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A critical edition of *Aided Chonchobair* 'The violent death of Conchobar'; with translation, textual notes and bibliography.

Chantal Kobel

A thesis submitted to the University of Dublin, Trinity College, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Dublin, Trinity College,
Department of Irish and Celtic Languages
2015

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SUMMARY

This thesis is a critical edition of the Old and Middle Irish versions of *Aided Chonchobair* 'The violent death of Conchobar'.

AC belongs to the *aided* category of tales of the Ulster Cycle. It has been transmitted in four recensions, A, B, C and D respectively, copies of which are preserved in a total of eight manuscripts. Despite largely diplomatic editions and translations of all four recensions of the tale having been published in *The Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes* in 1906, Kuno Meyer was unaware of the existence of a copy preserved in NLS 72.1.5, and only became aware of RIA C i 2 and Laud Misc. 610 at a later date. Thus, an incomplete picture of the manuscript tradition is provided in Meyer's edition. Although the published edition includes the text of the *rosc* poem *Ba aprainn*, found in two separate recensions, it does not provide a translation. Johan Corthals published a most welcome edition and translation of this poem, as well as a helpful metrical, thematic and linguistic discussion. However, his edition is not without shortcomings, the most important being that he follows the text preserved in N too closely and thus the edition is not a critical reconstruction of the archetype. Most recently, Imhoff has published an exhaustive analysis of the development of *AC* and the textual relationship between the recensions and discussed the relevance of the Latin passage pertaining to Conchobar found in *Vita Sancti Albei*, as well as providing a thematic discussion of *Ba aprainn* and its interpolation into LL and N. As it stands, a critical edition of the recensions as well as an exhaustive examination of their manuscript contexts, orthography and linguistic features has not been produced to date and therefore, remains a *desideratum*.

The first volume consists of an extensive introduction to the editions proper of the various recensions and *Ba aprainn*. Chapter one proffers a general introduction to the thesis, starting with an examination of previous scholarly editions and translations. An overview of the main literary discussions shows that research to date has focused mainly on the sources, development and relationship of the recensions, with some research touching upon the interpretation of the texts. It illustrates that there is scope for discussion of the manuscript contexts, intertextuality and composition of the recensions. All the manuscripts are examined in detail, with the main codicological and palaeographical features of each copy highlighted. For the purposes of this critical edition, I transcribed each manuscript copy afresh from the original or digital image. An outline of the orthographical system employed in each copy of *AC* is provided. The (inter)relationships between the copies of the tale are examined and a *stemma codicum* is proposed for the

longest recension (A). This shows that the manuscripts of A are all independent of each other and descend ultimately from one shared Middle Irish exemplar, which itself derives from an Old Irish archetype. Finally, the editorial policy and rules of normalisation for each restored text are outlined.

Chapter two contains a linguistic analysis to establish the dates of composition of the archetype for each version. *Ba aprainn* is dated to c. 700 but has undergone some revision in a subsequent exemplar. Recension A is a late Old Irish composition. Recension B is also of Old Irish origin. Recension C is a Middle Irish compilation, and version D is a short early Middle Irish composition. The metrical structure of *Ba aprainn* is discussed and it is shown that it is an accentual and highly ornamental composition.

Chapter three examines the composition, structure and style of the recensions. This study establishes that the tale of *AC* is an important prose saga included in the *aided* category of tales. It illustrates that recension A was the work of a careful and educated Christian author who consciously crafted his version of the tale using traditional material and motifs. Version B is written in a different tone and focuses on Conchobar's conversion to Christianity. Version C is a compilation in which a Middle Irish compiler has brought together earlier material for antiquarian purposes. Its constituent elements are datable to the Old Irish period and one of these elements may come from a version which is now no longer extant. Version D consists of a brief overview of the main episodes of the saga.

Volume two contains the editions proper and the indices. Chapter four includes the critical edition for each recension, with each text restored according to its previously established date of composition. The restored text is given, followed by the translation. This is accompanied by textual analysis, consisting of textual notes based on the manuscript readings. An appendix is provided which includes an index to the textual notes, the continuous manuscript transcripts and a bibliography.

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To anyone whom I have forgotten, I am truly sorry.

Dedication

To Alfred and Peter.

Abbreviated titles

AAC	*Goire Conaill Chernaig i Cruachain 7 Aided Ailella ocus Conaill Chernaig* (Meyer, 1897).
AC	*Aided Chonchobair* (Meyer, 1906).
ACM	*Aided Cheit maic Mágach* (Meyer, 1906).
ACU	*Aided Cheltchair maic Uithechair* (Meyer, 1906).
AD	*Aided Derbforgaill* (Ingridsdotter, 2009).
AE	*Aided Echach maic Maireda* (de Vries, 2012).
Aisl. Óeng.	*Aislinge Óenguso* (Shaw, 1934).
Aisl. Mc^2	*Aislinge meic Conglinne* (Jackson, 1990).
AOA	*Aided Óenfir Aífe* (Van Hamel, 1933).
ALB	*Aided Lóegairi Búadaig* (Meyer, 1906).
Ält. Ir. Dicht	*Über die älteste irische Dichtung* (Meyer, 1913–1914).
AM	*Aided Meidbe* (Hull, 1939).
AMor	*Audacht Morainn* (Kelly, 1976).
AU^2	*The annals of Ulster* (*to A.D. 1131*) (Mac Airt, S. *et al.*, 1983).
BBr.	*Bethu Brigte* (Ó hAodha, 1978).
BDD^2	*Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (Knott, 1936).
Blathm.	*Poems of Blathmac* (Carney, 1964).
BMMM	*Brislech Mór Maige Muirthemni* (Kimpton, 2009)
Cath Al.	*Cath Almaine* (Ó Riain, 1978).
CCath.	*In Cath Catharda* (Stokes, 1909).
CCC	*Compert Con Culainn* (Van Hamel, 1933).
Corp. Gen.	*Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae* (O'Brien, 1962).
CMCS	*Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*.
CMM^2	*Cath Maige Mucruma* (O Daly, 1975).
CMT^2	*Cath Maige Tuired* (Gray, 1982).
CRR	*Cath Ruis na Ríg for Bóinne* (Hogan, 1982).
De causis	*De causis torchi Corc' Óche* (de Vries, 2012).
DIL	*Dictionary of the Irish language*. Compact edition (Quin, 1976).
EIV	*The early Irish verb* (McCone 1997, 2nd edition).
EIL	*A guide to early Irish law* (Kelly, 1988).
FB	*Fled Bricrenn* (Hendersen, 1899).
Fél.	*Félire Óenguso* (Stokes, 1905).

Fing. R.	*Fingal Rónáin* (Greene, 1975).
FM	*Annála ríoghachta Éireann* (O'Donovan, 1848–51).
GOI	*Grammar of Old Irish* (Thurneysen, 1946).
Hdb.	*Handbuch des Alt-irischen* (Thurneysen, 1909).
IGT	*Irish Grammatical Tracts*
Im. Brain^2	*Immram Brain* (Mac Mathúna, 1985).
LEIA	*Lexique Étymologique de L'Irlandais Ancien* (Vendryes, 1959–74).
LL	*The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na NúaChongbála* (Best *et al.*, 1954–83).
LMDD	*Fled Bricrenn ocus Loinges mac nDuíl Dermait* (Hollo, 2005).
LU	*Lebor na hUidre: Book of the Dun Cow* (Best *et al.*, 1929).
ONN	*Orcuin Néill Nóigiallaig* (Meyer, 1900).
RelChron.	*Towards a relative chronology of ancient and medieval Celtic sound change* (McCone, 1996).
RIA Cat.	*Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy.*
SC^2	*Serglige Con Culainn* (Dillon, 1953).
ScCG	*Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin* (Binchy, 1975).
ScMMD	*Scéla mucce Meic Dathó* (Thurneysen, 1935).
SR	*Saltair na Rann* (Greene, unpublished).
TallÉ	*Talland Étair* (Ó Donaill, 2005).
TBC I	*Táin bó Cúailgne* (O'Rahilly, 1976).
TBFr.	*Táin Bó Fraích* (Meid, 1965).
TD	*Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn* (Knott, 1922).
TE	*Tochmarc Étaine* (Bergin *et al.*, 1934–8).
Trip.^{2}	*Bethu Phátraic* (Mulchrone, 1939).
ZCP	*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.*

Grammatical abbreviations

(def.) art.	(definite) article	nas.	nasalisation
abs.	absolute	neg.	negative
acc.	accusative	neut.	neuter
act.	active	nom.	nominative
adv.	adverb	obj.	object
attrib.	attributive	part.	particle
cond.	conditional	pass.	passive
conj.	conjunct	perf.	perfect
dat.	dative	pl.	plural
demonst.	demonstrative	poss.	possessive
dep.	deponent	prep.	preposition
deut.	deuterotonic	pres. ind.	present indicative
emph.	emphasizing	pres. subj.	present subjunctive
fem.	Feminine	pret.	preterite
fut.	future	pron.	pron.
gen.	genitive	proto.	prototonic
ind.	indicative	redup.	reduplicated
inf.	infixed	rel.	relative
interr.	interrogative	sg.	singular
ipf.	imperfect	subj.	subject
ipv.	imperative	suff.	suffixed
len.	leniting	vn	verbal noun
masc.	masculine	voc.	vocative

Other

BA	*Ba aprainn*
EModIr	Early Modern Irish
MidIr	Middle Irish
OIr	Old Irish
EOIr	Early Old Irish

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Chapter 1 General Introduction

1.1 Background and outline of research

Aided Chonchobair (henceforth *AC*) belongs to a specific category of tales known as *aideda*, or 'death-tales', which describe the deaths of prominent heroes, and heroines, in Early Irish literature. This specific death-tale relates the death of the Ulster king Conchobar mac Nessa. The various versions[1] and numerous manuscripts in which copies of *AC* survive are a testament to the tale's popularity. Version A, the longest version, is a tale of two halves. The first section of the tale relates how Conchobar mac Nessa is lured by Cet mac Mágach into battle, who subsequently strikes Conchobar in the head with the calcified brain of the slain king Mess Gegrai. This serves as the end of the first part of the tale, with it being stated *atá a lige and* '[Conchobar's] grave is there' now. Nevertheless, the second part of the tale continues with him still alive. The calcified brain is sewn into the king's head, rendering him blemished permanently, and he remains in a vegetative state for seven years. After this period, he learns about the Passion of Christ. In each version of the saga, Conchobar becomes enraged, vowing vengeance against those who harmed Christ. In some accounts, his rage causes him to go into a frenzied attack. In other accounts he recites a *rosc* poem. Ultimately, the calcified brain springs out of the king's head causing him to die immediately. It is even told that he is baptised by his own blood and/or enters the kingdom of Heaven. This is a complex and emotive tale which encompasses the themes of kingship, honour, loyalty, vengeance, conversion and death. The Old and Middle Irish versions of *AC* have survived in 8 manuscripts, the earliest of which is the *Book of Leinster*.

AC was edited by Kuno Meyer in *The Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes*, in which he printed five manuscript copies.[2] However, Meyer was unaware of the existence of several further manuscripts that contain a copy of *AC* at the time of publication, which provided an incomplete picture of the tale's transmission.[3] Meyer published the copy in

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[1] I refer to the various recensions of *AC* which have been transmitted down to us as 'versions' from here on in, to keep in line with previous scholarly discussion.

[2] Kuno Meyer, *The death-tales of the Ulster heroes* (Dublin, 1906), 2–21 (hereafter cited as *The death-tales*).

[3] Meyer was unaware of the following other copies of *AC* when he published the edition in *The death-tales*, i.e. RIA C i 2; NLS Adv. 72.1.5 (E_2); Laud Misc. 610. Meyer subsequently printed a diplomatic edition of

the *Book of Leinster* (henceforth LL), the oldest extant copy, treating it as the *codex optimus* of version A. Although he provided the variants from the copy found in NLS Adv. MS 72.1.40 (henceforth E_1) he did not discuss their merits vis-à-vis those of LL. Moreover, Meyer stated that the first page of E_1 was illegible.[4] However, when I viewed the manuscript, I saw that a large portion of the first page is legible.[5] Furthermore, Meyer's edition does not include a translation of the *rosc* poem, entitled *Ba aprainn* and found in LL and RIA 23 N 10 (hereafter N). In the meantime, however, Johan Corthals has published an edition and translation of *Ba aprainn*.[6] This edition includes some discussion of its contents, metre, style and linguistic dating.[7] Corthals' reconstructed text is based mainly on the copy found in N, with readings supplemented from LL.[8] In light of Helen Imhoff's recent discussion of the poem,[9] in which she shows that the copies of *Ba aprainn* in LL and N were intended to be read in different ways, it is necessary to re-evaluate Corthals' edition to see if it truly reflects the original. Lastly, while Meyer's edition of *AC* includes some short linguistic and textual notes,[10] it provides no analysis of

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the copy in Laud Misc. 610 (see Meyer 1921, 7). Meyer noted 'another copy of this version … in the Stowe MS. C. I. 2 fo. 5b-8a' in his own copy of *The death-tales* (See Bergin's Addenda and Corrigenda in the subsequent reprints of *The Death-tales*).

[4] Meyer (1906, vi) noted that the beginning of the latter manuscript was 'unfortunately illegible' and again 'the version of the Edinburgh MS. XL is partly illegible; but it appears to be identical in its opening with that of the *Book of Leinster*' (1906, 2). Accordingly, the variant readings in E_1 accompany the LL copy only from paragraph 6 onwards (see Meyer 1906, 6). In his preface to *The death-tales*, Meyer generally acknowledged any person who supplied him with a transcription. Meyer does not attribute the transcription of E_1 to any other scholar. Therefore, I assume that he transcribed the copy of *AC* from E^1 himself. The fact that he published a survey of the manuscript in *The Celtic Magazine* in 1887 may support this. Interestingly, Ewen MacLachlan's transcription of the copy of *AC* from E_1 also omits any readings from the first page.

[5] See further the discussion of the manuscript features in Chapter 1.4.1.

[6] See Corthals 1989, 41–59.

[7] Corthals (1989, 43) was the first scholar to examine the copies of *Ba aprainn* critically, suggesting that they were transmitted from a shared exemplar but that 'some scribal errors appear to belong to the archetype, indicating that it was probably not identical with the original'.

[8] Corthals (1989, 44) writes that 'this procedure implies a choice in favour of N in cases of doubt which, however, never really affect the meaning of the text'. However, this is problematic because each copy of the *rosc* poem reflects seperate redactorial intentions. For further discussion of the redactorial intentions in LL and N, see Imhoff 2012, 87–92.

[9] See Imhoff 2012, 80–90.

[10] Meyer 1906, 43-4.

diagnostic dating criteria. A useful glossary is provided, but this is not exhaustive. No authoritative work has been published to date on the early Irish tale *AC* that provides us with an in-depth linguistic analysis or discussion. Therefore, a critical edition of *AC* remains a *desideratum*.

Thus, my primary concern in this thesis is to address this gap and provide a critical edition of the versions of *AC* that will encompass analysis and discussion of the linguistic and thematic aspects. Chapter one deals with the manuscript tradition and contains a codicological and orthographical description of the witnesses. It includes a detailed examination of the textual variation between the manuscripts to establish their independent transmission, and a stemma is proposed for the longest extant version. Chapter two provides a thorough survey of all the linguistic features within each version. This is followed by a discussion on the date of composition for each version's archetype. Chapter three examines the literary context of the tale *AC*, as well as the manuscript context of certain copies of *AC*. It provides a discussion of the manuscript contexts, intertextuality, thematic elements and the style and composition of the versions. Lastly, the narratorial techniques of each version are discussed. Chapter four presents the edition proper for each version. Each edition consists of the restored text and translation, followed by the textual analysis which contains conservative manuscript transcriptions and detailed textual notes. These notes discuss editorial decisions, any unique variant readings and comments on translation differing to previous editions.

1.2 Previous editions and translations

Numerous translations of *AC* were published in the latter half of the nineteenth century. These were based on the first edition and translation by Eugene O'Curry of the longest copy of *AC* as preserved in LL.[11] In 1887, Kuno Meyer identified another manuscript copy of *AC*, namely that in E_1, for which he provided a brief summary.[12] Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville[13], Eleanor Hull[14] and Rudolf Thurneysen[15] published French, English and German translations respectively of the copy found in LL. Hull included a partial translation of *Ba aprainn*, aided by that of O'Curry, while Thurneysen refrained from translating it altogether due to its obscure nature.[16] Meyer's edition and translation, mentioned above, remains the most extensive treatment of *AC* to date, but it is not without its shortcomings as mentioned above. Corthals' edition and analysis of the poem provides the first in-depth treatment of the *rosc* poem. However, his editorial approach in favour of N, supplemented and emended by readings from LL, does not provide a balanced critical edition.[17] Julia Kühns has edited and translated the previously unedited copy of *AC* from E_2, but her edition remains unpublished.[18] Her edition contains textual notes and a brief linguistic analysis of the text, as well as a proposed stemma.

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[11] O'Curry 1861, 637–43. O'Curry (1861, 636–43) noted that LL's copy of *AC* does not contain an actual account of Conchobar's death, which he presumed would have occurred after the king's 'frenzied address'. Although O'Curry was unaware of any other manuscript copies of the early Irish tale, the EModIr version in Seathrún Céitinn's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (henceforth *FFÉ*) was known to him and he described it as 'a modified, and less accurate, but fuller version of the tale' (see O'Curry 1861, 642: also Dinneen 1908, 199–205. O'Curry provides a transcription and translation of the ending of the EModIr version.

[12] Meyer 1887, 209–10. Meyer suggested that the version in *FFÉ* closely followed the text in E_1.

[13] d'Arbois de Jubainville 1892, 368–73.

[14] Hull 1898, 266–72. Eleanor Hull (1898, 272) noted that the penultimate and final sections in LL were added by a later scribe, who wanted to provide 'a more plausible explanation than that contained in the original story'.

[15] Thurneysen 1901b, 69–72.

[16] Thurneysen (1901b, 72) concluded that LL did not contain an actual account of Conchobar's death due to the *roscad*'s complexity, which caused the narrator to forget to include the king's death.

[17] See Corthals (1989, 44–5) for a complete description of his editorial policy.

[18] Kühns, 2004. I am grateful to Julia Kühns for providing me with a copy of her dissertation. In her discussion of the tale's manuscript tradition, Kühns follows Meyer (1906, vi). However, Kühns was unable to consult RIA C i 2 at the time and therefore her proposed stemma is incomplete. However, it is not different to the stemma proposed by Clancy (1996, 90). See footnote 19.

In more recent years, the tale has received renewed interest. In his literary discussion of the tale, Thomas Owen Clancy proposed a stemma for LL, E_1 and another copy found in NLS Adv. MS 72.1.5 (henceforth E_2), based on shared narrative elements.[19] Similarly, Helen Imhoff proposes a stemma based on her examination of the narrative elements found not only in LL, E_1 and E_2, but also in C. Both scholars arrive at the conclusion that the Edinburgh manuscripts descend from a shared, independent exemplar. However, there has been no exhaustive comparison of the individual manuscript readings to ascertain the relationship of the manuscripts. Therefore, I propose to address this gap and demonstrate that the stemma proposed by Clancy and Imhoff is correct. Finally, brief linguistic notes have been written on various readings found in *Ba aprainn* by Liam Breatnach and Johan Corthals.[20]

1.3 Previous thematic discussions

Charles Donahue, Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Kim McCone have discussed how Conchobar mac Nessa is depicted as one of the first men to believe in Christ before the coming of Christianity to Ireland.[21] In his edition of *AC* in *The death-tales*, Meyer provides a brief overview of the main storylines,[22] i.e. Conchobar learns of Christ's crucifixion from his druid(s); he is told about the Crucifixion by Bachrach; or, Altus, the Roman consul, relates Christ's Crucifixion to him. Imhoff basically agrees with Meyer but she further characterizes the conveyers of the story of Christ's Crucifixion as internal (i.e. the druid(s)) and external (i.e. Altus) figures, with Bachrach 'blurring the lines' between the two.[23] Imhoff posits that conflation has occurred during the transmission of the tale. In his discussion of *AC*, Thurneysen follows Meyer's division of the manuscript

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[19] See Clancy 1996, 90: 'My sense is that all three go back ultimately to one version, that the *Book of Leinster* has introduced the poem and other extraneous material at the end, and forgotten to include the denouement, while the two Edinburgh manuscripts, aside from the modernisation of language and the transplanting of one scene from the middle to the end, are structurally closer to the original of version A'. However, Clancy did not refer to RIA C i 2, thereby rendering the stemma incomplete.

[20] Breatnach 1986, 191–3; Corthals 1986, 189–90.

[21] Donahue 1949–1951, 263–277; Ó Corráin 1987, 285–94; McCone 1990, 198.

[22] Meyer 1906, 2–3. It should be noted here, however, that Meyer groups the manuscripts together in the edition according to their manuscript tradition and refers to the versions as A, B, C and D respectively.

[23] Imhoff 2012, 67–8.

versions.[24] Thurneysen also suggests that an older version, such as A, was the source for the shorter version B preserved in N.[25] Moreover, Thurneysen believes that version C is a mixture of material from version A and version B.[26] James Carney suggests that version A consists of a 'traditional nucleus' together with a Christian addition and observes that the original tale ended where the text states that Conchobar is buried at *Áth Dairi Dá Báeth*.[27] But he stresses that the tale may only ever have existed in written form the way it is found in LL.[28] Furthermore, Carney is of the opinion that *Ba aprainn* was composed by the writer of the main text in LL and that the tale was probably written down in the eighth century.[29] Cronan follows Carney in assuming the date of composition to be in the eighth century, arguing that *Ba aprainn* is well integrated into the prose narrative of LL.[30] But neither scholar provides any linguistic evidence to substantiate such a claim. On the other hand, Imhoff is more cautious, noting that the idea of the prose and poem being of the same date is 'debatable'.[31] Indeed, Corthals demonstrates in his edition that *Ba aprainn* is in fact an independent composition, datable to c. 700.[32] Furthermore, the linguistic features of version A places the composition of the prose archetype closer to the Ml. glosses than to the Wb. glosses.[33] Clancy follows Corthals and notes also that *Ba aprainn* forms the 'real core' of version B.[34] Imhoff argues convincingly that the *rosc* poem has been suited thematically to both LL and N.[35] Szövérffy, as well as Guyonvarc'h,

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[24] See Thurneysen 1921, 535–9. In addition to the manuscripts used by Meyer, Thurneysen (1921, 535) also includes E_2 but does not appear to have consulted the manuscript himself because he refers to the entry in MacKinnon's catalogue only.

[25] Thurneysen 1921, 538: '[B] wird wohl eher seine Erzählung aus der älteren, wie sie in LL vorliegt, erst herausgeschält haben'.

[26] Thurneysen 1921, 538: '[C] kennt und verschmilzt A und B'.

[27] Carney 1955, 296.

[28] Carney 1955, 296. Nevertheless, Imhoff (2012, 48) notes that 'in all the surviving versions [the Christian ending] is the most important part of the tale, at least by some of the redactors, given that N and the passage in the *Vita S. Albei* only relate the events of this section'.

[29] Carney 1955, 297.

[30] Cronan 2007, 153.

[31] Imhoff 2012, 49.

[32] Corthals 1989, 59; 1996, 22. See also Imhoff 2012, 81 for a similar conclusion.

[33] See the linguistic discussion in Chapter 2.2.2.

[34] Clancy 1996, 101–105; 102. Also Corthals 1989, 41–2.

[35] Imhoff 2012, 83–95.

agrees with Carney that the traditional, or original, version of *AC* ended with Conchobar dying in battle.[36] Szövérffy further argues that version B is the most original of the Christian versions, and was influenced by accounts of the destruction of Jerusalem and by the apocryphal *Vindicta Salvatoris*.

Imhoff also examines the relationship of the extant versions of *AC* focusing on all the extant witnesses.[37] She discusses the Latin passage concerning Conchobar's death and conversion found in *Vita Sancti Albei*, preserved in the *Codex Salmanticensis* as well as the account in *Vindicta Salvatoris* with regard to their relevance for understanding the development of the different versions of *AC*. Imhoff disagrees with Szövérffy and argues that the passage in the *Vita* perhaps serves as the influence for the Altus storyline. Imhoff, following Corthals, postulates a lost version of *AC*, which included *Ba aprainn*, from which LL and N copied the *rosc*.[38]

[36] Szövérffy 1956, 183–210; 1957, 86–96; Guyonvarc'h 1958, 135.

[37] Imhoff 2012.

[38] Imhoff 2012, 81–2.

1.4 Manuscript sources

The following section provides an in-depth examination of all extant witnesses containing copies of *AC*. A detailed codicological description of each manuscript is provided. The sources are grouped according to the manuscript tradition, and listed in chronological order. The original manuscripts, as well as their digital images, have been consulted unless otherwise stated.

1.4.1 Version A

TCD MS 1339 (H 2.18; hereafter referred to as LL), p. 123b40–124b32; 13 x 9; 12th century.[39]

The manuscript called *Lebor na Nuachongbála* 'The Book of the New Foundation' is more commonly referred to as the *Book of Leinster*.[40] It consists of 187 leaves, of which 177 single, unbound leaves are stored in a box at the library in Trinity College Dublin.[41] The manuscript is on the whole well preserved, except for some leaves which are badly stained, making reading difficult.[42]

The manuscript is an important source because it is one of three witnesses from the Middle Irish period written entirely in Irish.[43] It predominantly contains narrative and verse from the Ulster Cycle, some also of Fenian material, the Invasions of Ireland and *Dinnsheanchas* material. There is a certain amount of ecclesiastical material included but the manuscript is void of any devotional texts.[44]

Richard Irvine Best was under the impression that the manuscript was written by one scribe.[45] However, O'Sullivan identified at least four hands: A, F, T, U, with two

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[39] See also LL 1427–14389.

[40] For a discussion on the title of the *Book of Leinster*, see Best *et al.* 1954, xi–xii.

[41] Another ten pages, which were formerly part of the collection held in the Franciscan Library in Killiney, Co. Dublin (i.e. MS. A 3) are now held in University College Dublin. These leaves, which were detached before 1627, contain the 'Martyrology of Tallaght' and pedigrees of Irish saints (cf. Best *et al.* 1954, xviii).

[42] Cf. Best *et al.* 1954, xvii.

[43] The other two manuscripts being *Lebor na hUidre* 'The Book of the Dun Cow' and Rawlinson B. 502. The former is now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

[44] Mac Eoin 2009, 81. Mac Eoin (2009, 81) points out that 'the general impression one gets from the book is that people who compiled it had little enough interest in piety'.

[45] Cf. Best *et al.* 1954, xvii (also xv). Best observed the following: 'The volume is apparently … the work of a single scribe. The hand varies considerably, giving at times the impression of a second scribe, ranging from the formal and elegant book-hand … to a hurried, careless script…'

other subsidiary hands, i.e. M and S, at work throughout the manuscript.[46] However, in the most recent codicological study on the manuscript, Elizabeth Duncan has increased the number of scribes to a total of nine.[47] *AC* was penned by hand U, who worked after 1147 under the guidance of hand A and hand T.[48]

The story *AC* begins on p. 123b40 and ends on p. 124b32, occupying ninety-two lines of the printed text, written in two columns. It is the only extant copy of *AC* that contains a title.[49] This copy is found amongst a group of other death-tales.[50] The text is legible and clearly written by hand U. It is evident that U is copying from a larger manuscript. For instance, on p. 123b, it can be seen that the scribe compressed the writing at the end of the line.[51]

Letters are rubricated in yellow and red throughout the text. The marker upper case *.R.* is located on p. 124b indicating the beginning of the *rosc* poem. It is not rubricated. Other instances of this marker are seen on pp. 95, 100, 101 where they mark formulaic prose with sporadic alliteration.

The following scribal characteristics are noted in the copy of *AC*:[52]

a. The word-spacing is that of Old Irish scribal tradition, i.e. unstressed words are grouped with a stressed word that is syntactically connected (*GOI* §34).[53] For instance, *babes* (*ba bés*, 'it was a custom')[54] p. 123b45; *dogr–* (*do grés*, 'always'),

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[46] See O'Sullivan 1966, 6–12.

[47] See Duncan 2012, 27–66.

[48] Duncan 2012, 56, 59. O'Sullivan (1966, 7) characterizes U's style '[...] by the frequent use of uncial *a* in medial positions'. Furthermore, 'another prominent feature of U is the dominance of a *d* with an almost vertical tail' (1966, 9).

[49] The beginning of the text is defined by a visually marked title, surrounded by a rubricated box.

[50] For further discussion of the compilatory nature of the material in this section of the manuscript, see chapter 3.

[51] See O'Sullivan 1966, 9. O'Sullivan points out this strange scribal feature, writing 'One of the scribal oddities of our manuscript is the ending of the line with some words in smaller more compressed writing than the rest. It is as if the copyist were working from a larger manuscript or more likely one with single columns and trying to squeeze the contents of the lines into his smaller space'.

[52] In the following lists in all the discussions concerning the various manuscripts, the letters and abbreviations in question are marked bold to allow for easy identification.

[53] The principal of writing words separately comes into practice in manuscripts from the EModIr period onwards. Bischoff (1990, 173) noted that this tendency to separate words was first realised by insular scribes.

[54] I provide the readings from the restored text of version A in brackets.

p. 123b53; *baruléi*m (*ba ruléim*, 'it was a great attack'), p. 124b11, etc. However, there are some instances where the word-spacing is greater than expected, i.e. *a le*th*i* ar*nabarac*h, (*a leth iarnabarach*, 'everyone his own direction') p. 123b53;[55] *in*te *tarthad*, (*in tetarthad*, '[whether] he could accomplish'), p. 124a8; this is particularly noticeable in the following instances in the *rosc* poem although it is not exactly clear as to the reasons which led the scribe to do this (I provide the restored text of *Ba aprainn* in brackets), i.e. *le*th *ainlan* (*letene láin* 'persecution of the perfect (Lord)'), p. 124b11; *in*a*rmen mona* (*innar menman*, 'in our pride of mind'), p. 124b19; *croc*h*ad rig* (*crochath fir*, 'a man's crucifixion'), p. 124b12;[56] *rocés croic*h (*ro chés cruich*, 'who suffered cross'), p. 124b21.

b. In the prose passages, marks of lenition are represented mainly by the *spiritus asper*. Plene *h* is written on occasion also. The *punctum delens* is found marking lenition on the letters *f* and *s*, e.g. *óin*ḟ*ir* (*oínfir*, '(of a) single man'), p. 123b51; ḟ*olt* (*ḟolt*, '(of) hair'), p. 124a18; *no* ḟ*innad* (*ro-ḟinnad*, 'who used to know'), p.124a40; *a* ḟ*erg* (*a ḟerg*, 'his anger'), p. 124a49; *in*n*a* ṡ*uidi* (*inna ṡuidiu*, 'in his seat'), p. 124a52. In the *rosc* poem, lenited *f* is omitted in the following instance, i.e. *beoir* (*béofir*, 'mankind'), p.124b8.[57] The *punctum delens* is also found above nasals, e.g. *i* tar*ṅgere* (*i tairngiriu*, 'in prophesy'), p. 124a6; *ṁbó* (*mbó*, 'cattle'), p. 124a10; *i ṅgalur* (*i ngalar*, 'in sickness'), p. 124a42; *uii ṁbl–* (*secht mbliadnai*, 'seven years'), p. 124a51.[58]

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[55] Meyer (1906, 43) suggests *a lethi arnabárach* is miswritten for *a leth iarnabarach*. For further discussion of these words, see the textual note on [3b].

[56] There is a larger space between the words here which may be indicative the scribe was trying to fill out the line. The same applies to the following example of *rocés croic*h.

[57] Lenition of the letter *f* is marked only once in Wb, i.e. *ind*ḟ*ir*, 33c9 (this is dismissed in *Thes.* I, 710, n. d; cf. Stern 1908, 545. I am grateful to Jürgen Uhlich for pointing out this example to me) and not at all in the Milan glosses. But the *punctum delens* is employed in Sg. and later manuscripts. See Strachan 1903a, 59–60; Strachan 1903b, 486; *GOI* §33.3, §231.7 and *SnaG* I, §3.18. On occasion, lenited *f* was omitted altogether in Wb. and Ml., see *GOI* §231.7.

[58] See *GOI* §33.1, 2: the *punctum delens* is found above nasals inserted between a final which nasalises and the following initial, and this mark is also found on nasals in medial position between consonants.

c. Hand U has a general tendency to omit the *i*-glide before a palatal consonant, e.g. *ath*is (*aithis*, 'blemish), p. 124a45; *ónmit* (*óinmit*, 'jester'), p. 124a3; gen. sg. *slebe* (*sléibe*, '[of] mountain'), p. 124a35; la*thiu*, (*laithiu*, 'day'), p. 124b2.[59]

d. Generally the tironian symbol ⁊ is used to represent the conjunction *ocus*. However, on occasion, plene *et* is written, e.g. *Et* (*ocus*, 'and'), p. 123b48; *Et*, p. 124a42; ***Et***[60], p. 124a48; *et*, p. 124b5.

NLS MS Adv. 72.1.5 (formerly Gaelic V; hereafter referred to as E_2), fol. 7vb1-8rb12; 26 x 19.5cms. 15th century (?).

This manuscript consists of 11 leaves of parchment. Fol. 1 and fol. 11 were originally stitched together and attached to the gathering of fol. 2-10 by a 'thong of parchment', and enclosed in an 'American cloth wrapper'.[61] There is extensive staining throughout the manuscript as a result of dampness. Furthermore, there is considerable damage due to rodents to the bottom left hand side of the manuscript, resulting in a certain amount of textual loss.[62] However, an attempt has been made to restore the manuscript. For instance, rough, green thread was used to stitch together a tear in the parchment on fol. 5r, and in more recent times the entire manuscript has been attended to by a conservator. It is now conserved in an acid-free folder, without the original stitching and cover.

The provenance of the manuscript itself is unknown. According to Ronald Black, the manuscript may have been brought to Mull by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bháird or one of

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[59]Other examples copied by hand U, with omitted *i*-glide, support the suggestion that this is his scribal policy rather than having copied it from his exemplar. I have collected the following examples from texts which immediately follow *AC* (i.e. p. 124b – p. 126a), i.e. *Aided Meidbe*: *flathius*, *LL* 14400; *cualli*, *LL* 14418; *chualli*, *LL* 14423; *cluchi*, *LL* 14423; *cungid*, *LL* 14430; *cloche*, *LL* 14430; *Aided Derbforgaill*: *corthe*, *LL* 14450, *LL* 14451 x 2; *tudchid*, *LL* 14523; *n-áne*, *LL* 14537; [*Noenden Ulad ⁊ Emuin Macha*]: *lathe*, *LL* 14550; *amser*, *LL* 14554; *curthir*, *LL* 14560; *lúathiu*, *LL* 14562; *amsir*, *LL* 14581; *amsir*, *LL* 14582. See also *RelChron*. 33 and *GOI* §86.

[60] The capital letter *E* is in bold here because it is rubricated in the manuscript. See also the transcription policy.

[61] Cf. MacKechnie 1973, 173.

[62] See Ronald Black, *The Gaelic manuscripts of Scotland, volume 1: classical Gaelic, Irish and Welsh manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland*. This is available on the ISOS website. Since this is an unfinished draft catalogue, it does not have any continuous page numbers because the intention was to slot in more descriptions as they were being prepared. Therefore, I refer to the individual catalogue entry without page references and hereafter cite it as 'Black (cat. ent.)'.

the Uí Fearghail, and that it belonged to Rev. John Beaton in 1701. It then found its way into the Kilbride collection at an unknown date.[63]

The text is written on both sides of the folio, in two columns, throughout.[64] Black (cat. ent.) has identified several hands at work in the manuscript, of which hand 1 copied the text of *AC*. The copy of *AC* begins on fol. 7vb1 continuing until fol. 8rb12.

Black wrote that hand 1 was 'an insipid hand ... more characteristic of medical manuscripts'. The scribe had a tendency to use distinctive uncial 'r' and 'u'.[65]
The following scribal characteristics are noted:[66]

a. The double *n*-stroke is used, e.g. *inc*inn (*inchinn*, 'brains'), fol. 7b7 etc.
b. The *punctum delens* is used in the following examples: *c***h***luic***h***e* (first *ch*; *chluiche*, 'game'), fol. 7vb18; *a dig***h***ail* (*a dígal*, 'his avenging'), fol. 7vb31; *don leit***h** (*dond leith*, 'from the side'), fol. 7vb34; *foc***h***erdata***r** (*fechair*, 'is fought'), fol. 7vb35; *guid***h***sed* (*gádatar*, 'they prayed'), fol. 7vb37; *a d***h***eilbe* (*a delbae*, 'his shape'), fol. 7vb38; *a c***h***oma***i***r***l***e* (*a comairli*, 'from advice'), fol. 8ra1; *luig***h** (*luid*, 'he went'), fol. 8ra2; *co t***h***oitc***h***end* (*co coitchenn*, 'commonly'), fol. 8ra33; against the more predominant use of the *spiritus asper*, e.g. *tairtec***h***ta* (*tarrachtain*, 'avenging'(?)),[67] fol. 7vb19 and with an *f*, i.e. *in f***h***est* (*béist*, 'beast'), fol. 7vb20, which is a nuanced spelling for lenited *p* of *péist*. There is a tendency to omit the mark of lenition above the *con*-compendium, e.g. *a* con*chubuir* (*a Chonchobair*, 'Conchobar'), fol. 7vb11, *daoinm***h***id* con*chub–* (*dí óinmhit Chonchobair*, 'two jesters of Conchobar'), fol. 7vb16.
c. The tironian symbol ⁊ 'et' is employed for OIr *ocus*. However, it is used within words also, where it can be expanded as *eit* (seen here with a suprascript *punctum delens*), i.e. *f– l***eit**h (*for leth*, 'aside'), fol. 7vb37; *for l***eit**h (*for leth*, 'aside'), fol. 8ra2.[68] Compare with the plene reading: *don leit*h (*dond leith*, 'from the side'), fol. 7vb34.

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[63] See Black (cat. ent.).

[64] However, fol. 4v is mostly blank except for 9 lines written across the page.

[65] I have noted that the scribe departs from this policy in the quatrain at the end of the tale, i.e. aenguine, fol. 8 r b, l. 11, where the letter *u* is not uncial and has a *v*-shaped appearance with the left shaft ascending upwards and curving above the letter *g*.

[66] I provide the readings from the restored text of version A in brackets.

[67] For a discussion of this variant, see the textual note on [3d].

[68] For similar instances in a contemporary manuscript, see Breatnach (2012, 129–31).

d. The Latin abbreviation for *est*, which looks like the Arabic numeral 2, is used for the *nomen sacrum* Christ, e.g. *cr***ist** (*Críst*, 'Christ'), fol. 8ra27.

e. Hair-strokes are employed to distinguish the letter *i* from the letter *n* or *m*, but also from another *i* in the following[69]: *a laim* (*a láim*, 'out of the hand'), fol. 7vb27; *.uii.* (*secht*, 'seven'), fol. 8ra11; *Sraint–* (*srainter*, 'they routed')[70], fol. 8ra11.

The scribe is generally a careful copyist. The only scribal slips I note are the following: *r* for *f* in *rorna* (*forna*, 'over the'), fol. 7vb2; a case of dittography in *sin sin* (*sin*, that'), fol. 7vb36; *or* for *o*, fol. 8ra14; the letter *a* is written below the baseline in *forn*$_a$ *duilib*h[71] (*forna duilib*, 'over the elements'), fol. 8ra26; a suprascript *er*-compendium, perhaps standing for *ri*,[72] in *an drirai* (*in druí*, 'the druid'), fol. 8ra29; *uo* for *no*, fol. 8rb1; the grapheme *d* in *da* (*dá*, 'two'), fol. 8ra4, is seen with a long ascending curved stroke, which might be a mistake for the *er*-compendium. Contrast this with the graphic variant of *d* with a long ascending straight shaft which generally tends to slope to the left. For instance, *dona* (*donaib*, 'to the'), fol. 8ra2; *da* (*dá*, 'two'), fol. 8ra12; etc.

RIA MS 1234 (C i 2; formerly Stowe and Ashburnham collection; hereafter referred to as C), fol. 5va12–8rb30; 5 x 4; 15th – 16th century (?).[73]

This manuscript consists of vellum fragments, interleaved with paper. It is a composite manuscript on which more than one scribe has worked. However, no scribal signature is given in full in the manuscript. The catalogue entry remarks that the manuscript appears 'to have been transcribed in a bardic school.[74] Its provenance may have been Tyrconnell.[75] The manuscript contains a mixture of prose and ecclesiastical texts.

The text of *AC* begins on fol. 5va12 and ends on fol. 8rb30. It is written in two columns and the script is mostly legible, bar some instances where letters have been stained because of ink smudging. There are no tears or physical damage to these folios.

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[69] When the letter *i* is followed by a hair-stroke, it is marked in bold.

[70] For further discussion of the verbal form and the variant *maidid* found in LL/C, see the textual note in [7a].

[71] In this instance, there is no space between *forn* and *duilib*h, with the letter *a* written below the letter *n*, which suggests that the scribe missed this letter while copying the text initially but added it at a later stage.

[72] For similar use, see Breatnach (2012, 128).

[73] *RIA Cat.* 3414–3418.

[74] *RIA Cat.* 3414.

[75] The place name *Gleand Guail* in *Tir Conaill* is found on p. 10 vb.

The text appears to have been written continuously by the same steady hand, although at times carelessly. For instance, there is an instance of dittography found on fol. 5vb9, i.e. *cumasg asga* (*con-mescthae*, 'was mixed').[76] On fol. 7vb1, the scribe leaves out the letter *e* while copying but subsequently adds it, i.e. *nah*^{e}*traigh*$_{i}$ (*na etraiged*, 'he should not have sexual relations').

The following scribal features are noted:

a. The scribe mostly adheres to the OIr policy of word-spacing, i.e. unstressed words are grouped with words that have 'a single chief stress and have a close syntactic connexion' (see *GOI* §34).

b. The scribe uses the *spiritus asper* to mark of lenition in the text. The *punctum delens* is also found, e.g. *diag***h** (*inna diad*, 'after him'), fol. 6va2; *fic***h**air (*fechair*, 'is fought'),[77] fol. 6va5; *lo*cht*ac***h** (*lochtach*, 'faulty', fol. 6vb5. Plene *h* is also written. Omission of lenition is seen in: *corti* (*corthe*, 'grave'), fol. 7ra6; *co hat* (*co Áth*, 'to [the] Ford'), fol. 7ra10; *cac* (*cach*, 'every'), fol. 7rb18.

c. The use of suprascript consonants is found, e.g. *co* ***t***uc (*co tuc*, 'until he took'), fol. 6rb17 against the use of suprascript vowels, e.g. *d***a***th* (*dath*, 'colour'), fol. 7va.

d. The scribe employs the elongated grapheme *k* for the word *cath* 'battle', e.g. on fol. 6va5. He also employs the letter *q* as an abbreviation for *co*/*cu*, e.g. ***q****n****q****b*ar (*Conchobar*), fol. 6ra4; ***qq*** (*cucu*, 'to them'), fol. 6va3; ***q****druma* (*cutrummai*, 'proportion'), fol. 6va17, etc.

e. Hair-strokes are used to differentiate minims. This is most often used to distinguish the letter *i* from the letter *n*, but also from another *i*, e.g. ***inc****i****n****d* (*inchinn*, 'brain'), fol. 5vb2; ***in*** ***i****nbaid s*$_{i}$*n* (*in inbaid sin*, 'at that time'), fol. 5vb5; *d****ii*** (*dé*, 'with it'), fol. 6rb15; *u****ii***. (*secht*, 'seven'), fol. 7vb6. Moreover, there is one instance of it used to distinguish *i* from a following letter *s*, i.e. ***i****ssin* (*í-sin*, 'that'), fol. 7vb5.

f. The tironian symbol ⁊ is employed for the conjunction *ocus* 'and'. However, it is used as an abbreviation for *et* in fol. 6vb12: *a m***e**th*on* (*i medón*, 'in the middle').

g. The scribe employs *ceann fo eite* quite frequently to fill line-ends.

h. The scribe has a tendency to employ strange spellings of vowels throughout the

[76] I provide the readings from the restored text of version A in brackets here and below.

[77] For a discussion of this variant, see the textual note on [5d].

text, with a higher concentration of such spelling found especially on fol. 7vb[78], e.g. *cumramau* (*comrama*, 'contentions'), fol. 5vb4; *mnoui* (*mná*, 'women'), fol. 7vb2; *ro boui* (*ro boí*, 'he was'), fol. 7vb4; 7vb5; *beou* (*béo*, 'alive'), fol. 7vb6; *crochuo* (*crochad*, 'crucifying'), fol. 7vb11; *neoam* (*nem*, 'heaven'), fol. 7vb16.

NLS MS Adv. 72.1.40 (formerly Gaelic XL; hereafter referred to as E_1), pp. 1.1– 3.7; 21.5 x 16.5cms; 15th - 16th century.[79]

This manuscript is made up of five different vellum layers or gatherings, written at different periods. The manuscript was originally covered by a tattered piece of deer-skin, but today each vellum layer is contained in its own acid-free folder, including a separate folder for the original covers. Apart from the damaged covers, the manuscript is in fairly good physical condition.[80] However, each layer has considerable staining around the outer margins, with the first and last layer being the worst affected, which has led to a certain amount of textual loss.

In his description of the manuscript, Kuno Meyer dated the first layer to the fourteenth century on account of its handwriting.[81] However, Black (cat. ent.) subsequently dated it to the 15th century and also suggested that the provenance of the

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[78] It represents a scribal approach aimed to make this section of the text appear more archaic, which is perhaps further supported by the pseudo-archaic use of the adjective *már* in C against *mór* in the other witnesses (see further the textual notes in [11c] and [11g]). This particular passage relates the point at which Conchobar is informed by his druid about the Crucifixion of Christ. Thus, the implementation of such spelling might reflect the importance the scribe has attached to this particular section in the tale. For this kind of stylistic spelling for antiquarian purposes, cf. Breatnach 2012, 50. See also discussion on this in the description of 23 N 10 in relation to the use of *p* for *b* and *u* for lenited *b*.

[79] I follow Ronald Black's pagination of the manuscript. Black followed Ewen MacLachlan's system of pagination, rather than Smith's foliation, and extended it to include the covers. The modern pagination is found at the bottom of each page. Black (cat. ent.) provides foliation in brackets for clarification in his catalogue. Ronald Black's catalogue provides us with the most recent and detailed codicological description of the manuscript and its make-up. Previous descriptions were provided by Smith (1805, 310–312); Graves (1848, 255–60); Meyer (1887, 208–235). Also, Ewen MacLachlan gives a description in NLS Adv. MS. 72.3.4 (see manuscript description of NLS Adv. MS. 72. 3.5 in Chapter 1.4.5) as well as in two letters, Ingliston MS. A. i. 3, nos. 4 and 6. I was unable to consult the last two documents due to time constraints.

[80] In the third layer, damage has occurred to the vellum where the large rubricated letter appears in the left column. A tear in the page has been stitched in p. 33 and p. 41. The last page of the second section is badly faded, i.e. p. 28, which suggests that it was originally a separate section.

[81] Meyer 1887, 208.

first, third and fourth layers is connected with the Antrim MacDonalds or the Clanranald, or both, and that the first layer was perhaps brought to Scotland when Domhnall mac Iain Mhùideartaich and Iain, son of Brian MacMhuirich, returned from Ireland c. 1650.

Black (cat. ent.) has counted as many as nineteen hands at work in the manuscript. According to Black, the first layer, i.e. pp. 1–12 (in which a copy of *AC* is found) was the work of Ferghal, apparently writing for Seaán mac Céin, and referred to his work as 'the book of the grey man from Berraman'.[82] Black (cat. ent.) suggests that the latter scribe's hand is seen on p. 10.1–9.

The text of the document is written in one column in all layers, except in the second and third, where it is written in double columns.

The first layer of the manuscript is a collection of seven *aideda* or 'death-tales', of which *AC* is the first.[83] Unfortunately, p. 1, on which *AC* begins, suffers from severe textual loss at the top of the page and around the edges.[84] Meyer wrote in *The Death-Tales* that the first page of the manuscript was illegible.[85] However, when I viewed the manuscript myself, I confirmed that Meyer's observation was incorrect. A large portion of the first page is in fact legible.[86] The text of *AC* continues onto p. 2, and ends on p. 3.7.

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[82] Cf. the following marginalia: [ ]*r glaisi berramain ⁊ fuil meoiur fhirgailli .i. mac rig Er*enn, '[the book of the] grey [man] of Berramon and blood of the finger of Fergal, i.e. the son of the King of Ireland', p. 2, E_1; *or*aid *sun*n *dfir in liup*air*si .i. sea*n *mac cei*nn *misi pod* gan *seir ⁊* fergal *ata*m com*naic,* 'A prayer here for the man of this book, i.e. Sean mac Céin. I am a ?boot without a heel and I am [called] Fergal', p. 11 (see also Meyer 1887, 213).

[83] See chapter 3 for further discussion of the compilatory nature of the material in this section of the manuscript.

[84] Ronald Black (cat. ent.) reckons this is due to 'friction', which has also occurred on p. 28 and 68. I am of the opinion that the condition of the first page is as a result of friction, as well as staining. I have consulted the original manuscript on two separate occasions in the National Library of Scotland and compared the text on pp. 1–3 with the digitised image, which is available on ISOS. In several instances, the readings are more visible on the digitised image, whereas the marks of lenition are more visible in the original manuscript. This suggests that the text on p. 1 of the manuscript has already faded somewhat since it was digitised. This is particularly the case with the first line on p. 1 and the text on the bottom right corner of p. 1.

[85] Meyer 1906, vi, 2 and 6, §6. His variant readings of E_1 begin from p. 2.2.

[86] This was also observed by MacKechnie (1973, 194) where he wrote that Meyer was 'wrong, because the MS is quite legible, except that at the beginning of the text, it is somewhat indistinct'. This was more recently also noted by Imhoff (2012, 55). However, we reached our conclusions independently of one another.

A space was left for a large ornate capital letter on p. 1, but this was never completed.[87] The first line on p.1 is completely illegible due to severe staining.[88] The second line is only partially better, with a small section legible, but it is mostly stained.

I present here some of the more notable scribal characteristics of the manuscript:[89]

a. The text of *AC* is heavily abbreviated, illustrating that the scribe made a conscious effort to save space.[90]
b. The use of a double *n*-stroke is frequently seen in the manuscript, e.g. *a ci***nn**, p. 1.10.
c. The letter *q* is used as an abbreviation for *cu*, e.g. ***q***[..], (compare with *qq* (*cucu*, 'to them'), E_2), p. 1.6; ***q****airt*[.], (*cuairt* 'circuit'), p. 1.11.
d. The letters *ac* appear as ligatured, and sometimes with a *punctum delens* or *spiritus asper* above it, e.g. *mbu–*h***ac***h (*mBúadach*, 'Victorious'), p. 1.3; *c***ac**h (*cach*, 'everyone'), p. 1.9; *lo*cht***ac***h (*lochtach*, 'faulty'), p. 1.24; *g***ac**h (*cach*, 'every'), p. 2.8. Across word boundary: **ac***omrama* (*i comrama*, 'in contentions'), p. 1.6; ***ac****–aisi* (*i comáes*, 'of equal age'), p. 2.18.

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[87] In contrast, see the large, ornate letter on p. 3.8, which serves as the starting point of *Goire Conaill Chernaig i Crúachain* and *Aided Ailella ocus Conaill Chernaig*.

[88] When I consulted the manuscript, it was evident that there was a line of text at the top of the page which is now completely illegible. When I shone light onto the page, there was what can only be described as a hint of the presence of letters there. Unfortunately, when I shone a bright light onto the back of the folio, the staining was still too dark to decipher the letters. Furthermore, the first lines of text on the following pages start on a higher baseline than what is now legible on the first page, which also leads me to think that there was a line on the top of p. 1 that is now entirely stained.

[89] I provide the restored text of version A in brackets.

[90] In his analysis of E_1, MacLachlan writes 'The writing is full of contractions: while the orthography, diction, and phraseology, in almost every page, are so antiquated, as to be hardly intelligible to any ordinary Celtic Scholar of the present age' (see NLS Adv. 72.3.4, p. 95). The use of abbreviations and contractions generally depends on the character of the scribe. Edward Maunde Thompson (1912, 90) suggested that their use was more popular in manuscripts containing general literature, rather than technical books. Texts intended for public use and reading tended to contain fewer abbreviations and compendia. The use of such features, therefore, was more common in manuscripts intended for private use and it allowed for 'a more convenient system of saving labour and space'. Cf. Bischoff (1990, 25) who observes that the 'more economical way of writing' allowed for more content in a book, while also thinner parchment helped reduce a book's volume.

e. Similarly, ligatured *ad* is found in the text, e.g. *co tanc**ad**ar* (co tancatar, 'so that they came')[91] p. 1.19; *ro gen**ad*** (*ro génair*, 'he was born'), 'p. 2.18.

f. The letter *i* is often written below the baseline and ligatured to the preceding letter, e.g. *gn$_i$ma* (*gníma*, 'of the deed'), p. 2.15. Special attention should be paid to the graphic variant *di*, which is found as the letter *d* with the vertical shaft extending downwards, e.g. *d$_i$–* (*didiu*, 'moreover'), p. 2.5; *d$_i$a (día*, 'if'), p. 2.8.

g. The *er*-compendium is used frequently by the scribe, e.g. cui*nd**er***sit,[92] p.1.7; a *d**er**dis* (*adeirdís*, 'they used to say')[93], p.1.14.

h. The Latin abbreviation for *est*, which resembles the Arabic numeral 2, is found in *p**est*** (*béist*, 'beast'), p. 1.12.

i. The scribe employs an elongated *k* to represent the noun *cath* 'battle', i.e. p. 1.15, 20.[94] There is a *spiritus asper* above the abbreviation in both instances.

j. The *uel*-compendium for *no*, e.g. **l** *bitis* (*no bítis*, 'they used to be'), p. 1.6; **l** *finded* (*no ḟinnad*, 'he who would know'), p. 2.7 etc.

k. The *ar*-compendium is found with two horizontal strokes going through the vertical shaft in *t**arr***[ ] (*tarraid*, 'overtakes'), p. 1.18.

l. The tironian symbol ⁊ 'et' is employed for *ocus* 'and' frequently throughout the text. However, it is also used within words where it is expanded as *eit*, i.e. (with suprascript *spiritus asper* or *punctum delens*) *d*on *leith* (*dond leith*, 'from the side'), p. 1.19; *f*or *l**eit***h (*for leith*, 'aside'), p. 1.25 (compare with plene reading *fo l**eit***h, p. 1.21); as *et*, i.e. **et***a*r (eter, 'both'), p.1.[95] It is also used in two instances with a suprascript *n*-stroke, which I understand to be hypercorrect spelling for *cenn* 'head', i.e. *c*ent, p. 2.11.

m. The hypercorrect penchant for orthographic variant *t* rather than *d* is found in the following: *luit* (*luid*, 'he went'), p. 1.26; *beirrit$_i$* (*Berraide*), p. 3.1. Note also one instance of hypercorrect *th* for final lenited *d* in *b–ith* (*beirid*, 'he brings'), p. 3.2. The grapheme *m* is used for lenited *b*: *cl–em* (*claideb*, 'sword'), p.2.23. Lastly,

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[91] For further discussion of this variant, see the textual note on [5c].

[92] For a discussion of this variant, see the textual note on [2].

[93] For a discussion of this variant, see the textual note on [4a].

[94] This is also seen in the copy of *Aided Meidbe* found on p. 6. Cf. Hull 1938, 55.

[95] For similar instances in a contemporary manuscript, cf. Breatnach 2011, 129–31.

the scribe also used hypercorrect *c* for *g* in *mis* **c**– (*Mess Gegrai*), p. 1.17, p. 2.26, p. 3.4 and 5 against regular *mis***g**– (*Mess Gegrai*), fol. 1.14.

n. Marks of lenition are usually represented by the *spiritus asper*. The *punctum delens* is not used to show lenited *f* or *s*, e.g. *aen***f**– (*oínfir*, '(of a) single man'), p. 1.5; *ł* ***f****inded* (*ro-finnad*, 'who used to know'), p. 2.7; *don***ts***l*– (*dint slúag*, 'from the host'), p. 1.9. However, it is possible that these could have faded in the manuscript due to deterioration. Lenition is omitted on *c* in the following instances: *faith*c_i (*faithchi*, 'green'), p. 1.13; *de*$_i$*celt* (*deichelt*, 'dress'), p. 1.22; *ne*medac (*nemedach*, 'dweller in heaven'), p. 2.27; *gac* (*cach*, 'every'), p. 3.5. Lenition is omitted on *t* also in some instances, e.g. *trat* (*trá*, 'then'), p.1.24 and p. 2.7. An instance of hypercorrect lenition is found in *nidat***h** (*nídat*, 'they cannot'), p. 1.8.

o. I found no evidence of the use of hair-strokes to differentiate minims in the manuscript.

The scribe was prone to omitting words and phrases, indicative of carelessness, and adding them above the text. The following are examples of words omitted and added suprascript in *AC*: *mna* (*mná*, 'women'), p. 1.25; *dia* (*Día*, 'God'), p. 3. 4. I have noted other examples in texts of the first layer, also written by hand 1, e.g. *bai* (*-boí*, 'was'), p. 3.10; *rige* (*ríge*, 'kingdom'), p. 3.17; *gac* (*cach*, 'every'), p. 5.11; *lu*inges (*luinges*, 'exiled'), p. 6.3; *fua*thach (*Uathach*, 'Terrible'), p. 6.9; *medb* (*Medb*), p. 6.23; *ull*– (*Ulad*, 'of the Ulstermen'), p. 7.17; *imarb–aid* (*immarbág*, 'boasting'), p. 9.8 etc.[96]

1.4.2 Version B

RIA MS 967 (23 N 10, formerly Betham 145, hereafter referred to as N), fol. 16.1-31.8 x 5 1/2. 16th century.[97]

This is a 16th century vellum and paper manuscript. A late pagination in ink runs consecutively through the manuscript. There appear to be frequent misplacements of pages, including p. 17.

There were three principle scribes involved in copying the manuscript: a) *Aodh* (*Aoudh*), who wrote at Baile in Chuimine, i.e Ballycummin, in the house of Seaán Ó Maoil

[96] Although this list is not exhaustive, it is hoped that it provides the reader with an idea of the extent to which the scribe was prone to omitting words during the copying process.

[97] RIA Cat. pp. 2769–2780. Also Best 1954, i–ix.

Chonaire, circa 1575. This scribe was the owner of the manuscript, as he is referred to by the other scribes; (b) *Dubhthach*, stating that he is finishing his part of the scribal work at Baile Tibhaird on Bla Maige in the company of Seaán Ó Maoil Chonaire on the first Monday after the Feast of Saint John 1575.[98] Aodh, who resumes the transcription after this point, adds to Dubhthach's colophon a word of thanks; (c) *Torna*.

A chemical re-agent was used on the manuscript in places, rendering the text sometimes very difficult if not impossible to decipher. In 1915, Osborn Bergin took photographs of the entire manuscript, recognizing its poor state, and it is from these negatives that the facsimile was produced. Bergin writes that 'in some places the Facsimile is therefore clearer than the MS. as it now is'.[99]

The text of *AC* is presented on one page (16), beginning on l. 4, without division into columns, most likely transcribed by Aodh.[100] A space has been left for where an initial enlarged letter *b* was intended to mark the beginning of the text.[101] The text on the last line is poorly faded due to staining on the page.

The following scribal characteristics are noted throughout the text of *AC* in this manuscript:

a. A particular characteristic of Aodh's hand is his 'dropped majuscule B' seen in *ba* (*ba*, 'it was'), p. 16. 8; *Ba*, p. 16.13.[102] Moreover, note the unusual placement of the abbreviation stroke above the *t* in *asbert*, *isbert* etc. instead of joining the stroke to the letter *b* as is the normal scribal practice, e.g. is mb–t (*as-bert*, 'he said'), p. 16.13.
b. The division of words is generally that of the Old Irish scribal system, rather than the practice of writing words separately as in the Early Modern Irish period.
c. The letter *i* is sometimes written below the baseline, e.g. *concre*$_{i}$*d* (*co creit*, 'so that he believed'), p. 16.11; *d*$_{i}$*a rait* (*dia ráith*, 'instead of him'), p. 16.24. The letter *a* is seen written below the baseline in the *rosc* poem only, e.g. *se*$_{a}$*rb*air*l*–

[98] See Best 1954, viii.

[99] R.I. Best 1954, vi.

[100] See RIA Cat. p. 2771; also Best 1954, vii, xii.

[101] A smaller letter *b* is inserted in the margin indicating that the scribe had intended to return to this at a later point to add the larger initial *b*.

[102] Best (1954, vii) suggests that this trait shows that Aodh was influenced by the exemplar from which he was copying. However, Best refers to the use of the 'dropped majuscule B' in medial and final position only.

(*serbairlech*, 'bitterslaughter'), p.16.15; *gen$_a$n* (*-génainn*, 'I would have assisted'), p. 16.15; *foabe$_a$ba rinn* (*foa mbebainn*, 'in which I would have died'), p. 16.19; *ne$_a$* (*nDea*, 'God'), p. 16.20); *atbelm$_a$is* (*at-bélmis*, 'we would have died'), p. 16.23; co*sesce$_a$nd* (*co sescainn*, 'so that it sprang'), p. 16.29. The letter *i* also appears as a direct continuation of the upper shaft of the letter *d* in *d$_i$u* (*didiu*), p.16.8.

d. The tironian symbol ⁊ is used to represent *ocus* in the text. However, it is found representing *et* in one instance, i.e. in *b*e**th***a* (*betho*, 'of the world'), p. 16.11.

e. The use of the mark of length is very inconsistent in the prose and *rosc* poem on the page of the manuscript, e.g. *sgel* (*scél*, 'story'), p. 16.7; *gn*im (*gním* ('deed'), p.16.17; *bro*n *bais* (*brón báis*, 'deadly sorrow'), p. 16.27.

f. The use of the mark of lenition is not consistent and omitted very frequently.

g. Aodh has a tendency to use 'grotesque spelling', as noted by Best, especially in relation to vowels. In the text of *AC*, the following scribal nuances are found: *p* for *b* in *ind*s*i*p (*insib*, 'islands'), p.16.7; ar *belaip* (*ar bélaib*, 'before'), p.16.29; *u* for lenited *b* in *ueth–* (*betho*, 'of the world'), p. 16.7; *t* for *d* in *tom* (*dom*, 'for my'), p. 16.27. There are no instances of hypervocalic spellings in the text per se. However, see discussion in the orthographical section on the spelling of final unstressed vowels as *-ai* and *-ea*.

1.4.3 Version C

RIA MS 476 (23 O 48, also known as Liber Flavus Fergusiorum; hereafter referred to as F), fol. 52ra3-52rb2; 11 x 8, 15th century.[103]

This is a 15th century vellum manuscript. 92 folios of the original manuscript remain and are bound in two volumes, the first containing 37 folios, the second 55 folios. The text of *AC* appears in the second volume. Gwynn was of the opinion that the manuscript was the product of one scribe, written at various stages.[104] However, the catalogue writes that 'though the lapse of time between the transcription of items [...] may account for considerable variation in the character of handwriting [...]', it is also possible that 'several

[103] *RIA Cat.* pp. 1254–1273; Gwynn 1906, 15–41.

[104] Gwynn 1906, 15. Gwynn notes that the name *Aed* is found on fol. 15vb, vol i, but that it may have been added later and therefore cannot conclusively tell us that this was the name of the scribe.

scribes cooperated in the work of transcription'.[105] The provenance of the manuscript is thought to be Connacht.[106] The manuscript contains a mixture of secular, ecclesiastical and hagiographical works.

The text of *AC* begins on fol. 52 (105) ra3 and ends on fol. 52rb2. It contains 64 lines of text and is mostly legible, although staining along the top right edge of the folio obscures some of the text at the top of column b.

Caoimhín Breatnach provides a comprehensive collection of abbreviations and other scribal features of this manuscript in his article in *Ériu* 61.[107] This survey was conducted on folios 1–24 of volume one, written entirely by the same hand.[108] This is the same scribe who copied *AC* in volume two.

The following provides a description of the copy of *AC* as it appears in the manuscript. The lines drawn by the scribe in preparing the vellum are still partially visible. It appears that the text in lines 28–34 of column *a* was written at a later stage. The hand is more relaxed and it is written in a less uniform manner in comparison to the writing in the rest of column *a*. On one occasion, the scribe leaves out *gob*h in error, in line 34, col. a, and adds it above the line later. The *ceann fo eite* is seen twice, i.e. in line 18 and 34, to indicate that the following text is used to fill out the line.

The following scribal conventions used in the text of *AC* are worth noting:

a. Hair-strokes are frequently employed by the scribe to distinguish minims, a feature which is commonly seen in the manuscript, i.e. to distinguish the letter *i* from the letter *n* or m, but also from another *i*.[109] The following instances occur: (i) to distinguish *i* from *n*, e.g.[110] *muirrthuini*, fol. 52ra3; ***ingin***, fol. 52ra10; *ro* ***inn****is*, fol. 52ra13; *mainib*h, fol.52ra; *fuinig*h, fol.52ra17; ***inn****is*, fol. 52ra18; *ce****in****eoil*, fol. 52ra21; *fe****in***, fol. 52ra22; ***in***, fol. 52ra23; *ann****i***, fol. 52ra29; (ii) to distinguish *i* from *m*, e.g. ***im****on*, fol. 52ra12; *te****im****heal*, fol. 52ra25; *e****im***h, fol. 52ra30; (iii) to distinguish the letter *i* from *u*, e.g. *hiud*h*aib*, fol. 52ra11.

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[105] *RIA Cat.* p. 1255.

[106] *RIA Cat.* p. 1256; Gwynn 1906, 15–16.

[107] Breatnach 2011, 95–163.

[108] Breatnach 2011, 95.

[109] Breatnach 2011, 157.

[110] When the letter *i* is used with a hair-stroke, it is marked bold.

b. The chief sign employed to denote lenition is the *spiritus asper*. However, there are three words where the *punctum delens* is used, i.e.: *hIub***h***daib*h, fol. 52ra8; *forc***h***uaid*h, fol. 52ra19; *ro gob***h**, fol. 52ra33.

c. Breatnach notes that a suprascript consonant above a consonant is commonly used by this hand and 'In such cases, a vowel has to be supplied between the consonant below and the consonant above'.[111] There are three such instances in this text, i.e.: ***croch**ad*, fol. 52ra7 (note that the suprascript *d* is above a plene *h*); ***pec**adh*, fol. 52ra9; ***tig**ed*, fol. 52ra13 (cf. *tiged*, vol. i, fol. 4ra5).

d. The letter *g* of ***gucom**fraicead*, fol. 52r a 41, is written in a different manner to all other instances on this folio. There is an unusual vertical shaft, which descends from the rounded shaft of the regular letter. This could reflect a later palaeographical style, or it may be that the scribe is being artistic since the letter is on the last line of the column and it will not interfere with any letters in a sentence beneath it.

e. The use of the double *er*-compendium in *f***err***gi* (for *fairrgi*), fol. 52ra32.

f. On occasion, the scribe has a tendency to place a dot after a letter bearing an *m*-stroke or suspension stroke, cf. i*ar*–., fol. 52ra1; c*hr*–., fol. 52ra19; *acca**th**ug*–., fol. 52ra34; *aneir*–., fol. 52ra40. However, no palaeographical significance can be assigned to these marks, other than it being a scribal habit.

g. Generally, the scribe employs the tironian symbol ⁊ to represent *ocus*. However, he writes *et* plene on two occasions, i.e. *et*, fol. 52ra20; ***Et***,[112] fol. 52ra41. In two other instances, *ocus* is written plene, i.e. fol. 52ra6; fol. 52ra35.

1.4.4 Version D

MS Laud Misc. 610, Bodleian Library (hereafter referred to as Laud); fol. 42vd1-42vd13; 33.5–34 x 24.5–25cm; 15th century.[113]

MS Laud Misc. 610 is a double-columned manuscript held in the Bodleian Library. The document consists of parts from two manuscripts, one of which was written between 1410

[111] For other examples, see Breatnach (2011, 117–8).

[112] This appears rubricated in the manuscript; hence it is marked in bold.

[113] For an in-depth description of the physical appearance and arrangement of this manuscript see Ó Cuív (2001, 62–87).

and 1452, while the other was written between 1453 and 1454.[114] The scribe of the earlier part, i.e. ff. 59–72, 123–46, is not identified in the manuscript. However, it is believed he wrote for James Butler, the White or fourth earl of Ormond, who had a great love of learning and Irish antiquities.[115] The later parts of the manuscript, i.e. ff. 1–58, 73–122, were written for Edmund Butler, the nephew of James Butler.[116] The copy of *AC* is contained within this part of the manuscript, i.e. on fol. 42v. The main scribes at work in the later part of the manuscript have been identified as Seaán Buidhe Ó Cléirigh and Giolla na Naomh Mac Aodhagáin.[117] However, several others hands interject their work throughout this part of the manuscript.[118] The marginal notes and colophons illustrate that the scribes worked on the manuscript in the various houses of their patron, i.e. Kilkenny, Waterford and Tipperary.[119]

There are serveral sources cited in the manuscript from which material was copied. For instance, '*Saltair Chaisil*', '*Lebur Rathain*', '*Leabur in Prepain*' and '*Libur Buidhe Ferna*' are mentioned. *Saltair Chaisil* is referred to a total of seven times throughout the manuscript. However it is hard to say what material was certainly taken from this manuscript since some of the references to the Psalter appear to have been added after the completion of the manuscript. It could have been that the scribes copied from a manuscript 'masquerading' under the name of *Saltair Chaisil*.[120]

The short prose passage of *AC* is found on fol. 42vd1, beginning *Cet mac Magach ro telic in cloich* and ending with *oc glanad in maige*. It is written in a clear and steady

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[114] Ó Cuív 2001, 62.

[115] Ó Cuív 2001, 62. For a discussion on the provenance of 'The White Earl's Book', see O'Sullivan (1971, 134–137).

[116] For a discussion on the provenance of these particular sections in the manuscript and the life of Edmund Butler, see O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan (1971, 137–140).

[117] Ó Cuív 2001, 62–3.

[118] For a description of these hands and the pages they worked on, see Dillon (1960, 64–76); O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan (1971, 140–2).

[119] Ó Cuív (2001, 63); also Dillon (1960, 67). Anne and William O'Sullivan (1971, 138) comment that the inscriptions also show that the scribes 'shared their life with their patron, how they had to wait dinner for him, how they worried about his health and safety and the welfare of his children, how he grew impatient with their slow progress and drove them on to write on Sunday and even on Good Friday'.

[120] Dillon (1960, 66–7); O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan (1971, 150–1).

hand, believed to be that of Gilla na Naomh.[121] There are no remarkable scribal characteristics, apart from the use of hairstrokes to differentiate minims. The text ends with the closing formula *finit*, and is underlined in black and red ink, clearly indicating that the text ends at this point.[122] The copy of *AC* is headed by *salt*air $\overline{cc}$, written in red ink.[123] However, it is highly unlikely that it was copied from the original, now lost Psalter.[124] The language of this short introductory passage indicates it was written in the Middle Irish period.[125] Pádraig Ó Riain suggests that the motivation behind including this material as well as secular genealogies in the manuscript lies with Edmund Butler who was 'a man with good literary taste', supported by the fact that he employed scribes who themselves were 'slaves of current fashion'. The passage is found on the same page as some genealogies of Irish saints.

It is worth noting the following scribal characteristics:

a. The scribe frequently employs hair-strokes to distinguish minims, e.g. *ı́nchinn* (*inchinn*, brain'), fol. 42vd3; ***M**uníu* (*Mumu*), fol. 42vd7[126]; *do laigníb* (*do Laignib*, 'to Leinster'), fol. 42vd10.
b. The letter *q* is used for *cu* in con*qb*–, fol. 42vd5.
c. There is one example of a word written across a word boundary, i.e. *laig|nib* (*Laignib*, 'Leinster'), fol. 42vd10.

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[121] See Dillon (1960, 70–71). For a description of the characteristics of Gilla na Naomh's hand, see O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan (1971, 140–1).

[122] Bischoff (1990, 78) discusses the scribal technique of using different script to the main text hand 'to bring out the contrast between the material in the margin, headings, etc. and the main text [...] The emphasis on the EXPLICIT could be expressed in a variety of ways: through setting apart and wider spacing of the script, above all by enlargement of the writing'. However, he also points out that visual markers were used to show the end of texts: 'Lines and even words could be alternately written in black or red [...] so that not infrequently frames came into existence, [...]'.

[123] Ó Cuív 2001, 72.

[124] The psalter is traditionally dated to the early tenth century due to an ascription of the manuscript to Cormac mac Cuilennáin. See Ó Riain 1989, 107.

[125] See the linguistic discussion in Chapter 2.2.5. Ó Riain (1989, 119) comments briefly on the language of this passage, writing 'The three verbal forms *rotheilg* (from MI *teilcid*), *ná roléig* (from *léicid*) and *ro-indis* (from *indisid*) represent later Middle-Irish usage'. He (1989, 119) also notes that the text cannot originate from the original Psalter because in RIA D iv 2 it is attributed to Flann Mainistreach who died in 1056.

[126] See the textual note on [1d], in version D for a comment on this personal name.

RIA MS 1224 (D iv 2: formerly Stowe collection, hereafter referred to as S), fol. 52 (54) rb1-52 (54) vb6; 11 x 8 1/2cm; 15th century (?).[127]

This vellum and paper manuscript is generally well-preserved. The manuscript is the work of three scribes, two identified in colophons, i.e. Eóghan Ó hEachthigheirn and Seán Mac Aodhagáin, as well as an unidentified scribe. The catalogue provides no dating for the scribes of the manuscript except that Seán Mac Aodhagáin is considered either contemporary with or later than his fellow scribes, noting 'they were all probably fellow-students'.[128] The provenance of the manuscript is revealed as Co. Offaly by a colophon, i.e. *i Mainistir Chilli Cormaic*, fol. 52 (54) vb1. The friary of Kilcormac in Co. Offaly was established in 1406 and flourished until 1599.[129] The catalogue suggests that a late marginal entry *mccc* and a faded *1479* at the end of fol. 2 recto 'may be ignored' but no reason is given as to why these dates should not be considered. The first instance can possibly be dismissed on palaeographical grounds, assuming it is a later addition. It is this marginal entry that led Thurneysen to propose a date of 1300 for the composition of the manuscript,[130] and van Hamel asserted that the manuscript dates 'from probably the fourteenth century'.[131] Ó Concheanainn (1988, 11) refutes the views of Thurneysen and van Hamel and dates the manuscript to the 15th century, suggesting that Seán Mac Aodhagáin was probably identical with Seán Mac Conchobair, *ollamh* to Clann Riocaird, who died in 1487.[132]

The tale entitled *Oidhedh Concubuir Meic Nessa*, beginning *Ceat mac Madach rotheilg in cloich .i. inchind Miscedhra righ Laighean for Concubur*, was penned by Eóghan Ó hAchoideirn. It is written in two columns, in a neat and steady hand. The ruled lines are still visible on the page. There is no rubrication, but the initial capital of the text is enlarged, i.e. *Ceat*, fol. 52rb, l. 1.

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[127] *RIA Cat.*, pp. 3297–3307.

[128] *RIA Cat.* p. 3298.

[129] Cf. Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 289–290.

[130] See Thurneysen 1921, 50.

[131] The reason van Hamel (1933, 17, n. 1) gives for distrusting *mccc* is that it 'has been rudely scribbled by a late hand on the cover of the MS'.

[132] He substantiates this by reference to an entry in The Annals of the Four Masters: *Sean Mac Conchobhair Mec Aedaccain ollam Cloinne Riocaird* [...] (1985, 73 n. 4).

The tale is preceded by a previously unedited text, i.e *Tiumna Neill meic Echach Dia mhacaibh* and followed by two death-tales, i.e. *Oighedh na Tri nAedh* and *Oighed Derbforgaill*.[133] These three were also penned by Eóghan Ó hAchoideirn.

The text of *AC* in this manuscript is immediately followed by two verses attributed to Flann Mainistrech (†1056), as well as a poem *A chloch thall* 'O brain yonder'. The text does not conclude with *FINIT*, as it does in Laud. Instead, the text continues with the phrase *tri traighthi* sechtmog*at ina fot*, 'seventy-three feet was his length'.[134] This serves as a prelude to the following two verses, which are introduced by the phrase *ut dixit poeta .i. Flann* 'and the poet said, i.e. Flann' the first verse beginning *c*oica *traighed tolaib*h *t*lacht, 'fifty feet, abundance of delights'. The second verse in S is also found interpolated in E_2, beg. *Concobur cloithech a celg*, 'Conchobar, famous was his guile'. Moreover, textual unity is provided by the final line of the verse, i.e. *fu*air *tri traighthi* sechtmog*at*, 'he found seventy-three feet [of grave size]'.

The poem *A chloch thall* 'O brain yonder' is found independently in the *Book of Leinster* on p. 150a25–47, where it is surrounded by other metrical compositions.[135] It is attributed in LL to Cináed úa hArtacáin (†975), i.e. *cinæd .h. artacai*n .c̄c̄. Since this manuscript predates S by several hundred years, it is most likely that the poem *A chloch thall* was composed independently and not as part of the *AC* tradition. The compiler of S incorporated this poem with the other material related to *AC* because of the connection between Conchobar and Mess Gegrai's brain. The poem *A chloch thall* is not presented in this edition because it lies beyond the scope of the present thesis, which is to produce a critical edition of the early Irish narratives of *AC*.[136]

1.4.5 Other related manuscripts

The Ó Longáin MSS

Kuno Meyer (1906, vi) noted that, in addition to Seathrún Céitinn's EModIr version of the tale in *Foras Feasa ar Éireann*,[137] there are also copies found in RIA MS 917 (23 G

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[133] See Meyer 1910; Ingridsdotter 2009a.

[134] This verse is found independently on fol. 74r in Laud where it is not connected with the introductory passage of *AC* but with the Munster genealogies.

[135] Another copy of the poem is found in RIA B iv 2, fol. 150.

[136] However, I am currently preparing an edition for publication.

[137] Dineen 1908, 198–205, ll. 3065 – 3186.6 (hereafter cited as *FFÉ*).

21)[138] and RIA MS 184 (23 B 21).[139] I have further identified three manuscripts which also contain copies of the EModIr version in *FFÉ*.[140] These are as follows:

- RIA MS 999 (3 B 11), pp. 213 – 220, 8 9/10 x 5 4/5, 19th century.[141]
- RIA MS 183 (E vi 4: formerly of the Betham and Ashburnham Collection), pp. 300 - 310, 7 1/8 x 4 ¾, 19th century.[142]
- RIA MS 650 (23 0 22), pp. 149–153, 9 ½ x 7 1/10, 18th (?) century.[143]

While a thorough examination of the transmission and manuscript tradition of the EModIr version found in *FFÉ* remains a *desideratum*, it lies beyond the scope of this thesis.

Brussels 7672-4 Codex Salmanticensis, fols. 90a–94c.

The Codex Salmanticensis holds a collection of Latin Lives of Irish saints. Of particular interest is the perhaps eighth-century *Vita Sancti Albei* which contains a brief Latin passage on Conchobar's conversion and death.[144] Helen Imhoff has examined the textual relationship between the Latin passage and the Irish version and suggests that the passage in the *vita* may have influenced the version preserved in N.[145] An exhaustive examination of the two texts is required to determine whether the passage in the *vita* is in fact an

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[138] See *RIA Cat.*, pp. 2645–2657. This paper manuscript, consisting of 520 pages, was written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin. It was written at various dates and places in Munster from 1795 (the scribe's 29th year) to 1797, with later additions until 1828 (see pp. 109 and 380). This manuscript was formerly in the possession of Peadar Ó Longáin (Mícheál Óg's son), and later belonged to Sir William Betham. A later hand, possibly that of Eugene O'Curry, is evident in the manuscript and is responsible for a few corrections, notes and emendations. The manuscript is generally in good condition, apart from being soiled and worn at the edges.

[139] See *RIA Cat.*, pp. 502–504. This paper manuscript, consisting of 328 pages, was written in 1824 by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin and Peadar Ó Longáin. The manuscript was written for Uilliam (mac Domhnuill) Ó Duinninn in Cork.

[140] Imhoff (2012, 44) also refers to the *FFÉ* manuscript copies mentioned by Meyer.

[141] See *RIA Cat.*, pp. 2848–50. This paper manuscript, consisting of 340 pages, was written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin at Carraig na bhFear, in 1813, for Henry Joseph Heard of Cork. The manuscript is in good condition throughout and written in a clear hand.

[142] See *RIA Cat.*, pp. 501–2. This paper manuscript, consisting of 384 pages, was written in 1819 by Peattar Ó Longáin in Cork for Séamus de Róiste.

[143] See *RIA Cat.*, pp. 2015–2016. This paper manuscript, consisting of 244 pages, was written by Peattar Ó Longáin in 1734 (leg. 1834?) at Carraig na bhFear.

[144] See Heist 1965, 118–9.

[145] Imhoff 2012, 68–80, esp. 76. See also the discussion in respect of the date of the *vita* in Chapter 2.1.

original composition or whether it is a translation of an Irish passage of *AC*. However, this lies beyond the scope of the present thesis.

NLS MS Adv. 72.3.5 (formerly Gaelic LXXXIII), p. 224.4–225.7, 39.5 x 16 cm, 19th century.

This is a paper manuscript, consisting of vi + 260 pp. It contains transcripts made by Ewen MacLachlan in 1812 from nine manuscripts, which were sent to him by the Highland Society of Scotland.[146] After MacLachlan's death in 1850, the manuscript was donated to the Advocates' Library. One finds the titles *An Leabhar Caol* and *An Diabhal Caol* in Ewen MacLachlan's hand on the inside cover, a title which reflects the long shape of the manuscript.

