**), 'gives, bestows, grants', perf. 3 sg. ***do-rid[n]acht*** §18,202

doilge (*AE*), 'harshness', iā, f, acc. sg. ***dulgi*** §9(m)95

doinenn (*AE*), 'storm, foul weather', ā, f, nom. sg. ***donend*** §9(k)88

do-lega (*De causis*), 'destroys', pret. pass. sg. ***di-legath*** §1,3; ***dílegad*** §4(d)27

do-léici (*De causis*), 'yields, leaves', impf. pass. sg. ***to-lécced*** §4(c)21, pret. 3 sg. deut. ***ta-lléic*** §4(i)47

do-lluid, see **do-tét**

do-meil (*De causis*), 'spends (time)', pret. 3 sg. deut. ***to-mmelt*** §4(i)45

dom-fuc, see **do-beir**

Domnaig, see **día** 'day'

do-moinethar (*De causis*), 'thinks', pret. pass. sg. ***to-mét*** §4(o)67

dom-ruacht, see **do-roich**

donend, see **doinenn**

donn (*De causis*), 'chief, noble, ruler (poetic word)', o, m, gen. pl. ***ndonn*** §4(h)41

do-rairngert, see **do-airngir**

do-ratad, see **do-beir**

do-roich (*AE*), 'reaches', perf. 3 sg. with infixed pronoun 1 sg. class a ***dom-ruacht*** §9(k)89

dos-rat, see **do-beir**

do-tét (*AE*), 'comes', past subj. 3 sg. ***co tudchad*** §2,6-7; ***do-deochad*** §9(n)99; pret. 3 sg. ***do-lluid*** §9(j)84; perf. 3 sg. ***do-dechaid*** §9(q)113

drech (*AE*), 'face', nom. sg. §10(d)151

dringid (*AE*), 'steps, advances', impf. ind. 3 sg. ***dringed*** §9(a)47

dron (*AE*), 'firm, solid', o, ā, nom. sg. f? ***dron*** §9(a)47

drong (*AE*), 'band', o, m, nom. pl. *druing* (ms. **dron*g*u**) §9(e)64

druí (*AE*), 'druid', d, m, nom. pl. ***a ndruid*** §3,10

drúth (*De causis*), 'jester, fool', o, m, nom. sg. ***drūth*** §3,11

dú 'place, land, ground', f?,

De causis: dat. sg. ***ós dú*** §4(b)19, acc. sg. ***dú*** §4(e)31

AE: dat. sg. ***dū*** §9(e)62

dub (*AE*), 'black', o, ā, nom. sg. m. ***dub*** §16,186

duine (*AE*), 'person', io, m, nom. sg. §9(i)78; acc. sg. ***fri araili nduni*** §17,193; nom. pl. ***for ndóeni uli*** §5,19; gen. pl. ***duni*** §10,136

dul (*AE*), 'act of going', verbal noun of *téit* nom. sg. §9(t)122, acc. sg. ***dul*** §5,21

E

é, 'he', personal pronoun, 3 sg. m.

De causis: ***é*** §3,12, §4(n)61

AE: ***hé*** §4,15, §4,16, §15,183, ***ē*** §9(r)115, §18,198, ***é*** §18,199, with emphasizing pronoun 3 sg. m. ***ē-sium*** §13,171, see also **sé**

é (*De causis*), 'they', personal pronoun, 3 pl., §2,5; ***hē*** §5,71, combined with emphasizing pronoun ***hē-sam*** §5,72; ***hē-som*** §5,72-73

-ēbart, **-ebur**, see **as-beir**

éc 'death,' m,

De causis: acc. sg. ***ēc*** §4(n)62

AE: nom. sg. ***ēc*** §11,159

ech (*AE*), 'horse', o, m, nom. sg. ***int ech*** §6,26; gen. sg. ***ind eich*** §5,22, §6,25, §6,26; acc. sg. ***ech*** §5,21; nom. pl. ***ar n-eich*** §5,20-21, gen. pl. ***a n-ech uli*** §4,13, gen. pl. ***ech*** §9(e)64; acc. pl. ***a n-eochu*** §5,18, ***cen eochu*** §5,21

echnat (*AE*), 'little mare', gen. pl. ***echnat*** §9(b)50

ēcraite (*De causis*), 'enmity', io, m ? nom. sg. ***hēcraite*** §5,72

ed (*AE*), 'it', independent personal pronoun 3 sg. n. ***ed*** §10,134

éicen (*AE*), 'necessity', ā, f, nom. sg. ***écen*** §15,184

éit (*AE*), '(a herd of) cattle', f, dat. pl. ***co n-étaib*** §2,9

én (*AE*), 'bird', o, m, gen. pl. ***én*** §9(s)121

-érbairt-si, see **as-beir**

estecht, **etsecht** (*AE*), 'departure, exit, death', verbal noun of **as-tét*, nom. sg. ***estecht*** (ms. ***éstecht***) §18,199

-ét, see **ad-cota**

etal (*AE*), 'pleasure', m/f, acc. sg. ***etal*** §9(t)123

-ētam, see **ad-cota**

eter (*AE*), 'between', preposition followed by accusative, combined with personal pronoun 3 pl. ***etorro*** §17,192

etercén, **etercían** (*De causis*), 'far, distant, remote', o, ā, used adverbially ***etircéin*** §4(f)34

ether (*AE*), 'vessel, boat', m, nom. sg. ***etha(i)r*** §9(e)65; dat. sg. ***ethur*** §15,180; acc. sg. ***ethar*** §9(j)83; acc. pl. ***ethra*** §8(a)35

etir (*AE*), 'at all' (preposition *eter* + personal pronoun 3 sg. n.), ***eteir*** §9,43; ***etir*** §15,183

F

fácbaid (*AE*) (OI **fo-ácaib**), 'leaves', pres. subj. 2 pl. ***mani fácthai*** §5,20; see also **fo-ácaib**

fácthai, see **fácbaid**

fadéin, see **féin**

fáebar (*AE*), '(cutting edge of an) axe', o, m, acc. pl. ***fǣbra*** §8(a)34

faircе, **fairge** (*AE*), 'sea', iā, f, dat. sg. ***forsind farrci*** §13,168; ***fond farrci*** §13,172; acc. sg. ***farrci*** §9(l)91

fál (*AE*), 'barrier, shelter, hedge', o, m, nom. sg. ***fál*** §9(m)95

farrad (*AE*) (OI **arrad**), in: **i farrud**, 'beside, in the company of', with possessive pronoun 3 sg. f. ***inna farrud*** §12,160

fecht (*AE*), 'time, occasion', ā, f, ***fecht and*** 'once, one time', §7,29

fecta, see **fichid**

féin, **fadéin** 'self, own' adjective and pronoun

De causis: gen. 3 sg. m. ***fodesin*** §5,73

AE: 1 sg. ***fēin*** §13,176; 3 sg. f. ***fēin*** §9,43, §17,192

fer 'man', o, m,

De causis: gen. sg. ***ind ḟir*** §4(e)30; acc. pl. ***firu***, §7,79

AE: nom. sg. ***fer*** §5,17, §5,18, §5,19; gen sg. ***fir*** §9(o)105, §9(u)128, §10(b)142, **§15,184**, dat. sg. ***fir*** §15,184, dat. pl. ***feraib*** §2,9

ferand, **ferann** (*AE*), 'land, domain, territory', o, n, dat. sg. ***asind ferand*** §5,18, ***'na ferund*** §17,189

fert, **firt**, **fiurt** (*AE*), 'wonder, miracle', u, m, acc. sg. ***in firt*** §10(d)150; nom. pl. ***ferta*** §18,201

-fia, see **at-tá**

fíada (*AE*), 'the Lord', nt, m, nom. sg. ***maéda*** (= ***mo ḟeda***) §10(e)153; ***moē[da]*** §10(e)155

fichid (*De causis*), 'fights', pret. pass. sg. ***fecta*** §7,79

fír (*AE*), 'true', o, ā, nom. sg. ***fīr*** §9,42

fírinne (*AE*), 'justice', iā, f, acc. sg. ***fírinni*** §9(c)55 gloss

flaith (*De causis*), 'kingdom', i, f, nom. sg. ***flaith*** §6,77

fo deoid, see **dead**

fó (*AE*), 'good', adjective and substantive, nom. sg. ***fó*** §9(k)86

fo' (*AE*), 'under', preposition followed by dative/acc., leniting, §2,6, §2,8, §9(a)46, §9(a)48, §9(g)70, §9(s)121, §9(t)125, §9(u)127, §10,134, §10,134; combined with article dat. sg. m. *fon* §12,165, §13,169; dat. pl. m. ***fóna*** §12,163; dat. sg. f. ***fond farrci*** §13,172; dat. sg. n. ***fon*** §12,160, ***font sruth*** §10(b)143; dat. pl. n. ***fóna*** §12,164; combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. n. ***fó*** §9(u)129, §9(v)133; 3 sg. m/n ***foī*** §14,178

fo-ácaib, 'leaves'

De causis: pret. 3 sg. deut. ***fo-ácab*** §4(e)32

AE: perf. 3 sg. ***fo-rācaib-si*** §16,186, see also **fácbaid**

fo-ceird, **-cuirethar** (*AE*), 'casts, throws, sends', perf. 3 sg. ***ro láe-side*** §1,3-4, ***ro lai-si*** §2,6, ***ro laí*** §13,166

fochond, **fochonn** (*AE*), 'cause, reason', o, m, nom. sg. ***fochond*** §5,23

fochraíb (*De causis*), 'proximate', with copula 'close, at hand', nom. sg. ***fochruíb*** §4(k)54

fo-fera, 'causes, brings to pass',

De causis: perf. 3 sg. deut. ***fo-ruër*** §4(g)37

AE: pres. ind. 3 sg. rel. ***fotera*** §13,171

fo-gaib (*AE*), 'finds', pret. 1 sg. conj. ***nīfúar*** §9(j)83, ***nīfūar*** §9(j)83

fogamar (*AE*), 'autumn', o, m, gen. sg. ***fogomair*** §6,24

foüt, see **fót**

foimti (*AE*), 'to be heeded, guarded against', verbal of necessity of *fo-moinethar*, nom. sg. ***fomtiu*** §9(r)114

follus (*AE*), 'manifest, clear', acc. sg. m. ***follus*** §10(d)150

fond (*De causis*), 'land, territory', acc. sg. ***fond*** §5,69

for, 'to, onto', preposition followed by dative or acc.

De causis: ***for*** §3,12, §4(b)20, §4(n)62, §5,71, §5,74, §7,78; combined with personal pronoun dat.: *for* + 3 sg. m. ***fair*** §4(k)56; *for* + 3 pl. ***foraib*** §5,72, §5,75; combined with personal pronoun acc.: *for* + 3 pl. ***forru***, §6,77

AE: ***for*** §1,4, §2,7, §2,8, §9(b)51, §9(p)109, §9(t)122, §9(v)131, §12,162, §12,164, §15,184; combined with article dat. sg. f. ***forsind farrci*** §13,168; combined with personal pronoun 1 sg. ***form*** §9(c)56 gloss;

fort-su §15,183; 3 sg. m. ***fair-sium*** §2,6, ***fair*** §4,13, §4,14, §5,22, 3 sg. f. ***forri*** §6,27; 3 pl. ***foraib*** §17,194; combined with poss. pron. 3 sg. m. ***fora*** §1,4; 3 pl. ***fora*** §16,187; combined with relative *a* ***forsa*** §5,20

for (***AE***), 'said', ***for*** §5,19, §5,20, §12,161, §13,169, §13,170, §13,170, §13,171, §13,172, §13,175, §15,182, §15,182, §15,184, §17,194, §17,194; see also **ar** and **ol**

forcetal (***AE***), 'instruction, teaching, admonishing', o, n, verbal noun of *for-cain*, nom. sg. ***forcetul*** §9(k)87

forgráinne (***AE***), 'fearsome, dreadful, hideous', io, iā, nom. sg. m. ***forgrāinni*** §16,186

formach (***De causis***), 'a large number, increase', nom. sg. ***formach*** (ms. *forniach*) §4(l)57

formna (***AE***), 'shoulder', io, m, gen. sg. ***formna*** §9(q)111

for^{n} (***AE***), 'your', poss. pron. 2 pl. ***for*** §5,19, §13,173

for-raig (***De causis***), here with *fri* 'overpowers, bears down on', pres. ind. 3 sg. deut. ***for-r-aig*** §4(k)55

fortacht (***De causis***), 'act of aiding or succouring, aid', ā, f, verbal noun of *for-tét*, acc. sg. ***fortacht*** §7,80

fortched (***AE***), 'slaughter, smiting', m, acc. sg. ***fortched*** (ms. *fortchind*) §9(d)58

fo-ruër, see **fo-fera**

fossad (***AE***), 'steady, firm', o, ā, nom. sg. f. ***fossod*** §9(c)54

fot (***AE***), 'length', in: **ar fut** 'through, throughout', §9,42

fót (***De causis***), 'sod', o, m, acc. sg. ***foüt*** §4(m)59

fota,'long, enduring', io, iā,

De causis: acc. sg. n. ***foto*** §4(g)37

AE*:** io, iā, nom. pl. ***fota §9(o)102

fotera, see **fo-fera**

fraig (***AE***), 'wall', i, f, nom. sg. ***fraig*** §9(a)49

fras (***AE***), 'shower, stream, gush', ā, f, acc. sg. ***frais*** §9(f)67

fri ré ciana, see **cíana**

fri 'against', preposition followed by accusative

De causis: ***fri*** §4(d)25, §4(i)45, §5,69, §6,76; combined with the article acc. sg. neuter: ***frissa*** §2,5; combined with poss. pron. 3 pl. ***fria*** §5,69;

combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. n. ***fris*** §4(m)59; combined with personal pronoun 3 pl. ***friu*** §4(k)55; ***fríu*** §5,74