MacLachlan transcribes the text of *AC* preserved in E_1, which he refers to as 'the deer-skin quarto' or *Leabhar Bian an Fheidh* because of its cover.[147] It should be noted that he does not transcribe the beginning of the text, i.e. p. 1, but starts only from the fifth line of p. 2 onwards.[148]

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[146] The following is found on p. i: 'copied in the Roman hand by Ewen McLachlan of Fortwilliam, Old Aberdeen, Anno 1812'. On p. 232, at the end of the transcription of the first section of NLS Adv. 72.1.40, he writes 'Abdn. Wed Oct. 14 1812.'

[147] For a comment on E_1's covers, see Chapter 1.5.3. Mac Lachlan provides a table of contents on page ii, which includes amongst others 'the deer skin quarto'. The full transcription of the top margin on p. 224 is: *O Leabhar Bian an Fheidh .i. Bas nan Laoch Eirionnach (1. Conchubar) (See Guthries' Gram. Edin. 1807 p. 353).*

[148] Similar to this, in his edition of E_1 in *The death-tales*, Kuno Meyer begins here also. See further discussion in Chapter 1.4.1 above.

1.5 Orthography of the manuscripts

The following section provides a description of the principal later features and peculiarities of the orthography of the manuscripts. The reading from the manuscript is provided first, with the restored text provided in parentheses. The relevant paragraph and section number is given in square brackets for reference.

1.5.1 LL

This manuscript contains the most conservative orthography of the four manuscripts which preserve a copy of version A and generally uses the orthography of the OIr period. However, it does contain some peculiarities and later features which are outlined below:

i. Confusion of writing final unstressed vowels. This is very common, considering the date of the manuscript, e.g. *liath*r*oit***e** (*líathróiti*) [1f]; *itarṅgere* (*i tairngiriu*) [4d]; *cutr–m*$_a$***e*** (*cutrummai*) [5h]; con*idt*ar***la*** (*conid tarlae*) [6c]. However, final -*iu* is preserved in the following instances, i.e. *dia cluch****iu*** (*día cluichiu*) [3c]; *co cluch****iu*** (*oca cluichiu*) [4a]; *is*$_i$*ndlath****iu****sa* (*isind laithiu-sa*) [11g]. Also, final -*u* is found on some occasions, e.g. *óc****u*** [1d]; *is*$_i$*n gill****u*** (*isin gillu*) [7g].

ii. The writing of *æ* for the diphthong *áe*, whereas in OIr this was used for *e* only (*GOI* §24.1), e.g. ***æl*** (áel) [1f]; *áth d*aire *dab****æ***th (*Áth Dairi Dá Báeth*) [7b].

iii. The writing of the sound /d/ with double *dd* e.g. *foch–****dd****at* (*fo-cerdat*) [6e]; ar***dd****achad* (*Ardachad*) [7f].[149]

iv. The writing of the sound /L/ with double *ll*, e.g. *a* ***ll****áim* (*a lláim*) [4c].[150]

v. The writing of the sound /m/ with double *mm* e.g. *i* **m*m***edón (*i medón*) [6a]; *i* ***mm****ulac*h (*i mullach*) [6c].[151]

vi. The writing of *gg* for /g/ rather than -*c*(*c*), i.e. n*ar nag* (*n-arnac*) BA [1a].[152] But note the orthographical variant *cc* for /g/, i.e. *f–lec****c****aind* (*fo-reilic*) BA [11b].

vii. The writing of *nd* as a variant for /N/ is seen frequently in the manuscript, i.e. *inchi****nd*** (*inchinn*) [1d]; *l*$_a$*echci****nd*** (*láechcenn*) [3f]. In the *rosc* poem, we find the writing of *nd* for /N/ before s, e.g. *i****nd****scib* (*inscib*) BA [13a].[153] However, *nd* is

[149] See *SnaG* III, §2.3.

[150] See *SnaG* III, §2.5.

[151] See *SnaG* III, §2.5.

[152] See *SnaG* III, §2.3.

[153] See *SnaG* III, §3.17.

generally preserved in the manuscript before vowels and *l*, e.g. *i**nd** lái*, 'of the day' [7i]; *i**nd** athis*, 'the blemish' [9e].

1.5.2 E_2

The orthographical system in E_2 has undergone far more modernisation than that of the orthography found in E_1. The following modernisations are observed:

i. The writing of *b*, *d*, *g* for OIr *p*, *t* and *c* respectively is very common, e.g. *meis**g**i* (*mescae*) [1b]; *na oi**g*** (*inna óic*) [2]; *liathroi**d*** (*líathróiti*) [1f]; *do ber**d**is* (*do-bertis*) [1g].

ii. The writing of *dh*, *bh*, *gh* for OIr *d*, *b*, *g* is very common, e.g. *inbai**dh*** (*inbaid*) §1; *nobi**dh*** (*no bíd*) [4e]; *mnai**bh*** (*mnáib*) [5m]; *di**gh**ail* (*dígal*) [4d]. Also *mh* for *m* in the following: *la**mh**uibh* (*lámaib*) [1g]; *iara**mh*** (*íarum*) [3a].

iii. The confusion of lenited palatal *g* with lenited palatal *d* is common in this manuscript, e.g. *lui**gh*** (*luid*) [3b]; *moi**gid**h* (*maidid*) [7b]; *dei**gh**inach* (*déidenach*) [7c]. And *vice versa*, e.g. *imarbai**dh*** (*immarbága*) [1c]; *birrai**g**i* (*Berraide*) [7e]. One finds also non-palatal *g* confused with *d*, e.g. *slua**d*** (*slúag*) [3b].

iv. Loss of a final lenited dental is seen in the following example: *moid**h**e* (*maidid*) [7g].

v. The omission of lenited *f* is seen in the following instances, i.e. *ardoidir* (*ó ro ḟitir*) [4d]; *doi**n**nad* (*ro-ḟinnad*) [9b]. Although it should be noted this is not a late feature and occurs in the Old Irish period itself (cf.*GOI* §237).

1.5.3 C

In comparison with LL, C has a greater tendency to modernise the orthography and predominantly represents the standards of the later Middle Irish period. The following later features can be noted:

i. The writing of *d* and g for OIr *t* and *c* respectively is common, e.g. *bad**a**r* (*bátar*) [4a], *é**g*** (*éc*) [9e].

ii. As is the case with LL, *nd* reflects an orthographic variant of *nn*, e.g. *cea**nd*** (*cenn*) [7e]. But we also find *nnd* and *n* as variants for *nn* and *nd*, e.g. *i**n**a* (*inna*) [5b]; *fon i**nnd**usa* (*foa n-indas-sa*) [2]; *hi**nd**iarmor**a**cht* (*in íarmoracht*) [5b].

iii. The confusion of lenited palatal *g* with lenited palatal *d* is common in this manuscript,[154] e.g. *ina diaigh* (*inna diad*) [5b]; ***D**o lluig* (*do-luid*) [5e]; *tuig*echt (*tuidecht*) [5f]. And *vice versa*, e.g. im*a*rbai**d**u (*immarbága*) [1c].[155]

iv. It is common that lenition is graphically represented on the lenited consonants *m*, *b*, *g*, e.g. *laimh* (*láim*) [4c]; *indeabaidh* (*in debaid*) [8a]; *liaigh* (*liaig*) [9a].

v. Loss of final lenited *d* occurs in the manuscript, i.e. *da rada* (*do-ratad*) [3a]; *moidhi* (*maidid*) [7g].

vi. Lastly, confusion of proclitic vowels is also seen, e.g. *a* for *i*: ***a**ntí* (*int-í*) [5k][156]; *i* for *a* e.g. *inis*$_{i}$*n* (*a n-í-sin*) [4b].

1.5.4 E_1

The orthography used in the copy of *AC* in E_1 is generally that of the OIr system. However, it is not without modernisation. The following later features are found:

i. The use of *g* and *d* for OIr *c*, and *t* respectively is found in the manuscript, e.g. *na hoig* (*óic*) [2]; *co tancadar* (*co torachtatar*) [5c][157]. However, *c* and *t* are also found, e.g. *no ocu* (*ócu*) [2]; *ł bitis* (*no bítis*) [1g]; *Cet* (*Cet*) [4b], etc.

ii. Lenition is written on *d* in the following instances: *nati–***h** (*tined*) [3b]; *ro guidh* (*gádatar*) [5f].[158] An instance of hypercorrect lenition is seen in the following: *cia* **gh***n*$_{i}$m (*cía gním*) [11g].

iii. The confusion of lenited palatal *g* with lenited palatal *d* is common in this manuscript, e.g. *muigid* (*maidid*) [8b]; *de*$_{i}$*g*ach (*déidenach*) [7c], and vice versa: *ro fuaided* (*ro úaiged*) [10a].

iv. The confusion of lenited *c* with lenited *t* is seen in *clu*$_{i}$***th**i* (*cluichiu*) [3c].[159]

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[154] See *SnaG* III, §3.18. Liam Breatnach has observed some examples of the confusion between lenited *d* and lenited *g*, especially when palatal, in MidIr sources (cf. *SnaG* III, §3.18; Jackson (1951, 83) dates the beginning of this confusion to the early twelfth century). However, the confusion of *-dh* and *-gh* becomes more frequent in thirteenth century and later Irish (cf. O' Rahilly, 1926, 164–7 and 187–94; *SnaG* IV, §2.16).

[155] Generally there is no confusion between non-palatal lenited *d* and *g* (*SnaG* III, §3.18), i.e. magach (*Mágach*) [3d]. See further discussion of this form in the textual note on [3d].

[156] cf. *SnaG* III, 3.29 for the former and latter examples.

[157] See the discussion on the emendation to *do-roachtatar* in the textual note on [5c].

[158] However, generally lenition is not marked on the voiced fricatives and lenited *m*, i.e. *mnaib* (*mnáib*) [5m]; *lamuib* (*lámaib*) [1g]; *medon* (*medón*) [6a]; *lagn*$_{i}$*b* (*Laignib*) [11j].

[159] See *SnaG* IV, §2.14.

v. Loss of *d* (through delenition and assimilation) is found in the following instance: con*ide* (*conid de*) [7h].

1.5.5 N

The orthography used throughout the prose of *AC*, preserved in N, generally is that of the Old Irish system. It will be seen from the survey below that the orthography of the *rosc* poem is more conservative than that used in the prose passage. The following section outlines any modernisations and notes any distinctive orthographical features to the contrary:

i. Final *-o* is written as *-a* in the manuscript, e.g. gen. sg. *b*eth***a*** (*betho*) [3a] and in the *rosc*, *aru*m*eda* (*ar, mu fedo*) [13a]. However, final *-o* is written in the *rosc* passage, e.g. *netho* (*nítho*) [2b], *neco* (*n-éco*) [11b]. Confusion between *-o* and *-a* begins already in the Wb. glosses, but the former is still predominant, i.e. gen. sg. of *i-/u-* stems = 115 x *-o* vs. 65 x *-a*.[160] The evidence from the St. Gall glosses is more evenly balanced, i.e. 47 x *-o* vs. 44 x *-a*.[161]

ii. Diphthongs are generally preserved throughout the text, but the following show modernisation: *b**ai*** (*boí*) [1a]; *cl**oe**mclodaib* (*coímchlódaib*) [1c] against *d**óe**nai* (*dóendai*) [2b]. In the *rosc*, the use of *aí* is seen in *b**ai**t* (*baíth*; OIr *báeth*) [5a]; *s**oi**r cob–* (*soírchobair*) [3a]. The graphic representation of *oí* and *uí* represent the same sound by 700 at earliest,[162] and therefore, they were both used as variant spellings from early on. Thus, in the *rosc* we find: *cich**oi**ntir* (*ce choíntir*) [4a]; *d–co**i**nti* (*derchoínteo*) [8a]; *roch**u**¡nem* (*-rochuínem*) [8b]; *d**ui**r coirp* (*duírchoirp*) [8c].

iii. The ligature *æ* is used frequently in the *rosc* passage, representing *e* /e/ rather the later use for *ae*, i.e. *forleten**æ*** (*for letene*, 'against the persecution') [3b];

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[160] Strachan 1903, 473, n.1.

[161] I base these numbers on the collection of gen. sg. *i-* and *u*-stems given by Strachan (1903, 472–3). Strachan attempted to identify different strata in the St. Gall glosses and used the aforementioned gen. sg. nouns as a guideline. He found that different sections of the codex could be identified by different tendencies of spelling the gen. sg. vocalism in auslaut. Strachan thereby identified six layers which he broke down as follows: pp 1–40, 7 x *-o* vs. 10 x *-a*; pp. 50-150, 10 x *-o* vs. 24 x *-a*; pp. 150–202, 21 x *-o* vs. 2 x *-a*; pp. 202–10, 4 x *-o* vs. 8 x *-a*; pp. 215–16, 4 x *-o* vs. 0 x *-a*.

[162] See Cowgill 1967, 137.

atumcichtæ (*atum-chichte*) [5a]; *cichestæ* (*ce chéste*) [7a].[163] However, note the following instance where the ligature may stand for *ae*, i.e. *canæ nartrig* (*chain óen-artreg*) [4b].

iv. The palatal glide is generally written in the prose passage, e.g. *concre*$_{i}$*d* (*co creit*) [2c]; *mait* (*maith*) [2c]. However, it is omitted on occasion also (cf. *GOI* §86), e.g. *manubet* (*ma nu beith*) [3b]; and in the *rosc* also, e.g. *bemmis* (*bemmis*) [10a]. More important is the occasional non-writing of the non-palatal *a*-glide, a feature of archaic spelling (cf. *GOI* §103.5), e.g. *artrig* (*artrig*) [1a];[164] con*ciuchlis* (*con-cichlis*) [2a]; *crochsiti* (*crochsite*) [8c]. Corthals suggests that the letter *a* in the following example is scribal, i.e. *atbelm*$_{a}$*is* (*at-bélmis*) [9b]. See also the collection of other instances with subscript *a* in Chapter 1.4.2.

v. The writing of *g*, *d*, and *b* for OIr *c*, *t* and *p* occurs in the following instances: *sgel* (*scél*) [1e]; *concre*$_{i}$***d*** (*co creit*) [2c]; con*ide**b**ilt* (*condid-epalt*) [4b].

vi. The writing of *nd* for *nn* /N/ and *nn* for *nd*, e.g. *i**nd**sip* (*insib*), [1d]; *i**nn**us* (*indas*) [2a]; cos*esce*$_{a}$***nd*** (*co sescainn*) [4b].

vii. The writing of double vowels to show length is found in the rosc, e.g. ***moo*** (for *mó*) [4b];[165] ***dee*** (*Dee* or *Dé*) [6a]; ***roo**sat* (*-roosat* or *-rósat*) [8c] against *scíth* [7a] (cf. *sciith*, Wb. 18a2). Corthals suggests that the double vowel in ***bee**in* (*beinn*) [6a] marks 'a half-long syllable'.[166] However, this may be scribal.[167] The use of double vowels to mark length is an archaic device found in the Cambrai Homily and the *prima manus* of Würzburg glosses, less by the main glossator and not at all in the Milan glosses.[168] There is one instance of double vowels to show length in the prose passage, i.e. ***dee*** (*dé*, 'of him') [4c]. On the other hand, the use of double vowels is also a Middle Irish convention, due to the hiatus spelling coming back into fashion under the influence of the likes of *láa* etc. (see *SnaG* III, §2.8).

viii. The mark of lenition is frequently omitted on the letters *t* and c in the *rosc*, e.g. in *croch**a**t* (*crochath)* [4a]; *croit**f**inn* (*crothfinn*) [6b]; *rai**t*** (*ráith*) [11a]; *atumcichtæ*

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[163] The ligature *æ* was used to represent *e* in the glosses (see *GOI* §24.1; e.g. *ælis*, Wb. 28d24, beside *eclis*, 16d6).

[164] See further the textual note on [1a] for a discussion of this word.

[165] LL also reads *moo*. See the discussion for this restoration in the textual note on [4b].

[166] Corthals 1989, 58.

[167] See further the discussion in the textual note on [6a].

[168] See *RelChron*. 28–9.

(*atum-chichthe*) [5a]; *d–cointi* (*derchoínteo*) [8a]; *dicmairc* (*díchmairc*) [10b].[169] The fact that lenition of *t* and *c* is absent is not necessarily as a result of the *spiritus asper* being lost in transmission but rather an orthographical trait that is likewise seen in OIr sources such as the Würzburg glosses *a prima manu*, i.e *cetarcoti* (OIr *cetharchoti*); *cómtinól* (*comthinól*) etc. It should be noted that this occurs in the prose passage also, e.g. *isin mbit* (*isin mbith*) [1e]; *mait* (*maith*) [2c]; *a cumang*, (*a chumang*) [3a]; *crocs*$_i$*ti* (*crochsite*) [3b].

1.5.6 LFF

The orthography used in this manuscript has undergone considerable modernisation and largely reflects the manuscript's date of compilation, i.e. the fifteenth century. The following later features are found in the text:

i. Note the introduction of neutral glide after *e*, e.g. e.g. *leatha* (*Letha*) [1c]; *do teasraguin* (*do thesarcain*) [2c]; *do deachaid* [2c]; *teimheal* (*teimel*) [4c].[170]

ii. The writing of *dh*, *gh*, for OIr *d*, *g*, e.g. *fo**gh**luim* (*foglaim*) [1b]; *loi**gh**nib*h (*Laignib*) [1b].

iii. The writing of *d*, *g* for OIr *t*, *c*, e.g. *sgel* (*scél*) [2a]; *rombadar* (*ro mbátar*) [4d].

iv. The writing of *b* for *f*, e.g. *fia**b**raid*hus (*fíafraigis*) [1c].

v. The writing of *b* for lenited *m*, e.g. *donæm neim*h (*nóebnim*) [2c].

vi. The use of *ll*, *nn*, *rr*, for continuants *l*, *n* and *r*, e.g. *la hu**ll**tu* (*la hUltu*) [1a]; *mui**rr**thuini* (*Muirtheimne*) [1a]; *i**nn**ti* (*inti*) [4i].

vii. The confusion of *d* and *g* is frequently seen in the text: (a) palatal lenited *d*(*h*) for *g*, e.g. *lui**gh*** (*luid*) [1b]; (b) confusion of palatal lenited *g* for *d*, i.e. *lai**g**si* (*in laíd-se*) [4j].

viii. Use of *dh* for *th*,[171] e.g. *faid*hi (*fáithi*) [2b].

ix. The use of *ch* for *th* and variant *d*, e.g. *a crand croi**th**i* (*i crann croiche*) [2e]; *a croi**d** he* (*i croich é*) [4f].

x. The loss of lenited *d* in non-final position, e.g. *fili*chta (*filidechtae*) [1b].

xi. non-historical final *d*(*h*) and *g*(*h*), e.g. *dorinnidh*.[172]

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[169] See Thurneysen 1901a, 49.

[170] However, the text also has counter-examples, e.g. *scela* (*scéla*) [1c]; *do pecad*h (*do pecad*) [2c] etc.

[171] *SnaG* IV, §2.15.

[172] See the textual note on [2b] in version B.

xii. Combinations of the late features mentioned above, e.g. *draig*h (*druí*) [1b]; *ro suig*h (*ro suí*) [4c].

xiii. Lenition is frequently omitted, e.g. *do teasraguin* (*do thesarcain*) [2c]; *an cei*neoil (*in cheineóil*) [2e]; *iar na cesadh* (*íarna chésad*) [2f].

1.5.7 Laud

The orthography in this text adheres to the OIr orthographical system. For instance *c* and *t* are written for /g/ and /d/, i.e. *ro teil***c** [1b], *c–***t***ach* (*cumtach*, 'cover') [1d]. Lenition is generally not written on *b*, *d*, *g* or *m*, i.e. *do***t***a***b**air*t* (*do thabairt*) [1c], *rig (ríg)* [1b], *lai***g***en* (*Laigen*) [1b], *la***m***raige* (*Lámraige*) [1f]. However, it is written in *immuig***h** (*immuig*) [1d]. Unstressed vowels in final open position were reduced to schwa by the time the scribe was writing and therefore, cannot be taken seriously in a manuscript such as this dated to the Early Modern Irish period. The scribe is inconsistent in marking lenition. Lenition is marked on *c* and *t*, e.g. *magac*h (*Mágach*) [1b]; *inchinn* (*inchinn*) [1b], and *daire dá ba*^{e}*th* (*Daire Dá Baeth*) [1b]. However, lenition is omitted in *ro teilc* (*ro theilc*, 'who threw') [1b], *do tab*air*t* (*do thabairt*) [1c], *incerd* (*in cherd*, 'the smith') [1d], *fria*cen*n* (*fria chenn*) [1d].

1.5.8 S

The orthography has undergone some modernisation, in comparison to the text preserved in Laud. The following features are noted:

i. The writing of of *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, and *mh* for OIr *b*, *d*, *g* and *m* is used frequently, e.g. *da***bh***æth* (*Dá Baeth*) [1b]; *glana***dh** (glanad) [1g]; *Fin***gh***en* (*Fíngen*) [1c].

ii. The writing of *d* and *g* for OIr *t* and *c* is used in *cum**d**ach* (*cumtach*) [1d], *ro**t**heilg* (*ro theilc*) [1b].

iii. Confusion of non-palatal lenited *d* and *g* occurs in *ma**d**ach* (*Mágach*) [1b]. There is also confusion of palatal lenited *d* and *g* in *misce**dh**ra* (*Mesgegra*) [1b].

iv. Proclitic vowels are generally preserved, except in **a**c (*oc*) [1g], and ***a**muich* (*immuig*) [1d].

v. As is the case with Laud, S is inconsistent in marking lenition. Thus, we find lenition marked in *ro**th**eilg* (*ro theilc*) [1b], *do **th**ab–t* (*do thabairt*) 1c, *asa **ch**ind* (*asa chinn*) [1c]. On the other hand, lenition is omitted in *ria **c**enn* (*fria chenn*) [1d], *do* conc*h–* (*do Chonchobur*) [1e].

1.6 Relationship of the witnesses

It is vital for the purpose of producing a critical edition to examine in detail the manuscripts' textual differences and shared corruptions or errors in order to establish the independence of each manuscript. This section endeavours to examine the (inter)relationships amongst the surviving manuscript copies of *AC*, with a view to reconstructing the line(s) of transmission. Any intermediate splits in the lines of transmission will also be established. This applies in particular to version A, which is found in four manuscript copies.

The following are the corresponding manuscript versions:

1. *Ba aprainn*: LL, N.
2. Version A: LL, C, E_1, E_2.
3. Version B: N, LFF.[173]
4. Version C: LFF.
5. Version D: Laud, S.

1.6.1 Ba aprainn

Corthals (1989, 43) has observed that the copies of *Ba aprainn* preserved in LL and N are 'reflexes of a lost archetype'. According to him, the possible omission of an *n*-stroke in *machotócbaimmis*, LL and *machutooccaibmis*, N (*ma chuton-ocbaimmis* [9b]) suggests that these copies descend from a common source that was not an original. Although N preserves the more conservative orthography reflecting the phonological system at the time of composition c. 700, this is not conclusive in proving it is independent of LL. It is only through the presence of errors in LL which are not in N, that one can show N is not derived from LL. One such example is perhaps found in [13c]. LL does not contain the word *airined* 'humbling' and its sentence begins with *dom*. I tentatively suggest that LL did not copy *airined* due to *homoioteleuton*. The exemplar had *airomun airined* and I am proposing that the scribe may have omitted the second word as a result of eye-skip. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the inclusion of *airined* is required in order to fulfill linking alliteration, i.e. the final word of [13b] alliterates with the first word of the next line. Therefore, the presence of *airined* in N, but not in LL, supports the suggestion that N is not copied from LL.

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[173] In this version, corresponding text is found interpolated in LFF. Therefore, it is necessary to compare these two to make sure that neither is a copy of the other.

1.6.2 Version A

It is evident from the discussion that follows that the four witnesses which contain copies of version A form two independent lines of descent from a common ancestor.[174] I have divided these manuscripts into two groups, i.e. LL/C and E_1/E_2. The following four categories highlight the differences between the two groups:[175]

I. Material in LL/C not in E_1/E_2, and *vice versa*:

	LL	C	E_1	E_2
[1c][176]	**móra**	**moru**	[ ]	-
[1c]	**etar*ro***	**et*arra***	-	-
[1c]	-	-	[ ]	curadaib
[1c]	-	-	**mb*uad*ach**	**mbuadach**
[1e]	-	-	uair	ar
[2]	**fon i*n*nasa**	**fon innd*us*a**	-	-
[2]	**ón**	**on**	-	-
[3d]	-	-	**do *connach*taib**	**do *con*nach*t*aib*h***
[3e]	-	-	is docom*la*	as docomla
[5a]	**seo*m***	**si*m***	-	-
[5a]	**i*n*tí**	**inti**	-	-
[5a]		-	**f*or* creic*h***	**for creich**
[5b]	**i*n* i*ar*morac*h*t**	**hind iarmoracht**	-	-
[5b]	**i*n*a diaid**	**ina diaigh**	-	-
[5b]	-	-	ro gabso*m*	ro gabso*m*
[5c]	**da*nó***	**do*nó***	-	-

[174] Helen Imhoff has also examined the relationship between the manuscripts but focuses mainly on the narrative elements shared between the witnesses, see Imhoff 2012, 58–68.

[175] The layout and categories of the following investigation have been influenced by Vernam Hull's critical edition of *Noínden Ulad* (Hull 1968b, 5–13). In each one of the following lists, I mark the readings of the manuscripts which appear in the archetype in bold. For further comment on individual readings, as well as emended forms, see the corresponding textual note.

[176] The number of the line corresponds to where in the textual analysis each word is found, rather than manuscript page and line number, to allow for ease of comparison of the readings if so required. Not only unambiguous *compendia*, but also ambiguous abbreviation-strokes are expanded in italics for ease of reading.

[5d]	-	-	sin	sin
[5f]	***Con*id**	***con*ad**	-	-
[5f]	**do**	**do**	-	-
[5l]	-	-	***connacht***	***con*nacht**
[6b]	**mes .g.**	**meas .g*ra*.**	[ ]	-
[6e]	**co tor*char*seom**	**co tor*chair*sim**	-	-
[7b]	**doridis$_i$**	**doridisi**	-	-
[9a]	**t*ra***	**tra**	-	-
[11i]	-	-	**donith*er***	**dognith*er***
[11j]	***ar in* drúi**	**or in drai**	-	-
[11j]	ro geni siu	ro genu sa	-	-
[11j]	-	-	a co*m*ais f*r*it si	i comaisi f*r*it su

II. Use of different words or words with different suffixes in LL/C as compared with E_1/E_2, and vice versa:

	LL	**C**	**E_1**	**E_2**
[1b]	**fec*h*t na*n*d**	**f*echt* an*n***	[ ]	fecht naill
[1e]	**curaid**	**curaid**	[ ]	treinfer
[1f]	***airth*ib**	**airtaib**	[ ]	fær lais
[1g]	**doib**	-	q[..]	qq
[3a]	**forud**	**forad**	uat*h*ni	uai*n*e
[3f]	**IS *ed***	**IS *ed***	is an*n*	Is and
[3f]	**si*d*e**	**sid*h*e**	siu*m*	sen
[5d]]	**Fec*hair***	**fich*air***	[ ]r	foc*h*erdat*ar*
[5f]	**gadat*ar***	**gatatar**	ro guid*h*	ro guid*h*sed
[5g]	**Fo bít*h***	**fo bit*h***	oir	*air*
[5k]	**intí**	**anti**	in f*er* si*n*	[ ]
[6e]	**fri l*ár***	**fria lar**	roi*m*e a talm*ain*	roim*h*e man talmui*n*
[6f]	**Foch*er*ddat**	**fo c*er*dat**	Reitit	rithaid
[6f]	**ul*aid***	**ul*aid***	na fir	na fira
[6f]	***con*id**	***con*id**	co	gu
[7a]	**Maidid**	**Moidigh**	Sraint*er*	Sraint*er*
[7b]	**Do b*er*tar**	**do b*er*tar**	Muidid	**M**oigid*h*
[7c]	**mo brithse ass**	**mo breit*h* sin**	Is e i*n*deigac*h*	[ ]deig*h*inach

[8a]	***Con*ócbad**	***con*baid**	ro bas	ro bas
[8a]	**i*n* debaid**	**in deabaid*h***	a*con* deb*aid*	ogan deabaig*h*
[10c]	**dó**	**dó**	fai	fæ
[10c]	**e*t*raiged**	**h^{e}traigh$_{i}$**	tis*ad*	tisad
[11b]	**naco**	**cu**	*cusin* u*air*	gusi nai*m*sir
[11b]	do iudaidib	diu iudaig$_{i}$u	**la iud*aib***	***la hiudaib*h**
[11f]	Cre$_{a}$t	Cret	**Cid**	**Cid**
[11g]	olc	olc	**g*h*ni*m***	**gni*m***
[11j]	ro gein	ro gein	**ro genad**	**ro genar**
[12b]	-	mac c*air*p*ri*	**m*ac* mai*n***	**m*ac* main**

III. Lack of agreement between LL/C and E$_{1}$/E$_{2}$ regarding forms of the same word:

	LL	**C**	**E$_{1}$**	**E$_{2}$**
[1e]	**assa cendaib**	**asa ceann*a*ib**	asa ci*n*dia	asa chind
[2]	**f*r*im sa**	**rfriu*m* sa**	ri*m* si	ri*m* sa
[3d]	**la ulto**	**la ul*to***	la hult*aib*	la hultuib*h*
[4b]	**Ro cluined*ar***	**Ro cluinitir**	Ro cual*aid*	Ro clui*n*
[4d]	**O ro fit*ir***	**o ro fitir**	r do feit*ir*	ar doidir
[5a]	tánai	tanaig*h*	**tai*n***	**tain**
[6d][177]	nos teilc	nos teilg	teilgi*d*	rotelgust*er*
[6d]	**co *m*bát*ar***	**co mbad*ar***	[ ]	go rabad*ar*
[9c]	**as do chi*nd***	**ass do cin*n***	asa cend	asa ci*n*d
[9d]	**not ícfai*n*d**	**nat iccfuin*n***	ro hicfait*her*	ro hicfait*her*
[9d]	**duit**	**duit**	dó	do
[10a]	**a c*h*end**	**a ceann**	i*n* cen*t*	cend *con*chub*air*
[11f]	**f*r*ia druid**	**f*r*ia draig*h***	f*r*ia druidib	f*r*ia a druigtib*h*

[177] See the the textual note on [6d] for the discussion on these MidIr verbal forms.

IV. Agreement of LL/C in common error not shared by E_1/E_2:

There are two *lacunae* in LL/C, due to text having been omitted. The first *lacuna* occurs at the end of [3b] and the beginning of [3c]:[178]

> Luid cách a leth*i* ***arnabarach****h*[179] dia cluc*h*iu. Dolluid dan*ó* cet m*ac* matac*h* doc*huair*t ectra la ulto, 'The next day, everyone went his own direction to his sport. Then Cet mac Mágach went on a round of adventures among the Ulstermen', LL.
>
> luid dan*ó* cac*h* in leaith*i* **arnabarach** dia cluice. **D**oluid d*idiu* ceat m*ac* magach do cuairt ea*chtr*a la ull*taib*, 'The next day then everyone went his own direction to his sport. Then Cet mac Mágach went on a round of adventures among the Ulstermen', C.

The exemplar from which LL/C derives omits a portion of text here through haplography, caused by *homoioteleuton*. The scribe's eye sees the first occurring *arnabarach* in the text. After looking up from the page momentarily, he reverts his attention back to the manuscript, and his eye skips to the next *arnabarach*, omitting not only all of the text between these two words but also the second instance of *arnabarach*. The text omitted in LL/C is found in the Edinburgh manuscripts:

> Luid cach in co*nair* ***arnamar*** do*n*tsl– do [ ] oi*n*m– *conc*– dobad– a ci*nn* na tin–*h* 7 *in* cai*n*gen mor doro*n*ad i*mon* i*ncinn*. B–ait $s_i$dei*n*[ ] amac*h* ***arnamar–h*** $doclu_i$th*i* nahemna,
>
> 'The next day everyone from the host went in his own path [ ] Conchobar's fools were by the fire and the great fuss that was made about the brain. They carried [it] outside the next day to play in Emain', E_1.
>
> luig*h* cach alethe dontsluad ***arnamaruch***. At*con*cad– t*r*a daoinm*h*id *con*chub–cindt$_i$*n*ed a*n*caingen mor dorig*h*ned*h* imoncind inoid*h*che s_in ist$_i$g*h* 7 nosberad leo **iarnamaruch** amach diachluic*h*e,
>
> 'The next day everyone from the host went his own direction. Conchobar's two fools had seen before the fire the great fuss that was made about the brain that night inside and they carried it with them outside the next day to play with it', E_2.

The text in E_1 and E_2 represents the more complete and logical version against LL and C, which are very abrupt. This passage provides two important narrative elements, i.e. the jesters hearing the claim about the brain, as well as explaining how the jesters came to be

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[178] I provide the manuscript transcriptions throughout and my own translation both here and throughout the introduction unless stated otherwise.

[179] The word which causes the scribe to skip text is marked in bold in the following passages.

in possession of the brain. Thus, it allows for better continuity in the narrative in contrast to the short text found in LL and C, which does not develop the storyline.

The next *lacuna* occurs in [4a]. The text as it stands in LL and C is somewhat vague because it is not stated what the fools say and therefore, it is not clear what Cet overhears. This is because text has been omitted in LL/C's exemplar possibly due to error. The scribe copies the first *araile* and then his eye skips ahead to the last occurring *araile*, and omits the entire passage in between as a result of *homoioteleuton*:

> INtan bát*ar* naónmite [o]co cluc*h*iu doi*n*chi*n*d mes g*e*g*r*ai. ISs*ed* atb*e*r*t* indónmit f*r*i **araile**. Rocluined*ar* cet anís*i*n,
>
> 'When the jesters were playing with the brain of Mess Gegrai, this is what one said to the other. Cet hears that', LL.

> i*n*tan bada*r* na hoinmidiu oc cluit*h*e do incin*n* mes g*e*g*r*a. is*ed* atb*e*r*t* inoinmit f*r*ia ***ar*oile**. Ro clui*n*it*er* ceat inis*i*n,
>
> 'When the jesters were playing with the brain of Mess Gegrai, this is what one said to the other. Cet hears that', C.

The full reading is found in the Edinburgh manuscripts; although E_1 is partially corrupt (see further discussion below):[180]

> Anta*n* bat*ar* nahoi*n*m[ ] cl*u*i*t*[ ]i*n*$_7$ las[*nn sin*][181] misg*era* $_7$ is *ed* ader*d*is no foet*h* ri d_i. Ro cual*aid* Cet i*n*is*i**n*,
>
> 'When the jesters were playing with the [brain] of Mess Gegrai and they kept on saying, "a king will die from it". Cet hears that', E_1.[182]

> **IN**tan iaram bad*ar* nahoi*n*midi icluit*h*che doninchind .i. do inchind mesgera for lar na faithche isand sin adb*e*red*h* i*n*oinmid f*r*ia **araile** dib sin aso aso ari*n*oinm*h*id f*r*ia **araili** agalægadh ara ceile dofæth rig*h* de or **araile**. **R**oclui*n* cet i*n*nisi[.],

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[180] I presented these findings in a conference paper at the 14th International Congress of Celtic Studies in 2011. Helen Imhoff (2012, 55) also suggests that there may be the presence of a *lacuna* in [4a] of LL and C. Imhoff (2012, 55) correctly points out that the dialogue between the fools is abrupt in LL and C, when compared with the other dialogue passages found in the tale, noting also that 'we are not told what the fools actually say to one another'. However, Imhoff (2012, 55) is vague in outlining what text exactly is omitted, and writes that 'the slightly extended version of the story of the fools in [E_2] certainly suggests that some text may have been lost in L and RIA MS C i 2'. Moreover, she fails to identify and discuss in detail the exact cause for the omission of this particular passage in LL and C, i.e. eye-skip due to the *homoioteleuton* in [4a], although she briefly refers to my conclusion that text has been omitted in [3a] due to eye-skip, without elaborating on this either (2012, 55 n. 41)).

[181] The text is corrupt and the manuscript is unclear in this particular section.

[182] It should be noted that the E_2's reading is superior to E_1. E_1's scribe has also omitted text due to error on this occasion (see further discussion below).

> 'After that, when the fools were playing with the brain, that is the brain of Mess Gegrai, in the centre of the green, one fool was saying to the other "Behold, behold", said the fool to the other. "Pass it over!" said his companion. "A king will fall on account of it", said the other. Cet hears that', E_2 (trans. by Imhoff 2012, 56).

Therefore, it is evident that there is text missing in LL and C because the text as it stands is illogical, i.e. the jesters say something but it is not stated what they say and thus the use of *ro-cluinedar Cet a n-í-sin*, 'Cet hears that' is unconnected. This is very vague and does not enlighten the audience or develop the storyline. In contrast with this, the full passage contained in E_1 and E_2 provides the reader/audience with what it is that Cet overhears, i.e. the utterance by the fools.

Thus, the shared errors in LL and C place these manuscripts together, descending from a shared exemplar.[183] More important, however, is that these shared errors in LL/C demonstrate that the Edinburgh manuscripts did not descend from LL, or LL/C's exemplar.

I turn now to the relationship between E_1 and E_2. Helen Imhoff has suggested that the Edinburgh manuscripts are closely related and that a 'close textual relationship is confirmed by the strong similarities in wording and structure [...]'.[184] For instance, she observes that the absence of *Ba aprainn* and the shared ending in which Conchobar dies in a frenzy sets these manuscripts apart from LL/C. However, it is worth pointing out that although Imhoff, and Clancy, are correct in asserting that the Edinburgh manuscripts are related, it is only through significant shared innovations that a common descent can be surmised. For instance, in relation to the Cenn mBerraide episode, Imhoff (2012, 54) suggests that it 'has been placed nearer the end of the tale'.[185] This is supported by the innovatory phrase found at the beginning of the passage in the Edinburgh manuscripts:

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[183] It would be difficult to assume that such a corruption would be transferred from one line of transmission to another which would result in contamination of the second branch, cf. Maas (1958, 8 §10).

[184] Imhoff 2012, 53. See also Clancy 1996, 89–90. Thomas Owen Clancy has observed that LL and the Edinburgh manuscripts divide 'into two streams' and that E_1 and E_2 are similar in content. However, Clancy does not include RIA C i 2 in his discussion.

[185] Imhoff (2012, 94) argues that this episode fits well into LL, which includes *Ba aprainn*, and that 'the scene serve[s] as foreshadowment or as symbolic of Conchobar's eventual relinquishment of royal power and status'. She (2012, 95) suggests that its positioning in the Edinburgh manuscripts limits its effectiveness. However, I would argue that its positioning here has another narrative purpose which conveys a different redactorial interpretation of this passage and of how Conchobar is depicted at the end of the tale. See further discussion in Chapter 3.7.

*Ise indeigach adub*airt *conc*hobar, 'this the last [thing] that Conchobar said', E_1; *Is* e *deighinach tra* [ ]*chub*ar, 'this is the last [thing] then that Conchobar said', E_2. The MidIr redactor replaces *mo brith-se ass*! *ol Conchobar*, 'Let me be carried out of this! said Conchobar' with the latter in order to fit it in with the narrative. There are other common non-trivial innovations shared between E_1 and E_2 which suggests that they are descended from a common source such as the use of the MidIr perf. passive of the substantive verb *attá* 'to be' (OIr *ro-both*) against con*ócbad*, LL; con*baid*, C. For other examples, see the shared innovations in the Category II above.

To this can be added a further instance, where a sentence has been transposed, most likely in the exemplar to E_1/E_2. In LL/C we find:[186]

> **O rofit*ir* cet ro bói ita*r*ṅgere do mess g*egrai* adigail iarnaécaib**. Ca*ch* cat*h* ⁊ ca*ch* irga nobíd dochon*nachta* fr*i*ulto dobered cet i*nninch*ind i*nnach*riss d*ús* i*n*te t*arth*ad ec*ht* na*m*ra dultaib dom*arbad* di,
>
> 'For Cet knew that Mess Gegrai's vengeance after his death had been prophesied. Every battle and every combat which the men of Connacht had with the Ulstermen, Cet used to carry the brain in his girdle to see whether he could accomplish killing a famous warrior of the Ulstermen with it', LL [4d] – [4f].
>
> **oro fitir ceat abeit*h* at*a*rrngaire do meis g*egra* adigail *arna* écaib** ca*ch* *cat*h ⁊ ca*ch* irgal nobid*h* do *conachtaib*h fr*i*a ul*to* do b*e*read ceat ininci*nn* ina c*r*iss d*us* intaradh ec*ht* nad*h* am*r*a dul*taib* do m*arbad* dii, C [4d] – [4f]. See above for LL's translation.

However, we find the sentence, marked in bold, in LL/C at a later point in the text of E_1 and E_2:

> Ga*ch* *cath* ⁊ irg*al* ł bid a *connachtaib* fri hult*aib* [do] b*e*red Cet an*i*ncin*n* [.]a c*r*is da fis i*n* rois*eth* lais ec*ht* eici*n* bud a*m*ra la [ ] di [a]r **do feit*ir*. cet coroibi at*a*rng*i*ri do misc*egra* adigailt**,
>
> 'Every battle and every combat which the Connachtmen used to have with the Ulstermen, Cet [used to] bring the brain in his girdle to see if he could succeed [killing] a famous warrior [of the Ulstermen] with it. For Cet knew that Mess Gegrai's vengeance had been prophesied', E_1.
>
> gach ec ⁊ gech *conair* irg*h*ail iteiged nobid*h* et*e*r *con*n*acht*aib*h* ⁊ulaid*h*. dob*e*rid da*no* cet i*n*inchind lais i*n*acris dus infuig*h*ed*h* echt amra doulltaib*h* do marbad*h* de **ardoidir cet robai at*air*[..]iri domeisgeadra adig*h*ail fei*n* iarnaeguib*h***,
>
> 'Every death and every path of battle in which he used to go, amongst the Connachta and the Ulaid, Cet then carried the brain with him in his belt to see if he was able to kill a famous warrior of the Ulstermen with it. For Cet knew that Mess Gegrai's own vengeance after his death had been prophesied', E_2.

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[186] I mark the sentence in question in bold to make it easier to identify.

Since both LL/C and E_1/E_2 descend independently from a shared exemplar, either branch can have the original here. It could be that LL/C's exemplar has moved this text forward and that the Edinburgh manuscripts follow the original, as the context allows for both scenarios to make sense. On the other hand, given that the exemplar of E_1/E_2 moved the Cenn mBerraide episode, the argument in favour of E_1/E_2 here is less cogent.

LL/C and E_1/E_2 are clearly interrelated and descend from the same MidIr exemplar, as is evident by the following shared readings, for example:

	LL	**C**	**E_1**	**E_2**
[1d]	coro acilliur	coro aigill*ar*	[ ]ailler	gor aigillear

It is perhaps somewhat doubtful that each copyist introduced the exact same post-OIr innovation. Thus, these modernisations could indicate that the OIr archetype was copied by an intermediary MidIr scribe, which in turn was subsequently copied by the shared source of LL/C and E_1/E_2. In [1d], the witnesses have *coro acilliur*, rather than OIr *co n-árladar*, which sees the *ro* particle acting as a proclitic conjunct particle (see further the textual note on [1d]). The MidIr scribe introduces the dat. sg *leith* for OIr *leth* in [5f]. For other linguistic innovations, see Chapter 2.2.1.

However, this MidIr common source ultimately derives from an OIr archetype. This is supported by the overwhelming number of OIr readings, such as the retention of the superlative ending *-am* in three witnesses, i.e. *andsa*m, LL; *annsam*, C; *annsiu*m, E_1.[187]

The question remains what the relationship between the individual manuscripts in the respective groups is.

Turning firstly to LL/C, LL obviously cannot be copied from C because it predates C by several hundred years.[188] With respect to content, C omits the following words, phrases and sentences that are found in LL: *Aided choncob*air [1a]; *doib co mbitis* [1g]; *iarum* [3a]; *di*diu [5a]; *tal*am [5g]; *et*er *na mná* [6a]; *7 corthe fria chend* [6h]; *inríg* [8a]; *ém* [11h]. However, some instances such as the example in [5a] and [11h] may represent an addition in LL, since these readings do not receive any stemmatic support from

[187] The comparative ending *-u* is already used in superlative function side by side with original *-am*/*-em* in the *Félire* (see Stokes 1905, xxx).

[188] See Chapter 1.4.1 and 1.4.2.

E_1/E_2.[189] On the other hand, sometimes C includes words and phrases which are not found in LL, i.e. *cruinne* [1f]; *da*no [3b]; *sin* [3e]; *deilb duine* [5h]; *dainib* [9b].[190] These are scribal additions because they do not receive support from the other witnesses.

Imhoff (2012, 52) suggests that there is a *lacuna* in LL against the text as found in C in [11i], i.e. the omission in LL of the phrase *crí*st *do croch*ad *is mor emh.*[191] However, neither Imhoff, nor Cronan, explain how this omission has occurred. I agree with their suggestion that there is a *lacuna* in LL. However, matters are complicated by the fact that the Edinburgh branch has also suffered during transmission. The reason for this lies in the repetition of words and phrases in the surrounding text. The following are the individual manuscript readings:

> IS mór i*n*gní*m* s*i*n *ar con*ch–, LL
>
> ism*ar* an g*i*ni*m* cr– do c*r*och– is mor em*h* or*conq*b–, C
>
> is gn*i*m mor don*i*th– and .i. cr– m–c debi do c*r*och– laiud–, E_1
>
> isgnim mor i*n*gni*m* mor dognith– and .i. c*rist* m–c de bi rocrochad*h* lahidaib*h*, E_2

Firstly, LL and C agree with the sentence beginning *is mór in gním*, apart from E_2 and E_1, the latter changing the predicative adj. to an attributive one. Secondly, there is support from C and E_1/E_2 that the MidIr intermediary exemplar, or even the original, had *Críst do chrochad*. Thus, *is mór in gním Críst do chrochad* can be restored with support from either side of the stemma.[192] Concerning LL's *lacuna*, the scribe has omitted the entire sentence due to eye-skip, caused by the repetition of *is mór*, i.e.

> *'Is mór in gním Críst do chrochad'. 'Is mór ém', ol Conchobar.*
>
> 'Awful is the deed Christ being crucified.' 'It is awful indeed', said Conchobar.

The problem arises when one turns to the Edinburgh manuscripts, because they do not include *is mór, ol Conchobar*, 'Great is that deed', said Conchobar'. The lack of this sentence in E_1/E_2 is also possibly due to omission as a result of *homoeoarchon*.

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[189] For a discussion on the possible omission (or addition in LL's case) of the title *Aided Chonchobair* in C, E_1 and E_2, see the textual note on [1a].

[190] See further comment as to these additions on the individual textual notes.

[191] According to Imhoff (2012, 52), part of the dialogue in LL between Conchobar and the druid 'has not been preserved in full'. Indeed, Conchobar is confirming something that he has not been told. But Imhoff does not go into detail as to why text has been omitted, or indeed does not clarify if it could in fact be an addition in C. Cronan (2007, 149) observed that Meyer (1906, 9) supplies 'who then tells the story of the Crucifixion' in his translation, which according to Cronan was to fill 'an obvious lacuna in the text of the principal witness'. Imhoff (2012, 52) fails to note Cronan's observation similar to her own.

[192] See further analysis of this sentence, and especially of *do-gníther and .i.*, in the textual note on [11i].

On occasion LL and C differ in readings and C preserves a spelling or form that is superior to LL, e.g.

	LL	**C**
[1b]	**ulto**	ulltaib
[1b]	**fec*h*t na*n*d**	f*ech*t an*n*
[1c][193]	di*diu*	tan*n*
[1g]	Et	7
[1g]	**i*m*ma*r*baig**	im*a*rbadib
[2]	galam	**galaib**
[3d]	matac*h*	**magach**
[3e]	i nher*inn*	**a neri**
[3f][194]	doultaib	**diull*taib***
[4a]	co	**oc**
[6f]	c*h*uci	**cucai**
[12a]	**ro c*h*reti**	ro creit
[12b]	i*n*da*r*a	**indala**
[12b]	re	**ria**

Some of the above readings can be shown to be innovatory, with some introduced by LL and others in C, while others are merely orthographic differences, e.g. [1c], [1g] etc. Some of the variants in C, albeit somewhat trivial, are superior to LL, i.e. in [2] LL has a hypercorrect spelling *-m* for a lenited *-b*, as seen in C's *galaib*. In [6f], C's *cucai* is found with no lenition of the initial against LL's *chuci* which has innovatory lenition.[195] Moreover, C's intervocalic /g/ has a non-palatal quality, which is later pronounced with palatal quality due to influence from the 3sg. fem. *cuice*.[196] The quality of *-c-* in LL's example is ambiguous since *chuci* could represent *chuc(a)i* or *chu(i)ci*. However, considering LL's tendency not to write the *i*-glide, and with final *-(a)i* usually reduced to

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[193] These are both scribal additions because neither of these readings receives support from the Edinburgh manuscripts.

[194] Although I have marked C as the better reading against LL, C's *di* could reflect a scribal tendency for eccentric spelling, especially of vowels. It should be noted that the Edinburgh manuscripts have *do*. Nevertheless, the preposition *di/de* 'of, from' is intended here and restored to the text accordingly.

[195] Lenition of conjugated prepositions was normal in the MidIr period but is also found on rare occasions in the OIr glosses (see McCone 1985, 88).

[196] See McCone 1993, 173.

a non-palatal *-a*, it is likely that it was pronounced as *chu(i)ci* with a palatal *c* when copied, and with the final *-i* representing a reduced palatal schwa spelling. C preserves the short dat. sg. *a n-eri* (*Ére*), 'in Ireland', which is replaced by the long dative *Érinn*, not only in LL, but also E_1 and E_2.[197] The most distinguishing feature that perhaps suggests C is not descended from LL is *indala*, C vs. *indara*, LL. The word *indala* 'one (of two)', with earlier *l* rather than *r*, is not attested past the early fifteenth century.[198] Thus, it seems quite unlikely that if C were copying from LL the scribe would reintroduce an older form.

The evidence discussed above does not allow us to establish with any degree of certainty the relationship between these two manuscripts, although the lack of the *lacuna* in C in [11i] and *indala* does point to C not being derived from LL. Moreover, that LL and C do not differ too markedly in vocabulary indicates that they are closely descended from a shared exemplar, without many intermediate copies. LL's orthography is the most conservative of all four manuscripts. It should be noted that LL is the only manuscript which falls into the MidIr period, whereas the others manuscripts are later. Furthermore, the language in LL's text tends to adhere to the OIr standard of the pronominal system and verbal system more so than the others. C, in contrast with LL, demonstrates a higher frequency for later forms, although in a few instances the text in C is preferred. C omits the *rosc* poem *Ba aprainn* and the reference to Bachrach, which is at the end of LL.[199] The latter may be a scribal addition by LL.[200] E_1/E_2 supports the presence of *Ba aprainn* in the MidIr exemplar because the initial words of the poem are found in E_1 and E_2, i.e. *ba aprainn* [...]. The fact that C does not include the *rosc* poem can be attributed to a redactorial decision to exclude the poem.

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[197] cf. *a Hére*, 'out of Ireland', *Fél.* July 31. The replacement of the short dat. sg. of *n*-stem *Ériu* with the long dat. sg. *Érenn* occurred as early as the tenth century. See Ó Máille 1910, 148. However, the short dat. sg. is still attested in the MidIr period (see Chapter 2.2.2).

[198] See the examples cited in *DIL* s.v. *indala*. The form *indala* is found in PH 2803, 2883, 2638, alongside *indara*, PH 7437, preserved in the manuscript known as Leabhar Breac, which is believed to have been written between 1401and 1411.

[199] See also Imhoff 2012, 52.

[200] Helen Imhoff (2012, 63, 67–8) has observed that LL's reference to Bachrach, together with a similar reference to Bachrach found earlier in the text of E_1, as well as him being referred to in LFF and RIA D iv 2, suggests 'that the various versions of how Conchobar heard of Christ's Crucifixion were conflated to a certain extent'.

However, the above discussion does not allow us to ascertain if E_1 and E_2 are in fact independent of each other. Moreover, given the ambiguity concerning the manuscripts' dates of compilation, it is not possible to establish either of these sources' independent status by date alone. Thus, it is necessary to analyse the text in the manuscripts in closer detail, in order to identify any corruptions which will set the witnesses apart.

With respect to content, E_1 contains the following words, phrases and sentences that are not found in E_2: *o*con*i*mar*b*ag [1g]; *nahemna* [3c]; *t*echt [3f]; *do cr*uach*ai*n [4c]; eici*n* [4f]; *cohult*aib [5a]; *agn*use [5f]; *ceill* [5h]; *a l*echt *a*nn [6h]; *ise t*rath [9b]; *7 naro caithed biad* [10c]; *diud*aib *am*airsech*a* [11e]; *tois*ech [12b]. These are all considered scribal additions which do not receive support from LL/C.

E_2 contains the following words and phrases not seen in E_1: *i*n*oidche sin istig*h [3b]; *isangbuid*he [3e]; *for lar nafaithche* [4a]; *agalægad*h *asa ceile* [4a]; *irg*h*ail iteiged* [4e]; *toigri a ul*taib *uile* [5b]; *æn*ar [5b]; *imtecht* [5f][201]; a quatrain and a half attributed to Flann Mainistrech [6h]; *7 or*con*n*acht*aib si*ar [8b]; *fathliaig*h [9a]; *iarsi*n [9a]; *inlin gal*ar *imbid*h [9b]; *ambid gach aen* [9b]; *infersa* [9c]; *cena* [9d]; *tri ... fair* [10b]; *gomor de fei*n [11c]; *ingni*m *mor* [11i]; *icoi*m*gen* [11j]; *co*t*h*oit*c*h*end* [12b]. These are also considered scribal additions and do not receive support from LL/C.

This shows that E_2 had a marginally greater tendency to add text to the transmitted copy of *AC* compared to E_1. While in certain cases, E_1 has omitted text, generally E_2 adds words or phrases to clarify the text. Thus, E_1 cannot be a copy of E_2 because it is unlikely that it would omit the additions in E_2, precisely at the same point in the text in LL/C, without knowledge of that text. If it were a copy of E_2 it would also copy the additional material also.

Moroever, the following variant readings in category I and II show that E_1 and E_2 descend from a common ancestor:

[201] tuidec*h*t, LL; tuig*echt*, C but omitted in E_1.

I. Material in E_1 (and LL/C), but not in E_2:

	LL	C	E_1	E_2
[1d]	ócu nac*h*om*r*a*m*	ocu nacu*m*rama	ocu nac*omra*ma	icoraib*h* imarbad*h*a nacuraid*h*
[1e]	nogatta	ł gata	ł gata	rogadaithea
[2]	nidat	nitad	nidat*h*	mad*h*
[3d]	doc*h*ua*ir*t	do cuairt	do q*air*[.]	t*air*tec*h*t*a*
[3e]	beist	beist	p*eist*	.i. in f*h*est
[3e]	assandsa*m*	is an*n*sam	is an*n*siu*m*	–
[4e]	ca*ch* cat*h*	ca*ch* *cat*h	Ga*ch* cath	gach ec
[5l]	rogabsat	ro gabsat	rogabsat	rocui*n*nig*h*si
[5l]	ailgis	ailg*us*	ailg*us*	–
[5m]	iar*um*	iar*um*	i*arum*	–
[6a]	co *m*búi	co*m*bai	co*m*bai	–
[7a]	sciaid	sciaid	sciaic*h*	muine
[7d]	mo t*h*ec*h*	mo teat*h*	motech	cohemui*n*
[7f]	Do b*eir*side	do b–saide	do b*erasum*	uodein gabail
[7i]	i*n*rí	in rig	i*n*ri	*con*chub*ar*
[9a]	dob*er*ar	**d**ob*er*t	Do b*erar*	Do b*erthar*
[9a]	co	co	co	docu*m*
[9c]	tuct*har*	t*u*cthi*r*	t*ucthar*	tallt*ar*
[9e]	oldás aécso*m*	oldais aégsu*m*	andas aécso*m*	dobeth de inas aeg
[10b]	i	a	a	t*r*i
[11c]	tanic	tainicc	Tan*ic*	Doluig
[11d]	mór	maru	mor	–
[11e]	cenc*hi*n*a*id	ganci*n*aid	ci*n* ci*n*aid	–

In the above examples, E_1 shares material with LL/C, while E_2's variants consist of scribal innovations, omissions or substitutions. This shows that E_1 was not copied from E_2.

II. Material in E_2 (and LL/C), but not in E_1:

	LL	C	E_1	E_2
[3b]	alet*h*i	in leait*h*i	ni *conair*	alethe
[3c]	dia cluc*h*iu	diacluice	doclu¡t*h*i	diacluic*h*e
[3f]	dolluids*id*e	do luig sid*h*e	robaisiu*m*	doluig*h* sen
[4c]	b*eir*id	b*eir*id	ruc	beired
[4f]	dús intet*arth*ad	d*us* intaradh	da fis i*n* rois*eth*	dus infuig*hedh*
[5a]	**F**ec*h*t and	Fea*cht* and	d*anó*	**F**echt and
[5b]	Do n*ar*raid	do n*ar*aid	t*arraid*	do dofarraid
[5i]	rosc ₇f̂olt ₇ gile	rosg ₇ folt ₇ gile	omits	rosg[ ]
[5l]	**A** com*air*li	acomairli	Do c*omair*li	ac*h*om*air*le
[6h]	f*r*iac*h*ossa	f*r*ia cosan	f*r*ia bon*n*	f*r*i cassaib
[7e]	*ar* a gilla	*ar* a gilla	-	oragilla
[7f]	lo*m*ai*n*	lomai*n*	lam	lumai*n*
[7f]	no*m* beir	*n*ombe*ir*	b*eir*it*h*	nodbeir
[9c]	diatalt*ar*	dia talltir	da tucth*ar*	datallt*ar*
[10a]	snat*h*	snat*h*	snait*h*i	snath
[10b]	fo*m*ti*n*	foimtin	foiditi*n*	fomtei*n*
[11b]	na*m*ma	naman	amain	na*m*ma
[11g]	isi*n*dlat*hius*a	isinlait*h*i seo	an*n*so	isinlaithe siu
[12b]	i*n*fer aile	fe*ar* eile	–	infer aile

In the above examples, E_2 contains readings which are supported by LL/C, against the innovations in E_1. This supports the suggestion that E_2 does not derive from E_1.

Therefore, it is evident from the preceding examinations that E_1 and E_2 are not copies of one another but descend independently from a common source. Moreover, the above two categories suggest that E_1 follows the exemplar more closely and that E_2 has a higher tendency to innovate.

The most telling evidence that E_2 is definitely not a copy of E_1 is found in the form of a corrupt passage in E_1:

Anta*n* bata*r* nahoi*n*m[ ] cl*ui*t[ ]i*n*$_7$ las[*nn* si*n*][202] misg*era* $_7$ is *ed* ade*r*dis no foet*h* ri d_i. Ro cual*aid* Cet i*n*is$_i$*n*,

'When the jesters were playing with the [brain] of Mess Gegrai and they kept on saying, "a king will die from it". Cet hears that', E_1.

INtan iaram bad*ar* nahoi*n*midi icluitche doninchind .i. do inchind mesgera for lar na faithche isand sin adb*ered*h i*n*oinmid fr*i*a araile dib sin aso aso ari*n*oinm*h*id fr*i*a araili agalægadh asa ceile dofæth rig*h* de oraraile',

'After that, when the fools were playing with the brain, that is the brain of Mess Gegrai, in the centre of the green, one fool was saying to the other "Behold, behold", said the fool to the other. "Pass it over!" said his companion. "A king will fall on account of it", said the other', E_2. (trans. by Imhoff 2012, 56).

E_1 has *aderdis* 'they kept on saying' rather than expected *as-bert in óinmit fri araile* 'the jester said to the other' with. The matter concerning E_2's ***a**so aso ari**n**oinm**h**id fri**a** araili agalægadh asa ceile dofæth rig**h** de oraraile* is not straightforward. The final *araile* in the sentence had to have been present in the archetype since this allows for the absence of the text in LL/C. This *lacuna* occurred perhaps because of eyeskip, as a result of *homoioteleuton*, i.e. the eye skipped from the first *araile* to the last *araile*, omitting all the text in between as well as the last *araile*. E_1 and E_2 do agree on supporting *do-fóeth rí de* 'a king will fall on account of it'. However, that leaves the passage ***a**so aso ari**n**oinm**h**id fri**a** araili agalægadh asa ceile* in E_2. Is this original to the archetype or has it been added by E_2's scribe? It should be noted that this scribe has a tendency to add text in an embellishing manner and thus this particular sentence has to be treated with caution.[203] However, it could be that this has been omitted at some stage in E_1's line of transmission, by *homoioteleuton* involving the second and third instance of *araile*. Nevertheless, it is evident that E_1's text is corrupt here with the first and third *araile* omitted at any rate. It is seems less possible that E_2, if copying from E_1, would have added *in oinmid fria araile… araile*. The following table may prove useful to follow the concordance between the manuscripts:

[202] The text is corrupt and the manuscript is unclear in this particular section.

[203] See for instance [3e], [5b].

LL	C	E_1	E_2
ISs– atb–t *in*dónmit *fr*i araile	is– atb–t inoinmit *fr*ia *ar*oile	is– ad*er*dis	adb–ed*h* *in*oinmid *fr*ia araile dib s_in
			aso aso ari*n*oinm*h*id *fr*ia araili agalægadh asa ceile
		no foet*h* ri d_i	dofæth rig*h* de oraraile

Trivial errors include the loss of the suspension stroke in *ardach* (for *Ardachad*), E_1, against *hardachad*, E_2; similarly with *deigach* (for *deigenach*), E_1, with lost suspension stroke against *deighinach* (*dedenach*), E_2.

There are no errors in E_1 to show that E_1 is not a copy of E_2. That E_1 is in fact independent of E_2 is shown by E_1 preserving the original as confirmed by the other branch, e.g. *ł gata*, E_1 (*no gatta* LL/C), vs. *rogadaithea*, E_2. It also follows more closely the branch of LL/C than E_2 and it also has fewer innovations than E_2 (see the list provided in **I** above).

In conclusion, E_1 and E_2 descend independently from a shared exemplar. Both manuscripts have had at least one intermediary source. E_2 has a higher tendency to modernise the language, as well as the orthography, of the text as well as a tendency to add words, phrases and quatrains in comparison with E_1.

Summary

In conclusion, the following observations can be made in regard to the relationship of the manuscripts in version A:

(i) LL and C are closely related and descend from an identical sub-node, **γ**.

(ii) E_1 and E_2 are independent copies of *AC* and are not derived from LL or C as previously suggested by Rudolf Thurneysen.[204]

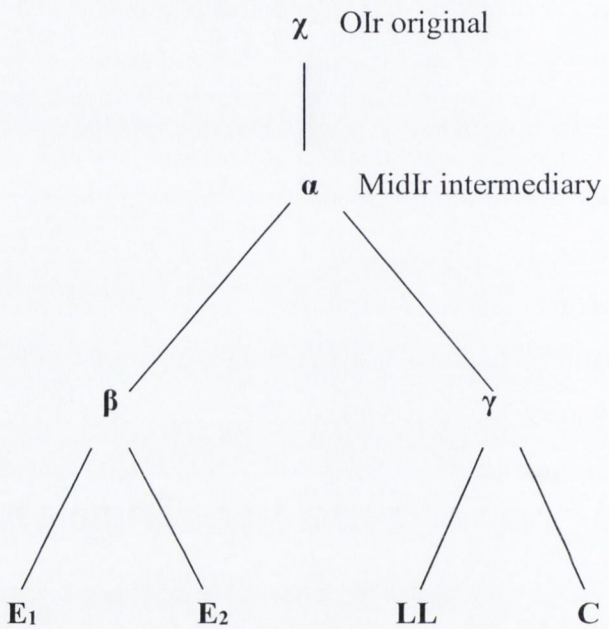
(iii) E_1 and E_2 descend from a seperate branch to LL/C. They are descended from a shared sub-node, **β**.

(iv) **γ** and **β** descend from a shared common source as is illustrated by the shared features in syntax and textual structure. Moreover, it is clear that this is a MidIr common source

[204] Thurneysen 1921, 535.

because of the shared MidIr innovations which are not likely to have been introduced independently by each of the four copyists. However, this MidIr source ultimately descends from an Old Irish archetype, given that the OIr nominal and verbal system far outweighs the MidIr innovations.

As a result of the above filiations, I propose the following stemmatic diagram for version A of *Aided Chonchobair*:



Therefore, the evaluation of the evidence supports the relationship of the manuscripts that has been suggested by Helen Imhoff (2012, 58).

The stemma aids the editor to form a basis on which to make weighed selections between the manuscript readings. On the basis of the stemma, the following principles govern the selection of readings available:

The reading in χ is established when the extant readings agree: a) in all four manuscripts; b) in any of the three manuscripts; c) in one of each of the two groups, provided the other two manuscripts disagree in their respective readings. The extant readings are disqualified if they agree in shared trivial post-OIr innovations, since this could easily have occurred independently. However, if it can be shown that a reading in one manuscript constitutes the *lectio difficilior* against all other manuscripts, then this is restored. In the event that the two branches of the stemma diverge but each provides a plausible reading, and none can be identified as the *lectio difficilior*, LL/C's reading is chosen as this represents the more conservative branch in general.

1.6.3 Version B and C

Although LFF was compiled before N, it is evident from several superior readings preserved in N that it is independent of LFF,[205] e.g. *f–cuad*, N vs. *forc*h*uaid*h, LFF (*for-cuad* [2a]); *do ro–* N vs. *dorin*n*id*h, LFF (*do-rósat* [2b]).[206] The prose framework of N corresponds with certain passages in LFF. I provide a table below with the continuous manuscript transcriptions side by side to illustrate the corresponding passages. Corresponding passages are highlighted in bold.

[205] For a more detailed discussion of the individual words, see the individual textual notes in version B.

[206] Helen Imhoff (2012, 61) has pointed out the relationship between N and LFF and has suggested that due to the earlier readings in N, that it cannot be derived from LFF.

Version B: 23 N 10

[1] bai *con*c– m–c nesai fe*chtus* nan*n* **atfet do alt*us*s croch– cr–. alt*us i*– is he do t*h*at*h*aig– co cloemclodaib sed o tibir m–c augaist ri roma*n* do *con*c– m–c nesa. ar ba cu*m*a bat– re*achtar*ea rig roman i*n*nai*m*s– si*n* f– medon in ueth– ⁊ f– i*n*ds*i*p fuinid ⁊ t*ur*cbalai co *m*ba co*m*d–b is*i**n* mbit na– sgel n*air*dirc f–cu*m*cad an*n*.

[2] **ba d–b d*i*u la *con*c– fo*n*nin*nus* s*i**n* in c*r*ut f–cuad c*r*och– cr– ar at fet do alt*us* ba he cr– do

Version C: LFF

[1] (**B**)ud*h* mór la hulltu amuig*h* murrt*h*uini do luig*h* i*ar*– boc*r*ach fili ocus draig*h* do loig*h*nib*h* docu*m* na dala iar toidi*cht* do a laig*h*nib iar fog*h*luim fili*cht*a. fiabraid*hus* co*n*cub– scela alban ocus Leatha Mog*h*a do

[2] at– mor eim*h* olse do ron*n*ad*h* isi*n* bit*h* toir . .i. c*r*och*a*d rig*h* neim*h*i ⁊talm– la hiub*h*daib*h* ⁊ ise ro tirc*h*ansat faid*h*i ⁊ draid*hth*i do ic ⁊ do teasraguin daini an domuin do p*e*cad*h* adai*mh* do deachaid o næ*m* neim*h* [e]coro et coluin*n* omuiri oig íngín cen lath*air* freasguil cor luig*h* a crand c*r*oit*h*i la hiud*h*aib do iccan cei*n*eoil dæn*n*a. [g]imon caisc do cuaid*h* uain*n* ⁊ at*r*aacht isi*n* treas lo iar na cesadh **.i. roin*n*is do*n* alt*us* iss e tigid conait*h*easguib*h* ⁊ cusedaib*h* ⁊ co mainib*h* o tibir s*h*esair aug*h*uist rig*h* ro*m*an ⁊ o rig*h* an dom*h*ui*n* co co*n*cub– neasa do eam*h*uin macha *ar* ba cu*m*a badar rea*cht*uiread*h*a rig*h* an do*m*ui*n* isi*n* nai*m*sirsin fri mead*h*o*n* an beatha ⁊ a nin*n*sib fuinig*h* grei*n*e ⁊ tu*r*gabala co*m*a co*m*di*r*bh isi*n* bith uili nach sgel *air*dre*ch* fos c–ad*h* an*n*

[3] ba der*b**h*** le co*nch*ub*h*ur foninn*us* si*n* an c*r*uth forc*h*uaid*h* crochad c*h*r–. do ba he cr–. dorinn*id**h*** neam*h* ⁊ talum*h* et is *air*e

ros– nem 7 **talm–** 7 **is airi *ar*foit colain*n* *ar* tath creicc in ci*n*eda doenai ba c–tmec*h* alt*us* isa*ir*e atfed cec mait i*n* croch– cr– co*n*creid *con*c– do cr–

[3] 7 **is i*ar*– asmb–t *con*c– ro *fest*tais**[1] **fir in b*eth*a acu*m*ang oc cathug– *fr*i hiudei crocsiti cr– manu bet hi co*m*fog*us* do cr– is de is mb–t co*n*cub–** [the *rosc* poem is placed here in the manuscript].

arro et colan*n* omuiri oig*h* ar taithc*r*eich ceineoil dænn*a* ba c*r*eidm*h*each do–alt*us* féin isa*ir*e atfet ar sgela cr– co *m*aith *con* c*r*eid co*n*cub– a cr–

[4] no is a*m*l– so at cæ*m*nac*hair* he. **buid*h*** co*n*cub– i ndail 7 maithi f*r*i neir– ui*m*e an la ro c*r*ochad*h* rcr– a*n* ta*n* do dec*h*aid*h* teim*h*eal f*r*isi*n* ng*r*ein 7 rosuig*h* esga an dat*h* fola ro fi*ar*faid*h* co*n*cub– im– do cat*h*baid*h* duss cid ro *m*badar na duile do com*h*altasa arse in fe*r* ro geanair a naenaidc*h*i f*r*it anosa martar do c*r*oithi f*air* 7 do radad*h* a c*r*oidhe 7is e si*n* canuid a*n*ní si*n* **At***r*aigi Co*n*cub– suas la sog*h*uin 7 gab– a gaisced*h* fair 7 atb–t is e si*n* eim*h* olse mo co*m*altasa 7 mo co*m*ais 7 is e ro geanair anae*n*oidc*h*i f*r*iu*m* 7 ro gob i*ar*– deargail ota si*n* co roac*h*t isi*n* f*airr*gi 7 co*r*luig*h* in*n*ti co*n*ruigi a fiacuil is ocin deargail i*ar*– ro gob co*n*cub– an laigsi ba ap*r*ain*n* na hid*h*iul coh*ar*d i*ar*n eguib*h* rig*h* rl

[5] **Ocus as i*ar* si*n* asb–t *con*cub– ro feasdais fir i*n* beat*h*a mo f*r*ith hiug*h*aid*hb*h t*r*e c*r*ochad*h* cr– dia mbein*n* aco*m*fog*us* do**

[4] IS i*arsin* **cotnoscrast–am– bid oc t*echt* hi roi cat*h*ai *ar* belaip cr– *co* sesce$_a$nd asa ci*n*n aninci*n*n meisged*r*a 7 *con*idebilt ind *arsi**n*** **is– isb–dee ia*r*– ise gei*n*tri*n*si*n*** **docoid hi flaith n–ea fobit robad batais [ ]l doescmai[ ] 7 rocreit [ ] do cr– Finit [ ]**	**is i*ar* si*n* attr*acht* son 7 rosgob*h* f*r*isiu dearguil cur scéi*n**n*** **in ci*n**n*** **mesgead*h*ra asa ci*n**n*** **7 con e*ar*bailt co*n*cub– fo .c. oir *con*ad*h* esin adb–t na g*h*æid*h*il *con*ad*h* h*e* co*n*cub– c. gei*n**n*tligh*i*** **docoid*h* docu*m* neim*h*i aneir- fobith robo bait*h*is do infuil dolui[ ]g*h* asci*n**n*** Et as an*n* sin rucad*h* ai*n*im *con*cob– anif*r*i*n**n*** gucom*fr*aicead cr– friad*h*a act[ ]broide ahif*r*i*n**n*** co tu*c* cr– leis anim co*n*cabair [ ]mi. Finid.

1.6.4 Version D

Laud was compiled some 20 years before S and has a more conservative orthography.[207] Given that version D is such a short passage it is difficult to ascertain S's status with regard to Laud. The only instance which might demonstrate S is not derived from Laud is found in [1b]. Laud omits the prepositional phrase *for Conchobar* which is expected after the verb *teilcid*.[208] Since it cannot be shown conclusively that S is dependent on Laud, both texts are printed alongside each other as a precaution.

[207] See Chapter 1.4.4. and Chapter 1.5.7 above.

[208] See further the textual note on this sentence. The verb *teilcid* is used with the preposition *for* to express the person aimed at (see *DIL* s.v. *do-léci*, II (b)).

1.7 Editorial approach

A major difficulty with producing a critical edition of *AC* has been the question of how to lay out the edition.[209] Several traditions have survived in numerous witnesses. The fact that a certain copy of *AC*, constituting a certain version, can contain text which is also found in another version of *AC* poses a difficulty. This is particularly the case with N (version B). N contains the *rosc* poem which is also found in LL (version A), although not in the three other witnesses of version A. Furthermore, LFF (version C) contains parallel sections of the prose passage found in N (version B). Thus, the editor is presented with an organisational challenge as to how to present the edition without causing undue confusion or repetition of the material.

Since there are separate extant versions of the early Irish tale *AC*, it would not be feasable to reconstruct an archetype common to all traditions, let alone the uncorrupted *Urtext*.[210] For instance, it would be illogical to impose the ending of version B onto the ending of LL/C in version A. It would also not make sense to conflate the conclusion found in the Edinburgh manuscripts with the text in LL/C, since linguistic dating shows this former passage was composed in the Middle Irish period. *Ba aprainn* is preserved in one manuscript of version A (LL) and in the manuscript containing version B (N). Version C is compilatory in nature and has taken passages from different sources, most of which are now lost. However, it shares strong textual correspondences between some sections in version B (N), indicating that they are descended from a shared exemplar. Version D, surviving in two manuscripts, although antiquarian in nature, is descended from a now lost exemplar.

Thus, I have decided to provide a separate critical edition for each tradition. Where more than one witness is extant, I have adopted a 'Lachmannian' approach in

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[209] For the most recent discussion on editorial approaches in early Irish literature, see McCone (2000, 41–2); Murray 2009, 51–70; Breatnach (2009, 71–3); Uhlich (2009, 51–70). Jürgen Uhlich (2006, 228) has succinctly noted: 'The objective of the critical edition [...] is to reconstruct the original text as far as possible on the basis of the available evidence'.

[210] I apply Martin West's reasoning here. West (1973, 70) explains it succinctly when he writes '[...] in the case of a work that survives in more than one recension, the editor must either give each recension separately or chose one as a representative. He must not conflate them into a hybrid version which never existed (though he may use one to correct copyists' errors in another)'.

reconstructing the text.[211] This is preferable to choosing one witness as a *codex optimus*, or 'best manuscript', since such an approach rules out the possibility of considering that a superior reading might be preserved in another related manuscript copy.[212]

The general format for each edition is outlined below:

Firstly, as mentioned above, *Ba aprainn* is preserved in two separate manuscript traditions. It is found interpolated in prose narratives that were written some time later. Even though the extant copies of *Ba aprainn* can be shown to descend from a shared exemplar, the overwhelming linguistic evidence shows that it was composed in the late seventh century. Since the text may have been modernised by a subsequent redactor, I have decided to produce a critical edition that restores the hypothetical original text. This specifically applies to phonological spellings, which require emendation, e.g. ar*drac*h, LL; ar*trac*h, N: both readings show the development of *-e-* > *-a-* and neutral -g > *-ch* and I restore *artreg* accordingly. Furthermore, Middle Irish innovations are emended when adequately attested forms from other early sources can substantiate such an emendation. In view of the *rosc* poem having been composed separately to version A and B, I proffer

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[211] This means that I have employed the techniques of *recensio*, *examinatio* and *emendatio*. The initial process of *recensio* examines all the witnesses in order to determine the relationship amongst them. This allows for the identification of any witnesses derived entirely from others and establishes a family tree of manuscripts (*stemma codicum*; see Chapter 1.6.2 above). Any witnesses which are copies of other extant manuscripts are eliminated. The process of *examinatio* analyses the texts of the isolated witnesses to determine which, if any, the original is. If the original has not survived, it is reconstructed throught the process of *emendatio*. This process involves the careful evaluation of all variants in order to determine which reflects the genuine reading or whether corruption has occurred.

[212] This specifically applies to version A, where it would be tempting to choose LL as the *codex optimus*. Although I do not follow this approach, it must be stated here that in cases of doubtful readings or structure, LL is used as a guiding manuscript because it is the earliest extant witness. It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that manuscript witnesses dating several centuries later than the earliest can also contain authentic readings. Pasquali termed this *recentiores, non deteriores* (lit. 'later, not inferior') (quotation cited in West (1973, 50). This bears on the procedure of *eliminatio codicum descriptorum* and the necessity not to rule out any later manuscripts without careful evaluation (see Kenney 1974, 126–7. Housman (1905, xv) describes the approach of following the 'best manuscript' perfectly in his preface to his edition of *Juvenal*: ' a critic [...] when he employs this method of trusting the best MS, employs it in the same spirit of gloomy resignation with which a man lies down on a stretcher when he has broken both his legs'.

Ba aprainn as a stand-alone hypothetical reconstruction and present it before the editions of version A and B in Chapter 4.[213]

Turning to version A, the linguistic register of the initial parts of the tale (i.e. [1] – [9]) is more conservative than the passages immediately preceding *Ba aprainn* (i.e. [10] – [12]). The exemplar which all extant copies of version A are descended from can be placed in the early MidIr period, as evidenced by several shared Middle Irish forms. However, this was only an intermediary manuscript which descended from an OIr original, supported by the overall agreement of forms typical of the OIr period. Therefore, I aspire to reconstruct the hypothetical original text on the basis of all surviving manuscripts. I replace shared MidIr forms with their OIr equivalents only when adequately attested forms at the same point in the language can support this. The concluding passages in LL/C have clearly been added by their exemplar, as is evident by the late language in comparison to the rest of the text.[214] Therefore, these have not been included in the critical edition but are discussed in the textual notes. This is also the case with the conclusion found in the Edinburgh manuscripts which has been added by their exemplar, as is evident by its linguistic dating.[215]

Version B is preserved in a single witness, i.e. N, with certain sections interpolated into the text of version C, i.e. LFF. The text can be safely dated to the OIr period. Therefore, I provide a critical edition of this text, guided by the manuscript readings. Since the correlating passages in version C do on occasion contain superior readings, there is a need to reproduce the parallel readings from LFF along with those of N. However, the corresponding N readings are not replicated in the textual notes of LFF, in order to avoid repetition.[216] *Ba aprainn*, as discussed above, is provided as a separate critical edition.

Version C is complicated. Although found in a single manuscript, it is a compilation of different material deliberately brought together. This is confirmed by the

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[213] This is in contrast to Corthals' previous edition which opts for the best manuscript approach, largely following the copy in N and on occasion substituting, or supplementing, readings from the copy in LL.

[214] These passages are offered by the redactor as a note to the reader that other versions exist.

[215] Chapter 2.2.2. Nevertheless, this ending is of interest as it relates a later version of Conchobar's death which is possibly based on an earlier version which is no longer extant and suggests further development in the tale. While certain thematic elements in the Edinburgh conclusion are discussed in some detail in Chapter 3, I intend to carry out a more exhaustive study on this later recension at a later date.

[216] Cross-references are provided in the edition of version C to the appropriate sections in version B.

textual correspondence with version B, mentioned above.[217] Furthermore, the text in LFF consists of different strata of language.[218] The compilation consists of various early MidIr material that was brought together in the late MidIr period, c. 11th century. Therefore, I provide a critical edition of this MidIr text, guided by the manuscript readings. In the instance that a sentence is clearly that of the compiler, I leave the text as is. As in the editions above, the reader will be able to compare the reconstructed text with the conservative diplomatic transcriptions in the textual notes to check all editorial decisions.[219] This will illustrate the different layers of the language, from Old to Middle Irish.

Last but not least, I provide a critical edition of the prose passage referred to as version D. Although brief, it is datable to the Middle Irish period.

I follow the paragraph numbering provided by Meyer in his editions. However, each sentence, or section, is preceded by a suprascript paragraph number and letter which correlates with its particular textual note, i.e [1a], [1b] etc.

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[217] See also Imhoff (2012, 59 and 67).

[218] Ranke de Vries (2012, 194) makes a similar observation about the composition of *Aided Echach maic Maireda*. Although the language is conservative in places, there are strands which are of a later date. She writes 'If H was indeed the compiler of the text, and was responsible for writing the prose sections, the difference in language in the prose sections may be due to the various sources he used'.