AE: ***fri*** §6,28, §9(c)55; §9(f)67, §9(k)89, §9(m)95, §13,174, §17,193; combined with article dat. pl. m. ***frisna*** §13,174; combined with personal pronoun 2 sg. ***frit*** §9(q)110; 3 sg. f. ***fria*** §9,43; 1 pl. ***frind*** §5,20; 3 pl. ***friu*** §5,19, §5,22, §12,162, ***friu-som*** §3,10; combined with poss. pron. 1 sg. ***frim*** §9(t)123; 3 sg. m. ***fria*** §2,7.

fris-áilethar (*AE*), 'is prepared for, ministers to', ipv. pass. sg. ***frithāilter*** §13,173

frithlorg (*AE*), 'return-track', o, m, usually found after the preposition *i*; acc. sg. ***frithlorg*** §6,26

fúamm (*De causis*), 'noise, din', n, n, nom. sg. ***fúam*** §4(e)31

fúal (*AE*), 'urine', o, m, acc. sg. ***fūal*** §4,15, ***fúal*** §5,23

-fúar, **-fūar**, see **fo-gaib**

fuil, see **at-tá**

fuinche (*AE*), 'scald-crow, black fox', possibly a name for a female howling demon (see second thematic discussion under 2b), nom. sg. ***funchi*** §9(u)129. See also **Fuinche** in index of personal names

fuirech (*AE*), 'delaying, detaining', s, n, later o, m, verbal noun of *fo-rig*, nom. sg. ***fuirech*** §18,198

G

gabál (*AE*), 'act of obtaining, seizing, taking', ā, f, verbal noun of *gaibid*, dat sg. ***gabáil*** §3,10

gábud (*De causis*), 'danger', u, m, nom. sg. ***gábuth*** §4(o)68

gaibid (*De causis*), 'takes, seizes'

De causis: perf. 3 sg. ***ro-gab*** §4(k)53

AE: ipv. 2 pl. ***gebid*** §8(a)34; perf. 3 sg. ***ro gab*** §1,2, ***dīa ragaib*** §9,44; perf. pass. sg. ***ro gabad*** §14,178, §17,189-90

gaisced (*AE*), 'arms', o, m, acc. sg. ***a ngaisced*** §16,187

garb (*AE*), 'rough', o, ā, nom sg. n. ***garb*** §9(l)91

geilt (*AE*), '*geilt*, dweller', i, f, nom. sg. ***geilt*** §18,200

gein (*AE*), 'birth', n, n, nom. sg. ***gein*** §10,135, §10(a)137, §10(e)156, §18,200

gel (*AE*), 'white', o, ā, gen. sg. m. ***gil*** §9(q)111

gellaid (*AE*), 'promises oneself', perf. 3 sg. ***ro gell*** §17,192

gen (*AE*), 'smile', u, n, acc. sg. ***gen*** §9(b)52

ġeogaind, see **gonaid**

gerrán (*AE*), 'gelding', o, m, nom. sg. ***in gerrān*** §4,14

gilla (*AE*), 'youth, boy', io, m, gen. sg. ***gilli*** §2,6

glas (*AE*), 'grey', o, ā, nom. sg. f. ***gla*(i)*s*** §9(f)68

glé (*AE*), 'clear', nom. sg. n. ***scél nglē*** §9(j)84

glend (*AE*) (OI **glenn**), 'valley', s, n, nom. sg. ***glend*** §9(l)91

gnáth (*AE*), 'customary', o, ā, nom. sg. ***gnáth*** §9(b)51

gonaid (***De causis***), 'wounds, slays, kills', pret. 3 sg. conj. with inf. pron. class c 3 pl. ***conde-gegoinn*** §6,76; pret. 3 sg. ***ġeogaind*** §5,71

graig (*AE*), 'horses (collectivum)', i, m, nom. sg. ***graig*** §9(a)47

grés (*AE*), 'continuance', in: **do grés** 'continually, always', ***do gréss*** §9,43, ***do grēs*** §15,183

grïan (***De causis***), 'territory, land (held by an individual), sun', o, m, acc. sg. ***grían*** §5,69

gríanán (*AE*), 'bower, sun-room', o, m, dat. sg. ***ina grīanān*** §12,160

guidid (*AE*), 'prays, beseeches', pres. ind. 1 sg. ***gudim*** §9(u)126

guth (*AE*), 'voice', u, m, acc. sg. ***guth*** §10(b)144

H

haigid, see **agad**

hairi, see **ar**

hathigid, see **aithigid**

hé, see **é**

hēcraite, see **écraite**

hi, see preposition **i**

hingen, see **ingen**

hisin, see preposition **i**

hūad, see **ó**

hUe, **hUi**, see **aue**

I

í, see **sí**

i^{n} 'in', preposition followed by dative or acc.

De causis: ***i*** §2,7, §4(b)18, §4(b)18, §4(d)28, §4(j)51, §4(j)52, §5,69, §5,73; *hi* §2,6, §2,6, §2,7, §4(f)36, §4(h)44; combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. n. dat. ***and*** §1,4, §5,73; combined with article dat. sg. m. ***hisin*** §5,72; combined with relative particle *a* and copula pres. sg. ***indid*** §4(n)64; with relative particle *a* and copula past 3 sg. ***imbu*** §1,3, meaning 'when', ***i*** §4(c)22

AE: ***i*** §3,10, §3,10, §6,25, §6,25, §9,42, §9(h)74, §9(h)77, §10(a)140, §10(c)148, §12,161, §12,162, §12,163, §12,163, §14,178; ***i(n)*** §6,26; ***a*** for ***i***: ***a culchi*** §9(u)128; combined with article dat. sg. m. ***isin mís*** §6,24, ***isind*** §15,180; with dat. sg. f. ***isind*** §18,198; acc. sg. f.***'sin*** §8(b)39; combined with dat. sg. n. article ***isind*** §13,174, combined with relative ***a***, ***i*** §15,185, §18,202; ***hi*** §4,14, §9(v)131, ***i*** §9(e)64; combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. m/n ***and*** 'in it, then, there', §4,15, §7,29, §7,30, §8,32, §9,44, §9(d)61, §9(j)84, §11,158, §11,159, §12,160, §12,161, §15,180, §15,181, §17,193, §18,199, §18,201; combined with poss. pron. 1 sg. ***i'm*** §13,176; 3 sg. m. *ina* §9,44, ***'na*** §17,189, §17,191; with 3 sg. f. ***ina*** §9,43, §12,160, ***inna*** §12,160, ***'na*** §12,163; with 3 sg. n. ***ina*** §15,184; 1 pl. ***inar*** §9(n)100

íach (*AE*), 'salmon', o, m, gen. sg. ***īaich*** §9(h)77

íadaid (*AE*), 'closes (up)', perf. 3 sg. ***náro íad*** §7,29

íar 'after', preposition followed by dative

De causis: ***iar*** §4(i)47, ***īar*** §5,71

AE: ***īar*** §4,13, §4,15, §6,26, §6,27, §6,28, §12,163, §14,179, §16,188, §18,197, ***íar*** §6,24, §14,177, §18,198; combined with poss. pron. 3 sg. f. ***īarna*** §10,135, §10(c)147

íarfaigid (*AE*) (OI **íarmi-foïch**), 'seeks after, inquires about', perf. 3 sg. ***coro íarfaig*** §13,169, ***ro íarfacht*** §15,181-82.

íarfaigid (*AE*), 'inquiry, act of seeking', i, f, verbal noun of *íarmi-foïch*, nom. sg. ***īarfaigid*** §15,183

íarom, íarum (*AE*), 'then', adverb, ***íarom*** §17,189, ***īarom*** §2,8, §3,11, §9,45

íascaire (*AE*), 'fisherman', io, m, nom. sg. ***īascairi*** §10(c)146

il (*De causis*), 'numerous', i, comparative ***lia*** §4(b)17

im(m), 'about, around, concerning', preposition followed by accusative

De causis: ***im*** §5,75; combined with poss. pron. 3 pl. ***ima*** §5,71

AE: ***im*** §9(l)90, §15,183; combined with article acc. sg. f. ***immon*** §6,27; combined with article acc. sg. n. ***imma*** §17,193; combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. m. ***immi*** §9(v)132, §15,181; 3 sg. f. ***impi*** §15,180, ***impi-si*** §17,189

imbu, see preposition **i**

imchosnam (*AE*), 'contention', u, m, nom. sg. ***imcosnam*** §17,189

imdae (*AE*), 'abundant,' io, iā nom. sg. n. ***imda*** §9(e)62

imḟoichid (*De causis*), 'act of asking, requesting', verbal noun of **imb-fo-saig*? dat. sg. ***cona n-imochith*** §5,74

imm-aig (*AE*),'drives around, drives, pursues', perf. 3 sg. with infixed pronoun 1 sg. class a ***immom-racht*** §9(k)87

imm-beir (*De causis*), 'do, employ', sec. fut. 3 sg. deut. ***imme-bērath*** (ms. *imme-mērath*) §5,75.

immom-racht, see **imm-aig**

immorro (*AE*) (OI **immurgu**), 'moreover', adverb ***immorro*** §1,3, §2,7

imm-rá (*AE*), 'navigates', pres. ind. 3 sg. (rel.) ***imma-rá*** §9(e)65

imm-rádi (*AE*), 'thinks of, reflects on, meditates on', perf. 1 sg. ***imrordus*** §9(g)71

imm-téit (*AE*), 'travels, sets out', impf. ind. 3 sg. (rel.) ***immá-teged*** §9(f)69

immthigid (*AE*) (OI **imm-téit**), 'travels, sets out', 3 pl. pres. ind. ***imtigit*** §6,24; impf. 3 sg. ***no imthiged-si*** §12,164

imned, 'sorrow', o, n

De causis: acc. sg. ***imneth*** §4(g)37

AE: nom.sg. ***imned*** §9(e)62

imochith, see **imḟoichid**

imram (*AE*), 'act of rowing, sea-voyaging', u, m, verbal noun of *imm-rá*, dat. sg. ***oc imrum*** §13,168

imresan (*AE*), 'strife, dispute', o, n, verbal noun of *imm-fresna*, acc. sg. ***imma n-imresain*** §17,193

im-rordus, see **imm-rádi**

imthecht (*AE*), 'act of journeying, adventure', ā, f, verbal noun of *imm-tét*, acc. pl. ***imthechta*** §9,44

imtigit, **-imthiged**, see **immthigid**

imúallach (*AE*), 'proud', o, ā, gen. sg. m. ***imūallaig*** §10(a)138

in tan, see **tan**

in, ind, int, (in)na, a 'the' definite article; for combinations with prepositions, see under respective prepositions

De causis: **masculine:** nom. sg. m. ***in*** §2,5, §2,6, §2,7, §4(f)35; gen. sg. m. ***ind*** §4(c)23, §4(e)30; **feminine:** nom. sg. ***ind*** §5,71 **neuter:** gen. sg. n. ***ind*** §4(e)31.