[219] Karina Hollo produced a 'critical' edition of *Fled Bricrenn ocus Loinges mac nDuíl Dermait*, which she dates to the late OIr period (Hollo 2005, 49). Found in one manuscript only, Hollo (2005, 50) chooses not to apply the traditional approach of reconstructing the text to its original. Instead, she writes that she considers it 'of more value to the scholar or student to have the text in front of her or him more or less as it stands in the manuscript, with its history, including features which may not have been present when the text was first written, intact'. Therefore, this is a semi-diplomatic, rather than 'critical' edition. Nevertheless, it is only when one understands the text in its original form that one can understand the true nature of the subsequent changes which have occurred and been brought about/introduced by scribes in its transmission.

1.7.1 Transcription policy

A conservative policy is adhered to in transcribing the copies from the manuscripts:[220]

- Length marks are only given where they appear in the manuscript.
- No hyphenation is provided.
- Capitalisation and punctuation is given only as they appear in the manuscript. Word spacing is replicated as it appears in the manuscript. In the instance that a word is written across a line boundary, it is given as a whole word.[221]
- Rubricated letters are reproduced in bold.
- There are no silent expansions employed in the transcriptions. Unambiguous *compendia* such as suprascript *n-* and *m*-strokes are expanded in italics. Other common contractions and compendia such as for *-us*, *co*(*n*), *er*, *acht*, *ar*, *air* and *ur* are also italicized in expansion. The *uel*-compendium is expanded as *no*. However, ambiguous suspension strokes are left unexpanded and are discussed in the notes when doubt arises. Suspension strokes are not provided above a letter as in the manuscripts, but to the left using the 'n-dash', rather than a normal hyphen, e.g. *dog–s* (*do* g**rés**), LL 123b.53
- The tironian symbol ⁊ '*et*' is left unexpanded when it stands for OIr *ocus*. In the instance where this *siglum* is employed as an abbreviation, it is expanded as italicized *et* or *eit*.[222]
- Where a suprascript vowel is written, only the omitted consonant is italicized, e.g. t^{e} = t*r*e. Similary, where a suprascript consonant is found, the omitted vowel is italicized, e.g. t^{c} = t*u*c.
- Letters written subscript in the manuscript are reproduced as such in the transcription, e.g. atbelm$_{a}$is.

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[220] Such an approach is preferable to providing a semi-diplomatic transcription because it provides as close as possible a representation of how the text appears in the manuscript. Furthermore, it is not necessary to go beyond the conservative diplomatic approach in this instance because it is accompanied by an edited text. This is in contrast for example to the approach taken by D. A. Binchy in his edition *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* where he provides expansions of the abbreviations in order to aid the reader in the absence of an edited text.

[221] The transcriptions in the appendix follow the line numbers of the manuscript and, therefore, words written across the line boundary are replicated as such.

[222] This is mainly used in the Edinburgh manuscripts. For a further discussion of the scribal conventions employed in these copies, see Chapter 1.4.3.

- The *spiritus asper* is expanded as italicized *h*. However, the *punctum delens* is represented by a dot above the letter.
- Punctuation and capital letters that appear in the manuscript are transcribed. Rubricated letters are represented in bold.
- Any palaeographical anomalies are discussed in the footnotes.

The following parentheses are used in the transcriptions provided in the critical apparatus:[223]

[ ] Square brackets represent text that is lost through physical damage in the manuscript and when the number of letters cannot be estimated. The space between the square brackets indicates the approximate size of the gap in the manuscript. [...] is used when the number of letters missing can be estimated. The dots correspond to the amount of letters missing.

< > Angle brackets are used to indicate *lacunae* introduced into the text during transmission.[224]

In version A, there is a particular passage which has been transposed by the Edinburgh exemplar, i.e. the Cenn mBerraide episode is located at the end of the copies of *AC* preserved in E_1 and E_2.[225] In this instance, the transcription of this passage in the manuscripts is provided correlating with the transcription from LL and C, i.e. [7].

[223] I follow Martin West's policy on the use of parentheses in a critical edition (see West 1973, 80–1).

[224] See Version A, [3b], [3c], [4a].

[225] See also Version A [4d] where a line has been transposed in the Edinburgh exemplar.

1.7.2 Normalisation policy

The following general points on normalisation are applied to each edition:

- In the event that vowel length is not marked in a manuscript, the standard length mark has been added.
- The tironian symbol ⁊ '*et*' is left unexpanded in the normalised text. It is written in full only when it is seen in the manuscript written plene.
- Hyphenation is provided after preverbal particles, infixed pronouns, before emphasizing and anaphoric pronouns.
- Punctuation and capitalisation are editorial.
- Lenition has been restored where it would have been expected. The *punctum delens* is inserted above *f* and *s* when a text is dated to the OIr period.
- The spelling of proper names and placenames is normalised in the critical editions and translations, e.g. *Mesgegra* is normalised to *Mess Gegrai* or gen. *Meisse Gegrai*. Conchobar is used for the nom. sg., the gen. sg. is normalised as *Conchobair* and the dat. sg. is given as *Conchobur*.

However, it is necessary to adopt some different rules per edition because they are composed at different periods of time. I adhere to the ensuing general guidelines for the following critical editions:

<u>*Ba aprainn*</u>

Since the *rosc* poem is dated to the end of the EOIr period (c. 700), the following guidelines are followed:

- Unstressed vowels in auslaut are restored to maintain uniformity throughout the edited text.[226]
- Unstressed vowels in internal position are restored. This is because *a* (for earlier *e*) for instance could easily have been introduced by a later scribe. Cf. for instance, gen. sg. *artrach* is restored to *artreg*.
- There is a fluctuation in the spelling of glides in both the *Cambrai Homily* and the Wb. *prima manus*. I restore the *i*-glide silently to provide uniformity throughout the edited text, e.g. *soirthnigfed*, [3a]. Discussion of such restoration is provided

[226] It should be noted that the copies of *Ba aprainn* are preserved in later manuscripts, rather than in sources contemporary with the date of composition, where unstressed vowels in final open position and internal position are treated as schwa.

in the textual notes when deemed necessary. However, when the *a*-glide is absent, this is not restored, as it may reflect the earlier spelling, e.g. *crothfinn*, [6b].[227]

- Double vowels to indicate a long vowel are left as they are found in the manuscript because they are sometimes found in the *Cambrai Homily*, to indicate a long vowel.[228] However, it should be noted that the employment of doubling to denote length occurs again in MidIr sources (*SnaG* III, §2.8, due to the contraction of hiatus). Thus isolated cases in LL and N tend to be ambiguous.
- Given that *Ba aprainn* is datable to the end of the EOIr period, I restore *é* and *ó* (for later *ía* and *úa*). This is because the diphthongization of these long vowels occurred around the end of the seventh century.[229]
- An orthographical trait seen in EOIr sources such as the Wb. glosses *a prima manu* is the lack of marking of lenition on *c* and *t*, e.g. *cetarcoti* (OIr *cetharchoti*); *cómtinól* (*comthinól*) etc.[230] However, for consistency, lenition is supplied to *t* and *c* when lacking.
- Given the likely early date of the archetype, it is probable that lenition of *f* or *s* was not marked by a *punctum delens*. Therefore, when *f* or *s* is lenited, it is left unmarked. In instances where lenited *f* has been omitted, it is restored to the text, e.g. *beófir*, [1b] (*beoir*, LL; *fir*, N); *mu fédo*, [13a] (*mudia*, LL; m*e*da, N).
- The writing of voiceless *-th* in auslaut, after an unstressed vowel, can reflect a conservative spelling. Final *-th* is restored when necessary, e.g. *di chombruth*, [12a] (*do choimrid*, LL; *do comrat*h, N).[231]

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[227] See *GOI* §103.5.

[228] This is also found in other early sources, such as in the Wb. *prima manus*, e.g. *soos*, 20a8. McCone adds that 'the superscript generally employed to denote length in Old and Middle Irish from the main Würzburg glossator onwards seems to have been still an experimental device for his 'prima manus' predecessor' (*RelChron*. 28).

[229] *RelChron*. 134.

[230] For further discussion of this archaic orthographical system, see McManus (1986, 11).

[231] There are no examples of the sound change of *-th* > *-d* found in the *Cambrai Homily*. However, in the Wb. *prima manus*, we find one example with *-d*, against all others with *-th*, i.e. *dilgid*, 18a11. The implication is that this sound change occurred at the end of the seventh century, and McCone (1981, 44, n. 48) points out that the spelling of *-th* in the Wb. *prima manus* '[…] is merely a conservative spelling which lags behind actual pronounciation. If so, the sound change itself may be rather earlier, but hardly prior to the Cambrai Homily'.

- Final neutral *-g* is restored after an unstressed vowel to *-ch* in auslaut (> *-g*). Cf. the example of *artreg* mentioned above.

Versions A/B

- OIr spelling is normalised throughout the restored text to the standards of the ninth century.
- Unstressed vowels in auslaut are restored to the Classical Old Irish standard to maintain uniformity throughout the edited text. Final *-o* is restored to version B (see linguistic section).
- The aforementioned is also applied to the true diphthongs, which are treated in line with modern editorial practice. Since the archetype is dated to the Classical Old Irish period, *ía* and *úa* are used in the restored text (rather than the earlier unbroken monophthongs *é* and *ó*).
- Glide vowels are restored where necessary. However, in version B, the *a*-glide is not restored when it is absent as this may point to an earlier spelling.[232]
- In the manuscripts, *nd* is often written *nn* or *n*, e.g. *fon innasa* (*fua n-indas-sa*), LL 123b51. Likewise, sometimes *nd* is written in the manuscript for the original sound *nn*, e.g. *inchind* (*inchinn*), LL 123b44. Although the phonetic distinction between *nn* and *nd* is found diminishing already in the Ml. glosses,[233] historical *nd* and *nn* are supplied in the reconstructed text of A and B to provide uniformity.
- The long form *inna* of the definite article in the gen. sg. fem., nom. pl. fem. and neut., and acc. and gen. pl. of all genders is restored.
- The preposition *de* is restored when the manuscripts show confusion of *de* with *do*.
- Since this edition aspires to reconstruct the hypothetical OIr original, MidIr innovations are normalised to standard OIr forms against the evidence of the extant manuscripts.

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[232] See *GOI* §103.5.

[233] Cf. *GOI* §151(c) where Thurneysen writes 'In the Félire original *nd* rhymes with double liquids (similarly Sg. 112 (*Thes* ii, 290, 5) **minn** : **Lothlind**), and in Mid.Ir. MSS. *nd* and *nn* have the same value'.

Version C

The text contains Early Modern orthography, which is normalised to that of the OIr spelling system.

Version D

This is a very short text. I restore the OIr orthography and follow Meyer's policy on capitals and punctuation.

1.7.3 Textual analysis

The layout of the textual analysis has been largely influenced by Kim McCone's edition of *Echtrae Chonnlai.* The first line, italicized, represents Meyer's edition or Corthals' in relation to *Ba aprainn*. This is accompanied by their translations. Below this, the manuscript readings are provided. These readings are followed by the restored text, printed in bold. Textual notes, discussing matters arising from variant readings and methods of restoration, are provided.[234]

1.7.4 Revised translation

Kuno Meyer published translations accompanying the prose narratives of version A, B, C and D in *The death-tales*.[235] However, I give a new revised translation of the prose narratives. I follow Johan Corthals' translation of Ba aprainn published the most recent translation in his edition of *Ba aprainn*.[236] Any deviations in translation are discussed in the textual notes.

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[234] Cf. Maas 1958, 22.

[235] See Meyer 1906, 4–17.

[236] See Corthals 1989, 47.

Chapter 2: The dating of *AC*

Introduction

This chapter presents the evidence, both external and internal, from the extant versions of *AC*. It is divided into two subsections. The first subsection investigates all external evidence relevant to the tale of *AC*. The second subsection proffers a linguistic analysis of each version, which includes a brief description of any phonological features as well as features of the nominal and verbal systems. Each linguistic survey concludes with a discussion of the linguistic evidence, including any previous conclusions offered by other scholars on the dating of a particular version, followed by my own proposed dating of each version. A final subsection contains a description of the metrical features in *Ba aprainn*. The aim of this chapter is to provide analytical evidence that supports the date for the reconstructed text of each version.

I apply the following terms when referring to the periods of the Irish language: Early Old Irish (EOIr), Classical Old Irish (OIr), Middle Irish (MidIr), Early Modern Irish (EModIr).[237] Although the EOIr material which has survived is somewhat scarce, the *Cambrai Homily* is tentatively dated to sometime in the seventh century.[238] The other major source for EOIr is the Wb. *prima manus*, which is conjecturally dated to c. 700.[239] The chronological order of the main Old Irish sources is understood in the following order, i.e. the Würzburg, Milan and St. Gall glosses.[240] The language of the Middle Irish

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[237] The EOIr period refers to the phase of language approximately dated from the mid sixth century to c. AD 700 (see *SnaG* II, §1.2, §1.6; *GOI* §10), i.e. post-syncope. The Classical OIr period can be divided into an earlier half, i.e. c. 700 - c. 800, and a later half, i.e. c. 800 - c. 900. The MidIr period is a transitional period in the language which takes place after the Old Irish period to the end of the twelfth century. The EModIr period covers the language from the later twelfth century to the middle of the seventeenth century. See *SnaG* III, §1.1 for an overview of the previously posited dates.

[238] See *Thes* ii, xxvi: 'The Irish is very archaic, and dates from the second half of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century'. Pádraig Ó Néill (1981, 147) is the most recent scholar to add to our understanding of *Cambrai Homily*'s dating. He notes that 'internal evidence, in the form of the passages borrowed from Gregory's *Homilia* gives at least a *terminus post quem* of c. AD 600'.

[239] Cf. e.g. Thurneysen (1901a, 47–8); *Thes* i, xviii, xxiii–xxv; Pokorny (1915, 36); Ó Néill (2002, 230 and 232).

[240] The language of the main Wb. glosses is thought to be later than the glosses *a prima manu* but predates the *Félire Óengusso* and the Milan glosses (*Thes* i, xxv). The language of the Milan glosses has been placed between 800 A.D. and c. 850 A.D; cf. *Thes* i, xviii. It has been difficult to pinpoint an exact date, however,

period reflects a period of transition, while the language of the eighth and ninth centuries was also in a state of flux. Evidence from the glosses shows that although written in an artificial literary standard, the colloquial forms of the spoken language are already encroaching on the written language at an early stage.[241]

2.1 External evidence

This section examines the evidence of references to *AC* in Early Irish literature, which can provide us with a *terminus ante quem* for the tale, or even the individual versions.

The earliest of the manuscripts that contain version A is LL. The manuscript itself was compiled over an extended period, beginning between 1148 and 1151 and ending between 1201 and 1224.[242] The copy of *AC* was penned by hand U who worked c. 1148.[243] However, it is clear from the language in the text that this version is much older than the twelfth century. A reference is made to Altus informing Conchobar of Christ's crucifixion in the Middle Irish tale *Senchas na Relec*, a copy of which is preserved in the early twelfth-century manuscript *Lebor na hUidre*:[244]

> *Conid eseom in tres ro creti i nErind ría tiachtain Patr*aic *.i. Conchobor mac Nessa díaro innis Altus dó cesad Cr*ist. *Morand*[245] *mac Corpri Cind Chaitt indarna fer. Cormac in tres*, *LU* 4048–51.
>
> 'And he was the third person who had believed, in Erin, before the arrival of St. Patrick. Conchobar Mac Nessa, to whom Altus had told concerning the crucifixion of Christ *was the first*; Morann, the son of Cairbre Cinncait was the second person; and Cormac was the third.' O'Donovan 1845, 99.

Thus, we are provided with a *terminus ante quem* of the early twelfth century for the character Altus as a conveyor of the news and as will be seen in the linguistic section below, the language of the prose frame of version B in which Altus appears reflects an Old Irish date of composition.

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since '[...] it is not always possible to distinguish what belonged to the original glosses from what is due to the copyist', *Thes.* i, xviii. For a survey of the language in these glosses, see Strachan (1903a). The St. Gall glosses appear in a manuscript that is dated to October 850 and August 851 (see Ó Néill (2000, 178–180).

[241] See McCone 1985.

[242] See Chapter 1.4.1; Best *et al.* 1954, xvi–xvii.

[243] Duncan 2012, 56, 59.

[244] For a further discussion of the mention of Altus in *Senchas na Relec*, see Chapter 3.8.

[245] M adds the gloss *.i. mac main.*

Vita Sancti Albei, preserved in the *Codex Salmanticensis* (S), preserves a passage in which Conchobar is converted and Mess Gegrai's brain-ball springs from his head, resulting in Conchobar's death.[246] According to Heist (1965, xxvi and xli), this *vita* does not belong to a consecutive group of saints' lives in S, which are referred to as the O'Donohue group.[247] However, Richard Sharpe argues that the *vita* does form part of the group, on the grounds that it is part of the same quire of the collection.[248] Moreover, he argues on the basis of orthographical evidence that these lives were arranged together in an exemplar between 750 and 850.[249] However, there has been some debate as to the merit of the date suggested by Richard Sharpe for the compilation of the O'Donohue group. John Carey argues that the exemplar is more likely a Middle Irish compilation while Caoimhín Breatnach illustrates the weaknesses of Sharpe's argument concerning orthographical features and suggests internal evidence will provide a more accurate means of dating them.[250] Francis J. Byrne suggests that the *vita* may have been composed on the occasion of the proclamation of the Law of Ailbe over Munster in 784 (AI)'.[251] Máire Herbert believes that the *vita* was composed at the monastery of Emly during the reign of Cathal mac Finguini as king of Munster, between the years AD 721 and AD

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[246] See also the discussion in Chapter 1.4.5; Heist 1965, 118–9.

[247] In fact, Heist suggests that the O'Donohue group begins with the Life of Lugaid, or Molua (see Heist 1960, 52–63). A scribal note in the form of a memorandum, concerning the loan of material from Dermot O'Donohue, is found at the end of the Life of Lugaid, and it is this note that causes Heist to suggest that the O'Donohue group begins with this Life, rather than the Life of Albei, which precedes it. Moreover, Heist (1965, xli) suggests that the Life of Ailbe forms part of a separate group, with the *vita* sharing similar geographical locations as the Life of Fintan preceding it.

[248] See Sharpe 1991, 297–8.

[249] Sharpe 1991, 329; Sharpe 1989, 391. He argues that this collection of Lives preserved in S was copied from an Old Irish exemplar, possibly written about *AD* 800, basing it on the spellings of names.

[250] See Carey 1993, 260–2; Breatnach 2005, 101.

[251] See Byrne 1980, 119. Sharpe (1989, 394) acknowledges Byrne's suggestion and concludes 'the appearance in [the *vita*] of Palladius and Victor, names taken from Patrician stories, shows that it was written in response to the already developed legend of St. Patrick. This must suggest that it could hardly be earl[ier] than *AD* 700, so that the date is secured in the eighth century'. However, this suggestion is tentative and somewhat circular. Without an exhaustive study and critical edition of the *vita*, it is difficult to date the archetype solely based on narrative characters and orthographical features.

742.[252] Herbert (1999, 182) agrees with Sharpe's suggestion that the earliest version of the *vita* is best preserved in S. Imhoff (2012, 50) agrees with the dates suggested by Sharpe, Byrne and Herbert, suggesting that a story of Conchobar's conversion and death was current at the time of the Life's composition.[253] Imhoff further argues that the passage pertaining to Conchobar fits the context and political purpose of the *vita* and that the passage provides the source for the Altus storyline of version B.[254] While recognising the previous arguments concerning the date of the *vita*, it is clear that a critical edition of the *vita* remains a *desideratum* in order to establish exactly whether the Conchobar passage was in the original or whether it could be later interpolation in the *vita*, as suggested by Plummer,[255] or a translation of the prose text of version B. Thus, one can only tentatively posit a *terminus ante quem* of the later eighth century for the existence of a story of *AC* based on this evidence.

There exist references in Early Irish poetry to *AC* from the ninth century onwards. Thurneysen (1921, 534) observes that a poem attributed to Flannacán mac Cellaig (†896), *Innid scél scaílter n-airich*, states that Conchobar was struck by Mess Gegrai's brain:[256]

> *Aiged in lāich, cen dimbāich,*
> *Conchob*air, *cadla a choṅgaib;*
> *scoltais, ba gnīmrad ferrda,*
> *inchind Mes Gedra glonnaich*
> 'The death-tale of the hero Conchobar – without grief – delightful his company; the brain of valiant Mes Gedra shattered [his skull] – a manly deed.' Mulchrone 1949, 83.

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[252] See Herbert 1999. Herbert bases this opinion on her own research she has carried out on the text, the prelimary results of which she presented at the Harvard Celtic Colloquium in 1994 (see Herbert 1999, 182, n. 1). See also Imhoff 2012, 74.

[253] Imhoff also refers to Dr. Bridgette Schaffer who agreed with the date suggested by Richard Sharpe. However, I have not had the opportunity to consult her unpublished thesis (Imhoff 2012, 50; Schaffer, 2006).

[254] Imhoff 2012, 75–6.

[255] Plummer 1910, xxix, n.4.

[256] The poem is one of three attributed to Flannacán mac Cellaig. *Innid scél scaílter n-airich* was edited with an introduction by Kathleen Mulchrone, and the reference to Conchobar is in the sixth stanza (see Mulchrone 1949). The poet's death is mentioned in the Annals of Ulster: *Flannacan m. Ceall*aig, *ri Breagh, a Nordmannis iugul*atus *est*, 'Flannacán son of Cellach, king of Brega, was killed by Norsemen', *AU*[2] 896.

There are also references made to Conchobar's death in two poems attributed to Cináed úa hArtacáin (†975). The poem *A chloch thall* is in praise of Mess Gegrai's brain and refers to the brain-ball as the weapon used to kill Conchobar, e.g.[257]

> *ropsa mind i tressaib tóir*
> *dia mba i cind maic Nēssa nāir*
> 'thou wast a diadem in battles of pursuit while thou wast in the head of the noble son of Nessa', Meyer 1906, 18/19.

and also:

> *do gleō frit chomthach ba gand*
> *co torchar and assa chinn,*
> 'thy struggle against thy comrade was rare, until thou fellest there out of his head', Meyer 1906, 20/21.

In the poem *Fíanna bátar i nEmain*, also attributed to Cináed úa hArtacáin, it is stated that Conchobar fell at Lettir Lámraige but it is not said how he died:[258]

> *Atbath macc Nessa in rí*
> *for toeb Letrach Lamraigi,*
> *dos-cel Slea Sliab co rath*
> *ocus Fach[t]na macc Sencath*
> '(Conchobar) mac Nessa the king who died on the side of Letir Lamraige. Mount Slea graciously hides him and Fachtna son of Sencha.' Stokes 1902, 304–5, §4.

Lastly, there is also a piece of poetry found in E_2 and RIA D iv 2, which is attributed to Flann Mainistrech (†1056):

> *Concobur, cloithech a celg,* *mac noit[h]ech nīabdherg,*
> *airdrīgh Ulad, rodlecht de,* *dia ro[ś]lecht lerg Lāmraidhe.*
> *Ina lecht, nī laimthi liacc,* *fūair trī traighthi sechtmogat.*
> 'Conchobar, famous was his guile, Ness' celebrated son of ruddy beauty, high-king of Ulster – he deserved it – by whom the slope of Lámraige was cut down. In his grave ... he found seventy-three feet', Meyer 1906, 18/19.[259]

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[257] This is found independently in the Book of Leinster, p. 150a25-47 and incorporated into the prose passage (i.e. version D) preserved in RIA D iv 2. See a more detailed description of this in Chapter 1.4.4 and Chapter 3.9.

[258] See Stokes 1902, 303. For a detailed argument that this poem was written by Cináed úa hArtacáin, see Murphy 1952. This quatrain is also discussed in more detail in relation to the placename *Lettir Lámraigi* in Chapter 3.6.

[259] See the textual note in version A [6g] for the analysis of this verse and the reading from E_2.

In conclusion, if the attributions are taken seriously, then it suggests that Conchobar's death-tale was known by the ninth century at the time of Flannacán mac Cellaig, with further references made to the tale in the tenth and eleventh century.

2.2 Internal linguistic evidence

2.2.1 Ba aprainn

The following archaic features in *Ba aprainn* point to it having been composed in the Early Old Irish period:[260]

i. The preservation of *ó* (later > *úa*, cf. *GOI* §60): *slóig*[261] (*sluag*, N) [2b]; *-roosat* (*roosat*, N; omitted, LL) [8c]; *cóirt* (*coirt*, N; *cruaid*, LL) [10b]. The intermediary spelling *óa* is found in the following examples: *chróadchurad* (*croad churad*, N; *chruadchurad*, LL) [1b]; *óasal* (*hoasal*, N; *uasal*, LL) [12b]; *clóais* (*cloas*, N; *cluás*, LL) [12b]. However, Corthals (1989, 44) cautiously observes that *óa* may not necessarily be an older spelling than *úa*.[262]

ii. The preservation of *é* (later > *ía*): *Dee* (*dee*, N; *dia*, LL) [6a]; *méd* (*med*, N; *miad*, LL) [9a]; *mu fédo* (*meda*, N; *mudia*, LL) [13a]. Note the intermediary form *ea* in *nDea* (*nea*, N; omitted, LL) [8b]. This spelling occurs as early as the Cambrai Homily, e.g. *Dea*, 'God', *Thes* ii, 246.6. (cf. *GOI* §53(a) n.).[263]

iii. The preservation of final *-th* in unstressed position (later > *-d*, *GOI* §130c): *crochath* (*crochat*, N; *crochad*, LL) [4a]; *chombruth* (*comrath*, N; *choimrid*, LL) [12a].

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[260] Individual archaic forms, and attestions, are discussed in the textual notes. See also Corthals (1989, 58–9) for a discussion of the linguistic features in this text.

[261] It should be noted, however, that there was a tendency for *ó* to be retained before gutturals until later in the language (i.e. the Ml. and Sg. glosses). See *GOI* §60.

[262] Corthals provides examples from texts preserved in N, including texts which were not composed in the Early Old Irish period, but in the Middle Irish period onwards. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out entirely that perhaps the use of *óa* in the manuscript reflects a scribal tendency. Thus, an exhaustive study is required of all such scribal features in the entire manuscript to determine whether it is an early feature or just a tendency of Aodh. However, this lies beyond the scope of the present thesis. For similar discussion of *óa* and *úa*, see McCone 2000, 36.

[263] In *Ba aprainn*, *Dea* refers to God rather than the later meaning of 'idol, false god'. For a further discussion of this form and meaning, see the textual note on [8b].

iv. The preservation of final unstressed neutral *-g* (later > *ch*): *artreg* (*artrag*, N; ar*drac*h, LL) [10a]. Cf. *GOI* §130.1, *rígteg*, Wb. 23b8 (*a prima manu*; OIr *rígthech*).

v. The use of the rarer and earlier unstressed *e* instead of the more common *i* (cf. *GOI* §102.5), i.e. *fochel* (*fach*e*l*, N; *foch*i*l*, LL) [11b].

vi. The older etymologically correct spelling of *mór* is preserved in the text: *már*, (*mar*, N; *mór*, LL) [2a].[264] However, this cannot be used as a dating criterion since *már* appears also in Ml. 40b9.

Furthermore, *Ba aprainn* contains linguistic features that do not contradict an EOIr date of composition. For instance, the correct use of infixed pronouns is seen in the text:

- class A: *ron-ort* [9a]; *ron-cráidi* [9b].
- class B: *atum– ... –cichtis* [1b]; *atum-chichthe* [5a]; *chuton-ocbaimmis* (*chotócbai*m*mis*, LL; *chutooccaibmis*, N) [9b]; *remit-téised* (*remiteised*, LL; omitted, N) [12a].[265]
- class C:[266] *nad roichem* [8a]; *din– ... –rochuínem* [8b]

Similarly, in the verbal system:

- Use of reduplicated future and conditional: *atum– ... –cichtis* [1b]; *con-cichlis*, [2a]; *-airrerinn* [4b]; *foa mbebainn* [6b].
- Use of the *t*-preterite: *ron-ort* [9a].
- Use of the vocalic ending in the 3sg. perf. of the W2a type verb *cráidid*: *ron-cráidi*.[267]
- Use of the suppletive future stem *rega-* in *regainn* [11a].[268]

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[264] Cf. Gaul. *-maros*, W. *mawr*; see *RelChron*. 59–60.

[265] See further discussion of this form and the infixed pronoun in the textual note on [12a].

[266] See the individual discussions on these forms in the relevant textual notes.

[267] The 3sg. conj. *s*-pret. ending *-i* of W2a verbs was replaced by *-Θ* at an early stage, with the latter predominating in the Ml. glosses (*EIV* 57). It should be noted that there is evidence to suggest that there was a tendency in the early Middle Irish period for this vocalic ending to spread to other weak verbs of a different stem (see *SnaG* III, §12.32). However, given the overall preponderance for the language of the poem pointing to the Early Old Irish period, I take the vocalic ending in *-cráidi* as an archaism.

[268] In the early Middle Irish period, *re-* changed to *ra-*, e.g. *no ragdais* 'they would go', *SR* 4724 (*SnaG* III, §3.12).

- Use of the early and original formation *fris-tá* without suppletion of the verbal stem with *-ben* in the present indicative.[269]

Nasalization is marked after the acc. sg.: *cu Artig n-arnac* [1a]; *la Dee ndílgadag* [6a]; *nad nDea nderagam* [8a]; *ar doíne ndíchmairc* [10b]; *fochel n-éco* [11b].

Corthals observes the use of the relative with adverbial function in *nad roichem* [8a], and *nad ... roachtmar* [9a]. In addition to these, I also note the following examples: *nad n-arnac* [1a]; *con– ... –génainn* [3a]; *nad ... roacht* [13a]. However, these relative constructions continue in use in poetry into the late Old Irish period.[270]

Innovations

There is some evidence to suggest that the archetype underwent modernisation during its transmission. The preposition *la* replaces the attested Old Irish use of *con-gní* + *fri* 'assists with' in [3a].[271] The manuscripts both read *moo* (*mó*) rather than the perhaps earlier form **máu* in [4b]. Other changes such as the change of EOIr unstressed *e* > *a*[272] and stressed *u* > *o*[273] could have happened during transmission.

Summary

In conclusion, the above discussion of the orthographical, phonological, and linguistic features, best preserved in N, support Corthals' previous assertion that the poem was composed c. 700.[274] However, there is also linguistic evidence that may suggest the original was modernised in a later exemplar, which LL and N subsequently copied from.

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[269] See the textual note on [13b].

[270] Corthals 1989, 58; Breatnach 1981, 55–6.

[271] See further the more detailed discussion of *con-gní* + *la* against earlier *con-gní* + *fri* in the textual note on [3a].

[272] i.e. *artreg* [12b]; ar*drac*h, LL; ar*trac*h, N.

[273] i.e. *cruich* [10b] (*croic*h, LL; *croic*h, N).

[274] See Corthals 1989, 59; Corthals 1996, 22.

2.2.2 Version A

The nominal system

The definite article

Both Old Irish and innovatory forms of the definite article are found in version A. The use of *na* (for OIr *inna*) is seen throughout the text for the fem. gen. sg. + nom. pl. and the fem. acc. + gen. pl of all genders, e.g. [1d], [4a], [6a], [7a].[275] There are no examples of masc. nom. pl. nouns with a preceding article in the text. The loss of the old dat. pl. *-(a)ib* ending is seen in all the manuscripts, i.e. *dona mnáib* (*donaib mnáib*) [5m].[276] LL generally preserves final *-nd* in the prep. + article before lenited *l, f, r, n* and any vowel, e.g. *dond leiṫh* (*dind leith*) [5c].[277]

In relation to the neuter article, most of the examples are ambiguous, due to the orthography. For instance, the nom. sg. neuter article might be preserved preceding neut. *inchinn* in [1e], where LL and C have *aninchind* for *a n-inchinn*, 'the brain'. LL is generally conservative in the treatment of proclitic *i* and *a*. Therefore, it seems less likely that *an* is a later spelling for the fem. art. *in* in this manuscript. The acc. sg. neuter article is perhaps preserved in LL's *anísin* 'that' (*inisin*, C; *in isi*n, E_1; *inni sin*, E_2), but it could also reflect a petrified phrase.[278] LL/C also has the contracted form of *fo* + neut. acc. sg. art., i.e. *foa* > *fó* preceding original neuter *indas* 'manner' in [2].

The article is used with anaphoric function in *in Cet*, '(this) Cet' [3e] and *in Cheit*, '(of this) Cet'[5l]. This suggests a date of composition in the late half of the OIr period.[279]

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[275] Such short forms are already attested in the OIr glosses, and according to McCone (1985, 89–90), this demonstrates that *na* was already present in the spoken language, with the longer *inna* preserved due to 'orthographic conservatism'. The shortened form *na* is the common form in MidIr (cf. *SnaG* III, 7.6). However, the old form *inna* is still attested e.g. *inna n-ingen nEbraidé*, *SR* 5908.

[276] This change has already begun in Old Irish with examples found in the Milan glosses (cf. *GOI* §467; McCone 1985, 90). McCone has suggested that such innovations appearing in the Milan glosses shows that such forms had already taken hold in the colloquial register (1985, 90). However, in Middle Irish, forms without *-(a)ib* are common occurrences. See *SnaG* III, 7.5 for examples.

[277] *SnaG* III, §7.7. See also the description of the orthography in LL, in Chapter 1.5.1.

[278] The last attested example of the neut. art. *a* is in the *AU* entry for 911 (Ó Máille 1910, 123). Another neut. noun doesn't show up until 991, at which point the art. is *in* (Ó Máille 1910, 123). See also *SnaG* III, §§7.2, 7.3.

[279] For a more detailed discussion, see the textual note on [3e].

The Noun

Gender: Although in many instances it is difficult to determine the gender of an original neuter in the text, there are two clear examples where the manuscripts treat an original neuter as a masculine, supported by the preceding article, i.e. *forsin forad* (OIr *forsa forad*) [3a], and *in lín* (OIr *a lín*) [9b]. Also, the Old Irish neuter *cenn* 'head' is treated as a masculine by all the manuscripts in the personal name Cenn Berraide, e.g. *cend b–raide*, LL (OIr *Cenn mBerraide*) [7e]. However, as mentioned above *cenn* is treated as a neuter in *isa cenn* [6d].

Case and stem formation: The historical dative singular spelling is not found in the witnesses, i.e. *do inchinn*, LL (OIr *di inchiunn*) [4a]. However, *u*-infection is preserved in some instances, e.g. *a óenur*, LL [5m]; *i ngalur*, LL [9b].[280]

The nouns maintain case and stem formation conforming to OIr usage. There is no evidence of the dat. pl. ending *-(a)ib* replacing the acc. pl. after a prep. governing the acc.

The nominative case is always used following a passive verbal form, e.g. *talltar in chloch*, 'the stone is taken out', [9c].

The original *o*-stem *dead* 'last' is treated as an *ā*-stem in [5b], i.e. *inna diaid* 'after him', which is attested already in Wb. 13d9. The *io*-stem by-form *lethe* 'side' in [3b] replaces the acc. sg. *s*-stem *leth* due to the scribal reinterpretation of *a leth iarnabárach*, 'their direction the next day'[281]

The short dat. sg. form *Ére* 'Ireland' is preserved in C [3e].[282] According to Ó Máille (1910, 148) the short form is last noted in the Annals of Ulster in 907 and he observes that the short dat. gives way to the long form *Érinn* early in the tenth century. However, as Damian McManus has pointed out to me, the short dat. sg. continues in use throughout the Middle Irish period, e.g. [...] ⁊ *ca*ch *Temair olcena dofil i n-Eire*, '[...] and every other Temair which exists in Ireland', Stokes (1894, 444–5).

A diagnostic feature suggestive of an Old Irish date of composition is seen in the nom sg. *mescae* 'drunkeness' [1b], and the gen. sg. *delbae* '[of] body' [5f], where the intervocalic consonantal groups *-sc-* and *-lb-* resist the analogical spread of palatalisation.

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[280] *Galar* retains the u-epenthesis of the dat. sg. form, which later is replaced by nom./ acc.sg. form *galar*, under the influence of other *o*-stems who resist u-epenthesis (cf. *GOI* §278).

[281] For a further discussion of this scribal innovation, see the textual note on [3b].

[282] See Ó Máille 1910, 148

The noun *Iúd(a)ei*, referring to pl. 'Jews', in *la Iúdeu* [11b] is generally confined to Old Irish glosses and is later replaced by *Iúdaide*.

Nasalisation is preserved after an acc. sg., e.g. *Lóegaire mBúadach* [1c]; *táin mbó*, 'a cattle raid' [5a][283]; *ríge nUlad*, 'kingship of Ulster' [7d].

The Adjective

The use of the superlative ending -*am* in *ansam* 'easier' [3e], found in LL, C and E_1, rather than being replaced by the the comparative ending -(*i*)*u*, may suggest an Old Irish date of composition.[284]

There are five examples of the attributive adjective in the text,[285] but none are found in a context which would require a dat. pl. There is one example of nasalization of an attributive adjective following an acc. sg. noun, i.e. *écht n-amrae*, 'a famous warrior' [4f].

The adverbial construction *co ainféta*, 'tumultuously' in [10c] uses *co* + the neut. acc. sg. rather than the art. + the dat. sg. of the adj.[286] However, this formation is already attested in the Wb. and Ml. glosses and does not necessarily suggest a later date of composition.[287]

Numerals

In [3b], we find *da* for *dí* in E_2's *daoinmhid*, a modernisation for expected fem. nom. sg. numeral, i.e. *dí óinmhit*. This reflects the Middle Irish generalisation of the masc. nom./acc. sg. form (*SnaG* III, §8.3). However, since this reading is only found in E_2, due to a *lacuna* in LL/C, and a corruption in E_1, it is difficult to posit whether this was in the original or probably a scribal innovation in E_2.

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[283] It should be noted that this nasalisation is not seen in the Edinburgh witnesses.

[284] *GOI* §366.3; the comparative forms are already more numerous than the superlative in the *Félire* (Stokes 1905, xxx). By the tenth century, the comparative has taken over from the historical superlative form, which becomes obsolete (cf. Breatnach, R. A., 1990, 1).

[285] I.e. *immarbága móra*, 'great boastings' [1c]; *líathroiti crúaide*, 'hard balls' [1f]; *in caingin móir*, 'the great fuss' [3b]; *crith már*, 'a great trembling' [11c]; *gním már*, 'terrible deed' [11g].

[286] *GOI* §379.

[287] E.g. *commaith*, 'well', Wb. 7b15; *commór*, 'greatly' Ml. 38c12; see also for further discussion, McCone (1985, 90).

Pronouns

There are no instances of the independent object pronoun in the text. The following infixed pronouns are used to express the object:

Class A: 1sg. *nom-béra* [7d]; 3sg. masc. *do-narraid* [5b]; *not-bér-sa* [7e]; *no-mbeir* [7f].

Class C: 3sg. *conid-tarlae* [6c]; *conid rucsat* [6e].

There are two instances of the Class C infixed pronoun conforming to OIr usage. There are no instances where a Class A is used for a Class C or the other way around. The 3sg. of *beirid* in [7f], i.e. *no-mbeir*, uses an infixed pronoun rather than a suffixed pronoun.[288] This might place the text at the end of the Old Irish period.[289]

The post-palatal form *-sem* of the emphasizing pronoun is used throughout the text, e.g. *do-lluid-sem* [5a]; *co torchair-sem* [6d]. The form *-som* was used after a final palatal consonant in the preceding word only in the Wb. glosses. Thus, *-sem* may suggest a date of composition after the Wb. glosses.[290]

The manuscripts contain the later generalised forms of the 3sg. masc. pronominals *féin*, [5e] and *fadéin*, [7e]. The form *féin*, originally for 1sg. and 2sg., becomes widespread in all persons, genders and numbers, surviving into Modern Irish.[291] However, there are two attestations of *féin* found in the glosses, i.e. Wb. 7b1 and Ml. 84a2. Thus, the form in the text could well be original. The form *fadéin* occurs due to the spread of the 1sg. and 2sg. *fadéin* to the 3sg., replacing earlier *fadeisin*. However, since I have not encountered any instances of *fadéin* in the glosses, I suggest that this is an innovatory form in the witnesses.[292]

Prepositions

The prepositions largely conform to Old Irish usage with the distinction between accusative and dative case maintained after the prepositions. The prepositions *fri* and *for*

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[288] See *GOI* §429.

[289] For a survey of the use of the suffixed pronoun vs. the infixed pronoun in Old Irish material, see Breatnach (1971, 102–3).

[290] See further discussion in the textual note on [5a] and [6d]. The use of post-palatal *-sem* becomes frequent in the St. Gall glosses, but it should be noted that it is already confirmed by rhyme in the Epilogue to the *Félire*, i.e. *dia tháinsem* (:*áilsed*), *Fél.* Ep. 524.

[291] See *DIL* s.v. *fadéin*, 4.66–74.

[292] See also the textual note on [7e].

are generally preserved, rather than replaced by their Middle Irish forms *ri*, *re* and *ar*.[293]

The conjugated 3sg. masc. prep. *cuc(a)i* is preserved in C and E_2 in [6e] against the later *cuici* in analogy with the 3sg. fem.[294]

The confusion of *di* and *do* in proclisis is frequent throughout the text, a phenomenon which occurs already at an early stage in the Old Irish period.[295] *Di* is found on occasion but given that it is usually found in a witness of the Early Modern Irish period, it is just as likely to be a pseudo-archaism as a copied archaism.[296]

An innovatory dental element *-th-* and dat. pl. ending is seen in the conjugated acc. 3pl. form of *ar*, i.e. *airthib*, LL/C [1f] (for expected OIr acc. 3pl. *airriu*).[297] E_2 has *fær*, which is a hypercorrect form.[298]

Conjunctions

The conjunction *céin* 'as long as' is followed by a nasalizing relative clause in OIr (*DIL* s.v. *cían*, III, 19–20; *GOI* §892). However, in [11a], the nasalization is not found in any witnesses, i.e. *céin robo béo*, 'as long as he lived'.[299]

The temporal conjunction *in tan* is seen without the nasalizing rel. marker in [1g] and [4a], which was not obligatory in Old Irish.[300]

The verbal system[301]

Present Indicative

Act. 3sg. *do-cuirethar* [1c]; *ro-cluinedar* [4b]; *ro-fitir* [4d]; *ethaid* [4c]; *beirid* [4c]; *na-indlethar* (*nos*$_i$*ndlet*har, LL; *nos indleast*air, C; illeg., E_1; rosinnlist–,

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[293] See McCone 1988, 88; *SnaG* III, §§ 13.13, 13.14.

[294] Cf. *chucai*, Ml. 46c1; *chucae*, Sg. 191a2. Note that these are lenited conjugated forms, thus showing that this is already seen in the Old Irish glosses (see McCone 1985, 88).

[295] See *DIL* s.v. *de*, 129, 38–65, 130, 1–2.

[296] See for instance the example in [3f].

[297] According to O'Rahilly (1930, 165), the spread of the dental forms in the 3sg. and 3pl. was in analogy with the 3sg. fem. forms *inte*, *intiu*. For a more detailed discussion of this form and the restoration to the acc. pl. *airriu*, in the textual note on [1f]. See also *SnaG* III, §13.4.

[298] See further the textual note on [1f].

[299] See further discussion in the textual note on [11c].

[300] *GOI* §505.

[301] I provide the variant readings in parenthesis wherever they differ drastically from the normalised text.

E_2) [6b]; *da-léici* (*nos te*$_i$*lc*, LL; *nosteilg*, C; *teilgi–*, E_1; *rotelgust–*, E_2) [6c]; *maidid* [7a], [7g]; *do-beir* [7f]; *no-mbeir* [7f].

Act. 3pl. *berait* [3c]; *fo-cerdat* [6e].

Pass. sg. *fechair* [5c]; *do-berar* [9a]; *talltar* [9c]; *tucthar* [9d]; *do-gníther* [9g].

Pass. pl. *do-bertar* [9c].

Imperative

2sg. *tucaid* [1d].

Imperfect

Act. 3sg. *do-bered* [4f]; *ro-ḟinnad* [9b]; *no théiged* [9b].

Act. 3pl. *no marbtais* [1e]; *do-bertis* [1g].

Pass. 3sg. *no gattae* [1e]; ⁊ *chon-mescthae* (*com*m*esct*h*a*, LL) [1f].

Present subjunctive

Active 1sg. (*ā*) *co n-árladar* (*coroacilliur*, LL; *coro aig*$_i$*ll*ar, C; [ ]*ailler*, E_1; *goroaigillear*, E_2) [1d].

Active 3pl. *-dernat* [2]; *-ndénat* [1f].

Past subjunctive

3sg. (*s*) *-tetairsed* (*tet*ar*h*a*d*, LL; *taradh*, C; *rois*eth E_1; *fuig*h*ed*h, E_2) [4f]; *-tísed* (*-tisad*, LL/C, E_1/E_2) [10c]; (s) *-digsed* [10c]; (*ā*) *-etraiged* [10c]; (*s*) *-reissed* (*-rethed,* LL/C) [10c].

Future

Act. 1sg. (*ē*) *do-bér* [7d]; (*ē*) *not-bér-sa* [7e].

Act. 3sg. *do-fóeth* [4a]; (*ē*) *nom-béra* [7d].

Secondary Future

Active 1sg. (*f*) *not-íccfaind*, [9d].

Preterite/Perfect

(*s*) = *s*-preterite, (*t*) = *t*-preterite, (su) = suffixless preterite (without lengthening or reduplication), (*ā*) = suffixless *ā*-preterite, (*ī*) = suffixless *ī*-preterite, (r) = reduplicated preterite.[302]

Act. 3sg. pret.: (su) *luid* [3b], [5m]; (su) *do-lluid* [3d], [3f], [5a], [5e], [6a]; (*t*) *as-bert* [4a]; (*ā*) *do-narraid* [5b]; *na co cúalae* [11b]; *tánic* [11c].

Act. 3pl. pret.: (*ā*) *gádatar* [5f].

Act. 3sg. perf.: (su) *co tuc* [5a]; (s) *ro gab-som* [5b]; (su) *co torchair* [6d]; (su) *conid-tarlae* [6c]; *co tarlae* [6d]; (su) *do-rochair* [6f]; (r) *co róemaid* [8b]; (*s*) *ro crithnaig* [11d]; (r) *ro génair* [11j]; (*s*) *ro creiti* [12a]; (*s*) *ro chreiti* [12b].

Act. 3pl. perf.: (su) *ad-condarcatar* [3b]; (*s*) *ro-gabsat* [5l]; (*s*) *conid-rucsat* [6e]; (*t*) *-torachtatar* [5c].

Pass. sg. perf: *do-ratad* [3a]; *do-rónad* [3b]; *con-acbad* [8a]; *ro íccad* [10a]; *ro úaiged* [10a]; *do-rónad* [11d].

The copula

3sg. pres. ind. abs. *is* [2], [3f], [4a], [6f], [9b], [9e], [11h], [11i] x2, [12a], [12b].

3sg. pres. ind. rel. *as* [3e].

3pl. pres. ind. conj. *nídat* [2].

3sg. fut.: *bid* [9d].

3sg. pret./ perf. *ba* [1e], [10a]; *robo* [11a].

The substantive verb

3sg. pres. ind. *attá*, [6g].

3sg. imperf. *no bíd* [4e], [9b] x2.

3pl. imperf. *no bítis* [1g]; *co mbítis* [1g].

3sg. past subj. *co mbeth* [10b].

3sg. pret./ perf. *boí* [1a]; *ro boí* [3e], [4d], [11a]; *ní rabae* (*-rabi*, LL; *-raibhe*, C; *-raibi*, E_1; *-roibe*, E_2) [5g]; *nírbo* [5k], [11b]; *co mboí* [6a].

3pl. pret. *co mbátar* [6c].

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[302] These abbreviations apply to the verbal systems in version B, C and D also.

Discussion of the verbal system

The verbal system of version A generally reflects the Old Irish system, despite the presence of several Middle Irish forms, which will be discussed further below.

The following are some of the more noticeable features which are diagnostic of an Old Irish date of composition:

- The deponent verbs that appear in the text preserve the original deponent forms, e.g. *do-cuirethar* [1c]; *ro-cluinedar* [4b]; *ro-fitir*, [4d].
- The deuterotonic and prototonic forms of compound verbs are mostly maintained throughout, e.g. *do-bered* [4f], and *fo-cerdat* [6e].
- The distinction between preterite and perfect adhering to OIr usage is generally maintained throughout the text. In some instances, the perfect conforms to Old Irish usage expressing resultative, e.g. *conid-tarlae* [6c], or anterior action, e.g. *do-rónad* [3b]. However, the use of the perfect as the historical past is also found in the text, e.g. *ro crithnaig* [11d].
- The preverbal perfective particle *ro* in *conid-tarlae* [6c], *co torchair* [6d], *co tarlae* [6d] and *do-rochair* [6f], as well as the perfective particle *com* in *digsed* [10c].
- The *t*-preterite is preserved in *as-bert* [4a]. The 3sg. perf. of *gainithir* 'is born' in [11j] is treated as a strong verb rather than as a Middle Irish weak verb, i.e. OIr *ro génair* versus Middle Irish *ro gein*. However, *ro génair* also survives into the Middle Irish period, e.g. *ro genair*, PH 3970 (*Sermo ad Reges*).

The use of the *ā*-preterite and the historical 3pl. flexional ending *-atar* in *gádatar* [5f] is not indicative of an Old Irish date because this survives into the early Middle Irish period (cf. *SnaG* III, §§12.56, 12.64).

The 3sg. perf. of *do-tuit* 'falls, dies' is seen in the text with a non-historical palatal ending, e.g. *co torchair-sem* [6d], confirmed by the emphasizing particle *-sem* (rather than *-som*), rather than the historical form *-torchar*.[303] This is already seen encroaching towards the end of the Old Irish period, e.g. *dorochair*, Sg. 29a8. In two instances, *ro creiti* is found in LL, i.e. [12a] and [12b], rather than *ro creit*. The 3sg. conj. *s*-pret. *-i* of

[303] Cf. *anna torchar nech*, 'when no one fell', Ml. 34c14 (see *EIV* 54).

W2a verbs was being replaced by *-Θ* at a very early period, with the latter predominating in the Ml. glosses (*EIV* 57).[304]

The verbal system has undergone several modernisations. Some are trivial and could have been introduced by the individual scribes, i.e. the writing of the prosthetic *f* in *ro úaiged* [10a], and the 3sg. perfect of the substantive with a palatal *b* instead of *rabae* in [5g]. There is one example of a deponent verb treated as a simple verb, and this may be an early occurence, i.e. *ro crithnaig*, [11d].

Other forms might suggest that the archetype may have been modernised by a Middle Irish intermediary redactor. The 1sg. pres. subj. *co n-árladar* in [1d] was possibly replaced by the later form *-aicilliur* in the manuscripts, and is preceded by a proclitic *ro*. The Middle Irish simplified verb *teilcid* (a formation of the Old Irish prototonic stem, *EIV* 192) is found rather than the OIr compound *do-léici* in [6c]. The past subjunctives of *reithid* and *do-etarret* are treated as weak *ā*-subjunctives in [4f] and [10c], in all the manuscripts, replacing the original *s*-subjunctives.

The short prose passage at the end of LL/C can safely be dated to the Middle Irish period. This is supported by the verbal forms in [13a], [13b] and [14]. For instance, the 3sg. perf. *ra-íarfaig* is conjugated as a weak simplified verb rather than an Old Irish strong verb i.e. OIr *íarmi-roacht* of *íarmi-foich*.[305] The new Middle Irish formation *ro innis* [13a] is based on a verbal noun (OIr *ad-fét*; 3sg. perf. *ad-cúaid*, *EIV* 193). Also, the preposition *co*, historically governing the acc., is used with the dat. pl. ending in *co Gaedalaib* 'to the Gaels' [14].[306]

The concluding prose passage preserved in the Edinburgh recension, and not found in LL/C, was composed in the Middle Irish period. The following features of the verbal system point towards a date of composition perhaps towards the end of or after the tenth century:

- Old Irish deponent verbs are treated as Middle Irish simple verbs, i.e. r*us*b–taig (OIr *bertaigid*(*ir*)), E_1 p.2.22 and *ro foillsig* (OIr *foillsigidir*), E_1 p. 3.4. According

[304] 3sg. perf. rel. *rochretti*, Wb. 5a7, *rochreti*, 5b21, 24b3; *rochreti*, Ml. 46a14 vs. *ɔnarochret*, Ml. 33b5; *ro chreit*, *LU* 4089 (*Senchas na Relec*). For instance McCone writes that some W2a verbs with the *-i* ending survive into the Middle Irish period (*EIV* 236). However, this ending is also seen with old W1 verbs in *SR*, so this is not a mere survival, but even a (temporary) spread of the vocalic ending (*SnG* III, §12.32 on *SR* in particular).

[305] *SnaG* III, §11. 17.

[306] *SnaG* III, §5.1.

to Strachan, there are only a few examples of the deponent verb found in *Saltair na Rann*, and concludes that the deponent verb was practically gone by the middle of the tenth century, and that it was 'at least well broken up by the beginning of the century'.[307]

- The loss of the reduplicated preterite is seen in *ro ling* (OIr *ro leblaing*), E_1 p. 3.22, [1f], and *romuigit–* (OIr *co róemaid*), E_1 p.2.22 and they are treated as *s*-preterites, due to the spread of the weak stem formations.[308]
- The 1sg. *dodigelaind*, E_2 fol.8ra.39 is from the Middle Irish verb *díglaid* (OIr *do-fich*, *EIV* 193), with an *ē*-future.[309]
- The distinction between preterite and perfect is not found and the perfect serves as the new historical past throughout the text.

Summary

James Carney (1955, 279), followed by Cronan (2007, 153) was of the opinion that the copy of *AC*, as found in LL, may have been written in the eighth century. However, there is no linguistic evidence to support such a date of composition. Indeed, the text does not preserve any phonological features such as the preservation of final unstressed *-th* (later *-d*), suggestive of such an early date of origin.[310] The above analysis of the linguistic evidence, for instance the use of the perfect for the narrative past, places the archetype in the later half of the Classical Old Irish period or perhaps even in the early Middle Irish period. Several shared innovations suggest that the archetype may have undergone modernisation by a Middle Irish redactor. The sub-nodes of the two separate branches, i.e. LL/C and E_1/E_2, also contain forms which were introduced by their respective redactors. It is these sub-nodes which introduced the brief final prose passage in LL/C and the final passage in E_1/E_2, both of which are datable to approximately the tenth century.

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[307] Strachan 1893, 551–2.

[308] *EIV* 209. However, the verb *lingid* without reduplication in the preterite is seen already at an early stage, e.g. *ro-ling*, *ScMMD* 201.17 (the Rawl. B 512 text has *forro-leblaing*).

[309] The simplified verb is attested as early as *Saltair na Rann*, e.g. *ro dīgail*, *SR* 4465.

[310] For example *forad* (earlier *forath*) [3a]; *debaid* (earlier *debuith*) [8a].

2.2.3 Version B

The nominal system

The definite article

Since version B is a very short text, the number of attested forms of the definite article is limited.[311] There are no instances of OIr *ind* before vowels or lenited *f*, *l*, *n*, *r* in masc. gen. sg., fem. nom. sg., or neut. gen. sg. There are no instances in the text of the plural article. The instances of OIr *in* (later *an*) conform to OIr usage, e.g. masc. nom. sg. *in cruth* [2a]; fem. acc. sg. *in n-aimsir sin* [1d]; neut. gen. sg. *in cheineóil* [2b]. There are two examples of the article used in combination with a preposition, i.e. masc. acc. sg. *isin mbith* [1e]; neut. acc. sg. *foa n-indas sin* (*fonnin*nus *si*n, N; *fonin*nus *si*n, LFF) [2a].[312]

The Noun

Of the sixty-nine nouns in this text, the following observations can be made:

Gender: Of the 13 originally neuter nouns found in this text, only one can be shown diagnostically to be neuter. The attributive adjective shows nasalization after the nom. sg. neut. *scél*, i.e. *scél n-airdirc* [1e].[313] On the other hand, this may be considered a petrified phrase and therefore, might not reflect the real status of *scél*. The Middle Irish pronominal adjective *nach*, precedes *scél* 'story' in the manuscripts: *na–*, N; *nach*, LFF [1e]. In Old Irish, the form used for nom. and acc. sg. neuter is *na*. The form *na* gives way to *nach* early in Middle Irish (*DIL* s.v. *nach*, 4. 75–6).

The OIr neut. *inchinn* is seen in N written as *anincinn* (OIr *a n-inchinn*) [4b].[314] It is difficult in this instance to say whether the neut. art. is preserved here or it reflects a later orthography (i.e. *in* vs. *an*). The noun *fuil* 'blood' is treated as a feminine in the text, i.e. it is preceded by the fem. nom. sg. article, i.e. *in fuil* LFF (*ind fuil*, 'the blood') [4d]. Although this noun may have been a neuter in origin, it is attested as a feminine in the glosses.[315]

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[311] I have counted a total of nine articles, occurring either independently or with a preposition.

[312] The latter example appears in the manuscripts with *indas* treated as a masc. But it should be noted that *fo* may also reflect the contracted form of *fo* + neut. acc. sg. *a*, i.e. *fó* (cf. *fo* + the rel. part. *a*: *fua* > *fó*, *GOI* §492).

[313] Nasalization after a nom. sg. neut. is still found in early Middle Irish (*SnaG* III, §4.13).

[314] See the textual note on the formation and gender of this word in version A [1e].

[315] See further discussion in the textual note on this word in [4d].

Case and stem formation: The nouns in the text largely conform in case and stem formation to the standard OIr usage. However, both manuscripts show individual scribal innovations which deviate from the original forms. For instance, LFF's *reachtuireadha* shows the adoption of the unsyncopated dental stem pl. ending against original nom. pl. *io*-stem *rechtairi* [1d].[316] N shows confusion between nom. and acc. sg. of the guttural stem *rí* in [1c].[317] The long acc. sg. in N's *talmain* is seen replacing the original short acc. sg. *talam* [2b].[318]

The nouns *Iúdae* [3b] *Rómán* [1c] and *geintlide* [4c] are generally confined to OIr usage and are later replaced by *Iudaide* and *Rómánach*.[319]

The adjective

There are no examples of the degrees of comparison of the adjective in the text.

The adjective *maith* is used in adverbial construction with the preposition *co* in [2e], replacing the earlier construction of the dat. sg. of the adj., optionally preceded by the article (*GOI* §379). However, the former construction is seen already in the Wb. glosses, i.e. *co mmaith*, Wb. 7b15 (see *GOI* §381; McCone 1985, 90).

Pronouns

Suffixed pronouns: There are no examples of suffixed pronouns in the prose text. However, there are no instances in the text where a suffixed pronoun could have been used in place of an existing infixed pronoun.

Infixed pronouns: There are three instances of the Class B in the manuscripts used with the verb *ad-fét*, i.e. *at-fét* [1b]; [2b]; [2c]. In [1b] it is a proleptic masc. pron. referring to *crochad*. In [2b], a neut. pron. anticipates the following clause and in [2c] it is a

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[316] Liam Breatnach notes that this feature is not yet attested in *Saltair na Rann* (*SnaG* III, §5.9).

[317] See *SnaG* III, §5.11: Liam Breatnach notes five examples of confusion of acc. sg. *ríg* with nom. sg. *rí* in *Harleian 1802*, a manuscript which is dated to 1138. However, this could also just be an example of a phonological feature (i.e. *-g* > Ø, + ensuing hypercorrection of *-g* for Ø), rather than a morphological confusion of cases.

[318] See further discussion of this form in the textual note on [2b].

[319] See further discussion in the textual notes on [1c] and [3a].

petrified inf. pron. A Class B masc. reflexive pronoun is used in *cot-noscrastar* [4a]. A Class C neuter infixed pronoun is used in *condid-epalt* [4b].

Independent pronouns: There are two instances of the 3sg. masc. independent pronoun, i.e. *is é* [1c] and *is é* [4c]. They are both used as predicative nominatives after the copula (*GOI* §406).

Demonstrative pronouns: The following instances are used anaphorically: *in n-aimsir sin* [1d]; *foa n-innas sin* [2a]. The demonstrative is also found after the preposition *íar*, i.e. *íar sin* [4a], meaning 'thereupon, after that'.

Prepositions

The prepositions in the text conform to OIr usage. For instance, the preposition *for* is preserved in [1d] (later *ar*, see *SnaG* III, §13.13). Confusion between the prepositions *fri* and *la* occurs in MidIr, but this is not the case in version B (see *SnaG* III, §§13.14, 13.19). The preposition *fri* is preserved in [3b] (later *ri* or *ro/ra*, see *SnaG* III, §13.14). The expected preposition *la* is found in [2a], i.e. *ba derb la Conchobar* (see *DIL* s.v. *derb*, 30.35; *SnaG* III, §13.19). The preposition *íar* in [4a] has not yet been reduced to *ar* (see *SnaG* III, §13.16).

The conjugated preposition *airi* is found in [1d] and [2b]. The preposition *íarum* (*íar* + 3sg. masc./ neut. pronoun) is used adverbially in [3a] and [4c].

Conjunctions

The conjunction *amal* is found once in the text. It is used in the sense 'as if, as though', and it is not followed by a nasalizing relative clause (see textual note on [4a]). The causal conjunction *fo bíth* 'because, for, since' is found in [4d], followed by a non-relative verb in parataxis. This is the preferred construction of the Wb. and St. Gall glosses (see Ó hUiginn 1986, 62).

The verbal system

Present indicative

Act. 3sg.: *at-fét* [1b]; [2b]; *ad-fét* [2c].

Pass. 3sg.: *as-berr* [4c].

Imperfect

Act. 3sg.: *no thathaiged* (*do thathaig–*, N; *tigid*, LFF) [1c]; */or-chumcad* [1e].

Past subjunctive

3pl. (*s*) *ro-festais* [3a].

Preterite/Perfect

(*s*) = *s*-preterite, (*t*) = *t*-preterite, (*su*) = suffixless preterite (without lengthening or reduplication), (*ā*) = suffixless *ā*-preterite, (*ī*) = suffixless *ī*-preterite, (*r*) = reduplicated preterite.

Act. 3sg. pret.: (s) *cot-n-oscrastar* (*cotnoscrastar*, N; *attracht*, LFF) [4a]; (*r*) *co sescainn* (co*sesce*$_a$*nd*, N; *cur scéinn*, LFF) [4b]; (*t*) *ar-róet* [2b]; (*t*) *as-bert* [3a], [3b]; (*t*) *condid-epalt* [4b].

Act. 3sg. perf.: (*t*) *do-rósat* [2b]; (*ā*) *do-choid* [4c]; (*t*) *do-n-escmart* (*dones*[.]*ma*[] –, N; *dolui*[.]gh, LFF) [4d]; *ro creiti* [4d].

Act. 3pl. rel: (*s*) *crochsite* [3b].

Pass. 3sg. perf.: */or-cuad* [2a].

The Copula

3sg. pres. ind. *is* [1c]; [3a]; [3b]; [4a]; [4c].

3sg. pret. *ba* [1d]; [2a]; [2b]; [2c]; *mba*, [1e]; *condid*, [4c].

3sg. perf. *robo* [4d].

3sg. past subj. *bid* [4a].

The Substantive Verb

3sg. pret. active *boí* [1a].

3pl. pret. active/relative *bátar* [1d].

3sg. past subj. *nu beth* [3b].

Summary

The prose sections of version B are short and therefore, the linguistic evidence that can be gleaned for definite diagnostic dating criteria is somewhat limited. But some conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing linguistic analysis of the text. I have discussed some individual features, such as the adverbial *co maith* [2e], and the fem. *fuil* [4d], in the linguistic analysis which may indicate a MidIr date of composition. However, it has been shown that these 'innovations' are already found occurring in the glosses and as such cannot provide us with a definite diagnostic dating tool.

The nominal system is mostly that of Old Irish. Most notable is the possible neuter article retained in *fo(a) n-indas* [2a] and the neut. *scél* [1e]. Notable also are the words *Iúd(a)ei* (instead of later *Iúdaide*) and *Rómán* (instead of later *Rómánach*) used for the pl. which are largely confined to the Old Irish period. The verbal system is largely conservative. The distinction between deuterotonic and prototonic in the compound verbs is maintained, e.g. *for-chumcad* [1e]; *do-rósat* [2b]. There are no (original) deponent verbs used in the text, but the form 3sg. pret. *cot-n-oscrastar* [4a] is worth mentioning. The deponent ending with this active verb may not necessarily be a scribal intrusion. Examples of active verbs with normal active endings found interchanging with deponent endings are attested in early Irish poetry (see textual note on [4a] for examples and further discussion). The perfective particle *com* is used in formation with *for-fen*, i.e. *for-cuad* [2a]. The only other attested formation of the 3sg. perf. pass. is found in Tur. 49. i.e. *forcuad* 'has been completed'.[320] Use of the more easily recognizable proclitic *ro* in the perfective formation of *for-fen* is seen at an early stage. For instance, *.i. conglobata farro-chuad* (gl. *confecta est*) 'zusammengebracht ist', glosses in Augustine's *Enchiridion* (Stern 1910, 479).[321] This example has an additional proclitic *ro* added, together with the *com* particle, in order to identify it as a perfect. This is also witnessed in *forruchui*, Ml. 121c24 (see *EIV* 157). We also find *com* used in the perfect formation of *do-essuirc*, i.e. *do-n-escmart* [4d] and *do-choid* [4c]. The form *do-rósat*, [2b], is maintained which is already seen being encroached on by forms based on the prototonic forms with prosthetic *f*, i.e. *do-forsat*, Ml. 17b2.

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[320] The editors of the Thesaurus suggest that the language of the Turin glosses is more similar to that of the Milan glosses than that of the Wb. glosses (*Thes* i, xxii).

[321] Stern (1910, 479) places the date of these glosses in the ninth century, similar to the date of the Milan and St. Gall glosses. A thorough linguistic analysis and discussion of these glosses remains a *desideratum*.

The reduplicated preterite is preserved in the text, i.e. *co sescainn*, [4b].[322] The fluctuation between the 3sg. pret. W2a verb *ro creiti* vs. *co creit* may suggest a change in the author's register.[323] Furthermore, the text employs the correct use of the preterite to mark the narrative past, e.g. *co sescainn* [4b], *crochsite* [3b]. The perfect either has a resultative function or is used to show anteriority, e.g. *do-choid* [4c], *ar-róet* [2b]. There are no instances of the perfect used with the force of the simple past. For the optional deletion of the substantive verb in [4a], see further the textual note on this construction.

The text obviously underwent some revision during its transmission, as is suggested by the presence of *nach* (OIr *na*) in both manuscripts, prosthetic *f* in *comfogus* (OIr *comocus*) [3b], *co sescea_dnd* in N [4b] with a palatal *-sc-* influenced by the *s*-pret, and the various innovations in the individual manuscripts.[324] The presence of these shared scribal innovations, however, is not sufficient to suggest a MidIr date of composition. On the other hand, there are linguistic archaisms preserved in the text that show it could not have been written in the twelfth century. Given the overwhelming conservativeness of the verbal system such as the correct use of preterite vs. perfect, the perfective particle *com*, together with the neuter article, I propose that version B was composed sometime between the Wb. and Ml. glosses, i.e. the earlier half of the Classical Old Irish period. This might be supported by some orthographical features such as the occasional omission of the *a*-glide, e.g. *crocs_iti* (*crochsite*) [3b], and the use of double vowels to show length, i.e. *dee* (*dé*, 'of him') [4c]. However, there is no compelling evidence to suggest against a date of composition in the ninth century either.

2.2.4 Version C

The pronominal system

The article

Of the instances of the article in the text, the following are noteworthy of mention. The use of the shortened form *na* (for OIr *inna*) is seen throughout the text for the gen. sg. fem., e.g. *dochum na dála* [1b], *na dúili* [4d]. However, there are some articles which show no development, i.e. the nom. sg. masc. *in fer* [4e].

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[322] The reduplicated preterite becomes obsolete in Middle Irish but some reduplicated forms survive in early Middle Irish (*SnaG* III, §12.55).

[323] For a more detailed discussion of *ro creiti* vs. *ro creit*, see Chapter 2.2.2.

[324] These are discussed individually in the textual notes.

The noun

There is evidence of the loss of the neuter gender (*SnaG* III, §5.4), i.e. the acc. sg. *cen láthair* [2d]; *in lá* [4b] preceded by a masc. article. It isn't possible to determine the gender of the gen. sg. *in cheineóil* [2e].

The use of the dat. sg. *dáil* as the new nom. sg. (OIr *dál*) is seen in [1a].

Adjectives

The adverbial formation *co hard* is used in [4k]. This replaces the Old Irish adverbial formation using the dat. sg. of the adjective with optional preceding definite article (cf. *GOI* §379). However, the use of the later formation with *co* + neut. acc. of the adjective is seen already in Wb. 7b15, i.e. *co mmaith* (see McCone 1985, 90).

Pronouns

The verbal form *at-bert* [4g] could possibly retain a proleptic neut. inf. pron. but given the date of the manuscript, this could also be a petrified inf. pron.

The ind. neut. pronoun *ed* is replaced by the masc. *é* in [4f]. In *do-radad i croich hé* [4f], the independent pron. is used with the passive verbal form (*SnaG* III, §§10.15, 10.16). In *at-cáemnacair hé* [4a], the verb contains a petrified inf. pron. and is followed by a subj. ind. pron. (*SnaG* III, §10.17).

Prepositions

The majority of prepositions conform to OIr usage and forms. The simple prepositions *fri*, *for* and *íar* are preserved in *forsin* [4c], *fair* [4e], *frium* [4h], *íarna* [2f]. These are replaced by *ri*, *ar* and *ar* in Middle Irish.[325] The prep. *imme* is seen without loss of the initial vowel in [4b], which often is seen as *'ma/ 'mo* in Middle Irish.[326]

The correct use of the acc. and dat. case is seen following the majority of the prepositions. However, the preposition *la* is followed the dative, rather than the historical acc. case, in two instances (*SnaG* III, §5.1), e.g. *la hiubhdaibh* (*la hIúdeu*) [2b], *la hiudhaib* (*la hIúdeu*) [2e].

The preposition *óthá*, used in local relation, is found in [4i], which according to *DIL* s.v. *óthá*, becomes obsolete by the end of the Middle Irish period.

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[325] See *SnaG* III, §§§ 13.13, 13.14, 13.16.

[326] See *SnaG* III, §13.17.

Relative clauses

A nasalizing relative clause is possibly preserved in *dus cid ro mbátar* [4d], with the substantive used in the sense 'to be angry, vexed' (see *GOI* §502). The nasalizing relative clause becomes obsolete by at least the late MidIr period.[327] However, Ó hUiginn (1986, 74) writes while it was 'clearly no longer a productive feature of the language in the early MidIr period, the nasalizing relative clause does not disappear completely. Examples of it are found in later texts, but they are sporadic and must be seen as archaisms for their time as the leniting relative establishes itself more and more in these clauses'. *DIL* s.v. *attá*, 473.58–9 refers to one example from a MidIr text, i.e. *Suidigud Tellaig Temra*: *et is*ed *domfucsa co fuiniud dia fìs cid robái grían* (*v.l. rombui*, LL), 'and that is what has brought me to the setting to find out what ailed the sun' (Best 1908–10, 140–1). Best (1908–10, 22) follows the Yellow Book of Lecan, writing that it 'appears to be the better'. The variant reading in LL, a late MidIr manuscript, contains the nasal rel. marker, but may be such an 'archaism'.

The verbal system

Present indicative

Act. 3sg. *at-raig* (*atraigi*) [4g]; *gabaid* (*gab–*) [4g]

Rel. act. 3 pl. *chanait* (*chanuid*) [4f].

Past subjunctive:

Act. 3sg. *co comfraiced* [5a].

Preterite/ perfect:

Act. 3sg. pret.: (s) *Fiafraigis* (*fiabraid*hus) [1c], (su) *do-luid* [1b]; (su) *co luid* (*corluigh*) [2e]; (*t*) *at-bert* [4g]; (su) *co luid* (*cu luig*h) [4i].

Act. 3sg. perf.: (*ā*) *do-dechaid* [2c]; (*t*) *co róet* [2d]; (*ā*) *do-cúaid* [2f]; (*t*) *at-raacht* [2f]; (*s*) *ro suí* [4c]; (*t*) *ro fiarfaig* (*rofiarfaid*h) [4d]; (r) *ro génair* [4e]; (*s*) *ro gab* [4i]; (*t*) *co roacht* [4i]; (*s*) *ro gab* [4j]; (*s*) *co tuc* [5].

[327] Ó hUiginn 1986, 70.

Act. 3pl. perf.: (*s*) *ro tirchansat* [2b].

Pass. 3sg. perf.: *do-rónnad* [2a]; *do-cuirthe* (*do cuirthi*) [4e]; *rucad* [4f].

The copula

3sg. pres. ind. *is* [2b], [4a], [4h] x2.

The substantive verb

3sg. pres. ind. act. *atá* [2a].

3sg. pres. ind. rel. act. *mbátar* [4d].

3sg. pret. act.: *boí* [1a], [4b].

Discussion

The distinction between deuterotonic and prototonic compound verbs is mostly maintained in this version, e.g. *do-luid* [1b], *at-raig* (*atraigi*) [4g], and *do-cuired* (*do cuirthi*) [4e]. However, the *s*-pret. of the MidIr simple verb *íarfaigid* (OIr *íarmi-foach*) is found in *fiafraigis* (*fiabraid*hus) [1c] and *ro fiarfaig* [4d]. Also, the 3pl. pret. of the MidIr simple verb *tirchanaid* (OIr *do-airchain*) is found in *ro tirchansat* [2a]. The loss of the rel. 3pl. ending *-tae* is found in *chanait*, [4f] (see *EIV* 182–3).

The distinction between the preterite and perfect is maintained on occasion in the text, e.g. *do-dechaid* [2c] and *co róet* [2d] are used with resultative force, *do-cúaid* [2f] corresponds to the English 'had' perfect and *ro-suí* [4c] expresses anteriority.

In the early Middle Irish text *Saltair na Rann*, a mixture of compound and simplified verbs is used. Thus, on evidence of the verbal system, it would be reasonable to suggest that the different elements of this version can be dated to the early Middle Irish period.

However, it is evident that these passages have undergone revision by a later MidIr compiler, possibly in the 11th century. This is supported by the presence of an independent pronoun marking the subject, i.e. *Nó is amlaid so at-cáemnacair hé*, 'Or it is

thus it happened', [4a].[328] Also, an independent pron. is used with the passive verbal form in (*do-radad i croich hé*) [4f].[329]

2.2.5 Version D

The pronominal system

A neut. inf. pron. is found in *at-chúaid dó* (*at-chuaid*h, S; *atchuaid*, Laud) [1f], although this could also be a petrified inf. pron.

The simple prepositions *for* (*f–*, S; omits, Laud) and *fri* (*ria*, S; *fria*, Laud) are preserved in [1b] and [1d], which are frequently replaced by *ar* and *ri*, respectively, in MidIr.[330]

The verbal system

This brief passage contains some compound verbal forms which are not yet simplified. The 3sg. deut. perf. of *do-beir*, i.e. *do-rat* [1d], could be taken as an early form. However, deuterotonic forms of **to-rat* are still in use in the Middle Irish period, e.g. *do-ratsatar*, *SR* 3508 etc.[331] as well as in bardic poetry (*DIL* s.v. *do-beir*, 202. 74–5; *IGT* §14). The inherited 3sg. deut. *do-rochair* is found in [1g], instead of the later *ro-thuit* of MidIr *tuitid*.[332] This is still attested in *Saltair na Rann*, e.g. *do-rochair*, *SR* 1296. The MidIr simple verbs *teilcid* and *indisid* are used in *ro theilc* [1b] and *ro innis* [1e], rather than the

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[328] According to Strachan (1904, 176 and 177), there are no examples of the independent pronoun in *SR*, but that based on the evidence of the use of the independent pronoun in *LU*, the independent pronoun was in common use by the end of the eleventh century.

[329] See *SnaG* III, §10.15. There are no examples of the independent pronoun used in passive constructions in *SR*. Liam Breatnach suggests that its use with the passive, instead of an infixed pronoun, developed in the written language in the 11th century.

[330] *SnaG* III, §§13.13, 13.14; *DIL* s.vv. *for*, 294.11–3, *fri*, 413.67–71.

[331] For other examples of deut. *do-rat-* in Middle Irish texts, see the textual note on this verb in [1d]. In quoting from *SR*, I utilise the unpublished Greene edition (see http://www.dias.ie/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4742&Itemid=224&lang=en) rather than the diplomatic Stokes edition. If Greene's edition differs greatly from Stokes, then I write *SR* (Greene), otherwise *SR* stands for Greene's edition.

[332] This verbal form survives into the early MidIr period, e.g. *do-rochair*, *SR* 1296, 1353 etc. Ó Máille (1910, 169) observes that the use of prefixed *ro* 'did not become general till after the middle of the 10th century, and had not fully operated for compounds of one preposition at the time of *SR*.'

OIr compounds *do-léici* and *ad-fét*.[333] These simple verbs are not attested in *Saltair na Rann*.

The perfect is used as the historical past in the passage, i.e. *ro theilc* [1b]. However, *do-rat* [1d] may have anterior force in that particular context. The unstressed vowel *-o* in *náro léic* [1c] is retained, but this could reflect a conservative spelling.[334]

Although the *com* perfective particle becomes petrified in MidIr, the 3sg. perf. of *ad-fét* 'tells' is still attested in Middle Irish, i.e. *at-chūaid*, *SR* 6141. The stem formation of this verb continues in MidIr.[335] This verb preserves the *ad-* preverb as well as *do-rochair* [1g] preserving the original *do-* preverb. These are later replaced with *do-* and *ad-* respectively (*EIV* 198; cf. *dochuaid*, *TBC* 5034; *atrochair*, LL 37959).

Although version D is a short passage, it can be concluded mainly on evidence of the verbal system that it was written in the Middle Irish period. Ó Riain (1989, 119) suggests that the three verbal forms *rotheilc* (from MidIr *teilcid*), *náro léic* (from *léicid*) and *ro indis* (from MidIr *indisid*) represent later MidIr usage.

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[333] These simple verbs are based on the conjunct form and verbal noun of the OIr compound verb respectively (*EIV* 192–3).

[334] *SnaG* III, §11.3. Liam Breatnach suggests that the presence of *ro* may in fact be due to conservative spelling and does not necessarily reflect its treatment in the spoken language (see also *SnaG* III, §2.1).

[335] See *DIL* s.v. *ad-fét*, 53.81–86.

2.3 Discussion of the metre and style of *Ba aprainn*

According to Corthals, *Ba aprainn* is an example of an experimental metre, with alliteration not strictly adhered to and without rime.[336]

The poem consists of 28 lines and can be divided into two verse-line stanzas. Corthals suggests of the poem's structure:

> Each pair of verse-lines constitutes a conceptual unit, being set off against the next pair by an obligatory sentence-border. Within these pairs a sentence-border is not obligatory and we even find one clear case of enjambment (12a/b: verb/subject). We are thus justified in discerning a stanzaic structure, each stanza or verse containing two verse-lines. Two stanzas marking conceptual turning-points in the poem (8 and 13; see p. 51) contain a supplementary line integrated in the alliterative pattern but having a deviating, disyllabic cadence', Corthals 1984, 54.

Corthals also observes that the stanzas are connected by means of linking alliteration, as well as some other alliterative features which will be discussed in further detail below. Corthals follows Carney's metrical rule concerning cadence of trisyllabic words, or their equivalent[337] (that is, disyllabic words with internal consonantal clusters), even though Carney himself subsequently conceded that his hypothesis was linguistically impossible.[338] However, Corthals' argument for a trisyllabic, or its equivalent, cadence is not water-tight. Indeed, there are trisyllabic words at the end of the sentence, but they are only found in 11 out of 28 sentences. Moreover, Corthals' theory of disyllabic words with consonantal groups being counted as trisyllabic is in doubt since Carney himself suggested that his own original theory was not possible. The argument for a trisyllabic cadence is weakened further because in more than half of the lines the cadence involves a disyllabic word with a preceding proclitic, e.g. *at-bélmais* [9b], *dia chobair* [6a], or even a monosyllable, i.e. *achto flaith* [11a]. Thus, it could be argued that trisyllabic cadence is not a metrical requirement in this *rosc* poem.

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[336] See Corthals 1989, 53–8. Corthals compares it to two Leinster genealogical poems which illustrate a similar pattern with uneven syllable count, no rime, and stanzas, although both show consistent internal alliteration and have a tendency toward caesura.

[337] Corthals (1989, 53) writes that Carney's rule 'can be stated to mean that, after the syncope, disyllables which were or could have been created through syncope could in this type of poetry metrically function as a trisyllable'. See Carney 1971, 54, n. 3; 1977–9, 421–30; 1979, 428.

[338] See Carney 1989, 54.

Liam Breatnach rightly points out 'the question as to why one should assume any metrical requirement for a trisyllabic cadence in the [poem] concerned is nowhere addressed'.[339] Indeed, Corthals does not address anywhere the notion that stress may have a function in the *rosc* poem. The following section therefore re-examines the metre of the restored text with a view to establishing its nature. See p. 110 for the printed restored text with stress and alliteration marked.

Syllable count

The length of the lines ranges between 10 and 12 syllables, sometimes more. [13a] may have 14 syllables and [9b] may have 15. Therefore, the syllable count is uneven. The following table provides the syllabic count per line in the restored text:

Line no. / no. of syllables	Line no. / no. of syllables	Line no. / no. of syllables	Line no. / no. of syllables
1a – 10	5a – 12	8c – 11 [340]	12b – 9
1b – 11	5b – 10	9a – 12	13a – 14
2a – 10	6a – 11	9b – 15	13b – 11
2b – 11	6b – 12 [341]	10a – 12	13c – 12
3a – 12	7a – 11	10b – 12	
3b – 12	7b – 11	11a – 9	
4a – 10	8a – 11	11b – 10	
4b – 15	8b – 11 [342]	12a – 10	

Table 1. Syllable count and number of syllables of each verse line in the restored text.

This table illustrates that the syllabic count is uneven and confirms Corthals' observation that the majority of lines contain between 10 and 12 syllables, with the exception of [4b] and [13a], which have 15 and 14 syllables respectively.[343]

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[339] Breatnach 1996, 76.

[340] *Reä* is treated as a hiatus.

[341] *Foä* is treated as a hiatus.

[342] *nDéa* is a disyllable.

[343] Corthals 1989, 54.

Number of stresses per line in *Ba aprainn*

The accentual pattern is now examined to examine if a pattern exists. In doing this, I follow Carney where he states 'a syllable that would normally be stressed, loses stress when it immediately precedes another stressed syllable'.[344] The following table shows the stress pattern of the restored text:

Line no. / stress	Line no. / stress	Line no./ stress	Line no. / stress
1a – 4	5a – 4	8c – 5[345]	12b – 4
1b – 4	5b – 4[346]	9a – 4	13a – 5[347]
2a – 4[348]	6a – 4	9b – 4	13b – 4
2b – 4[349]	6b – 4	10a – 4	13c – 4
3a – 4	7a – 4	10b – 4[350]	
3b – 4[351]	7b – 4[352]	11a – 4	

[344] Carney (1971, 65) provides an example from the poetry of Colmán mac Lénéni, † c. 604/6, i.e. *crotha ban n-athech, ainm gossa fer, Mag feda dian, dian cuillian clár*. Thus, *ban*, *ainm*, *Mag*, and *dian* are destressed. Instead of 'syllable', it is perhaps better to use 'word' since even stressed monosyllabic words can be distressed (see Uhlich 2011).

[345] In relation to stress concerning instances of tmesis, it may be possible here to treat *rea* as unstressed, thus providing the sentence with 4 stresses. However, in lieu of any other such examples, I leave it as stressed. This does not affect the overall stress count of 4 in the *rosc* poem.

[346] The gen. sg. *Coimded* is followed by two asyndetic words creating a syntactic unit. Therefore, I suggest *Coimded* loses its stress.

[347] The preposed adj. *fír* precedes *fortacht* and therefore loses its stress.

[348] The word *crúas* loses its stress since it precedes the attrib. adj. *már*.

[349] In this sentence, two words undergo destressing, i.e. *nítho*, *slóig*. Here, the words are preposed genitives. Since I have not come across any other such example in the literature as yet this is a tentative observation, but I see no reason why this would not occur in spoken language. However, this is something that is worth investigating in the future.

[350] This sees a sentence with seven stresses reduced to four, which might be seen as a drastic reduction. However, the reasons are justifiable since *óasal Rí*, *cruich cóirt* and *doíne ndíchmairc* are close units and thus the initial word in each instance can lose its stress.

[351] Two words are destressed, i.e. *gaír* and *láin*.

[352] In this sentence, it is optional whether *coirp* or *Críst* loses its stress. However, to allow for complex alliteration, it may be better to destress *Críst*.

4a – 4[353]	8a – 5[354]	11b – 4	
4b – 4[355]	8b –4	12a – 4	

Table 5. Stress count of the restored text.

It is clear from the above table that the stress count is quite regular. The predominant stress is 4 (i.e. 89%), but in some instances a line may have 5, i.e. 8a, 8c, and 13a.[356] This provides a more plausible metre than one with trisyllabic cadence.

Ornamentation - Alliteration

Since *Ba aprainn* is an early poem, the rules of alliteration are not as strict as later when alliteration occurred only between stressed words.[357] In *Ba aprainn*, alliteration occurs between stressed and unstressed words, while on occasion unstressed words can be skipped for alliterative purposes altogether.[358]

According to Corthals (1989, 54), the alliterative pattern connects each line with the final word alliterating with the first word of the next sentence, while also alliterating with the word that precedes it.

Linking alliteration (*fidraid freccomail*)[359] occurs between the stanzas (that is of the final word of one stanza with the first word of the next stanza invariably in most

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[353] *Crochath* loses its stress coming before the gen. sg. *fir*.

[354] If monosyllabic stressed *dúr* precedes a following stressed syllable of *derchointe*, the same principle could be applied as in [7b], giving 4 stresses rather than expected 5. This could also be considered as having 5 stresses.

[355] In the phrase *mo chorp chain*, 'my fair body', *corp* loses its stress preceding the attributive adj. *cain*. Moreover, *óen-artreg* undergoes 'secondary proclisis' (see Uhlich 2011) since it precedes *adamrai* 'wonderful'. A similar examples is found in a passage in *Bretha Nemed Toísech*, i.e. *ainm n-oíngeine Dé*, 'the name of the only child of God', where *oíngeine* is destressed to provide two stress counts to the line (see Breatnach 1989, 18, §23.

[356] Other examples of poetry with longer lines consisting of four or fives stresses per line are found in the Early Irish legal tracts. In *Cáin Fhuithirbe*, an eight-line composition consists of lines with four stresses in 6 lines and 5 in the two other, together with linking and internal alliteration (see Breatnach 1986, 41–2). The second example contains six lines of five stressed words, with alliteration (see Breatnach 1989, 12).

[357] See Kelly 1973.

[358] See for instance: *chomruth / mo chride*, [12a/b].

[359] I follow Carney's definition of *fidrad freccomail* (see James Carney, 'Linking alliteration ('*fidrad freccomail*')', *Éigse* 18/2 (1981), 251–62). Carney (1981, 251) defines linking alliteration as 'the linking together of verse units, that is, stanzas, lines, half lines, or, as frequently, lesser units, by the use of corresponding sounds'.

instances) in ten out of twelve possible cases, i.e. 1b/2a,[360] 2b/3a, 4b/5a, 5b/6a, 6b/7a, 7b/8a, 8c/9a, 10b/11a, 11b/12a, 12b/13b. Moreover, alliteration linking lines within stanzas occurs in 14 out 15 cases, i.e. 1a/b, 2a/b, 3a/b, 5a/b, 6a/b, 7a/b, 8a/b, 8b/c, 9a/b, 10a/b, 11a/b, 12a/b[361], 13a/b, 13b/c. Alliteration can occur between two stressed words, e.g. *mílitiu / maidm*, 2a/b, or where 'one or both alliterating elements are unaccented,[362] e.g. *congnam / cain*, 5b/6a.

In his edition, Corthals takes *fír + fortacht* as a nominal compound, with the second *f* lenited and alliterating with the initial word in the following sentence, i.e. *fír-fortacht Críst / fritum-thá* [13a]. I have argued that *fír* is a preposed dat. sg. adj. and that the original read *co fír fortacht fritum-thá* [13a].[363] In either circumstance, the initial *f* in *fortacht* is actually lenited. This is problematic for the required linking alliteration since lenited *f* does not have a sound value and therefore would not alliterate with the following word.[364] However, the lack of linking alliteration can be justified with the compensatory internal alliteration in *ríg roacht* [13a] and *brón báis* [13b].

Where linking alliteration is lacking, it is compensated with parallelism,[365] i.e. 3b/4a (*láin Choimded/ ba rolán*), or through 'split' alliteration of which Corthals observes 6 instances of the latter type.[366] Thus, 'if the cadence begins with a pretonic word, this word bears the backward alliteration, whereas the tonic part of the group bears the binding alliteration, connecting it with the beginning of the next line'. He notes that such 'split' alliteration occurs in 3a/b, 6a/b, 9b/10a, 11b/12b, 12a/12b. However, in one of these examples, I would argue that in fact the regular alliteration can be achieved with editing the text as *con– **gaib** –**génainn** / **gáir*** [3a], with the ind. dat. *gaib* alliterating with *génainn*.[367]

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[360] On the exclusion of the vocative for purposes of alliteration, see Schrijver (2005, 94, 95, 99) who has suggested this for the *roscada* passages in the Táin.

[361] In this instance, the unstressed word *mo* 'my' is skipped.

[362] See Carney 1981, 253.

[363] For a further discussion of the editorial decisions made in this sentence, see the textual note on [13a].

[364] Meyer (1909, 4) argued that alliteration between lenited *f* and *f* was possible. However, Bergin (1921, 84) disagreed with him arguing that this was not possible as they both have different sound values.

[365] Corthals 1989, 54; See also Carney 1981, 258.

[366] Corthals 1989, 54.

[367] See further discussion in the textual note on [3a].

Corthals (1989, 54) notes that in *hi tinól **t**airsem* [5a], *t* should be read as /*d*/. He is mistaken of course, since /*t*/ may also be permissible in this instance of loose alliteration.[368]

Internal alliteration:

Corthals shows that internal alliteration occurs in more than half the lines but he states that this feature is not obligatory, i.e. [3a], [3b], [5b], [7b], [8a], [8b], [8c], [9a], [9b], [10b], [11a], [12a], [12b], [13b], [13c]. However, I have noted further examples of internal alliteration occurring in the middle of the sentence, e.g. *con-**c**ichlis **c**rúas* [2a]; ***ch**ointir **c**rochath* [4a]; *ó**e**n-**a**rtreg **a**damrai* [4b]; ***D**ee n**d**ilgadag* [6a]; ***f**orlann **f**oa* [6b]; ***m**enman **m**éid* [9a]; ***c**rochad **C**ríst* [9b]; ***f**o-reilic **f**ochel* [11b]; ***ch**ride **c**lóais* [12b]; *mo **f**éda **i**nscib* [13a]; ***r**íg **r**oacht* [13a]. Thus, although internal alliteration is not as important a feature as linking alliteration, it is evident that it is used more often than not.

Complex alliteration

According to Sproule, complex alliteration was a feature of Old Irish accentual poetry.[369] However, Corthals avers that complex alliteration does not play a major role in *Ba aprainn*, counting only 6 instances in 56 alliterative connections of the cadence.[370] He notes the following instances of complex alliteration: ***ar**trig n-**ar**nac* [1a]; ***s**erbairlech / **s**oirthnigfed* [2b/3a]; ***t**airisium / **t**ríun* [5a/b]; ***c**roithfainn / la **C**ríst* [6b/7a]; ***d**úr **d**erchoínte* [8a]; ***f**ortacht Críst/ **f**ritom-* [13a/b].[371]

Furthermore, I observe the following examples: ***s**oirthnigfed **s**oírchobair* [3a]; ***c**ongnam, **c**ain* [5b/6a]; ***c**oirp **ch**riad* [7b]; ***d**eragam, **d**uirchoirp* [8b/8c]; ***a**iromun, **a**iriniud* [13b/13c]. Altogether therefore, the poem contains 10 instances of complex

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[368] See Carney 1981, 254.

[369] See Sproule 1987, 195. I follow Sproule's definition of '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 normal alliteration) when the initial consonants are the same (whether mutated or no, as in normal alliteration) and the second consonants are the same. In the case of words beginning with a vowel, since such words alliteratre with each other in Irish metrics, complex alliteration can be said to occur when the first consonants in the word are identical' (1987, 195).

[370] Corthals 1989, 54.

[371] The example of 13a is doubtful since the initial *f* in *fortacht* is lenited.

alliteration (38%). This suggests that this type of alliteration is not accidental but used on purpose by the poet.[372]

***Ba aprainn*: stress and alliteration**[373]		Stress Count
[1]	[a] Ba aprainn nad ndáil cu **A**rtrig n-**a**rnac:	4
	[b] **a**tum– béofir hi richt **ch**róadchurad –**c**ichtis	4
[2]	[a] mo béoil, **c**on-**c**ichlis crúas **m**ár **m**ílitiu.	5 > 4
	[b] **m**aidm **n**ítho móid, némdai **s**lóig **s**erbairlech.	6 > 4
[3]	[a] **S**oirthnigfed **s**oírchobair, fri **C**ríst **c**on– **g**aib –**g**éninn,	5 > 4
	[b] **g**aír baíth: ba ruléim for **l**etene **láin** Choimded.	6 > 4
[4]	[a] ba ro**lán** scél ce **ch**oíntir crochath fir;	5 > 4
	[b] ba in **m**oo **m**o **ch**orp **ch**ain óen-**a**rtreg **a**damrai **a**irrerinn.	6 > 4
[5]	[a] **a**tum-chichthe gním fir hi **t**inól **t**airisium	5 > 4
	[b] **tr**íun úasaib i **C**oimded **c**oímthecht **c**ongnam.	5 > 4
[6]	[a] **C**ain beinn la **D**ee **nd**ílgadach dia **ch**obair?	4
	[b] **c**ain **f**orlann **f**oa mbebainn? Cach **c**omlann **cr**othfinn.	4
[7]	[a] **Cr**íst, ar **n**emthuir, **n**ibu scíth leis **c**e **ch**éste,	4
	[b] **c**oirp **ch**riad **c**íarbo ar **C**ríst **c**áth **c**umachtach.	5 > 4
[8]	[a] **C**ía **d**ú **d**ún, nad **r**oichem **r**ád **d**úr **d**erchoínteo,	5
	[b] **d**in réil –rochuínem nad n**D**éa **nd**eragam?	4
	[c] **D**uírchoirp crochsite **R**íg do– **r**ea –**r**oosat.	5
[9]	[a] **R**on-ort innar **m**enman **m**éd, nád **R**íg **r**oachtmar,	5 > 4
	[b] **r**on-**cr**áidi **c**rochath **C**ríst: ma chuton-**o**cbaimmis, **a**t-**b**élmais.	5 > 4
[10]	[a] **B**a assu nad bemmis íar n-**A**rtreg **é**comnart	4
	[b] **ó**asal Rí ro-chés **c**ruich **c**óirt ar **d**oíne **nd**íchmairc.	7 > 4
[11]	[a] **D**ia **r**áith **r**egainn-se bás, achto **f**laith,	5 > 4
	[b] **f**o-reilic fochel n-éco, **n**abu **n**í.	4
[12]	[a] **N**emthuir **n**echt, remit-**t**éised **d**i **ch**ombruth	4

[372] Sproule suggests that a percentage higher than that of 25% which is found in Bardic poetry suggests a 'conscious use' of complex alliteration (see Sproule 1987, 194). He gives the guideline of 30% for such alliteration in Old Irish poetry. According to Sproule, the poem *Énna, Labraid luad cáich* has a similar percentage to *Ba aprainn*, i.e. 35%.

[373] Bold letters signify alliteration, e.g. ***chróadchurad***. Letters underlined with a bold line mark a stressed element, e.g. *már*. Words underlined with a wavy line illustrate those which have lost the stress, e.g. *crúas*.

[b] mo chride, clóais m'Artreg athgubae. 4

[13] [a] Ar, mu fédo, inscib nad ríg roacht co fír fortacht, 6 > 5

[b] fritum-thá: brón báis cu n-adbair airomun. 5 > 4

[c] Airined dom dul drúib cen Dúilemon dígail. 5 > 4

Stylistic features

The poem *Ba aprainn* is very stylistic and contains many poetic devices which are found in early poetry, e.g. antithetic parallelism, repetition and the poetic re-arrangement of words.[374]

The author employs the *pluralis majestatis* to heighten the tone in [7], [8], [9] and [10a], which are the crux of *rosc* poem. It is in these sections that we see Conchobar gain true understanding that Christ suffered and died for the redemption of humankind, while also illustrating Conchobar's willingness to die. Thus, the stylistic employment of the *pluralis majestatis* distinguishes these sections from the opening and ending sections which use the 1sg.

We find antithetic parallelism in [2]:

[a] *mo béoil, con-cichlis crúas már mílitiu.*

[b] *maidm nítho móid, níamdai slóig serbairlech.*

[a]You will stir up, my mouth, with great warrior-like harshness,

[b] victory in a noble combat, bitter slaughter of a lustrous(?) host.

Corthals notes that the preposed gen. sg. *némdai* forms a chiasmus with the preceding clause. Furthermore, *serbairlech* provides antithetic parallelism with [2a]. In the first sentence it is shown that the speaker will gain a noble victory over Christ's persecutors by using his words of 'great warriot-like harshness', while the second clause demonstrates that the opposition will die a violent death.

The repetition of *nemthuir* is seen in [7a] and [12b]. Also, one sees the frequent use of the words implying lament or weep, i.e. *ce choíntir*, 'that is bewailed' [4a]; *derchoínteo*, 'of despair' [8a]; *din– réil –rochuínem*, 'wherewith we clearly despair' [8b].

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[374] See for instance McCone (2000, 45) who touches upon the influence biblical poetry had on Irish scribes and authors. Biblical poetry used such stylistic devices as semantic and syntactic parallelisms, chiasms, paired synonyms, plays upon words, and antithesis.

Corthals observes that the verbal noun *derchoíniud* forms a *figura etymologica* with its verb *do-rochoíni* at the beginning of [8b].[375]

The author frequently employs preposed genitives throughout the poem to accommodate alliteration. For instance, we find *níamdai slóig serbairlech* [2b] instead of expected *serbairlech níamdai slóig* to allow for the required alliteration between the final word in the sentence with that preceding it. In the cheville *achto flaith*, 'a lord of action' [11a], *achto* is preposed to allow for alliteration between *flaith* and *fo-reilic*, [11b]. There is compensatory alliteration in [11a] and [11b] to allow for the absence of alliteration between *achto* and *flaith*. In *nad ríg roacht co fír fortacht*, 'by which I was not able to come to (the) true help of the King' [13a], *ríg* is a 'pre' preposed genitive, which allows for compensatory alliteration between the two elements due to the lack of linking alliteration between *fortacht* and *fritom-thá* in [13b], since *fortacht* has a lenited initial *f*.

We find examples of the preposition + genitive + noun governed by preposition in the poem,[376] i.e. *íar n-Artreg écomnart*, 'after the trouble of the High-King', [10a]; *cu n-adbair airomun*, 'with great (religious) fear of (its) cause', [13b]; *cen Dúilemon dígail*, 'without avenging of the Creator', [13c].

The absence of the definite article and *ocus* is notable in the poem:[377]
coímthecht congnam, 'accompanying (and) assisting' [5b].
ar Críst cáth cumachtach, 'our holy (and) noble Christ' [7b].
cruich cóirt, 'cross and crown' [10b].

Syntax

There are several independent datives used throughout the poem, e.g.

- *con-cichlis crúas már mílitiu*, 'you will stir up with great warrior-like harshness' [2a].
- *con– gaib –génainn*, '… which I would have assisted with spears' [3a].

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[375] Corthals (1989, 57) observes that this sentence echoes the following glosses: *deirchóintea derochóinet anícc trechesad crist*, 'of despair wherewith they despair of their salvation through Christ's Passion', Wb. 21b1; .i. *derchoiniud dorochóinsem ni arnic*, 'i.e. the despair wherewith we had despaired of our salvation', Ml. 89a6. Corthals (1989, 58) notes that the *figura etymologica* with instrumental meaning is moribund in Middle Irish (see also Ó hUiginn 1983, 123–33.

[376] Cf. Carney 1982–3, 202, e.g. *la hUlad n-ánruthu*, *De Causis*, §4(f)2.

[377] For a discussion on the use of the definite article in poetry and *rosc*, where earlier *ocus* and definite articles were not used, see Binchy (1966, 4).

- *clóais*, 'upon hearing' [12b].
- *inscib*, 'with words' [13a].

The following examples of Bergin's Law are found in *Ba aprainn*:[378]

- *Cain forlann foa mbebainn?*, 'Would it not have been an unequal combat in which I would have died?' [6b].
- *Cach comlann crothfinn*, '(But) I would have upset any equal opponent!' [6b].

The above two instances involve the conjunct forms of the simple verbs *baïd* and *crothaid* placed at the end of the sentence.[379] It should be mentioned here that there are examples of the conditional used in *Ba aprainn* in which the verbal form is not preceded by the particle *no*, i.e. *soirthnigfed* [3a]; *regainn* [11a].[380] However, in these instances, they are not in sentence final position. Thus, I tentatively suggest that the above examples are probable Bergin's Law constructions.

- *ba in máu (rolán scél) mo chorp chain óen-artreg adamrai airrerinn*, 'Much more were it (a great story) that I would exchange my fair body in place of the one wonderful High-King' [4b].

The above example of Bergin's Law involves the prototonic form of the active compound verb *ar-ren* placed at the end of the sentence.

Tmesis is frequently employed by the author in order to achieve the required alliteration:[381]

Tmesis I: *atum– ... –cichtis* [1b]; *con– ... –génain*n [3a]; *do– ... –roosat* [8c]; *din– ... –rochuínem* [8b]. In these examples, the preverb is seperated from the stressed portion of the verb.

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[378] I understand Bergin's Law as the definition provided by Bergin (1934–1938, 197): 'The rule may be stated thus: when a verb does not stand at the head of its clause, particularly when it follows its subject or object, it takes the dependent form, that is, a simple verb has the conjunct ending and a compound verb is prototonic'. Cf. *GOI* §513n.

[379] For a discussion of Bergin's Law using active simple verbs, see Binchy 1979–1980, 43–9. Cf. *Mag Murthemni atharda iba srúaim sruthborr*, LL 13858f. (cf. Bergin 1934–1938, 201), 'ancestral M. M. shall drink a torrential (?) stream [of blood]', Binchy 1979–1980, 43.

[380] See also the textual note on *ce cheste*, [7a].

[381] Greene (1976, 23) follows the definition of tmesis as defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, i.e. 'the separation of the elements of a compound word by the interposition of another word or words'. On tmesis see also Bergin 1938, 197ff.; *GOI* §513n.; Wagner 1967, 289 ff.

Tmesis II: *nad ... n-arnac* [1a], *nad ... nderagam* [8b]; *nad ... roachtmar* 9a; *nad ... roacht* [13a].

Summary

Ba aprainn is a highly ornamental and stylized poem. It is an accentual composition, consisting of 28 lines, which can be grouped into two lines corresponding to semantic units. There is no pattern in the syllabic count, nor is there rhyme. The metre of the poem is characterised by the number of stresses per line (i.e. four or five) and alliteration. While internal and complex alliteration are frequent throughout, more important is the linking alliteration, i.e. the final word of a sentence alliterates with the first word of the next sentence. This type of alliteration occurs between stressed words, but a looser type is also seen between stressed and unstressed words. Where linking alliteration is absent, it is usually compensated by internal alliteration or parallelism. Thus, *Ba aprainn* can be classified as belonging to the sub-category of *rosc*, which Breatnach (1984, 452) describes as '[of the type] of lines with regular number of stressed words per line and alliteration'.

Chapter 3 Thematic Chapter

General introduction

AC belongs to a specific category of tales known as *aideda*, or 'violent death-tales', which describe the violent deaths of prominent heroes, and heroines, in Early Irish literature.[382] While previous scholarship has centred on the manuscript tradition, development and possible sources for the versions of *AC*, little attention has been paid to the thematic elements of the tale. Therefore, this chapter seeks to establish whether the tale itself can be included in the literary category of *aideda* by examining the death experienced by the protagonist Conchobar. It includes an examination of the manuscript context for some of the manuscript copies which hopes to provide an insight into the reasons why certain versions of *AC* were arranged with other similar material. Furthermore, the significant characters, locations, themes, motifs and intertextual relationships of the extant versions will be examined. Lastly, the composition and style of each version is discussed. Although this chapter does not provide an exhaustive discussion of all the aspects of this unique tale, the intention is to complement and balance any previous criticism of *AC*. It is hoped that it will allow for a better understanding of the different authorial and compilatory intentions behind writing the tale's versions.

3.1 The literary category of *aided* 'violent death-tale'

The medieval Irish tale lists present us with a catalogue of major or primary tales (*prímscéla*) that are grouped into various categories.[383] Tale List A and Tale List B, as they are conventionally referred to today, are thought to have been recited by professional

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[382] I employ the nom. pl. *aideda*, rather than the syncopated pl. form *oitte* (< OIr **aittea*), throughout the chapter solely to conform to the convention used by Proinsias Mac Cana in *The Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* (1980). For a brief note on the stem, formation and attestations of *aided* see Toner (2000a, 99, n. 44).

[383] I use the term 'category' here instead of genre, following the suggestion of Kicki Ingridsdotter (2009a, 14, n. 20), where she points out that Mac Cana's use of 'genre' is misleading. The use of such a term implies that there are clearer divisions between the tales than perhaps Mac Cana (1980, 71) himself had even intended of the term, cf. 'the system of classifying tales according to genres occludes the fact that few tales are a straightforward example of any one genre' (1980, 71). Ingridsdotter prefers, therefore, to use Ó Cathasaigh's term 'storytelling categories' when referring to the *aideda* (see Ó Cathasaigh 1994, 86).

poets to kings and lords.[384] The *aided* category occurs in List A: *Acus is 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, elopments, and plunderings'.[385] List A and B survive independently of each other and descend from an earlier list, which Mac Cana refers to as List X. The extant lists have gone through considerable changes and expansions throughout their transmission, resulting in some discrepancies between Lists A and B. For instance, List A contains 14 *aideda* but list B does not contain a single *aided*. According to Proinsias Mac Cana (1980, 71), the *aideda* were not originally included in List X and that it was neither necessary nor practical to include a list of *aideda* in the general tale list, reasoning that they were simply so common, and furthermore that they were 'too numerous for inclusion under a single rubric of the original list' (Mac Cana 1980, 71–2). However, Gregory Toner (2000a, 88–120) has most recently demonstrated in his new analysis of the tale lists that the *aided* category is very much part of the original list.[386] Mac Cana agreed with Thurneysen that the common core of list A and B could possibly be dated to the tenth century, and Toner (2000a, 97) posits a *terminus ante quem* for list X of no later than the second half of the twelfth century.

AC is cited in List A, which according to Toner (2000a, 113) is more conservative than List B.[387] That this tale itself was popular is evidenced by the numerous versions and manuscript copies that survive today. The tale consists of two halves. The first half relates the events leading up to the point where Conchobar is struck in the head with the calcified brain of Mess Gegrai, cast by Cet mac Mágach. It is stated then that he is buried where

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[384] Indeed in the tale *Airec Menman Uraird maic Coisse*, Urard mac Coisse relates List B to the king of Tara, Domnall mac Muirchertaig (see Byrne 1908, 43–8). Furthermore, Gregory Toner (2000a, 114) infers that the alliterative patterns of the lists may suggest that these lists were intended to be recited out loud. List A is found in LL and TCD H.3.17. List B is found in RIA 23 N 10, Rawlinson B 512, and British Library Harleian 5280. Beside these two major lists, there are fragments of minor lists found the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, Ms. VII and British Library Harleian 432. See Mac Cana 1980, 41–65.

[385] Mac Cana 1980, 41 text and translation. I have marked in bold the relevant text.

[386] See Toner 2000a, 88–120.

[387] The *aideda* listed in tale-list A are as follows: *Oitte dā inso .i.*; *Aided* Co *Ḟir Dead*; *A.* Con*aill*; *A. Celtchair*; *A. Blai Briug*ad; *A. Loegaire*; *A. Fergusa*; ***A. Choncobair***; *A. Ḟiamai*n; *A. Mael Ḟatharl*aig *m*aic *Ronai*n; *A. Taidc m*aic *Cei*n; *A. m*aic *Ṡamai*n. I provide the list as it appears in LL (see for example Mac Cana 1980, 44; Toner 2000a, 116).

he fell, thereby marking his death. However, the second part of the tale continues with Conchobar still alive. Upon learning of Christ's crucifixion, he vows to avenge Christ's death and his anger causes the calcified brain to leap out of his head. This marks his second, or final, death.[388]

Despite Mac Cana's assertions about the prevalence of this particular category of tale, relatively little has been written about it until recent times. To date, Daniel Melia has undertaken the most detailed discussion on the *aideda*. His research, following the Proppian model, focuses primarily on the structural similarities between the *aideda*.[389] Although Melia's research is somewhat limited, and much work remains to be carried out on the *aideda* in general, his work provides a starting point for any structural discussion of this category of tales. Melia (1977/78, 39–41) discusses how the death-tales can fall into one of two basic narrative groups, i.e. death by 'woman-revenge', and death by 'tabu-revenge'. The former sometimes contains a situation involving an illicit sexual encounter and death by revenge stemming from that encounter. The latter contains a situation where a taboo is broken and the hero is killed by revenge. Melia (1977/78, 44) points out that matters are complicated because often a death-tale can contain elements from both groups, as is the case with *AC*.[390] Nevertheless, Melia observes that a recurring pattern is found throughout the tales. The hero generally dies as a result of revenge and a woman may play a part.[391] Melia also observes that the hero breaks an important behavioural code or social honour-code. Thus, he creates the following formula:

Woman + Man
Breaking of Rules

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[388] See further discussion in Chapter 3.3. in relation to *AC* being an example of an *aided* 'violent death-tale'.

[389] See Melia 1977–1978, 36–57. Shortcomings of Melia's article have been pointed out by Ingridsdotter (2009b, 14), and de Vries (2011, 18). For instance, Melia's survey is not exhaustive and is limited to the Ulster cycle death-tales mentioned in List A, neither does he examine any of the various death-tales found in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*.

[390] In *AC*, the Connacht women lure the king away from his army to gaze at his perfection whereupon Cet strikes him with the brain-ball, causing him to die. However, the second half of the tale continues with Conchobar still alive, albeit blemished. He is ordered him to remain still by Fíngen. Upon hearing of Christ's crucifixion he wishes to avenge Christ's death. His emotions cause the calcified brain to leap out of his head and to die.

[391] Melia 1977–78, 48.

Death [in Revenge][392]

In order to convey the complexity of Conchobar's two deaths in *AC*, I provide the following formula:

Death 1	Death 2
prophecy[393]	man
women + man	breaking of rules
death in revenge	death by avenging Christ

In more recent times, scholars such as Kicki Ingridsdotter and Ranke de Vries have made welcome contributions towards a better understanding of this category of tales.[394]

3.2 The title *Aided Chonchobair*

The title of a tale indicates to the reader or audience the expected outcome of events in any given narrative. As mentioned above, the title *Aided Chonchobair* is given in Tale List A, which is listed in LL. In version A of *AC*, the title of the tale can be found at the beginning of the oldest extant copy, i.e. LL p.123b40. It appears squeezed into the column, preceding the first line of the text, and is surrounded by a rubricated box. An examination of the neighbouring material in LL shows that other titles also appear squeezed in.[395] Although these may well have been copied from a preceding exemplar by a scribe and later decorated by the compiler, it is also possible that the titles were added by the compiler of the manuscript himself. Therefore, it is difficult to tell in the case of

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[392] I disagree with Melia (1977–78, 54) when he infers that Conchobar dies by "accident". This underscores the complex manner in which his death comes about. Moreover, vengeance is indeed a contributing factor to his death, since it is Mess Gegrai's brain-ball which eventually causes Conchobar to die.

[393] In the first half of the tale, Cet mac Mágach was aware that Mess Gegrai vengeance after his death had been prophesied.

[394] See for instance de Vries 2011; Ingridsdotter 2009b.

[395] For instance, the earliest version of the tale describing Cú Chulainn's death, also referred to as *Brislech Mór Maige Muirthemni* (henceforth *BMMM*), directly precedes the text of *AC* in *LL*. While *BMMM* does not have a title itself, titles are used to mark separate episodes within the tale and are found centred and surrounded by a rubricated box, i.e. *beochobra* con*cul*ainn *is*i*n dlo fu*air *bás*, p. 119b24; *siaburchobra* con*cul*ainn *illa triu a eitsechta*, p. 122b41; *nuallguba emire inso*, p. 123a19. The text of *Aided Meidbe* (henceforth *AM*) comes immediately after *AC*, and its title, i.e. *Aided me*i*dbe*, p. 12b33, is centred and surrounded by a rubricated box. This tale also ends with *Aided me*i*dbe í si*n, p. 125a23, again surrounded by a rubricated box.

AC in LL whether the title has been copied or added. A title is not provided in C or E_2. The first two lines in E_1 are illegible due to heavy staining in the manuscript, thereby making it difficult to ascertain whether the tale in this manuscript contained a title or not. It should be noted that the other versions, i.e. versions B and C, do not contain the title. The short prose passage that constitutes version D contains the title at the beginning of the text, i.e. *Incipit do aidid Chonchobair Mac Nessa insó sís*, '*Incipit* of the violent death of Conchobar son of Ness in what follows below'.

3.3 *AC* as an example of a tale included in the *aided* category.

By its title alone, *AC* can of course be regarded as part of the category of tales entitled *aideda* 'violent death-tales'. However, matters are complicated when one considers that the extant versions do not correlate entirely as to how, or when, Conchobar dies. For instance, the longest version of the tale possibly contains Conchobar's original death embedded in the middle of the text. His second, or final, death occurs at the end of the Edinburgh manuscripts, but LL/C omit his death at the end of their recension altogether. Version B, C and D all mention Conchobar's death. The only agreement between the texts which do contain his death is that Conchobar perishes ultimately as a result of Mess Gegrai's calcified brain springing from his head. This section examines in greater detail the exact circumstances leading up to and the manner in which Conchobar dies which allows it to be classified as an *aided* 'violent death' as opposed to a death of natural causes.

The definition given by *DIL* s.v. *aided* is 'violent death' and it further notes that it can also be used as the title of a class of stories. Used in a more general sense, it can also mean '(unpleasant) fate, plight'.[396] Mikhailova and Nikolaeva (2003, 110) further suggest that the notion of *aided* can convey the idea of a 'sudden and unnatural death' rather than 'violent death', in some instances in the *aided* category of tales.[397] For the sense of 'sudden and unnatural death', they refer in particular to *AC*, stating that the king

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[396] The definition of *aided* 'violent death' is also employed by Mac Cana (1980, 71 and 73).

[397] See Mikhailova and Nikolaeva 2003, 93–115. They refer to *Aided ChonChulaind*, *Aided Muirchertaig meic Erca* and *Aided Fergusa maic Roích* as examples of *aided* with the sense of 'violent death'. They conclude that the primary meaning of *aided* was not 'death' but 'ill fate, plight, *fatum*' (2003, 110), and that '*aided* is something that comes suddenly, that differs from a certain standard and can be predicted, because, logically, only unnatural death is worth to be predicted' (2003, 111).

died 'of severe shock' having heard about Christ's crucifixion.[398] However, their interpretation of the term *aided* as 'sudden and unnatural' in describing Conchobar's second death (i.e. after hearing about Christ's crucifixion) appears subjective since it does not take into consideration Mess Gegrai's brain-ball or Conchobar's first (or original) death, for which see further below. Translating *aided* as 'sudden and unnatural death' would downplay the dramatic nature of Conchobar's death as well as undermine the complex factors that contribute to both deaths. I see no reason why the definition of 'violent death' or even the broader 'unpleasant fate', as provided by *DIL*, cannot be applied in this instance, because although Conchobar's death upon hearing about Christ's crucifixion is sudden, it is also definitely violent. Therefore, I follow *DIL* and Mac Cana's definition of *aided* meaning 'violent death' and will demonstrate below that Conchobar's death was caused not only by a calcified brain-ball but also by extreme emotion, a motif that features in early Irish literature.[399]

At the end of the 'traditional nucleus' of *AC*, as termed by Carney, we see that Conchobar falls at *Daire Dá Báeth*.[400] Carney believed that this signaled Conchobar's death and that it marked the original ending of the tale. Immediately prior to this event, Cet mac Mágach fixes Mess Gegrai's brain-ball into his sling (*tábaill*) before hurling it

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[398] They also refer to the incident in *Aided Cheltchair maic Uthechair* which relates that Celtchar died when a drop of the hound's blood which he had slain fell on him (see 2003, 110; Meyer 1906, 30). However, they do not provide a detailed discussion to demonstrate clearly as to how they came to the interpretation. Interestingly, this tale and *AC* share the theme of posthumous revenge (see McCone, 1984, 2–3), a structual element which is worthy of further discussion at a future date. Furthermore, a more exhaustive study of the *aided* category of tales is required in order to postulate the different possible applications of the term *aided*, but this lies beyond the scope of the present thesis.

[399] Kicki Ingridsdotter (2009, 88–95) provides an insightful analysis into this motif. She writes that the motif of death by emotion can be accepted '[...] as an expression of being human and as a means of articulating that a particular emotion or experience affects us so deeply that we cannot continue living. [...] in this manner death is seen as the ultimate superlative' (2009, 87). I understand Ingridsdotter's use of the phrase 'the ultimate superlative' to mean that in an instance where a person experiences an emotion of such extreme intensity, the highest degree or manner in which this can be expressed is through death. In the following discussion, I will be considering Conchobar's death only and not the baptism by blood or entry into Heaven, as this is discussed in more detail elsewhere.

[400] Carney 1955, 296; Szövérffy 1956, 202. They both reach the same conclusion that the tale consists of two halves and that the first section is in fact an earlier composition, whether oral or written it is difficult to say. However, Carney (1955, 297) stresses that *AC* may only ever have existed in written form with the Christian addition and that 'the tale was Christianised when it was first written'.

at Conchobar's head, in what can only be described as an act of aggression or violence.[401] As a result of this heinous act, the calcified brain strikes the crown of Conchobar's head, with two thirds of the brain remaining embedded in the king's head, causing Conchobar to fall forward to the ground,

> *Na-indlethar Cet inchinn Meisse Gegrai isin tábaill. 7 da-léici conid-tarlae i mullach Conchobair co mbátar a dá trian inna chiunn 7 co torchair-sem asa chiunn, co tarlae fri lár.*
>
> 'Cet adjusts the brain of Mess Gegrai in the sling, and throws it so that it hit the crown of Conchobar's head, so that two-thirds of it entered his head, and so that he fell head-first to the ground', [6b].

This image must have resonated strongly with the audience, a society where battle, violence and honour were commonplace. As Clancy observes, being hit would have implied a loss of status for Conchobar.[402] Moreover, the crown of the head was regarded as one of the twelve doors to the soul, as is reflected in the early Irish law tract *Bretha Déin Chécht* (*BDC*): *Atat da dorus .x. anma fil i curp duine. mullach cin*n *.i. a baites no in comuai*m [...], 'There are twelve doors of the soul in the human body: (1) the top of the head, i.e. the crown or the suture, [...]', §2A (Binchy 1966, 24/25). Binchy (1966, 52) suggested, in fact, that *anim* may be understood in its primitive meaning of 'breath, life', rather than being taken as a specific Christian term, and that translating 'the twelve doors of life' is more suitable here. This is further substantiated by §17[3] in *BDC*, where these portals are referred to as 'doors of death'.[403] Thus, from a medical point of view, the expected outcome of such a horrific injury as Conchobar's would have been an immediate death.[404] However, Conchobar's head-injury in the tale should be viewed as allegorical,

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[401] de Vries (2011, 25) has pointed out the important role the sling has to play in several *aideda*. Cet mac Mágach carries out this act to avenge Mess Gegrai's death. Cet acts as a proxy figure, on behalf of Mess Gegrai who himself is dead having been killed by Conall Cernach in the tale of *Talland Étair*. Therefore, Mess Gegrai cannot avenge himself but requires someone else to act as a proxy figure to help him avenge his own death.

[402] See Clancy 2005, 175.

[403] *.i. na da fuil .x. na ndoirrsi anma*, [...], 'viz. the twelve wounds in the doors of the soul, [...]', §17, see Binchy (1966, 32–33). This is glossed by: *.i. o cec*h *duine uile, no com*ad *o rigaib .i. i ndorus bais*, 'from every [class of] person, or perhaps [only] from kings, i.e. [for a wound] in one of the doors of death', §17[3] (Binchy 1966, 33).

[404] Binchy (1966, 52) was provided with medical commentary on the head-wound described in *Bretha Déin Chécht* by Dr. Logan: 'A severe blow on either the crown of the head (1) or the back of the neck (2) might break or dislocate the first two bones of the neck (atlas and axis), with rupture of the spinal cord. A blow

i.e. his brain injured by a brain-ball, which causes his first (= original in the 'traditional' tale) death. This image renders the king's body blemished and ineligible for kingship.

It should be noted that there is an ambiguity as to whether Conchobar died at this point in the text, i.e. *For brú Átha Daire Dá Báeth is and do-rochair Conchobar,* 'On the brink of the ford of Daire Dá Báeth it was that Conchobar fell' [6g]. Certainly, the meaning of *do-rochair* 'fell' is open to interpretation. The verb *do-tuit* can mean 'falls' in a literal sense, but also 'falls, perishes, is killed' in reference to situations in battle. Either meaning could apply here, i.e. Conchobar fell to the ground at Áth Daire Dá Báeth or Conchobar died at Áth Daire Dá Báeth. However, the concept of falling at a ford supports the suggestion that Conchobar's original death occurred here, because the death near or in water is a motif that is commonly found in *aideda*, as observed by Ranke de Vries (2011, 25 and n. 11).[405] It is the sentence which comes immediately after this sentence, i.e. [6h], that has led scholars, such as Carney, to note that Conchobar died at this point. In effect, it is this sentence that acts as the seam between the 'traditional nucleus' and the Christian addition:[406]

> *ɔ attá a lige and baile i torchair ɔ chorthe fria chend ɔ corthe fria chossa.*
> And his grave is there where he had fallen, and a pillar-stone at his head, and another at his feet' [6h].

If one follows Carney's suggestion that the first half of the tale reflects an older tradition, be it oral or written, preserved within a later Christian tale, then Conchobar's original death here surely constitutes an *aided*, or immediate 'violent death', because it is caused by a blow to the head with a hardened brain-ball.

The aforementioned sentence, i.e. [6h], clearly disrupts the narrative flow in version A because it refers to an older tradition, be it oral or written, in which Conchobar

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to the temple (3) might cause rupture of the middle meningeal artery. In such a case the patient might recover consciousness quickly, and the injury would seem to be a trivial one until, some hours later, the patient went into a coma and died'.

[405] De Vries refers to the example in version D where Cet mac Mágach threw the calcified brain at Conchobar at Áth Daire Dá Báeth. In this version Conchobar fell at Mag Lámraige (Meyer 1907 (1937), 18/19).

[406] See Carney 1955, 295–6. He observes that the 'traditional nucleus' reflects a similar manner in which a native historian would have given 'the plain unadorned factual details of the death of Conchobar'. He is quick to note that this leads to Conchobar being revived in an unconvincing manner in the tale. But Carney (1955, 297) points out that 'while we may see in the early portion of the tale a genuine traditional story it cannot be shown that there was an early written form of the tale lacking the Christian element'.

is buried at *Daire Dá Báeth* after his original death.[407] This sentence should be understood as a narrative inconsistency, rather than an intrusion, which the author failed to omit when he conflated the material into the new Christian composition.

Certainly, if one excludes [6f] and [6h], the narrative continues to flow with the Connachtmen and Ulstermen toing and froing in battle until the Ulstermen are defeated. Conchobar is rendered immobile from his injury, requiring his men to carry him away from the battle. Fíngen heals him then and orders the king to remain permanently motionless. The undisturbed order of the narrative plotline further suggests that the author was unartistic when he modified the original tale, i.e. the exclusion of [6f] and [6h]. Moreover, it rids the text of the basic problem of Conchobar's first death. Furthermore, this suggestion does not interfere with the narrative structure that ties together the Ulster cycle *aideda* as put forth by Daniel Melia. Conchobar meets the women of Connacht after they make a demand (*áilges*) upon him. He duly obeys and flaunts himself before them so that the women may see his faultless appearance and physical perfection.[408] Once he is hit with Mess Gegrai's brain (an act of (prophesied) revenge), he remains alive but is a blemished king (a taboo). Fíngen orders him to remain still, which he does for seven years. Upon hearing about Christ's crucifixion, he breaks Fíngen's prohibitions, and in turn the brain-ball leaps out of his head. Thus, Conchobar's death, albeit delayed, ends a cycle of vengeance.[409] There are various contributing factors to his death, the main cause

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[407] See for instance Carney (1955, 296). He observes that the author 'cannot abandon the firm tradition that Conchobar was slain by a missile made from the brain of Mes Gegra', and that there is a weakeness in the literary adaptation of the older tradition since we are asked to believe that although Conchobar dies in Emain Macha at the end, he is buried at Daire Dá Báeth.

[408] See [5g - k] for the description of Conchobar's description and attributes.

[409] See Melia (1977/78, 41), i.e. *AC* is an example of death by 'tabu-revenge' for which see description above. To clarify, although his anger and his shock at hearing of Christ's crucifixion contribute to the reason for his death, it is ultimately Mess Gegrai's calcified brain which is the cause of Conchobar's sudden death, not his anger or anything else. Another parallel for a delayed *aided* 'violent death', rather than 'sudden and unnatural', is perhaps found in *Aided Fergusa maic Roích* (Meyer 1906, 32–5). Lugaid throws a spear at Fergus which goes through his chest. However, Fergus does not die straight away. He draws the spear out from his chest, killing Ailill's hound, and only then is it written that his soul leaves his body (*luid a anum as*, Meyer 1906, 34). A clearer example of a delayed *aided* is found in *Echtra Fergusa maic Léti*. In this tale, Fergus meets a monster (*muirdris*) in Loch Rudraige and becomes disfigured by the sheer horror of seeing it. However, the Ulstermen decide to leave Fergus as king, albeit blemished, and thus he remains for

being primarily the brain-ball and secondarily, his rage or extreme emotions (see further below).

As mentioned previously, the death of Conchobar in avenging Christ is not found in LL and C, in contrast to the Edinburgh manuscripts which contain a MidIr version of Conchobar's death. Thurneysen, Clancy and Corthals have suggested that the text in LL is lacking an ending as a result of some type of error.[410] Indeed the presence of *lacunae* elsewhere in LL and C may substantiate a claim that the ending has been lost in transmission through scribal inattention.[411] On the other hand, Imhoff and Cronan argue convincingly that the king's death may not have been thematically necessary in the version contained in LL and C and was 'dropped by design'.[412] I agree with their hypothesis in this respect and propose that the compiler of LL and C's exemplar made a conscious decision to exclude Conchobar's death and instead chose to include the alternative accounts, taking care to place them after the *rosc* poem (in LL's case) so as not to distract the audience from its dramatic effect. The redactor's motivation was to place greater emphasis on the fact that Conchobar was one of the first men of Ireland to be converted to Christianity, in pre-Patrician times. The compiler also places more importance on the *rosc* poem, *Ba aprainn*, which, as Imhoff (2012, 88) has noted, contains references to Conchobar's anger and desire for vengeance, with the compiler viewing the death only as secondary and unnecessary.[413] The compiler of the LL and C's exemplar must have viewed the final section of the *Ba aprainn* as Conchobar's apotheosis. Indeed, the ending of *Ba aprainn* sees the speaker being humbled to die and offer his own life, rather than violently avenging Christ's death:

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seven years. Then, his bondmaid alerts him to his disfigurement and he kills her. Fergus returns to the lake and fights the monster, whereupon he dies (see Binchy 1952, 38–9).

[410] See Thurneysen, 1921, 537. Clancy (1996, 90) suggests that LL had 'forgotten to include the denoument', while Corthals (1989, 42) comments that the 'redactor forgets to mention Conchobar's final death'.

[411] For a detailed examination of the relationship between the manuscripts of version A, see Chapter 1.6.2.

[412] Dennis Cronan (2007, 153) writes that the thematic concern in LL was not with Conchobar's death, or his baptism by blood, but that he was one of two men who believed in Christ before the coming of Christianity to Ireland; see also Imhoff 2012, 90–1. However, Helen Imhoff (2012, 91) does concede that the tale is entitled *Aided Chonchobair* and that the ancestor of LL and C may have contained Conchobar's death.

[413] In that sense, I agree with Imhoff that LL/C and N contrast in tone but hasten to add that this is as a result of compilatorial attitude towards the text.

Airined dom dul drúib cen Dúilemon dígail.

'It is lowering/humbling for me to go to the abode (= to die) without avenging of the Creator' [13c].

On the other hand, an account of Conchobar's death is found in the Edinburgh manuscripts, with Conchobar's brief utterance emphasising his intent on revenge. However, the version of the death in these manuscripts did not belong to the OIr archetype because the linguistic evidence suggests it was written in the MidIr period, possibly towards the end of the tenth century.[414] In the Edinburgh account, Conchobar is angered upon hearing about Christ's Crucifixion causing him to attack trees in a frenzy. This action causes the calcified brain to leap out of the king's skull, causing his own brains to spew forth, whereupon he dies immediately:

Lasi*n* fei*r*g si*n* ro li*n*g incin*n* Meisse Gegrai asa c[h]in*n* co tai*n*ic a i*n*c[h]i*n*d fei*n* fair gu*r*bo m*ar*b de, E_1 p. 2.25–6.

'Through that fury the brain of Mesgegra sprang out of his head so that his own brains came upon him, so that he died of it', Meyer 1906, 11.

This is a very graphic description of the king's demise. It is 'sudden and unnatural' as suggested by Mikhailova and Nikolaeva, but it is also violent. Furthermore, it is Mess Gegrai's brain-ball that springs from Conchobar's head that causes him to die and thus I would argue it is justifiable to classify it as an *aided* 'violent death'.

In version B, a different account of Conchobar's death is related but it shares a similarity frenzied theme with the Edinburgh manuscripts.[415] In this account, Conchobar is portrayed as jumping up suddenly, as if he were about to attack, but in contrast to the Edinburgh ending, he does not fell trees:

Is íar sin cot-n-oscrastar amal bid oc techt hi roí catha ar bélaib Críst co sescainn asa chiunn a n-inchinn Meisse Gegrai 7 condid-epalt ind ór sin.

'After that he jumped upwards, as if he were going into the battlefield in front of Christ, so that the brain of Mess Gegrai sprang out of his head and he died at that time.' [4a] - [4b].

This passage can be dated linguistically to the OIr period, and thus predates the account given in the Edinburgh manuscripts.[416] While the graphic image of Conchobar's brain

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[414] See chapter 2.2.2 for linguistic discussion.

[415] For a detailed discussion of the narrative element of frenzy shared between the different versions, see Imhoff (2012, 62–8).

[416] It could be therefore that this account in fact closely resembles the original ending. See also Imhoff (2012, 95), who surmises that since the frenzy is found in all accounts except for LL and C, as well as in *Vita S. Albei*, it probably was 'part of the earliest accounts of the tale'.

spewing out is not provided, as in the Edinburgh versions, it is said that the calcified brain-ball sprang out of his head, causing Conchobar to die immediately. Furthermore, it is subsequently stated that the king bled (*ind fuil do-n-escmart*, 'the blood which he shed' [4d]), providing another violent image.[417] Thus, Conchobar's death in this version is violent. Helen Imhoff (2012, 89) interprets Conchobar's actions at the end of version B as militaristic, with an emphasis placed on vengeance for Christ's Crucifixion and argues that this fits with the beginning of the tale which portrays Conchobar as a ruler. I suggest also that Conchobar's rising in arms is a mere metaphor for militaristic violence and that it is in fact, a manifestation of his anger. The king is moved to such anger by the violent emotions he has experienced in *Ba aprainn*. He feels anger at Christ's death but realises in *Ba aprainn* that physical fighting would of course be improper Christian conduct. He jumps up fervently, with the full knowledge that this deliberate act will result in the calcified brain becoming dislodged. Thus, a major contributing factor of Conchobar's death was his violent emotions.[418] If, as Imhoff has put it, Conchobar is portrayed in a role of power at the beginning of version B, it is all the more reason for the audience to expect his death as being inevitable, serving as his apotheosis.[419]

In conclusion, Conchobar's death must be viewed from two perspectives. Firstly, if one considers the original death of Conchobar to be in the 'traditional nucleus', this can be regarded as a 'violent death', i.e. an immediate death as a result of the original attack by Cet. Secondly, Conchobar's death at the end of the versions is a delayed reaction to the initial attack, with his extreme emotions being a contributing factor. Since Mess Gegrai's brain is the instrument of Conchobar's demise, his death in this instance can be considered violent. Thus, I translate *aided* as 'violent death' in accordance with *DIL*. Conchobar's death-tale is a carefully, yet unartistically, crafted saga which builds the tension throughout the narrative leading up to an emotional outburst before the subsequent dramatic death. This serves not only as the king's apotheosis but also, as will be discussed below, as the salvation of the king in the eyes of the aristocratic audience.[420]

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[417] Conchobar is subsequently baptised by his own blood. This is explored in further detail below.

[418] See also for example Ingridsdotter (2009, 89), who considers this as death by anger.

[419] Conchobar's death would be considered by the audience as the ultimate action, leading to Conchobar's salvation in the eyes of the audience.

[420] See Clancy 2005, 163–82.

3.4 The compilatorial arrangement of some manuscript copies of *AC*

In recent times, the field of Celtic studies has seen a growth in re-evaluating how the attitudes of medieval Irish authors, redactors and compilers towards their sources may have influenced the way in which material was arranged and formatted in manuscripts. For instance, Abigail Burnyeat has examined Recension 1 of *TBC* in *Lebor na hUidre* (LU) to establish if the individual manuscript version can proffer an insight into the scribal, authorial or compilatory attitudes which exist towards the copy, rather than the *Urtext*, and perhaps provide a clue as to how the text was received, read and interpreted at that particular time.[421] Burnyeat draws on the conclusion of Martin Irvine, who states that a compiler can be viewed as taking material from 'a larger cultural library', which thus results in the material being arranged in an interpretive manner and that it can also reflect 'the interpretive discourse of his own community, isolating or bringing into focus the larger network of texts that forms the library'.[422]

The manuscript copies of *AC* are found amongst various works of hagiography, poetry, saga and genealogies, and there is nothing in theme or content that connects these texts together.[423] Nevertheless, when one looks at the manuscript context of the copies of *AC* in LL and E_1, it is noteworthy to see that they are grouped together with other *aideda*. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the context of the aforementioned manuscript copies of *AC* in particular, with a view to gaining a deeper understanding of how the medieval Irish compiler may have perceived either of the two manuscript copies.

A copy of version A of *AC* is found amongst a group of other *aideda* in LL. These are *Aided Cheltchair maic Uithechair*[424] (henceforth *ACU*), *Brislech Mór Maige*

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[421] See Burnyeat 2009, 356–74.

[422] Burnyeat 2009, 366; cf. Irvine 1994, 241–2.

[423] For discussion of the individual manuscript copies, see chapter 1. 4.

[424] Another copy is found in NLS Adv MS 72.1.40, p.9. The tale has been edited and translated by Meyer (1906, 24–31). This death-tale also contains the death-tale of Blaí Briugu.

Muirthemni[425] (henceforth *BMMM*), *Aided Meidbe*[426] (henceforth *AM*) and *Aided Derbforgaill* (henceforth *AD*).[427] Of these, the latter two are not included in the category of *aideda* in List A. Ranke de Vries (2011, 24) has shown that these two tales are in fact connected structurally and that the female protagonists die as a result of keeping their *geis*, as opposed to the men who die as a result of breaking their *geis*. Thus, she also observed that the grouping of the *aideda* concerning the two heroines Medb and Derbforgaill, characters which are included in the Ulster Cycle, must be significant in LL.[428] I agree with de Vries that there is a significance to these two tales being placed beside each other in LL. It may be that these texts appeared side by side in a preceding manuscript and were subsequently copied faithfully into LL, or that the compiler of LL understood the similarity between the texts and thought it proper to arrange them next to each other.

On the other hand, *AC*, *ACU* and *BMMM* deal with the deaths of Conchobar, Blaí the Hospitaller, Celtchar son of Uthechar and Cú Chulainn, respectively. The narrative motif of death by revenge connects these tales. In *AC*, Mess Gegrai's death is avenged by Cet mac Mágach who kills Conchobar with Mess Gegrai's brain-ball. In *ACU*, Blaí Briugu was killed by Celtchar, but his death is avenged when Celtchar dies as a result of the three tasks imposed upon him in lieu of death or exile. In *BMMM*, Cú Chulainn's death is avenged by Conall Cernach. Because the motif of revenge is widespread in death-tales generally, this may not have been exactly the motivating factor for the compiler to arrange these texts together. Perhaps a more convincing argument may be that they are death-tales concerned with the deaths of heroes from the Ulster Cycle. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that revenge is concerned in all three tales.

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[425] This is the earliest account of the death of Cú Chulainn, and it survives in LL as an acephalous copy. However, a series of glossed excerpts are preserved in TCD MS H.3.18. The tale has been edited and translated by Kimpton (2009, 8–9), who dates the archetype to the early eighth century, on the strength of early Old Irish features found in both poetry and prose, but suggests that 'the LL text presents a late ninth- or early tenth-century reworking of an early eighth-century composition, with later scribal modernizations'.

[426] A copy is also found in NLS 72.1.40, p. 3. The tale has been edited and translated by Vernum Hull (1938, 52–61). Hull (1938, 54) is doubtful about the exact dating of *AM*, but concludes that the extant versions could hardly have been composed before the middle of the twelfth century.

[427] Copies of this text are also found in RIA MS D iv 2, ff. 52v–53r and TCD MS H.3.18. The tale has been edited and translated by Kicki Ingridsdotter (2009a). She dates *AD* to the tenth century (2009a, 67).

[428] Ranke de Vries (2011, 20) also includes *Aided Lócha* in this group. The death-tale of Lócha is included in *TBC* 1, ll. 973–4 (O'Rahilly 1976, 231, 152) and in *TBC LL*, 1340–8 (O'Rahilly 1967, 37, 175).

Kimpton (2009, 4) writes that the tale of *BMMM* 'adapts a tale of vengeance to a Christian one of salvation, and depicts a victory over pagan violence'. In a similar sense, the version of *AC*, as found in LL, contains a prevalent theme of revenge and violence, with Conchobar realising towards the end that such actions are not deemed worthy Christian behaviour. In *BMMM*, Cú Chulainn's death and resurrection is parallel with that of Christ, while in *AC* Conchobar learns about Christ's crucifixion and believes in Him. Thus, these two tales complement each other not only due to their thematic content.

According to Erich Poppe (1999, 41), the heroes of the Ulster cycle were held as historical figures by the 'medieval Irish audience', which is supported by evidence from the Annals where key characters such as Cú Chulainn and Conchobar are given relatively exact dates of birth and death. For example, the *Annals of Tigernach*, as well as the *Annals of Innisfallen*, include details of the birth and death of Cú Chulainn and the death of Conchobar, which is linked with the crucifixion of Christ.[429] Interestingly, in *Scéla Choncobuir* 'The tidings of Conchobar mac Nessa', found in LL, Cathbad, Conchobar's father, states that he was told by prophets, seven years prior to Conchobar's birth, that Conchobar would be born on the same day as Jesus.[430] Therefore, at a time when the Christian synchronists were drawing on saga material in order to synchronize the lives of Irish heroes with the birth and death of Jesus, it is not surprising to find *BMMM* and *AC* side by side in LL.

Consequently, the fact that these two texts are positioned next to each other in the same manuscript needs to be understood from the point of view of the medieval Irish compiler, and how he intended it to be received by the reader/audience, not through the eyes of a modern critic who might consider them arranged together due to the shared theme of death alone.[431]

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[429] See Kelleher 1971, 109–10 and also 121–2; Mac Airt 1944, §§ 202 and 391. For a discussion of the relevance of the entries found in the *Annals* which deal with Ulster Cycle material and characters, see Poppe 1999, 33–54, esp. 41–2; Toner 2000b, 1–20, esp. 11–13.

[430] See Stokes 1910, 22–3, §4. Joanne Findon (2011, 43) suggests that this scene and that of Conchobar's death, which is delayed by seven years, 'activates [the] synchronization of pagan past with Christian present [...] thus framing his life with the two periods of seven years'..

[431] Donnchadh Ó Corráin (1986, 141) argues that '[...] much of Irish literature, including the *Táin Bó Cúailgne*, must be understood within the context of the highly developed historical culture of the mandarin class who produced it'.

I have already mentioned the theme of vengeance common to these tales, but yet another factor that connects *BMMM* and *AC* is the character Conall Cernach. This Ulster warrior connects not only *BMMM* and *AC* with each other but also connects the two tales with *Talland Étair* (hereafter *TallÉ*) which is also found in LL.[432] In *BMMM*, Conall vows to avenge Cú Chulainn. When he fights Lugaid he ties his arm behind his back in order to meet Lugaid in fair combat, since he has only one arm.[433] Upon killing Lugaid, Conall beheads the slain warrior and takes the head with him. In a similar scene in *TallÉ*, because Mess Gegrai's arm has been cut off by his charioteer (*TallÉ*, 194–5), he demands Conall Cernach tie his arm behind his back to allow for fair combat between them (*TallÉ*, 202–4).[434] Having slain Mess Gegrai, Conall orders his charioteer to remove Mess Gegrai's brain and mix lime with it. This connects *AC* with *TallÉ* because in *AC*, Conall requests his trophy of Mess Gegrai's brain-ball to be brought to him. Thus, I suspect that the compiler must have been aware of these thematic similarities when considering the arrangement of the material in the manuscript.

In contrast to LL, E_1 is dated some four hundred years later, and the compilatory nature of the material is intended for different purposes, perhaps reflecting the development of book culture in Ireland.

AC belongs to a group of seven death-tales found in the first section of this manuscript. They appear in the manuscript in the following order: *AC*[435]; *Goire Conaill Chernaig i Cruachain 7 Aided Ailella ocus Conaill Chernaig*[436] (henceforth *AAC*); *Aided Fergusa maic Roich*[437] (henceforth *AFR*); *Aided Meidbe*[438] (*AM*); *Aided Cheit maic*

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[432] See Ó Dónaill 2005, 13. *TallÉ* is found in LL114b and another copy is found in Harleian 5280. In LL, the text was copied by hand U who also copied *AC* and the collection of tales currently being discussed.

[433] *BMMM* 469–70. Thurneysen (1921, 549) has also mentioned the similarity between the scene in *TallÉ* and the slaying of Lugaid by Conall in *BMMM*.

[434] *BMMM* 480–2.

[435] Meyer 1906, 2–21.

[436] Another manuscript version is found in TCD MS H.2.17, pp. 475b–476b. The tale has been edited and translated by Meyer (1897, 102–111). Meyer (1897, 102) writes that the manuscript version in E_1 has been recopied and modernised, possibly in the thirteenth century, from an older copy.

[437] Edited and translated by Meyer (1906, 32–5). An extract of this death-tale is found in TCD MS H. 2.16, col. 343, which has been edited and translated by Hull (1930, 304).

[438] Hull 1938, 52–61.

Mágach[439] (henceforth *ACM*); *Aided Lóegairi Búadaig*[440] (henceforth *ALB*); *Aided Cheltchair maic Uithechair*[441] (*ACU*). They are copied by the one hand, which evidently is not the same as the one who copied material into the other sections of the manuscript.[442]

It is striking that such a collection of material grouped together in a manuscript exists. Although a full exhaustive study on the motivation behind the collation of these specific death-tales is required, it remains beyond the scope of the present thesis. However, a preliminary examination shows that the death-tales concern five Ulster heroes, one Connacht heroine and one Connacht hero. Therefore, one cannot suggest that the motivation of the compiler was solely to bring together the death-tales of the Ulster warriors. Neither can one speculate that he was influenced by the category of death-tales in List A, since *AM*, *ACM* or *ALB* is not cited in that list.

One similarity between the texts in this particular section of the manuscript is that they contain formulaic narrative phrases at the beginning and end of each text.[443] For instance, five of these tales begin with the formulaic question *cid dia ta aided X* 'whence is the violent death of X'.[444] It is perhaps worth pointing out that the copy of *AM* found in LL also begins with this formulaic question and ends with *Aided Meidbe in-sin* 'that is the death of Medb' (Hull 1938, 56). This may support the suggestion that LL and E_1

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[439] Meyer 1906, 36–41. This text appears to have been written in the MidIr period. Another two manuscript copies are found in RIA MS 23 G 21, p. 140 and RIA MS 23 B 21, p. 174. These are similar to the version found in *FFÉ* (I 34).

[440] Meyer 1906, 22–3. A later version appears in RIA MS 23 G 21, 142 and RIA MS 23 B 21, p. 176, which is closely related to the version in *FFÉ*.

[441] Meyer 1906, 23–31. A copy is also found in LL, fol. 118b. However, the first column of the text (i.e. fol. 118b) is largely illegible.

[442] See the discussion in Chapter 1.5.4.

[443] As can be seen from the examples in the footnote below, some of these take the form of the question and answer formula (see Mac Cana 1973, 107–8, i.e. *cid dia ta ... ní ansa*).

[444] See *Aided Fergusa maic Róich*: *Cid dia ta ad– Fergusa maic Roich*? *Ni* ansa, p. 5.18, 'Whence is the tragical death of Fergus mac Róich? Not hard to tell', Meyer 1906, 33; *AM*: *Cid dia ta ad– Medba Cr–han .i. in– Ech– Feidl– o Temr–*, p.6.7, 'What is the cause of the violent death of Medb, the daughter of Eochaid Feidlig from Temair?', Hull 1938, 56; *Aided Ceit maic Mágach*: *Cid dia ta ad– Ceit maic Mag–*? *Ni* ansa, p. 7.10, 'Whence is the Death of Cet mac Magach? Not hard to tell', Meyer 1906, 37; *Aided Lóegairi Búadaig*: *Cid dia ta ad– Loeg*airi *Buad–*? *Ni* ansa, p. 8.26, 'Whence is the tragical death of Lóegaire the Victorious? Not hard to tell', Meyer 1906, 26; *Aided Cheltchair maic Uithechair*: *Cid dia ta ad– Cealtc*air *maic Uithech*air? *Ni ansa*, p. 9.12, 'Whence is the tragical death of Celtchar mac Uthechair? Not hard to tell', Meyer 1906, 25.

copied it from a common source. It is perhaps possible that these were the original titles. Unfortunately, the beginning of *AC* is illegible and therefore it cannot be ascertained if it also has a similar formulaic opening. Six of the seven tales, the exception being *AM*, finish with the formulaic sentence *conid hi aided X* [*connuici*] *sin* 'so this is the violent death of X [so far]'.[445]

This section is a self-contained unit by content, as well as forming a distinct layer in the manuscript, and can perhaps be referred to as a 'booklet'.[446] It must have been produced for personal use, which is also suggested by the high frequency of abbreviations used by the scribe.[447] This may also explain why the first and last pages of this section are so heavily stained. The compiling of these death-tales together is suggestive not of a scribe merely copying, but of a compiler taking an active role in choosing the texts from a 'cultural library'.

In conclusion, the manuscript copies of *AC* preserved in LL and E_1 should not be considered by the modern critic as isolated texts in a manuscript, but viewed from the medieval compiler's point of view. It can be said that both manuscripts contain "thematic clusters".[448] The motivation underlying the arrangement of the material in LL and E_1 reflects two different compilatorial attitudes. It would appear that LL shows a greater awareness of structural and thematic content for his intended audience, whereas E_1's compiler's primary concern may have been for private use. Further research remains to

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[445] *AC*: *conid hi ad– conch–* con*nuici si*n, p. 3.6–7, 'So this is the Death of Conchobar as far as that', Meyer 1906, 11; *Goire Conaill Chernaig i Crúachain and Aided Ailella ocus Conaill Chernaig*: *adaid Ail*ella ⁊ Con– C–n– con*nuici si*n, p. 5.7, 'The Deaths of Ailill and of Conall the Victoious as far as that', Meyer 1897, 109; *Aided Fergusa maic Róich*: con*id hi ad– F*ergus con*nuici si*n, p. 6.6, 'So this is the tragical Death of Fergus so far', Meyer 1906, 35: *AM*: *ad– Meidbi ⁊ Clotr–i si*n et *rel*iqua., p. 7.9, 'The death of Medb and Clothru *et cetera*', Hull 1938, 61, n. 21; *Aided Ceit maic Mágach*: con*id hi ad– Ceit ⁊ B.c. B.* con*a macaib insi*n, p. 8.25, 'So this is the Death of Cet and of Bélchú of Brefne with his sons', Meyer 1906, 41; *Aided Lóegairi Búadaig*: con*id hi ad– Loeg–i* co*nuici si*n, p. 9.11, 'So far the Tragical Death of Lóegaire', Meyer 1906, 23; *Aided Celtchair maic Uithechair*; con*id hi si*n *ad– Blai Br–* ⁊ Con–nc*n*us ⁊ *Celt–* m*aic* Uith–. *Finit.* p. 11.21, 'So this is the Tragical Death of Blái the Hospitaller, and of Horny-skin, and of Celtchar the son of Uthechar. Finit.', Meyer 1906, 31.

[446] For an analysis of the characteristics of what constitutes a medieval 'booklet', see Richards (1994, 25–36). See also Hanna 1986, 100–11. Hanna (1986, 100–1) defines a 'booklet' as 'a group of leaves forming at least one quire, [...] presenting a self-contained group of texts'.

[447] See further discussion in Chapter 1.5.4.

[448] This term is borrowed from Eric Poppe (2008, 15, 23, n.101) who follows Skårup (1994).

be carried out on exploring the creative activity and purpose behind grouping these tales together in the manuscripts and whether they can be referred to as a 'cycle-by-transmission'.[449]

3.5 The dramatis personae

The leading figures in the tale of *AC* are the Ulster king, Conchobar mac Nessa, the Ulster warrior Conall Cernach, and the Connacht warrior Cet mac Mágach.[450] While Mess Gegrai himself does not feature in this tale, it is his calcified brain that is used to wound Conchobar.[451] The other characters mentioned are those who relate the news about Christ to Conchobar, namely Bachrach, Altus, and Cathbad, and their roles in the various versions have already been discussed by Helen Imhoff and Mark Williams.[452]

Conchobar mac Nessa

This Ulster king is the protagonist of the tale. Conchobar's initial downfall comes about as a result of his own vanity and being struck in his head by the calcified brain of Mess Gegrai cast by Cet mac Mágach, who acts by proxy for Mess Gegrai.

Emphasis is placed upon Conchobar's physical appearance (*delb*) in the tale by means of an alliterative passage that describes his physical and mental attributes as well as his attire. Before this passage, however, the narrator makes sure to stress that Conchobar's splendour is of importance by stating: *Fo bíth ní rabae for talam delb duini amal deilb Conchobair*, 'For there had not been on earth the body of a human being like the body of Conchobar' [5g]. Immediately after the alliterative passage, the narrator states

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[449] Poppe (2008, 15) describes "cycle-by-transmission" as 'the texts' actual written transmission. Their association as a physical sequence in at least one manuscript is the main unifying criterion, [...]'.

[450] However, it should be noted that the latter two characters only appear in the longest version of *AC*, while Conchobar of course appears in every version.

[451] The calcified brain appears in every version. However, it is mentioned only at the end of version B where it springs out of Conchobar's head (we are not told how it came to be in Conchobar's head), similarly with version C. In version D, it is stated briefly that Cet mac Mágach throws a stone at Conchobar's head.

[452] For a discussion of the characters who relate the Crucifixion of Christ to Conchobar, see Imhoff (2012, 63–69; 68–77). Imhoff considers that conflation has occurred between the druid(s) (mentioned in LL, C, and E_2) and Bachrach (mentioned in LL and E_1) and that Altus is an external figure, possibly modelled on Palladius. Williams (2010, 17–20) examines in particular how the druid(s), in version A and C of *AC*, perceive the meaning of the celestial and meteorological signs accompanying the Crucifixion, and the intertextuality these scenes share with Acts 2:16–21.

that the king was not blemished (*lochtach*), further emphasizing Conchobar's perfection. But this regal appearance is accompanied by an air of arrogance and vanity, which is portrayed in the episode where Conchobar is lured away by the Connacht women so that they may see (*do déicsin*) his *delb*. Similar episodes of women interested in the *delba* of kings and heroes are found throughout the early literature, with the case of Níall Noígíallach closely resembling the episode in *AC*, as observed by Damian McManus (2009, 65).[453] Although, in both tales, the women receive instructions from a third party to lure the kings to their side, I agree with Damian McManus (2009, 66) when he writes 'it is clear that the authors here [...] were drawing on what for them were familiar themes, namely the fascination of the king's/hero's splendour for women, and the vanity of both kings and heroes in the early literature.' It could also be said that this passage concerned with the Ulster king's splendour also serves as a narrative device used by the author to build the tension for the audience, since they would anticipate Conchobar's demise. Once struck in his *mullach* 'crown of the head', he dies (marking the end of the traditional tale).

A significant event involving Conchobar in the second half of version A is when he requests to be carried back to his house, stating that he will bestow the kingship of Ulster upon whomsoever carries him (see Chapter 4, version A [8]). His servant Cenn mBerraide places the king upon his back, but dies in doing so.[454] Clancy (1996, 101) argues that this scene reflects the folly of the fools, with Cenn Berraide's action being a

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[453] In the version of his death-tale which survives in the *dindshenchas* of *Ochonn Midi*, it is said: con*id é tuc in chomairle dona mnaibh .i. cuingi*[*d*] *deilbe ríg in domoin do taidbsin doib, coro taiselb iar*um *iarna dietgudh doib*, 'so he (Eochaid son of Enna Cennselach) advised the women (of France) to ask that the king of the world's form might be shewn to them. Wherefore, after undressing, Niall displayed himself to them' (Stokes 1894, 295–6); see McManus (2009, 65, footnotes 9 and 10). It should be noted that Níall Noígíallach parades himself naked in front of the women, which according to McManus (2009, 65) shows that 'the splendor attaches to the king's body rather than to his attire'. In contrast to this, it is not stated outright in the text of *AC* that Conchobar undressed himself, and the alliterative descriptive passage also refers to *dechelt* 'dress' and *erriud* 'raiment', as well as various other attributes to his bodily shape. Therefore, it cannot be said that there is an emphasis only on Conchobar's physical shape.

[454] In the Death of Cet mac Mágach, Conall is injured and Bélchú does not kill him but carries him on his back and takes him to a house to be healed (Meyer 1906, 38/9, §7). While Bélchú does not die right at that moment, Conall eventually kills him once he has been healed (Meyer 1906, 40/1, §9). Thomas Owen Clancy (1996, 101) has noted this image in other tales and I would agree with him that this would be an interesting topic to explore further in order to establish whether this is an element shared in other death-tales.

counterpart to the king's own actions. Helen Imhoff (2012, 93) views this differently and observes that it shows a king 'gradually losing and later entirely relinquishing his own power and royal authority.'

In the second half of the tale, Conchobar is alive but blemished, thereby breaking a major taboo.[455] The Ulstermen impress upon Fíngen that a blemished king is better for them than a dead king (*'Is assu dún', ol Ulaid, 'ind aithis oldás a éc-som* [9e]). Clancy describes them as having a 'corporate voice', and further implies that Conchobar is no longer in possession of authority.[456]

Conchobar's leech, Fíngen, is described as being able to give a prognosis of patients by means of looking at the smoke coming out of a house.[457] Fíngen sews Conchobar's wound with gold thread (*co snáith óir*), matching the king's golden locks.[458] However, he tells Conchobar to remain on guard (*co mbeth i foimtin*) and refrain from certain activities such as becoming irate, riding horses, intercourse or running.[459] Conchobar remains thus in a liminal position situated on the threshold of life, neither alive nor dead, for a period of seven years.[460]

In the account of the death-tale found in LL/C, and also in version B, Conchobar recites a *rosc* poem upon hearing about Christ's Crucifixion. In this poem, Conchobar goes through a range of emotions from wishing to avenge Christ's death through violent

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[455] Kelly 1998, 20; *CIH* 250.13–14.

[456] Clancy 2005, 177.

[457] A similar description of Fíngen is found in *Aislinge Óengusso* (Shaw 1934, 45 §2) and the Stowe version of the *TBC* I 4513–15. However, it should be noted that in *Aisl. Óeng.* this Conchobar's leech is referred to by the name of *Fergne*. Shaw (1934, 21) argues that Fergne in this text 'is due to a scribal error in reading a contracted form of the name Fingen, which doubtless stood in the original copy'.

[458] See McManus 2009, 63.

[459] For a discussion of the prohibitions imposed upon Conchobar, see section 3.9 below.

[460] This is similar to the episode in *BMMM* which sees Cú Chulainn prop himself up against a pillar and placing his belt around him and the pillar, so that he dies neither lying nor sitting but standing up (*BMMM*, 370–2; Kim McCone 1990, 197–8). McCone (1990, 198) points out that Conchobar 'thus spends seven years in a state of limbo between his effective death to his own world and a resurrection to eternal life eventually made possible by Christ's redemptive sacrifice'. In a similar fashion, one finds the character Lí Bán in the tale *Aided Echach maic Maireda* represented as a liminal character from a pre-Christian period. She lives for an indeterminate time for the purpose of relating important information. Once this has been carried out, she is allowed to die and subsequently revered as a saint, thereby 'ensuring the continuity between the pre-Christian past and the Christian present' (de Vries 2012, 42).

means with his words, coming to the realisation that violent revenge is not correct conduct for a Christian, learning of the sacrifice Christ made for the human race, and going through a range of emotions before accepting humility. It shows a vainglorious and violent king metamorphosing into a humble and moral king, who is redeemed not only in the eyes of the monastic redactor, but also in the eyes of the aristocratic audience. As Helen Imhoff (2012, 87) puts it, 'the poem as a whole moves away from feelings of anger and from a desire for vengeance to a deeper understanding of spiritual salvation, becoming quieter and more contemplative in tone.'

Conall Cernach

The prominent warriors of the Ulster cycle, i.e. Conall Cernach, Cú Chulainn and Lóegaire Búadach, are introduced at the beginning of version A of *AC*. They are depicted as drunk and quarreling amongst each other, which must have given the audience a sense of unease and that all was not well. Although Cú Chulainn and Lóegaire Buadach are mentioned only this once, the focus is on Conall Cernach, who is portrayed an ideal warrior.[461] Conall is generally portrayed as a powerful Ulster champion, frequently decapitating his enemies.[462] In this tale, an authorative voice is lent to Conall as he demands that Mess Gegrai's brain be brought to him,[463] i.e.

> *'Tucaid dam-sa', ol Conall, 'inchinn Meisse Gegrai co n-árladar ócu inna comram',*
> 'Bring me', said Conall, 'the brain of Mess Gegrai, so that I may engage with the competing warriors' [1d].

As discussed above, Conall Cernach provides a connection between this tale and *TallÉ*. In that tale, Conall beheads Mess Gegrai, the Leinster king, avenging the deaths of his brothers, Mess Dead and Lóegaire. Conall requests his charioteer to bring the head back

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[461] See discussion below on the motif of decapitations and trophies.

[462] See for instance in *Scéla Muicce meic Da Thó*, where Conall states that he never sleeps without the head of a Connacht man beneath his knee (see *ScMMD* 16.7). Moreover, in the following passage, he takes Anlúan's head out of his girdle (*criss*) and throws it against Cet mac Mágach's chest (see *ScMMD* 16.8–13). Similarly, for instance in the long version of *Cóir Anmann*, the MidIr birth-tale of Conall states that he will not spend one night without the head of a Connacht man on his belt and that he will kill more than half of the Connacht men: *7 ní bhíadh aidhchi gin chenn Conn*achtaigh *fora criss 7 mairbhfidh fer for leth Conn*acht, Arbuthnot (2007, 69) This is similar to Cú Chulainn who is well known for his gathering of legions of heads throughout his life, a particular skill which is discerning to his enemies. Numerous episodes exist in Recension 1 of *TBC*, e.g. *TBC I*, 330–5; 739–58; 897–906; 947–54.

[463] The imperative is used here to give Conall an authoritive voice (cf. McQuillan 2002, 25).

to Ulster. Conall orders his charioteer to remove the brain and to calcify it because the charioteer was unable to carry the head (see *TallÉ*, 234–6). It is this brain that Conall holds as prized possession in the tale of *AC*. Subsequently, the fools prophesize that a king will die from it.

Cet mac Mágach

Conall Cernach's arch-nemesis, Cet mac Mágach, is the antagonist in the tale of *AC*.[464] Cet is described as the most terrible *béist* 'beast'in Ireland.[465] He is generally portrayed in a negative light in early Irish literature. In *ScMMd*, Cet is described as a fierce warrior, i.e.

> *'Fochen Cet, Cet mac Māgach, magen curad, cride n-ega, ethre n-ela, err trén tressa, trethan ágach, caín tarb tnúthach, Cet mac Māgach,* §15,
> 'Welcome Cet, Cet mac Mágach, dwelling place of heroes, heart of ice, plumage of a swan, strong chariot-warrior of combat, battling sea, fair shapely bull, Cet mac Mágach!' Watkins 1963, 239.

In Cet's death-tale, Conall Cernach warns the Ulstermen not to fight with him because of his ferocity and fierceness (*ar a doilghi 7 ar a crōdacht*).[466] It is also stated in this tale that he was in the habit of slaying Ulstermen from a very young age, i.e. *inní ba minic lais .i. Ul*aid *do goin, ūair nī dech*aid *asa nōen*din *rīam* [*cen*] *guin Ult*aig, 'a thing he often did (viz., to slay Ulstermen), for from his childhood he never went without the slaughter of an Ulsterman' (Meyer 1906, 36–7, §1).[467] He is seen as a figure of force, thundering across the fields (*faithchi*) of Emain, swinging the heads of three Ulster warriors (*láechcenn*) about him. His function in the tale of *AC* is to carry out the revenge for the death of the Leinster king Mess Gegrai (see below). Having overheard what the jesters

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[464] In the late MidIr birth-tale of Conall in *Cóir Anmann*, it is said the Cet mac Mágach is Conall's uncle, i.e. he was the brother of Finnchaím, daughter of Cathbad. Upon hearing the druid's prophecy that Conall would kill more than half of the Connachtmen, Cet took Conall as a baby and stood on his neck, thereby giving Conall a crooked neck (Arbuthnot 2007, 69 §264). However, in *TallÉ*, Conall places Mess Gegrai's head on his own head, thereby causing Conall's deformation to be healed (*TallÉ* 217–9).

[465] For the interpretation of *béist* as 'beast', see the textual note in [3d].

[466] Meyer 1906, 36, §3.

[467] We find a similar description of Conall Cernach in his death-tale, found in the same manuscript, i.e. E_1: *fer na dechaid asa naindin riam erat robai gai ina laim gon cenn Connachtaig lais*, 'He was a man who never from his childhood so long as there was a spear in his hand went without the head of a Connaughtman with him' Meyer 1897, 105, 108.

said (see [4a], Cet is aware of the prophecy of Mess Gegrai's avengance, and it is stated explicitly in the text:

> *ó ro-fitir Cet ro boí i tairngiriu do Mess Gegrai a dígal íarna écaib.*
> 'for Cet knew that Mess Gegrai's vengeance after his death had been prophesied' [4d].