AE: **masculine:** nom. sg. ***in*** §4,14, §5,18, §5,19, §10,136, §10(d)149, §13,169, §17,194, §18,198; ***int*** §6,26, §15,182, §16,188, §17,194, §17,194; gen. sg. ***in*** §2,6, ***ind*** §5,22, §6,24, §6,25, §6,26, §10(b)142, ***na*** §10,135; nom. pl. ***na*** §17,195, §18,197, ***ina*** §17,192; gen. pl. ***na*** §9(r)116, §10,136, §12,162; acc. pl. ***na*** §10,136; **feminine:** nom. sg. ***in*** §7,29, §9(a)47, §9(b)53, §9(b)53 gloss, §9(m)97, §9(s)118, §9(s)119?, §14,178; gen. sg. ***na*** §9(e)63, §14,177; dat. sg. ***ind*** §5,18, ***in*** §9(e)62, §15,184; acc. sg. ***in*** §2,7, acc. pl. ***inna*** §9,45; **neuter:** gen. sg. ***ind*** §8,32, §9(b)50, ***in*** §9,42, §10(e)156, §12,162, §18,200, §18,200; dat. sg. ***in*** §15,183; acc. pl. n. ***na*** §14,178

indid, see preposition **i**

ina diaid, *see* **dead**

inad (*AE*), 'place, in succession to', o, m, with poss. pron. 2 sg. ***t'inaid*** §15,184, §15,184.

inber (*AE*), 'estuary', o, m, acc. sg. ***in*** ***[n-]inber*** §10(b)141

in-coisig (*De causis*), 'signifies, indicates, points out', past subj. 3 sg. with *ro* ***corarchosced*** §5,74

indas, innas (*AE*), 'condition, appearance', u, n, verbal noun of *in-fét*, dat. sg. ***fon n-innas*** §12,165

indé, inné (*AE*), 'yesterday', adverb, ***inné*** §9(q)113

-indiltea, see **indlid**

indisid, innisid (*AE*) (OI **ad-fét**), 'tells, recounts, relates', ipv. 2 sg. ***innis*** §9(p)108; perf. 3 sg. ***ro innis*** §9,43-44, §14,177

indisin (*AE*) (earlier **indisiu**), 'act of telling, relating', n, f, used as verbal noun of *in-fét* and *indisid*, dat. sg. ***dia innisin*** §13,172

indiu (*AE*), 'today, the present time', adverb, ***indiu*** §4,14

indlid (*AE*), 'arranges, casts out', perf. pass. pl. ***ro indiltea*** §14,178

indred (*De causis*), 'incursion, foray', vb. noun of ind-reith, o, n, nom. sg. ***indreth*** §4(b)19

inge (***De causis***), 'except', preposition followed by accusative, ***inge*** §4(m)59

ingen, 'daughter', ā, f

De causis: nom. sg. ***hingen*** §3,12

AE: nom sg. ***ingen*** §1,3, §10(a)138, §10(b)142, §13,170; nom. dual ***dā ingin*** §11,157

ingnad (***AE***), 'remarkable, strange, wonderful', o, ā, nom. sg. m. ***ingnad*** §10(d)149; nom. sg. f. ***ingnad*** §14,179

innocht (***AE***), 'tonight', adverb, ***innocht*** §5,19

insin, see **sin**

inso, see **so**

ír (***AE***), 'anger', gen. sg. ***hír*** §9(c)55

ires(s) (***De causis***), 'faith', ā, f, dat. sg. ***di ris*** §4(m)60

is (***AE***), 'and', ***is*** §10(c)145

is 'is', copula,

De causis: pres. ind. 3 sg. ***is*** §4(l)57, , §6,77, §7,79; ***iss*** §3,12 pres. ind. 3 pl. ***it*** §2,5, §5,71, §5,72; rel. 3 sg. ***as*** §4(l)57; past 3 sg. ***ba*** §3,10, §4(a)15, §4(d)26, §4(o)65, §4(o)68, §5,70, §5,73; ***bu*** §4(c)24, §4(h)43, §4(o)67; ***imbu*** §1,3; past 3 pl. ***mbetis*** §4(j)52

AE: pres. ind. 3 sg. ***is***, §1,3, §1,4, §2,9, §7,30, §9(b)52, §9(j)84, §9(n)101, §9(q)111, §9(v)133, §10,136, §10(a)137, §10(e)155, §13,172, §17,189, §17,191, ***iss*** §9(r)115, §10,134, §18,198, §18,199; pres. ind. 3 sg. rel. ***as*** (ms. *is*) §9(g)72, §10,134; combined with negative particle ***ní*** §9(b)51, §9(e)63, §9(q)110, *nī* §9(t)123, §15,182; pres. subj. 3 sg. ***ba*** §9(j)84; combined with negative particle *ní* and *ro*, ***nīrbo*** §9(s)118, ***nīrbó*** §9(s)119, ***nīrab*** §15,184; past subj. 3 sg. ***cīa bad*** §5,21, ***arna bad*** §5,23; past 3 sg. ***ba*** §1,3, §14,179; past 3 sg. combined with negative particle *ní* and *ro*: ***nírbo*** §9(i)80; with *ro*: ***ro bo*** §17,189, §17,191

i-tā, see **at-tá**

L

la '(together) with', preposition followed by accusative

De causis: ***la*** §4(d)26, §5,70

AE: combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. m. ***leis*** §1,2, §2,7, §2,8, §2,8, §17,189, §17,191, §17,192, ***laiss*** §9(v)131; 3 sg. f. ***lēi*** §2,7; 3 pl. *leo* §4,14, §2,9, ***léo*** §2,9

lá (*AE*), 'day', io, n, dat. sg. ***i n-araili lō*** §12,161; dat. sg. ***isind ló-sa*** §13,174; ***in lá*** §15,183

-láe, **-lai**, **-laí**, see **fo-ceird**

láech (*AE*), 'warrior', o, m, nom. sg. ***lāech*** §16,186

laigid (*AE*), 'lies down', pres. ind. 3 sg. abs. ***laigid*** §4,14

laichnech, see **loíchnech**

lám (*De causis*), 'hand', ā, f, acc. sg., ***lláim*** §5,73; acc. pl. ***láma*** §5,71

lán (*AE*), 'full, whole', o, ā, nom. sg. f. ***lān*** §12,160; gen. sg. n. ***láin*** §9(g)70

léicid (*AE*), 'allows', ipv. 2 sg. with infixed pronoun class a 1 sg. ***nom-léic*** §9(c)57; ipv. 2 pl. ***lēcid*** §17,195; past subj. 3 pl. ***arná léictis*** §5,22

léir (*AE*), 'careful, zealous', i, adverbal use in: **do léir** 'carefully, diligently', ***do léir*** §9(p)107

ler (*AE*), 'sea, ocean', o, m?, acc. sg. ***ler*** §9(i)81

lesainm (*AE*), 'nickname', nom. sg. ***lesainm*** §9(i)80

leth (*AE*), 'half', s, n, nom. sg. ***leth*** §10,135, ***lleth*** §10,136, §10(d)152; masculine in ***in leth*** §17,194

leth (*De causis*), 'side', s, n, nom. sg. §2,6; dat.sg. ***for cech leth*** §5,74

lethaid (*AE*), 'spreads out', fut. 3 sg. ***co llethba*** §8(a)37

lethan (*AE*), 'broad', o, ā, nom. sg. f. ***lethan*** §9(f)68; acc. sg. f. ***lethain*** §8(b)39

lethrige (*AE*), 'joint kingship', io, n, acc. sg. ***lethrigi nUlad*** §6,28

lí (*De causis*), 'beauty', dat. sg. ***co llí*** §4(j)49

lí (*AE*), 'beauty', gen. sg. ***lí*** §9(i)80

lín (*AE*), 'fishing net', o, n, gen. sg. ***a lín*** §10(c)145; dat. sg. ***i llín*** §14,178, ***'na lín*** §17,191; dat. pl. ***ina línaib*** §9,44; acc. pl. ***na līna*** §14,178

lín (*AE*), 'number, full complement', n, n, nom. sg. ***llīn*** §2,9

linn, **lind** (*AE*), 'lake, body of water', f, nom. sg. ***lind*** §9(d)59; nom. sg. ***llind*** §9(f)68; dat. sg. ***fo lind*** §9(g)70, ***lind*** §9(h)76; ***for lind*** §9(v)131; acc. sg. ***lind*** §8(b)39; dat. pl. ***fo lindib*** §9(u)127

ló (*AE*), 'water', gen. sg. ***lō*** §9(u)127

ló, see **lá**

loch, 'lake', u, n

De causis: nom. sg. ***loch*** §4(l)58; gen. sg. ***locha*** §3,12, §4(e)31

AE: gen. sg. ***locha*** §8,32, §9(d)59, §9(g)70; dat. sg. ***fon loch*** §12,160

lodomar, see **téit**

lóg (*AE*), 'reward', s, n, nom. sg. ***lōg*** §13,175, §13,175; dat. sg. ***ina lōg*** §15,184

loíchnech (*AE*), 'abounding in ducks, blanketed with ducks', dat. sg. ***a llind laichnech*** §9(f)68

los (*AE*), 'end, butt, foot, point, tail', o, m, nom. sg. ***lus*** §10(d)149; in: **a los** 'on account of, by means of', followed by genitive ***a llos*** §10(c)145

lucht (*AE*), 'people', u, m, nom. sg. *lucht* §13,168

luid, see **téit**

M

ma', 'if', conjunction

De causis: combined with negative particle and pres. subj. 3 sg. of copula ***manid*** §4(n)61

AE: combined with negative particle ***mani*** §5,20, §13,175; combined with pres. ind. 3 sg. of copula ***masa*** §15,182

mac, 'son', o, m,

De causis: nom. sg. ***mac*** §3,10; acc. sg. ***macc*** §4(c)22, ***mac*** §5,70; gen. sg. ***maic*** §3,11, §5,73, ***maicc*** §4(g)38

AE: nom. sg. ***mac*** §9(e)63; gen. sg. ***meic*** §9(f)66, §9(r)114, §9(v)130, §11,157, §13,170, dat. sg. ***ō mac*** §9(q)112; acc. sg. ***mac*** §1,4, §13,166; dual nom. pl. ***dá mac*** §1,2

mad-chin (*AE*), 'well-born, fortunate' 'would that had...been born', ***mád-chin*** §9(e)63, see also **cinid**

maéda, see **fíada**

mag, 'plain', s, n

De causis: acc. sg. ***mag*** §4(f)35

AE: nom. sg. ***mag*** §9(e)64

maidid (*De causis*), 'bursts, breaks', fut. 3 sg abs. ***memais*** §4(a)16; pret. 3 sg. abs. ***memaid*** §4(h)41

maidm (*De causis*), 'breaking, bursting', n, n, verbal noun of *maidid*, nom. sg. ***maidm*** §4(g)38

maigre (*AE*), 'salmon (egg-bearing female)', io, m, (perhaps iā, f?) acc. sg. ***magri*** §9(s)120, ***maigri*** §9(t)124

mainister (*AE*), 'monastery', f. dat. sg. ***i'm manistir*** §13,176

mairfet-sa, see **marbaid**

mairg (*AE*), 'woe', indeclinable, ***mairg*** §9(b)52

mairid (*De causis*), 'remains', pres. ind. 3 sg abs., ***marid*** §4(c)23

maith, 'good, noble', i

De causis: nom. sg. m. ***maith*** §4(o)66

AE: nom. sg. m. ***maith*** §1,2, dual pl. m. ***mathi*** §1,2

mál (*AE*), o, m, 'chief, prince, noble', nom pl. ***māil*** §9(i)79

mandraid (*AE*), 'destroys', pres. ind. 3 sg. rel. ***mandras*** §9(c)55

mani thucthar, see **do-beir**

mar (also **immar**) (*AE*), 'as', conjunction ***mar*** §9(o)104

már, 'big, great', o, ā

De causis: gen. sg. m. ***máir*** §4(g)38, acc. sg. m. ***már*** §4(c)22; comparative ***má*** §4(o)65; ***maa*** §4(e)29; superlative ***moam*** §5,73

AE: nom. sg. m. ***mór*** §5,17, §16,186; ***már*** §9(r)117, acc. sg. m. ***mór*** §5,22; nom. sg. f. ***már*** §9(m)97, §9(s)118; nom. sg. n. ***mór*** §10(e)156; used substantivally acc. sg. ***mór*** §5,20; comparative ***mó*** (for superlative *moam*), used substantivally 'biggest reason', §10,134

marbad (*AE*), 'act of killing', u, m, verbal noun of *marbaid*, dat? sg. ***īar marbad*** §4,13, dat. sg. ***do marbad*** §5,21

marbaid (*AE*), 'kills', pres. ind. 3 sg. ***marbaid*** §5,18, fut. 1 sg. abs. ***mairfet-sa***, §5,19; perf. 3 sg. ***ro marb-side*** §16,186

márchath (*De causis*), 'great battle', u, m, gen. sg. ***márchatho*** (ms. *marcathu*) §4(o)68

máirt (*AE*), 'Tuesday', o, m, gen. sg. ***máirt*** §9(j)82

mass (*AE*), 'handsome', o, ā, gen.sg. m. ***mais*** §9(f)66, §9(v)130

matan (*AE*), 'early journey', o, m?, ***matan*** §9(k)86

matan (*AE*), 'morning', o, m (earlier ā, f) nom. sg. ***matan*** §9(j)82, §9(j)82; acc. of time? ***matan*** §9(s)120, §9(t)124

mbī, see **benaid**

mé (*AE*), 'I, me', independent pronoun 1 sg. ***mé*** §9(l)92, §9(m)97, §9(s)118, §9(s)119

medónach (*AE*), 'middle, central', o, ā, dat. sg. f. ***isin mís medōnaig*** §6,24

medrach (*AE*), 'merrry, joyous', o, ā, nom. sg. f. ***medrach*** §9(c)54; acc. sg. n. ***medrach*** §9(h)75

meilid (*De causis*), 'grinds, crushes', pret. 3 sg abs. ***milt*** §4(b)20

memaid, **memais**, see **maidid**

mend, **menn** (*AE*), 'clear', o, ā, nom.sg. ***mend*** §9(l)93, nom. sg. f. ***mend*** §9(c)54; acc. sg. n. ***mend*** §9(h)75

menma(e) (*AE*), 'mind, attention', n, n, acc. sg. ***menmain***, §1,4

mer (*AE*), 'foolhardy', o, ā, nom. sg. m. ***mer*** §9(q)110

mes(s)án (*AE*), 'lapdog', o, m, nom. sg. ***mesān*** §12,160; acc. sg. ***a mesān-si*** §16,186

messe (*AE*), 'I, me', stressed form of the independent pronoun, ***messi*** §13,170; ***missi*** §13,171; ***misi*** §13,173

methaid (*AE*), 'fattens', pres. ind. 3 sg. rel. ***méthas*** §9(l)92

mí (*AE*), 'month', s, m, here f, dat. sg. ***mís*** §6,24

mídenn (*De causis*), 'evil-hued', o,ā, nom. sg. *mídenn* §4(a)15

midithir (*AE*), 'judges', pres. ind. 3 sg. rel. ***midedar*** §9(r)117

midlach (*De causis*), 'fool', ā, f, gen. sg. ***midlaige*** §4(a)15

mílach (*AE*), 'full of animals', o, ā, nom sg. §9(l)93

milt, see **meilid**

mírbail (*AE*), 'miracle', f, nom. pl. *mīrmaili* §18,201

mithig (*AE*), 'timely', indeclinable adjective, *mithig* §9(t)122

mo' (*AE*), 'my', poss. pron. 1 sg. ***mo*** §9(a)49, §9(a)49, §9(h)77, §9(k)86, §9(o)102, §9(o)103, §13,172; ***mó*** §10(e)155; ***m'*** §9(j)82, §9(l)90, §9(t)123, §10(e)153

moch (*AE*), 'early', o, ā, dat./acc. ***matan moch*** §9(s)120, §9(t)124

moe[da], see **fíada**

mogénair (earlier **madgénair** (*AE*)), 'happy', ***mogēnair*** §12,162

mol (*De causis*), 'constant harping, repeated noise', o, m, nom. sg. ***mol*** §4(a)15

mrogaid (*De causis*), 'moves forward, advances', pret. 3 sg abs. ***mrogais*** §4(h)43

muc mara (*AE*), ā, f, 'porpoise', nom. sg. ***muc mara*** §9(l)92

muc(c)aid (*De causis*), 'swineherd', i, m, nom. pl. ***muiccithi***, §6,78; dat. pl. ***muccaidib*** §6,77

muc (*De causis*), 'pig', ā, f, nom. pl. ***mucca*** §6,77

muctrét (*De causis*), 'herd of swine', o, m, dat. pl. ***m[uc]trētaib*** §6,78

muir (*AE*), 'sea', i, n, nom. sg. ***muir*** §9(v)132; gen. sg. ***mara*** §9,42, §10,135, §10(e)156, §12,162, §18,200, §18,200; acc. sg. ***muir*** §9(h)75; dat. pl. ***fóna murib*** §12,164

múr (*AE*), 'shoal', acc. sg. ***dar múr*** §9(n)101

murbrucht (*AE*), 'sea-burst, outburst, tidal wave', nom. sg. ***murbrucht*** §9(m)96

murchorthach (*De causis*), o, ā, used substantivally, 'one coming from overseas', nom. pl. m. ***murchorthaig*** §4(j)52

murbruth (*De causis*), 'sea-boiling', o, n, dat. sg. ***murbruth*** (ms. *murbrath*) §4(b)18

N

ná (*AE*), 'not', negation used with ipv. ***nā*** §9(p)106, §9(p)106

nach (*De causis*),'any, some', o, ā, gen. sg. m. ***nach*** §4(o)68

nád (*De causis*), 'not', relative negative particle ***nád*** §4(d)28, §4(k)56, §4(n)63

náem (*AE*) (OI **nóeb**), 'holy', o, ā, nom. sg. m. ***náem*** §9(g)72

náem (*AE*) (OI **nóeb**), 'saint', o, m, nom. pl. ***ina naīm*** §17,192; gen. pl. ***na nāem*** §9(r)116, dat. pl. ***nāemaib*** §13,173; dat. pl. ***frisna nāemaib*** §13,174

náemóg (*AE*) (OI **nóebóg**), 'holy virgin', acc. sg. ***nāemóig*** §18,199

násad (*AE*), 'assembly', n?, gen. pl. ***násad*** §9(r)116

nech (*De causis*), 'any one', indefinite m. pronoun, nom. sg. ***nech*** §4(k)56

nech (*AE*), 'any', o, ā, nom. sg. m. ***nech*** §6,26

nem (*AE*), 'Heaven', s, n, gen. sg. ***nimi*** §18,197, §18,198; dat. sg. ***do nim*** §9(o)104, §9(p)108, §9(q)113, ***i nnim*** §18,202

ní, 'not', negative particle

De causis: ***ní*** §4(c)24, §4(o)67; combined with pres. ind. 3 sg. of the copula ***ní*** §4(k)54; combined with inf. pron. 3 sg. n. class a before pres. ind. 3 sg. dependent form of the substantive verb ***ní-thá*** §4(m)59; ***ní fil*** §4(n)61, §4(n)63

AE: ***ní*** §5,21, ***nī*** §5,18; see also **is** (copula)

ní (*AE*), 'thing', n, acc. sg. *ní* §9(r)115, §9(r)117

no ragad-som, see **téit**

nó (*AE*), 'or', conjunction, ***nó*** §18,198, §18,200

noco (*AE*), 'until, unless', ***noco*** §10(b)144, ***nóco*** §16,187

non-curfed, see **cuirid**

O

ó (*AE*), 'after, from the time that, since', conjunction, ***ō*** §9(d)59, §9(d)60, §9(d)61

ó', 'from, of', preposition followed by dative

De causis: ***ō*** §1,2, ***ó*** §4(j)51; combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. n. ***uad*** §4(h)42

AE: ***ó*** §12,164, ***ō*** §9(q)112, §13,166, §14,178; combined with article dat. sg. m. ***ón*** §7,30; combined with article dat. sg. f. ***ōnd***, §1,4; combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. m. ***úaid*** §13,166

oc' (*AE*), 'at', preposition followed by dative, leniting, ***oc*** §2,6, §3,11, §8,32, §13,168 ***[o]ca*** §15,183; combined with personal pronoun 1 sg. ***ocum-sa*** §13,176; 3 sg. m. ***oci*** §4,13, ***oc(c)o*** 'on that occasion', ***occo*** §4,15, ***oco*** §6,26; 3 sg. f. ***acci-si*** §16,188; 2 pl. ***acaib-si*** §13,173; combined with poss. pron. 3 sg. f. ***oca*** §6,27, §15,181, ***oca*** §12,161, ***[o]ca*** §15,183

óclaech (*AE*), '(young) warrior', o, m, nom. sg. ***óclaech*** §15,182, ***ōclæch*** §16,188

óen (*De causis*), 'one', numeral, combined with personal pronoun 3 pl. (partitive gen.) ***ōen n-ē*** 'one of them,' §2,6

óenben (*AE*), 'a single woman', f, nom. sg. ***ōenben*** §6,27

óenḟecht (*AE*), 'one go, one time', ā, f, acc. sg. ***i n-óenfecht*** §6,25

óeninad (*AE*), 'one place, the same place', o, m, dat. sg.***i n-óeninad*** §3,10

óenurán (*AE*), 'single individual, alone', diminutive of *óenar*, appositional dative with poss. pron. 1 sg. ***m'ōenurān*** §9(l)90

óinmit (*AE*), 'fool, jester', f, nom. sg. ***ōnmit*** §7,30

oirce (*AE*) (OI **orcae**), 'lapdog', io, m, nom. sg. ***orci*** §9,42

ol (*AE*), 'said', §13,175, §13,176; see also **ar** and **for**

olc, 'bad', o, ā, substantive use 'evil, harm'

De causis: dat. sg. n. ***ulc*** §6,76

AE: dat. sg. ***d'ulc*** §5,20; acc. pl. ***a n-uilc*** §16,187.

olchena (*AE*), 'besides', adverb, ***olchena*** §13,174, §14,177

oll (*AE*), 'all', o, ā, gen. pl. f. ***bíasta n-oll*** §9(h)74

ón mid (*De causis*), 'to the extent that, on account of', conjunction followed by nasalizing relative clause, ***ón mid*** §5,70, ***ōn mith*** (ms. *omnith*) §6,76

ón (*AE*), 'foam, froth', dat. sg. ***i n-ón*** §9(h)74

ón (*AE*), 'this, that', indeclinable neuter demonstrative, ***ōn*** §9,42

onóir (*AE*), 'honour, respect', f, dat. sg. ***co n-onōir*** §18,201

ór (*De causis*), 'hour', ā, f adverbial phrase **ind ór-so** 'now', ***ind ōr-so*** §1,3

orb(b)a (*AE*), 'patrimony, hereditary land', io, n, nom. sg. ***orba*** §3,10

Ord (*AE*), 'monastic order', o, m, gen. sg. ***Uird*** §13,167

ordaigid (*AE*) (OI **ordaigidir**), 'orders, ordains, institutes', perf. 3 sg. with infixed pronoun class a 1 sg. ***rom-ordaig*** §9(o)103

orgaid (*De causis*), 'slays', pret. pass. sg. ***ortae*** §4(e)30

ós 'over, above', preposition followed by dative,

(*De causis*): 'over, above', *ós* §4(b)19

(*AE*): ***ós*** §9(h)76; combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. m. ***úasu*** §9(v)132

os (*AE*), 'deer', o, m, gen sg. ***adba n-uis*** §9(f)67

óthmar, see **úathmar**

ot(t)rach (*AE*), 'dung-heap', o, m, dat. pl. ***fora n-ottraigib*** §16,187

R

rád (*AE*), 'talk', o, m, verbal noun of *ráidid*, nom. sg. ***rád*** §9(q)110

ragad-som, see **téit**

raidid (*AE*), 'talks, states', perf. 3 sg. ***ro rāid*** §17,191

ráig (*AE*), f, 'anger', acc. sg. ***(f)rāig*** §9(c)56

rán (*AE*), 'very noble, splendid', o, ā, gen. sg. n. ***ráin*** §9(g)71

ránic, **rāncatar**, see **ro-icc**

rann (*AE*), 'quatrain', o, m, acc. pl. ***runnu*** §10,136

rath (*AE*), 'gift, prosperity', o, n, nom. sg. ***rath*** §15,183

re^{n}, 'before', preposition followed by dative

De causis: ***ri*** §7,79 combined with article dat. sg. m. ***riasin*** §5,72

AE: combined with 3 sg. f. ***remi*** 'before, earlier', §4,13

reithid (*AE*), 'runs, causes to move', pres. ind. 3 sg. rel. ***rethes*** §9(i)81

rí, 'king', g, m

De causis, nom. sg. ***rí*** §4(i)45, §4(o)66, ***ríí*** §5,69; gen. sg. ***ríg*** §4(c)23, dat. sg. ***rīg***, §5,72; acc. sg. ***rīg*** §2,9, ***ríg*** §4(h)44, §4(i)48

AE: nom sg. ***rí*** §9(i)81, ***rī*** §1,2, §9(o)103, §9(p)109, §9(q)111; acc. sg. ***ríg*** §9(g)71