Mess Gegrai

The Leinster king, Mess Gegrai, was killed by Conall Cernach in revenge for his brothers' deaths in *TallÉ*.[468] It is this king's calcified brain that features as a prized trophy of Conall Cernach's in the tale of *AC*. This is subsequently stolen by Cet mac Mágach from Conchobar's two fools who play with it..

3.6 Locations

The geographical frame-work, within which the events of the longest version of *AC* occur, places the tale within the Ulster province. Some locations are well-known, appearing frequently throughout early Irish literature, and require little explanation here, such as *Emain Machae*[469] and *Mag Muirthemni*.[470] Nevertheless, there are some other place-name references in the versions of *AC* that are not as readily recognizable, with one in particular having a connection with *dindshenchas*, and require more detailed attention. The latter locations are addressed below in the order that they appear in version A:

Fir Rois

The territory of the Fir Rois is mentioned in the main text of version A, in an episode which sees Cet mac Mágach going to the Fir Rois upon a cattle raid:[471]

> *Fecht and do-lluid-sem, int-í Cet, sair for creich co tuc táin mbó a Feraib Ross.*
> 'Once, he, the aforementioned Cet, went eastwards upon a plundering expedition and he took a drove of cows from the territory of the Fir Rois' [5a].

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[468] *TallÉ* 199–210.

[469] For a discussion of this place-name within the context of the Ulster Cycle, see Muhr (2002, 3–10); also Ó Mainnín (2009, 254–56).

[470] In the later compilation of version C, the Ulstermen are seen holding a feast in Mag Muirthemne. 'The Plain of Muirthemne', which is also alternatively known as *Mag* (or *Machaire*) Conaill(e) and is associated with the territory of Conaille Muirthemne. See Mac Íomhair (1962, 177–8); Hogan, *Onamasticon*, 257. In version C, *Albu* and *Letha* are also mentioned, for which see the textual note on [1c].

[471] It is mentioned again in the ending found in E_1, where it is said that Conchobar goes into a frenzied attack in Mag Lámraige in the territory of the Fir Rois. See discussion below on Mag Lámraige.

This sentence begins with the adverbial phrase *fecht and* 'once', serving to separate this episode from the rest of the narrative prose and the text indicates some relation to a cattle-raid. Thurneysen suggests that the title *Táin Bó Rois*, mentioned in Tale-List A, may represent another version of *AC*.[472] Unfortunately, the tale of *Táin Bó Rois* is no longer extant and it is therefore not possible to validate or refute this suggestion.

Áth Dairi Dá mBáeth

In version A, we learn that Conchobar fell (*do-rochair*) at the edge of the ford at Daire Dá mBáeth.[473] Meyer (1906, 7, n. a) translates this as 'The Oakwood of the two foolish ones'.[474] Scholars suggest that this marks the end of an earlier version of the tale, since it is stated in the text immediately after this that Conchobar is buried in this place.[475] If this indeed represents the place where Conchobar originally died, then it signifies a death near or in water, a common element shared with other death-tales, as observed by Ranke de Vries.[476] See further discussion below on the interpretation of *do-rochair*.

Scé Aird inna Con

Meyer (1906, 7, n. b) translates this as 'the Hawthorn of the height of the hound (or hounds)'. Unfortunately, this place-name has never been successfully identified, and there are no references made elsewhere in the early literature to this name. Nevertheless, it must have lain west of *Áth Daire dá Báeth*, since the sentence which follows it in the text of version A states that the Ulstermen are routed in the opposite direction to Scé Aird

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[472] See Thurneysen 1921, 535; also Mac Cana 1980, 92.

[473] See version A [6f-g].

[474] One finds the name *Doire Dá Bhaoth* mentioned in the Early Modern tale *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghrainne*, see Ní Shéaghdha 1967, ll. 265, 288, 329, etc. The aforementioned place-name is located in Clanricarde, in south-east Co. Galway, and cannot be the same as the one mentioned in *AC*, which is most likely in Ulster.

[475] See Carney 1955, 296; Szövérffy 1956, 201–2; Guyonvarc'h 1958, 135.

[476] See de Vries (2011, 25, esp. n. 11). Amongst the tales that Ranke de Vries notes, involving death near or in water, is the death-tale of Cet mac Mágach. This is striking because Cet dies also by a ford (afterwards named *Áth Ceit* 'Cet's Ford') in *Aided Cheit maic Mágach* (Meyer 1906, 38–9). She also notes the account given in the prose of version D of *AC* (Meyer 1906, 18–9). However, she does not mention the event in version A of *AC*. Another interesting example is the death of Conall Cernach. In his death-tale, Conall goes into a ford where he fights with the Connachtmen, and subsequently gets beheaded by *tri Rúadchoin Martine* (or 'the three Red-wolves of Martine') (Meyer 1897b, 105, 108).

na Con: *Do-bertar Ulaid sair dofŕithissi co Áth Dairi Dá Báeth*, 'The men of Ulster are driven eastwards to the ford of Daire Dá Báeth' [7b].

Arddachad Sléibe Fúait

Meyer (1906, 7, n. d) identifies this as '"Highfield", near Newtown Hamilton, Co. Armagh'. Later, Murray further identified Arddachad as being located at the megalithic ruins of Aughnagurgan, overlooking Tullynawood Lake.[477] Slíab Fúait stretched from Newtownhamilton to the Monaghan border, thereby covering a vast territory in the middle and west of Armagh.[478]

The place-name lore, or *dindshenchas*, of Slíab Fúait refers to Conchobar's servant, Cenn mBerraide, who is mentioned in version A of *AC*. There are two adjacent metrical versions of the place-name lore, or *dindshenchas*, of Slíab Fúait.[479] The second version relates how the Milesian invader Fúat mac Bili planted a sod from Spain in Ireland.[480] In a retelling of this version, the poet states:

> *Doáirim úa Duinn duibe*
> *fót Cinn builid Berraide*
> *do ṡeól co becht dar' fuaig lib*
> *cert sléibe Fúait, is finnaid.*
> 'Ua Duinn of dark speech told the tale
> of the sod of blooming Cenn Berraide
> when he firmly wove for you for your instruction
> the true story of Sliab Fuait – and learn ye it!' Met. Ds. iv, 168–9.41–4[481]

Here, the poet implies that another version exists.

We find a prose passage pertaining to Cenn mBerraide interpolated into the text of the prose account of the *dindshenchas* of Slíab Fúait (recension B of *Dinnshenchas*

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[477] See Murray 1933, 7, 12, 14.

[478] See Muhr (2002, 21–22, 28) for a discussion of Slíab Fúait and Arddachad. Muhr notes that Arddachad is mentioned in the *Annals of Ulster*, under AD 821 and 1010 (cf. AD 819 and 1009 in *AFM* i 430, ii 762).

[479] See *Met. Ds.* iv, 162–9.

[480] See *Met. Ds.* iv, 166–9.

[481] The poet Gilla na Naomh Ua Duind (†1160), *fer-léighinn* of Inis Clothrann, has been identified by Gwynn (1924, 420). Gwynn asserts that this stanza has been added by the 'compiler of the conflate version' (1924, 420). Nevertheless, it should be noted that this stanza ends with *finnaid*, which forms a *dúnad* with *finnaid* at the beginning of the poem (Gwynn 1924, 166, l.1, and 168, l. 44).

Érenn). I provide here the text as found in the Edinburgh manuscript NLS Adv. 72.1.16 (?15th), printed by Whitley Stokes:[482]

> Nó *gomad in fod doradad for Ceand mBerridi do imarchur, ar rothairgsead Ul*aid *righe don ænfhir noberadh corp Conchobhair go hEamain oda Mag Lamhraidhe gen fhuirmeadh, go rogabh Ceann Berride fair, go roisead Sliabh Fuait, go tard a bonn fri lár i Sleib Fuait. Adb*ertadar *Ulaid na bad rí aire sin e. Atb*ert *som fod go leithead a bonn do thabairt fair. Doradadh on go ro*acht *Emhain.* Con*id ann dobhath,* con*idh desin ata "righe Chind Berride".*
>
> 'Or it may be from the fót (sod) which was put upon Cenn Berridi to be carried; for the Ulaid had promised the realm to the one man who should carry (king) Conor's corpse from Magh Lamraide to Emain without laying it down. So Cenn Berridi took it up and reached Sliab Fuait, and on Sliab Fuait he put his sole to the ground. For that reason the Ulaid declared that he should not be king. He told them to put upon him a sod as broad as his sole. This was done, and he got to Emain, but there he (straightway) died. Whence is (the proverb), "Cenn Berride's Kingdom"', Stokes 1893, 483–4.

This differs from the account in version A of *AC*,[483] in which it is Conchobar who requests to be carried back to his house: '*Mo brith-se ass!' ar Conchobar. 'Do-bér ríge nUlad do neoch nom-béra connici mo thech*', 'Let me be carried out of this!' said Conchobar, 'I shall give the kingship of Ulster to anyone who will carry me out of here' [7d].

Mag Lámraigi/ Leitir Lámraigi

In several versions of *AC*, upon hearing of Christ's Crucifixion, Conchobar goes into a frenzied attack and chops down trees in a fury. The place where this event occurs is referred to as Mag Lámraige in E_1 and the prose text of version D.[484] In E_2, Conchobar goes with his army to Fid Lámraige and it is said that he cut the trees down here.[485] In a verse attributed to Flann Mainistreach, interpolated in E_2 and in version D, Conchobar

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[482] Gwynn also provides a fuller account contained in RIA MS D ii 2, which is dated to the sixteenth century (Gwynn 1924, 421). However, since the Edinburgh manuscript predates this manuscript, I provide that reading.

[483] See version A [7c]-[7h].

[484] This appears as a narratorial intrusion in E_1: *.i. Mag Lamraige a Feraib Rus*, '.i.e. in the Plain of Lámraige in the territory of the Fir Rois'. This reading is not supported in E_2.

[485] According to Diarmuid Mac Íomhair (1964, 236), the place-name Fid Lámraige survives in a corrupt anglicized form known as Flowery, writing that it 'is the local name for a farmhouse with its surrounding land in the townland of Ballabony, just outside the north-west mearing of Tullakeel. The house stands on a modest hill which runs down on the south-west side, that is, to a point adjoining Tullakeel, into marshy ground, as a *lettir* or wet slope might be expected to do'. See also Mac Íomhair 1962, 152–3.

fells the trees at Lerg Lámraige. Moreover, in the poem *A chloch thall*, attributed to Cináed úa hArtacáin, the calcified brain of Mess Gegrai falls out of Conchobar's head at Lettir Lámraige 'the slope of Lámraige' (Meyer 1906, 20, 21).[486]

These place-names are also mentioned elsewhere in early Irish poetry. In the poem *Fianna bátar i nEmain*, attributed to Cináed úa hArtacáin (†975), it is stated that Conchobar dies at the edge of the slope of Lámraige. I provide below the reading from the earliest manuscript in which it is found, i.e. the *Book of Leinster*, printed by Whitley Stokes:

> *Atbath mac Nessa in ri*
> *for toeb Letrach Lamraigi*[487]
> *dos-cel Slea sliab co rath*
> *ocus Fach*[*t*]*na* macc Sencath[488]
> '(Conchobar) mac Nessa the king who died on the side of Letir Lamraige. Mount Slea graciously hides him and Fachtna son of Sencha' (Stokes 1902, 304–5, §4).

As is seen in the poem *Fianna bátar i nEmain*, it is said that Conchobar was buried at *Sliab Slea*, with the gloss in Eg. 1782 referring to it as *Sliab Slea*, situated in the territory of the Ulaid, on Loch Láigh (or Belfast Loch, Stokes 1902, 323).[489] Kay Muhr (2009, 62), in agreement with Paul Tempan, suggests that this is Muldersleigh Hill, Island Magee, Co. Antrim, also referring to it being mentioned in the MidIr text *Senchas na Relec* 'The History of Burial Places': *Hi Talltin im̄ no hadnaictis Ul*aid *.i. Ollom Fótla cona chlaind co tanic Conchob*or *.i. ar is and ro thog*side *a thabairt et*er *Slea 7 muir 7 aiged sair fo déig*

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[486] Moreover, in *FFÉ*, Keating names the forest as Coill Lamhruidhe, which is similar to the form in E_1, and he also places it in the territory of the Fir Ross (Dinneen 1908, 204). In addition to this localisation of the forest, Edmund Hogan cites Eugene O'Curry for the identification of Coill Lamhruidhe as being near Emain Macha (see Hogan *Onomasticon*, 281, *s.v.* 'coill lamhruidhe', referring to O'Curry (1861, 277)). While it is ambiguous as to where O'Curry cites this from, I surmise it may be in reference to *FFÉ*.

[487] In a copy of this poem in Eg. 1782, the scribe has inserted a gloss: *.i. dia ro selaidh Conc*hobar *Fidh Lamr*aig*e is ann luidh a inchinn Mes gedhra asa chinn 7 a einchind féin p*ost, 'When Conchobar cut down the wood of Lamraige, then Mes Gegrai's brain went out of his (Conchobar's) head and his own brain afterwards', Stokes 1902, 323, 332.

[488] As above, the scribe has inserted the gloss *.i. is ann roadnacht Concop*ar *7 Fachtna hi Sl*éib *Slea os Loch Láigh hi Semni hi n-Ulltaib*, ''Tis there that Conchobar and Fachtna were buried, on Sliab Slea above Loch Lóigh in Semna in Ulster', Stokes 1902, 323, 332.

[489] This gloss is also cited by Hogan as the only indication of where Slíab Slea was situated (see Hogan, *Onomasticon*, 611), and he also identifies Loch Láig with Belfast Loch (Hogan, *Onomasticon*, 500). For a discussion of the construction and meaning of Slíab Slea, see Tempan (2009, 72).

na creitmi ro mboí, *LU* 4105, 'At Tailltin the kings of Ulster were used to bury (sic), viz. Ollamh Fodhla, with his descendants down to Conchobar, who wished that he should be carried to a place between Slea and the sea, with his face to the east, on account of the Faith which he had embraced', O'Donovan 1845, 101.[490]

A reference is found in a poem in the longer version of *Compert Chonchobuir*, found in RIA D iv 2, where Cathbad prophesizes that Conchobar will die on the slanting plain of *Laim*:

> *Conchobur a ainm-sim* *gibe raib 'ga ghairmh-sim,*
> *bid derga a airm-sim,* *con feibfidh mor n-ár*
> *And fogébha a aididh,* *ac dighail dé dhoilidh,*
> *bidh leir slicht a cloidhim* *os leirg leatrach laim*[491]
> 'Conchobur his name, who so will call him.
> His weapons will be red, He will excel in many routs.
> There he will find his death, In avenging the pitiable god.
> Clear will be the track of his sword over the slanting plain of Laim' (Stokes 1885, 176/7, 181).

Finally, a reference to a different place where Conchobar is buried appears in the fragmentary poem *Inna hinada*, found in *LU*: *adradnacht cend Conchobuir for a cholaind i mMachi*, 'Conchobar's head was buried upon his body in Macha', *LU* 11060–1.[492]

A comment on the narrative opening of the versions of *AC*

In early Irish narrative, the expository conditions of *locus*, *tempus*, *dramatis personae*, and on occasion *causa scribendi*, were employed to set the scene for a following

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[490] I am grateful to Kay Muhr for pointing out this reference to me.

[491] The long *a* in *ár* confirms the length of the letter *a* in *laim*. However, the palatal quality of the final consonant in *laim* is problematic resulting in imperfect rhyme. The gen. pl. *lám* would be expected, representing *Lám-* in the eponym *Lámraige* (a compound of *Lám* + *ríge* 'kingdom'). Perhaps *laim* is an abstraction from an otherwise unattested by-form *Láimrige*, itself due to reinterpretation of the compound after *ríge*. In this instance, it might be necessary to emend *laim* to *lám* to allow for perfect rhyme with *ár*. For a comment on the formation of eponmyms with *-r(a)ige*, see Mac Neill (1911–1912, 67).

[492] I am grateful to Helen Imhoff for allowing me to read her forthcoming edition of this poem. Imhoff observes that given the amount of variation in the places where Conchobar dies in the versions of *AC*, one should not be surprised in finding that he is buried in Macha in *Inna hinada*'s account rather than in Daire Dá Báeth.

narrative.[493] The beginning of the longest extant version of *AC* sets the stage for the events unfolding in the tale with *locus* (*Emain Machae*) and *dramatis personae* (*Conchobar*, *Conall*, *Cú Chulainn* and *Lóegaire Búadach*, placing it firmly within the Ulster cycle.[494] While many of the tales included in the Ulster Cycle typically begin with a sentence encapsulating the *dramatis personae*, *locus* and *tempus*, these literary conditions are stated over the span of several sentences in *AC*.

In discussing the beginning of narrative tales in early Irish literature, Mac Cana observes that a traditional narrative opener *fecht n-and*, or some other opening sentence which deviates from the normal VSO order, was frequently used.[495] Nevertheless, there were no set rules or conventions as to how tales should be introduced and Mac Cana has been careful to point out that many medieval Irish tales do not in fact open with a specific narrative opener and such techniques were not essential requirements to mark or highlight the actual *incipit* of a narrative or episode, concluding that:

> '[...] many medieval tales and the great majority of modern ones do quite well without them, and it seems reasonable to suppose that, while these devices were characteristic of traditional storytelling, they were not essential to it', Mac Cana 1996, 114.

In version A, the traditional narrative opener *fecht n-and* is placed at the end of the first sentence. Besides this, we also find the title in LL, possibly added at a later stage. The title's function was to inform the audience about the particular type of tale they were about to hear or read. The opening sentence of this version introduces the place and people involved in the tale, i.e. *Boí mescae mór for Ulto* [...] *i nEmain Machae*, '[...] a great drunkenness came upon the men of Ulster in Emain Macha' [1a]. The protagonist of the tale, i.e. Conchobar, is not mentioned in the opening section, a feature that was not altogether uncommon in early Irish narrative, as pointed out by Proinsias Mac Cana

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[493] Irish *literati* employed exegetical categories in order to allow for the interpretation of texts. These were introduced in the eighth century and ultimately derived from Hieronymus (ob. 420). Fifteen conditions, or categories, in total were addressed by Irish exegetes and are listed by Bernhard Bischoff (1966, 221).

[494] Barbara Hillers has shown that the tales which constitute the Ulster cycle are all interconnected by shared *locus*, *tempus*, and *dramatis personae* (see Hillers 1994, 99). Hillers (1994, 101) further suggests that the presence of famed Ulster warriors in the tales seems 'less a requirement of plot than in invocation of the heroic world of Emain Macha'. For a discussion of 'cycle' as representing a category of generic literary classification, see Quiggin (1910–11, 625). See also Poppe 2008, 1–2. Poppe writes that the main reason for placing a tale in a literary cycle depends mainly on its geographical setting, as well as the main characters that feature in the narrative.

[495] See Mac Cana 1973, 90–120; Mac Cana 1996, 104–20.

(1996, 117). Instead, we are introduced to Conall Cernach, Cú Chulainn and Lóegaire Búadach. The latter two characters are mentioned this once only and serve only to invoke the heroic world of Emain Machae. Conall, on the other hand, is significant here as he provides a connection to the audience between this tale and *TallÉ*, which serves as the background story to the particular events in the first half of the tale. More important perhaps is that these warriors are portrayed as drunk and quarrelling. This possibly signals to the audience that all is not as it seems and thereby setting the tone of the tale.

Version B and version C differ from A in respect of their opening sections, in accordance with the authorial intention of each author/ compiler. Neither of these versions contain the title *Aided Chonchobair* because what is more important for the authors/compilers is in fact how the king is converted to Christianity and subsequently granted entry into Heaven, rather than his actual physical death.[496]

At the beginning of version B, the emphasis is placed solely on Conchobar. Therefore, this version appropriately begins with *Boí Conchobar mac Nessa fechtas n-ann*, 'On one occasion, Conchobar mac Nessa was [king]' [1a]. No background story is provided as to how the brain-ball came to be in his head. Imhoff (2012, 90) when she observes that due to the tale's popularity the audience would have been aware of how the calcified brain came to be lodged in Conchobar's head.[497]

Version C opens with *Boí dáil mór la hUltu i Muig Muirthuimni*, 'The men of Ulster were holding a great gathering in the plain of Muirthemne' [1a]. Less concern is shown by the compiler of C in the events surrounding the beginning of the 'traditional nucleus' and how Mess Gegrai's brain came to be in Conchobar's head. On the contrary, the compiler's focus is on the events pertaining to how Conchobar learns of Christ's Crucifixion and his conversion. Thus, Bachrach is introduced almost immediately in the opening section of the text.

The brief version D does contain the title of *AC*, demonstrating that the author/compiler on this occasion is more concerned with providing a summary of the events leading up to Conchobar's death, and with less focus put on his conversion.

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[496] It should be noted here that the text of version A preserved in C does not contain the title either, which would support Imhoff's (2012, 91) suggestion that the redactor of this copy is more concerned with Conchobar's conversion than his death.

[497] Imhoff 2012, 90.

3.7 Themes and motifs

The tale of *AC* contains well-known motifs which are interlayed with themes of loyality, honour, revenge and death. Some of these have already been touched upon in the above discussions, such as the motif of death by emotion and the theme of revenge. The following section explores further some other themes and motifs within the versions of *AC*, in order to understand the particular functions these literary elements may have in the versions.

The motif of beheading and head trophies.

The motif of beheading and keeping head trophies was used to portray themes of honour, valour, justified vengeance, and other concepts which defined the ideal warrior in early Irish literature. Scholars have previously argued that this motif is in fact a remnant of past pagan Celtic usage.[498] Therefore, that such a motif appears in the "traditional nucleus" may strike some as evidence of a pre-Christian date of composition.

In the opening paragraph of Version A, we learn of the Ulstermen engaging in a boasting competition (*immarbága móra 7 comrama*, 'great boastings and contentions' [1c]). Conall requests his prized trophy, i.e. Mess Gegrai's calcified brain, to be brought to him (see [1d]). It is stated that it was custom with the Ulstermen at that time to calcify the brains of the warriors whom they had slain (*cach curaid no marbtais ar galaib oínḟir no gattae a n-inchinn assa cennaib, 7 chon-mescthae áel airriu co ndénad líathróiti crúaidi díb* [1e–f]). Conall instructs the other warriors that until they are capable of carrying out such a feat as killing a man in single combat, they are not worthy of competing with him (see [2]). Moreover, Mess Gegrai's brain is placed in a prominent place (*forad*, 'shelf'), in order to display it to the other warriors (see [3a]).

Therefore, the act of displaying trophies, in this instance a calcified brain, plays an important role in the opening scene of *AC* in portraying the warrior ideal, i.e. Conall as a powerful warrior. In addition, it places emphasis on honour and pride. It establishes an ideological framework within which the events of the tale take place. Even so, this motif should not be attributed to a pre-Christian period and taken as a sign that the "traditional nucleus" is a pagan composition. McCone (1990, 30) has observed that the

[498] Hull 1938, 86; Jackson 1964, 19–21, 35–7.

practice of beheading was commonplace even in the early Christian period. Furthermore, he notes that there are many grotesque images in the Bible itself of decapitations etc., and concludes that '[...] the beheading of enemies for display would hardly, then, have struck a medieval Irish churchman as an intrinsically pagan or, as he would have put it, "gentile" practice' (1990, 30). I agree with Clancy (2005, 169) that the audience at whom this tale was aimed was a secular one of kings and their courts in the Christian period, and would add that the author was very creative in bringing together motifs and themes that affected the audience emotionally.

The motif of the two fools

In version A of *AC*, the author portrays the *óinmiti* 'fools' as jesters, providing the audience with comic relief as the fools are seen playing with Mess Gegrai's brain-ball.[499] But their function is far more sinister than perhaps perceived by a modern eye. Clancy (1996, 97–8) observes that the two fools in *AC* in fact signal to the audience that there is a sense of disorder underlying the king's realm. Moreover, they are portrayed as possessing prophetic powers, predicting that a king will die from Mess Gegrai's calcified brain: *do-fóeth rí dé*, 'a king will die on account of it' [4a]. The author uses this motif cleverly, serving as a signal to the audience of an impending act of doom and adding to the build-up of tension in the narrative. Cet overhears their prediction and snatches the calcified brain from them, leading him to fulfill the prophecy (see [4b–c]).

A similar example of a jester juggling and uttering a prophecy is found in *TBDD*, where Taulchaine juggles nine swords, nine silver shields and nine golden apples. However, he drops these under Ingcél Cáich's fierce gaze, upon which Taulchaine predicts that battles will be faught over Ingcél: *fichither catha dé*, 'battles are fought because of it' (referring to Ingcél's gaze).[500]

The motif of an (un)blemished king.

McCone (1990, 127) states that a king's image can be 'viewed under the three main headings of physical appearance (*delb*, *cruth* etc.), social and marital eminence (*allud*,

[499] For an analysis and interpretation of *óinmit* 'fool, jester', see the textual note on [3b] in version A.

[500] See Knott 1936, 35, ll. 1165–80. A similar example is found in *Aided Echach maic Maireda*, where the *óinmit* 'fool' recites some verses which warn Eochaid and his family of their impending doom (de Vries 2012, 202, §8); For a discussion of the literary significance of this scene, see also Imhoff (2008, 121).

ordan etc.), and judgement or discernment (*mes*, *érgnae* etc.). Each term in this trio incarnates the matrix of functions and attributes in the material, martial (capable of being expanded to social) and mental columns respectively, the whole constituting the *fír* or "truth" essential for the successful exercise of the monarch's *flaith*[*ius*] or "sovereignty".

In version A of *AC*, Conchobar is described as having all of the physical and mental attributes required of a king (see [5g–j]). Conchobar was a handsome king, without any defects or blemishes. He is perfect in every detail, the author even stating emphatically after the descriptive passage: *Nírbo lochtach trá int-í Conchobar*, 'that Conchobar was faultless indeed' [5k]. However, the image of the perfect king is shattered immediately when Conchobar is struck with the brain-ball, two thirds of which remain stuck in his head (see [6c–d]). Of course, in the "traditional nucleus" Conchobar died at this point. Nevertheless, the Christian author cleverly juxtaposes the motif of the unblemished king with that of a blemished king, in composing the new version. A king who was physically disfigured was no longer considered an ideal king and it was a taboo for a blemished king to rule.[501] In *AC*, however, Fíngen sews up Conchobar's wound, thereby rendering Conchobar blemished permanently (see [9c–d]). The Ulstermen interject stating that it is better for them to have the king alive and blemished, rather than dead ('*Is assu dún', ol Ulaid, 'ind aithis oldás a éc-som*' [9e]).

The notion of a blemished king permitted to rule is not unique to *AC*. The death-tale of Fergus mac Léti, *Aided Fergusa Maic Léti*,[502] bears a close resemblance to the motif of the blemished king in *AC*. Fergus was blemished after meeting a monster in Loch Rudraige. The shock of seeing such a horrendous creature caused him to suffer a horrible facial disfigurement. Nevertheless, his people, just as Conchobar's, allowed Fergus to rule even though he was blemished and it was stipulated that Fergus was not to look at his own reflection.

Just as the appearance of the jesters suggests a sense of disorder in the king's realm, a blemished king further alerts the audience that not all was well in the Ulster kingdom and that more drama is to follow.

The theme of repentance

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[501] See also Chapter 3.3. A blemished king was unworthy of ruling.

[502] See Binchy 1952: 33–48.

In the conclusion to the Edinburgh recension, the focus of redemption differs to that in the other versions which focus on humility and suffering. Here, it seems that the redactor was keen to change this to a more current theme of the Middle Irish period.

Clancy (2005, 171) has observed that although the early Irish kingship tales were probably composed in the same milieu as the Ulster Cycle, they were set in Christian times and chose a 'Christianised political ethic'. Thus, in some early Irish tales one sees that the concept of justice is closely related to the patronage of the poor and good relations with the Church. Although *AC* is from the Ulster Cycle, this Christian attitude is reflected in the Middle Irish conclusion to the tale preserved in the Edinburgh manuscripts. In LL/C, the *rosc* poem *Ba aprainn* shows that Conchobar has learnt that his vainglorious and violent ways are unacceptable behaviour for a Christian, and demonstrates Conchobar becoming humble and willing to sacrifice himself for the Lord, thereby redeeming himself in the eyes of the aristocratic audience. However, in the Edinburgh manuscripts' exemplar, the redactor omits the *rosc* poem with an intention to place greater emphasis on Conchobar's repentant nature being expressed through his generosity to those poorer than him. The redactor adds the following phrase:[503]

> 7 *con*id *air*e si*n* ade*r*ait cach is ne*m*edach Co*nchobar* t*r*it an durtha*cht* doroi*n*e Conc*hobar*, E_1, p. 2.26–7.
>
> And hence all say: 'A dweller in Heaven is Conchobar for the wish he has uttered', Meyer 1906, 11.

This sentence is immediately followed by the Cenn mBerraide episode. The Edinburgh redactor has intentionally transposed this passage from its original place in the centre of the Old Irish archetype to the end of the tale in the Edinburgh recension. The emphasis is placed on Conchobar's act towards his servant, upon whom he bestows the kingship of Ulster, before Conchobar dies. This is not unique to this recension but seen in other early Irish tales. For example, in *Cath Cairn Chonaill*, a penitent Gúaire Aidne mac Colmáin says that he will give the poor gold and silver for the sake of his soul, upon which he is granted a place in heaven:

> *Ropad maith lim al-lan di or 7 d-argut, 7 ni ar saint in tsáegail, acht dia thindnacul ar m'anmain do náemaib 7 ecailsib 7 bochtaib in domain. Dorata Dia fortacht duit, a Gúaire! ar iat. Dobérthar in talam duit doidnais ar t'anmain, 7 bát nimidech.*

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[503] The redactor does not seem to be concerned about the lack of textual unity. The added text creates a seam because although Conchobar has died after attacking trees (*cor' ba marb de*, 'so that he died of it'), he goes on to request someone to carry him home. See Meyer 1906, 11.

> 'I should like its fill of gold and of silver; and not for wordly greed, but to bestow it for my soul's sake on the saints and the churches and the poor of the world.' 'May God give thee help, O Guare!' say they. 'The earth which thou wouldst bestow for thy soul's sake shall be given to thee, and thou shalt (after death) be a dweller in heaven.' Stokes 1903, 211–12, §§13, 14.

Clancy (2005, 171) observes that Christian kingship tales differ from those of the Ulster Cycle in that they focus on repentance and cosmic justice and that '[...] repentence may see [the king] gain, if not his kingdom back, then at least a seat among the just in heaven'. However, it would seem that the ending in the Edinburgh manuscripts also contains the same thematic concern, thereby differing to the earlier versions of *AC*.

3.8 Intertextual relationships in *AC*

The tale of *AC* is interwoven with intertextual relationships and literary parallels. To begin with, it has been previously acknowledged that there is a connection between *AC* and *TallÉ*.[504] The audience is made aware of the connection between these two tales at the beginning of *AC* by the very presence of Conall and his request to have Mess Gegrai's brain-ball brought to him.[505] In order to further emphasise this connection we find a strong textual correspondence between the two tales. In *TallÉ*, the following dialogue occurs between Conall Cernach and his charioteer, referring to Mess Gegrai's head:

> *'Gat a inchinn ass', ol Conall '7 imbir claideb fair 7 tuc a inchinn lat 7 cummaisc áel fair co:ndernae líathróit dé'.*
>
> '"Remove his brain from it" said Conall "and use a sword on it, and take his brain with you and mix it together with lime so that you may make a ball of it!"', *TallÉ* 234–6; 61.

Apart from a change in syntax, a close textual correspondence between *TallÉ* and *AC* is evident:

> [...] *cach curaid no marbtais ar galaib óenfir no gatta a n-inchinn assa cennaib, 7 chon-mescthae áel airriu co ndénad líathroiti crúaidi díb.*
>
> '[...] to take the brain out of their heads whom all warriors used to kill in single combat [1e–f].

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[504] See Ó Dónaill 2005, 6; also O'Connor 1967, 244–8.

[505] It is worth noting here, although perhaps a trivial point, that Conall is not referred to as Conall Cernach in *AC*. Cernach can be interpreted as either 'angular' or 'victorious' (see *DIL* s.vv. 1 *cernach*; 2 *cernach*). In *TallÉ*, he is referred to as *Conall Clóen* 'Conall the Crooked'. However, when Conall places Mess Gegrai's head upon his own, his bent neck is rendered straight once again (*TallÉ* 217–9).

Ó Dónaill (2005, 39) dates *TallÉ* to the second half of the OIr period. When discussing the corresponding passages between this text and *AC*, Ó Dónaill (2005, 6) comments that *AC* is MidIr, and that 'it is therefore unlikely that *TÉ* could have borrowed from [it]'. However, he is incorrect in suggesting that *AC* is MidIr, since it is clearly an OIr text, dated also to the later half of the OIr period (see the linguistic discussion in Chapter 2.2.2). This places the texts as contemporary to each other, making it very difficult to surmise which text influenced the other. Conall's demand in [1d] for Mess Gegrai's calcified brain to be brought to him before [1e–f] may support the suggestion that the author of this version of *AC* used *TallÉ* as a model. If that is the case, *TallÉ* would serve as an "intertext", a tale which the audience would have had prior knowledge of to make sense of the references to it here.[506] On the other hand, due to the close dates of composition of both texts, it could also be argued that *AC* served as the model for the author of *TallÉ*. The author's intention in composing the passage in *TallÉ* may have been to provide an explanation to the audience how Mess Gegrai's brain came to be calcified and in Conall's possession in *AC*. In this instance, *AC* would serve as the "intertext" to *TallÉ*.

Even though it is difficult to say which text influences the other, it is evident that the characters serve as a connection between the two stories, despite the two tales having self-contained plot-lines. It shows that the authors of these texts were aware of other literary material at the time of composition and supports Barbara Hillers' suggestion that the 'make-believe world of the Ulster Cycle seems to have been a collaborative effort, involving a large number of narrators, redactors, and copyists' over time' (1994, 101).[507]

As has been discussed in Chapter 3.7, the king's handsome appearance, martial prowess and social distinction were tantamount to his sovereignty. A king was expected to have a perfect body, free from blemish. Damian McManus (2009, 58–9) has observed that *AC* has a specific textual affinity with *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*. In both texts, the respective king's splendour is described in a formulaic sequence:

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[506] In using 'intertext', I follow Michael Riffaterre's definition of the word as '[...] one or more texts which the reader must know in order to understand a work of literature in terms of its overall significance as opposed to the discrete meanings of its successive words, phrases, and sentences' (1990, 56).

[507] Poppe (2008, 11) concludes that 'the intertextual cohesion between the members of a cycle is virtual; it resides in the minds of those who produced and, by listening or reading, received the texts and who in these processes mentally reconnected the individual texts to the narrative universe of the overarching literary cycle'.

> *Conaire Mór mac Eterscél, is é fil ann. Ardríg Hérenn uili. Nícon fil locht and isind fír eter cruth 7 deilb 7 decelt. Iter méit 7 chóre 7 chutrumae. Iter rosc 7 folt 7 gili. Iter gaís 7 álaig 7 errlabrae. Iter arm 7 erriud 7 écosc. Iter áni 7 imud 7 ordan. Iter gnáis 7 gaisciud 7 ceníul, BDD*^{2} 32, §102.[508]
>
> 'Conaire Mór, son of Eterscél, it is he who is there. High king of all Ireland [is he]. There is not a fault in that man as regards form and appearance and attire, as regards stature and symmetry and proportion, as regards eye and hair and whiteness, as regards wisdom and manners and eloquence, as regards armour apparel and equipment, as regards beauty and wealth and worth, as regards habits and heroism and family', McCone 1990, 121.

An almost identical passage is found in *AC*, although the phrase *nírbo lochtach* is placed at the end:

> *.i. eter cruth 7 deilb 7 deichelt, eter méit 7 chórai 7 chutrummae, eter rosc 7 folt 7 gili, eter gaís 7 álaig 7 erlabrai eter arm 7 erriud 7 écosc, eter áini 7 immad 7 orddan, eter gnáis 7 gaiscid 7 chenél. Nírbo lochtach trá int-í Conchobar.*
>
> 'both for beauty and figure and dress, for size and symmetry and proportion, for eye and hair and whiteness, for wisdom and manners and eloquence, for raiment and nobelness and equipment, for weapons and wealth and dignity, for bearing and valour and race. That Conchobar was faultless indeed' [5g–k].

The use of *.i.* could support the suggestion that the narrator[509] has added this passage into the text and also placed *nirbo lochtach* at the end of the alliterative passage, serving as a concluding point. On the other hand, the corresponding *Nícon fil locht and* in *BBD*^{2} is more smoothly integrated into the text of *BDD*^{2}. It is difficult also to ascertain whether *AC* copied from the original ninth-century *BDD*^{2}, or whether *BDD*^{2} copied it from *AC*. Given the frequent tendency of describing the splendour of heroes and kings in early Irish literature, it might be that the authors drew this descriptive passage from their 'cultural library'.[510]

The portentious signs found in version A (*Tánic and-side crith mór forsna dúili 7 ro crithnaig nem 7 talam*, 'At that time a great trembling came over the elements, and

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[508] In her analysis of the development of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, Máire West has observed that the complex second recension of this tale is a composite tale, composed of at least three written and oral versions and variants of the story of how the king Conaire Mór died (West 1999, 413–35). Eleanor Knott (1936, xi) states that what is extant in YBL 'was compiled in the 11th century [...]' 'albeit from two assumed 9th-ct. versions).

[509] When referring to the narrator of version A, I mean the author. See discussion in 3.9 below

[510] This descriptive, partially alliterative sequence of triads is perhaps a pre-existent word group, serving as a literary marker in any context, with the specific function of describing the qualities of a hero or king.

heaven and earth shook' [11c–d]), and somewhat more elaborately in version C (*In tan do-dechaid teimel forsin ngréin 7 ro-suí éscae i ndath fola*, Now when darkness came upon the sun, and the moon turned into the colour of blood' [4c]), provide an intertextual relationship with the second chapter of the Acts of the Bible, as observed by Mark Williams (2010, 16–20), who suggests that the audience would have understood the intertextual parallel in order to interpret the meaning of these portentous signs.

The significance of Senchas na Relec

The popularity of the tale of *AC* is clear from the number of manuscripts and versions it appears in. Hence, it is hardly surprising to find that *AC* has influenced authors of subsequent tales. In version A, we find the following sentence which states that Conchobar was one of two men who believed in Christ before the coming of Christianity, the other being Morand mac Maín, i.e.

> *7 is é sin indala fer ro chreit do Día i nÉrinn re tíchtain creitme .i. Morand mac Maín in fer aile.*
>
> 'and he is one of the two men who believed in God in Ireland before the coming of the Faith, Morand mac Maín being the other' [12c].

As seen in Chapter 2.1, a similar sentence appears in the Middle Irish text *Senchas na Relec* 'The Ancient History of the Burial Places', although in this text Conchobar is one of three in contrast with him being one of two in *AC*.[511] I provide below the text from the earliest extant copy found in *Lebor na hUidre* (LU), which has been copied by hand M. Other copies are found in TCD H.3.17, cols 731–4 and Rawl. B 512, fol. 121:

> *Conid eseom in tres ro creti i nErind ría tiachtain Patr*aic *.i. Conchobor* mac *Nessa díaro innis Altus dó cesad Crist. Morand*[512] *mac Corpri Cind Chaitt indarna fer. Cormac in tres, LU* 4048–51.
>
> 'Consequently he [Cormac mac Airt] is [one of three] in Ireland who believed before the coming of Patrick, i.e. Conchobar son of Ness to whom Altus recounted Christ's passion, Morand son of Cairbre Cat-head the second man, Cormac the third,' McCone 1990, 73.

Note that the explanatory gloss beginning with *.i.* is incorporated into the text in *LU*, which suggests that perhaps it was already in the manuscript from which M copied, rather

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[511] The only edition and translation of this tale is by John O'Donovan (1845, 97–101). A thorough and in-depth treatment of this text and a discussion of the date of composition is lacking and therefore a critical edition of this text remains a *desideratum*.

[512] M adds the gloss *.i. mac main*.

than introduced by M.[513] In light of the uncertain date of composition of the original *Senchas na Relec*, it is difficult to posit when this gloss was incorporated into the text. Nevertheless, there is a noticeable discrepancy in *Senchas na Relec*'s text in contrast to version A in that there are three people, rather than two, in question here and that it refers to Altus, who features in version B of *AC*, and is referred to briefly as an alternative version at the end of LL/C in version A. This suggests that the author/compiler of *Senchas na Relec* was aware of the account in which Conchobar was related Christ's crucifixion by Altus, as in version B.[514] Thus, this might suggest a date not later than 1106 as a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the Altus tradition, i.e. version B, since LU is dated to 1106.[515]

In *Senchas na Relec*, this sentence is preceded by a passage that relates Cormac mac Airt had faith in a creator, the One who had shaped and created everything on earth rather than in the creatures themselves. According to McCone (2000, 73), Cormac's declared faith was based upon St. Paul's doctrine (Rom. 1:17–25) that although the faith was there to be accepted by anyone, most missed out on this opportunity and instead worshipped the creatures and nature. This approach to Faith by Cormac is contrasted in *Senchas na Relec* by the manner in which Conchobar and, perhaps, Morand discover their Faith. In this text, Conchobar learns about Christianity through a foreigner bringing news, namely Altus, and Morand travels abroad to gain wisdom from St. Paul.[516] McCone postulates that this passage supports the possibility that the Irish could believe in Christ even before the advent of Christianity with St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland either through travelling abroad or through a foreigner bringing news to Ireland. As McCone (1990, 73) writes, '[the] pre-Patrician Irish history [can] be seen as an era of Irish "patriarchs" or individuals blessed with faith and a partial revelation of divine truth even before the apostle Patrick brought the full dispensation on Christ's behalf.'

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[513] M is the hand of Mael Muire, who is recorded as having died in 1106 (see Best 1912 and 1929, xii).

[514] Version B is datable to the OIr period. See Chapter 2.2.3 for linguistic survey and discussion.

[515] Best and Bergin 1929, xii.

[516] Morand's episode relates to the passage found in the OIr *Senchas Már*. This passage is found in CIH iii 915, 38–916, 2.

3.9 Composition and style in the versions of *AC*

An examination of the narratorial techniques, style and composition of a tale allows the modern critic to interpret and understand the tale in question. It also enables one to assess how the author achieved certain effects throughout a tale's unfolding events in order to captivate the emotions of an intended audience. Therefore, the following section examines how the authors/compilers have written or compiled the versions of *AC*.

Version A

The author of version A provides the narrative voice throughout the tale, with some evidence of narrative intrusions found throughout the text. An example of the author's voice intruding is seen at the point where Fíngen tells Conchobar to be on his guard (*co mbeth i foimtin*). Here, the author adds: *.i. arná tísed a fˀerg dó 7 na digsed for ech 7 na etraiged mnaí co anfeta 7 na reissed*, 'that is, that he should not get angry, and he should not mount a horse, and he should not have sexual relations, and he should not run' [10d]. Clancy (1996, 99) observes that these prohibitions are significant and have a penitential function, causing Conchobar '[to live] a life like that of a saint or monk, a humble life, practicing *apatheia*, devoid of passion'.[517] Clancy also suggests that the seven-year period in which Conchobar remains motionless (see [11a]) has a penitential significance, although scholars vary in their opinion of the significance of these years. Bart Jaski suggests that this seven-year period coincides with the normal tenureship of clientship. Jaski also points out the biblical significance of the seven-year period, providing examples from the Bible and early Irish literature.[518] On the other hand, Carney (1976, 297) suggests that these seven years illustrate a chronologist's attempts to synchronise the Ulster heroes such as Conchobar and Cormac mac Airt, with the crucifixion of Christ. Nevertheless, Clancy's argument that the seven-year period has a penitential function is supported by the fact that the *rosc* poem culminates with the speaker, once proud and vain, becoming humbled (see *Ba aprainn*, Chapter 4).

At three pivotal points in version A, we find liminal occasions both in space, time and identity and it sees Conchobar becoming a liminal figure. The first instance sees

[517] On the other hand, Guyonvarc'h (1958, 137) sees these prohibitions as *gessa*.

[518] See Jaski 2000, 86 and n. 120.

Conchobar in a liminal position when he is lured away from the Ulstermen by the Connacht women, so that he is at the edge of the battle. He is neither with his own men nor with the Connachtmen, but to the side (*for leith*). This places him in an unprotected position making him prone to attack. The second instance is at the point where he falls at Áth Dairi Dá Bháeth, with the ford representing a transitional point in the physical landscape. The third instance of liminality is perhaps even more striking. It is the episode where Conchobar is rendered immobile by Fíngen's prohibitions. As discussed above, this provides an image of a penitent king who remains in a vegetative state for seven years, neither dead nor alive. However, at the end of these seven years, he recites the *rosc* poem and becomes transformed and enlightened. Therefore, the author skilfully utilizes these liminal positions to mark significant turning points in the text, adding tension and speculation to the prose.

The narrative of version A lends itself to a paratactic style, interspersed with both short and long sentences. The text is very fast-paced in certain places, such as in the battle scene after the initial downfall of Conchobar, with sudden transitions from one scene to another (see [7a] and [7b]; [8a] and [8b]). These two scenes are interrupted by the Cenn mBerraide anecdote, which serves to slow down the pace.

The author is very skillful, using certain narratorial techniques to intensify the sense of impending doom throughout the text. This begins at an early stage in the narrative with the scene with the fools, where they predict the king's death (see [4a]). This alerts the reader/audience to the fact that Conchobar's fate is sealed. We also find Cet mac Mágach described as a beast or monster (*béist*), which would have instilled a sense of fear in the reader/audience. Also noticeable is the author's use of the alliterative passage describing Conchobar's mental and physical attributes, thereby placing emphasis on his perfection. This interrupts the tempo and acts as a pause, thereby raising the reader/audience's anticipation of the king's impending disfigurement. This all points to an artistic author, focused on creating a tale with force and purpose, which is bound to reel in and carry along the intended reader/audience.

The use of dialogue amongst the characters also helps to advance the plot. These dialogues are generally functional in purpose and not elaborate, such as the dialogue between Conchobar and Cenn mBerraide (see [7c–e]). The dialogue between Conchobar and his druid in [11] slows down the narrative almost to an abrupt halt at a crucial point in the version, i.e. when Conchobar learns of the crucifixion of Christ.

Whilst it would seem that the style does not differ between the first half of the text and that of the second, it should be noted that there is a higher incidence of narratorial intrusions found in section [11]. However, it is extremely difficult to ascertain whether these are intrusions added by the author himself or by a subsequent scribe during the line of transmission, especially since the language of these phrases and sentences does not suggest they were written later than the original date of composition. It is of course possible that these are additions by a later scribe, although attributing them to the author would be in keeping with the style of his narratorial voice. Therefore, I tentatively leave these intrusions in the edition.

Version B

The narrative prose of this version differs in tone and style from that of version A. The text is not concerned with how Conchobar came to be struck by the brain-ball, but how Conchobar learned of Christ's crucifixion and his conversion. Baptism, one of the most important Christian sacraments, could of course only be granted after the arrival of Christianity in Ireland. Conchobar's baptism by his own blood, which poured from his head wound, places the Ulster king firmly in the Christian present, and sees the author turning his own back on the pagan past. After reciting the emotional *rosc* poem, it is written *Is íar sin cot-n-oscrastar amal bid oc techt hi roí catha ar bélaib Crist*, 'After that he jumped upwards, as if he were going into the battlefield in front of Christ' [4a]. Thus, Conchobar sacrifices his own life, a move which signals his wish to suffer as Christ did. This act also reflects the final line in the *rosc* poem: *Airined dom dul drúib cen Dúilemon dígail*, 'It is lowering/humbling for me to go to the abode (= to die) without avenging of the Creator' [13c]. In doing sacrificing himself, Conchobar demonstrates his strong faith in Christ. Thus, the baptism serves as Conchobar's rite of passage.

The prose framework of the version is brief and the author/narrator does not seem interested in making this text more elaborate. This conveys perhaps a realistic nature behind the author's motivation. There is no dialogue in the text. An apparent stylistic device that the author uses is repetition. For instance, *at-fét* occurs three times, i.e. [1b, [2b] and [2c]; *ríg Rómán* is seen twice, i.e. [1c] and [1d]; *as-bert* is used twice before the *rosc* poem, i.e. [3a] and [3b]. The author makes a concerted effort to incorporate the *rosc* poem into the text, in order to present a unified text. This demonstrates that he understood

the meaning and intention of the poem.[519] One way in which he achieves this is by repeating verbs from the poem in the text, i.e. *do-rósat nem ⁊ talam*, 'who had created heaven and earth' (*do- rea -roosat*, 'who has created the spaces' [8c]); *fri hÍudeu crochsite Crist*, 'against the Jews that had crucified Christ' (*duírchoirp crochsite Rig*, 'they are base bodies who crucified the King' [8c]). Another way is by repetition by text which shows parallel meaning, i.e. *ma nu mbeth hi comocus do Chríst*, 'if he were near Christ' [3b] (*Ba aprainn nad ndáil* [...] *arnac*, 'Alas that I did not get to meet [...]' [1a]).

Version C

Little scholarly attention has been paid to this particular version, with some scholars referring to it being a compilation of versions A and B, or that it is antiquarian in nature.[520] This does not do this particular text justice, because it does have some merits. Moreover, since it is a tale that brings together various traditions, it may have been perceived as aesthetically unpleasing to the modern reader since it does not have a defined structure. As discussed in the introduction to this section, recent studies observe that aesthetics may not have been as important to the medieval compiler as they are to the modern critic, who prefers texts to conform to the 'neo-Aristoteleian conceptions' of what a text should look like.[521]

At first glance, version C looks like the work of a hasty compiler, who was clumsy in stitching together the material.[522] He combines everything he finds in different versions known to him, a process that results in a major narrative inconsistency. Thus in C, we find Bachrach, Altus and Cathbad informing Conchobar of Christ's crucifixion and therefore, the accounts contradict each other. The compiler's primary concern appears to

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[519] This was suggested also by Corthals 1989, 52.

[520] See Thurneysen 1921, 538; Clancy 1996, 91.

[521] See O'Connor (2013b, 2). O'Connor (2013b, 7) uses the term "neo-Aristotelian conceptions" referring to the manner in which modern day readers would perceive a text, placing importance on the structure and coherency of a tale. He further clarifies this in respect to Irish sagas by explaining 'the concept of coherence needs to be treated with caution when discussing the composition and use of Irish sagas, as with other branches of medieval narrative: we should not expect this literature to conform to the neo-Aristotelian and neo-Platonic notions of literary decorum current since the Renaissance. Irish sagas typically display very different forms of coherence than what we would expect from a work of modern prose fiction'.

[522] O'Connor (2013a, 12) comments that scholars were previously of the opinion that the saga *BDD*[2] was also an unstructured compilation containing narrative inconsistencies.

have been to combine as much source material relating to Conchobar's death, or more appropriately his conversion, as was available to him, regardless of the contradictory details. Thus, the compiler allows the reader/audience choose which version they believe.

The compilation of version C is not designed to be seamless, with the compiler carefully and intentionally bringing together different versions. He introduces the alternative accounts with *.i. ro innis Altus*, 'that is, Altus told…' and *nó is amlaid so at-cáemnacair hé*, 'or it is thus it happened'. The compiler's creativity is reflected in the use of repetitive phrases such as *coro et coluinn omuiri oig íngín* (*co róet colainn ó Muiri óigingin*) [2d], vs. *arro et colann omuiri oig*h (*ar-roét colainn*) [4b]. In interpolating the section of text from the shared exemplar with N, the compiler recycles a sentence from another portion of the text and places it in that text corresponding with N, i.e. *rosgob*h *frisiu dearguil* (*cot-n-oscrastar amal bid oc techt hi roí catha ar bélaib Crist*) [4a]. This sentence is found in [4i] and [4j]: *ro gab íarum dergail* [4i] and *Is oc in dergail íarum ro gab* [4j].[523]

The compilation of this material in version C reflects a conscious attempt by the compiler who employs an active literary strategy. Although the text is not aesthetically pleasing to the modern critic, the compiler was motivated by antiquarian considerations, collecting material in order to fuse together the various accounts for historical purposes and allowing the reader to decide for himself which version was true. This version is important because sections [1] and [4] seem to belong to another tradition. It may well be that the Edinburgh common source drew on this earlier tradition. While this remains beyond the scope of the present discussion, it would be worth investigating the significance of this version in more detail at a later date.

Version D

The brief prose passage of version D, preserved in S and Laud, recapitulates the events of a lost version of *AC*. This passage, economical and verisimilitude in style, employs not one but four *nominativus pendens* constructions in the first four sentences. Its main purpose is to provide an overview of a specific tradition which was known to the redactor at the time. It includes *locus* (Áth Daire Dá Baeth) and *personae* (Cet mac Mágach, Mess Gegrai, Conchobar mac Nessa) in the first sentence. It relates that it was Fíngen who advised that the calcified brain should remain in Conchobar's head. Munnu, defined as a

[523] See also the continuous conservative transcription of this manuscript provided in the appendix.

cerd, is the person who covered the wound. Bachrach relates to Conchobar the story about Christ's Crucifixion. His role is ambiguous since it is not said whether he is a poet or a druid.[524] Conchobar goes into a frenzied attack at Mag Lámraige, where he subsequently falls while clearing the plain.

The contents of the passage alone support the suggestion that it may descend from a tradition unknown to us. The following reasons would support this: a) Fíngen's role differs from that which he has in version A. In version D, it is only stated that Fíngen would not let the brain-ball be taken out, while in version A, it is he who advises the king, heals and stitches Conchobar's wound; b) the artificer, Munnu, who actually heals Conchobar in version D, is introduced for the first time in this prose passage, whereas he is not mentioned in any other version; c) Conchobar is told of Christ's crucifixion at Mag Lámraige. In version A, he is told in Emain Machae, whilst in version B the location is not provided and in version C, Bachrach tells Conchobar in Mag Muirthemne. Additionally, there is no evidence to suggest that this text, or its predecessor, contained the *rosc* poem *Ba aprainn*.

Meyer's edition[525] of this "version D" is somewhat misleading because it gives the impression that the prose passage, the two verses attributed to Flann Mainistrech, and the poem *A chloch thall* attributed to Cináed úa hArtacáin, form part of the same tradition.

Thomas Owen Clancy is of the opinion that "version D" is 'antiquarian in intent' and focuses on *A chloch thall* as the true version D, writing 'it is a narrative poem addressed to the brain of Mess-Gegra in its reincarnation as Búite mac Brónaig's pillow and gravestone, meditating on its history'.[526]

The most recent discussion of "version D" is that by Imhoff (2012, 61–2), who discusses the manuscript tradition of version D. She agrees with Clancy (1996, 91, 108–11), that greater emphasis is placed on Mess Gegrai's brain in the text in S that the other versions. She concludes:

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[524] This is noted as a variant line in E_1: *Bachrach fili do Lagnib ise ro-indis do Chonchobur Crist do chrochad*, 'Bachrach, a Leinster poet, he told Conchobar that Christ had been crucified'; and also cited at the end of LL: [...] *ro-innis Bachrach druí de Lagnib do Chonchobar Crīst do chrochad*', '[...] Bachrach, a druid of Leinster, told Conchobar that Christ had been crucified'. At the beginning of version C, preserved in LFF, Bachrach, as well as Altus, relates Christ's crucifixion to Conchobar.

[525] Meyer 1906, 18–21.

[526] See Clancy 1996, 91–2.

> 'It is possible that the prose section, which is shared by RIA MS D iv 2 and Laud Misc. 610, formed the basis to which the poems attributed to Flann Mainistrech and Cináed ua hArtacáin were added to create the version which survives in RIA MS D iv 2' 2012, 62.

Imhoff's suggestion can be expanded further. There is strong evidence to suggest that the two verses as well as *A chloch thall* were not originally related to the prose passage and in fact represent independent compositions. For instance, the first quatrain beginning *Coica traiged tolaib tlacht* concerning Tadc son of Cian son of Ailill Ólom is not related to Conchobar's death at all (Meyer 1906, 18). In Laud, a manuscript which predates S, *Coica traiged tolaib tlacht* is found independently on fol. 74ra1–3. It is preceded by three poems that appear to be connected with the Munster genealogies.[527] The poem *Fianna bátar ar Éirinn* is also found on this page, i.e. fol. 74rb1, which is attributed to Cináed úa hArtacáin. Moreover, the second quatrain beginning *Concobur, cloithech a celg* in S is found interpolated into E_2 [6h].[528] This is not found in Laud.

The story of Conchobar being struck by Mess Gegrai's brain-ball was well established by the late MidIr period, as is seen with the extant versions and numerous manuscripts in which they are preserved. The prose, the verse beginning *Concobur, cloithech a celg* and *A cloch thall* were associated in the mind of the scribe of S. Thus, the material as it is found in S reflects the scribe's effort to bring together materials which share the common element of Conchobar's death. The exception to this being the stanza referring to Taidhg mac Céin's death. Thus, it can be said that the stanzas and *A chloch thall* are secondary to the prose text in Laud and S

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[527] i.e. *Noí meicc déc Ailella Auluim*, fol. 73ra1–va15; *Clann Ailella Oluim uill*, fol. 73va16; *Abbair fri Sil nEogain Moir*, fol. 73vb5. See further discussion by Jaski (2003-2004, 327–330).

[528] It is not found in LL, C or E_1. In relation to E_2, the redactor inserts this verse in the knowledge that it refers to an alternative account of Conchobar's death at Mag Lámraige, which is incidently found in the conclusion to the Edinburgh manuscripts. Thus, the redactor is showing his awareness of alternative versions and an authorative voice is lent to the verse itself because it is introduced by the attributed poet, i.e. *7 is de itbert fland mainistriech*, 'and it is of it Flann Mainistreach said' (see version A [6h]). Gregory Toner (2005, 68) refers to such instances of verse as authorative and writes that' whatever ulterior reasons the citers may have had, it is the verse citation alone that is presented as authorization for their preferred version.

Chapter 4 Critical editions

This chapter contains the editions proper of *Ba aprainn*, version A, version B, version C and version D.

Firstly, the restored text is presented followed by the translation. The textual notes follow thereafter.

Ba aprainn: restored text

[1] [a] Ba aprainn nad ndáil cu Artrig n-arnac:
[b] atum– béofir hi richt chróadchurad –cichtis

[2] [a] mo béoil, con-cichlis crúas már mílitiu.
[b] maidm nítho móid, níamdai slóig serbairlech.

[3] [a] Soirthnigfed soírchobair, fri Críst con– gaib –génainn,
[b] gaír baíth: ba ruléim for letene láin Choimded.

[4] [a] ba rolán scél ce choíntir crochath fir;
[b] ba in moo mo chorp chain óen-artreg adamrai airrerinn.

[5] [a] atum-chichthe i ngním fir hi tinól tairisium
[b] tríun úasaib i Coimded coímthecht congnam.

[6] [a] Cain beinn la Dee ndílgadach dia chobair?
[b] cain forlonn foa mbebainn? Cach comlann croithfinn.

[7] [a] La Críst, ar nemthuir, nibu scíth ce chéste,
[b] coirp chriad cíarbo ar Críst cáth cumachtach.

[8] [a] Cía dú dún, nad roichem, rád dúr derchoínteo,
[b] din– réil –rochuínem nad nDéa nderagam?
[c] Duírchoirp crochsite Ríg do– rea –roosat.

[9] [a] Ron-ort innar menman méd, nád Ríg roachtmar,
[b] ron-cráidi crochath Críst: ma chuton-ocbaimmis, at-bélmis.

[10] [a] Ba assu nad bemmis íar n-Artreg écomnart
[b] hóasal-Rí ro-cés cruich cóirt ar doíne ndíchmairc.

[11] [a] Dia ráith no regainn bás, achto flaith,
[b] fo-reilic fochel n-éco, nabu ní.

[12] [a] Nemthuir necht, remit-téised di chombruth
[b] mo chride, clóais m'Artreg athgubae.

[13] [a] Ar, mu fédo, inscib nad ríg roacht co fír fortacht,
[b] fritum-thá: brón báis cu n-adbair airomun.
[c] Airined dom dul drúib cen Dúilemon dígail.

***Ba aprainn*: translation**

[1] [a] Alas that it was not I who got to meet the High-King:
[b] mankind would have seen me in the shape of a harsh warrior.

[2] [a] You will stir up, my mouth, with great warrior-like harshness,
[b] victory in a noble combat, bitter slaughter of a lustrous(?) host.

[3] [a] The noble help, with which I would have assisted Christ with spears, would have eased
[b] (my) foolish cry (of grief): it would have been a great attack against the persecution of the perfect Lord.

[4] [a] It would have been (was) a great story that a King's crucifixion is bewailed.
[b] Much more were it (a great story) that I would exchange my fair body for that of an incomparable wonderful High-King.

[5] [a] I would have been seen doing a manly deed, withstanding companies,
[b] as a strong man above them, accompanying and assisting the Lord.

[6] [a] Would I not have been on the side of a forgiving God to help Him?
[b] Would it not have been an unequal combat in which I would have died? (But) I would have upset any equal opponent!

[7] [a] Christ, our heavenly Hero, was not unwilling to be caused to suffer,
[b] although He was made of an earthen body, our holy, mighty Christ.

[8] [a] What is the use for us, when we cannot approach (or: do not reach) Him, of our bitter talk of despair,
[b] wherewith we clearly despair thereof that (or: despair while) we cannot avenge God?
[c] They are base bodies who crucified the King who has created the heavens.

[9] [a] We have been slain in our pride of mind, while we didn't reach the King;
[b] the crucifixion of Christ has afflicted us: if we had risen (in support), we would have died.

[10] [a] It were easier, had we not lived after the trouble of the High-King,
[b] the noble King, He suffered cross and crown in redemption of the wrongdoing of humankind.

[11] [a] For Him I would die [lit. go (to) death], a lord of action,
[b] may I let down apprehension of death , and may it be nothing.

[12] [a/b] Pure heavenly Hero, upon hearing of the great lamentation of my High-King, would that my heart excitedly had preceded Him.

[13] [a] For, oh my Lord! with words by which I was not able to come to (the) true help of the King,

[b] my Lord heals me: deadly sorrow together with great (religious) fear of (its) cause.

[c] It is lowering/humbling for me to go to the abode (= to die) without avenging of the Creator.

Ba aprainn: textual notes

[1a] *Ba haprainn nan dáil cu Artrig n-arnac:*[529]
Alas that I did not get to meet the High-King:

LL: **Ba***h*apra*in*d nadáil cu*ar*drígnar nagg
N: ba hap*r*ain*n* nandail cuartrig narnaic

Ba aprainn nad ndáil cu Artrig n-arnac:
Alas that it was not I who got to meet the High-King:.

ba aprainn: The sound /h/ was not graphically represented in Old Irish orthography and it was not until the Early Modern Irish period that the letter *h-* was generally used to graphically represent /h/. On the other hand, a 'cosmetic' *h-* could be prefixed to vowels in Old Irish orthography.[530] On the evidence of Modern Irish, 'the pret. *ba* of the copula actually did prefix /h/ to a following predicate' (McCone 2000, 181). Thus, *aprainn* was most likely pronounced */haprainn/*. Given that these copies of the *rosc* poem are not preserved in manuscripts contemporary with the poem's date of composition, it seems more likely that the *h-* was introduced by later scribes, rather than it representing an original *h-* with zero sound-value.[531] Thus, the *h-* is removed editorially.
nad ndáil: According to Corthals (1989, 57), N's *nan* could be taken as the the negative particle + 3sg. pres. ind. cop. *nan(d)* 'that (it) is not' (*DIL* s.v. *nan*, 13.37; *GOI* §797), with the copula in this construction being meaningless.[532] However, it is possible also that the original had the negative particle *nad*, with a following nasal relative marker on *dáil*, i.e. *-d nd-*. This would account for the readings in both manuscripts, with the consonantal

[529] In Corthals' edition, alliteration is marked by bold letters. However, for the purposes of reproducing his edition here, sentence by sentence, I do not reproduce the bold markings here since they only make sense when seen in a continuous printing of the poem.

[530] See *GOI* §25; *SnaG* I, §3.14; *EIV* 247–248.

[531] See also Corthals 1989, 58. A similar instance occurs in *ba assu* [10a].

[532] For a discussion of the negative used with a (meaningless) copula in a sentence with final-verb construction, see Bergin (1938, 211–212). Cf. *dursan nad Eirrge Echbél -arnic* 'woe that Eirrge Echbél did not arrive', *BMMM*, §34, l. 646.

group simplified to *-nd-* in N, or *-d-d-*, represented orthographically as *-d-* in LL.[533] This would also provide tmesis II with relative *nad* seperated from the prototonic of *ar-icc* which is placed at the end of the sentence.[534] Furthermore, this allows for complex alliteration between *artrig* and *-arnacc*.

The verbal noun *dál* 'meeting' is attested mainly with the preposition *fri* (*DIL* s.v. *dál*, 43.12–26), and more rarely with *co* 'to'. LL and N agree in reading *dál* + *co* 'to' here, rather than expected *dál* + *fri* 'a meeting with'. *Dálaid* in intransitive use is attested with both *fri* and *co* 'to' with the meaning 'makes a tryst with' (*DIL* s.vv. *dálaid* + *fri*, 50.14–22, *dálaid* + *co*, 50.23–34). A similar expression is seen in *Aided Echach Maic Maireda*, i.e. *dia innisin duit-siu mo dāla chucut-su*, 'to tell you of my meeting with you' (de Vries 2012, 216–7, §13).

cu Artrig: The manuscripts support *cu*, rather than *co*, with an original *u*, i.e. **k^{w}ut-s* > **ku* > *cu* and Old Irish *co* (cf. *RelChron*. 44; *GOI* §829; cf. *curreiru*, 'to Reiriu', *Thes* ii, 238.8).

The form *ardríg*/*artrig* in the manuscripts is ambiguous as it could represent either the early compound with a non-palatal consonantal cluster, i.e. *artr*(*a*)*ig*, gen.sg. *artrach*, or the later re-compounded form *a*(*i*)*rdríg* of *ardrí* 'High-King'.[535] The length mark in LL's reading suggests that the copyist understood it as the later recompounded form. On the other hand, N's scribe is generally not consistent in writing length-marks.[536] Therefore it cannot be adduced whether this is an original or later formation. In this doubtful case, I follow N.

n-arnac: LL preserves the non-palatal quality of the 1sg. pret. *ar-ánac*/ *-arnac* of *ar-icc* 'comes upon, meets, finds', while N takes it as the 3sg. pres. ind.[537] LL's *nagg* shows the Middle Irish orthographical tendency of writing *-gg* for /*g*/ rather than *-c(c)* (*SnaG*, III, §2.3).

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[533] Nasalization was pushed out between two dentals in Old Irish, see *GOI* §236.

[534] See Chapter 2.2.1.

[535] For a discussion on *ardri* as an old compound of *ard*/*t* 'high' + *rí* 'king', see Breatnach (1986, 192–3). The definition cited by *DIL* s.v. *ardrach* is 'meaning uncertain, perh. *leader, chief, monarch*'.

[536] See Chapter 1.4.2 and 1.5.5.

[537] There are no examples of the 1sg. pret. cited in *DIL* s.v. *ar-icc*. However, *ro-icc* 'comes, reaches' has a similar 1sg. form in the preterite, e.g. *ranac-sa*, *SC*^{2} ll.466, 537; *ni ránac*, LU 10760 (TE).

[1b] *atum beo-ir hi richt chroadchurad –cichtis.*

mankind would have seen me in the shape of a harsh warrior.

LL: atu*m*beoir i rric*h*t c*h*ruadc*h*urad cic*h*tis cic*h*tis

N: atumfir h$_i$ric*ht* croad c*h*urad cic*h*tis

atum– béofir hi richt chróadchurad –cichtis.

See above for Corthals' translation.

atum- ... -cichtis: The witnesses agree in reading the 3pl. sec. fut. of *ad-cí* 'sees' + 1sg. inf. pron. However, the form seen here contains irregular *-cichtis*, with loss of the radical vowel, similarly in *-cichthe*, 5b, rather than expected **atum-chichi̲tis* (cf. *adcichi̲tis*, Wb. 7a2) and **atum-chichithe*. Corthals (1989, 48) suggests that this is an early example of analogical spread of syncopated *-tis*, rather than expected *-itis* (**k^{w}i-k^{w}i̲s-ont-Vs-X*). The preverb and verbal stem are seperated by tmesis I to allow for the required alliteration.[538]

LL's *cic*h*tis cic*h*tis* is an instance of dittography, with the first *cichtis* written at the end of the line and the scribe then writing *cichtis* at the beginning of the following line also.[539]

béofir: Corthals (1989, 57) suggests this is a compound of *béo* 'living' and *fer* 'man', instead of the more straight-forward and attested *fir betha* 'mankind', and that this is an example of the author's tendency to use poetic language.[540] The first element of the compound is omitted in N and reads *fir* 'men' only. LL's *béoir* omits the lenited *f-*, which has zero sound value /ø/.[541] The letter *f* is restored as per the editorial policy. However, lenition of *f* is not marked by a *punctum delens* as discussed in the editorial policy (see Chapter 1.7.2). LL presents us with the rarer compound and this is adopted. I have not as yet come across any other attestations of this compound.

chróadchurad: Corthals (1989, 46) adopts N's *-oa-* in *croad* 'harsh', since it may represent an intermediary pronunciation between earlier *ó* and *úa* in stressed position (cf.

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[538] See Chapter 2.2.1. for a collection of all examples of tmesis in the text. See also Chapter 2.3 for a discussion on alliteration in *Ba aprainn*.

[539] See the conservative transcript of the manuscript in the appendix, i.e. p. 124b8–9.

[540] Cf. *DIL* s.v. *bith*, 106.76–9.

[541] Lenited *f-* was omitted on occasion in Old Irish sources, e.g. *m'oísitiu* 'my confession', Ml. 46b12 (*GOI* §231.7). Cf. *arumeda* (*ar*, a *mo fédo*, 'Since, o my Lord'), N [13a].

GOI §60).[542] N omits lenition after the dat. sg. *richt* 'form, guise', which is common practice by this scribe (see chapter 1.5.5).

[542] See Chapter 2.2.1 for further discussion. Other instances of *oa* is found in *oasal*, N; *uasal*, LL [12b]; *cloas*, N; *cluas*, LL [13b].

[2a] *mo béoil, con-ci(u?)chlis crúas már milit(h)a*

You will stir up, my mouth, great warlike harshness,

LL: mo beoil *con*cic*h*lais crúas mór miled.

N: c*on*ciuc*h*lis mar milit*h*a

mo béoil, con-cichlis crúas már mílitiu,

You will stir up, my mouth, with great warrior-like harshness,

mo béoil: N omits *mo béoil*. LL has the voc. sg. of *bél* with the 1sg. possessive pronoun, but Corthals (1989, 44) observes that it lacks the expected vocative particle *a*. However, *mo* can be used to invoke the vocative with omitted vocative particle *a*.[543]

In Old Irish, sg. *bél* does not generally refer to 'mouth' but to 'lip' and in pl. 'lips' or 'mouth' (see *DIL* s.v. *bél*, I (a)). However, a rare example of sg. *bél* meaning 'mouth' is found in the following, where mouth is better suited to the context than lip; *éccid in sróin súil bél*, 'See the nose, eyes, mouth', Ardm. 219b (Stokes 1892, 245) (see *DIL* s.v. *bél*, I (b)).

Corthals (1989, 51; 1996, 22–3) draws attention to other examples of 'hortatory invocations of Antique and Christian poetry, some of which, indeed, are addressed to the poet's own mind. [544] Therefore, LL's *mo béoil* is adopted here.

con-cichlis: LL's reading is the 2sg. reduplicated future of *con-clich* 'start, jump up, precipitates oneself'. Corthals (1989, 47) translates this as 'you will stir up'. However, in a later publication, he suggests that this is an early transitive use of *con-clich* rather than the late transitive use of its derivative *cuclaigid*, stating that he based his earlier translation on the later transitive construction.[545] Corthals further notes that the earlier transitive use would imply a different meaning to that cited in *DIL* s.v. *con-clich* of 'starts, jumps up, precipitates', but perhaps of 'fix' with *con-* taken with literal meaning, and 'as a calque of the very old metaphor *pangere* 'fix etc.' = 'compose a poem 'about'?'. Be that as it

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[543] In a few early examples, *a* is omitted before *mo* 'my', e.g. metrically confirmed in *mu nóidenán menman mais*, 'my babe of goodly mind', *Thes* ii, 291.10 (*GOI* §248; Thurneysen 1933, 365).

[544] Cf. *friscēra Dīa dūlech lūrech arbaig mo thenga*, 'Creative God will answer, a corslet of which my tongue boasteth', *Thes* ii, 353.

[545] See Corthals 1996, 22, n. 22.

may, *con-clich* is more widely attested as an intransitive (see for instance *DIL* s.v. *con-clich*) and without any other examples of a transitive construction in early Irish literature, it is perhaps safer to take *con-cichlis* as an intransitive with a following independent dative, i.e. *crúas már mílitiu*, 'with great warrior-like harshness' (see further discussion on this in the textual note below).

LL preserves the older stem form of *-cichl-*, even though it introduces an innovatory non-palatal glide vowel *a*, where the interconsonantal group *-chl-* is expected to be palatal. In Old Irish, **con-cichl-* is expected, with reduplicated stem and support vowel *-i-*. N's *-u-* is an anticipatory glide.

crúas már: N omits *crúas* 'hardness, harshness'. *DIL* s.v. *crúas* provides 'early' evidence for *ā*-stem behaviour in the acc. and dat. sg., e.g. *fri cruais* (: *clúais*), *Im. Brain* §9, while later it is treated as a masculine. Thus, if *crúas* were feminine in this instance, it would yield acc. or dat. sg. *crúais máir*. According to Thurneysen (*GOI* §259.4), monosyllabic adjectives ending in *-th* or *-d* formed abstract nouns with *-s(s)*, thus providing *ā*-stems, e.g. *gnáth* 'customary' and *gnás* 'custom'. However, Thurneysen further observes that such abstract nouns have masculine *u*-stem flexion early on (*GOI* §259.4n.). An example is seen in *gnás* which is attested as a masculine from early on, e.g. acc. sg. *ni roacht gnas co marbu*, 'nor reached the known dead', *AU*[2] 887. In *Ba aprainn*, it can be said that the form *crúas már* is an early rare example of it being treated as either a masculine *o-* or *u*-stem.

N's *mar* is adopted against LL's *mór* because it is the etymologically older reading (*GOI* §51; *RelChron.* 59–60). For the origin of later *mór*, see *GOI* §80n.

mílitiu: The manuscripts differ here with N having the adj. *míleta* 'warrior-like' (see *DIL* s.v. *míleta*, 137.24) and LL having the gen. sg. of *míl* 'soldier, warrior'. According to Corthals, N's *militha* is preferable here, as opposed to LL's disyllabic gen. sg. of *míl* 'soldier, warrior' because it allows for a trisyllabic cadence.[546] N's reading is understood as a possible independent dative used with the preceding *con-cichlis* 'you will stir up'. I follow Corthals here in adopting N's reading and restore the historical dat. sg. spelling. Note that N's *h* is erroneous due to the fact that delenition has occurred in the adjectival formation.

[546] Corthals 1989, 54. For a full discussion of this type of cadence see Corthals (1996, 33) and Chapter 2.3.

[2b] *maidm nítho móith, ní*[*a?*]*mdai slúaig serbairlech.*
victory in a noble combat, bitter slaughter of a lustrous(?) host.

LL: maidm nit*h*a muáid nimṡlóig serb*air*lec*h*.
N: maid*m* netho moit*h* n$_{i}$mdai sluag se$_{a}$rb*air*l–

maidm nítho múaid, níamdai slóig serbairlech.
See above for Corthals' translation.

nítho: LL's *nitha* is the gen. sg. of *níth* 'fight, combat' (see *DIL* s.v. *níth*), albeit with the later vocalic ending *-a*. I am unsure what N's *netho* represents. Perhaps the scribe understood it as the gen. sg. of *ith* 'corn' (*DIL* s.v. *ith*) but this meaning would not make sense in this context.
múaid: The manuscripts differ in their readings here, with the gen. sg. of *múad* 'noble', found in LL and *moíth* 'tender' found in N (see *DIL* s.vv. *múad*, *maeth* (*moeth*)). The description of victory in a *noble* (rather than 'tender') battle is adhering to the theme of the first six sections of the *rosc* poem, which convey the speaker's belief that fighting in defence of Christ is a noble act.

Corthals (1989, 44) adopts N's *moit*h, misunderstanding it as a form of *múad* 'noble', not 'tender', with a monophthongous vowel *ō* (> *úa*), and suggesting that in LL the orthography has been revised, i.e. *ó* > *úa* and *-th* > *-d*.[547] However, *múad* was not pronounced with a final voiceless stop but with a voiced stop, e.g. *múad* : *mōrslúag*, *SR* 5027, 5028 (see *LEIA* M-68 < **moudo-*). Therefore, it appears that LL's *muáid* has the better reading with original *-d*, while N has a different word altogether. I follow LL in this instance.
níamdai slóig serbairlech: Meyer's (1906, 12) edition has *n-imdai slūag searbairl*ech for N's reading. It may be that he interpreted *imdai* as a preposed adj. meaning 'many, numerous; abundant' etc. (*DIL* s.v. *imdae*), preceding acc. sg. *slúag*. In his glossary,

[547] In his note on *móith*, Corthals (1989, 48) refers to *GOI* §130.2, providing the reader with the example of *búaith* for *búaid*, and also noting another instance in N, i.e. *cath* for *cáid*, [7b]. In the initial section of his statement, Thurneysen provides examples of more than one syllable, which relate to the development occurring at the end of the final unstressed syllable. In the latter part of the statement, Thurneysen points out the sporadic instances of *-th* for *-d* after a stressed monosyllable. These are hypercorrections and do not reflect any phonetic reality. For a similar conclusion, see also Hamp (1973, 171–2).

Meyer (1906, 50) translates *serbairlech* as 'of bitter counsel', a compound of *serb* 'bitter, hurtful' and *airlech*, 'counsel'. *DIL* s.v. *airlech* 'counsel' cites only one example, i.e. *níp sotal soisil sainairlech* 'self-opinionated(?)', which is found in the later tradition of *Audacht Morainn*, i.e. redaction A (Kelly 1976, 67, §42).[548] In this instance therefore, N's reading might be translated as 'an abundant host of bitter counsel'.

Corthals (1989, 46) reads *ní[a?]mdai slúaig serbairlech* 'bitter slaughter of a lustrous(?) host'. He suggests emending N's *n*$_{i}$*mdai* in analogy with other examples of monothong *ē*, against the absence of *ía* in the text, e.g. l*am Dee* [6a]; *Dé* [8b], *méd* [9a]; *mu fédo* [13a].[549] Given the lack of manuscript support for *némdai*, I hesitate to restore this form and follow Corthals in this instance. *Níamda* 'lustrous, brilliant' is not attested in the glosses (see *DIL* s.v. *níamda*).

An alternative reading was suggested to Corthals by Baumgarten of '**neimdi* '(of the) venomous (host)', cf. Mod. Ir. *nimhdhe*'.[550]

Corthals (1989, 47) translates *serbairlech* as a compound of *serb* and *DIL* s.v. 2 *airlech* 'act of hewing down (in battle etc.), slaughter', i.e. 'bitterslaughter of a lustrous(?) host'. He notes that the form *ní[a?]mdai* is a postpositive genitive, i.e. a preposed gen. sg. adjective, thereby forming chiasmus with the preceding clause, i.e. *maidm nítho móith*, 'victory in a noble combat'. Following Corthals' reading of *serbairlech* as 'bitterslaughter', instead of Meyer's 'of bitter counsel', provides anthithetic parallelism with the preceding clause.

LL preserves the earlier vocalism *ō* in the compound *nimṡlóig* against *úa* (*GOI* §60) seen in N's *sluag*.

Placing the gen. sg. adj. before its qualifying word *slóig*, which itself is a preposed gen. sg., allows for alliteration with the following *serbairlech*.

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[548] *Airlech* is an adjectival formation of *airle* (see *DIL* s.v. *1 airle*, (a) 'act of advising, giving counsel; counsel, advice'; *GOI* §347 for the formation of adjectives from nouns using the adjectival suffix *-ach*.

[549] Corthals 1989, 48.

[550] See Corthals 1989, 48. See *DIL* s.v. *?neimthe* adj. poisonous, derived from *neim* 'poison', which cites the following example from a Middle Irish text, i.e. *sruth néimthe*, *LU* 2237 (FA) = *sruth neme marbthaigi*, LB.