Ríagal (*AE*), 'monastic rule', ā, f, gen.sg. ***Rīagla*** §13,167

ríched (*AE*), 'Heaven', o, n, gen. sg. ***rīchid*** §9(g)71

richt (*AE*), 'shape, form, guise', u, m, nom sg. ***in richt*** §10(d)149; dat. sg. ***i rricht*** §9,42, §9(h)77, §12,162, §12,163, §12,163

ris, see **ires(s)**

ro chēt, see **canaid**

ro chosain, see **cosnaid**

ro indiltea, see **indlid**

ro láe, **ro lai**, **ro laí**, see **fo-ceird**

ro snó, see **snáid**

ró (*AE*), 'an over-great amount, too much', indeclinable, ***im romra ró*** §9(l)90

ro-cluinethar (*AE*), 'hears', narrative pret. 3 pl. ***co cúalatar*** §13,168

roga, **rogu** (*AE*), 'choice, act of choosing', nom. sg. ***roga*** §18,199; acc. sg. ***rogo*** §18,197

ro-icc (*AE*), 'reaches', perf. 3 sg. ***co ránic*** §5,17; 3 pl. ***co rāncatar*** §6,24

rom (*AE*), 'too soon', adverb, ***rom*** §9(t)123

rom-ain, **rom-anacht**, see **aingid**

romra, see **romuir**

romuir (*AE*), 'the sea, ocean', i, n, gen. sg. ***romra*** §9(l)90

rot-fia, see **at-tá**

ruc, **rucad**, **rucsat**, see **beirid**

S

sa (*AE*), emphasizing pronoun 1 sg. ***–sa***, §9(t)122, §9(q)110, §13,174, ***ciapsa*** §9(i)78, §9(i)78

saigid (*AE*), 'approaches', pret. 3 sg. with suffixed pronoun 1 sg. ***siachtsom*** §9(k)88

saigthin (*AE*), 'act of approaching', f, Middle Irish verbal noun of *saigid*, often preceded by *do*: dat. sg. ***dia saigthin*** §6,25

sair (*AE*), 'eastwards', adverb, ***sair*** §8(b)40

saithe (***De causis***), 'throng, multitude, group', io, m, nom. sg. ***saithe*** §2,8; §4(h)41, ***sathe*** §4(k)53

sanchan (*AE*), 'here and there, hither and thither', adverb, ***sanchan*** §8(b)40

scaílid (*AE*), 'scatters, divides', perf. 3 sg. ***ro scaīl*** §10,134

scar (*AE*), verbal noun of *scaraid*? nom. sg. §9(t)122

scarad (*AE*)'act of separating', u, m, verbal noun of *scaraid*, acc. sg. ***scarad*** §9,43

scaraid (*AE*), 'separates', pres. ind. 3 pl. ***scarait*** §3,11

scarthach (***De causis***), 'separated', o, ā, gen. pl. ***scarthach*** §4(h)41

scél (***AE***), 'story, tale', o, n, ***scél*** §9(j)84; ***in scēl*** (here m.) §9(n)99; acc. pl. ***scéla*** §14,177.

sceng (***AE***), 'bed', ā, f?, nom. sg. ***sceng*** §9(a)47

scíth (***De causis***), 'sad, tiresome, irksome', o, ā; in: **is scíth x la y** 'y loathes, dislikes x,' ***ba scíth la Ulad n-ánrothu*** §4(d)26

scor (***AE***), 'act of unyoking, unharnessing', o, m, verbal noun of *scuirid*, acc. sg. *cen* ***scor*** §5,22

sé (***AE***) (OI **é**), 'he', independent personal pronoun 3 sg. m. ***sē*** §13,169, §15,182, §17,194, §17,194

secech, see **sech**

sech, 'beyond, past', preposition, followed by accusative

De causis: ***sech*** §5,72; combined with personal pronoun 3 pl. ***seccu*** §6,77

AE: ***sech*** §10(a)139, §10(b)141

sechnón (***AE***), 'throughout', preposition followed by genitive, ***sechnón*** §12,162, see also **sethnu**

sein, see **sin**

sellad (***De causis***), 'act of looking, glancing', o, m, verbal noun of *sellaid*, nom. pl. ***sellath*** §4(d)25

sen (***De causis***), 'old', adjective, o, ā, nom. sg. m. ***ṡen***, §4(h)43; used substantivally ***sen*** 'an old being,'§4(c)24

sen, see **sin**

senchaid (***AE***), 'reciter of lore', i?, m, nom. sg. ***senchaid*** §10,136

sethnu (***De causis***), 'throughout', preposition followed by genitive, ***sethnu*** §4(k)54, see also **sechnón**

-si (***AE***) emphasizing pronoun 3 sg. f. ***si*** §2,6, §2,6, §9,43, §9,44, §10,136, §12,161, §12,163, §12,163, §12,164, §13,176, §13,176, §14,178, §15,181, §16,186, §16,186, §16,188, §17,189, §17,195, §18,199, §18,201

sí, (***AE***) 'she', independent personal pronoun 3 sg. f., ***sí*** §9(n)101, ***sī*** §13,171, §13,172, §15,180, §15,182, §15,184; ***hí*** §9,44, §14,179, §17,189, §17,190, §17,191, §17,191, §17,192, §17,195, §17,196, §18,199; ***í*** §1,3; combined with emphasizing pronoun 3 sg. f. ***ī-si*** §13,176, §13,176

-si (***AE***), emphasizing pronoun 2 pl. ***–si*** §13,173

siachtsom, see **saigid**

síar, 'westwards', adverb

De causis: ***siar*** §4(f)35

AE: ***síar*** §4,12, §13,173, ***sīar*** §8(b)39

síardes (***De causis***), 'southwestwards', adverb, ***síardess*** §4(h)42

siblad, **siblaís**, see **silid**

-side, 'the latter', anaphoric pronoun 3 sg.

De causis: 3 sg. m. ***-side*** §2,9, §4(i)46

AE: 3 sg. m. ***-side*** §15,181, §16,186, §16,186; sg. f. ***-side*** §1,4, §11,158

síl (***De causis***), 'seed, descendants', o, n, nom. sg. ***síl*** §1,3, ***síl*** §4(d)27, ***śíl*** §4(i)47

silid (***AE***), 'drips, pours out, urinates', conditional 3 sg. ***siblad*** §5,23; pret. 3 sg. ***siblaís*** §4,15, ***silis*** §6,26

sin, 'that, those', demonstrative

De causis: ***śen*** §4(j)51, ***sen*** §4(j)51, ***sin*** §5,72, ***sain*** §7,79

AE: ***sin*** §1,4, §4,15, §4,15, §4,15, §5,18, §6,24, §6,26, §6,27, §6,28, §7,31, §9,42, §9,44, §10,134, §10(e)155, §11,159, §12,163, §12,165, §13,171, §13,175, §13,176, §14,177, §14,178, §14,179, §15,184, §16,188, §17,192, §17,195, §18,197, §18,198, §18,199, §18,201; ***sein*** §10(b)142; combined with article ***insein*** §13,175

sír (***AE***), 'long', o, ā, acc. sg. m. ***sír*** §9(u)126

sírdeicsiu (***AE***), 'looking for a long time', n, f, dat. sg. ***ocá sírdescin-side*** §15,181

sírsaegul (***AE***), 'long life(time)', o, m, dat. pl. ***íar sírsæglaib*** §18,198

sís (***AE***), 'below', adverb of motion, ***sís*** §9,45

síu (***AE***) (OI **résíu**), 'before', adverb of time §2,7

sléchtaid (do) (***AE***), 'submits to', pres. ind. 3 sg. ***slēchtaid…dī*** §16,188

slúag (***De causis***), 'host', o, m, nom. sg. ***sluag*** §4(b)17

snáid (***AE***), 'swims', perf. 3 sg. ***ro snó*** §9(l)91

snaidid (***AE***), 'cuts, carves', ipv. 2 pl ***snaidid*** §8(a)35

snáidid (***AE***), 'swims', fut. 3 sg. ***snáifid*** §8(b)40; perf. 1 sg. ***ro snadius*** §9(h)75

-snó, see **snáid**

so (***AE***), 'this', demonstrative, ***sa*** §9(n)99, §10,136, §13,169, §13,174; combined with article ***inso***, 'this', demonstrative, §1,1

sochaide (***AE***), 'crowd of people,' iā, f, nom. pl. ***sochaidi*** §15,181

soïd (***De causis***), 'spreads', perf. 3 sg. *ro-śoí* §4(n)62

soïd, sóid (*AE*), 'turns', perf. 3 sg. ***niro soí*** §6,25-26, perf. pass. sg. ***ro soīed*** §12,162-63, §12,163

-som, -sium (*AE*), emphasizing pronoun 3 sg. m. ***–som*** §1,4, §2,8, §3,10, §4,13, §8,33, §9,42, *-sium* §2,6, §13,171

-som, -sium, emphasizing pronoun 3 pl.

De causis: ***som*** §5,72, ***sam*** §6,78

AE: ***-som*** §4,13, ***-sium*** §4,15

son (*AE*), 'happy', o, ā, nom. sg. n. ***son*** §9(k)87

srathar (*AE*), 'pack-saddle', ā, f, dat. sg. ***srathair*** §4,13

sruth (*AE*), 'stream', u, m, dat. sg. ***font sruth*** §10(b)143

-su, -siu (*AE*), emphasizing pronoun 2 sg. ***-su*** §13,173, §13,176, §15,183, ***-siu*** §13,172, §13,174

suide 'this, that, the latter', io, iā, anaphoric pronoun m/f

De causis: dat. sg. m. ***suidiu*** §4(o)66

AE: 'the latter', anaphoric pronoun (accented), dat. sg. f.? ***for sudi*** §9(b)51

sund (*AE*), 'here', adverb ***sund*** §9(d)60, §9(o)102

T

taeb (*De causis*), 'side', ā, f, dat. sg. ***toib***, §5,69

tair (*AE*), 'in the east', adverb, ***tair*** §10(c)147

tairchetal (*AE*), 'prophesying', o, n, verbal noun of *do-aurchain*, dat. sg. ***oc taircetul*** §8,32

tairind, see **do-airindi**

taistel (*AE*), 'travelling', o, m, dat. sg. ***īarna t[h]aistel*** §10(c)147

tan, 'time', f, in **in tan**: 'when', 'now', conjunction,

De causis: ***in tan*** §4(l)57

AE: ***in tan*** §13,168

ta-n-ecomnec(h)air, see **do-ecmaing**

tangnae (*De causis*), 'treachery', iā, f, acc. sg. ***ta ngni*** §4(n)61

tar, 'across', preposition followed by accusative

De causis: ***tar*** §1,2, §4(a)16, §4(f)35; see also **dar**

AE: ***tar*** §8(b)41; combined with personal pronoun 3 pl. ***tairsib*** §4,15, ***táirsib*** §8,32; see also **dar**

-tard, see **do-beir**

tarras, see **do-airret**

táthi, see **at-tá**

tec(c)aid (***AE***) (OI **do-icc**), 'comes', pres. ind. 3 pl. ***tecait*** §6,25

tech (***AE***), 'house', s, n, dat. sg. ***inar tig*** §9(n)100; acc. sg. ***tech*** §6,27

techt (***AE***), 'act of going, death', ā, f, verbal noun of *téit*, nom. sg. ***techt*** §5,21, §18,198, ***tocht*** §18,197

techtaid (***AE***), 'possesses, has,' perf. 3 sg. ***ro techt*** §9(q)112

-tēig, see **téit**

téit, 'goes'

De causis: perf. 3 sg. deut. *do-choid* §4(f)34

AE: pres. ind. 3 sg. *téit* §15,182; impf. ind. 3 sg. *no thēiged* §9,43; ipv. 2 sg. *nā tēig* §9(p)106, §9(p)106; conditional 3 sg. *no ragad-som* §2,8, pret. 3 sg. *luid* §4,12, §4,12, §5,17; pret. 1 pl. *lodomar* §9(v)131; perf. 3 sg. *do-chúaid*§10(a)139

-thucthar, see **do-beir**

tibid (fri) (***AE***), 'smiles (at), (on)', pres. ind. 3 sg. combined with relative *a* (spelled *i*) ***frisi tibi*** §9(b)52

tíchtu (***AE***), 'act of coming, coming to', n, f, verbal noun of *do-icc*, dat. sg. ***thichtain*** §8,32

tingellaid (***AE***) (OI **do-ingella**), 'promises', perf. 3 sg. ***ro thingell*** §17,195

tipra, 'well', nt, m

(***De causis***)**:** nom. sg. ***thipra*** §1,3; gen. sg. ***tiprat*** §4(g)38

(***AE***): nom. sg. ***tipra*** §9(b)53 gloss, §9(f)66, §9(n)100, §9(v)130, ***corbo thipra***, §4,15, ***combo thipra*** §6,26, acc. sg. ***immon tiprait*** §6,27, ***tiprait*** acc. sg. §7,29

tír, 'land', s, n

De causis: nom. sg. ***tír*** §4(c)21, §4(j)49, dat. sg. ***tīr*** §2,6

AE: nom. sg. ***tír*** §9(v)133; dat sg ***a tír*** §2,8, dat. sg. ***do thír*** §9(c)57, ***fo thír*** §10,134; acc. sg. ***co tír*** §14,179; acc. sg. m. (Middle Irish form) ***in tír*** §5,20

toirge (***De causis***), 'act of migrating', iā, f, verbal noun of *do-érig*, gen. sg. *torchi* §1,1; *torge* §1,2

toísech (***AE***), 'leader', o, m, nom. sg. *toīsech* §15,180

tomaidm, 'eruption, bursting forth of a lake or river', n, n

De causis: nom. sg. ***tomaidm*** §1,2; dat.sg. ***do thomaidm*** §4(g)40

AE: nom. sg. ***tomaidb*** §10,134

to-met, see **do-moinethar**

tond, tonn (*AE*), 'wave', ā, f, nom. sg. ***tond*** §9(a)49, §9(c)54, §9(h)76, §9(k)89, §9(l)92; dat. pl. ***di thonnaib*** §9(b)53

topar (*AE*), 'well, spring', o, m, dat. sg. ***don topur*** §9(b)50 gloss

tothlugud (*AE*), 'act of asking for, demanding', u, m, verbal noun of *do-tluichethar*, dat. sg. ***oc tothlogud*** §2,6

trá, 'moreover, then', adverb

De causis: ***trā*** §5,69

AE: ***trá*** §8,32; ***trā*** §2,6, §2,6, §7,29, §11,157, §12,160, §13,176, §17,192

trácht (*AE*), 'strand, shore', u, n, nom. sg. ***trācht*** §9(a)49, acc. sg. ***tracht*** (with short vowel?) §9(k)89

trāignech (*AE*), 'land-dweller'?, f? nom. sg. ***trāignech*** §9(s)119

tre', tri', 'through', preposition followed by accusative

De causis: ***tri*** §7,79

AE: ***tria*** §9(u)126; combined with personal pronoun 3 sg. f. ***trethi-si*** §18,201

treb (*AE*), 'house, farm, holding', ā, f, acc. ***treib*** §10(b)141

trén (*AE*), 'strong', o, ā, nom. sg. f? ***thrēn*** §9(s)119

tres (***De causis***), 'third', nom sg. m. §2,6

tri, 'three'

De causis: ***tri*** nom. pl. m. §3,12

AE: nom. sg. ***tri chēt blīadnae*** §9,42, §9(d)60, §13,171

tri', see **tre'**

tríar (***De causis***), 'three people, trio', o, m, nom. sg. ***trīar*** §3,12

tríath, 'sea, wave', n, m./f., gen. sg. ***trethan*** §9(k)89, acc. sg. ***trethain*** §8(b)41

troiscid (*AE*), 'fasts', past subj. 3 pl. ***ro troisctis*** §16,187; perf. 3 pl. ***ro troiscet*** §17,192

trom (*AE*), 'heavy', o, ā, dat sg. m. ***trom*** §10(b)143

túarascbá(i)l (*AE*), 'appearance, characteristics', ā, f, verbal noun of *do-fúarascaib*, nom. sg. ***túarascbāil*** §14,179

túath (*AE*), 'tribe, people', ā, f, dat. sg. ***día thúaith*** §16,187

tugae, tuige (*AE*), 'protection, shelter, roof', iā, f, nom. sg. ***tugi*** §9(a)49

tuile, 'act of flowing, flooding', io, n, verbal noun of *do-lin*

De causis: acc. sg. ***tuile*** §2,5

AE: gen. sg. ***tuli*** §9(b)53

tussu (***AE***), 'you', stressed form of the independent pronoun 2 sg. ***thusu*** §13,170

U

úa (***AE***), 'grandson, descendant', io, m, nom. sg. ***hŪa*** §10(e)154; gen. pl. ***Ūa*** §15,180, see also **aue**

úacht (***AE***), 'cold, coldness', u, m, nom. sg. ***ūacht*** §9(k)88

úar (***AE***), 'cold', o, ā, nom sg. ***úar*** §9(m)94

úar (***AE***), 'hour', ā, f, dat. sg. ***isind ūair sin*** §18,198

úar-fairge (***AE***), 'cold sea', iā, f, acc. sg. ***ūar-farrci*** §9(m)95

úathmar (***De causis***), 'terrible, dreadful, horrible', o, ā, nom. sg. ***óthmar*** §4(g)39

uile (***AE***), 'all', io, iā, acc. sg. m. ***uli*** §4,14, §5,21, §6,25; nom. pl. m. ***uli*** §5,20; §6,25; ***ule*** §17,192; gen pl. m. ***uli*** §4,13, acc. pl. m. ***uli*** §4,16, §5,18, ***uli***, §5,19

uisce (***AE***), 'water', io, m, nom. sg. ***usci*** §15,180, dat. pl. ***ar uscib*** §12,161, ***fóna uscib*** §12,163-4

uisceán (***De causis***), 'pool', o, m, nom.sg. ***uisceán*** §4(n)62

INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES, TRIBES AND PLACES

In this index, the names of persons, tribes and places found in *De causis* and *AE* have been combined. References are to line numbers. After each entry, the text it occurs in is given in brackets (so *De causis* and *AE*). If a name is found in both texts, the occurrences in these texts have been given under separate headings. If there is a significant variation in the way these characters are portrayed in each text, this distinction is discussed under each heading.

Index of personal names

Ailill Flann Becc (***De causis***), king of Munster and grandfather of Conall Corc, acc. *hAilill Flann Becc* §2,8-9, *hAilill Fland mbec* §4(i)45

Airiu (***AE***), daughter of Echu mac Maireda, drowned in the outburst of Loch nEchach; wife of Curnán the Fool, who prophesied said outburst, nom. sg. *Airiu* §8(b)38, §11,157, §11,157, see also **Uiriu**

Beóán mac Inli (***AE***), fisherman of abbot Comgall of Bangor, nom. sg. *Beōān* §10(c)146, §13,169, §13,175, §17,191; *Be[ō]ān* §13,170; gen. sg. *Beōān* §13,168; dat. sg. *Beōān mac Inli* §9,44; acc. sg. *Beōán mac Indli* §13,166; *Beōán* §14,177

Brénainn (***AE***), (St.) Brendan (of Clonfert), gen. sg. *Brēnaind* §9(o)105; acc. sg. *Brénaind* §9(u)126; voc. sg. *a Brénaind* §9(p)106

Cairid (***AE***), father of Mairid, grandfather of Echu and Rí (great-grandfather of Airiu and Lí Bán), §1,2

Coirpre (Lúachra) (***De causis***), son of Conall Corc, ancestor of the Éoganacht Locha Léin, gen. *Choirpre* §5,73

Colom (***AE***), Columbanus of Bobbio, dat. sg. *do Cholom* §10(b)144

Comgall Bendchoir (***AE***), Comgall of Bangor, founder of the monastery of Bangor, nom. sg. *Comgall* §13,166, §17,189, §18,199; gen. sg. *Comgaill* §10(c)146; *Comgaill Bendchair* §12,165; dat. sg. *do Chomgall* §14,177; acc.sg. *Comgall* §13,174

Conaing (***AE***), ancestor of Dál mBúain and Dál Saillne, nom. sg. §7,30, §8(b)38; dat. sg. *ón Chonaing* §7,31

Conbroc (***De causis***), Eochu's dog, nom. *Conbroc* §3,11, see also **Senchenn**

Corc mac Láre, also **Conall Corc** and **Corc mac Luigthig** (***De causis***), founder of Cashel, fosterson of the Corco Óche, nom. *Corc mac Láre* §3,10, *Corc* §5,73; gen. *Chuirc* §6,76; acc. *Corc mac Luigthig* §5,70

Curnán (***AE***), jester of Echu mac Maireda, married to Echu's daughter Airiu, nom. sg. *Curnān* §7,30, §7,32, §9(n)98; §11,158; gen. sg. *Curnān* §11,158, §11,159

Dubthach Dóeltenga, also **Dubthach Dóel** or **Dubthach Dóeltengach** (***De causis***), legendary ancestor of the Corco Óche, gen. *Dubthig Dōeltengath* §1,3-4, *Dubthaig Dáil* §4(d)27

Ébliu ingen Gúairi (***AE***), wife of Mairid, stepmother of Echu and Rí, nom. sg. *Ēbliu ingen Gúari* §1,3; dat. sg. *Ēblind* §1,4, acc. sg. *Ēblind* §2,8

Echu mac Mairetho, also **Eochu (Find) mac Maireda**, **Eochaid**

De causis: son of Mairid, father of Uiriu**,** nom. *Eochu* §4(n)64, §4(o)65; gen. *Eochath maic Muireda* §3,11; acc. *Eochu* (recte *Eochaig*) *mār mac Mairedo* §4(c)22

AE: son of Mairid, brother of Rí, father of Lí Bán and Airiu, father-in-law to Curnán, nom. sg. *Eochaid* §1,2, §2,8, §5,20; *Eocho* §5,17, §6,27, §6,27, §7,30; *Eocho Find* §9(d)61; gen. sg. *Echach meic Máireda* §1,1; *Echach* §10(a)138; *Echach Find meic Maireda* §11,157; *Echach meic Maireda* §12,165; acc. sg. *Eochaid* §1,4, §15,183

Feidlimith (***De causis***), acc. *Feidlimith* (mss. *Feidlimthi*) §4(e)30

Fergus ó Míliuc (***AE***), '*Fergus from Meelick*', fisherman of abbot Comgall of Bangor, nom. sg. *Fergus* §17,191; gen. sg. *Fergusa ō Míliuc* §14,178-79

Fíachna (***AE***), king of Loch Léin, nom. sg. *Fīachna* §9(q)111

Fuinche (***AE***), '*Scald-crow/Black Fox*'?, alternative name for Lí Bán, nom. sg. §18,200. See also **fuinche** in the glossary **and Thematics II, section A**

Grigar (***AE***), Pope Gregory the Great, gen. sg. *Grigair* §13,167

Ísu (***AE***), Jesus, nom. sg. §10(a)140

Ita Clúana (***De causis***), St. Ita, patron saint of the Corco Óche, later of the Ui Ḟidgeinti, gen. *nÍta Clūana* §7,80

Láir Derg (***De causis***), foster-mother of Conall Corc, daughter of Moathaire of the Corco Óche, nom. §3,10

Lí Bán (*AE*), daughter of Echu mac Maireda, nom. sg. *Lī Bān* §7,30, §8(b)40, §9,42, §13,170; *Lí Bān* §10(b)142, §11,157; *Lī Bān ingen Echach meic Maireda* §13,170-71; dat. sg. *do Lí Bān* §10,135; *do Lī Bān* §12,160

Luccreth (moccu Chíara) (***De causis***), composer of *Ba mol Mídend midlaige*, nom. *Lucreth* §4,14

Maine Munchaín (***De causis***), ancestor of the Ui Fidgeinti, gen. *Maine Munchaīn* §6,76

Mairith, also **Mairid**

***De causis*:** father of Echu, gen. *Muireda* §3,11, *Mairedo* §4(c)22, *Mairetho* §4(g)38

***AE*:** father of Echu and Rí, king of Munster, son of Cairid, nom. sg. *Mairid mac Cáiredo* §1,2; *Maírid* §1,3; gen. *Maireda* §9(f)66, §9(v)130

Mídend (for Mídenn) (***De causis***), Echu's fool or jester, who prophesied the outburst of the water Linnmuine across the plain Líathmuine, nom. *Mīdend* §3,11, §4,14; see also **Curnán**

Midir (*AE*), supernatural ruler of Mag Breg, nom. sg. §4,12

Mothaire (***De causis***), father of Láir Derg, of the Corco Óche, gen. *Moathaire* §4(e)29

Muiredach mac Fíachach Findamnais (*AE*), joint king of Ulster with Echu, acc sg. *Muridach mac Fīachach Findamnais* §6,28

Muirgeilt (*AE*), alternative name for Lí Bán, nom. sg. *in Murgelt* §9(m)97; *in Murgeilt* §9(s)118; *Muirgeilt* §18,200; gen. sg. *na Murgelti* §14,178

Muirgein (*AE*), alternative name for Lí Bán, nom sg. *Murgen* §10,135; *Murgein* §10(a)137, §10(e)156, §18,199

Óengus (In Mac Óc) (*AE*), supernatural ruler of the Brug Maic Ind Óic, nom. sg. *Ōengus* §5,21

Óengus hŪa Oiblenn (*AE*), Óengus [the Culdee], descendant of Óiblen, writer of *Félire Óengusso,* nom. sg. *Ōengus hŪa Āiblenn* §10(e)154

Rí mac Maireda (*AE*), brother of Echu, nom. sg. *Rīb* §1,3, §2,7, §2,9, §4,12

Senchenn (***De causis***), perhaps Echu's dog, gen. *Senchinn* §4(c)23, see also **Conbroc**

Uiriu (***De causis***), daughter of Echu mac Mairetho, in other sources usually spelled nom. *hUiriu* §3,12, see also **Airiu**

Index of population groups

Ciarraige Lúachra (***De causis***), population group in West Munster; the Corco Óche were sent to live next to them, acc. *Ciarraige Lóchræ* §5,70

Corc' Ōche (for **Corco Óche**) (***De causis***), population group descended from Dubthach Dóeltengath and Echu mac Mairetho, nom. §2,5, 2,7, 2,8; gen. *Corc' Ōche* §1,1, §1,2; dat. *C[h]orc' Ōche* §3,10, *Corc' Ōche* §7,79, see also **Dál Ócha**

Cruithni (***De causis***), the Picts, a group of peoples in northeastern Ireland, consisting of the gentes Dál nAraide, Latharnae and the Ui Derco Chéin, nom. *Cruithne* §2,6