[3a] *Soirt[h]ni[g]fed soírchobair, la Críst con-génind,*
The noble help, with which I would have supported Christ, would have eased

LL: sordnifed soerchobair la cr– coṅgenai*n*d.
N: soistnefe;t soir cob– la cr– *con*gaib ge*n*an

Soirthnigfed soírchobair, fri Críst con– gaib –génainn,
The noble help, with which I would have assisted Christ with spears, would have eased
...

soirthnigfed: This is the 3sg. cond. of **soirthnigidir* 'makes smooth, easy', which Corthals (1989, 48) suggests is a denominative of *soraid* 'smooth, easy', with omission of the expected verbal particle *no*. *Soraid* syncopates to *soirth-*, see *GOI* §166n. (cf. *DIL* s.v. *soirthe*, 'smoothness, swiftness; ease'). The verbal particle *no*, which normally precedes the secondary verbal formations, can be omitted in poetry (see *GOI* §538.1).[551]

**Soirthnigidir* would be an early variant of the later attested *soirthigid* (*DIL* s.v. *soirthigid*). The *n* has been inserted by analogy with forms created from *n*-stem nouns, e.g. *ainm* 'name'; *ainmmnigidir* 'names'.[552]

Corthals (1989, 43) suggests that the omission of *-g-* may not be due to scribal error, referring to *dersciddu*, Wb 23b3 (*prima manus*), gl. *potiora*, suggesting that *dd* perhaps stands for /ð/.[553] N's reading *soistnefeit* is corrupt, with *-s-* for *-r-*. The palatal flexion *-feit* in N is problematic because a neutral *-d/-th* is expected for the secondary ending (*GOI* §582). It may have arisen through confusion of 3sg. abs. *f*-fut. and 3sg. cond. The need for a conditional here is confirmed by the following conditional *con-génainn*.

con– gaib –génainn: Corthals (1989, 48) suggests 'an original dat. pl. of *gaí* 'with spears' would interrupt the cadence'. Moreover, Corthals (1989, 54) notes that a trisyllabic cadence can be achieved with the proclitic preverb *con-*. However, trisyllabic cadence is

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[551] Also, on the omission of the particle *no* and further examples in poetry and prose, see Kelly (1999, 157–61); O' Brien 1932, 88.

[552] See *GOI* §524 for *-nigid(ir)* and *DIL* s.v. *n*, 1.69–78 for the Middle Irish spread of *-n-* in the formation of denominative verbs.

[553] Cf. *DIL* s.v. *derscaigthe*, leg. *derscigthu*?; see also Carney 1977–9, 420–1. Cf. also Thurneysen 1903, 50.

not a necessary metrical requirement in the *rosc* (see Chapter 2.3) and, therefore, a stressed word such as *gaib* could also be permitted here. This would also allow for the overall regular pattern of alliteration used throughout the poem, i.e. the last word in the sentence alliterating with the preceding word and with the first word of the following sentence, rather than the 'split' alliteration as suggested by Corthals (1998, 54).[554] The use of the independent instrumental dat. pl. *gaib* provides for verbal tmesis of *con-gní* which is stylistically more difficult than the straightforward reading in LL.

Meyer (1906, 12) reads *con-geanam* 'we will assist', 1pl. fut. of *con-gní*. On the other hand, Corthals (1989, 46) has *ge(a)nim* as the transcription for N. Both are incorrect however, since the manuscript has *gen$_a$n* with the *n*-stroke extending over the subscript *a*. LL reads *con-génaind* with a variant final *nd* for *nn*, but preserves the non-palatal root final consonant shown by the presence of the *a*-glide.

In Old Irish, the preposition *fri* was used in conjunction with the verb *con-gní*.[555] *Fri* was then replaced by the preposition *la* from the late Middle Irish period onwards (see *DIL* s.v. *con-gní* for examples). *DIL* s.v. *con-gní* gives this as 'helps, assists', while Kavanagh (2001, 226) translates *con-gní* with the preposition *fri* as 'acts together with, works with, assists'. The presence of *la* in LL and N would suggest that this may already have replaced original *fri* in the line of transmission. Given the lack of evidence supporting the use of *la* with *con-gní* in the Old Irish period, I restore *fri* to the text in spite of the manuscript evidence.

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[554] See further discussion in Chapter 2.3.

[555] The Wb. and Ml. glosses contain use of *con-gní* + *fri*, and not *la*: *.i. congniam fribsi octáircud raith spirit dúib conid hed fodera fáilti dúibsi* et *dúnni*, 'i.e. we work with you in preparing spiritual grace for you: so that this causes joy unto you and to us', 14c42; .i. in exemplo et in uirtute domini *arcongéna dia frib*, 'for God will work together with you', 22d9; *ató occombáig friss imsechim a gníme* et *imgabáil desimrechte de* con*roissinn cutrummus fris* et cong*ní som frimsa ocsuidiu*, 'I am contending with Him as to imitiating His deeds and as to taking example from Him, so that I might attain equality with Him; and He works with me in this', Wb. 26d17; *nadfil nech congne fris ón acht dia*, 'i.e. that there is no one to help him but God', Ml. 144b18. Other attestations, extending into the Middle Irish period, include: *conacna frim a hérlam*, 'may her patronage help me!' *Thes* ii 349.100. The use of *con-gní* + *fri* is further supported by the verbal noun *congnam* + *fri* versus *la*, i.e. *do chungnam frimm anmain*, 'to work with my soul', *Fél.* Ep. 296; *Adeochosa* [...] *inna husci do chongnam frim*, 'I beseech the rivers to come to my help', *TBC* I, 1160.

The verb is in relative construction with the relative marker having the function of an instrumental dative.[556]

[3b] *gaír baíth: ba ruléim for létenæ lán-Choimded.*
(my) foolish cry: it would have been a great attack against the persecution of the perfect Lord.

LL: g*air* bæ*th* baruléi*m* f– let*h* ainlan c*hom*ded
N: g*air* bait forletenæ la*n* coi*m*d–

gaír baíth: ba ruléim for letene láin Choimded.
(my) foolish cry (of grief): it would have been a great attack against the persecution of the perfect Lord.

baíth: For omission of nasalization after the acc. sg. of *gáir* 'a shout, cry (of grief), exaltation etc.', see *GOI* §180 (2), (3). *DIL* gives *baíth* as 'foolish, stupid, silly, thoughtless'. This word is interpreted by Corthals (1989, 47) and Imhoff (2012, 84) as 'foolish', with the adjective referring to the king's violent actions, whether these actions be physical or verbal. Imhoff (2012, 84) surmises that the use of *baíth* signifies that Conchobar is already showing uncertainty 'about whether violence is the correct path of action to take'.[557] The diphthongal spelling *ai* in N is superior to LL's bæ*th*, which shows development of the neutral consonant.[558] See *baid*, gl. *stultus*, Wb. 8d8 (*prima manus*), > OIr *báeth.*

ba ruléim: LL and N vary substantially, with N omitting *ba ruléim*. The 3sg. pret. of the copula in LL is used in a modal sense.[559] It is followed by the intensive prefix *ro* 'great' (for the interchange of proclitic *o* and *u* see *GOI* §101).

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[556] For examples of the dative relative marker, see Breatnach (1980, 2–4). See also Breatnach (1980, 4–6) for further examples of the same basic construction, although the dative in these instances has a locative function.

[557] Imhoff (2012, 84) notes that this theme of foolishness is seen once again in [9], i.e. *menman méd* 'pride of mind'. See further discussion of *menman méd* in the textual note on [9a] below.

[558] See Chapter 1.5.1 for the orthographical use of æ to represent diphthongs, whereas in the OIr period this represented [e].

[559] See Quin 1974, 45–6.

for letene: Corthals (1989, 48) accepts N's reading *f– letenæ* and suggests *letenæ* is the acc. pl. of **létiu* (vn of *ro-laimethar*; see *DIL* s.v. *léiten(a)* '(daring or rash) attempt, venture; audacity').[560] Corthals (1989, 48) notes that if *æ* is original in N and stands for */e/* (compare *cichtæ* [5a] and *chestæ* [7a]), it could be hypercorrect writing implying merger of *-(a)e* and *-a*.[561] Moreover, Corthals (1989, 56) suggests 'this seems to be a calque of Latin *ausus* in its late pejorative sense', noting that *inna letena* glosses *ausús* in Ml.16c2', used in a context relating to the persecution of Christ.

Corthals' edition reads *létenæ* in accordance with N, with him possibly taking LL's *ain* as a bad spelling for the *-en-* in N's *letenæ*. Another possibility is that LL reads *for leth* 'aside, apart' and *ain* as the adj. *án* 'brilliant, splendid' (*DIL* s.v. *án*, 315.11). However, this provides us with two preposed adjectives. The alliterative pattern supports N's reading and thus it is restored on this occasion.

láin Choimded: Corthals (1989, 46) treats *lán-Choimded* as a "loose" compound. However, *lán* can also be a preposed adj. (*DIL* s.v. *lán*), in which case the gen. sg. *láin* would have to be restored. *DIL* s.v. *lán*, 48.20 states that *lán* is often prefixed merely for alliterative purposes, which would certainly be the case here as ***láin*** *Choimded* connects it with *rolán* in the next stanza, i.e. [4a]. The archaic *-th* would be expected for *-d* in this text, as seen in *comrath*, *crochath* etc. (cf. *GOI* §130c), but the manuscript readings do not support this.

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[560] Cf. Stüber 1997, 229–31. It is a formation of *leth* + Celtic suffix **-en* (< *-ēn*).

[561] See also *GOI* §99; McCone 1985, 87.

[4a] *Ba rolán scél ce choíntir crochat*[*h*]*fir;*

It is a great story that a man's crucifixion is bewailed;

LL: lanscél céchoi*n*tir croc*h*ad ríg

N: barola*n* scel cic*h*oi*n*tir croc*h*at fir

ba rolán scél ce choíntir crochath fir;

It would have been a great story that a King's crucifixion is bewailed.

Ba: LL omits *ba ro*, possibly due to *ba ru* in [3b], which appears in the line above it in the manuscript. *Ba* has the force of a modal preterite, rather than a straightforward preterite, i.e. 'it would have been ...' (less literally 'it was').

ce: I follow Corthals (1989, 47) in taking the conjunction *ce* as an explicative 'that' here. The verbal form *coíntir* can be either an indicative or subjunctive form here.[562] Corthals (1989, 49) notes that N's *ci* is 'anomolous' before the following consonant. In Old Irish, *ci* is used before the vowel *a* and the letter *f* (see *GOI* §115(b); *DIL* s.v. *cía*, 170.78–9; Kavanagh 2001, 191; e.g. *ciasbersa*, 'though I say', Wb. 16a24). Compare also *ce*, LL against *ci*, N in [7a] before a following consonant, i.e. *chéstae*. The length-mark in LL's *cé* reflects the form *gé* seen in the later language (*GOI* §178).

choíntir: This is either the sg. passive pres. ind or the subj. of *caínid* in the sense 'laments, bewails (death of), keens' when used with personal object (cf. *DIL* s.v. *caínid*, (a)). Both manuscripts contain the dipthong *oí* and not the later *aí* (see *GOI* §66).[563]

crochath fir: The use of *ríg* 'of a king' or *fir* 'of a man' could be permissable here. Corthals (1989, 44) follows N's text in this instance, noting that LL's reading 'could from the point of view of language and content be adopted as well'. In drawing attention to the fact that Conchobar 'has lost effectiveness as a king' after seven years of immobility in

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[562] For a discussion of the Old Irish explicative *cía*, see Ó hUiginn (1991, 45–53). The subjunctive is generally used after *cía/ce* (see *GOI* §§ 429, 909), but there are exceptions where this conjunction is followed by the indicative, e.g. *ní indráigne dúib cininfil lib*, 'it is no detriment to you although we are not with you', Wb. 16 b 9. Ó hUiginn (1991, 53) explains the aforementioned example is ambiguous and *ci* could also be understood as 'if' in this instance.

[563] There is already an orthographical shift in the treatment of the long dipthong *oí* in archaic Irish. Confusion of /ai/ and /oi/ is found as early as the Würzburg glosses e.g. *maidem* for *moídem* 'boasting' Wb. 17c14 (*prima manus*) (cf. *RelChron*. 139). Also see Greene 1976, 26–45; Cowgill 1967, 129–138.

version A, Imhoff (2012, 94) points out that the use of *ríg* 'stress[es] the kingly aspect of Christ'.[564] Thus, LL's use of *ríg* could be considered a redactorial replacement for *fír* used in this particular instance to emphasize the contrast between Conchobar and Christ. N's *crochat* preserves the historically correct *-t*[*h*] for /θ/ after a posttonic vowel (cf. *GOI* §130 (c)), albeit with omission of the lenition mark.

[4b] *ba in moo mó (rolán scél) corp ca*[*i*]*n æn-artrig n-adamrai n-V*[565]
much more were it (a great story) that his/my fine body ... the wonderful High-King!

LL: ba moo coirp arí *ar*drac*h* ada*m*rai.
N: bai*n* moo mocorp canæ n*ar*trig nada*m*rai n*air*rerin

ba in moo (rolán scél) mo chorp chain óen-artreg adamrai airrerinn.
Much more were it (a great story) that I would exchange my fair body for that of an incomparable wonderful High-King.

ba in moo mo chorp: Corthals (1989, 49) suggests restoring the text to *ba in moo mó (rolán scél) corp ca*[*i*]*n æn- artrig n-adamrai n-V* 'much more were it (a great story) that his/my (*mo c*[*h*]*orp*) fine body ... the wonderful High-King', with ellipsis of the predicate (*rolán scél* [in 4a]) in conjunction with anaphora (*ba*)'. However, Corthals' emendation is problematic.[566] Corthals inserts a length mark above *mo*, which is not seen in the manuscript, possibly having accidentally transferred the length mark from the Classical OIr *mó*, which is the standard spelling for the immediately preceding *moo*. He then takes *moo mó* together, evidenced by his insertion of *rolán scél* after *mó*. I adopt N's reading

[564] For another instance of the use of *rí* for Christ, cf. *conro-choíntis for cach dind, ríg do-rósat cach n-oenrind* 'they might keen on every hill-top the King who created every single star', *Blathm.*50, ll. 587–8.

[565] Corthals does not include this in the final edited text but discusses it in the notes (see Corthals 1989, 49). Liam Breatnach (1986, 193) found [4b] troublesome, stating 'I can make little [sense] of the first instance' in reference to 4b and the use of *ardrach*, L and *artrig*, N'.

[566] Corthals' (1989, 46) transcription of N misrepresents what is actually seen in the manuscript, i.e. *ba in moo mo corp*. There is no separation between *ba i*n and the letter *n* is represented by an *n*-stroke. This approach represents Corthals' transcription policy. He expands all *m*- and *n*-strokes silently in his manuscript readings provided in the edition (see Corthals 1989, 46–8).

also and understand it as the comparative construction followed by the possessive adjective *mo*.

LL and N support the use of the double vowel in the comparative *moo*, which may be an orthographical variant representing length, i.e. pronounced /*mō*/ (cf. *moo*, Wb. 3c35; *RelChron*. 28; EOIr **máu*).[567] I tentatively retain *moo* rather than restoring the otherwise unattested form *máu* here.

cain: I suggest that N's *canæ n-* is a corrupt reading of the adjective *cain* (cf. *DIL* s.v. *cain*), and *óen*. There is confusion in the word seperation, and in an instance of creative copying, the scribe transfers what he assumes is nasalization of *artrig* onto *n-adamrai n-airrerin*. Thus, this reading has been emended to *corp ca*[*i*]*n óen-artreg*. See further discussion on *airrerinn* below.

artreg adamrai: LL contains the superior reading here with the not yet recompounded gen. sg. form of *artri*. I restore unstressed *a* to *e* and final neutral *-g*, since *artreg* would easily have undergone revision by a later scribe. For a further discussion, cf. [10a].

airrerinn: N's verbal form ending should be read as *-in*, with a distinct triangle at the top of the second minim indicating a first stroke, rather than being read as an *m* or *-in*. Compare this with a regular *m* which shows a continuous stroke between minims e.g. *cumachtaigh*, p. 16.18 vs. *inmain*, p.16.25.[568] Thus, this can be restored as *airrerin*[*n*], a verbal form of *ar-ren*. I understand this to be a 1sg. proto. secondary future of *ar-ren* (?) (cf. *DIL* s.v. *ar-ren* 'pays (more strictly hands over) on behalf of another or pays over (something) in place of (something else).[569] The unstressed interior vowel is represented graphically as *e*, rather than *i* (cf. *GOI* §103.1), thereby giving the reduplicated stem *-rer-*. As discussed above, the nasalisation is scribal since it would not be grammatically correct with a preceding gen. sg. *adamrai*. The compound verb has been placed at the end of the sentence in a prototonic form and is an example of Bergin's Law.[570]

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[567] For the development of the comparative *mó*, see Uhlich (1995, 38). He suggests that the formation is: *māi̯ōs* > **máu* > *máo* > *mó*. He further notes that there are two attestations of *máo* in the Sg. glosses, i.e. Sg. 45a15.

[568] Note that in *The death-tales*, Meyer writes *airerni*, which is not a correct transcription from the manuscript. Corthals has *airrerni* (Corthals 1989, 43 and Meyer 1906, 12).

[569] D. A. Binchy (1962, 51–3) suggests the meaning of *ar-ren* can also have the sense of 'replaces, makes good, compensates' and notes that several attestations of the verb have been classified as the better known compound *as-ren*.

[570] See Chapter 2.3 for a collection and discussion of examples in *Ba aprainn*.

The sentence demonstrates Conchobar's pride in himself, his vanity and vainglory, stating that it would be an even greater story if he were to sacrifice himself instead of Christ.

[5a] *Atum – c[h]ichthæ i ngním fir, hi tinól tairisem*
I would have been seen doing a manly deed, withstanding companies,

LL: tu*m*ci*chth*e i*n* gní*m* i ti*n*ol t*air*isem
N: atumcichtæ gni*m* fir h_i tinol tairisem

atum-chichthe i ngním fir hi tinól tairisium
See above for Corthal's translation.

Atum-chichthe: The initial letter *a* is omitted in LL. The syncope pattern requires *-*cichithe* for the 3sg. sec. fut. passive of *ad-cí* 'sees' e.g. *at-chíchither*, *SCC* 694 and *ad-cichitis*, Wb. 7a2. However, see the discussion on *atum– ... –cichtis* in [1b]. Lenition has been restored to the verb after the 1sg. Class B infixed pronoun.
gním fir: Corthals (1989, 49) suggests *gním fir* is an inversion of current *fer-gním* 'manly deed' creating a chiasmus with the following *hi tinól tairisium*.[571]
tinól: The preposition *i n-* governs the dative here, with *tinól* a preposed gen. and thus, the historical spelling *tairisium* is restored.

[571] Kim McCone has suggested to Corthals one could read *fír* 'true, real' (see Corthals 1989, 49).

[5b] *tríun úaisib i Coimded c[h]oímthecht c[h]ongnam.*
as a strong man above them protecting (and) assisting the Lord.

LL: treói*n* uasal icoi*m*ded coi*mthech*t coṅgna*m*
N: tri*u*n uaisib incoimded c*hait*h cuma*cht*aigh

tríun úasaib i Coimded coímthecht congnam.
as a strong man above them, accompanying and assisting the Lord.

tríun: I take N's *triun* to be a dat. sg. while LL understands it as a gen. sg. This is in apposition to the infixed pronoun of *atum-chichthae* in [5a].[572]
úasaib: Corthals chooses to retain N's reading *uaisib* against LL's *uasal* 'man'. LL's *uasal* may be due to expanding *uas–* to *úasal* rather than *úasaib*. N's *uaisib* shows scribal palatalisation, as opposed to original forms with non-palatal *s*, e.g. *ósib* Wb. 2b7; *úasaib*, *LU* 8815 (FB); *úassaib*, *LU* 8151 (FB); *uasdaib*, *SR* 565. Therefore, *úasaib* can be restored above, with stemmatic support from LL's non-palatal quality of *s* in *uasal*.
coímthecht: LL's verbal noun *coímthecht* is frequently found in phrase with the prep. *i n-* + following genitive, generally meaning 'accompanying' (see *DIL* s.v. *coimitecht*, 305. 28–39).[573] However, in LL, the genitive *coimded* is placed before the verbal noun. *Coímthecht congnam* is in asyndetic juxtaposition, i.e. *ocus* is not used to connect the words. The preposition *i n-* is used only once and not doubled. N replaces *coímthecht congnam* with c*hait*h *cuma*ch*taigh*, which is also repeated in [7b] *ar* cr*ist* cat*h* cuma*cht*o*ch*, 'our holy, mighty Christ'. The gen. sg. of a masc. dental stem does not historically lenite and therefore, lenition is not inserted in the edition.

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[572] Cf. *GOI* §251.2 for the use of the dative of apposition without a preposition.

[573] According to *DIL* s.v. *coimitecht*, confusion of *coimitecht*, vn of *con-éitit*, with *coímthecht*, vn of *con-imthet*, occurs at an early stage, e.g. *hicoimthecht*, 'in the conjunction', *Thes* ii, 16.40 (BCr.). Note however, that in Wb. the form is generally *comaitecht* (see Kavanagh 2001, 218–9).

[6a] *Cain beein lam Dee ndílgodag do chobair?*

Would I not have been on the side of my forgiving God to help (Him)?

LL: cái*n* bé ladia dilgadac*h* diac*h*ob*air*.

N: ca*n*beei*n* la*m* dee nd¡lgodag do cob–

Cain beinn la Dee ndílgadach dia chobair?

Would I not have been on the side of a forgiving God to help Him?

cain: The interior vowel in *ca-ni-beein* has been dropped resulting in a reduced monosyllabic form of *ca-ni* 'nonne'.[574] N's *can* is ambiguous as to what the quality of final *n* is. Corthals notes that the general scribal practice in N is to omit palatal glides, citing this example amongst others in the text.[575] Hand U in LL also had a tendency to omit palatal glides (see Chapter 1.4.1). However, the form seen in LL preserves a palatal final *-n* on this occasion. The length-mark over *a* in LL's *cáin* is erroneous, given the fact that the meaning of *DIL* s.v. *cáin* 'law' would not make sense here.[576]

beinn: LL omits *-ein*.[577] The use of the 3sg. pres. subj. of the substantive verb *at-tá* is not preferable in this instance considering that the 1sg. is used in [6b]. N's *beein* is a peculiar spelling for the 1st. sg. past subj. of the substantive verb *at-tá* for expected *beinn*. The single final *n* may be an orthographical variant for *nn*. According to Corthals (1989, 49, 58) the scribe employs double *e* here to represent 'a half-long syllable', with a final unlenited *n*.[578] The doubling of vowels is generally an archaic feature used to mark length in vowels. It is possible that the double vowel reflects a scribal tendency to write double

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[574] Cf. *GOI* §117; *GOI* §465; Corthals 1989, 49; Charles-Edwards and Kelly 1983, 144. Similar instances are found with the conjunction *má* 'if', i.e. *main ba*, Wb. 4a20; *main bed*, 6c31 vs. *manibad* Ml. 134b3.Thurneysen states that the reduced form *cain* can only be seen before pretonic *ro* (see *GOI* §465.3).

[575] However, it is worth bearing in mind that an exhaustive survey of the scribal habits and practices employed by the main scribe of this manuscript, identified as Aodh, has not yet been carried out.

[576] *Cáin* is also used on two more occasions in [6b].

[577] Corthals 1989, 43.

[578] See *GOI* §45; Greene 1952, 213–4.

vowels (see chapter 1.5.5) and therefore, I treat this instance with caution and restore *beinn*.[579]

la: The translation provided by Corthals (1989, 47) suggests that he took N's *lam* as the prep. *la* + the 1sg. poss. pron. (e.g. *lammenmuin*, '[with] my mind', Wb. 3d13). However, LL's *la* could also have been in the original and would also make sense here. The N scribe could easily have added an *m*-stroke in this instance influenced by the 1sg. *-beinn*. Therefore, I would argue that LL's reading is the superior reading and that it seems less likely that the scribe would have omitted the *m*-stroke.

Dee: LL's acc. sg. *dia* shows the breaking of *é* to *ía* (*RelChron.* 134), against the earlier form in N, which also has double *e* to mark the length of the vowel.[580] N preserves the historically correct nasalization on the following word due to the preceding acc. sg. *dee* (or *dé*).

ndílgadach: LL's *dilgadac*h 'forgiving, merciful, indulgent' preserves the adjectival suffix *–ach*. Note the normalisation of the unstressed internal vowel in the second syllable in N (between *u*-quality and a neutral consonant; cf. *GOI* § 102. 8).

dia: Corthals (1989, 47) again follows N here, adopting the straightforward *do*. However, LL's *dia*, the prep. *do* + poss. pron., is just as valid a reading, if not the more difficult.

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[579] Even Greene (1952, 214) notes that 'in some scribal traditions at least, the mark of length was used to denote half-long syllables (not vowels) [...] It can readily be understood that the device was a clumsy one which was gradually abandoned'.

[580] See further instances of this orthographical feature used by N, in Chapter 1.5.5.

[6b] *cain forlonn foa [m]bebainn? Cach comlann croithfinn.*

Would it not have been an unequal combat in which I would have died? (But) I would have upset any equal opponent!

LL: cái*n* f– lund fób–ai*n*d. cái*n* co*m*lund crot*h*fi*n*d

N: canf–lon*n* foabe$_a$ba rin*n* ca– comlan*n* croitfin*n*

cain forlonn foa mbebainn? Cach comlann croithfinn.

See above for Corthals' translation.

cain: On the restoration of *cain*, see the textual note in [6a]. Further down in this sentence, LL replaces *cach* for *cain*, the scribe having been influenced by *cain* in initial position, i.e. the second *cáin* is due to a mechanical repetition error.

foa mbebainn: N's *foa* consists of the preposition *fo* + relative particle *a*^{n}, and is uncontracted thereby being a hiatus (cf. *GOI* §114n.).[581] LL has the later contracted form *fó*. The absence of the expected nasalization on the following verb may be due to the loss of the *m*-stroke. Meyer (1906, 10) expanded the suspension stroke attached to *b* in LL's reading as *-en-*, reading *fo-ben* 'attacks (insidiously), impairs, spoils'. Best and O'Brien (1956, 460) read this as *fóberaind* of *fo-beir* 'subdues, impairs'. Corthals initially understood this to be a form of *fo-bá*,[582] but subsequently refuted this.[583]

The scribe in N re-interpretes the sentence, replacing *-inn* with *rinn* 'spearpoint'. A subscript *a* has been added at a later stage in N's *be$_a$ba*. If one takes N's *rinn* 'spearpoint' as an independent instrumental dat. sg., the verb in question here then is 1sg. reduplicated future of *fo-bá* 'dies' i.e. *foa-be(a)ba rinn* 'by which He will die by a spear'. While it could be argued that the use of an instrumental dative provides the *lectio difficilior* here, its use would provide an extra stress count, against the regular use of 4.[584] Thus, I restore the 1sg. cond. of *báïd* 'dies'.[585]

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[581] Corthals (1989, 55) treats *foä* as disyllabic.

[582] Corthals 1986, 189–90.

[583] Corthals 1989, 49.

[584] See Chapter 2.3 for an examination of the stress count in *Ba aprainn*.

[585] See Chapter 2.2.1 for a discussion of the examples of Bergin's Law in *Ba aprainn*.

croithfinn: The two manuscripts agree in giving the 1st. sg. cond. of *crothaid* 'plunders, harasses' (cf. *DIL* s.v *crothaid*, (b)). It is positioned at the end of the sentence in conjunct form, providing an instance of Bergin's Law.[586] One might expect a non-palatal consonantal cluster *-thf-* here since **/kroΘəfiN'/ > */kroΘfiN'/ > crothf(a)inn*.[587] Nevertheless, it should be noted that the *f*-future suffix *-f-* (**-ifa*) has a palatal tendency, e.g. *mairbfinn* vs. *marbfainn*. Thus, it would appear that LL's *crothfind* is missing the *i*-glide, N's *croitfinn* is the better reading.

[7a] *La Crist ar nemthuir nibu scíth ce chéstæ,*
Christ, our heavenly Hero, was not unwilling to be caused to suffer,

LL: cr– *ar*ne*m*thuir. nipuscí*th* ce c*h*éssaitís
N: la cr– arnemtir nibuscit*h* cic*h*estæ

La Críst, ar nemthuir, nibu scíth ce chéste,
See above for Corthals' translation.

La Críst ... nibu scíth: N has the preposition *la* coming before the copula construction, whereas LL omits the preposition, having a *nominativus pendens* construction instead. The copula + *scíth*, followed by the preposition *la* (cf. *DIL* s.v. *scíth*, (c): (*is*) *scíth* x *la* y 'y wearies of, is loathe to do, dislikes x') is well attested from the Wb. glosses onwards, e.g. *.i. iscíth linn etarscarad coirp* et*anme*, 'i.e. it irks us the severance of body and of soul', Wb. 15c12; *.i. niscíth limsa istorbe dúibsi*, 'i.e. it irks me not: it is profit to you', 23d20.[588] I follow N in this doubtful instance since it preserves the well-attested idiom.
ar nemthuir: I follow Corthals (1989, 49) in taking this as a compound of *nem* + dental stem *tuir* 'pillar > chief, hero'. *Tuir* 'pillar' is possibly used here with an extended notion of it representing someone who is supportive to one's people.

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[586] See Chapter 2.2.1. for a discussion of the examples of Bergin's Law in *Ba aprainn*

[587] When a non-palatal consonant comes into contact with a palatal consonant as a result of syncope, the consonant group remains non-palatal (cf. *Rel. Chron.* 129).

[588] The Wb. examples are taken from Kavanagh (2001, 798). See also *DIL* s.v. *scíth* for further examples, e.g. .i. *ní asscíth leu duodenum*, 'i.e. something that they are loath to do', Ml. 48a9; .i. *isscith leu deicsin innafirián*, 'i.e. they loathe to see the righteous', Ml. 56d15 etc.

In accordance with N's *la cr– ...*, Corthals (1989, 49) suggests that *nemthuir* may be understood as a rare nominative of apposition, comparing it with *hóasal-Rí* in [10b] (cf. *GOI* §247(c)).

ce chéste: I follow Corthals in taking *ce* as an explicative 'that'.[589] For a discussion of *cía* or *ce*, see the textual note on [4a]. Accordingly, *chést(a)e* is a pass. past subjunctive, with the preceding particle *no* omitted. Similarly, in [3a]'s *soirthnigfed*, the conditional is used without *no* which would support taking *chést(a)e* as a pass. past subjunctive here.

Corthals (1989, 49) takes this as an 'early example of causative *césaid* (cf. *DIL* C 149.21)', referring to the examples cited by *DIL* s.v. *césaid* (b). The attestations are from Middle and Modern Irish texts found in later manuscript witnesses, the earliest of which is the 11th century synchronisms, attributed to Flann Mainistrech,[590] in the Book of Ballymote, i.e. *ocus secht bliadna deg do a rige in tan docesad Crist*, 'And seven years [and] ten [were spent] by him in kingship, the time suffered Christ' (MacCarthy 1892, 304, 305). *DIL* s.v. *céssaid* (b) give the overall meaning of a causative 'tortures, torments, makes to suffer'.

LL's *chéssaitís* shows innovatory lengthening in the 3pl. secondary ending (cf. *SnaG* III, §12.5). The sense of the 3pl. does not fit the context here and N's use of the 3sg. is more appropriate in relation to Christ suffering, even though he had earthen body (see [7b]).

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[589] See Corthals 1989, 49, 4a.

[590] Cf. MacCarthy 1892, 243–4.

[7b] *coirp chriad cíarbo ar Críst cáith cumachtoch.*
although He was made of an earthen body, our holy, mighty Christ.

LL: coirp c*h*riad. ci*ar*bo *ar* cr– cáid c–ac*h*tac*h*

N: *ar*cr– cat*h* cuma*ch*toc*h*

coirp chriad cíarbo ar Críst cáth cumachtach.
See above for Corthals' translation.

coirp chriad cíarbo: LL's phrase, omitted in N, consists of the predicative gen. sg. of *corp* with following gen. sg. of *cré* 'earth' (cf. *GOI* §250.3).[591] Corthals (1989, 49) provides the following parallel of an absent copula construction, although *ruire* is not gen. sg. in this instance: *Daith ruire Raiphtine ropo Fiachu forderg*, 'A nimble king was the very red (=warlike) Fiachu Raiphtine' (v.l.: *ro-Fiachu*, 'the great Fiachu' without copula).[592]

cáth: N preserves the earlier pronunciation of the adjective *cád/cāth* 'holy, pure, noble' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *1 cáid*; *LEIA* C-9).[593] Originally an *o/ā*-stem, it develops a by-form *cáid* (*i*-stem) at an early stage.[594] Corthals (1989, 46 and 49) restores *cáith*, but provides no supporting argument and hints only at the discrepancy between *cath* and *cáid*, referring to Vendryes (1987, 48) and *DIL* s.v. *cáid*. Perhaps Corthals assumed that N's *cath* omits an i-glide as is the scribal tendency in N but preserves the earlier pronunciation, i.e. *-th*. I

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[591] *Cré* 'earth, clay' qualifying *corp* is seen in the following examples, i.e. *fer cáin i corp criäd glain*, 'a fair man in a chalk-white body', *Im. Brain*^{2}, §50; *Hidan, idan corpan criad; cuman, cuman cruth na ndael*, rl. 'Faithful, faithful, a poor body of clay; remember, remember the form of the stag-beetles', *Aided Muirchertach mac Erca* (Stokes, 1902, 416); *ar chodnach a cholla chriadh; dar leat do himreadh ilphian*, 'one would think the head on his earthy body was afflicted with a great pain' (Dooley, 1985, 145, §37).

[592] Cf. *Corp. Gen.* 72.8; *Ält. Ir. Dicht.* II 17.

[593] The earlier form *cath* is found in *Amra Choluim Chille*, i.e. *boi cath*, 'he was wise' (Stokes 1899, 264.74 and comment on 306). *Cath* is also found in Broccán's Hymn, which is thought to have been composed towards the end of the Old Irish period (*Thes* ii, xxxviii–ix), i.e. *fua chrú don chath Cōemgen cloth*, 'under his hut was the sage, famous Coemgen', where *cath* is glossed *dont śruith* 'to the sage' in T (*dont* [*ś*]*ruith*, F), i.e. *sruith*. It is found in O'Mulc. Gloss. 193, i.e. *cath ebraice cades .i. sanctus*. Stokes understands *cath* to be from Latin *catus*. Vendryes (1987, 48), following Stokes, also suggests that *cath* was a Latin loan-word from *catus*, or perhaps an archaic variant of *cáid* (see for instance *DIL* s.v. *cadus*, *u* and *o*-stem).

[594] It appears as a by-form in Cormac's Glossary, i.e. Corm. Y 291; 331; 334. Cf. *LU* 1168.

argue, however, that N's *cath* constitutes the *lectio difficilior*, preserving the original *o/ā* stem adjective as well as the spelling representing its pronunciation, while LL has the more common by-form *cáid*. Accordingly, N's *cath* 'holy, saintly' is retained in my edition, in contrast to Corthals' *cáith*. I also restore the lengthmark, since it is a tendency for N not to use it (see Chapter 1.4.2).

cumachtach: The asyndetic adj. *cumachtach* is a formation of *cumachtae* + the adjectival suffix *-ach* (< **-āko/ā-*; Gaul. *-aco-*, *-aca*), denoting possession of a quality (*GOI* §347). N's *cuma*chto*c*h shows the rounding of *a* in an unstressed syllable, i.e. /ə/, next to a labial and a guttural, which is best normalised to the far more common *-ach*.

[8a] *Ci ddú dún, nad rochem, rád dúr derchoínte,*
What is the use for us, when we cannot approach (or: do not reach) (Him), of our bitter talk of despair,

LL: cia dú dún nadro*chem* rád dúr derc*hoin*te
N: cid duda*m̄* du*n* d–coi*n*ti

Cía dú dún, nad roichem, rád dúr derchoínteo,
See above for Corthals' translation.

cía dú: Corthals' reading of *ci ddú* 'what is the use?' is misleading given that a space is visible in N between *cid* and *du*. The set phrase *cía dú* consists of the unstressed, or weakly stressed, interrogative pronoun *cía* + substantive *dú*, with following preposition *do* and used in a figurative sense, meaning 'what place ist here for ...?; what is the use of ...?' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *dú*, (d); cf. *cía dú* (gl. *quo*), Ml. 40c7). LL's reading is being restored due to the attested use of *cía* + *dú* in a set phrase against the hypercorrect use of the old stressed neuter pronoun with the fem. *dú* found in N.[595]

[595] See Strachan 1904, 7, n.2. That *dú* is feminine is supported by the following gloss: *in cumtubairt .i. nach magen inimfogni imbriatharso friainsid isnaib salmaib is doruccai ⁊ melacht teit nach* ***dú*** *im*murgu *inimfogni frifoxlid* ł. *fritobarthid da*no *is dodigail teit* ***hísuidi***, Ml. 27c10, with *hí suidi* referring back to *dú*. But it should be noted that there are numerous cases where final vowels are confused in the Ml. glosses.

nad roichem: N's *damr̄* is corrupt and *nad roichem rád* is omitted. The negative relative particle is used here with the relative marker having the adverbial meaning of 'when'.[596] Moreover, it is possible that *nad* contains a 3sg. masc. Class C inf. pron., i.e. for *nach n-*, with occasional *nad-* instead of *nach* (cf. *GOI* §419).

LL's *-rochem* is either the 1pl. pres. ind. conj. of *saigid* 'approaches', with *ro* of potentiality (*EIV* 108), or the 1pl. proto. of *ro-saig* 'reaches, comes to, arrives'. It is impossible to decide in this instance which verb is intended as both could be used here. Therefore, I follow Corthals' translation which reflects both possibilities. In the verbal formation, the final *-g* of *saig-/ ro-saig* is devoiced to *c*, due to the devoicing effect of lenited *s* /*h*/, which subsequently disappears when syncope occurs (see *EIV* 7).

rád: The noun *rád* is a nom. sg. following the phrase *cía dú do* (see *DIL* s.v. *dú*; cf. *cia dú duit combág fri hÆd*, 'what right have you to compete with Æd', Meyer 1913b, 459). According to *DIL* s.v. *rád*, this may have been originally a neuter.[597] Even if it were a neuter in this instance, it could well be that the nasalisation might have been forced out between the two dental consonants (cf. *GOI* §180(3)).

derchoínteo: *Der-* is found without a length-mark in LL and N. Indeed, the etymology of *derchoínte*, the vn of *do-rochoíni*, dictates that the first *e* was short in origin (**de-ro-*; cf. *GOI* §831 A).[598]

LL's *der-* has a non-palatal *-r-* (from preverb *ro*; cf. *GOI* §852) before a neutral consonant rather than *deir-* which is purely orthographical, e.g. *deirchóintea*, Wb. 21b1.[599]

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[596] See Corthals 1989, 49, 58; Breatnach 1980, 4–6.

[597] *DIL* s.v. *rád* cites the following example containing a nom. sg. *rád*: *in rādiubh-sa, rád ndīu*[*i*]*t ndīan, Uga Corbmaic meic Cuilendáin* (Meyer 1915, 46). However, this is incorrect. The text was edited by P. L. Henry (1966, 59), who treated it as an acc. sg., i.e. *in radiubhsa* ***rad*** *ndiuit ndian*, 'shall I make a candid, eager and full confession'. The subject is expressed by the 1sg. of *ráidid* and *rád* is taken as the acc. sg., thereby nasalizing the following attributive adjectives. Henry (1966, 222) suggests a 'late Old Irish' date of composition for this poem (1966, 222). In *IGT* Dec. ex. 308, the nom. sg. is seen nasalizing (where it is likely to be a petrified neuter), i.e. *rádh n-aiceanta (rádh aigenta v.l.)*.

[598] In Wb. 14d27, there is an instance of this verbal noun with long *e* in *dérchóiniud*, but this was most likely influenced by the noun *dér* 'tear' (see Armstrong 1976, 67; *DIL* s.v. *derchoíniud*). There are two instances in the Wb. glosses where it appears without a lengthmark, i.e. Wb. 14d21; 21b1; also, in the Ml. glosses, e.g. Ml. 89a6; 90b19; 91b10.

[599] *GOI* §87 n. Other examples of such an orthographical palatal glide are found in Wb, e.g. *éitach*, Wb. 29a11; cf. 24d14; *téichte*, Wb. 6a20.

Corthals' (1989, 49) note on the vocalic ending *-e* is somewhat concise, i.e. '*derchoínte*: *-i* N, older *-eo/ -ea*', and despite this note, Corthals does not normalise the orthography. The manuscript readings both reflect a reduced final vowel /ə/, which is hardly surprising given that the copies of the *rosc* poem are found in manuscript sources which postdate the Old Irish period.

The question remains, however, as to whether final *-(e)o* or *-(e)a* should be restored here. Confusion between *-o* and *-a* begins already in the Wb. glosses, but the former is still predominant, i.e. gen. sg. of *i-/u-* stems = 115 x *-o* vs. 65 x *-a*.[600] The evidence from the St. Gall glosses is more evenly balanced, i.e. 47 x *-o* vs. 44 x *-a*.[601] Indeed, one finds *deirchóintea* in Wb. 21b1. In *Ba aprainn*, two other instances of final *-o* are seen: *nítho* [2b]; *fochel n-éco* [11b]. Corthals does not restore the orthography, being more conservative in his approach. However, I normalise final *-o* here for consistency, supported by the presence of final *-o* in [2b] and [11b]. The palatal glide *e* is retained in accordance with the rules of syncope, which requires that the consonantal group takes on the quality of the first consonant after syncope has occurred (cf. *GOI* §158; *RelChron.* 129).

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[600] Strachan 1903, 473 n.1.

[601] I base these numbers on the collection of gen. sg. *i-* and *u*-stems given by Strachan (1903, 472–3). Strachan attempted to identify different strata in the St. Gall glosses and used the aforementioned gen. sg. nouns as a guideline. He found that different sections of the codex could be identified by different tendencies of spelling the gen. sg. vocalism in auslaut. Strachan thereby identified six layers which he broke down as follows: pp. 1–40, 7 x *-o* vs. 10 x *-a*; pp. 50–150, 10 x *-o* vs. 24 x *-a*; pp. 150–202, 21 x *-o* vs. 2 x *-a*; pp. 202–210, 4 x *-o* vs. 8 x *-a*; pp. 215–216, 4 x *-o* vs. 0 x *-a*.

[8b] *din réil –rochuínem nad n[D]é nderagam? (.i. dígal)*
wherewith we clearly despair thereof that (or: despair while) we cannot avenge God?

LL: omits

N: d$_{i}$nreil roc*hu$_{i}$nem* nadne$_{a}$ nderaga*m* .i. digal

din– réil –rochuínem nad nDéa nderagam?
See above for Corthals' translation.

din– ... –rochuínem: The 1pl. pres. ind. of *do-rochoíni* 'despairs of' is a relative here because the antecedent *derchoíntea* stands at the end of [8a] in a *figura etymologica*. For a discussion of N's *ui* in *rochuinem*, see Chapter 1.5.5.

Corthals (1989, 49) suggests that *din* may contain a 'proleptic infixed pronoun', i.e. **dind*, the preverb *de* + nasalizing relative marker + anticipatory Class C 3sg. neuter infixed pronoun, with loss of *d*.[602] This would be a rare proleptic pronoun, anticipating the following clause, i.e. 'wherewith we clearly despair (it) that we cannot avenge God'.[603]

réil: I take the adjective *réil* to be in an adverbial construction, in tmesis, and seen here without the definite article. Although a dative sg. adjective used in adverbial constructions is normally preceded by the definite article, there are instances where *in*(*d*) is not used, as

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[602] Similar loss of a Class C infixed pronoun *d* after the nasal relative marker may be seen in the following: *doménarsa ba marb peccad hore nán rairigsiur*, 'I thought that sin was dead because I have not perceived it' (masc.), Wb. 3c26. However, it should be noted that an object pronoun does not necessarily need to be expressed in Old Irish when the object has already been mentioned.

[603] Breatnach (1977, 88) classifies such use of a pronoun as 'Type B', i.e. it contains a 3sg. neuter infixed pronoun that anticipates a following clause. Another example may be seen in the Old Irish tale *Echtrae Chonnlai*. Pokorny reads *at-chíu* 'I see it', with stemmatic support in favour of lenition (except in the Egerton manuscripts), and takes it as 'proleptic use of the neut. pronoun with reference to a following 'noun' clause in Old Irish' (McCone 2000, 173). However, McCone (2000, 173–4) reads *ad:cíu do:reilced a thengae dí indíu*, 'I see (that) his tongue has been cast off from her today', taking *ad-cíu* as the 'more straightforward' verbal form, arguing that the variants *ad-* in Y and Y^{2} are the earlier forms and *at-chíu* in the other manuscript readings have merely replaced original *ad-*, since the use of the petrified pronoun is a common feature in Middle Irish.

pointed out by Thurneysen (cf. *GOI* §379).[604] *DIL* s.v. *réil* cites one such example from *Saltair na Rann*, i.e. *réil do raittni*, 'brightly he shone', *SR* 7531.

nád ... nderagam: The adverbial negative relative *nád* 'that not' is seen nasalising the following [*D*]*éa* in tmesis, which itself is an accusative and thus nasalises the following *–deragam*.

The 1pl. prototonic pres. ind. of *do-fich*, with infixed *ro* of potentiality, has been separated from the negative relative, resulting in tmesis. The finite verbal form is glossed by its verbal noun, i.e. *dígal*, which has been incorporated into the text. The gloss here in *Ba aprainn* was undoubtedly written by the preceding, or some earlier, copyist and was not in the original. Although Corthals places the verbal noun in brackets I omit it from the restored text as the intention is to reproduce the text as it appeared in the archetype.

nDéa: Corthals (1989, 49) normalises N's *nea* to the acc. sg. of *Día*, i.e. *Dé*, with earlier vocalism *é*, stating that 'the monophthongous writing' of the long *ē* is retained in '*n[D]é*', comparing it also with *Dee* [6a].[605] He surmises that the *a* in *nea* is a scribal modernisation.[606] In contrast to the other instances of subscript closed unligatured *a* in the copy of *AC* in N,[607] which Corthals regards as modernisations, the *a* in *nea* differs palaeographically in that it is an open *a*, and although written subscript, it is ligatured to the preceding *e*. There is no evidence to suggest that it was written by a later scribe either. It is possible then that the scribe copied this spelling from his exemplar, rather than introduced it.

If I am correct in assuming that the *a* in *nea* is original, the spelling could in fact represent the earlier intermediary vocalism *ea*, e.g. in acc. sg. *Dea* 'God', later *Día*.[608] This spelling is attested possibly in the Cambrai Homily, where the manuscript reads

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[604] *rofoirbthichsir ⁊ rorelais aní robói* ***inchlidiu*** *lat adē*, 'Thou hast perfected and revealed what was secretly with Thee, O God', Ml. 50c13; *todochaide* ***gair biuc*** *iartain*, 'future shortly afterwards', Sg. 147a7. Thurneysen points out that such forms occur more frequently in 'legal language' but provides no references for the examples he gives (*GOI* §379).

[605] See also Corthals 1989, 58.

[606] See Corthals (1989, 44), and see also his transcription '*ne(a)*' (1989, 47n.).

[607] For a full collection of these, see Chapter 1.4.2.

[608] See *GOI* §53n. On the origin of the differentiation between *Día* 'God' and *dee* 'pagan deity', see Carey (2012, 33–42).

leder, and which was emended to *le dea* by Thurneysen (1949, 36).[609] Contrast *le dea* with *fridia*, Wb. 20d1; *ladia*, Ml. 27d10, where the full breaking of *é* > *ía* has occurred.[610]

Given that this spelling is found in a 16th century manuscript witness, one might posit that it is not an archaism since *dea/ dee/ dé* abound in later sources. But as Carey (2012, 36–39) illustrates, such instances were used in a context where the meaning referred to a 'pagan god' rather than the Christian God. However, *Dea* in N is found in a Christian context and can only be understood as referring to the Christian 'God' and not the lexicalised form *dea* 'pagan deity'. Therefore, the upshot is that *dea* was written in the archetype, at a time when it was still pronounced as such and had not yet shifted to *día* as a result of *é* > *ía*. Thus, this earlier intermediary vocalism is retained in the restored text.

The radical *D-* in *Dea* has disappeared due to the preceding nasalization, though it is not normal practice, and is restored here.

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[609] Similarly, Thurneysen 1909, 36. Cf. also *Thes* ii, 247, where the editors read *le Dea*. Carey (2012, 34) follows *Thes* ii, 247. It should be noted that Zeuss (1853, 1007) suggested *aleder* to stand for *laithear*.

[610] *Thes* ii, 247.22. The same spelling is found for the dat. sg., i.e. *dudea*, *Thes* ii, 246.6; *ardea*, 247.2. Contrast this with *hodia*, Wb. 14b13; *dodia*, Ml. 21d1. These examples have been collected by John Carey (2012, 33–4).

[8c] *Duírchoirp crochsiti Ríg do rea-roosat.*

They are base bodies who crucified the King who has created the spaces.

LL: Om.

N: duir coirp c*roch*siti rig dorearoosat

Duírchoirp crochsite Ríg do– rea –roosat.

They are base bodies who crucified the King who has created the heavens.

duírchoirp: The copula is omitted in this instance (cf. *GOI* §818). The diphthong *uí* in the compound of *doír* (cf. *DIL* s.v. *doír* (b) 'base, ignoble, slavish') + *corp* represents a graphic variant of *oí*.[611]

do– ... –roosat: *do-roosat* is the 3sg. perfect of *do-fuissim* 'creates, fashions'. The insertion of *rea* 'celestial spaces' results in tmesis I, in a relative construction.[612] This phrase is also found in *Immram Brain*, i.e. *ónd ríg do-reä-rúasat* 'from the King who has created the heavens', *Im. Brain*[2] §48.[613] See the textual note below for a discussion on *rea*.

rea: I understand this as the disyllabic acc. pl. of *ré* 'celestial spaces' (cf. the example in *Immram Brain* §48 cited above, where the metre requires seven syllables).[614]

The vocalism in acc. pl. *rea* warrants some discussion, which is not addressed anywhere in Corthals' edition. *DIL* s.v. *1 ré* gives this as a neuter *io*-stem and fem. *iā*-

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[611] See Chapter 1.5.5 for a survey of the orthography in N.

[612] See Chapter 2.3 for a full collection of the examples of tmesis in this poem.

[613] Meyer (1895, 40) deems *dorearúasat* as corrupt, noting 'as if it were *dorúasat* with the pronoun of the 1st pers. plural (-r-) infixed', translating 'who has created us' (1895, 22; see also Meyer 1905, 49). In his article on *do-rea-rúasat*, Bergin (1916, 99) corrects Meyer and takes disyllabic *rea* as a noun 'who has created the heavens', resulting in tmesis. It should be noted that *DIL* s.v. *1 ré*, 21.4 incorrectly cites Bergin's article as appearing in '*Ériu* vii', when it is in fact found in *Ériu* 8.

[614] *Ré* can be taken to mean 'space, interval, generally in relation to time' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *1 ré*, (a)). Alternatively, it can refer to (b) 'space or intervening distance' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *1 ré*, (b)), e.g. *.i. arnaibréib ilib* (gl. *super omnes caelos*), 'over the many spaces' Wb. 22a8; *inna rei file iter na secht ṅairṅdrecha* (leg. *ṅairṅdrethcha*) *ithé nime asbertar and*, 'the spaces that are between the seven planets, these are the heavens which are mentioned here, Acr. 2d1 (*Thes* ii, 1.24 f.); *hité* spatia *narree fil á* terra usque ad XII. signa, Bcr. 18c3 (*Thes* ii, 12.31f.), 'these are the spaces, the spaces which are from earth as far as the 12 constellations' etc.

stem. It appears in the Ml. glosses as a feminine, i.e. *am*al *as reid 7 as cobsud indrói doglennar dosuidiu* sic *bacobsud indré ingaibthe cech salm*, 'as the plain which is selected for that is level and firm, so the space was firm in which each psalm used to be sung', Ml. 133b7; also Ml. 41a5; acc. pl. *tri rei ciana*, Ml. 90d14. However, *DIL* also gives *ré* under the seperate word *2 ré* 'the moon', even though they suggest 'prob. originally the same word as *1 ré*'. The following gloss is cited in *2 ré*, which clearly shows the nom. sg. neuter nasalizing the following word, i.e. *isnoichtech ré niuil la aegyp*tacdu *isinbliadinsin hicuiretar salt*, 'with the Egyptians the month of July consisted of twenty-nine days in that year in which they put the leap' (gl. *luna Iulii*), Bcr. 32b11.

The etymology of *ré* is problematic, with scholars offering various suggestions. Vendryes (1907, 141) posited resolutely that this was a feminine, derived from **rewyā*. Pedersen suggested that *ré* was an *s*-stem in origin, with an old hiatus (Ped. ii 96–7, §443). In contrast to Vendryes, O'Rahilly (1946, 392) proposed that *ré* derived from '**rēon, *rēā, (ē < eį)*' and that it is related to 'Ir. *rían* (<**rēno-*), "course, route, track, water-course, sea", and possibly also to *raen* (<**roino-*), "path, way, etc."' Thus, it is possible that *ré* is treated as an *o*-stem, conceivably because of its special shape without a final consonant and therefore, *rea* is perhaps a 'long' neuter pl. here.

O'Rahilly's suggestion would support the vocalism of *rea*, rather than it being a plebe spelling in N.

[9a] *Ron-ort innar menman méd, nad Ríg roachtamar,*

We have been slain in our pride of mind, while we didn't reach the King;

LL: runort*ar* i*n*armen mona miad nadríg roac*h*tm*ar*

N: ronort i*nn*$_{i}$ m–ma*n* med nad rig roa*cht*am*ar*

Ron-ort innar menman méd, nád Ríg roachtmar,

See above for Corthals' translation.

ron-ort: Corthals (1989, 50) adopts N's 3sg. pass. perf. of *orcaid* 'slays, kills', writing that 'in accordance with L *runortar* we could read *ron-ort[h]ar ... ron-cráide*, "May we be slain ... may afflict us". But as L. Breatnach points out, the preterites give more sense in this context' (for *ron-cráide*, see [9b] below). Moreover, N's reading is preferable against LL's 3sg. pass. pres. subj. which is found with *-tar*. According to Thurneysen (*GOI* §630), a stressed verbal stem of the passive *s*-subj. ended in *-ar* in the earliest manuscript sources and that *-thar* was common later.[615]

innar: N's *inn*$_{i}$ is clearly corrupt, with *i* standing for *a*, an erroneous possessive pronoun (such as the 3pl.), and the *r* is missing.[616] LL preserves the preposition *i n-* 'in' + 1pl. poss. pronoun. See Chapter 1.4.1 for a comment on the word division in LL, particularly in relation to the strange word division here, i.e. *inarmen mona*. The preposition *i n-* can be understood in an abstract sense, i.e. 'in the matter of, in respect to' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *i*, A.7).[617]

menman méd: I take N's *med* to be the earlier form of *míad* (cf. *DIL* s.v. *míad*, 'honour, dignity, elevation'), seen here preserving *ē* before it was diphthongized to *ía*, as in LL's reading.[618] Corthals (1989, 57) takes *menman* as a preposed gen. which qualifies the dat. sg. *méd*.

The earliest sense of *míad* is 'dignity, rank, status', but when used in a subjective sense it can also mean 'elevation of mind, pride, often in bad sense vainglory' (cf. *DIL*

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[615] Moreover, if it did originally have *-t-*, **-org-s-tor* results in *-ortar*, not **orthar*.

[616] Corthals (1989, 43) also noted the omission of *ar* in N as a scribal error.

[617] Corthals 1989, 47.

[618] Vendryes proposes that *míad* is derived from **meido-*, with IE **ei* > Early Old Irish *ē* (OIr *ē*/*ía*) (see *LEIA* M-47; *GOI* §53).

s.v. *míad* (a), (b) and esp. (d) for parallels of *míad* + gen. of *menmae*). Of the examples cited in *DIL* s.v. (d), the following instance conveys a negative connotation, i.e. *nāchat-geibed mīad menman* nō *dīumas*, PH 6048, 'you should not let pride or arrogance take hold of you', McLaughlin 2012, 140, §12.

Imhoff (2012, 84, n. 135) also notes that *menman méd* could carry negative connotations, although she understands *méd* as a form of *mé(i)t* 'magnitude, extent'.[619] While the use of *mé(i)t* is viable here, LL's *miad* would suggest that it is in fact *míad*, 'honour, dignity, elevation' that was intended here.

nád ríg roachtmar: Corthals (1989, 47 and 50) adopted N's *roachtamar*, writing that 'the trisyllabic cadence requires either the Old Irish form *rochtamar* or contracted *roachtamar* (N)'.[620] However, in accordance with the rules of regular syncope (*EIV* 5), the loss of the second and fourth vowel of **ro-sïacht-ammar* (cf. *ro-siacht*) would give *-roachtmar*, as seen in LL (cf. *-roachtmar*, *Aisl. Óeng.* §6). This would also satisfy Corthal's need for trisyllabic cadence (see further Chapter 2.3). N's *roa*cht*am*ar shows the standard ending variant transferred from forms with the other syncope pattern, e.g. *do-rochtammar* (see *GOI* §684, similarly also is the 3pl. ending *-tar* and *-atar*). Thus, both readings are correct, although *roachtmar* fits Corthal's required cadence. Moreover, both readings contain *-oa-* which presupposes Middle Irish contraction to *-o-*, e.g. *co rocht*, *SR* 3106; cf. *dorochtamair*, *TE* 174, §2; 178, §9. It remains unclear what Corthals' had in mind in suggesting *-roachtamar* pronounced as a 'contracted form'.

Tmesis has occurred with the 1pl. proto. pret. of *ro-saig* 'attains, reach' separated from the negative relative by *rig*.[621]

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[619] The phrase *méit menman* has an underlying negative connotation, conveying a sense of self-confidence or arrogance. For instance, in *DIL* s.v. *menma*, (c) when in phrase with *méit*, it is used with a notion of 'overweening, self-confidence or conceit'. The definition provided in *DIL* s.v. *1 méit*, (a) *méit menman* is 'high spirit, pride'. The following two examples imply a sense of self-confidence or arrogance: *Is aire tra ro-chomairléc Dia do Petar imarbos do denum, nách-a r-gabad met menman*, 'It was for this that God allowed Peter to commit sin—to keep him from assuming pride', PH 3178; *go ttainic mét menman chuige*, 'pride of spirit came to him', *Do Ḟogluim Chonculainn* (Stokes, 1908, 110f., §1).

[620] See chapter 2 for a discussion of the metrical structure of *Ba aprainn*.

[621] For a discussion on the relative with meaning 'when/while', see Breatnach (1980, 4–6).

[9b] *ron-cráidi crochad Críst: ma chuto[n?]-occaibmis, at-bélmis.*
the crucifixion of Christ has afflicted us: if we should have risen (= taken up arms?), we would have died.

LL: ronc*r*áidi croc*h*ad cr– mac*h*otócbai*mm*is
N: ro*n* craide[622] croch– cr– mac*h*utooccaibmis atbelm$_a$is

ron-cráidi crochath Críst: ma chuton-ocbaimmis, at-bélmis.
the crucifixion of Christ has afflicted us: if we had risen (in support), we would have died.

ron-cráidi: Corresponding to *ron-ort* in [9a], I take *ron-cráidi* as the 3sg. act. perf. of *cráidid* 'offends, injures'. The vocalic ending seen in the manuscripts is the 3sg. conj. *s*-pret. ending of W2a type verbs.[623] I restore final *-th* against LL's later *-d* in *crochad* (N's *croch–* is ambiguous), cf. [4a].
ma chuton-ocbaimmis: The sense of *con-ocaib* in this instance can be taken as 'supports, assists'.[624] N's *-ooccaibmis* borrows the syncope pattern from the prototonic *cum*cab*, against LL's *-ócbaimmis* which preserves the deuterotonic stem in accordance with the rules of syncope, i.e. *con-oc*b-* of *con-ocaib* 'lifts, raises'.[625] Therefore, the latter has

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[622] Corthals' (1989, 47 n. 9) transcription is misleading, reading *-craíde*. But on another occasion he writes *-cráide* (see Corthals 1989, 44, l.16). I cannot see any evidence of a length mark on this word in the manuscript.

[623] See *EIV* 56, *GOI* §678 and also See Chapter 2.2.1 for linguistic discussion.

[624] Such meaning is inferred in Ml. 79c5, *.i. conocba* 'i.e. that He should lift up'. *Conocba* glosses *subleuandi* in *subleuandi obpresos*, *Thes* i, 290, 'of raising up the oppressed ones'. I take *opbresos* as the substantivized masc. acc. pl. of the perfect passive participle of *opprimo*, i.e 'the oppressed ones'. *OLD* s.v. *oppressiō* defines this as 'the action of pressing against or on'. However, in a transferred sense it can mean 'suppression, stifling (of liberty, etc.)'. The definition provided in *OLD* s.v. *subleuō* is 'to raise up or assist to rise, lift, hoist' which corresponds to Irish *con-ocaib*. But *OLD* also defines it as 'to prevent from falling, support, hold up etc.' or 'to help (a person, state etc.) with material or other support, back up, assist, or encourage'. Either of the two definitions can be applied to *subleuandi* in this case. Corresponding with the sense of *subleuandi*, therefore, I suggest that Ml. 79c5 can be interpreted as 'that He may raise up, i.e. support/ assist' (those weaker than him).

[625] This has been noted also by Corthals (1989, 50), commenting that such innovatory use of the prototonic stem encroaching the deuterotonic stem is seen in *con-ucabtis*, Ml. 68c6 against *condamm-ucbaitis*, Ml. 39d11.

been adopted in the normalised text, contrary to Corthals' adoption of N's reading as per his editorial policy. Despite LL preserving the earlier stem, it has an analogical *ó*, taken from the contracted perfect formation of *con-ocaib*, i.e. with *ró-* < *ro* + *uss* (see *DIL* s.v. *con-ocaib*; cf. *conócbat*, *LU* 7251 (*TBDD*).[626]

Corthals' (1989, 43) tentative emendation to *chuto*[*n*?]- implies that an *n*-stroke was omitted in the archetype and that a reflexive 1pl. inf. pron., i.e. *-ton-*, should be read here. Corthals based this on N's *chutooccaibmis*, in accordance with his editorial policy,[627] with the assumption that the *n*-stroke is missing above *oo*.

Alternatively, N's *-oo-* might represent a scribal tendency to write double vowels to show length, i.e. *oo* for *ō*. It may be that there was a neut. inf. pron. here, i.e. *chut-ócbaimmis*, 'we raise it up', but this makes little sense in this context. On the other hand, if an *n*-stroke has been omitted, it may be a Class B 3sg. masc. anaphoric inf. pron., i.e. *chut-n-ócbaimis* 'we should have raised Him up'. Nevertheless, the use of the 1pl. reflexive pronoun as suggested by Corthals makes sense in use with the 1pl. verb and I restore the 1pl. inf. pron. accordingly. Although it should be noted that one cannot rule out entirely the 3sg. masc. inf. pron. (albeit with nasalization omitted) here either.

The significance of this sentence was discussed briefly by Corthals (1989, 51), and more extensively by Imhoff (2012, 85–6). Corthals suggested that perhaps *con-ocaib* 'rises, gets up, is lifted up' could be understood as 'taking up arms' (see his translation above), acting in defence of Christ. Imhoff equates this sentence with the episode in Matt. 26:52.[628] This rhetorical sentence highlights the speaker's change in attitude, turning his back on his prideful manner and desire to act violently in defence of Christ. He comes to the realization that if he were to rise in defence with Christ, it would result in his own death. However, this signals the beginning of his path to conversion because such an act of compassion and suffering counteracts the sin of pride and vainglory.[629]

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[626] See Corthals 1989, 50.

[627] For an outline of his editorial policy, see Corthals (1989, 44).

[628] Imhoff (2000, 86) suggested that the speaker's actions of defending Christ would result in his own spiritual death and that this situation is ironic, concluding 'rising would in fact mean his death in a situation where the death of Christ and belief in him lead to resurrection'.

[629] On the sin of pride, Connolly (1995, 122) writes that in order for a penitent to cure himself he had to undergo acts of compassion and suffering. He 'must have as his model the suffering Christ so that joining himself to his passion and death he will also eventually rise with him and be exalted with him'. Thus, sins

at-bélmis: LL omits *at-bélmis*. It is required for alliterative purposes.[630] Moreover, the apodosis is required to complement the statement initiated by the protasis. Corthals (1989, 44) suggested the subscript *a* is a 'later addition'.[631] However, there is little physical evidence in the manuscript to suggest that the non-palatal glide was added later. It is written by the same hand, in the same ink, below the line and is attached to the slightly descending third stroke of the letter *m*. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that Aodh added this himself.

[10a] *Ba hassu nad bemmis íar n-Artrag écomnart*
It were easier, had we not lived after the trouble of the High-King,

LL: ba*h*assu nad be*mm*is i*arnar*drac*h* eco*mm*nart
N: ba hasa art*r*ag eco*mm*nart

Ba assu nad bemmis íar n-Artreg écomnart
See above for Corthals' translation.

Ba assu nad bemmis: For a discussion of *ba* causing h-mutation, see the textual note on [1a]. The *h*- in LL and N was introduced by later scribes, as suggested by Corthals (1989, 58). Therefore, it is not used in the restored text. For the modal use of the preterite, cf. Quin (1974, 43–62).

I understand LL's *assu* to be the comparative adj. ('easier') brought forward in cleft construction with the modal preterite.[632] One would expect a nasalizing relative clause in such a construction as per *GOI* §§383, 498 (b). However, there is no nasalization seen on the following 1pl. past subjunctive of the substantive verb *at-tá*. This could be an example of the Middle Irish scribe omitting the nasalizing marker since by that stage of

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of pride and vainglory were cured by acts of compassion, suffering and acts of humility. See further Connolly (1995, 108–123).

[630] For a discussion of the alliteration throughout the poem, see Chapter 2.3.

[631] Corthals (1989, 44) suggested that the non-palatal glide in N's *atbelm$_a$is* was a later scribal addition and omitted it accordingly. He compared this example with other instances, i.e. *se$_a$rb-* [2b]; *gen$_a$n* [3a] (for which Corthals reads ge*(a)nim*, see Corthals 1989, 46); and *foabe$_a$ba* [6b].

[632] LL preserves the original vowel of the OIr comparative suffix *-u* (cf. *GOI* §369). See Chapter 1.5.1 and 1.5.5 for orthographical survey of final vowels in LL and N.

copying the leniting relative clause had become widespread.[633] On the other hand, the nasalizing marker may have been forced out between the two consonants (cf. *GOI* §§236n., 180).

íar n-artreg écomnart: The preposition *íar* is followed by a preposed genitive ar*drach*/*artreg*, rather than the expected governed dative *écomnart* 'weakness'.[634] Both manuscripts show reduced unstressed *a* (earlier < *e*), which may have been introduced by an intermediary scribe and does not represent an Early Old Irish spelling.[635] Therefore, I restore the Early Old Irish vocalism. N preserves the earlier final non-palatal *-g* against the later *-ch* in LL.

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[633] For instance, the following example shows a fronted comparative *mó* without the nasalizing relative marker, i.e. *ní mó béras búaid ... duit-siu*, 'not more shall it bring advantage to you', *TBC* LL 3765 (O'Rahilly 1970, 104). Nevertheless, it could be a leniting relative clause by this stage, with lenition not shown orthographically. Moreover, Ó hUiginn (1987, 72) writes that there are no instances of the nasalizing relative clause construction found in *Cath Ruis na Ríg* or *Togail Troí* (both in LL) or *Fís Adomnain*, *Scéla Laí Brátha*, or *Scéla na Esérgi* (found in LU), thereby showing that such a construction was moribund by the middle to the end of the twelfth century.

[634] Breatnach (1986, 193) suggests taking *artrach* as a preposed gen.

[635] Breatnach (1986, 192) notes this sound change of internal unstressed vowels in *ardrech* > *ardrach*.

[10b] *hóasal-Rí ro-c[h]és croich cóirt ar doíne ndíc[h]mairc.*
the noble king who suffered the cross (and) the ring (= the crown?) in redemption of the sin of mankind.

LL: uasal rí rocés croi*ch* cruaid *ar*doi*n*e digmaig
N: hoasal ri roces c*r*oi*ch* coirt *ar* doi*n*e ndicm*air*c

hóasal Rí ro-cés cruich cóirt ar doíne ndíchmairc.
The noble King, He suffered cross and crown in redemption of the wrongdoing of mankind.

hóasal Rí ro cés: Corthals (1989, 50) suggests *hóasal-Rí* is a nominative of apposition, comparing it with *ar nemthuir* in [7a].[636] However, *óasal* may also be a preposed adjective, in attributive relation to *rí*, i.e. 'a noble king who ...'. It has been brought forward not only for emphasis, but also for alliterative purposes, i.e. *óasal* alliterates with the final word in [10a]. Alternatively, this is predicative with the copula omitted, i.e. 'noble is the king who ...', with normal ordering.

Corthals restores the len. rel. marker because it connects *hóasal rí* syntactically to the following clause. However, the adj. *úasal* + *rí* may be taken as a compound also, a *nominativus pendens*, and therefore followed by a non-relative verb, 'the noble king, he ...'. LL's copyist is generally consistent in marking lenition, while N is slightly more haphazard in doing so.[637] Therefore, the fact that the two manuscripts agree in omitting the lenition perhaps points to it not having been present in the archetype.

The *h-* in N's *hoasal* is possibly original, representing a 'cosmetic' *h* (*GOI* §25). LL's copyist may have dropped the original *h-*, especially since the writing of *h-*, representing the sound /h/, was common practice in later sources. Therefore, N's reading is followed. See Chapter 2.2.1 for a discussion on the intermediary spelling of *óa* seen in N (against the later spelling *úa* in LL's reading).

[636] For the nominative of apposition, see *GOI* §247.

[637] See Chapter 1.4.1 and 1.4.2.

cruich cóirt: The manuscripts agree in reading the modernised acc. sg. *croich* against earlier *cruich* which is attested in the *Cambrai Homily*, i.e. *cruich*, *Thes* ii, 245.5.[638] I restore *cruich* here as *croich* could easily have been introduced by an intermediary scribe. The former already appears in the Würzburg glosses, e.g. *croich cr*ist, 20a11; *triachroich*, 8a14; *fricroich*, 20d13. One can compare *Ba aprainn*'s *ro-c*[*h*]*és croich* here with a similar reading in *The Poems of Blathmac*: [...] *Críst* [...] *ro-chés croich* [...], 'Christ [...] who has suffered cross [...]', *Blathm.* ll. 541–2.[639]

N's *cóirt* preserves the phonologically older pronounciation *ō* (> *cúairt*) and it stands in asyndetic position with *croich*.[640] LL's copyist replaced *cóirt* with the attributive adj. *crúaid* 'harsh'. N's reading, which constitutes the *lectio difficilior*, is adopted in the edition.

I agree with Corthals' understanding of *cóirt* as referring to 'crown'. Corthals suggests the use of this word is an example of the author's tendency 'toward poetic or abnormal vocabulary'.[641] Although I have not come across any parallels for *cúairt* meaning 'crown', the word appears to be used with various extended meanings. In Ml. 39a12, we find it referring to the eyes: in Ml. 39a12, it refers to the eyes: *in chuartai frithsuidighthi .i. file etir forbru 7 gruade*, 'the circles opposed, i.e. that are between eyebrows and cheeks', Ml. 39a12.

ar doíne ndíchmairc: The preposition *ar* is used here in the sense of 'on account of, because of'. I follow Corthals (1989, 57) in taking *doíne* 'mankind' as a preposed gen. pl., thereby justifying the nasalization on following dat. sg. *díchmairc*.

The definition provided by *DIL* s.v. *díchmairc*, as seen in N, is 'without asking, without permission', i.e. insubordination. It is a compound formation (*i*-stem; cf *GOI* §345) based on *comarc*. Corthals (1989, 57) suggested that the use of *díchmairc* in *Ba aprainn* was intended as a secular counterpart to a specific Christian term such as *cin* 'sin'.

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[638] For a discussion on the formation and inflection of the loan-word *croch* (Lat. *crux*), see McManus (1983, 56, n.91).

[639] I am grateful to Jürgen Uhlich for pointing out this reading to me.

[640] Another instance of the archaic spelling *ō* occurs in the *prima manus* of the Wb. glosses, i.e. *coirt-tobe* (gl. *circum-cissio*), Wb. 23d24.

[641] For other examples of abnormal vocabulary in *Ba aprainn*, see Corthals (1989, 57).

LL's copyist replaces *díchmairc* with the adjective *díchmaig*, which seems unsuitable in this context.[642] Unfortunately, *DIL* s.v. *díchmaig* does not provide a translation for this word. The earliest attestations of this word cited in *DIL* are found in the Middle Irish poem *Saltair na Rann*, i.e. *In rī ro bennach sech cách, Dauïd fri bellach ollgrád, secht dé ba* ***dīchmaig*** *cen díth, is díthraib i mbaí Dauïd*, 'The King blessed David beyond all others with joining of great dignities; seven days he was [ ] without loss in the desert in which David was', 6335; *Dauïd dīchmaig*, 6339; *Dauïd* ***dīchmaig*** *dil*, 'dear [ ] David', 6401.[643] In all these instances, it would seem that the context shows that *dīchmaig* is used to describe David in a positive light. Greene wrote in his notes on *Saltair na Rann* that 'it is hard to find a meaning for *díchmaig*' and pointed out that 'it occurs in *SR* only in rhyme with the dative sg. *díthruib*'.[644] Perhaps *díchmaig* can be taken as a compound of the intensive *dí* (*DIL* s.v. *2 dí*) + either *combág* 'combat, strife' or *combáid* 'affection, sympathy', i.e. very combative or very affectionate. For instance, in the poem *Ochan* attributed to Cinaed úa hArtacáin, *díchmaig* can be understood in a positive attribution to Níall, son of Eochu, i.e. Niall was flawless and strong: *ós lecht fir déin díchmaig dúir*, 'over the grave of a man keen, ... , strong', *Met. Ds.* ii, 36.2.

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[642] See Corthals 1989, 44.

[643] Another example cited in *DIL* s.v. *díchmaig* is from the Middle Irish tale *Echtra Mac Echdach Mugmedóin*: *ni bia debaid díchmaig de*, 'no stern (?) strife shall arise from this' (Joynt 1910, 108).

[644] See *SR* 6335 n. (Greene).

[11a] *Dia ráith no-regainn hi mbás asmu(?) flaith,*

Because of Him I would have gone into death out of (?) my lordship,

LL: diaráith ragaindse bás ac*h*tu flait*h*

N: d$_{i}$arait[645] no regain*n* h$_{i}$mbas atu*m* flait

Dia ráith no regainn bás, achto flaith,

For Him I would die [*lit. go* (*to*) *death*], *a lord of action,*

dia ráith: I take *dia* as the preposition *de* + 3sg. masc. possessive pronoun and understand *de ráith* in the sense of 'on behalf of' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *ráith*: 'in place of, instead of, on behalf of').[646] I will use the literal translation provided by *DIL*, i.e. 'on behalf of', used in the sense of 'for', as against Corthals' 'because', which is somewhat misleading because it implies a sense of 'by reason of, on account of'.

no regainn bás: I follow N's *no regainn* here, which preserves the older reading against LL's *ragaindse*, which demonstrates the vocalic sound change of *re-* > *ra-* (as well as the variant *-nd* in the 1sg. secondary ending). LL omits the particle *no* before the verbal stem, possibly influenced by the other instances in the *rosc*, cf. *soirthnigfed*, [3a] (3sg. sec. fut.); *chéste*, [7a] (3sg. pass. past subj.).[647]

Corthals (1989, 44) adopted N's *no regainn i mbás* 'I would have gone into death', rather than transitive *téit* + accusative *bás* found in LL, noting that the latter was a scribal replacement.[648] Mac Cana (1997, 469) has shown that the periphrasis of *téit* 'go' + *bás* 'dies, meets one's death', lit. 'goes [to] death' or 'meet death', is widely attested in Old

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[645] Meyer (1906, 12) incorrectly transcribed N's *rait* as *sait*.

[646] A similar construction is found in the epilogue of the *Félire*, .i.e. *am ráthsa dia raithsium*, 'I am surety for the grace of him', *Fél.* Ep. 165. In his glossary, Stokes (1905, 354) suggests the meaning of *dia ráith* is 'for his sake'. Similarly, in the following example *diráith* is followed by the gen. sg. of *Día* 'God', which I take to mean literally 'on behalf of God': *niarichthi occo arisdiráith dée dobeir dígail fort*, 'he is not to be blamed therein, for it is for God that he inflicts punishment upon thee', Wb. 6a14.

[647] The *no* particle is omitted in both manuscripts in these examples.

[648] He compared N's reading with *SR* 7757-8: "*Rí do-chōid ...as a doenacht 'na déacht*", which he translates as "'The king who went out of manhood into godhead'" (1989, 50). For a list of replacements in LL, see Corthals (1989, 44).

and Middle Irish.[649] In such constructions, the verb is transitive and the following noun stands, of course, in the accusative, e.g. .i. *tiagait báas nanapaig .i. gairte sáiguil* 'i.e. they go to premature death i.e. shortness of life', Wb. 11d12; *.i. ambás tiagmeni doáirci bethid dúibsi .i. is arbethid dúibsi tiágmini bás*, 'i.e. the death to which we go causes life unto you; i.e. it is for the sake of life to you we go to death', 15b28; *o rogab gaisced co n-deochaid bás*, 'from when he took up arms, until his demise', *FB* 100 (however, this might better be translated as 'from when he took up arms, until he died'); *Mairc dochuaid bás ar Dia*, 'Mark went to death for God', *Críst Rocrochad* (Ó Máille 1907, 196). Moreover, the verbal noun *dul* can be used with an obj. gen., representing transitive use of *téit*, i.e. .i. irlaim *dodul baís cachdia*, 'i.e. ready to go to death every day', Wb. 16a3; cf. also: *gan bas do dul*, Lec. 346b31. I have not encountered any examples of *téit* used intransitively with *bás*, apart from Corthals' example in *SR* 7757–8. However, the use of the prep. *i* in N may here be specially motivated to create formal parallelism with its counterpart *asa doenacht*. However, it seems that later the verbal noun *dul* is used intransitively (cf. *DIL* s.v. *dul*, II (b), where no examples from the glosses are cited), e.g. *dul i mbás*, Ph 402.[650] I have also noted the following example found in *M'oenaran im aireglan*, i.e. *rīa ndul a ndāil bāis*, 'before going to the tryst with Death' (Meyer , 1905, 55).

The examples cited above show that transitive *téit* + *bás* was in use until the Middle Irish period, but this was then superceded by the intransitive use, perhaps influenced by the verbal noun construction. Therefore, the text in N may have been modified during transmission to the transitive *téit* + acc. of destination, i.e. *bás*.[651]

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[649] Similar periphrastic use of *téit* + *éc* is attested also, e.g. *co n-dechaidh eg 'n-a aenur* 'until he died he was alone', *Successions from the Book of Ballymote* (MacCarthy 1892, 420); *co ndiged éc áitt a mboí,* Aisl. MC^2 304, 'until he should die where he was'; *is cumma damsa cía bad é écc tíasa ol at-béla chenaeo, BDD*^{2} 43, 'It does not matter to me if I die for I shall perish in any case'; *dochúaid écc do thám 'na tig* '(Cnucha) died there of a sickness in her home', Cnucha II (Gwynn 1924, 266). Other instances include: *na tiastais aided ngorta* 'so that they should not die of hunger', *SR* 3407.

[650] Similarly with *éc*: *dia imthūs iar ndul for cel* 'to lead him, after dying', *SR* 2095; *do dual do ēcaib*, Mon. Tall. 146.

[651] For a discussion of the accusative of destination used with verbs of motion in early Irish, see Mac Cana 1990, 27–36. Mac Cana (1990, 30) writes '[...] early Irish made no formal distinction between the accusative of destination/ direction with a verb of motion and the direct object of a transitive verb.'

achto: Corthals (1989, 50) tentatively emended *asmu*, suggesting 'a faulty reading of *s* in N and an intermediary stage with *m*-stroke being read for *s̄* = *(a)cht* in L'. Furthermore, Corthals cautiously translated it as the preposition *a* 'out of, from' + 1sg. possessive pronoun *mo*, i.e. 'out of (?) my lordship'. Unfortunately, Corthals' emendation seems overthought. Emending N's *t* to *s* (with misplaced *m*-stroke) seems doubtful to me because *t* and minuscule *s* do not look similar to each other and therefore, it is difficult to imagine a trained scribe mistaking an original *s* for a *t*. Of course, 'out of my lordship' does suit the context.

But perhaps LL's reading is closer to the original than N. A possiblity is that this is a preposed gen. sg. of *DIL* s.v. *2 acht*, which it defines as 'action, act'.[652] In etymological glosses, it is seen glossing *gním* 'acting, action, activity, work'. For instance in Cormac's Glossary: *Meracht quasi mer-icht .i. icht mer .i. gnimh mer, ab eo est actus (.i. gnim)*, 'i.e. a mad (*mer*) issue (*icht*), a mad act', Corm. Y 891 (O'Donovan 1868, 114). Vendryes, following Pedersen, also suggested it is a loan-word from Lat. *actus* (see *LEIA* A-11).[653] Choosing LL's reading would require no editorial interference, except for the normalisation of the final vowel. But in view of any hard evidence to support this being a gen. sg., I only tentatively provide this reading as an alternative to Corthals'. Furthermore, the phrase *achto flaith* may serve as a cheville here.

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[652] This would suggest that *acht* is a *u*-stem. However, there are no other attested forms of this word to support this. Although, *DIL* s.v. *2 acht* notes this word is 'only in artificial etymologies, glossing *gním*'. Cf. also *DIL* s.v. *2 icht* (Lat. *ictus*), (a) a deed, an act ?

[653] Ped. i 229 translates *acht*, *ácht* as 'an act, law' from Lat. *āctus*.

[11b] *fo-léicib fachel n-éco. – Niba ní.*

I will let down apprehension of death. — It will be worth nothing.