Dál mBúain (***AE***), population group, in this text descended from Conaing, nom. §7,31

Dál nAraide (***AE***), population group in (north-east) Ulster; subdivision of the Cruithni, gen. *Dāil Araide* §13,173-74

Dál Ócha (***De causis***), the Corco Óche, dat. *Dáil Óche* §4(g)39, see also **Corco Che**

Dál Sailne (***AE***), population group, in this text descended from Conaing, nom. §7,31

Éoganacht (***De causis***), population group, descended from Conall Corc, nom. *Ēoganacht* §3,11

Osairge (also **Osraige**) (***De causis***), population group in Leinster, acc. *Osairge* §5,71

Uí Chonaing (***AE***), the descendants of Conaing, gen. *Ūa Conaing* §15,180-81

Ui Chrimthainn (***De causis***), population group from around Farney, co. Monaghan acc. *Auu Cremthain* §4(f)36

Ui Chruimthir, possibly for **Ui Chrimthainn** (***De causis***), gen. *hUe Crumthir* §2,6

Ui Derco Chéin (***De causis***), a dynasty of the Cruithni who probably ruled over the area around Belfast, gen. *Derco Cheín* §4(f)33

Ui Maic Láre (***De causis***), other name for the Éoganacht, nom. §3,11

Ulaid (***AE***), the Ulaid, the Ulstermen, acc. *Ultu* §10,134

Index of places

Aurchonn (***De causis***), possibly a place in West Munster, where the Corco Óche re-settled with Coirpre, son of Conall Corc, gen. *Aurchuind* §5,69

Aurmumu (***De causis***), East Munster, Ormond, nom. *ind Aurmumu* §5,71

Belach da Liac (***AE***), perhaps present Ballyleague, on the border of county Roscommon and county Longford, dat. sg. *Beluch da Liac* §3,11

Bruig Maic Ind Óc (***AE***), present Newgrange, co.Westmeath, dat. sg. *a Bruig Meic Ind Óc* §1,3; acc. *in mBruig Meic Ind Óc* §5,17

Cais(s)el (***De causis***), Cashel, gen. *Caisil* §5,69; dat. *Chassiul* §2,8

Carn Airend (***AE***), '*Airiu's Cairn*', dat. sg. *a Carnd Airend* §17,194

Carn Cornáin (***AE***), '*Curnán's Cairn*', nom. sg. *Carnd Cornā[i]n* §11,158

Cennibrae (***De causis***), ?, gen. *Cennibrae* §4(i)47

Clūain Baird maic Augaini (***De causis***), name of the land given to a branch of the Corco Óche by Ailill Flann Becc, acc. *Clúain Baird maic Augaine* §2,9, *Cluain Baird maic Augaini* §4(j)50

Cúil Breg (***De causis***), ?, dat./acc. *Cūla Breg* (sic) §2,7

Cúil Meinde (***De causis***), perhaps also Cuil, Cuillen?, gen. *Cūla Meinde* §7,79

Droichet Meinde (***De causis***), Mendrohid, co. Laois?, gen. *Drochet Meinde* §5,71

Ériu, Ireland

***De causis*:** Ireland, gen. *Ēren* §4(k)54, *hĒirenn* §7,79

***AE*:** dat. sg. *fo Érind* §10,134

Femen, also **Mag Femin** (***De causis***), a plain extending from Cashel to Clonmel, dat. *Femen* §4(h)44

Fernmag (***De causis***), present Farney, county Monaghan, gen. *Fernmaige* §2,8; dat. *Fernmaig* §2,7, acc. *Fernmaig* §4(f)36

Inber Ollarba (***AE***), the harbour of Larne, acc. sg. *Inber Ollorba* §13,173

Irlóchir (***De causis***), West Luachair, situated in SE Kerry, gen. *nIrlóchrae* §4(i)48

Letha (***AE***), Brittany, §9(h)76

Líathmuine, situated in Ulster, the (old) name of the land now covered by Loch nEchach, after being inundated by the Linnmuine,

***De causis*:** dat. *a Llīathmuiniu* §3,12; acc. *Līathmuine* §1,3, *Liathmuine* §4(a)16, §4(n)62

***AE*:** acc. sg. *Līathmuine* §6,24; *dar Líathmuni* §7,29; *dar Līathmuni* §8(a)36; *dar Líathmune* §9(j)85

Linnmuine, the name of the well that engulfed Líathmuine, and formed Loch nEchach

***De causis*:** nom. *Linmune* §1,2, *Linnmuine* §1,3, §4(a)16, gen. sg. *Linnmuini* §4(b)19; *Lindmuini* §4(k)55; dat. *i Llinnmuiniu* §4(d)28

***AE*:** nom. sg. *Lindmuni* §7,29, §8(a)36, §9(j)85

Loch Léin (***AE***), the lakes of Killarney, dat. sg. *for Loch Lēin* §9(p)109

Loch nEchach, present Lough Neagh

***De causis*:** nom. §1,3, *Loch nEchach* §4(g)40; dat. *Loch Echach* §1,2; acc. *Loch nEchach* §4(d)25

***AE*:** gen. sg. *Locha Echach(ach)* §9(m)96; *Locha Echach* §10,134; *Locha Echach* §12,161; dat. sg. *fo Loch Echach* §9(a)46, §9(s)121, §9(t)125

Loch Rí (*AE*), present Lough Ree, situated on the borders of counties Westmeath, Longford and Roscommon, nom. sg. *Loch Rí* §4,14, §4,16

Mag nAirbthen (*AE*), the name of the plain now covered by Loch Rí, acc. sg. *Mag nArbthen* §4,14

Mag Breg (*AE*), the plain between the river Liffey and the river Boyne, ruled over by Midir, gen. sg. *Maigi Breg* §9(i)79

Mag Cecht (*AE*), ? a place to which Lí Bán travels, dat. sg. *do Maig Cecht* §9(k)86

Mag Find (*AE*), alternative name for Tír cluiche Midir ocus In Meic Óic, possibly Keogh's Country between Loch Rí and the River Suck, *.i. Mag Find* §4,12 (gloss)

Mag Mis (*De causis*), a plain near Slíab Mis, present Slemish in Antrim, dat. *i linnmaig Mis* §4(b)18

Mag Tálini (*De causis*), (unknown), acc. *Mag Táilini* §4(i)46

Míliuc (*AE*), Meelick, place in Ulster, possibly near Bangor; Hogan refers to a Meleeg in parish Camlin, Co. Down; dat. sg. *ó Míliuc* §14,179

Mondorn (*De causis*), dat. *Mondornd* §2,7, *Mondorn* §4(h)42, see also **Slíab Monduirn**

Mumu, Munster

De causis: Munster, gen. *Muman* §2,9, §6,77, *Mumen* §4(h)44

AE: Munster, acc. sg. *Mumain* §1,2

Róm (*AE*), Rome, acc. sg. *co Rōim* §13,166

Slíab nÉiblinne (*AE*), present Slieve Phelim in north co. Limerick, nom. sg. *Slīab nĒblinde* §1,4-5

Slíab Monduirn (*De causis*), probably Fincairn Hill, situated approximately three miles south of Castleblayney, Co. Monaghan, gen. *Slēbe Mondoirnd* §2,8

Tech Dabeóc (*AE*), place in Ulster associated with Beóán, dat. sg. *ō Thig Dabeóc* §13,166; acc. sg. *co Tech Dabeóc* §17,195

Tír cluiche Midir 7 in Maic Óc (*AE*), '*the playing-ground of Midir and the Mac Óc*', also known as Mag Find, possibly to be equated with the playing-field of Midir

in Brí Léith, the place to which Rí travels after leaving Belach da Liac, acc. sg.

Tír cluchi Midir 7 in Meic Óic §4,12

Ulaid, Ulster

***De causis*:** gen. *Ulad* §4(d)26

***AE*:** gen. *lethrīgi nUlad* §6,27; dat. *i nUltaib* §6,25

De causis torchi Corc' Ōche

a chrós, p. 100
a lLīathmuiníu, p. 96
a mbunadus, p. 87
acht, p. 118
act cethra conchuiriu, p. 90
Acuis, p. 87
ad-bath, p. 98
ad-lói, p. 96
aile, p. 91
áit (cach i n-áit), p. 112
aitherroch (n-aitherroch), p. 116
-alt (rod-n-alt), p. 93
amail mbetis, p. 112
amiris (di ris ocus amiris), p. 116
ánrothu (la hUlad n-ánrothu), p. 102
ansu do-d-í, p. 106
ar dílegad, p. 103, see also Di-legath
Ar it hē ġeogaind, p. 121
-archosced (corarchosced), p. 123
are-rāncatar, p. 122
árim (lia árim), p. 98
-arrchiúir, (nád arrchiúir), p. 103
a-tát, p. 96
Augaini, p. 112
Aurchuind, p. 120
Aurmumu, p. 122
Auu Cremthain (co Auu Cremthain), p. 107
bādar, p. 122
-bádath (robádath), p. 118
báirc (i mbáirc), p. 113
báidfess, p. 116
betis (amail mbetis), p. 112
bí (i mbí), p. 100
brāithriu (fria mbrāithriu), p. 120
bunadus (a mbunadus), p. 87
Cach, p. 113
cach i n-áit, p. 112
cath Cula Meinde, p. 126
causis, p. 87
ce chon-r-úalath, p. 116
Cennibrae/ nIrlóchrae, p. 111
cetharlith, p. 102
Choirpre, p. 123
ciabu ṡen, p. 110
claind C(h)uirc (fri claind C(h)uirc), p. 124
clann Maine Munchaīn, p. 124
Clíathaire, p. 109
clith (maa clith), p. 103
Clúain Baird maic Āugaine, p. 92
co Auu Cremthain, p. 107
co ríg Mumen hi Femen, p. 110
Coirpre, see Choirpre
combar, p. 115
con tubraid…forru, p. 124
cona m[uc]trētaib, p. 125
cona n-imochith im chāch, p. 123
con-baetar-sam, p. 125
conchairiu, p. 105
Conde-tubert, p. 123
corarchosced, p. 123

Corc, p. 92
[Corc' Ōche Cūla Breg], p. 91
Corc' Ōche, p. 87
crós (a chrós), p. 100
cruíb, p. 113
Cruithne, p. 90
Cula Meinde (cath Cula Meinde), p. 126
cumaic (nád cumaic), p. 115
Dáil Óche, p. 108
deilm (óthmar ndeilm), p. 109
Derco Ceín, p. 106
di chridiu, p. 119
di ris ocus amiris, p. 116
dia tat, p. 92
díb, p. 105
Di-legath, p. 88, see also ar dílegad
do Dáil Óche, p. 108
do-d-í (ansu do-d-í), p. 106
donn (scarthach ndonn), p. 109
Drochet Meinde, p. 122
drūth, p. 95
dú (ós dú), p. 100
Dubthig Dōeltengath, p. 89
Eochu, p. 101
Eochath, p. 95
etircéin, p. 107
fecta, p. 125
Feidlimith, p. 104
Fernmaig (hi Fernmaig), p. 107
firu hĒirenn, p. 126
fo-ácab, p. 105
fochruíb (ní dál fochruíb), p. 114
foüt, p. 116
formach, p. 115
fo-r-raig, p. 114
Fo-ruër, p. 107
foto, p. 107
fri claind C(h)uirc, p. 124
fria mbrāithriu, p. 120
fúam, p. 105
ġeogaind, p. 121
hi Fernmaig, p. 107
hUī maic Láre, p. 94
hUiriu, p. 96
i linnmaig Mis i murbruth, p. 98
i mbáirc, p. 113
i mbí, p. 100
imochith (cona n-imochith im chāch), p. 123
ima láma, p. 122
imbu, p. 88
imme-bērath, p. 123
imneth, p. 107
indid, p. 118
ind ōr-so, p. 88
indreth, p. 99
iris (di ris ocus amiris), p. 116
Irlóchrae (Cennibrae/ nIrlóchrae), p. 111
Íta (nÍta), p. 126
la hUlad n-ánrothu, p. 102
Láir Derg, p. 93
lia árim, p. 98
linnmag Mis (i linnmaig Mis i murbruth), p. 98
Linnmuini, p. 100
Llīathmuiniu (a Llīathmuiniu), p. 96