LL: f–leccai*n*d foc*h*il néca nabuní

N: f–leicib fac*h*el neconibai*n*e[654]

fo-reilic fochel n-éco, nabu ní.

may I let down apprehension of death , and may it be nothing.

fo-reilic: The palaeographical practice of the scribes in LL and N is generally that *f* + horizontal stroke (= f̄), graphically represents the letters *for*.[655] Therefore, it seems unusual to expand the horizontal stroke as a vowel in this instance, as Corthals has done. Although the verb *fo-léci* was brought to Corthals' attention by Gearóid Mac Eoin, Corthals (1989, 50) fails to address the palaeographical evidence that supports expanding it as *for*.[656] I propose that this is in fact the preverb *fo* + the 1sg. pres. subj. *-léic* with optative *ro* (cf. *GOI* §531 3) expressing a wish. Obviously, the verbal forms seen in the

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[654] Meyer's transcription in *The death-tales* is incorrect, due to confusion of minims, i.e. *mbaine* (Meyer 1906, 12). Corthals (1989, 48) places *ne* in the following sentence, i.e. *ne inmain ar triun*, N [12a]. However, *n* is attached to the previous *bai* since it is written in suspension over the *i* and therefore not part of a new word. Thus, I have left it with this sentence.

[655] Certainly this seems to be the scribal practice in use in other medieval Irish manuscripts, such as *Lebor na hUidre* and the Yellow Book of Lecan 'proper' (cf. Best, Bergin 1929, xxiv; Best 1914, 119; Oskamp 1975, 107).

[656] It should be noted here that there is no entry provided in *DIL* for *for-léci*. The editors suggest *DIL* s.v. *fo-léci*, a variant of *do-léci*, is used here in the sense of 'throws off, rejects' (cf. *DIL* s.v. (c)). The following examples are cited under *DIL* s.v. *fo-léci* 'sinks, lets down': *fosrolaic in tarmchossal* 'the transgression cast them down(?)', *Thes* ii, 317.1 (see Strachan (1895, 193) where he suggests that if the verb was *fo-léici*, one should expect *fo-s-relic*. The *varia lectio* reads *fosrolaich* which Strachan suggested came from '*foalgim*' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *fo-álgi* 'lays low, prostrates, throws down'); *mad gairit immorro a re fos leci sis do śliac co grian*, 'If his life is to be short it sinks down suddenly to the bottom (of a well)', Todd 1848, 196; *ni farlaic Cathair Carmain / acht dia maicne*, 'Cathair of Carmun left nothing save only his mighty offspring', Carmun (*Met. Ds.* iii, 16.197). Similarly, in the prose *Dindshenchas* of Carmun, one finds *ni farlaic Cathair immorro acht [d]o tellaigib fodesion*, 'Cathair, however, left it to his own hearths only' (Stokes 1894, 412)). However, Kuno Meyer (1930, 327) took *ni farlaic* as the 3sg. perf. of *for-léici* on strength of two entries in *Saltair na Rann*, i.e. *dianfarsclaic Dia trialáthar*, 'when God released him through His strength', *SR* 7319; *dianforslaic angel Dé dil*, 'when the angel of dear God released him from beds', 7399.

manuscripts have undergone various scribal emendations. The fact that *ro* appears as a reduced form in both manuscripts suggests that an innovation has occurred in the exemplar, with the copyist understanding it as *for*†*-leic* (rather than OIr **fo-reilic/-rolaic*; cf. *GOI* §39).

In the early Middle Irish period, the 1sg. conj. pres. subj. is still found with no ending. However, towards the end of this period, the deponent ending *-ur* spread to active verbs and eventually replaced it completely.[657] Therefore, it is not surprising that both manuscripts have introduced new endings to an original 1sg. conj. pres. subj. On the one hand, N's reading, although retaining the palatal quality of the root final, has the 1sg. fut. ending (with loss of u-affection)[658] showing that the redactor takes it as a future perfect. On the other hand, LL's *-leccaind* is a past subj. (for *-léicinn*). The redactor adds the 1sg. secondary ending in an attempt to match it with *regainn* in [11a]. In conclusion, the 1sg. conj. pres. subj. personal ending was obsolete by the time the text reached LL and N, leading them to add the variant endings.

Therefore, the archetype had *fo-relic*, with this being miscopied to *forleic* in the first instance, and then the new endings added individually. Thus, I propose emending *fo-reilic*, the 1sg. pres, subj, with optative *ro*, of *fo-léci*, based on the pattern of *do-léci* (see *DIL* s.v. *do-léci*, 329.46, (c) as in sense of reject, throws off), i.e. 'let me/hopefully I will let down'.

fochel n-éco: LL and N have the acc sg. of *fochell* (cf. *DIL* s.v. 1 *fochell*, (b) 'anticipating, preparing for; of being in readiness for; being prepared to face (dangers, enemies etc) with obj. gen.'), with grammatically correct nasalization seen on the following gen. sg. of *éc* 'death'. N preserves the earlier final vocalism of the gen. sg. of *éc*.[659] Given that *fochel(l)* is an *ā*-stem, one would expect the acc. sg. to have a palatal final. It should be noted that a guttural after a round vowel resists palatalization, as is the case here (cf. *GOI* §166(a)). Thus one would expect *foch(a)il(l)*. Corthals (1989, 50) points out the rare, and

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[657] See *SnaG* III, §12.79. Liam Breatnach notes that four instances of the 1sg. deponent ending in active verbs is already seen in *Saltair na Rann*.

[658] The loss of u-affection occurs already in the early sources, where it reflects the author's speech at the time of writing, rather than a higher register. See McCone (1985, 86) for a discussion on the loss of *u*-epenthesis. McCone cites the following examples from the 1sg. conj. *f*-future: *-pridchib*, Ml. 45a8; *-ainib*, Ml. 53b8; *fo-dalib*, Ml. 78a10.

[659] *DIL* s.v. *éc* cites this as a masculine but Quin has suggested that it was a neuter *u*-stem (see Quin 1964, 52). Indeed, N's reading can be taken as a *u*-stem, evidenced by its vocalic ending.

early, occurence of *e* in a closed unstressed syllable in N's *fachel* against the more common *i* (cf. *GOI* §102.5). [660] However, Corthals fails to note original stressed *o* is retained between labial *f* and *ch* in LL's *fochil*. Therefore, I emend *fochel* for the edition. **nabu ní**: Clearly the reading in N has been corrupted. The fact that *neconibaine* appears written together in the manuscript demonstrates that the scribe was unsure of which words were stressed or not. I suggest that there should have been a space between *niba* and *i*, with a missing *n*-stroke, thereby reading *ni ba ni*.

I disagree with Corthals' adoption of the negated copula *niba* based on N's *nibai*. He overlooks LL's syndetic *na* meaning 'and not', i.e. the negative *na* + 3sg. pres. subj. of the copula, which constitutes the *lectio difficilior* against N's more straighforward reading of the asyndetic *ní* + 3sg. fut. of the copula. Thus, I have restored LL's reading accordingly. Corthals translates this as 'It will be worth nothing'.

[660] Other examples are found in the Wb. glosses, e.g. *cretfed*, 1a3; *toirsech*, 15b21 (*prima manus*); *soirfed*, 32d13 (*prima manus*); *pridched*, 33d1; (contrast with *gorith* in the *Cambrai* Homily; *darolged*, 2pl. 18a12, beside (*dilgid*, Wb. 18a11); *fulget*, 20c5 (*prima manus*).

[12a] *Nemthuir necht remi-téised do chomrath*

See 12b below for entire translation of 12.

LL: ne*m*thuir necht remiteised doc*h*oi*m*rid

N: inmain *art*riun do co*m*rat*h*

Nemthuir necht, remit-téised di chombruth

See below

nemthuir necht remit-téised: Corthals (1989, 50) is circular in his argument when he writes that he sees 'no reason for the reading *inmain ar triun* N instead of the probably correct reading *thuir necht remi-téised* of L adopted here', and he provides no explanation to the reader why he thinks LL contains the superior reading. Corthals (1989, 54) mentions briefly that [12a/b] is an instance of enjambment. It is also worth noting that *nemthuir necht* is in a *nominativus pendens* construction. Moreover, Corthals (1989, 54, n. 13) comments only briefly that *t-* in *remi-téised* should be read as */d/*, to allow for alliteration.[661] But he does not explain the grammatical basis for such pronunciation.

LL repeats *nemthuir* (cf. [7a]). The author recycles this word in order to fulfill the required linking alliteration with the previous sentence, i.e. with *ní* in [11b]. In N, original *nemthuir necht* is replaced with (*ne*) *inmain ar triun*.[662] This reading itself seems faulty. If *ne* belongs to the previous sentence, then the required alliteration is not provided. Secondly, a preposed adj. *inmain* 'beloved' + 'our' + the dat. sg. of *trén* 'strong' (man) does not make sense. I take LL's *nemthuir necht* as a proleptic object standing in a *nominativus pendens* construction. However, a resumptive, or anaphoric pronoun, would be expected in this construction (cf. *mairb dosfiusced do bethu*, 'the dead, he awoke them to life', Fiacc's Hymn (*Thes* ii, 316.2, 7)).[663] It is possible that the archetype contained a Class B 3sg. masc. inf. pron. (cf. *aní remitátét*, 'what precedes them', Sg. 197b5; see *GOI*

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[661] However, the alliteration of voiced and voiceless consonants is permissible in linking alliteration. See further Chapter 2.3.

[662] See the discussion in footnote 124 on N's *ne* in [11b]. This may in fact signify the beginning of following *nemthuir* in the original. But for palaeographical reasons this is presented with the transcription in [11b].

[663] Mac Cana 1973, 94; Mac Coisdealbha 1998, 83–8.

§851).[664] Moreover, the two expected *t*s are spelled as one. This is a common enough feature seen in the glosses (cf. *attá*, Wb. 4b11 vs *atá*, 2b7). In regards to the pronunciation, the 3sg. masc. inf. pron. *-t-* /d/ would clash with the following nasalised *t-* /d/, resulting in assimilation. Therefore, I propose to emend to *remit-téised.*

Corthals' (1989, 47) translation of *remi-téised do chomrath* as 'should have hastened to precede' suggests he took this as a jussive 3sg. past *s*-subj. of *remi-tét* 'goes before, precedes'. However, it is also possible to take this as a rare example of an optative subjunctive in a main clause, without the use of *ro* expressing potentiality (cf. the following example with a pres. subj.: *immun-tíasat ar thedmain náchantairle adamnae*, 'may they surround us against pestilence, that famine may not come to us!', *Thes* ii, 300.8 (Colmán's Hymn)).[665] The use of the past subj. in the main clause denotes an irreal wish, i.e. 'would that it preceded/had preceded'. Therefore, I translate *nemthuir necht remit-téised* as 'Pure heavenly Hero, would that it preceded/ had preceded Him'.

Corthals (1989, 54) has noted that [12ab] is an instance of enjambment, with the subject *mo chride* placed at the beginning of [12b], rather than in [12a] after *remi-téised.* Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980, 30) writes that such divergence from normal word order '[...] where the subject or object is removed from its normal syntactic position the emphasis is not primarily on the word so displaced but is borne, rather, by the sentence as a whole'. This can be applied to [12ab], with this section carrying extra emphasis due to the heightened emotion of the speaker.

di: It is difficult to decide whether *de/di* 'from, by' with *do/du* 'to, for' is intended here (see *DIL* s.v. *1 de, di*, 129. 38–57).[666] While *do* is used in verbal noun constructions, it does not provide for a succinct translation and meaning. It is better to take *do* of the manuscripts as the preposition *de* because it provides the reason as to why *mo chride* (see [12b]) should precede the Lord.

chombruth: Corthals (1989, 50) takes this as the dat. sg. of *comrud* 'act of rushing; contending, competing' (vn of *con-reith*, cf. *DIL* s.v. *comrith*). N preserves the older non-palatal colouring, albeit with *a* undoubtedly representing post-OIr /ə/, against LL's

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[664] It should be noted that there are no counter-examples attested with Class A. Moreover, one finds one example of a Class C inf. pron. in a relative construction, i.e. *am*ail *remindērbar*tamar, 'as we have said it before' (Meyer 1904b, 215.10).

[665] See McQuillan 2002, 39, 45. McQuillan cites another of the optative subjunctive without *ro* in Colmán's Hymn: *snáidsiunn Moysi degthóisech*, 'May Moses the good leader protect us!' (*Thes* ii, 300.11).

[666] See also *GOI* §831.C.

innovatory reading.[667] Corthals (1989, 50) suggests that *coimrith* in LL is a recompound form,[668] i.e. with reinstated simplex *-rith*. N's *comrath* preserves [Θ] after the unstressed vowel in final position, against [ð] as seen in LL (*GOI* §130.2).

Alternatively, I propose that this is the rare word *combruth* (vn of *con-berba* 'cooks, boils together') with *mb* > *m* in the manuscripts (cf. *GOI* §152(c)). The definition given in *DIL* s.v. *comruth* is 'act of boiling; heat, fury, anger'. It is cited in O'Davoren 234, glossing *bruth* 'heat, anger, fury, excitement; fervour, vehemence, valour', vn of *berbaid* (cf. *DIL* s.v. *1 bruth* (b); *LEIA* B-106):[669] *bruth .i. tarrang. ut est combruth fri tarb .i. com fri tarbh da magaib .i. cath magarll* (*CIH* iv, 1475.3), '*bruth*, i.e. a dragging, ut est ... to a bull, i.e. a dragging equal to a bull with his testicles, i.e. a battle of the private parts'.[670] Stokes suggests that 'this gloss is wrong, as *bruth* here obviously means ardour, fury'.

In the *Rule of Ailbe of Emly*, the following example is found:[671]

> *cen aithis, cen imdergad, cen chúrsachad ngarg,*
> *cen chomrád fri duine mborb, cen guth n-úabair n-ard.*
> 'Without reviling, without reproach, without rough reproof,
> without converse with an arrogant person, without a loud, proud voice'.[672]

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[667]The only attestion cited by *DIL* s.v. *comrith* from the glosses is an acc. sg., with a non-palatal final consonant, i.e. .i. *ní dene comrud friss in ulcc arnabad huilcc diblínaib*, 'i.e. thou shalt not make contest with him (i.e. the enemy) in evil lest both of you become evil', Wb. 5d38. Fortunately, *rith* (also *ruth*), the verbal noun of *rethid*, is clearly a *u*-stem. For instance, the examples in the glosses have a neutral final consonant in the nom. sg, i.e. *riuth*, Sg. 106b8; Ml. 89c10; 90b10: and the Ml. glosses have two examples in the gen. sg. with vocalic ending, i.e. *retho*, Ml. 42c19; *retha*, Ml. 93b4.

[668] He writes N contains the 'old, not yet recompounded form of *coimrith* 'act of rushing'.

[669] Vendryes cites corresponding Brythonic examples that are used in a figurative sense, alongside the literal sense, i.e. "vbret. *brot* gl. *zelotipiae*, m. bret. *brout* '*(feu) ardent*', bret. *broud* '*chaud, ardent*'; gall. b*rwdfrydig* '*zélé*', *brwdfrydedd* '*enthousiasme*'" (see *LEIA* B-106 s.v. *bruth*).

[670] Stokes 1904a, 234.

[671] O'Neill (1907, 93) writes that 'the language of the Rule is Old Irish, though it contains a few Middle-Irish forms [...]'.

[672] O'Neill 1907, 98, §12.

The *variae lectiones* for *comrád* are as follows: *comradh*, A^1; *combruth*, A^2; *comrath*, B^2.[673] O'Neill (1907, 111) emends *comrád* writing that '*combruth* of A^2 would give good sense; cf., however, Wb.5d38 for an obscure word *comrud* which may be the correct reading here'.[674] However, perhaps *combruth* constitutes the *lectio difficilior* in this instance, preserving original *-mb-* against *-m-* in the other variants.[675] This would then read 'without [excitement with regard to] an arrogant person'.

I suggest that *combruth* is intended here, rather than LL's reading which interpreted it as *coimrid* 'rush'. As is seen from the above examples, *combruth* can be used figuratively in the sense of excitement, just as *bruth* and its cognate forms were. It conveys an intense emotion, the speaker experiencing passionate emotions on hearing Christ's laments (see [12b]).

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[673] This text is found in four manuscripts and O'Neill assigns into two groups, i.e. A and B. In group A, A^1 'nearly always preserves the better reading'. However, O'Neill (1907, 93) notes that A^2 sometimes alters his text and is not as careful a scribe as A^1, 'but on the whole this latter scribe was both careful and faithful'.

[674] O' Neill 1907, 111.

[675] That is, rather than *mb* being a hypercorrection or perhaps a later pronunciation of *-b-* springing up between *m* and *r* (cf. *-nr-* > *-ndr-* in *cond-ricc*, Ó hUiginn 2012, 641–50).

[12b] *mo chride a clóas im Artrach at*[*h*]*gubai*

In hearing about the lamentation of the High-King

my heart should have hastened to precede the pure heavenly Hero.

LL: moc*h*ride cluás i*nar*drac*h* ṅguba

N: mochridea cloasi*mar*trac*h* atgubai

mo chride, clóais m' Artreg athgube.

Pure heavenly Hero, upon hearing of the great lamentation of my High-King, would that my heart excitedly preceded Him.

clóais: I take this as an independent dat. sg. of the vn of *ro-cluinethar*, with emendation required to *cloais*, for reasons explained below. The final vocalism in N's *chridea* is an instance of the strange treatment of vowels characteristic of the scribe Aodh.[676] Corthals takes *chridea* as consisting of *cride* + preposition *a*, i.e. 'upon hearing' which is suitable in this context, although I have not encountered any other such examples.[677] However, Corthals does not fully analyse both readings and follows N too closely. In taking *a* as a preposition, he fails to normalise to *clóa*[*i*]*s*. If this were indeed a preposition one would expect it to be written together with *cloas* which receives the chief stress (cf. *GOI* §34). Thus, given the positioning of *a* in N, and its absence altogether in LL, it means LL's reading stands as an independent dat. sg., thereby constituting the *lectio difficilior*.

Since *clúas* is an *ā*-stem, a palatal ending is expected for the acc. and dat. sg.[678] However, an intermediary scribe could easily have mistaken *-is* in a previous exemplar as the standard double *s*-ligature, i.e. *cloa*(*i*)*s* for *cloa*(*i*)*ss*.

The vocalism in N's *cloas* is taken to represent an intermediary pronounciation between earlier *ó* and *úa* in stressed position (cf. *GOI* §60). See further discussion in Chapter 2.2.1.

m' Artreg: Breatnach (1986, 193) takes LL's reading as *m'Artrach* 'of my high-king', presumably due to a confusion of minims of original *m* written as *in*. Alternatively, the minim error could have affected the final minim of an original preposition *im*, i.e. 'hearing

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[676] For a comment on the orthography used in N, see Chapter 1. 5. 5.

[677] See Corthals 1989, 46 and 47.

[678] For the etymology of this word, see *SnaG* II, §4.5; *RelChron* 99, 105; Schrijver 1995, 406–15.

about' as per Corthals. This preposition would make sense in the present context of course, against say a definite article since the crucifixion did not really constitute a noise. However, *DIL* s.v. *ro-cluinethar* cites an early example which can be translated as 'hears of': *manicloimmis forndrogscéla*, 'unless we should have heard evil tidings of you', Wb. 26b23. Thus, this would support LL's reading, while it is N that has the confusion of minims. Moreover, all other instances of *artrach* in *Ba aprainn* are found without the definite article, i.e.[1a], [4b], [10a]. Therefore, the use of the definite article suggested by the LL reading is unjustified on stylistic grounds. I restore the internal unstressed *a* to earlier *e* as outlined in the scribal policy (see Chapter 1.7.2). For the restoration of the gen. sg. *artreg*, see the textual note in [10b].

athgubae: I take N's *atgubai* to derive from the archetype against LL's *ṅguba*. The use of the intensive prefix *ath* provides the required alliteration with the preposed genitive *artreg*. LL, on the other hand, omits it and takes ar*drac*h as an acc. sg., thereby inserting nasalization on the following *guba*. Note also the non-palatal quality of *at*[*h*] before non-palatal *g*- in the compound *at*[*h*]*gubae* (cf. *GOI* §159(b)).[679]

Furthermore, this noun is an *io*-stem. Strangely, Corthals does not restore the vocalic auslaut of *ath-gubai*. I suggest that this is an acc. sg. since an acc. pl. would not make sense here, and restore the vocalism to *-ae*, rather than acc. pl. *athgubu*.

[679] For a discussion of the etymology and of *a*(*i*)*th*- (< **ate*), see Uhlich (2009-2010, 141–160).

[13a] *Armu éda inscib, inna roacht fír-fortacht Críst,*
Because of my words, in which I was not able truly to assist Christ,

LL: *ar* mudia i*n*dscib nadríg roac*h*t cofír f–tac*h*t
N: *ar*u*m*eda[680] inscib i*n*na roac*ht* fir f–tac*ht* cr–

Ar, mu fédo, inscib nad ríg roacht co fír fortacht,
For, oh my Lord! with words by which I was not able to come to (the) true help of the King,

ar, mu fédo: Corthals (1989, 43) suggests that N's ar*u*m is a scribal error for *armu*, but rather than an error, it could also represent one of two regular features. It could be the expected shape of the disyllabic prep. **are* + elided poss. with *u* correctly showing contextual colour next to *m*, thus *arum'ēda*. Or else it could be a spelling for *ar, a m'ēda*, 'for, oh my Lord'. LL's *mo* can be taken as the poss. used to invoke the vocative with omitted particle *a*. This is also used in [2a].[681] This is stylistically the more difficult reading against N, whose scribe could easily have inserted the vocative particle, albeit spelling it as *u*. Thus, I follow LL in this instance. For the interchange of *o* and *u* in *mo*, see *GOI* §101.

Corthals (1989, 57) takes *ar* as the preposition 'on account of, because of', governing *inscib*, and points out that this is a 'peculiar example of nominal tmesis' instead of '*armu inscib (mu) [ḟ]éda'*. He suggests that this follows the 'pattern' of *mo Choimmdiu -coíma*.[682] However, in reading *ar, mu fédo*, it provides for a more logical explanation. *Ar* can be understood as a conjunction 'for, since, seeing that etc' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *2 ar*). This is followed by the voc. sg. *mu fédo*. The dat. pl. *inscib* can be taken as an independent dative. N's *eda* is a voc. sg. of *fíada* 'Lord' with preceding vocative particle *a*, i.e. *ar, a m'éda*,

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[680] Meyer (1906, 12) and Corthals (1989, 48) also transcribe N's reading as *arumeda*.

[681] For a more detailed discussion of this feature and examples of omitted vocative particle *a*, see the textual note on [2a].

[682] Corthals 1989, 51, 57. The example provided by Corthals is a poor example. In *debrath nomchoimmdiu cóima* (*Thes* ii, 290.11), 'By gosh, the Lord cherishes me', *Coimmdiu* is syntactically connected with *-coíma*. Tmesis of nominal phrases is frequently seen, in particular with a genitive, e.g. *fri frega fál*, 'against the fence-wall', *Thes* ii, 293.22 (cf. *GOI* §250.1). In *Ba aprainn* however, *eda* is not a genitive but a voc. sg. and is removed from its expected syntactical position at the beginning of the sentence.

'for, oh my Lord'.[683] Furthermore, its spelling reflects the earlier pronounciation, with *ē* not yet diphthongized to *ía*, against LL's replacement with the more straight-forward *Día* 'God'.

More important, however, is N's spelling of the final vocalism. This spelling is also encountered in the *Cambrai Homily*, i.e. *ar ... ar fedot* 'our Lord ... of our Lord' (*Thes* ii, 244. 22 and 32). It should be noted in the first instance of course that N is a 15th century manuscript, compiled at a time when final unstressed vowels had long all fallen together. Therefore, any final unstressed vowels in this manuscript should be treated tentatively. Nevertheless, N does have a more conservative orthography than LL, such as is seen in the gen. sg. *nítho*, [2b]; *n-éco*, [11b].

Jay Jasanoff, and also Aaron Griffith, presuppose that *-a* in *fēda* was a regular Archaic Old Irish reflex of inherited nom. sg. **u̯ēdonts*, positing that the development of **-onts* > **-ants* (> **ās* > *-a*) was parallel to the development of the acc. pl. of pronouns and adjectives, i.e. **-ons* > *-a*.[684] Moreover, they suggest that forms found in the Classical Old Irish period with *-o* occurred as a result of levelling with oblique cases, e.g. *fiadu* (v.l. *-o*), *Thes* ii, 351.3; *fiado*, Sanctán's Hymn (*Thes* ii, 353.1).

However, the question still remains if the *o* in **u̯ēdonts* was really subject to the otherwise stem-final change of *o* > *a*. If *o* did not change to *a*, then the former is supported by the fact that the conservative treatment of *-o* is found elsewhere in the text, i.e. gen. sg. *recto* (*Thes* ii, 247.15).[685] But the process whereby **o* > *a* in final unstressed syllables occurred before the Ogam inscriptions.[686] Jürgen Uhlich further suggests that even if **-onts* developed into **-ants* > **ās* > *-a* (rather than **-ōs* > *-o)*, it is conceivable that final *-o* was reinstated analogically at a time predating the *Cambrai Homily* archetype, in analogy with gen. sg. *fēdot* (< **u̯edonts* < **u̯edontos*).[687] Therefore, Jürgen Uhlich has

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[683] See further the textual note on (*a*) *mo beoil*, [2a].

[684] Jasanoff 1988–1990, 178, n. 16; Griffith 2005, 47, 48 n. 6, 63ff.

[685] Other examples of final *-o* in early sources are found, i.e. *Aido* in Adamnán's *Vita Columbae* (*Thes* ii, 272.33). Moreover, confusion between *-o* and *-a* begins already in the Würzburg glosses, but the former is still predominant. Cf. Strachan (1903, 473, n.1) for examples of gen. sg. of *i-*/ *u-* stems show that *o* is still more widespread, i.e. 115x *-o* against 65x *-a*. See also Chapter 2.2.1.

[686] The process whereby **o* was reduced to *a* in final unstressed syllables occurred in Primitive Irish (cf. *GOI* §90.4; *RelChron.* 109).

[687] This was presented by Jürgen Uhlich in a lecture entitled 'On the transmission of the Cambrai Homily' presented at the *Tionól* 21 November 2009, Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies (hereafter Uhlich 2009b).

argued that *fēda* may not necessarily have been in the archetype of the *Cambrai Homily* but was introduced by an intermediary scribe, who replaced original **fēdo* with *feda*.[688]

A tentative decision has been made, therefore, to restore *fédo* on strength not only of the conservative treatment of the final vocalism in *nítho*, [2b] and *n-éco* in [11b], but also given the archetype's date of composition at a time when final *-o* was still predominantly found in the written language.

nad ríg roacht: I follow Corthals in taking *roacht* as the 1sg. act., although *roacht* could also be the pret. pass. sg. of *ro-saig* 'reaches, comes to' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *ro-saig*, I (a)). Nevertheless, the use of the 1sg. act. makes sense in this particular context. The syntax of LL's *inscib nad ríg roacht* is more complex than in N. Firstly, *ríg* can be defined as a 'pre-' -preposed genitive, which has been brought forward to allow for alliteration with the verb, i.e. ***ríg roacht***. This is surely the *lectio difficilior* against N's use of *Crísť*, both by its more poetic positioning and also not interfering with the required linking alliteration, which *Crísť* most certainly would. LL's *nad* is the dative relative,[689] and presents as the *lectio difficilior* against N's prepositional relative *inna*. N's redactor replaces this construction with *inna roacht* 'in which I was not able to assist'.[690]

N's reading consists of the attributive dat. sg. adjective *fír* preposed to *fortacht* 'help, assistance' (cf. *GOI* §362n.), while LL has the more frequent use of *fír* in a compound (see *DIL* s.v. *fír*). In both constructions the initial *f* of *fortacht* is lenited. Thus, it is difficult to argue on the grounds of alliteration that N is better. Either reading is valid here and therefore I follow N in this instance.

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[688] Uhlich 2009.

[689] See Breatnach 1980, 2–4.

[690] Unfortunately Corthals (1989, 44 and 47) blindly adopts N's reading in accordance with his editorial policy, thereby ignoring LL's *lectio difficilior*.

[13b] *fritom-thá: brón báis cu n-adbair airomun.*

my Lord heals me: deadly sorrow together with great (religious) fear of (its) cause.

LL: fritu*m*thá brón báis conatbiur *ar* omun

N: fritombro*n* bais cuadb*air air*omu*n*

fritum-thá: brón báis cu n-adbair airomun.

See above for Corthals' translation.

fritum-thá: Corthals takes LL's *fritu*m-*thá* from the original form *fris-tá* (cf. *GOI* §551; *DIL* s.v. *1 fris-ben* 'heals'), used here in a spiritual sense, rather than usual *íccaid*.[691] The vn *frepaid* 'healing; remedy, cure' is attested, used in a spiritual sense, in penitential passages, e.g. *pennatoir* [...] *frepthæ cech pecthæ*, 'a penitential [...] remedying of every sin', *An Irish Penitential*[692] (see *DIL* s.v. *frepaid* for further examples).

LL contains a unique instance where the present indicative *fris-tá* has not yet been contaminated with *-ben*. According to McCone, the replacement of *-tá* with *-ben* in the present indicative occurred because the form *-bi* in other tenses suggested a compound of *be(n)-*.[693] The upshot was that compounds of the substantive verb eventually ended up assimilating to those of *benaid*. While *DIL* s.v. *fris-ben* does not cite any examples to support an original 3sg. pres. ind. *fris-tá*, one can turn to the similar and more widely attested verb *do-esta* 'is absent, wanting, lacking', which shows formations of 3sg. pres. stem root *-tá*, beside later analogical use of *-ben* (from *benaid*), e.g. 3sg. pres. ind. *andudesta*, Wb. 1a9; 14a33; 23d17; *aní dodesta*, 26d8; *doesta*, Ml. 35d20; *duesta*, 71c19; *testa*, 65d6, *Thes* ii, 13.27 (Glosses on the Carlsruhe Beda); *Thes* ii, 33.19 (Glosses on the Vienna Beda); vs. *do-easban*, Laws ii 276.

Therefore, one can conclude from the foregoing examples that LL in fact contains a rare example of the original formation of *fris-tá* (later *fris-ben*), without suppletion of

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[691] Corthals 1989, 47 and 57. Meyer (1906, 50) suggests that the verb here is *fris-taít* 'comes against, is at variance with, opposes' (from **fris-to-tet*), which is usually used with following *do/fri*. See *DIL* s.v. *fris-taít* which cites this instance, but suggests that it 'seems rather a compound of the subst. vb.'.

[692] Gwynn 1914, 135.

[693] *EIV* 206. See also *GOI* §§551, 783.

the verbal stem with *-ben* in the present indicative. This is seen encroaching already at an early period, evidenced by *fris-ben att* 'heals the spelling', *Thes* ii, 250.11 (The Irish Spells in the Stowe Missal). The editors of *Thes* ii note that, according to Dr. Kenyon, the hands who copied the spells into the Stowe Missal may have been working not any earlier than the eleventh century.[694] There is linguistic and orthographic evidence, however, to suggest that the Spells were composed at a much earlier date, probably not later than the early part of the eighth century, i.e. *tofasci*, *Thes* ii, 250, 10; *benith*, *Thes* ii, 250, 11; *toslane*, *Thes* ii, 250. 16. Furthermore, the replacement of *-tá* is found in the Ml. glosses, i.e. *frisbenso*m 'he heals', Ml. 125c4 (gl. *medet*ur, 'heals'). N omits *-thá*. Perhaps this original root was replaced by *-ben* in an intermediary manuscript, leading N's scribe to omit it through haplography with *bron*, as a result of *homeoarchon*.

cu n-adbair airomun: I take N's *adbair* as a preposed gen. sg., with the preposition *cu n-* 'with' governing the following *airomun*. LL's *atbiur* shows an attempt to emend original *adbir* (without neutral glide) to dat. sg. *atbiur*, governed by *cu n-*.[695] However, in doing so the scribe forgot to omit the *i*. See also [13c] below for a similar scribal emendation in LL. The *n*-stroke, representing grammatically correct nasalization after prep. *cu n-*, is missing in N.

N's air*omu*n is a nominal compound while LL has a prepositional phrase *ar omun* 'for fear'. N's reading is the rarer form with a palatal *-r-* rather than the later common variant with a non-palatal *-r-*, *aromun*, *auromun* etc. (see *DIL* s.v. *airomun*).[696] Nevertheless, either reading can be used in the present context, as well as providing the required alliteration. But due to the following omission of *airinud* in LL, it suggests that the exemplar had *airomun* (or even *airemun*). Thus, I follow N in this instance.

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[694] *Thes* ii, xxviii.

[695] James Carney (1983, 201) writes 'scribes through inadvertence or ignorance frequently allow the second [word] to be governed by the preposition, in which cases we will find in the MSS preposition + dat./ acc. + dat. /acc.'. Subsequently, James Carney termed this corruption 'adjacency' (see Carney 1989, 47, n.11).

[696] This is a formation of **airemun*. The *-o-* in *airomun* shows analogical influence from the simplex *omun* (orig. with short *o*; *LEIA* O-22). This led to *air-* loosing its palatality, yielding the common variant *ar-*.

[13c] Air inrud(?) dom dul druib cen Dúileman dígail
For it is a trial (?) for me to go to the abode (= to die) without having avenged the Creator.

LL: do*m* dul druib. cendulemai*n* digail.

N: *air*iniud domdrub[697] cen du$_i$lem– d$_i$gail.

Airined dom dul drúib cen Dúilemon dígail.

It is lowering/humbling for me to go to the abode (= to die) without avenging of the Creator.

airined dom: Corthals transcribes this as *air inrud*.[698] He writes that 'N shows clear traces of *s* or *r* rather than the third stroke of an *m* (as read in *Death-Tales* 12.32: *imud*) between clearly legible *in* and *ud*'.[699] Upon inspection of the manuscript, it is clear that the letter *n* is followed by *i*, which has a long descending shaft, followed by a v-shaped letter *u*, thereby reading *air*iniud.[700] Compare the letter *i* in *inscib*, p. 16.26; similarly *inmain*, p. 16.25. Corthals suggested *inrud* to be from *DIL* s.v. *indred* (a) 'incursion, foray', understood in an abstract sense, i.e 'trial'.

However, if the transcription is correct, this is the vn of **air-fuin*, meaning 'act of lowering' (see *DIL* s.vv. *airinned*, *airinniud*). LL omits *airiniud* due to haplography as a result from the preceding *airomun* in its exemplar. The earlier form is preserved in *airinned* (cf. *DIL* s.v. *fuined*; Lindeman 1985, 191–2). Attested in Middle and Early Modern sources, the doubling of *n* is an orthographical variant for an unlenited *n*, and is sometimes found with hypercorrect *nd*. *Airinned* and *airindiud* both appear as variants in the Old Irish monastic text *Apgitir Chrábaid* 'The Alphabet of Piety'. Vernam Hull restored the phrase to *airindeth díummusa* 'abatement of pride'.[701] Similarly, one finds *tairinniud*, vn of *do-airindi* (**to-air-fuin*) (cf. *DIL* s.v. *tairniud*). An example of the earlier formation of the vn is similarly attested in *Apgitir Chrábaid*, i.e. *dréim cen tairinned*,

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[697] The faint lengthmark seems strangely curved and also directly attached to the left part of the *u*.

[698] Corthals 1989, 48: *air inrud*. It is also mistranscribed by Meyer (1906, 12), i.e. *airimud*.

[699] Corthals 1989, 51.

[700] i.e. *air inrud*, Corthals 1989, 48. It is also mistranscribed by Meyer (1906, 12), i.e. *airimud*.

[701] Hull 1968a, 62–3, l. 38–9.

'ascending without relapse'.[702] Also, there is one attestation in the glosses, i.e. *intairinnud* (gl. *deiectio*), *Thes* ii, 22.40 (Bcr 33d4). The verb can be used figuratively meaning 'lowers, abates, subdues, humbles', e.g. *dorairned diumus na mborb*, 'the vanity of the proud was brought down', *SR* 4495 (see further *SR* 859; 4394; 6019) and the verbal noun, when used transitively and with nouns denoting persons, 'reducing, bringing low, humbling', e.g. *dligid cach diumsach tairniud*, *Audacht Morainn*, Recension 2.[703] Therefore, the same meaning can be applied here to transitive *airined* in the sense that the speaker is lowered, or humbled, as a result of his actions, i.e. not avenging Christ's death. For the omission of the copula, see *GOI* §818.

dul drúib: LL preserves the verbal noun *dul*, which is lost in N. The phrase *dul drúib* is similar to the phrase *dul báis*. *DIL* s.v. *drúb* defines it as 'delay, staying, abiding', and when in phrase with *dul* (*do*), meaning 'to die'(?), giving only one example, besides the example found in LL, e.g. *dul dodruib mete*, 'going to an abode of exceeding goodness', *Amra Choluim Chille* §129.[704] The word *drúb* is cited as an *ā*-stem in *DIL*. However, this was an *o*-stem in origin, cf. *cenfodrúbu*, 'without delay', Ml. 22a6. Thus, the *ā*-flexion is possibly secondary having been extrapolated from the expression *dul do drúib*, where *drúib* must now be understood as the dat. but it was simply badly adapted from the original *dul drúib* with an objective gen. *o*-stem masc. as seen in LL.

duilemon: I follow Corthals in taking N's *duilem–* as is a preposed gen. sg. *Dúilemon* comes after the preposition *cen* which governs following *dígail*. N has the superior reading and LL shows scribal corruption making *dúilem* dependent on *cen*.[705]

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[702] Hull 1968a, 58/9, l. 5. The *variae lectiones* are of *tairinned*, but likely imitating the syncope pattern of *do-airnet*, i.e. *tairnedh*, *tairne*, *tarnem*, *tairnem*.

[703] Kelly 1976, 65

[704] Stokes 1899, 406. However, Stokes (1899, 409, n.1) suggested reading *d'fodruib*, 'where fo*druib* may be a cognate with *fodrúbu*'.

[705] See discussion on *cu n-adbair* above.

Version A: restored text

[1] [1a] Aided Chonchobair. [1b] Boí mescae mór for Ultu fecht n-and i nEmain Machae. [1c] Do-cuirethar immarbága móra 7 chomrama etarro .i. eter Conall 7 Choin Culainn 7 Lóegaire mBúadach. [1d] 'Tucaid dam-sa', ol Conall, 'inchinn Meisse Gegrai co n-árladar ócu inna comram.' [1e] Ba bés do Ultaib ind inbaid sin cach curaid no marbtais ar galaib oínfir no gattae a n-inchinn assa cennaib, [1f] 7 chon-mescthae áel airriu co ndénad líathróiti crúaidi díb. [1g] 7 in tan no bítis i n-immarbáig nó chomramaib do-bertis dóib co mbítis inna lámaib.

[2] 'Maith, a Chonchobair', ol Conall, 'na co ndernat óic inna comram écht foa n-indas-sa ar galaib oínfir, nídat túailngi comrama frium-sa'. 'Is fír ón', ol Conchobar.

[3] [3a] Do-ratad íarum forsa forad fora mbid do grés a n-inchinn. [3b] Luid cách a leth íarnabárach dint slúag. Ad-condarcatar trá dí óinmit Chonchobair i ciunn tened in caingin móir do-rónad immon inchinn. [3c] Berait leo immach íarnabarach día cluichiu. [3d] Do-lluid danó Cet mac Mágach de Chonnachtaib do chúairt echtrae la Ultu. [3e] Béist as ansam ro boí i nÉre in Cet. [3f] Is ed do-lluid-side dar faithchi inna hEmnae 7 trí láechcenn leis di Ultaib.

[4] [4a] In tan bátar inna óinmiti oca cluichiu di inchiunn Meisse Gegrai, is ed as-bert ind óinmit fri araile, 'Asso, asso', ol ind óinmit fri araile, 'do-fóeth rí dé', ol araile. [4b] Ro-cluinedar Cet a n-í-sin. [4c] Ethaid-side a lláim indala n-aí a n-inchinn 7 beirid leis, [4d] ó ro-fitir Cet ro boí i tairngiriu do Mess Gegrai a dígal íarna écaib. [4e] Cach cath 7 cach irgal no bíd do Chonnachtaib fri Ultu, [4f] do-bered Cet a n-inchinn inna chris dús in tetairsed écht n-amrae di Ultaib do marbad dé.

[5] [5a] Fecht and do-lluid-sem, int-í Cet, sair for creich co tuc táin mbó a Feraib Ross. [5b] Da-n-arraid in íarmóracht Ulad inna diad 7 ro gab-som friu [5c] co torachtatar Connachta dond leith aile dia thesarcain-sem. [5d] Fechair cath etarro. [5e] Do-lluid Conchobar féin isin cath. [5f] Conid and sin gádatar mná Connacht do Chonchobur tuidecht for leth do déicsin a delbae dóib. [5g] Fo bíth ní rabae for talam delb duini amal deilb Conchobair. [5h] .i. eter cruth 7 deilb 7 deichelt, eter méit 7 chórai 7 chutrummae [5i] eter rosc 7 folt 7 gili, eter gais 7 álaig 7 erlabrai [5j] eter arm 7 erriud 7 écosc, eter áini 7 immad 7 orddan, eter gnáis 7 gaiscid 7 chenél. [5k] Nírbo lochtach trá int-í Conchobar. [5l] A comairli immurgu in Cheit ro gabsat

mná Connacht áilgis de Chonchobur. [5m] Luid íarum for leth a óenur día déicsin donaib mnáib.

[6] [6a] Do-lluid Cet immurgu co mboí eter inna mná i mmedón. [6b] Na-indlethar Cet inchinn Meisse Gegrai isin tábaill. [6c] 7 da-léici conid-tarlae i mullach Conchobair co mbátar a dá trian inna chiunn, [6d] 7 co torchair-sem asa chiunn, co tarlae fri lár. [6e] Fo-cerdat Ulaid cucai conid-rucsat ó Chet. [6f] For brú Átha Dairi Dá Báeth is and do-rochair Conchobar. [6g] 7 attá a lige and baile i torchair 7 chorthe fria chenn 7 chorthe fria chossa.

[7] [7a] Maidid trá for Connachta co Sciaid Aird inna Con. [7b] Do-bertar Ulaid sair do fhithissi co Áth Dairi Dá Báeth. [7c] 'Mo brith-se ass!' ol Conchobar. [7d] Do-bér ríge nUlad do neuch nom-béra conicci mo thech. [7e] 'Not-bér-sa', ol Cenn mBerraide, ol a gillae fadéin. [7f] Dobeir-side lomain immi 7 no-mbeir fora muin co Ardachad Sléibe Fúait. [7g] Maidid a chride isin gillu. [7h] Conid de sin atá 'ríge Cinn Berraide for Ultaib' [7i] .i. in rí fora muin leth ind laí.

[8] [8a] Con-acbad trá in debaid ón tráth co araile dar éis ind ríg. [8b] co róemaid for Ultu íarsin.

[9] [9a] Do-berar trá a liaig co Conchobar .i. Fíngen. [9b] Is é-side ro-finnad don diaid no théiged don taig a lín no bíd i ngalur isin taig 7 cach galar no bíd and. [9c] 'Maith', ol Fíngen, 'dia talltar in chloch as do chiunn ba marb fo chétóir'. [9d] 'Mani tucthar ass immurgu, not-ícfainn 7 bid aithis duit.' [9e] 'Is assu dún', ol Ulaid, 'ind aithis oldás a éc-som'.

[10] [10a] Ro íccad íarum a chenn 7 ro úaiged co snáth óir, ar ba cummae dath fuilt Chonchobair 7 dath ind óir. [10b] 7 as-bert in liaig fri Conchobar co mbeth i foimtin [10c] .i. arna tísed a ferg dó 7 na digsed for ech 7 na etraiged mnaí co ainféta 7 na reissed.

[11] [11a] Ro boí danó isin chuntabairt-sin céin robo béo .i. secht mblíadnai, [11b] 7 nírbo engnamaid acht a airisem inna suidiu nammá .i. na co cúalae Críst do chrochad la Íudeu. [11c] Tánic and-side crith mór forsna dúili [11d] 7 ro crithnaig nem 7 talam la mét in gníma do-rónad and, [11e] .i. Ísu Críst mac Dé bí do chrochad cen chinaid. [11f] 'Cid só?' ol Conchobar fria druid. [11g] 'Cía gním mór do-gníther isind laithiu-sa indíu?' [11h] 'Is fír ón', ol in druí. [11i]

'Is mór in gním Críst do chrochad'. 'Is mór ém', ol Conchobar [11j] 'In fer sin', ol in druí, 'i n-óenaidchi ro génair 7 ro génar .i. i n-ocht calde Enair cenip inunn blíadain.

[12] [12a] Is and sin ro creiti Conchobar, [12b] 7 is é sin indala fer ro chreiti do Día i nÉrinn re tíchtain creitme .i. Morand mac Maín in fer aile. [See Chapter 4.1 for the edition of *Ba aprainn*].

Version A: translation

[1] [1a] The violent death of Conchobar. [1b] Once upon a time a great drunkeness came upon the men of Ulster in Emain Macha. [1c] There happens great boastings and contentions between them, that is, Conall and Cú Culainn and Lóegaire Búadach. [1d] 'Bring me,' said Conall, 'the brain of Mess Gegrai, so that I may engage with the competing youths.' [1e] At that time it was custom with the Ulstermen to take the brain out of the heads of all warriors they would kill in single combat, [1f] and lime was mixed with them, so that hard balls were made of them. [1g] Whenever they were boasting or in contentions, they (i.e. the calcified brains) were given to them, so that they had them in their hands.

[2] 'Well, Conchobar', said Conall, 'until the contesting warriors perform a deed like this in single combat, they cannot contest (lit. are not capable of contention) with me'. 'That is true', said Conchobar.

[3] [3a] Then the brain was put upon the shelf upon which it was always kept. [3b] The next day, everyone from the host went his own direction. Conchobar's two jesters by the fire had seen the great fuss that had been made about the brain. [3c] They took (the brain) with them outside the next day to play. [3d] Then, Cet mac Mágach came from the territory of the Connachtmen on a round of adventures among the Ulstermen. [3e] Cet was the most troublesome pest that was in Ireland. [3f] It was across the green of Emain that the latter came carrying with him three heads of the men of Ulster.

[4] [4a] When the jesters were playing with the brain of Mess Gegrai, this is what one said to the other. 'Behold, behold', said he. 'A king will fall on account of it', said the other. [4b] Cet hears that. [4c] The aforementioned snatches the brain out of the hand of one of them (i.e. the jesters) and carries it off; [4d] for Cet knew that Mess Gegrai's vengeance after his death had been prophesied. [4e] Every battle and every combat which the men of

Connacht had with the Ulstermen, [4f] Cet used to carry the brain in his girdle to see whether he could accomplish killing a famous warrior of the Ulstermen with it.

[5] [5a] Once, he, the aforementioned Cet, went eastwards upon a plundering expedition and he took a drove of cows from the territory of the Fir Rois. [5b] The pursuing party of Ulstermen caught up with him and he held out against them, [5c] and the men of Connacht came up from the other side to rescue him. [5d] A battle is fought between them. [5e] Conchobar himself went into the battle. [5f] And it was then that the women of Connacht begged Conchobar to come aside so that they might see his body. [5g] For there had not been on earth the body of a human being like the body of Conchobar, [5h] both for beauty and figure and dress, for size and symmetry and proportion, [5i] or eye and hair and whiteness, for wisdom and manners and eloquence, [5j] for raiment and nobleness and equipment, for weapons and wealth and dignity, for bearing and valour and race. [5k] That Conchobar was faultless indeed. [5l] It was on the advice of Cet that the women of Connacht had importuned Conchobar. [5m] Thereupon he went aside alone to be scrutinized by the women.

[6] [6a] Cet, however, went among the women. [6b] Cet adjusts the brain of Mess Gegrai in the sling, [6c] and throws it so that it hit the crown of Conchobar's head, so that two-thirds of it entered his head, [6d] and so that he fell head-first to the ground. [6e] The men of Ulster ran towards him, and carried him off from Cet. [6f] On the brink of the ford of Daire Dá Báeth it was that Conchobar fell. [6g] And his grave is there where he fell, and a pillar-stone at his head, and another at his feet.

[7] [7a] The men of Connacht are then routed to Scé Aird na Con. [7b] The men of Ulster are driven eastwards to the ford of Daire Dá Báeth. [7c] 'Let me be carried out of this!', said Conchobar. [7d] 'I shall give the kingship of Ulster to anyone who will carry me as far as my house.' [7e] 'I will carry thee,' said Cenn Berraide, his own attendant. [7f] He puts a cord around him, and carries him upon his back to Ardachad of the Fews. [7g] The attendant's heart broke within him. [7h] Hence is the saying 'Cenn Berraide's kingship over Ulster,' [7i] to wit, the king upon his back for (only) half the day.

[8] [8a] However, the fight was kept up after the king from one hour of the day to the same hour on the next day, [8b] after which the men of Ulster were routed.

[9] [9a] In the meantime, his physician was brought to Conchobar, that is Fíngen. [9b] It is he who used to know by the smoke that used to come from the house the number of those ill in the house, and every disease that was in it. [9c] 'Well,' said Fíngen, 'if the stone is taken out of your head, you will die immediately. [9d] 'If it is not removed, however, I would heal you and it will be a blemish to you.' [9e] 'It is easier for us,' said the men of Ulster, '[to accept] the blemish than his death.'

[10] [10a] His head was then healed; and it was stitched with thread of gold, for the colour of Conchobar's hair was the same as the colour of gold. [10b] And the physician said to Conchobar that he should be on his guard, [10c] that is, that he should not get angry, and he should not mount a horse, and he should not have sexual relations, and he should not run.

[11] [11a] In that dangerous predicament, then, he was as long as he lived, that is seven years,[11b] and he was not capable of action except remaining in his seat only, that is, until he heard that Christ had been crucified by the Jews. [11c] At that time a great trembling came over the elements, [11d] and heaven and earth had shaken with the enormity of the deed that had been done then, [11e] even Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, to be crucified without guilt. [11f] 'What is this?' said Conchobar to his druid. [11g] 'What terrible deed is being done on this day?' [11h] 'It is true, indeed,' said the druid. [11i] 'Awful is the deed Christ being crucified.' 'It is awful indeed', said Conchobar. [11j] 'That man moreover,' said the druid, 'he was born in the same night as you were born, that is, on the eighth before the calends of January, though the year was not the same.'

[12] [12a] It was then that Conchobar believed. [12b] And he is one of the two men that believed in God in Ireland before the coming of the Faith, Morand mac Maín being the other man.

Version A: textual notes

[1a] *Aided Chonchobuir.*[706]
The Death of Conchobar.[707]

LL: .Aided *chon*cob–.
C: omits
E_1: [ ]
E_2: omits

Aided Chonchobair.
The violent death of Conchobar.

The title is found squeezed in at the beginning of the earliest witness only, i.e. LL. It is omitted in C and E_2, and perhaps also in E_1, although the first two lines of the text in this manuscript are illegible due to staining and therefore it is impossible to say if the title was present. The reason for the title's absence in these manuscripts, or its presence in LL, is not readily apparent. Given the tale's popularity, it may be that a title was not deemed necessary because it was recognizable by its contents alone. Moreover, the title may have been added by LL's compiler. The title is included in the renowned Tale-List A, which suggests that the text was referred to by this title in the tenth century at the earliest.[708] Therefore, I follow LL's use of the title in the critical edition of this recension, even though it does not receive support from any other witness.

Vendryes, following Pedersen (Ped ii, 514), has suggested that the word *aided* is the vn of *ad-eth*[709] 'goes against, attacks' (*LEIA*, A-27, cf. Mac Cana 1980, 73). However, Marstrander differed in opinion and suggested that it was related to Sanskrit *pádyate* 'falls, perishes' of the root **ped-* (Marstrander 1962, 206; cf. Mac Cana 1980, 73). *Aided*

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[706] The readings in italics are those from Meyer's edition in *The Death-tales* (1906, 4–11).

[707] The translation immediately following Meyer's edition is that of Kuno Meyer. My translation is provided in italics below the edited text in bold, on the occasion that it differs with Meyer's translation.

[708] For a general discussion on the tale-lists, the inclusion of the category of *aideda* 'death-tales' and the posited date of the original list, see Chapter 3.

[709] *DIL* cites the verb as *ad-etha* (s.v. *aided*, 103.81) and *at-etha* (s.v. *at-etha*, 444.85) rather than *ad-eth* as suggested by Pedersen and Vendryes.

is fem., and probably an *ā*-stem in origin (see *DIL* s.v. *aided*). LL's *aided* is a fem. nom. sg. and lenites the following gen. sg. *Conchobair* (*GOI* §232.2).

I use the translation 'violent death' as given in *DIL* s.v. *aided*, rather than Meyer's 'death'. See further discussion on the meaning and interpretation of *aided* in Chapter 3.

Chonchobair: According to Watkins (1912, 116), this proper name is a compound of *cú* + *cobar* (< **-kupro-*) 'desiring, desirer' (lit. 'dog-desiring'). The name is generally found abbreviated in the four manuscripts, with only two instances found where the ending is written plene, i.e. con*cubar*, C, fol. 6vb5; *a* con*chubuir*, E_2, fol. 7vb11. The spelling of the name is normalised henceforth as follows: nom. sg. *Conchobar*; voc. sg. *Conchobair*; acc. sg. *Conchobar*; gen. sg. *Conchobair*; dat. sg. *Conchobur*.

[1b] *Bāi mesca mór for Ulto fecht n-and i nEmain Macha.*

Once upon a time the men of Ulster were greatly intoxicated in Emain Macha.

LL: **Ba**i mesca mór f– ulto fec*h*t na*n*d i*n*emai*n* .m.

C: **Bu**i measca mor f– ulltaib f*echt* an*n* hi naemai*n* mac*h*a

E_1: [ ]

E_2: **Ba**i meisgi mor f– ultuib fechtnaill ane*m*uin macha.

Boí mescae mór for Ultu fecht n-and i nEmain Machae.

Once upon a time a great drunkeness came upon the men of Ulster in Emain Macha.

mescae: The nom. sg. *mesca* in LL preserves the Old Irish neutral consonantal group *-sc-*.[710] C's *measca* supports this reading, albeit with modernised *ea* for *e*. The palatal intervocalic consonantal group in E_2's *meisgi* reflects the spreading trend of palatalization (see Greene, 1973; cf. Binchy 1907, 57). It is unlikely that LL/C's exemplar replaced *meisci* with *mesca* but more likely that E_2 (or its exemplar) replaced original *mesca* with *meisci*, with palatal intervocalic *-sc-* becoming widespread later on. Therefore, LL's *mesca* constitutes the *lectio difficilior*.

I restore the spelling of the OIr nom. sg. of the *iā*-stem *mescae* despite the lack of manuscript support, which is due to the manuscripts' general treatment of final unstressed vowels, in accordance with the editorial policy of restoring all unstressed final vowels to the Classical Old Irish standard. This also applies to the gen. sg. of *macha* in the placename *Emain Machae* at the end of the sentence.

for Ultu: There is stemmatic support from C and E_2 for the dat. pl. *Ultaib* after the prep. *for* 'on, upon', which governs both the acc. and dat. However, LL has an apparent acc. pl. *ulto*. Since C and E_2 are manuscripts of the Early Modern Irish period and could easily have introduced the dat. pl. ending (*SnaG* III, § 5.1), the question arises whether the acc. or dat. was intended in the Old Irish original.

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[710] Certain consonantal groups, or clusters, such as *-sc-* were not affected by the process of first palatalization (see *RelChron*. 116). Examples of *mescae* with non-palatal *-sc-* are attested in the glosses, e.g. nom. sg. *.i. arnicundil mesce caillech*, 'i.e. for (the) drunkenness of old women is not seemly', Wb. 31c3; acc. sg. *.i. am*al *nad fulgam inmescai indfíno* [...], 'i.e. as we support not the intoxication of wine [...]', Ml. 77d7 etc. It is also cited in the Grammatical Tracts alongside that with the innovatory palatal *-sc-*, i.e. *measca meisci*, *IGT* Decl. §3.5.

The prep. *for* is used here perhaps in the sense of 'affecting' or 'afflicting' of emotions, physical or mental status (see *DIL* s.v. *for*, II (h) 1). In this sense, *for* governs the dat., e.g. *ishe inmachdad insin robói forsnaib doirsib*, 'that was the wonder that was upon the doors', Ml. 46a19. Furthermore, *for* is attested in use after the substantive verb *attá* 'is' (*DIL* s.v. *attá*, 471.76–84), and is also followed by the dat. in this instance, e.g. *.i. ised adfet alegend as ṅ dath glas roboi forsindsléib fo chosmailius saphirr*, 'i.e. it is this that the text relates, that a blue colour, like sapphire, was on the mountain', Ml. 84d4. Both of these instances allows for a literal translation of 'drunkenness was on the Ulstermen'. Nevertheless, LL's acc. pl. appears to be the more difficult reading since the dat. pl. ending becomes widespread from the MidIr period onwards, which may be the case in C and E_2. Lastly, it should be noted that the manuscripts preserve the OIr prep. *for* which is frequently replaced by *ar* in later manuscripts due to the loss of the MidIr lenited initial *f* in conjugated prepositions (*DIL* s.v. *for*, 294.11–3).

fecht n-and: LL and E_2 preserve the older temporal accusative *fecht* with following nasalization (*GOI* §249.3; *DIL* s.v. *fecht*, II). C's variant may represent the later temporal dative in this instance, but it may also be that an *n*-stroke has been lost in transmission.

However, there is disagreement in the manuscripts as to the word coming after *fecht*. LL/C has the prep. *i n-* + masc./neut. suff. pron., meaning 'once upon a time, on one occasion', e.g. *Fect n-and do Ult*aib *i n-Em*ain *Macha*, 'Once upon a time as the Ultonians were in Emain', *FB* §91.[711] E_2 has *n-aill* (see *DIL* s.vv. *fecht*, 55.9–20 for *fecht n-aile* 'another time, on another occasion'; *aile*, 117.14). This is an innovatory use of the neut. adj. *aill* rather than the anticipated fem. *aile*, agreeing with preceding fem. *fecht*, e.g. OIr *fecht n-a(i)le*, *BBr.* 15, 78, 93; cf. *Atchúala lib in macc ṁbec sain fecht n-aill i Crúachain*, 'I have heard you speak of that little lad once upon a time in Crúachu', *TBC* LL 719–20. Since the use of *n-and* or (a restored) fem. *n-aile* is plausible here, I follow the more traditional and possibly older use of *and* in LL/C because this branch is the more conservative one in the stemma.

[711] For a discussion of the phrase *fecht n-and*, as well as *fecht n-oín*, see Thurneysen 1930, 71–5, esp. 74. The use of *and* appears to be the more traditional (and perhaps older) phrase against the later *fecht n-oín*, cf. *do-rochoir fecht n-and*, 'one time [it] fell', *LMDD*, §2; *fecht nand*, *BBr.* 51, 113, 190, 376 (see also *DIL* s.vv. *fecht*, 54.83–55.9 for other examples).

[1c] *Do-curidar di*diu *immarbāga móra* ⁊ *comrama eturro .i. etir Chonall* ⁊ *Coinculaind* ⁊ *Lōegaire.*

Thence there arise great contentions and comparison of trophies between them, even between Conall and CuChulinn and Loegaire.

LL: docurid*ar* di– i*mm*a*r*baga móra ⁊ co*m*ra*m*a eta*r*ro .i. et– *chon*all ⁊ coi*n*cul– ⁊ loeg*air*e.

C: do cu*r*it*er* tan*n* im*ar*baidu moru ⁊ cuimruma et*arr*a .i. eit*er* *con*all ⁊ *coin*qlain*n* ⁊læg*air*e

E_1: ⁊do cuiret[ ] im*ar*[ ] loeg–ᵢ mbu–ac*h*.

E_2: Docuired*h* i*m*arbaid*h* ⁊ comrama r–na curadaib .i. et– *con*all cerndach ⁊ *coin*culuind ⁊ lægaire mbuadach.

Do-cuirethar immarbága móra ⁊ chomrama etarro .i. eter Conall ⁊ Choin Culainn ⁊ Lóegaire mBúadach.

There happens great boastings and contentions between them, that is, Conall and Cú Culainn, and Lóegaire Búadach.

Do-cuirethar: LL and C preserve the OIr pl. deponent flexion of the verb *do-cuirethar*, in the sense of 'puts' + acc., in impersonal construction (see *DIL* s.v. *do-cuirethar*, II (a)). E_2's *do-cuiredh* is a 3sg. act. ipf.. The final *dh* in E_2's *do-cuiredh* is possibly a 3sg. ending with scribal lenition. The spelling *d* in LL's *-idar* might also reflect the Old Irish tendency of changing *th* to voiced *d* between unstressed vowels (*RelChron.* 133). The pl. would not suit the impersonal use but it could reflect the personalisation of the construction in MidIr (see *DIL* s.v. *do-cuirethar*, III). Unfortunately the letters following E_1's *do cuirit* are no longer legible in the manuscript due to severe staining. However, Ronald Black transcribed ⁊ *do cuireth*ar *imarb*ag ⁊ *comr* ....[712] This supports the OIr 3sg. dep. flexion found on the other side of the stemma, but with the earlier voiceless *-th-* against LL's *-d-* reflecting the later pronunciation.

C's *tann* 'of old, once' is an innovatory spelling (*DIL* s.v. *tan*, *tain*, III (a)), while LL's *didiu* denotes a temporal sequence, i.e. 'then' (*DIL* s.v. *didiu*, (d)). Neither of these readings receives support from the other side of the stemma. It is probable therefore that

[712] See Ronald Black's catalogue entry for E_1.

they have been introduced individually in separate lines of transmission. Thus, neither variant is included in the edition.

immarbága móra 7 chomrama: The Edinburgh manuscripts support the use of the acc. sg., albeit with confusion of lenited palatal final *g* and *d* in E_2 and case confusion in E_1. Thus, *immarbáig móir ocus chomrama* would make good sense here. Nevertheless, this is not supported by the manuscripts overall. In fact, the use of the nom./ acc. pl. *immarbága* in LL/C is a *lectio difficilior* since it is unlikely that the scribe would have changed a sg. to a pl., but rather the other way around to match the preceding sg. verb. This would also explain the overall support for an original pl. *comrama* which remains unchanged. Therefore, I adopt LL and C's use of the pl.

DIL s.v. *immarbág* defines it as 'strife, contention' or 'boasting', with both meanings well attested.[713] I apply 'boasting' in the translation as this is more fitting in the context of the events that follow in the narrative below, see for example the following sentence. *Comram*, an old compound of *com* + *rím*, is defined by *DIL* as 'contest, contention; triumph, victory'. The letter *i* in C's *cuimruma* seems enigmatic, and may have occurred through the erroneous transference of the full pre-palatal variant *cuim-* from some other word, although which word is unclear.

It is difficult to say whether LL/C added the adj. *mór* or whether it is omitted in the Edinburgh recension. In this doubtful case, where the stemma is split 50/50, I use LL as the leading manuscript.

eter Conall 7 Choin Culainn 7 Lóegaire mBúadach: The proper names form a larger unit here, governed by the prep. *eter* 'between', and are linked to each other by *ocus* (see *GOI* §881).

According to Thurneysen, lenition is found after *eter* only *sometimes* in the Ml. and Sg. glosses, by analogy with *air* (*GOI* §§235.3, 835(a), *DIL* s.v. *eter* states that it lenites in MidIr). Thus, the lenition in LL's *Chonall* could have been in the original. But since lenition is not supported in C and E_2, it might reflect a tendency of LL's scribe to lenite after *eter* (see also [5h] below). It should be noted that this involves the mark of lenition above the *con*-compendium, which E_2 has a tendency to omit. Be that as it may, I do not include lenition in this instance since *eter* did not lenite historically.

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[713] This word is a compound of of the intensive prefix *immar-* (*imm-* + *ro-*, see *DIL* s.v. *immar-*) + *ā*-stem *bág* 'boast'. The prefix is a formation of **imbi* + *ro*, with syncope and svarabhakti (cf. *GOI* §112).

According to Thurneysen, lenition is frequently absent after *et* or ⁊ in Wb. (*GOI* §234.3), but in *GOI* §878 he states that ⁊ does lenite, e.g. *cucumtuch ⁊ chonimbiud*, 'with embellishment and [with] abundance', Ml. 94b11. I restore the lenition after the compendium ⁊, as outlined in the normalisation policy in Chapter 1.

I include Lóegaire's epithet *Búadach*, which is preserved in E_1 and E_2, as there is nothing to suggest that it is a later addition and because there is a possibility it could have been omitted by LL/C's exemplar. Incidentally, the epithet is written with the historically correct nasalization after the acc. sg. Lóegaire.

[1d] '*Tucaid dam-sa*' *ar Conall* '*inchind Me*[*i*]*ssgegra co ro-acilliur ócu na comram.*'
'Bring me,' said Conall, 'the brain of Mesgegra, so that I may talk to the competing warriors.'

LL: Tucaid da*m*sa *ar co*nall i*n*chi*n*d mess .g. coroacilliur ócu nac*h*o*m*ra*m*.

C: tucaid damsa *ar co*nall incind meas .g*r*a. coro aig¡ll*ar* ocu nacu*m*ramau

E_1: Tuc– damsa *ar* [ ]ailler ocu nac–r–a

E_2: **Tucaid***h* damsa or *co*nall i*n*chind mesgera goraigillear icoraib*h* imarbad*h*a nacuraid*h*

'Tucaid dam-sa', ol Conall, 'inchinn Meisse Gegrai co n-árladar ócu inna comram.'
'Bring me,' said Conall, 'the brain of Mess Gegrai, so that I may engage with the competing warriors.'

Tucaid: Full stemmatic support is given to the 2pl. ipv. of suppletive *do-uccai* 'brings' (against regular formation *tabraid* 'give' from *do-beir*) + 1sg. conj. prep. of *do* 'to, for', expressing the recipient + 1sg. emph. pron. (see *DIL* s.v. *do*, B I (a)). According to Thurneysen, the spelling *dam* is found predominantly in the Ml. glosses while *dom* is found in the Wb. and St. Gall glosses (*GOI* §435).

Although the form *ar* 'said' already occurs twice in the Ml. glosses, its preponderence in this version is probably due to the MidIr scribe.[714] Thus, the regular OIr form *ol* is normalised throughout the edition against the manuscript evidence.

Meisse Gegrai: This proper name is composed of two elements, *mess* + *gegrae*. *Mes*(*s*) 'fosterling' is found often in early Irish literature followed by a genitive in personal names, e.g. *Mes Buachalla*, *Mes Dead* (*DIL* s.v. *3 mes*(*s*)). The gen. sg. is *meis*(*s*)*e*, e.g. *Conaire mac Mesi* (leg. *Mese*) *Búachalla*, *BDD*[2] 103–4. Later attestations treat the two elements as a true compound, with the second element only being inflected. See for instance [1b], version D. It is not clear where *Gegrae* is derived from, but it is most likely to be treated as either an *io*- or *iā*-stem. Ó Dónaill (2005, 84) adopts an *io*-stem for *Gegrae*, although he points out himself it 'is admittedly an entirely unsatisfactory solution'. Therefore, I normalise the spelling of the proper name as nom. sg. *Mess Gegrai* and gen. sg. *Meisse Gegrai* throughout the critical edition.

[714] i.e. Ml. 44b10–11, 44c20, see Quin 1960, 95; see also McCone 1985, 91.

co n-árladar: The manuscripts support the 1sg. conj. pres. *ā*-subj. of *ad-gládathar* 'addresses, speaks to, converses with' with *ro* of potentiality treated as a proclitic conjunct particle rather than a stressed preverb (*EIV* 187). According to Thurneysen, *ad-gládathar* originally took the *ā*-subjunctive in Old Irish, but later forms with *s* modelled on the *s*-preterite are attested also (*GOI* §596), e.g. *7 conid-n-arladar*, '[so that I may] speak to him', *Bethu Brigte*, 13 §38[715]; con*id-ārlasa*r, 'so that I may address', *AE*, 208 §9(p).[716] I restore *-árladar*, with pre-verbal (fixed) *ro* (*GOI* §527(b)).

inna comram: All the witnesses have the short form of the fem. gen. pl. article *na* (OIr *inna*). Such short forms are already attested in the glosses, and according to McCone (1985, 89–90), this demonstrates that *na* was already present in the spoken language, with the longer *inna* preserved due to 'orthographic conservatism'. However, the long form is restored here, and henceforth, in accordance with the editorial policy.

I cannot see any reason for the lenition mark in LL's gen. pl. of the *ā*-stem *chomram* and therefore I do not adopt it.[717] E_2 rewrites original *ócu inna comram* as *goraigillear i coraibh*[718] *imarbadha na curaidh*, 'so that I may compete with the warriors in boasting bouts'.

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[715] Ó hAodha (1978, xxv–xxvii) dates this text to the first half of the ninth century at the latest.

[716] This verbal form appears in the poem *Fo Loch Echach* in *Aided Echach maic Maireda*. Rande de Vries (2012, 191–2) dates this poem to the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth century based on linguistic evidence.

[717] Meyer (1906, 4 §1) emends the edition to *comram*, providing the manuscript reading in footnote 1.

[718] I take *coraibh* as the dat. pl of the vn *cor* (of *fo-ceird*) 'act of putting, placing, setting up; throwing, casting etc' (*DIL* s.v. *cor*), and understand it in this context with the meaning 'bouts'.

[1e] *Ba bēs d'Ultaib ind inbaid sin cach curaid nomarbdais ar galaib ōenfir nogatta a n-inchind assa cendaib.*

At that time it was custom with the men of Ulster to take the brains out of the head of every warrior whom they slew in single combat,

LL: Babes dultaib i*n*dinbaid s*i*n ca– curaid nom*ar*bdais *ar*galaib oenfir nogatta ani*n*chi*n*d assacendaib

C: **b**a bes dull– ininbaid s*i*n ca–curaid ł*mar*bdis *ar*galaib enf*ir* ł gata aincin*n* asacean*n*aib

E_1: u*air* ba bes do ult– [ ] m*ar*bdais argal– ae*n*f– ł gata an*i*ncinn asa c*hin*dia

E_2: arbabes doulltaib*h* i*n* inbaid*h* s*i*n gach t*r*einfer nomarbdais argalaib ænfir rogadaithea ai*n*ci*nn* asachind lais*i*nt*i* romarb*h*ad*h*

Ba bés do Ultaib ind inbaid sin cach curaid no marbtais ar galaib oínfir no gattae a n-inchinn assa cennaib,

At that time it was custom with the Ulstermen to take the brain out of the heads of all warriors they would kill in single combat,

do Ultaib: E_1 and E_2 the MidIr causal conjunction *uair/air* 'for, because, since' at the beginning of the sentence (OIr gen. sg. *óre/uaire*; see *DIL* s.v. *úar*, 35.80–36.2).[719] This may have been introduced in their shared common source. In this instance, LL/C is followed as this is the more conservative branch. The Edinburgh manuscripts retain the vowel of the prep. *do*, which is elided in the variants of LL/C (*SnaG* III, §3.27)

ind inbaid sin: The temporal dative of *inbaid* 'time, period' is used here to indicate a particular point of time (*GOI* §251.3). All the manuscripts, apart from LL's variant *nd*, show the assimilation of *nd* > *n*(*n*) in the article (*GOI* §151 (c)). Nevertheless, *ind* is restored in the edition preceding the dat. sg. fem. *inbaid*.

curaid no marbtais: E_2 replaces the nom. pl. of *caur* 'warrior with a more straightforward *treinfer* 'strong man'. Since *curaid* is the subj. antecedent of the 3pl. ipf. of *marbaid*, a leniting relative clause is expected (*GOI* §§494). All the manuscripts have the modernised orthographical *d* for *t*, which is normalised in the edition.

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[719] For a discussion on the confusion of *ór*, *óir*, *a*(*i*)*r* and *uair* in later MidIr, see Hertz (1933, 274–79).

no gattae: The 3sg. ipf. pass. of *gataid* 'takes away, removes' (*DIL* s.v. *gataid*, (a)) suits the context here in view of the use of the imperfect in [1f].

a n-inchinn: *DIL* s.v. *inchinn* 'the brain, brains' gives this as 'f.? Earlier n.', but does not provide any examples to support it being a neuter. Unfortunately this word is not attested in any Old Irish sources and it is treated as a fem. when attested, e.g. gen. sg. *inchinde*, Corm. Y 1059.22. In discussing the stem-formation of *inchinn*, Thurneysen does not comment on the gender of the noun (*GOI* §345).

The noun *inchinn* is a rectional compound of *in-* 'in' + neut. *o*-stem *cenn*, meaning literally 'the in-the-head thing'. Greene (1966, 84) suggests that *inchinn* is an adjectival formation in origin comparable with the Welsh equivalent *ym(h)ennydd* (see also Jones 1913, 269; cf. Corn. *empinion*). *Ym(h)ennydd* is clearly a masc. compound with *-ydd* < *-i̯i̯o-*, and not *-edd* from fem. *-i̯i̯ā*. For Irish *inchinn* to be treated as a fem, one would expect the formation **enikᵘenni̯ā* > *inchinn* (i.e. with the fem. *-i̯i̯ā*, *GOI* §257) but this is not supported by any British counterpart. Thus, this discrepancy points to an old neuter in origin. Neuter *i*-stems are rare in Old Irish (*GOI* §299). However, due to the general abolition of the neuter gender, the palatal final of *i*-stems would have favoured the fem. As to exactly why, and when, this change from neuter to feminine occurred in Irish requires further investigation. However, in keeping with the Classical Old Irish date of composition, I treat *inchinn* as an OIr neuter.

The ambiguous *an* in LL, C and E_1 means it could be either the neut. acc. sg. art. *a* or the 3pl. poss. pron. *a*, both nasalizing. LL is generally conservative in the treatment of proclitic *i* and *a* and thus it is unlikely that *an* is a later spelling for the fem. art. *in*.

E_2's sentence shows rewriting with the 3sg. masc. poss. pron. *a* referring to the *treinfer* 'warrior', and subsequently changing the pl. *cennaib* to the dat. sg. *chind*. The scribe also adds *laisᵢntᵢ romarbhadh*, 'by the one who killed him'. E_1's *chindia* is an innovatory acc. pl., showing case confusion after the prep. *a* 'out of, from' which governs the dat. Furthermore, the vocalic ending reflects an eccentric way of spelling final reduced /ə/ of *cinnu* reformed after the masc. pattern, rather than the orig. *cenna* (cf. *cinnu*, *TBC* I, 539).

[1f] ⁊ *com*mesc*t*[*h*]*a āel airthib co ndēnad līathrōite crūade díb.*
and to mix lime with them, so that they were made into hard balls.

LL: ⁊ co*m*mesc*tha*[720] æl *airthi*b co*n*denad liat*h*roite cruade díb.
C: ⁊ cu*m*asg asga æl airtaib *con*denad liat*h*roiti c*r*uinne cruaide dib
E_1: ⁊ ł [ ]ta liat*r*o$_i$t c*r*uaid d$_i$
E_2: ⁊ nacumaiscea ail fær lais *con*denad*h* liathroid c*r*uaid*h* de

⁊ **chon-mescthae áel airriu co ndénad líathróiti crúaidi díb.**
and lime was mixed with them, so that hard balls were made of them.

⁊ **chon-mescthae**: LL's *commesctha* can be taken as a 3sg. deut. ipf. pass. of *con-mesca* 'mixes', continuing on from the preceding use of the ipf. *no gattae*. However, it is found in the manuscript with an *m*-stroke rather than an *n*-stroke, influenced by the MidIr form *cummaiscid*. Similarly also with C's *cumasg asga*, albeit with *asg* being an instance of dittography. E_2's *cumaiscea* is in dependent position with preceding *na* but supports the use of the ipf. pass. albeit with omission of *-th-* reflecting the pronunciation at the time of copying. I restore the OIr 3sg. deut. *chon-mescthae* 'and was mixed' against all manuscripts. For a comment on the scribal omission of lenition after the tironian symbol ⁊, see the textual note in [1c].

The various compounds of *mescaid* are more widely attested with the prep. *ar* 'before, on account of' rather than the prep. */or* 'upon, with, amongst' (see in particular *DIL* s.vv. *con-mesca*, *cummasc* for examples, including some with other prepositions). In later manuscript sources, */or* is replaced by *ar* due to the loss of the initial */*, influenced by the lenition of conjugated prepositions. (*SnaG* III, §§13.4, 13.13; *DIL* s.vv. *ar*, III, */or*, 294.11–3). There was a tendency to confuse the conjugated forms of */or* with those of *ar* already in the glosses (e.g. */orun*, Ml. 111c13 against normal */orn*, Wb. 14b15, influenced by the *u* in the 1pl. conj. prep. *erunn*, e.g. Wb.15d3, see McCone 1985, 88–9), although *ar* in place of */or* is not directly attested in the glosses. Therefore, in the following example, it could perhaps be argued that the prep. *ar* is an early instance showing

[720] It is noted in the diplomatic edition of the *Book of Leinster* note that '*tha* [is] made on *ael*' (Best *et al* 1956, 458). It appears that the copyist began to write *ael* onto *commescth-* but erased *el*, and left a space between *commesctha* and following *ael*.

confusion with original *for*: *.i. doire acummisc arúir*, 'i.e. baseness of their being mixed with mould', Wb. 13d3. Other examples are found in OIr texts preserved in MidIr and EModIr manuscripts. For instance, *con-mescat* [...] *domblas dó ar finacet*, 'they mix [...] gall for him with vinegar', *Blathm.*, l. 236. Conversely, the 3sg. neut. conjugated prep. *foir* in the following example could be based on an early hypercorrection with *ar* 'on account of', i.e. *.i. a thitol re cach libur arna roib cummasc foir*, 'before every book its title that there be no confusion upon it', Sg. 2a8. But the prep. is used with *attá* rather than *cummasc* in this instance, 'there is confusion on it'. In a passage in *TallÉ*, the variant readings contrast between the conjugated forms *air* and MidIr fem. *fuirri*: *c*um*maisc él air*, L; *c*um*aisc æl fuirri*, H (Ó Dónaill 2005, 150, edited as *cummaisc áel fair* 'mix it together with lime', 51, l. 235; 61). According to Ó Dónaill, H preserves the prep. *for* against LL's variant which shows the loss of initial lenited *f*. However, it could also be argued that LL preserves the original use of *ar* and H's form is hypercorrect, especially in light of the early example with the bare preposition and exactly same meaning found in Wb. together with the various others in later transmission. Cases with *for* are very rare, and attested only later, and show different meanings[721] (cf. Sg. 2a8 above). Therefore, it is very possible that E_2's *fær* contains a hypercorrect *f-* when weighed up against the testimony of *ar* in Wb. 13d3.

LL's *airthib* and C's *airtaib* have the innovatory dental element *-th-* (OIr 3pl. dat. *airib*; *SnaG* III, §13.4).[722] Moroever, the dat. pl. ending has been added by LL/C's exemplar since the acc. is expected after *con-mesca* which expresses motion. Therefore, I restore the OIr acc. 3pl. *airriu*.

The imperfect pass. *con-mescthae*, expressing generality of repetition, works better with the pl. *airriu* (referring to all 'the brains' – cf. also *cach curaid* and *assa cennaib*, – irrespective of the stylistic but general singular *a n-inchinn*). Therefore, the pl. in LL/C, together with *cennaib*, constitutes the *lectio difficilior* against the sg. in the Edinburgh branch. E_2 rewrites the clause, which can be translated as 'and lime was mixed on it by him (i.e. the strong man').

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[721] See *DIL* s.v. *con-mesca*, (c); e.g. *Cotmesca ind Némain forsin slog*, 'The war-goddess attacked the host', *TBC* I 3537; *DIL* s.v. *cumasc*, e.g. *Tecaid as in pheccad-sa fós cumasc na fola fén for a cheli*, 'From this sin there arises also an intermixture of blood', PH 7789, *DIL* writes 'in consanguinity'.

[722] According to O'Rahilly (1930, 165), the spread of the dental forms in the 3sg. and 3pl. was in analogy with the 3sg. fem. forms *inte*, *intiu*.

líathróiti crúaidi díb: LL/C and E_1/E_2 diverge here. The phrase in LL/C, i.e. 'hard balls of them', is made in reference to the preceding pl. *airthib* (restored to *airriu*). It might be argued that the redactor of LL/C added *díb*, having reinterpreted original *cruaid de* as *cruaide*, due to the assimilation of initial *d-*, in order to agree with the pl. *airthib*. However, the previous discussion of the pl. working better with the imperfect applies here also. The Edinburgh branch has changed the pl. to the sg. in reference to *tréinfer* in [1e], rather than LL/C changing the sg. to the pl. Thus, I follow LL/C in this instance. However, it should be noted that LL/C's *co ndénad* is a 3sg. rather than pl. C has an additional *cruinne* 'circular' and since this does not receive support from any other witness, it is surely scribal, added purely for descriptive purposes.

[1g] *Ocus intan nobītis i n-immarbāig nō chomramaib dobertis dōib co mbītis inna lāmaib.*

And whenever they were in contention or at comparison of trophies, these were brought to them, so that they had them in their hands.

LL: Et *in*tan nobitis i*n* i*mmar*baig noc*hom*ra*m*aib dob–tis doib co*m*bitis i*n*na lamaib.

C: ⁊ intan ł bitis anim*ar*badib ł acomromaib*h* dob–dis i*n*a lam*h*aib

E_1: ⁊ i*n* ta*n* ł bitis aci*mar*b– ł aco*mr*–a do b–tis q[ ] f–ala*m*uib o*conimar*b–.

E_2: ⁊ *in*tan ro bidis igim*ar*baid*h* ł icomramaib*h* doberdis qq cumbidis nalam*h*uib*h*.

⁊ in tan no bítis i n-immarbáig nó chomramaib do-bertis dóib co mbítis inna lámaib. *Whenever they were boasting or in contentions, they (i.e. the calcified brains) were given to them, so that they had them in their hands.*

⁊ in tan: Meyer emends LL's *et* to *ocus*. However, LL's *et* reflects a scribal tendency to write plene *et* rather than the contraction ⁊ and does not receive support from the other witnesses who favour the tironian symbol ⁊.[723] Thus I adopt the tironian symbol ⁊ here.