Loch nEchach do thomaidm, p. 109
locho, p. 105
Lucreth (ut Lucreth (profetauit) .cecinit.), p. 97
maa clith, p. 103
Mag Tailini, p. 110
maidm tiprat máir, p. 108
Maine Munchaīn (clann Maine Munchaīn), p. 124
márchatho, p. 119
memais, p. 98
Mīdend, p. 94 (see also Mídenn)
midlaige, p. 98
milt, p. 100
Mídenn, p. 97 (see also Mīdend)
Moathaire, p. 103
mol, p. 97
m[uc]trētaib (cona m[uc]trētaib), p. 125
murbruth, p. 99
murchorthaig, p. 113
nach, p. 119
nád arrchiúir, p. 103
nád cumaic, p. 115
n-aitherroch, p. 116
ní dál fochruíb, p. 114
nÍta, p. 126
ó ṡen co sen, p. 112
Ōen n-ē, p. 91
ón mid ba ndalta doib, p. 121
ōn mith, p. 124
ōr (ind ōr-so), p. 88
ortae, p. 104
ós dú, p. 100
óthmar ndeilm, p. 109
Rií Caisil, p. 120
riasin rīg, p. 122
robádath, p. 118
rod-n-alt, p. 93
ro-ṡoí éc, p. 118
scarthach ndonn, p. 109
Sellath, p. 102
sen, p. 102
sen (ō ṡen co sen), p. 112
Senchinn, p. 101
sethnu, p. 114
síl, p. 89
suidiu, p. 119
ta-lléic, p. 111
ta-n-ecomnec(h)air, p. 90
ta ngni, p. 117
tiprat (maidm tiprat māir), p. 108
To-aisbenath, p. 112
to-lécced, p. 96
to-mmelt a rí, p. 110
to-mét dó, p. 119
to-s-foíd, p. 111
tres, p. 91
-tubert (conde-tubert), p. 123
-tubraid, (con tubraid...forru), p. 124
Uī maic Láre (hUī maic Láre), p. 94
Uiriu (hUiriu), p. 96
uisceán, p. 117
Ulad (la hUlad n-ánrothu), p. 102
ut Lucreth (profetauit) .cecinit., p. 97

Aided Echach maic Maireda

a c[h]raind, p. 236

a leth ‘na bratā*n* ro boī 7 a lleth n-aill ‘na duni, p. 234

a lli*n*d laic*h*nec*h*, p. 217

a ngaisced f*or*a n-ott*ra*igib, p. 241

a orci, p. 209

a tond, p. 210

aéda (‘carais m’aéda’), p. 238

aic*h*ni, p. 228

Aided Ec*h*ac*h* m*a*ic Máireda i*n*so, p. 197

-ái*n* (ro*m*-ái*n*), p. 231

ai*n*mnigt[h]*ir*, p. 199

ainricht (in [n-]ainricht), p. 235

-airbir (ro airbir bit*h*), p. 236

aire (M’aire), p. 220

airmairi (i*n*d airmairi), p. 211

airmiten (ferta 7 mīrmaili...co n-airmiten), p. 242

ait*h*ed, p. 200

ál (mandras ál), p. 212

ālgis, p. 199

almaib (*co n*-étaib 7 *co n*-almaib), p. 201

Ardo*m*-neät, p. 224

ar ēc, p. 239

-ārlasar (*con*id-ārlasar), p. 227

as (in n-at*h*air as náe*m*), p. 218

as [m]baí, p. 237

Asta…f*or*tched, p. 214

a-teoch (glossed atchim), p. 217

a-tloc*h*or, p. 218

at-*ra*racht, p. 207

[a]tú (ō [a]tú sund), p. 215

bá (Dīa *m*bá), p. 217

baí (as [m]baí), p. 237

báine lí, p. 220

baít*h*iu*m*, p. 222

batár, p. 197

Beluc*h* da Liac, p. 201

-béo, p. 231

bíasta, p. 218

bicatān, p. 214

bit*h* (t*ri*a bit*h* sír), p. 230

bled, p. 220

Brēnai*n*d, p. 226

Bruig Meic ind Ōc (i*n* mBruig Meic ind Ōc), p. 203

cac*h*t (ceirbo cac*h*t), p. 238

‘carais maéda’, p. 238

Carnd Airend, p. 242

ceirbo cac*h*t, p. 238

celebrad ai*n*gel, p. 240

ce*n* scor i*n*d eic*h*, p. 205

ce*n*galta, p. 202

cé[i]t gal (C*ur*nā*n* cé[i]t gal), p. 226

-c*h*ar (ro c*h*ar in inber sech treib), p. 235

-chēt (ro c*h*ēt), p. 234

c[h]rai*n*d (a c[h]rai*n*d), p. 236

cía*n* ō ra ét locha li*n*d, p. 214

ciapsa…ciapsa, p. 219

cíar (cobair fir a culchi chíar), p. 231

císu (sec*h* císu co cert), p. 234

co llet*h*ba, p. 208
co n-étaib 7 *co n*-almaib, p. 201
cobair fir a culc*h*i c*h*íar, p. 231
C*h*olo*m* (tard gut*h* do C*h*olo*m*), p. 236
Co*m*gaill, p. 236
co*m*snā*m* (f*o*r co*m*snā*m* fr*i*u), p. 239
*con*aigi, p. 241
con*id et*ha(*i*)r i*m*ma-rá, p. 216
conid mé, p. 224
*con*id-ārlasar, p. 227
cr*ā*d, p. 229
culchi (cobair fir a culchi chíar), p. 231
C*u*rnā*n* cé[i]t gal, p. 226
da da*m* allaid, p. 242
dā i*ngi*n, p. 239
dabaig (i *n*dabaig), p. 237
Dāil, p. 210
Dál mBúain (Is ón *Chon*ai*n*g si*n*...), p. 207
Dál Sailne (Is ón *Chon*ai*n*g si*n*...), p. 207
dāla (mo dāla c*h*ucut-su), p. 241
dam allaid (da dam allaid), p. 242
Deic*h cét* a llī*n* do feraib, p. 200
-der[n]sat (ní der[n]sat fair), p. 204
di t*h*on*n*aib, p. 212
Dīa *m*bá, p. 217
dinetān, p. 212
dlomaid dóib, p. 204
dō, p. 232
do[s]-rat, p. 235
dobrā*n*, p. 209
do-dec*h*aid do ni*m* (i*n*né do-dec*h*aid do ni*m*), p. 228
do-deoc*h*ad dú*n*, p. 226
do-fil (rī do-fil), p. 227
dom, p. 230
dom-ruacht, p. 222
done*n*d, p. 222
do-rid[n]acht, p. 242
Do-rignis mór d'ulc fri*n*d, p. 205
do[s]-rat, p. 235
dos-rat, p. 237
dri*n*ged, p. 210
dro*n* (sceng dro*n*), p. 209
dulgi fál, p. 224
-ēba[i]*r*t (n-ēba[i]*r*t), p. 238
Ēbliu, p. 197
ēc (ar ēc), p. 239
ec*h*nat, p. 210
erdalta fo bru*n*nib bárc, p. 210
estec*h*t, p. 242
ét (cía*n* ō ra ét locha li*n*d), p. 214
étaib (*co n*-étaib 7 *co n*-almaib), p. 201
etal, p. 230
-fáct*h*ai (ma*n*i fáct*h*ai), p. 204
fæbra, p. 208
fál (dulgi fál), p. 224
Fec*h*t and...Líathmuni, p. 207
fer mór, p. 203
ferta 7 mīrmaili…co n-onōir 7 co airmiten, p. 242
feru*n*d ('na feru*n*d), p. 242
Fīac*h*na f*o*rmna gil p. 228
fil (hi fil), p. 202

fírinni (.i. in fírinni), p. 213
fo loc*h* ec*h*ac*h* adba én, p. 230
Fó mo mata*n* do Maig Cec*h*t, p. 222
fō, p. 234
Foimti do c*h*āc*h* p. 228
f*o*r co*m*snā*m* fr*i*u, p. 239
f*o*ra m*a*c-so*m*, p. 198
f*o*rmna gil (Fīac*h*na f*o*rmna gil), p. 228
f*o*rsa táthi, p. 204
f*o*rtched (Asta...f*o*rtched), p. 214
fri *h*adba n-uis, p. 216
f*ri* Muridac*h* m*ac* Fīac*h*ac*h* Fi*n*damnais, p. 206
fr*i*si tibi ge*n*, p. 211
fr*i*thāilt*er*, p. 241
fuil (7 is tír hi fuil fó), p. 233
fu*nch*i, p. 231
gaisced (a ngaisced f*o*ra n-ottr*a*igib), p. 241
gla(i)s, p. 217
hi fil, p. 202
.i., p. 217
i *n*dabaig, p. 237
i n-ón, p. 218
īaic*h*, p. 219
.i. in fírinni, p. 213
i*m*ma-rá (con*id* *et*ha(*i*)r i*m*ma-rá), p. 216
i*m*mi (úasu, i*m*mi), p. 233
i*m*ned, p. 215
I*m*tigit…isi*n* mís medōnaig i*n*d fogomair, p. 205
in [n-]airicht, p. 235
in n-at*h*air as náe*m*, p. 217
i*n* be*n* di t*h*on*n*aib tuli, p. 211
i*n* mBruig Me*i*c i*n*d Ōc, p. 203
inber (Ro c*h*ar in n-inber sech treib), p. 235
i*n*d airmairi, p. 210
i*n*gi*n* (dā i*n*gi*n*), p. 239
i*nn*é do-dec*h*aid do ni*m*, p. 228
Is ón *Chon*ai*n*g si*n* da*n*o ro c*hin*set Dál mBúai*n* 7 Dál Sailne, p. 207
-láe (Ro láe-side), p. 198
laic*h*nec*h* (a lli*n*d laic*h*nec*h*), p. 217
Laigid i*n* gerrā*n* ...7 siblaís a fūal corbo t*hi*pra, p. 203
Let*h*a lind, p. 219
let*h*rigi, p. 206
lí (báine lí), p. 220
Lī Bā*n*, p. 207
-llethba (co llethba), p. 208
Loc*h*a Ec*h*ac*h*(ac*h*), p. 224
locha li*n*d (cía*n* ō ra ét locha li*n*d), p. 214
lodo*m*ar, p. 232
lus, p. 237
M'aire, p. 220
mac na mná, p. 216
mád-chin, p. 215
mag i mbītis druing Echach, p. 216
Maig Cec*h*t (Fó mo mata*n*...), p. 222
mairfet-sa, p. 204
māirt, p. 221
mandras ál, p. 212
ma*n*i fáct*h*ai, p. 204

mar, p. 226
méthas (muc mara méthas), p. 223
midedar, p. 229
mīrmaili (ferta 7 mīrmaili...co n-airmiten), p. 242
mo dāla chucut-su, p. 241
'mōe[da]' mo Dīa, p. 239
muc mara méthas, p. 223
múr, p. 226
'na ferund, p. 242
Nā tēig, p. 226
n-ēba[i]rt, p. 238
ní der[n]sat fair, p. 204
Nīrbo mé, p. 229
nom-léic, p. 213
ō bāte and Eocho Find, p. 214
ō [a]tú sund, p. 215
7 is tír hi fuil fó, p. 233
Ōengus hŪa Āiblenn áebda, p. 239
ón (i n-ón), p. 218
ōnmit, p. 207
orci (a orci), p. 209
-ordaig (rom-ordaig), p. 226
ottraigib (a ngaisced fora n-ottraigib), p. 241
ra ét (cían ō ra ét locha lind), p. 214
rāig (tairind dinetān do (f)rāig), p. 213
remi, p. 202
rī do-fil, p. 227
Rī maith ro gab Mumain, p. 197
Rīagla (Uird 7 Rīagla), p. 240
ro airbir bith, p. 236
Ro char in n-inber sech treib, p. 235
ro chēt, p. 234
ro gell fēin dó, p. 241
Ro láe-side, p. 198
ro snaass, p. 219
ro snó, p. 223
Ro soīed, p. 239
rom-áin, p. 231
rom-ordaig, p. 226
romra ró, p. 223
scar, p. 230
sceng dron, p. 209
sech (Ro char in inber sech treib), p. 235
sech císu co cert, p. 234
siachtsom, p. 222
Silis int ech oco īar sin combo thipra, p. 206
síu, p. 200
Slīab nĒblinde, p. 199
-snaass (ro snaass), p. 219
snáifid Lī Bān, p. 208
-soīed (Ro soīed), p. 240
son, p. 222
tairind dinetān do (f)rāig, p. 213
tairsib-sium, p 203
tard guth do Cholom, p. 236
táthi (forsa táthi), p. 204
tech immon tiprait...7 ōenben oca hathigid, p. 206
-tēig (Nā tēig), p. 227
Thig Dabeóc, p. 240
Tipra maic Maireda mais / for lind laiss lodomar dó, p. 232

Tīr cluc*h*i Midir 7 in M*ei*c Óic, p. 201
tond (a tond), p. 212
tonnaib (di thonnaib), p. 212
t*rach*t, p. 223
t*rā*ignec*h*, p. 229
treib (Ro c*h*ar in n-inber sech treib), p. 235
tret*h*an, p. 223
t*ri* c*h*ét blīa*dnae*, p. 214
t*ri*a bit*h* sír, p. 230
úasu, i*m*mi, p. 233
Uird 7 Rīagla, p. 240
uis (fri hadba n-uis), p. 217

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