The temporal conjunction *in ta(i)n* is found in all the manuscripts with a non-palatal final *n*. According to Thurneysen, this conforms to the Old Irish rule of depalatalization of proclitics (*GOI* §168). However, in the translator's notes, it is pointed out that *in tan/tain* cannot be regarded as a proclitic (*GOI*, 675, n. 39). The palatal ending of *tan* occurs because it is a petrified independent acc./dat. of time, lit. '(at) the time'. The non-palatal form represents the nom. sg. and is already found in some attested acc. sg. forms in the glosses (see *DIL* s.v. *tan*, e.g. *intan*, Wb33d10 etc.). Ó hUiginn (1986, 36, n.13) shows that the palatal form *tain* was found in the Wb. glosses and earlier material, while *tan* is the later form found in Ml. and Sg.[724]

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[723] Similarly, *et* is found in LL, §10. See *DIL* s.v. *ocus*, 96.2–5, according to which Lat. *et* is preferred to ⁊ in Wb., (with ⁊ occurring four times, i.e. 2b9, 33a2, 6, 33b20, 34a6) but ⁊ found nearly always in Ml. *DIL* also notes that Lat. *et* is found in later texts such as *TBC* Stowe.

[724] Another example of a non-palatal form is found in *Echtrae Chonnlai*, where it receives full support from the manuscripts (see McCone 2000, 159).

no bítis: Due to the preceding temporal conjunction *in tan*, a relative clause is expected but a nasalizing rel. marker is not obligatory in this instance (*GOI* §§497, 505; Ó hUiginn 1986, 36).

i n-immarbáig: LL and E_2 have the dat. sg. of *imarbág*, although E_2's reading reflects the frequent confusion of final lenited palatal *d* for *g*. C's form is innovatory, influenced by the following dat. pl. *comromaibh*. The preposition *oc* has been introduced by the exemplar of E_1 and E_2, replacing *i n-*, cf. *DIL* s.v. *attá* + *i n-*.

nó chomramaib: C, E_1 and E_2 support the use of the prep. *i n-* 'in' against LL. However, the suppressed prep. in LL is arguably the *lectio difficilior*, since the prep. could easily have been added by the scribes in the other manuscripts. Another example of a suppressed prep. is found in the Epilogue to the *Félire*, i.e. *cid i caisc nó chorgus*, 'whether at Easter or in Lent', *Fél.* Ep. 562.[725] Note that lenition after *nó* in LL is in accordance with *GOI* §234.3.

do-bertis dóib: The 3pl. ipf. pass. of *do-beir* is followed by the 3pl. conjugated prep. *do* 'to, for' in LL meaning 'they were given to them' (see *DIL* s.v. *do-beir*, 1 (a); cf. *.i. dub*er *som ain*m *claidib donaib briathraib*, 'i.e. he gives the name of sword to the words', Ml. 77a2). C omits the conjugated prep., as well as the following *co mbitis* possibly due to eye-skip due to the repetition of *-tis*, i.e. *do-bertis … -tis*: the scribe wrote the first ending *-tis* and then his eye skipped ahead to the next *-tis* in his exemplar, thereby omitting the text in between. The Edinburgh manuscripts have *qq*, which I expand as the 3pl. conjugated prep. *cucu* 'to them', meaning here 'they were brought to them' (see *DIL* s.v. *do-beir*, III (a)).[726] Since *do-beir* + *do* 'gives' or *do-beir* + *co* 'brings' are plausible in this context, I follow LL in this instance as outlined in the editorial policy.

inna: The prep. *i n-* 'in' + 3pl. poss. pron. is found with a single *n* in C, as well as in E_2, albeit with the initial vowel elipsed (*SnaG* III, §3.26). Therefore, there is stemmatic

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[725] The prep. *i n-* 'in, into' is introduced in some of the variant readings, i.e. *i corgus*, R^2, C, F, B; *a corgus*, P against *corgus*, L, LB (see Stokes 1905, 288, n.17).

[726] The use of the same abbreviation in E_1 and E_2, i.e. *qq*, suggests that they may be closely derived from the same exemplar. I tentatively expand *qq* as *cucu* rather than the more commonly found *chucu*, with lenition since forms without lenition are attested in some early MidIr texts, i.e. 3sg. masc. *cuca*, *SR* 2560; 3pl. *cucu*, *TBC* LL7608 (see *SnaG* III, §13.7). However, the lack of lenition can also be attributed to the fact that the word appears in abbreviated form and that the *spiritus asper* is not used conventionally in this instance, as is also seen with the *con*-compendium. For a further discussion of these manuscripts' scribal tendencies, see Chapter 1.4.1.

support for reading *ina*. Nevertheless, double *nn* for /*N*/ before poss. pronouns appears in Old Irish sources, which according to Thurneysen, arose out of analogy with the 3sg. masc. *and* (see *GOI* §842 C n.), e.g. *innandead*, Wb. 11a17. Thus, it is most likely that C and E_2's variant with single *n* is purely an orthographic variant for /*N*/.

[2] *'Maith, a Chonchobuir,' ar Conall, 'na co ndernat ōic na comram ēcht fōn innas-[s]a ar galaib óinfhir, nīdat tūalṅgi comram frim-sa.'*
'Well, O Conchobar,' said Conall, 'until the competing warriors perform a deed like this in single combat, they are not capable of comparing trophies with me.'

LL: Mait*h* a *chonch– ar con*all nacond–nat oic na co*m*ram ec*h*t fon i*n*nasa *ar* gala*m* ói*n*fhir nidat tualṅgi co*m*ra*m* fr*i*msa. IS firón *ar con*ch–.

C: **M**ait*h* aqnqb– ar*con*all no *con*de–ait oic naco*m*rama e*cht* fon innd*u*sa *ar*galaib*h* enf*ir* nitad tualgin*n* cumru*m*a rfriu*m* sa IS fir on ol qnqb–

E_1: Maith a co*n*ch– *ar con*– cu$_i$*n*der*s*$_i$t nahoig e*cht* c–r–a[ ]argal– æ*n*f– $_7$ nidat*h* tualai*n*g c–r–a ri*m*s$_i$ is fir *ar con*[ ]

E_2: **M**aith a *con*chubuir or *con*all gonderndad*h* naoig nahecht comramaso orgalaib ænfir mad*h* tailgne comrama ri*m*sa asfir or *conch*ob–.

'Maith, a Chonchobair,' ol Conall, 'na co ndernat óic inna comram écht foa n-indassa ar galaib oínfhir, nídat túailngi comrama frium-sa'. 'Is fír ón', ol Conchobar.
'Well, Conchobar', said Conall, 'until the contesting warriors perform a deed like this in single combat, they cannot contest (lit. are not capable of contention) with me'. 'That is true', said Conchobar.

na co ndernat: LL preserves the earlier vocalism of *na*, against later *no* in C (see *DIL* s.v. *no co*.[727] It is followed by the 3pl. proto. pres. subj., with preverbal *ro* of potentiality, of the compound *do-gní* 'makes, does'. According to Pedersen (Ped. ii, 318–9), '*na co n-* ' is used with the subjunctive mood to join a conditional clause to a negative main clause (see also *SnaG* III, §11.10: *ná co* is used after a negative main clause). The Edinburgh manuscripts replace earlier *na co n-* with the more straightforward conjunction *co* 'until'. E_2 preserves the subjunctive *nderndad*, writing *nd* for *n*(*n*) and modernised *-d* for *-t*, whereas E_1 has a unique variant *dersit* (for (?)3pl. perf. *-dernsat*, with lost *n*-stroke).

[727] According to *DIL* s.v. *no co*, examples of *nó* for earlier *na* can be found early on, e.g. *nó coro dusce Coin Cul*aind *damsa*, 'until he revives Cú Chulainn for me', *LU* 9225 *(Síaburcharpat Con Culaind)*. However, Liam Breatnach notes some examples of *ná* in other texts in LL with a preceding negative main clause, e.g. *ní scér ... nāco tí*, *LL*38758 (*Bór*) etc. (*SnaG* III, §11.10).

foa n-indas-sa: This idiom is omitted in the Edinburgh manuscripts. The prep. *fo* + *indas* (a neut. in origin, later masc.) is used in the sense 'in the manner of, like', where the prep. *fo* governs the acc. (*DIL* s.vv. *fo*, II (a); *indas*, 1(d)), e.g. *is fírien tra fuanindassin tabart diglae foraibsom*, 'it is then in accordance with that condition to inflict vengeance on them', Ml. 74c20).[728] LL/C have *fon* which suggests their exemplar treated *indas* as a masc. and *n* reflects the simplification of *nn* > *n*, i.e. *fon n-indas*. Alternatively, it is possible that LL/C's exemplar introduced the contracted form of *fo* + neut. acc. sg. article, i.e. *foa* > *fó* (compare with *fo* + the relative particle *a*, *GOI* §492). Since the archetype is datable to the Old Irish period, I restore the uncontracted form *foa* (supported by the example found in Ml. 74c20). It is possible that *foa* would be replaced with the contracted form *fó* in the MidIr exemplar given that the neut. gender became moribund in this period.[729]

oínfír: The manuscripts all support the common idiom *ar galaib oínfír* 'in single combat', cf. *ar galaib óenfír*, *TallÉ* 102; *TBC* I, 1560 etc.

nídat túailngi: The 3pl. neg. pres. ind. of the copula is supported in LL, C and E_1 (against *madh*, 'if they be', E_2), and is followed by the nom. pl. of *túalaing* ' able to, capable of' in LL and E_2, cf. *.i. ammituailṅge armbrethre*, 'we are potent in our word', Wb. 17b5. In this gloss, although the final *-e* of *tuailṅge* could be a predicative gen. sg., it may represent a nom. pl. with a rare instance of final [ə] already in Wb. (i.e. for nom. pl. *túailngi*). E_2's *tailgne* is found here with metathesis of *lng* > *lgn*. E_1's reading reflects the later tendency to use a nom. sg. *túalaing* with a pl. subj. in MidIr copula constructions (see *SnaG* III, §14.4).

The word *túalaing* can be construed with a following acc. or gen., e.g. *.i. astualang deacht todiusgud crist*, 'i.e. that the Godhead is able to raise up Christ', Wb. 13c15 (*GOI* §§249.5, 250.2).[730] *DIL* s.v. *comram* states that the acc./dat. sg. is also occasionally found as *comram*, rather than with an expected OIr palatal ending, e.g. *dobered cách a chomram*, 'everyone used to bring his triumph', *LU* 3233 (*Serglige Con Culainn*), thus being inflected like a masc. *o*-stem which survives into ModIr. Therefore, LL's *comram*

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[728] The examples provided in *DIL* s.vv. *fo*, 170.28–32, *indas*, I (d), show that the acc. sg. follows *fo*, in phrase with *indas*, rather than the dat. (*fond-*), as do the post-OIr examples with *fo(a)n n-*, although it should be stated that *-nn-* can sometimes be written for OIr *-nd-*.

[729] Cf. the prep. *fo* + rel. part. *a* in monosyllabic *fua* in *Fél. Prol.* 86: *fua ro chés ar Fíada*, 'whom our Lord suffered'.

[730] For an instance of a gen. sg., see for instance Wb. 17b5 above.

is a later acc. sg. form. The gen. sg. *comrama* receives support from both sides of the stemma, i.e. C, E_1 and E_2 and therefore I adopt this reading.

frium-sa: C's variant is orthographically superior to the others, retaining the spelling *-iu-* in the 1sg. conj. prep. */rium-sa* (< **wriss-mu*, see *SnaG* II, §33.6).[731] The Edinburgh variants have later form *rim-sa*, with loss of the initial lenited *f* (see *SnaG* III, §13.14).

ol: For a note on the normalisation of *ol* 'said', see the textual note in [2a].

[731] The conjugated prep. */rium* or */rim* is interchangeable already in the glosses (see McCone 1985, 86–7; *DIL* s.v. */ri,* 414.7–10; cf. */rim*, Wb. 26d17). I have also noted the following example, 1sg. */riumm*, Wb. 29d8 (see Kavanagh 2001, 476).

[3a] *Doratad īarum forsin forud fora mbíd dogrēs ind inchind.*

Then the brain was put upon the shelf upon which it was always kept.

LL: doratad iar– f–si*n* forud f–a*m*bid dogr–s i*n*dinc*hin*d.

C: da rada inincin*n* i*ar*– f–s*in* forad f–mbid do g–s

E_1: [..]rat– i*ar*– [...] f–sanuat*h*n$_i$ f–ambid dog–s.

E_2: **D**oradad iaram*h* i*n* inchind forsanu$_a$i*n*e fora mbid dogres.

Do-ratad íarum forsa forad fora mbid do grés a n-inchinn.

See above for Meyer's translation.

do-ratad: LL, C and E_2 use the 3sg. perf. pass. of *do-beir* 'gives, places'. C's preverb *da-* shows confusion of proclitic *a* for historic *o* (*EIV* 169), and the final lenited *-d* is lost (see *SnaG* IV, §2.11 (2)). The perfect is used here with resultative force, which in this case 'serves to enhance the present import of a past action' (*EIV* 94–5).

All three manuscripts use *do-beir* with following OIr prep. *for* (against later *ar*), governing the accusative, meaning literally 'places/puts upon' (see *DIL* s.v. *do-beir*, 208.69).

forsa forad: According to *DIL* s.v. *forad*, this word was perhaps originally a neuter, c.f. nom. sg. *fúrad n-aircdidi*, 'a silver rampart', *LMDD* 56/101, §23; *forsa foruth n-abbadh*, 'the abbot's mansion', *AU*^{2} 883. In this instance, *DIL* defines *forad* as 'mound, platform' and describes it as 'prob. in most cases of earth, used as a seat or stand for spectators, but also as a post of outlook [...]' and that it varied in shapes and sizes and could accommodate one person, or sometimes a group (*DIL* s.v. *forad*, 304. 25–33). *DIL* cites the example from LL and suggests it is meant in the sense of a repository for weapons, etc. (see *DIL* s.v. *forad*, 304.61–3). Perhaps the purpose of such a mound also served to display prized trophies such as decapitated heads and calcified brains. However, since I have not encountered any other examples of this word in a similar use, this cannot be substantiated.

The Edinburgh manuscripts use *úaithne* 'post, prop, pillar', with the phonetic reduction of *-th-* in E_2 (see *DIL* s.v. *úaithne*, (a); *SnaG* IV, §2.14). According to Thomas O'Rahilly (1931, 67), this word was a singulative formation of *úat* 'wood', later *fúat* + the diminutive suffix *-ne* (*GOI* §274 (a)). One finds a similar image of a pillar being used

to display a decapitated head in *Cath Almaine*.[732] The Edinburgh manuscripts treat original neut. *úatne* as a later masc. with the later spread of palatalization seen on *-tn-*. *Forsa* is found maintaining the letter *-s-* in all the manuscripts, which is sometimes dropped in later manuscripts (see *DIL* s.v. *for*, 294.30–2). The combined article in the Edinburgh manuscripts has the later reduced article *in* > *an*. The prep. *for* 'on, upon' governs the acc. here, because motion is implied.

I adopt LL/C's reading in this instance and restore the neut. art. in accordance with the editorial policy.

a n-inchinn: All the witnesses support *fora mbid do grés*. The prep. *for* + the relative particle *(s)a*^{n} 'upon which' is followed by 3sg. conj. ipf. of the substantive verb *attá* 'is'. More important, however, is the syntax of the sentence which sees LL placing the subject, *ind inchinn*, at the end of the sentence. Although C, E_1 and E_2 support the subject of the sentence being placed after the verb, LL places the subject at the end with the prepositional phrase brought forward for emphasis. This represents a stylistic function and constitutes the *lectio difficilior* since it is more likely that C, E_1 and E_2 would have changed this to the more straightforward syntax than the other way around.

[732] i.e. '*Foraim arin uaitne út thall*', *ar Murchad*, 'Place it upon the pillar yonder', *Cath Al.*, 158. This sentence refers to an incident where a warrior brings the head of Donn Bó to the feasting Leinstermen. Murchad requests the warrior to place the head upon a pillar and the head is requested to sing to the Leinstermen, afterwhich it is returned by the warrior to its body.

[3b] *Luid cách a lethi arnabārach*[733]

On the morrow every one went his own way

LL: Luid cá*ch* alet*h*i *ar*nab*ar*a*ch* < >

C: Luid da– ca*ch* in lea$_{i}$t*h*i arnabara*ch* < >

E$_1$: Luid cach in *conair ar*nam*ar*[734] do*n*tsl– do [ ] oi*n*m– *con*c– dobad– aci*nn* nati–*h* $_7$ i*n* cai*n*gen mor doro*n*ad i*m*o*n* i*n*ci*nn*.

E$_2$: luig*h* cach alethe dontsluad *ar*namaruch. A**t***con*ncad– t*r*a daoinm*h*id *con*chub– cindt$_{i}$*n*ed a*n*caingen mor dorig*h*ned*h* imoncind i*n*oidche s$_{i}$n ist$_{i}$g*h*

Luid cách a leth íarnabárach dint ślúag. Ad-condarcatar trá dí óinmit Chonchobair i ciunn tened in caingin móir do-rónad immon inchinn.

The next day, everyone from the host went his own direction. Conchobar's two jesters by the fire had seen the great fuss that had been made about the brain.

cách a leth: The stressed pronoun *cách* 'everyone' is preceded by the 3sg. pret. of *téit* 'goes' (*DIL* s.v. *cách* (a)). Meyer (1906, 43) suggested that LL's *a lethi arnabárach* is miswritten for *a leth iarnabárach*. It should be noted that the same reading is also found in C and E$_2$, which suggests that this phrase was already written in the MidIr common source. However, the conjunction *danó* 'then', preceding *cach*, in C does not receive support from any other witness and therefore likely to be a scribal addition.

According to *DIL*, the *s*-stem *leth* and the *io*-stem by-form *le(i)the* are more reliably attested meaning 'side' than 'half' (see *DIL* s.v. *leth*, 124.11–15). The by-form is already attested in Old Irish, i.e. *allethe*, Ml. 30b2, 'his own side (direction)', amongst other instances found in later manuscript sources of Old Irish material (see further *DIL* s.v. for examples).[735] This suggests that the by-form was already used colloquially,

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[733] Meyer (1906, 4, §3) gives [3b] and [3c] as one complete sentence in his edition following the text of LL, i.e. *Luid cách a lethi arnabārach dia cluchiu*, 'On the morrow everyone went his own way to his sport'. However, I divide this sentence into two, i.e. [3b] and [3c] to allow for a *lacuna* in LL and C. The *lacuna* is marked by angular brackets < >.

[734] There is staining in the manuscript above the abbreviation of second *ar* in *arnamar*. I suspect that a suspension stroke for *ach* is missing here.

[735] Also, in an example found in the *Félire*, i.e. *in fial Fer dá lethe* 'the modest Fer dá lethe (man of two parts)', *Fél.* Dec. 4, *DIL* suggests the gen. dual *lethe* may belong to the by-form. The following example

alongside the more conservative *s*-stem, in the Old Irish period. Therefore, while it could be argued that the by-form may indeed have been in the original, it is likely that the MidIr copyist reinterpreted original *a leth iarnabarach* as consisting of the by-form *lethi* (with final *-i* representing a reduced schwa spelling), with the later *arnabarach* (with reduced *íar* > *ár*, *SnaG* III, §13.16). Therefore, I restore the *s*-stem *leth* and *íarnabarach*, even though the latter form is poorly attested in Old Irish sources (compare *arabarach*, Ml. 48d12 against *iarnabárach*, *Thes* ii, 329.38; see *DIL* s.v. *bárach* (b)).

Due to the preceding verb of motion, *leth* is an accusative of direction (see MacCana 1990, 27–36, esp. 32–4; also *GOI* §249.1).[736] For the expression *a leth(e)* meaning 'in his own direction', see *DIL* s.v. *leth*, III (a), 125.33–9; cf. *In conchuiri aile, cách a leth*, 'The other wolf-packs each [set off] in its own direction', *De causis*, 94–5 §2. E_1 replaces the more difficult *a leth* with *in conair*.

LL/C's common source omits the section of text following *íarnabárach* due to haplography as a result of *homoioteleuton*. See Chapter 1.6.2 for further discussion on the eye-skip that has occurred in LL/C's exemplar.

dint ślúag: The prep. + art. *dont* reflects the confusion that occurs between *di* 'from, of' and *do* 'to, for' already by the time of Wb. (see *DIL* s.v. *de*, 129.38–130.42). However, it is normally clear from the context in the text whether *di* or *do* is intended. Therefore, where *di* is intended, I restore the original form throughout the edition, as well as with the pronominal forms and combinatons of *di* + article. As the use of *do* for *di* is common throughout the manuscripts, apart from the occasional (possibly scribal) *di* in C, I apply the stated restorations henceforth without any further comment. See also the editorial policy.

E_2 has *dont sluad*, showing the later frequent confusion between non-palatal final *-g* and *-d* (*SnaG* III, §3.18). This is found preceding *arnamarach* in E_2. I suggest that *dont slúag* follows *íarnabárach* because it is also part of the omitted text in LL/C. The expansion stroke in E_1's *sl–* is ambiguous as to whether it could be expanded as *slóg* or

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is also cited but its meaning is somewhat ambiguous, i.e. *cechtar in da leithe sin* 'each of those two parts' Sg. 25b 6.

[736] The collection of examples discussed by MacCana consist of *leth* and *conair* acting as the antecedent to verbs of motion (see Mac Cana 1990, 27–36). MacCana (1990, 34) points out that *DIL* treats such instances of *leth* as conjunctions because they are not preceded by prepositions, but that this '[…] disguise[s] the fact that *leth* is in all these instances a noun governed by a verb of motion […]'.

slúag.[737] The monophthong *ó* was diphthongized to *úa* before a guttural by the time the Ml. glosses were written although it is still not found consistently at that point (*GOI* §60). However, I see no reason to emend *slóg* here against the manuscript evidence in E_2, as well as the lack of any other such examples in the text to support this.

Ad-condarcatar: Due to the *lacuna* in LL/C, this verb is missing on this side of the stemma. E_1 is illegible and therefore cannot add any weight to the discussion of the original verb. Thus, we are left solely to rely on E_2's reading in this instance. E_2's *atconncadar* 'they saw' is a MidIr 3pl. perf. of the compound *ad-cí* 'sees' (OIr *ad-condarcatar* 'they had seen'), containing a MidIr petrified neut. inf. pron. (*EIV* 172–3). The lack of expected lenition reflects this scribe's tendency to omit the mark of lenition above the *con*-compendium (compare with *a* con*chubuir* (*a Chonchobair*), E_2 in [2a]). E_2's use of the perfect corresponds to the MidIr use of the perfect to represent the historical past. I emend to the OIr 3pl. perf. *ad-condarcatar* 'they had seen'.

dí óinmit Chonchobair: On foot of Pedersen's etymology of this word, *DIL* s.v. *óinmit* suggests it is a fem. 'Teutonic loan-word through Cymric, cf. W *ynfyd*' (*DIL* s.v. *óinmit*, 122.27–8; Ped. i, 21). However, O'Rahilly (1942, 150) rejects this and suggests it is a compound of **ón, uan* 'lamb' and **menti* or **mn̥tī* meaning 'one who is lamb-witted'. For further discussion of this word's etymology, see Sayers (2005, 41–51).

While in the later language this word denotes a simple or foolish person in general, *DIL* writes that it may refer to 'a natural or half-witted person who might nevertheless possess considerable shrewdness and intuition or even occasionally inspiration. The *óinmit* seems to have been sometimes employed as a professional jester or entertainer' (*DIL* s.v. *óinmit*, 122.31–6). This description applies to the *óinmiti* here in *AC* because they are found playing with the brain-ball, perhaps for the purposes of entertaining the Ulstermen. For a thematic discussion on the role of the fools in *AC*, see Chapter 3.

E_2 has the MidIr generalized form of the nom. dual (*SnaG* III, §8.3), rather than the expected OIr fem. nom. dual form *dí*, which I restore here. Furthermore, lenition is expected after the fem. nom. dual noun (*GOI* §232.5). But the mark of lenition is omitted in E_2 as is the tendency of the scribe when the *con*-compendium is concerned. Thus, lenition is also restored to the following gen. sg. of *Conchobar*.

i ciunn tened: Helen Imhoff (2012, 56, n. 43) translates E_2's *cind tened* as 'at the edge of the fire', taking *cind* as the dat. sg. of *cenn* 'head', extending the sense of 'at the end of'

[737] There are no other instances in E_1's text of this word written plene to allow for comparison.

when used without a preposition to 'at the edge' (see *DIL* s.v. *cenn*, 122.3–7; cf. *GOI* §§251.3, 859). It should be noted, however, that the examples cited by *DIL* for the prepositionless dat. of *cenn* are only found specifically with the temporal meaning 'at end of', e.g. *cinn blíadnae*, 'at a year's end', *Fél.* Sept. 17 etc.

On the other hand, E_1's variant *acinn nati–h* contains the prep. *i n-* (albeit with proclitic confusion of *a* for *i*) + dat. sg. *cinn*, meaning 'over against', or better it can also be rendered as 'by, beside' (see *DIL* s.v. *cenn*, 125.29–31; cf. *i cinn tened*, 'by the fire', *LMDD* §26). E_1 includes an intrusive short fem. gen. sg. art., treating original masc. *teine* as a later fem. (*DIL* s.v. *teine*; cf. *athigid na tened*, *BDD*[2] 1222, 'frequenting the fire'). While it might be argued that E_2's reading without the prep. constitutes the *lectio difficilior*, E_1's use of the attested idiom *i ciunn* 'by, beside' is perhaps the better reading in view of a lack of examples of the prepositionless dative used in a sense other than with a temporal reference. Thus I adopt E_1's reading, without the intrusive article, which is also not found in E_2. I normalise the dat. sg. form *ciunn* even though *cinn* is already attested in the glosses (*SnaG* II, §11.4), since *cinn* becomes widespread in the MidIr period due to the phonetic reduction of *iu* to *i* (*SnaG* III, §3.11) and may well reflect a scribal intrusion by the shared exemplar of E_1 and E_2, or even go back to the early MidIr shared common source to all four witnesses.

in caingin móir: *Caingen* is treated as a later *o*-stem in E_2, as well as the following adj. *mór* (see *DIL* s.v. *caingen*). However, considering that *caingen* is an *ā*-stem in Old Irish, and that this text is an Old Irish composition, I restore *in caingin móir*.

do-rónad: E_2's *do rignedh* has the innovatory active stem *-rign-*, instead of the OIr perf. pass. stem *-rón-*, for the 3sg. perf. passive of *do-gní* 'makes, does' (*EIV* 234; *SnaG* III, §12.75). E_1 preserves the historical pass. stem *-rón-*, albeit with confusion of *a* for o in the preverb *do* (*EIV* 169). The use of the perfect here conforms to the Old Irish usage of the perfect to express anteriority to a previous preterite (*EIV* 100).

immon inchinn: Imhoff (2012, 56, n.43) has observed that E_2's *cinn* should read *inchinn*, writing that 'the sense is also improved by reading *inchind*', while also noting that it should be the acc. sg. due to the preceding prep. *imm*. This is supported by the variant in E_1, i.e. *inchinn*. E_2 has *in oidche sin istigh* 'that night in the house' which is added to embellish the text.

[3c] *dia cluchiu.*

to his sport.

LL: < > dia cluc*h*iu.

C: < > diacluice

E_1: B–ait $s_i$dei*n* [ ] amac*h* *ar*nam*ar–h* doclu$_i$t*h*i nahemna.

E_2: $_7$ nosberad leo iarnamaruch amach diacluic*he*.[738]

Berait leo immach íarnabarach día cluichiu.

They took (*the brain*) *with them outside the next day to play.*

Berait leo: E_1's *b–ait* s_i*dei*n is the 3pl. pres. ind. of *beirid* 'carry' + the MidIr form *sidéin* 'they' (lit. 'the latter') (see *DIL* s.v. *sidéin*, which states that it is a form of *DIL* s.v. *2 side*, influenced by *féin*). The object, i.e. the brain, is not expressed here. E_2 has the 3pl. conj. pres. ind. of *beirid* (with modernised orthographical *-d* for *-t*) + the 3pl. conjugated prep. *leo*.[739] There are two or three letters illegible after *sidein* in E_1, which could stand for *leo*. The inf. pron. in E_2's *nos-berad leo* refers to the object, i.e. the brain.

E_1's reading, albeit the scribal *sidéin* referring to the pronominal element in the verb, constitutes a *lectio difficilior* for stylistic reasons because the object, i.e. 'the brain', is in ellipsis against the use of the infixed pronoun in E_2 which adds clarification to the text. The present indicative here is a historical present.

immach ... **día cluichiu**: As discussed in Chapter 1.6.2, LL/C omits the text preceding *día chluichiu* presumably because of eye-skip, i.e. the text was lost between *íarnabarach* ... *íarnabarach*. I restore the OIr locative *immach* because the later form *amach* 'out, outwards' (lit. 'into the plain') was most likely introduced by the intermediary MidIr copyist for earlier *immach* (*DIL* s.v. *immach*, I (a); see also *GOI* §130 on the neutral guttural spirant *-ch*). The omission of *amac*h in LL/C suggests that this word came before

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[738] There is an ink stain above the first letter *c*, which is not to be confused with a *punctum delens*.

[739] See *DIL* s.vv. *beirid*, IV 'carries away, takes (with one) [...] freq. with LA with reference to subject'; *la*, I (g), esp. 3.80–6; cf. *.i. iarsindí dunnucsat indoiri leu*, 'i.e. after they had brought us into captivity with them', Ml. 92d1)

íarnabarach rather than after it. If the latter were the case, it would be more likely to have been copied rather than omitted. Therefore, I follow E_1's reading rather than E_2.

The OIr form of the prep. *do* 'to, for' + 3pl. poss. pron., i.e. *día*, is preserved in LL/C and E_2 against the reduced MidIr form *dá* in E_1 (*SnaG* III, §3.24).

The OIr dat. sg. spelling of *io*-stem *cluiche* is preserved in LL, which is usually conservative in writing final *-(i)u*. Note also phonetic confusion in E_1 with *-th-* for *-ch-* (*SnaG* IV, §2.14). Since E_1's *nahemna* receives no support from any other manuscript, it is probably a scribal addition.

[3d] *Dolluid da*no *Cet mac Matach do chūairt ectra la Ulto.*
Then, Cet, the son of Matu, went upon a round of adventures in Ulster.

LL: Dolluid da– cet m– matac*h* doc*huair*t ect*r*a laulto.
C: **D**oluid di– ceat m– magach do cuairt ea*chtr*a la ull–
E_1: Tan– da– cet m–c mag–*h* do*connach*taib do q*air*[.] lahult–
E_2: **D**orala and da– cett m*a*ic madach do*con*n*acht*aib*h* t*air*tec*h*ta la hultuib*h*.

Do-lluid danó Cet mac Mágach de Chonnachtaib do chúairt echtrae la Ultu.
Then, Cet mac Mágach came from the territory of the Connachtmen on a round of adventures among the Ulstermen.

do-lluid: This is the 3sg. deut. pret. of *do-tét* 'comes'. LL preserves the Old Irish orthographical representation of double *ll* to show non-lenition (*SnaG* I, §3.22; cf. *dulluid*, *Thes* ii, 241.5). E_1 has the 3sg. contracted deut. *tánic* of *do-icc* 'comes to, approaches', which is a good Old Irish form in itself (*EIV* 3), but also survives into the ModIr period. E_2 has the 3sg. *dorala*, used in the sense of 'happens' (*DIL* s.v. *do-cuirethar*, 233.44–6). I adopt LL/C's use of the deut. pret. of *do-tét* because this was most likely replaced by *tánic* and *dorala* in E_1 and E_2's independent lines of transmission.

Cet mac Mágach: Meyer (1906, 43) observes that the original form of the father's name should read *Mágach* here, not *Matach* as found in LL and E_2,[740] supported by internal

[740] Another instance of *Matach* is found in the LL copy of the poem *A chloch thall*, attributed to Cináed ua hArtacáin (see Meyer 1906, 18–21). Meyer (1906, 43) also notes that *Mágach* should rhyme with *árach*.

rhyme required with (*ro*) *lámad* in the poem *Fianna bátar i nEmain* by Cináed ua hArtacáin (see Stokes (1902, 308)). This also confirms that the first *a* in *Mágach* is long. **do chúairt echtrae**: LL and C have omitted *do Chonnachtaib* due to haplography, as a result of *homoeoarchon*, i.e. *do ch ... do ch....*

Stemmatic support is provided from E_1 reading *cuairt*, but it omits *echtrae*. E_2's *tairtechta* is a later form of the vn *tárrachtain*, used here in the sense of 'avenging' (*DIL* s.v. *tárrachtain*, II (a); *DIL* s.v. *táirthechtain*).[741]

la Ultu: I translate the prep. *la* as 'among' as defined by *DIL* s.v. *la*, V (b). Although *-o* for *-u* is found on occasion in Old Irish 'without any apparent reason' (*GOI* §95; cf. acc. pl. *baullo 7 gnímo*, 'members and deeds', *Thes* ii, 252.16), I normalise to the OIr acc. pl. spelling, i.e. *Ultu*, throughout the edition, as *-o* could reflect a scribal tendency of LL's hand (cf. *Ulto*, LL in [1b]). Apart from LL, E_2 has the dat. case after this prep. *la*, which historically governs the acc. (*SnaG* III, §5.1).

[3e] *Bēist ass andsam robói i nHērinn in Cet.*
This Cet was the most troublesome pest that was in Ireland.

LL: beist assandsa*m* ro boí i*n*her–. i*n*cet
C: **B**eist is an*n*sam ro bai aneri i*n* ceat s$_i$n
E_1: p*est*[742] is an*n*s$_i$u*m* 7 isdoc–l– robai anr– incet s$_i$*n*
E_2: .i. in f*h*est asdocomla 7 isangbuid*h*e aneir– a*n* cet s$_i$n.

Béist as ansam ro boí i nÉre in Cet.
Cet was the most troublesome pest that was in Ireland.

Béist as ansam: The noun *béist* is a loan-word (Lat. *bestia*), found in various forms, for which see for instance the lexical entries *DIL* s.vv. *bíast*, *béist*, 95.5–38, *píast* (*péist*), 185.85–46. *Béist* is perhaps the earlier form, attested in the glosses, e.g. *.i. béssti olca doesmet fuili archródatu*, 'evil beasts who pour forth blood from cruelty', Wb. 31b21, while *píast* (*péist*) is not. According to *DIL* s.v. *píast*, *béist*, *bíast* and *píast* are found side

[741] See also Imhoff 2012, 56, n.43.

[742] The *est*-compendium is used here.

by side in MidIr, but *píast* is commoner and ultimately prevails. The spelling of E_2's *fest* reflects a scribal eccentricity of writing *f* for lenited *p*.

This word is generally used in reference to wild animals, or (fabulous) monsters in early literature. According to *DIL* s.v. *bíast*, it usually refers to 'fabulous monsters, dragons, water-monsters etc.' in sagas and folklore (see s.v. *píast* for further applications). However, *béist* in this context describes Cet mac Mágach as the most troublesome monster in Ireland, alerting the audience to the warrior's ferocity and villainous nature.[743]

The subject *béist* is followed by a defining rel. clause, with the 3sg. rel. copula *as* preserved in LL and E_2. E_1's *is* is undoubtedly due to the confusion of proclitic *i* and *a*. According to Thurneysen's rule in *GOI* §471, a definite article would be expected preceding *béist* when 'it is made determinate by means of a following relative clause'. However, Jürgen Uhlich has shown that Thurneysen's rule is wrong and that a defining relative clause must trigger the 'double article' rule, e.g. *laech as dech fil iar cúl scéith hi tír Herend*, *LU* 7094, 'the best hero behind a shield in the land of Erin', *BDD* §77 (Uhlich 2013, 435–8). Note also that the OIr copula + ind. pron. *is é* is omitted on this occasion (cf. *GOI* §815). Furthermore, the superlative is brought forward in periphrasis with the rel. form of the copula, with the following clause probably a leniting rel. clause (see *GOI* §508; cf. *innaní as deg ro-chreitset hicrist*, 'of those who have best believed in Christ', Wb. 31a6), but owing to the ambiguous orthography of the initial letter in *-boí*, this cannot be certain.

E_2's scribe introduces the art. preceding *béist*. Moreover, since *.i.* is found only in E_2, this is probably a later scribal addition.

LL, C and E_1 support the OIr superlative ending *-am* in *ansae* 'hard, difficult'.[744] They demonstrate the later tendency to write *nn* before *s* for */N/*, with LL having the variant spelling *nd* for *nn* (*SnaG* III, §3.17). The word *doccumail* 'difficult' has been

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[743] I have not come across any other instance in early Irish literature of a warrior being referred to as a *béist* 'monster, worm etc.'. However, *DIL* s.v. *bíastaide* cites one example from *Fled Dúin na nGed*, where two warriors are likened to two monstrous dogs, i.e. [...] *mar do baeglaigitirda brodchoin borba, biastaide, bodbae*, [...], '[...] as two fierce, monstrous, blood-thirsty hounds [...]', O'Donovan (1842, 266–7). In later language, it is found with a transferred sense describing humans as 'brutes', e.g. '*sna daoine i ndeilbh bhiasduidhe*, 'men in the form of brutes', *TD* 4.102. *Péist* survives into ModIr and is used figuratively to describe a person as a 'worm' (see Ó Dónaill's *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*, s.v. *péist*).

[744] See Chapter 2.2.2 for a discussion of the superlative ending *-am*, against the innovatory use of the comparative ending *-iu* for the superlative.

introduced in the Edinburgh MidIr common source. E_2 uses the comparative ending *-e* (< OIr *-iu*) for the superlative in the MidIr form *angbaid* 'wicked, fierce, ruthless' (OIr *an(d)gaid* 'fierce, wicked'; *DIL* s.vv. *andgaid*; *angbaid*). This word does not receive support from the other manuscripts and therefore, it can be assumed that it was added by E_2.

ro boí: The 3sg. perf. of the substantive verb *attá* 'is' in the subordinate clause conforms to the Old Irish usage as it can be translated into a Modern English 'had' perfect (*EIV* 99–100).

i nÉre: C preserves the superior reading with the short dat. sg. of *Ériu*, against the long dat. sg. *Érinn* found in the other manuscripts. The nasal long dat. begins to supercede the non-nasal short dat. sg. of *n*-stems already at the beginning of the tenth century (see Ó Máille 1910, 148). Therefore, it is unlikely that C would have replaced *Érinn* with the moribund *Ére* at the time of copying but that the other witnesses would have replaced original *Ére* with *Érinn*.

in Cet: C, E_1 and E_2 support the use of the art. + proper name + anaphoric demonstr. pron. *sin*, as per standard Old Irish usage, referring to the previously mentioned Cet mac Mágach in [3d] (see *GOI* §475.1 (b), *DIL* s.v. *sin*; cf. *In Fiac sin*, 'that Fiacc', *Thes* ii, 307.3; *Fer cumachta mori dano in tUath mac Imomain sin*, *LU* 9006, 'A big powerful fellow was [that] Terror, son of Great Fear', *FB* §75). LL has *in Cet* without the demonstr. It could be argued that the scribe omitted the demonstr. on this occasion. However, in this instance the use of the article only in LL is the *lectio difficilior*, with the other manuscripts containing the 'easier' reading seen with an additional *sin*. *DIL* s.v. 1 *in*, III B (a) states that the article 'in Mid. Ir. [...] is sometimes used with anaphoric use, but cites the following example from the late (?) OIr saga *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin*: *A n-Inis moccu Ché[i]n ro-baí in Gartnán*, *ScCG* 1, 'The aforesaid Gartnán was in Inis moccu Chéin'.[745]

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[745] Binchy (1975, xiv) writes that 'basically the language of [*ScCG*], prose and verse alike, is Old Irish, but it is not earlier than the second half of the ninth century'. There are two other examples of the article used before a proper name, i.e. *in Satan*, *ScCG*, 44 'Satan'; *in n-Illand*, *ScCG* 377 'the aforementioned Illand (king of Corcu Loígde'). The latter example is another instance where the article has an anaphoric function. A similar example is found in *Aided Meidbe*, i.e. *in Chlothru*, 'Clothra', LL vs. *in Clothra sin*, 'that Clothra', E_1 (see Hull 1938, 55). According to Hull (1938, 58, n.1), the article replaces the use of *int-í* in MidIr. Thurneysen (*GOI* §474.2n) states that 'In later MSS. proper names are occasionally preceded by the article alone instead of by *intí*, etc.'). The use of the article preceding proper names, with anaphoric force, deserves further attention but is beyond the scope of the present thesis.

Therefore, this example supports the use of the article here with anaphoric function, referring to the previously mentioned Cet mac Mágach.

[3f] *Is*ed *dolluid-s*id*e dar faidchi na hEmna 7 tri lāechcind leis do Ultaib.*
This is the way he went, across the green of Emain, having with him three warriors' heads of the men of Ulster.

LL: **IS**– dolluids–e d*ar* faidc*h*i na*h*emna 7 t*r*i l$_{a}$ec*h*ci*n*d leis doultaib.
C: IS– do luig s$_{i}$d*h*e t*ar* fait*hch*e nea*n*an 7 t*r*i laigcin*n* lais diull–
E$_1$: isan*n* robais$_{i}$u*m* [ ] t*echt* d*ar* fait*h*c$_{i}$ nahem*n*a 7 t*r*i l–*h*ci*n*d doult– lais.
E$_2$: ISand doluig*h* sen forfait*h*che nahemna 7 t*r*i laech chind doultaib leis.

Is ed do-lluid-side dar faithchi inna hEmnae 7 trí láechcenn leis di Ultaib.
It was across the green of Emain that the latter came carrying with him three heads of the men of Ulster.

Is ed do-lluid-side: I follow Meyer in expanding the suspension stroke in LL and C as the neuter pronoun *ed*. Although the use of *and* 'then' in the Edinburgh manuscripts cannot be faulted in this particular context, it is perhaps likely that the copyist of their shared MidIr source expanded the suspension stroke to *and* rather than *ed*, which is later superceded by the masc. *é* (although see *SnaG* III, §10.13 where the use of *ed* survives in certain circumstances in MidIr). The construction of the copula + neut. pron. + rel. verb of motion is attested in early Irish literature (see Mac Cana 1990, 35).

The use of the proleptic neut. pronoun after the copula and before the verb of motion *do-tét* 'comes', refers in this instance to the route taken by Cet (see *DIL* s.v. *ed* VI, 54.17; cf. *Is ed do-rala an-air do Dún Sobairchi*, *Fing. R.*, l. 65, 'It was to Dún Sobairche that he came' (lit. 'from the east'), Mac Cana (1990, 35). This provides the literal translation: 'it was across the green of Emain that the latter came ...', with *do-tét* expressing definite motion towards the Ulstermen. However, Meyer renders the verb as the later use of indefinite motion, which according to *DIL* s.v. *do-tét*, (e) can mean 'goes'. I adopt the literal translation in this instance to remain closer to the original text.

Note that LL preserves the Old Irish orthographical feature of doubling the initial letters of the verbal stem in *do-lluid* (see *SnaG* I, §3.22 and *GOI* §243.2). The same feature is found in [3d].

The anaphoric masc. pron. *side* is used in LL/C, whereas it is replaced in E_2 with the later demonst. *sen* (earlier *sin*, see *SnaG* III, §10.24). E_1 replaces the clause with a periphrastic phrase, i.e. 3sg. perf. of *attá* + *techt* 'coming', giving a literal translation of 'it is then that he was coming across the field of Emain'.

dar faithchi: LL, C and E_1 support the prep. *tar/dar* 'across, over' against E_2's *for*, even though the latter can also be used in a similar sense of 'across, by way of' (see *DIL* s.v. *for* 297.49–59; cf. *for Sligi Midluachra dī dochoidsi*, 'she went along Slige Midlúachra then', *TBC* I 1489).[746] LL's *dar* might be the better reading, preserving original OIr *d-* before the proclitic vowel (i.e. *t-* > *d-*; cf. *to* > *do*), against *tar* in C that is modelled on the stressed conjugated forms of that prep., i.e. 3sg. fem. *tairse* etc. (see *GOI* §178.2; McCone 1981, 42, including n. 43).[747] But this argument is weakened when one considers that *tar* is also frequently attested in the Wb. glosses (see Kavanagh 2001, 849–50). *Dar* is also attested in the MidIr period (*DIL* s.v. *tar*, 72.46–59). I adopt *dar* in this instance since it receives support from either side of the stemma.

According to *DIL* s.v. *faithche, faidche*, the spelling with voiced *-d-* is common in LL while other manuscripts support the voiceless spirant *-th-* (*DIL* s.v. *faithche*, 33.65–80; see *GOI* §126 for the interchangeability of *(t-)aith-g/ch-* and *(t-)aid-g/ch-*). Note that the sound-group *thch*, or *δch*, has not yet been reduced (see *GOI* §127; Thurneysen notes that this phonetic development 'has not yet become general' in the glosses, although it is attested more frequently in the Ml. glosses, e.g. *thaichur* (MS), Ml. 115d9 vs. *taidchor*, 117b5).

inna hEmnae: The gen. sg. *Emna* is treated as an *ī*-stem here (*DIL* s.v. *emon*; for a discussion on the etymology of *Emain*, see Marstrander 1911, 160). I restore the Old Irish spelling of the final vocalism for the OIr gen. sg. Note the elided vowel of the article in C's *neaman* showing that it was taken to be something else. I also restore the long form

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[746] Or perhaps the sense of 'on, to, towards' could apply after the verb of motion (*DIL* s.v. *for*, I (g)). But 'across' is better suited in this particular context.

[747] McCone (1981, 42) points out Thurneysen's unfortunate wording which suggests forms with *t-* are archaic spellings. According to McCone, this is incorrect, however, since these forms are actually early analogical spellings based on the stressed conjugated prepositions.

of the article in accordance with the editorial policy. The letter *h* may be purely cosmetic in this instance and represent a copied archaism (see *GOI* §§177, 240), or it could reflect the later tendency of writing /h/. Since it is supported on either side of the stemma, I retain it in the edition.

láechcenn leis di Ultaib: Note the delenition of the second element in the nominal compound of *láech* + *cenn* seen in LL, C and E_1 (see *GOI* §231.3). The manuscripts differ in relation to the word order here. LL/C's reading is stylistically more difficult with *leis* positioned immediately after *láechcenn* with the emphasis placed on the Ulstermen. The Edinburgh exemplar changed original *láechcenn leis do Ultaib* to the more straightforward *láechcinn do Ultaib leis* 'heads of Ulstermen with him', bringing forward *do Ultaib*.

Given C's scribal tendency towards peculiar spellings, especially of vowels,[748] the spelling *di* must be treated with caution as it may reflect a penchant for writing *di* for *do* (cf. Breatnach 2013, 44: *de/di* is written for the prep. *do*). Nevertheless, since the prep. *de/di* 'of, from' is intended here anyway, I restore the original form as per the editorial policy (see also further discussion in [3b]).

There is stemmatic support here for the spelling *lais* 'with him' rather than *leis*. The two spellings are attested in Old Irish. However, since *lais* is still in use in the Early Modern Irish period (see *DIL* s.v. *la*, 1.77), and given that the orthography in C, E_1 and E_2 has undergone more modernisation than LL, I adopt LL's *leis* as the normalised spelling. See also a similar instance in [4c] below.

[748] See Chapter 1.4.1 for a collection of examples.

[4a] *Intan bátar na ónmite 'co cluchiu do inchind Me[i]sgegra, iss*ed *atbert ind ónmit fri araile.*

While the jesters (of Emain) were at play with the brain of Mesgegra, this is what one jester said to the other.

LL: INtan bát*ar* naóinmite co cluc*h*iu doi*n*chi*n*d mes .g. ISs– atb–t i*n*dónmit f*r*i araile < >

C: i*n*tan bada*r* na hoinmidiu oc cluit*h*e do incin*n* mes .g*r*a. is– atb–t inoinmit f*r*ia *ar*oile < >

E_1: Anta*n* bat– nahoi*n*m[ ] cl–t[...]i*n* 7 las*nn*[749] s_i*n* misg– 7 is– ade*r*dis no foet*h* ri d_i.

E_2: I**N**tan iaram bad– nahoi*n*midi icluit*h*che doninchind .i. do inchind mesgera for lar nafaithche isand s_in adb–ed*h* i*n*oinmid f*r*ia araile dib s_in aso aso ari*n*oinm*h*id f*r*ia araili agalægad*h* ara ceile dofæt*h* rig*h* de oraraile.

In tan bátar inna óinmiti oca cluichiu di inchiunn Meisse Gegrai, is ed as-bert ind óinmit fri araile, 'Asso, asso', ol ind óinmit fri araile, 'do-fóeth rí dé', ol araile.

When the jesters were playing with the brain of Mess Gegrai, this is what one said to the other. 'Behold, behold', said he. 'A king will fall on account of it', said the other.

In tan bátar: Concerning the non-palatal form of the independent acc./dat. sg. of time *in tan*, see the textual note in [1g]. The temporal conjunction *in ta(i)n* is used generally with a following relative construction, but a nasal relative marker is not obligatory in Old Irish (*GOI* §§497, 505; Ó hUiginn 1986, 36). The manuscripts all have the 3pl. pret. of the substantive verb *attá* 'is'. In contrast to the ambiguous ending in E_1/E_2, LL/C has the inherited 3pl. abs. rel. ending rather than the non-relative analogical 3pl. abs., *bátir* (*EIV* 73).

inna óinmiti: All four manuscripts have the shortened fem. nom. pl. article *na* as opposed to the OIr disyllabic form *inna*. I restore the longer form as outlined in the editorial policy. The final vocalism in C's *hoinmidiu* is a plebe spelling for a final reduced /ə/. For a discussion on the interpretation of this word, see the textual note in [3b].

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[749] There is a small hole in the manuscript due to a defect in the vellum. The scribe tried to write *s* with a superscript stroke where the hole is, but repeated this letter immediately after the hole. Compare with las*i*n on p.2, l. 25 (E_1).

oca cluichiu: C's *oc cluithe* and E_2's *ic* [*c*]*luithche* support the use of the prep. *oc* 'at' against LL's *co* which is either the prep. 'with' or *oc* + the anaphoric 3pl. pronoun, i.e. '*co* for *oca* 'at their game'. The latter, i.e. *oca*, constitutes the *lectio difficilior* against the straightforward use of *oc* + *cluiche* in the other witnesses. LL preserves the OIr spelling of the final vowels of the dat. sg. *io*-stem *cluiche*. Phonetic confusion of *ch* for *th* is seen in C and possibly E_1, although only the letter *t* is legible in the manuscript. E_2's *cluithche* reflects an Early Modern Irish spelling with hypercorrect *-th-* (see *SnaG* IV, §2.13).

di inchiunn Meisse Gegrai: The prepositional form *do* shows confusion with *de/di* 'from, of' (see for example [3b]). E_1's *lasnn sin* is corrupt due to a physical defect in the manuscript and should read *lasin*, which is a scribal replacement for the prep. *di*. E_2's *don inchind* is followed by *.i. do inchind mesgera* which may represent an incorporated gloss.[750] The Edinburgh manuscripts treat the proper name as a MidIr compound. I restore the OIr gen. sg., i.e. *Meisse Gegrai* (see the discussion on this proper name in the textual note in [1d]).

is ed as-bert ind óinmit fri araile: The suspension stroke in LL, C and E_1 may be expanded as either the anticipatory neut. ind. pron. *ed* or the conjugated prep. *and* 'then, there', found in E_2. LL's *iss* suggests the former, i.e. *is sed*, albeit with MidIr form *sed*. Thus, I expand it as the OIr proleptic *ed* (see *DIL* s.v. *ed*, I(b)).

The *-t-* in the 3sg. deut. pret. of *as-beir* 'says' in LL and C, as well as in E_2's *adbered* (albeit with modernised *d* for *t*), reflects a Middle Irish petrified pronoun, which is not surprising considering that it is written in Middle Irish and Early Modern Irish manuscripts (*EIV* 171–4), rather than a Class B neut. inf. pron.

E_1's verbal form is a late MidIr/EModIr form of *as-beir*, which has crept in at a later point in E_1's independent line of transmission (see *SnaG* III, §12.196; cf. *ateri-siu*, LL 34878 (*MU*); *SnaG* IV, §7.21). It is written in the manuscript as *aderdis* which represents the 3pl. ipf. E_2 has the 3sg. ipf. Given the greater tendency towards innovation in E_1 and E_2, it is safer to adopt the standard OIr deut. *t*-pret. in LL and C, while restoring it to *as-bert* without a petrified pronoun, since it is likely that *at-bert* was written in the MidIr exemplar.

LL, C and E_2 support the art. + nom. sg. of *óinmit*, followed by *fri araile*. C and E_2 have the MidIr form of the prep. *fri* (*DIL* s.v. *fri*, 413.71). As discussed in Chapter

[750] Note the loss of the internal lenited *g* in *gera*. See *SnaG* IV, §2.14.

1.6.2, there is a *lacuna* in LL/C after the phrase *fri araile* caused perhaps by eye-skip due to *homoioteleuton*, i.e. *fri araile ... fri araile*.

Furthermore, E_2's *aso aso arinoinmhid fria araili* is not found in E_1. The text in E_1 has suffered during transmission, and the problem may go back a long way. The sentence may have been lost due to the repetition of *fri araile* (see also Chapter 1.6.2). Given that the first occurring *fri araile* and the final *fri araile* lends itself to the original text to explain the *lacuna* in LL/C, there is a strong possibility that the second *fri araile* in E_2 also appeared in the original. E_2's *dib si͗n* is likely to be an addition since it is not supported by any other witness and also since this is the later use of the 3pl. conjugated prep. + demonstrative *sin*, replacing OIr *-som* (*DIL* s.v. *sin*, A (e). Therefore, as strange as it is, I adopt this sentence, i.e. *asso asso ... fria araile*.

The manuscripts all have *araile*, rather than *alaile*, showing dissimilation from *l* > *r*, due to the stress falling on *-ail-* (*GOI* §486). This development is typical of the Middle Irish period (see Lewis and Pedersen 1937, 74), and thus *araile* in the manuscripts could be scribal, replacing original *alaile*. However, *alaile* and *araile* are seen interchanging in the Old Irish period from an early stage already (*GOI* §486 (b); cf. *alailiu*, Wb. 2a14, *arailiu*, 21a13). Therefore, I hesitate to restore the form *alaile* against the majority support of the witnesses as this may already have been written in the archetype. See also [4a], where the witnesses support *araile*.

asso: According to *DIL* s.v. *asso*, this is a compound of the prep. *a* 'out of, from' + the demonstr. pron. *so* 'this', meaning 'here is, behold'. However, Vendryes observes that this is in fact a formation of the 2sg. ipv. of *ad-cí* + demonst. *so* (see *LEIA*: A–12). The repetition of *asso* does not necessarily represent dittography but could be a stylistic device adding emphasis to the jester's comment.

Since the phrase *agalægadh ara ceile*, 'hurling it at the other',[751] is not found in E_1 and its absence cannot be justified by any formal copying error, I suggest that it is a scribal embellishment in E_2. Therefore, I leave it out of the edition.

do-fóeth ... dé: Apart from the MidIr confusion of preverbal *do* for *no* in E_1, the Edinburgh manuscripts agree in reading the 3sg. fut. of *do-tuit*, meaning 'falls, perishes, is killed' (see *DIL* s.v. *do-tuit*, (c)). The regular Old Irish form was *do tóeth*, but *do-fóeth* does occur in the Old Irish period, e.g. *do:fáeth rí din gaí-sin*, 'a king will fall by that

[751] *Céile* is used with pronominal force here, see *DIL* s.v. *céile*, (i) 'the other'. See also *DIL* s.v. *léicid* 79. 6–9 for examples of *léicid* + *for* meaning 'hurls at'.

spear', *BMMM* 315.[752] Therefore, this form is retained in the edition. According to *DIL*, this verb is used often with the prep. *la* expressing the agent (see *DIL* s.v. *do-tuit*, 385.85; cf. *Dothuit fer cach laí leis co cend sechtmaini and sin*, 'Then every day for a week a man fell there at Cú Chulainn's hands', *TBC* I, 1552). However, examples are also attested followed by the prep. *de*, expressing the instrument by which one falls, e.g. *BMMM* 315. Breatnach (2003, 135–6) has shown on the basis of metrical evidence that the vowel in the 3sg. masc. pronominal form of *di* had a long vowel. Thus, *dé* is restored to the edition.

[752] See *GOI* §543(b). Thurneysen writes that the form with *-f-* acts 'as if combined with *to* and *fo*'. Cf. the 3sg. pres. ind. *do-fuit*, *Messe ocus Pangur Bán* (*Thes* ii, 293.21). According to the editors of the *Thesaurus* (*Thes* ii, xxxiii), the language of *Messe ocus Pangur Bán* suggests a date of composition after the *Félire* (c. 800).

[4b] *Rocluinedar Cet aní sin.*
Cet hears that.

LL: Rocluined*ar* cet anís$_i$*n*.
C: **R**o clui*niter* ceat inis*i*n
E_1: Ro cual– Cet i*n*is$_i$*n*
E_2: **R**oclui*n* cet i*n*nisi[.]

Ro-cluinedar Cet a n-í-sin.
See above for Meyer's translation.

Ro-cluinedar: The 3sg. abs. pres. ind. of *ro-cluinethar* 'hears' in LL/C is clearly the superior reading because the Old Irish deponent flexion is preserved. For a comment on the less frequent use of voiced *d*, against voiceless *-th-*, between unstressed vowels in deponent verbs, see *GOI* §129.

The Edinburgh manuscripts both have innovatory forms. As has been pointed out by Breatnach (2011, 113), the intended use of a suspension stroke by a scribe can be difficult to decipher because of its ambiguity, as is the case here with E_1's reading. It is uncertain whether the suspension stroke in E_1's *cual–* should be expanded as OIr *-ae* or innovatory *-aid*. The latter would provide a Middle Irish verbal form, created by taking the preterite stem and using it as a present base with an active ending.[753] E_2's *ro cluin* is treated as a simple verb, with its past tense formed on the present stem. While the 3sg. pret. of *ro-cluinethar* 'hears' could have been in the original, it seems more likely that the Middle Irish copyist replaced the original OIr pres. ind. dep. with the more current *ro cualaid*.

a n-í sin: LL preserves the neut. acc. sg. art. *a*, which the other witnesses replace with the new MidIr art. *in* (*SnaG* III, §7.2), followed by the deictic part. *í* + demonst. *sin*.

[753] See *EIV* 237–8; also Bergin 1904, 140–1. This formation is based on the Middle Irish reanalysis of vowel-final preterites in analogy with the 3sg. *do-c(h)úaid*, *-dechaid* > as stem *do-c(h)úa-*, *-dech-* plus ending *-(a)is*.

[4c] *Ethaid side in n-inchind al-láim indala n-ái 7 berid leiss,*

He snatches the brain out of the hand of one of them, and carries it off;

LL: Et*h*aids$_{i}$de i*nn*i*nchin*d alláim i*n*dalanái 7 b–id leis.

C: 7 eit*h*aits$_{i}$di in incin*n* alaim*h* indala noei 7 b–id lais

E_1: dob–[ ] i*n* d*ar*a f– an$_{i}$*n*cin*n* 7 ruc lais do cr–ai*n*

E_2: **R**obui alaim indala nai i*n*inchind 7 beired lais

Ethaid-side a lláim indala n-ái a n-inchinn 7 beirid leis,

The aforementioned snatches the brain out of the hand of one of them (i.e. the jesters) and carries it off;

Ethaid-side: For a discussion of the verb *ethaid*, and its various compounds, see Zimmer (1890, 71–8). The verb *ethaid* in LL/C is used here with the meaning 'seizes, obtains' rather than the more frequently attested sense of 'goes, finds' (see *DIL* s.v. *ethaid* II; cf. *ethaid* (*gaibid*, YBL) *in luirg n-iairn robae triasin slabraid* 'he seized the iron bolt that was through the chain', *ONN* 86, §4[754]). The compound *ad-etha* is attested more widely meaning 'seizes, takes' than *ethaid* (see *DIL* s.vv. *at-etha*, (a), *ethaid*, II; cf. *Ad-etha Cú Chulaind íarum assa láim 7 da-mbeir fó ślíasait clí*, 'Cú Chulainn takes it then from her hand and places it by his left thigh', *BMMM* 241). However, Zimmer (1890, 75) observes that the verbal form in LL is not missing a preverb *ad-* because if *ad-* were present in the archetype then *-etha* would be expected because compounds take conjunct endings (cf. *adetha*, 'it attacks', Ml. 48d1).

The text in the Edinburgh manuscripts has undergone some individual revision. *Ethaid* is replaced in both manuscripts. E_2 has the 3sg. perf. of *benaid* 'beats, strikes'. E_1's *do b–* can be expanded as *do-bí*, paralleling *ro bui* in E_2, of either the verb *do-ben* 'takes away' or *benaid* with confusion of *do* and *ro*. The perfect in the Edinburgh branch reflects the innovatory MidIr narrative tense. It seems unlikely that LL/C would have replaced the straightforward substantive verb (or even *benaid*) with the more unusual *ethaid* 'seizes'.

[754] The citation in *DIL* for this reference is misleading. It states that this sentence is found in '§16', but this actually is the line number of the page and not the paragraph (see *DIL* s.v. *ethaid*, 236.58).

indala n-ái: LL/C and E_2 preserve the OIr substantival *indala n-aí* 'one of them' (MidIr *indar(n)a*; *GOI* §487(c)), with E_1's *indara* showing the dissimilation of *l* > *r*.

Note the difference in word order in LL/C in comparison with the Edinburgh manuscripts, where the former places the object, i.e. *inchinn*, after *indala n-ái* (E_1 omits *a lláim*, which is supported by LL, C and E_2). In this instance, E_2 preserves the more stylistic sentence with the prepositional phrase coming immediately after the verb, which places emphasis on the action being carried out. The scribe of LL/C's exemplar is more likely to have taken *inchinn* and placed it after the verb. Thus, I adopt the word order from E_2.

a n-inchinn: LL/C's exemplar probably treated *inchinn* as a fem. with a preceding fem. acc. sg. art. *in*. It may be that the Edinburgh manuscripts preserve the more conservative reading with *an/in*. Although, a single *n* may also reflect an orthographical variant for *nn*. Given the date of these manuscripts, these spellings must be treated with caution. Nevertheless, I restore the neut. acc. sg. form of the art. in agreement with the OIr neut. *inchinn*, for which see the discussion in [1e].

beirid leis: LL/C and E_2 support the 3sg. abs. pres. ind of *beirid* + *la* + 3sg. suff. pron., referring to Cet, meaning 'carries away, takes (with one)' (see *DIL* s.v. *beirid*, IV; cf. *beirthe lais Sacharias*, 'Zacharias takes him', *The Irish Gospel of Thomas* (Carney 1964, 96, §23); *manimbera latt*, 'unless thou bring him with thee', *Thes*, ii 296.6). The object, i.e. the brain, mentioned in the principal clause, is not repeated.

E_1 replaces *beirid* with the 3sg. perf. *ruc*. This is a scribal addition with the perfect acting as the Middle Irish historical past. Also, the phrase *do Cruachain* does not receive support from any other witness and therefore, is more than likely a descriptive scribal addition. Concerning *leis*, see the textual note in [3f] above.

[4d] *ō rofitir Cet robói i tarngere do Messgegra a dīgail iarna écaib.*
for he knew that it had been foretold of Mesgegra that he would avenge himself after his death.

LL: O rofit– cet robói itarṅgere do mess .g. adigail iarnaécaib.
C: o ro fit$_{i}$r ceat abeit*h* at*ar*rngaire do meis .g*r*a. adigail *arn*a écaib
E_1: r do feit– cet coroibi at*ar*ng–$_{i}$ do m$_{i}$sc– adigailt [.]*ar*[ ]
E_2: ardoidir cet robai at*air*[..]iri domeisgeadra adig*h*ail fei*n* iarnaeg*h*uib*h*

ó ro-fitir Cet ro boí i tairngiriu do Mess Gegrai a dígal íarna écaib.
for Cet knew that Mess Gegrai's vengeance after his death had been prophesied.

ó ro-fitir: In copying from his exemplar, the Edinburgh redactor changed the order of the sentences. See the more detailed discussion in Chapter 1.6.2.[755]

The temporal conjunction *ó* 'since' is followed by the pret. here, conforming to Old Irish usage (*GOI* §893; *DIL* s.v. *ó*, I (a); cf. *.i. hóboí mochland* et *mo chenéel isocfrecur céill dœ atáa*, 'i.e. since my clan and my kindred came into being, it has been engaged in worshipping', Wb. 29d6). E_2 has the conjunction *ar* 'for, since', which cannot be faulted as such. E_1's *r* is attached to the preceding prep. + fem. suff. pron. *di* and has the initial vowel elided (see [4f] below). It is likely that original *ó* 'since' was replaced with *ar* when the Edinburgh exemplar's scribe transposed the sentence. Therefore, I adopt LL/C's reading of *ó* 'since'.

For a discussion on *ro-fitir*, see Krause (1925, 204–5). Meyer took *ro-fitir* as conveying a preterite force, which according to *DIL* is common especially in the 3sg. in Middle Irish, citing examples only from Middle Irish texts (see *DIL* s.v. *ro-finnadar*, B (b)), but it is also found with preterite force in the glosses, e.g. *rofitir indiassin*, 'those two knew', Wb. 18d6. However, the preterite with the force of the present 'knows', corresponding to Lat. *scire* 'is aware off' is more prevalent in the glosses (see *DIL* s.v. *ro-finnadar*, B (a); Kavanagh 2001, 758). Nevertheless, it is preferable to take *ro-fitir* with the force of the preterite in this instance, to show distance from the present tense

[755] This sentence, i.e. [4e], is found after [4f] in E_1 and E_2.See also the transcriptions in the appendix, i.e. E_1, p.1.15–7 and E_2, fol. 7vb27–31, for the order of the text in these manuscripts.

used in the previous sentence (*DIL* s.v. *ó*, 78.38–9). Note that the Edinburgh manuscripts show the later confusion of *do* for *ro* (*EIV* 189–90).

tairngiriu: The word *tairngire* (vn of *do-airngir* 'promises; foretells, prophesies') is used here in the sense of 'prophesying, prophecy' (*DIL* s.v. *tairngire*, (c)). It is in construction with the 3sg. perf. of the substantive verb *attá* 'is' + *i n-* 'in', literally meaning 'it had been a prophecy' or 'it had been prophesied' (*DIL* s.v. *tairngire*, 46.4–11). The use of the perfect in this subordinate clause conforms to Old Irish usage as it can be translated into a Modern English pluperfect 'had been', anterior to the previous *ro-fitir* with preterite force (*EIV* 99–100). I normalise the spelling of the final vowel *-e* and *-i* in the manuscripts to the OIr dat. sg. *io*-stem ending *-iu*.

dígal: Both sides of the stemma support the MidIr use of the dat. sg. form for the nom. sg. of *dígal* 'avenging, punishing; vengeance, punishment',[756] preceded by a 3sg. masc. poss. pron. referring to Mess Gegrai (*GOI* §251; *DIL* s.v. *dígal*, 90.8–10). E_1's *digailt* is a later form of *dígal* (see *DIL* s.v *dígailt*). I restore the OIr nom. sg. *dígal* in this instance.

íarna écaib: The OIr prep. *íar* + 3sg. poss. pron. is preserved in LL and E_2 against C, and possibly E_1, have the Middle Irish reduced form *ar* (*ár*; *SnaG* III, §13.16).

For a discussion of the gender and inflection of *éc* 'death', see Quin (1964, 52). *DIL* suggests that *éc* 'death' is used especially of a 'natural death' as opposed to an *aided* 'violent death' (*DIL* s.v. *éc*, 9.2–3).[757] According to *DIL*, the dat. pl. *écaib* can be used of a singular death as is the case here (*DIL* s.v. *éc*, 9. 24–9; cf. *iarnécaib saul*, 'after Saul's death', Ml. 42a6).[758]

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[756] According to *DIL* s.v. *dígal*, 90.7, this example in *AC* is a later nom. sg. *dígail* with a palatal final consonant identical to the acc. and dat. sg. (*SnaG* III, §5.6).

[757] It should be noted that Mess Gegrai did not succumb to a natural death, but was killed as a result of fighting in combat against Conall Cernach in *Talland Étair* (*TallÉ*, ll. 205–10).

[758] The original dat. pl. continues as the new singular form in British languages, e.g. Bret. *ankoù*, Welsh *angheu*.

[4e] *Cach cath ⁊ cach irga[l] nobíd do Chon*nachtaib *fri Ulto*

In every battle and in every combat which the men of Conaught had with those of Ulster,

LL: ca– cat*h* ⁊ ca– irga nobíd dochon– *f*riulto

C: cac*h cat*h ⁊ ca– irgal nobid*h* do *conacht*aib*h* fria ull–

E_1: Ga– *cath* ⁊ irg– ł bid a *connacht*– fri hult–

E_2: gach ec ⁊ gech *conair* irg*h*ail iteiged nobid*h* et– *con*nacht*aibh* ⁊ulaid*h*.

Cach cath ⁊ cach irgal no bíd do Chonnachtaib fri Ultu,

Every battle and every combat which the men of Connacht had with the Ulstermen,

Cach cath ⁊ cach irgal no bíd ...: The sentence constituents *cath* and *irgal* are brought forward in a *nominativus pendens* construction, with the following 3sg. rel. ipf. of the substantive verb *attá* 'is' + *do* 'to, for', expressing possession (*DIL* s.v. *attá*, 471. 66–77).

E_2's *gach ec ⁊ gech* conair *irghail i teiged no bidh et*er con*n*acht*aib*h ⁊ *ulaid*h, 'every battle and every path of conflict in which he (Cet mac Mágach) would go that came to pass between the Connachtmen and the Ulstermen', uses the prepositional relative *i* 'in which'. But neither this reading, nor the 3sg. ipf. of *téit*, receive support from the other manuscripts. Furthermore, the fact that the rest of the sentence in E_2 differs in vocabulary from the other witnesses, as well as the innovatory dat. pl. after *eter* (which governs the acc. in Old Irish), suggests that E_2 rewrote the sentence of the original.

The noun *irgal* is used here in the sense of 'strife, contest, battle' (*DIL* s.v. *airgal*, (b); cf. *GOI* §823 on the interchange of *air-* and *ir-*). Since *cath* also means 'battle', I follow Meyer's translation in order to avoid repetition.

The OIr prep. *fri* 'against' (implying hostile action; see *DIL* s.v. *fri*, I (c)) is preserved in three of the manuscripts (apart from C's MidIr *fria*). LL preserves the historically correct acc. after the prep. *fri*, apart from the scribal tendency to write *o* for *u*.[759] The ambiguous suspension stroke in C's *ul–* and E_1's *hult–* can be expanded as the acc. pl. *-u*, or the innovatory dat. pl. ending. I adopt LL's historically correct reading and normalise to the standard acc. pl. spelling.

[759] See also a comment on this in the textual note in [3d].

[4f] *dobered Cet in n-inchind inna chris dús in tetarthad écht n-amra d'Ultaib do marbad di.*

Cet used to carry the brain in his girdle to see whether he could compass a famous deed by slaying a man of Ulster with it.

LL: dob–ed cet i*nn*i*nch*ind i*nn*a*ch*riss d*ús* intet*arth*ad ec*h*t na*m*ra dultaib dom*ar*b– di.

C: do b–ead ceat inincin*n* ina c*r*iss d*us* intaradh e*cht* nad*h*am*r*a dull– do m*ar*b– dii.

E_1: [ ] b–ed Cet ani*n*cin*n* [.]a[760] c*r*is da fis i*n* rois*eth* lais e*cht* eici*n* bud a*m*ra la [ ] di

E_2: dob–id da– cet i*n*inchind lais i*n*acris dus infuig*h*ed*h* echt amra doulltaib*h* do marbad*h* de

do-bered Cet a n-inchinn inna chriss dús in tetairsed écht n-amrae di Ultaib do marbad dé.

Cet used to carry the brain in his girdle to see whether he could accomplish killing a famous warrior of the Ulstermen with it.

do-bered: The manuscripts all have the 3sg. ipf. of *do-beir* 'gives, brings'. However, it is possible that the MidIr scribe has confused original *do* for *no* (*EIV* 197), and that the verb in the archetype was the 3sg. ipf. of *beirid* 'carries', i.e. *no bered*. However, the MidIr intermediary scribe tends generally to be conservative in the treatment of the particles *ro*, *do* and *no*, apart from one instance of confusion of *no* for *ro* in [9c]. Therefore, I leave *do-bered* in the edition.

a n-inchinn: Concerning the restoration of the neut. *inchinn*, and subsequently the neut. art., see the discussion provided in the textual note on *inchinn* in [1e]. The double *nn* in LL's *inn* suggests that the scribe took *inchinn* as a fem., i.e. *in n-inchinn*. Although the use of *n* and *nd* in these manuscripts is to be treated cautiously, it could be that the acc. sg. neut. article is preserved in C, E_1 and E_2, albeit with *i* for *a* in C and E_2 due to the merger of later proclitic vowels as /ə/.

inna chriss: Similar to the example in [1g], *ina* with a single *n* receives stemmatic support here. However, LL's *inna* is preferable because it is more likely that *ina* has replaced *inna* in the individual manuscripts. For further discussion, see the textual note on *inna* in [1g].

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[760] The manuscript is smudged here and it is difficult to make out the letter. It appears to be a single letter with a suspension stroke and a subscript *a*. It most likely reads i*n*a.

The noun *cris* is understood here as 'girdle, belt' (*DIL* s.v. *cris*, 532.30). It is found in LL/C with a double final *s*, after a short vowel, see also *Ross*, [5a]. This is also seen in the Sg. glosses, e.g. *driss*, Sg. 47a8 (Strachan 1903, 484).[761]

dús in tetairsed: An Old Irish indirect interrogative clause *dús in n-* 'to see, to find out whether' (*GOI* §463) is supported in LL/C and E_2, followed by the subjunctive. For a discussion on the use of the subjunctive after *dús* in Old Irish, see McQuillan (2002, 82–3), who observes that the indicative became more widespread in the Middle Irish period (2002, 82–3). LL preserves the more conservative reading in comparison with the other witnesses, albeit a modernised form. It is the 3sg. past subj. of *do-etarrat* 'accomplishes, over-takes, grasps' (*GOI* §§463, 912). According to Pedersen, this verb is a formation of **to-etar-reth-* (Ped. ii, 599), a strong verb with a non-palatal final consonant in the 3sg. pres. ind., cf. 3sg. pres. ind. *duetarrat*, Ml. 30c6, 'he/it encompases'. In Old Irish, one would expect the *s*-subj. for this verb, with a palatal root final, due to the root vowel being *e* (*EIV* 87), i.e. **do-etairsed*, **-tetairsed*. LL/C's verbal form is a later *ā*-subj., of a weak verb, with expected *-rethad* syncopated to *-tetairthed*, but with neutral *th* implanted in analogy perhaps with a later simple *-rethad* (see *DIL* s.v. *reithid*). This verbal form represents scribal innovation introduced in LL/C's exemplar. I restore *-tetairsed* against the manuscript evidence given that this version is dated to the Old Irish period.

C's *taradh* seems corrupt and it may be that the tironian symbol ⁊ is missing which would provide *tetarad*. E_2's *fuighedh* is a 3 sg. cond. (for *-fuigbed*) of *fo-gaib* 'gets, gains, procures'. E_1's *-roiseth* is the 3sg. of *ro-saig* with following prep. *la* meaning 'succeed (in doing), accomplish' (see *DIL* s.v. *ro-saig* I (c)), which follows the sense in LL.

The manuscripts contain the contracted monosyllabic *dús* rather than the disyllabic *duus* < *du* (*fi*)*us* 'to know, ascertain if' (*GOI* §463). Since the contracted form is already found in the Wb. glosses, e.g Wb. 1a6, 10a3, 4, 21 (cf. *GOI* §114), as well as those with a lengthmark, such as *dúus* and *duús*, it was probably already contracted because the expression *dús in n-* had become proclitic. Therefore I leave *dús* in the edition.

écht n-amrae: The definition provided by *DIL* s.v. *écht* is 'a slaying, slaughter; usually of slaying an enemy in battle'. However, it is more fitting in this context to apply the extended meaning referring to a 'warrior', anticipating the following *do marbad dé* (see *DIL* s.v. *écht*, II 'a slain person', cf. *Ard cach n-écht dorochair and*, 'proud was every

[761] For an example of *ss* in a non-final accented syllable, see dia*thessair*cain*seom* (*dia thesarcain-seom*), LL [5c] (see Strachan 1903, 484).

slaying that there befell', *Met. Dinds.* iv, 44 (*DIL* translates this as 'every (warrior) slain there')).

The historically correct nasalization on the adj. *amrae*, due to the preceding acc. sg. *écht*, is preserved in LL/C, in accordance with Thurneysen's suggestion that 'an adjective following its noun shows nasalization regularly in Ml. and predominantly in Wb.' (*GOI* §237). This nasalization is not found in the Edinburgh manuscripts, perhaps due to the loss of an *n*-stroke in their exemplar. E_1's *echt eicin bud amra* 'a violent slaughter that would be wonderful' is innovatory with the later gen. sg. *o*-stem *éicin*, qualifying *écht*, used in the sense of 'force, violence, tyranny' (*DIL* s.v. *éicen* (2)).

di Ultaib: E_2 contains the conservative reading *do Ultaib*. LL/Cs *d'ultaib* shows elision of the short unstressed vowel before the initial vowel of the following word (*SnaG* III, §3.27).

do marbad dé: The author refrains from repeating *inchinn*, opting to use the prep. *de* 'from' to express the instrument (*DIL* s.v. *de*, XXXVII (f), however, only examples from MidIr and EModIr texts are provided with *marbaid*, *gonaid* etc.). LL, C and E_1 support the prep. *de* + 3sg. fem., with the MidIr use of double vowels in C's *dii*, to show length (cf. Breatnach 2003, 134–5). However, since *inchinn* is a neuter, it is E_2 that preserves the correct use of the prep. *de* + 3sg. neut. (or masc.), which the other manuscripts have replaced with the *di*, taking *inchinn* as the later fem.

[5a] *Fecht and di*diu *dolluid-seom intí Cet sair co tuc tánai ṁbó a Feraib Ross.*
Once then Cet went eastwards until he took a drove of cows from the men of the Rosses.

LL: **Fec***h*t and di– dolluid seo*m*[762] i*n*tí cet s*air* cotuc tánai ṁbó aferaib ross.
C: Fea*cht* and do luig s*i**m* int*i* ceat s*air* cut*u*c tanaig*h* mbo f–aib*h* rroiss
E_1: d– do luid cet s*air* f– c*r*eic*h* cohult– cot*ucus*t– tai*n* bo o f–aib r*us*
E_2: **F**echt and doluig*h* cet sair for creich cotard tain bo a fearuibros

Fecht and do-lluid-sem int-í Cet sair for creich co tuc táin mbó a Feraib Ross.
Once, he, the aforementioned Cet, went eastwards upon a plundering expedition and he took a drove of cows from the territory of the Fir Rois.

Fecht and: The independent temporal dat. *fecht* is used here, with following pleonastic *and* 'then', denoting a specific time in the past, i.e. 'once, on one occasion', rather than the temporal acc. *fecht n-and* 'once upon a time' (cf. [1a]). LL's *di–*, expanded as the particle of transition *didiu* 'then, therefore', is a scribal addition, since it does not receive support from any other manuscript.
do-lluid-sem int-í Cet: LL preserves the Old Irish orthographical feature of doubling the consonants to show non-lenition after the preverb *do* (*GOI* §243C.2; *SnaG* I, §3.22). Note E_2's confusion of final lenited palatal *g* and *d*.

The 3sg. pret. of *do-tét* 'comes' is followed by the 3sg. emph. particle, referring to the subject of the verb in LL and C, both with the later spelling. Furthermore, the overt subject follows the verb + emph. pron. in LL/C. Griffith (2008, 67) states that '[...] a *nota* may never appear as subject agreement on a verb when an overt subject is present [...]'. However, there are attestations where an overt subject may stand in apposition to the verb + 3sg. emphasizing pronoun, in the absence of an infixed pronoun, e.g. *Fecht n-and di*diu *baí-seom int-í Noísi a óenur for dóe inna rrátha*, 'On one occasion, then, the aforementioned Noisiu was alone on the rampart of the earthwork', *LMU* p. 45, l. 100.

In E_1 and E_2, the more straight-forward *do-luid Cet* 'Cet came' is found with the subject of the verb is expressed independently. LL and C have the stylistically more

[762] A dot appears above the letter *s* in the manuscript. However, this is more than likely an error since emphasizing particles are not lenited as a rule in OIr (*GOI* §231.6).

complicated sentence with the inclusion of the article and deictic particle, referring to the character already mentioned in a previous sentence (*GOI* §474.2), following *do-lluid-sem*.

The use of *do-tét* 'comes', rather than *téit* 'goes', is interesting. It implies that Cet, a warrior who repeatedly attacked the Ulstermen (see [4f]), returned once again for more plundering and pillaging (for the meaning 'comes back, returns', see *DIL* sv. *do-tét*, 380.14–15; cf. *.i. asindet som tuidecht doib dochum atire ⁊ inna loc hirobatar ria*m *cidresiu don-dichsitis as indoiri armbad mou de són folostais som buit is indoiri*, 'i.e. he speaks of their return to their land and to the places in which they had been before, even before they came out of the Captivity, that they might the better bear to be in the Captivity', Ml. 104c5).

for creich: The Edinburgh manuscripts include *for creich* 'upon a plundering expedition', preserving the OIr prep. *for* 'on, upon' (later *bar/ar*, *SnaG* III, §§13.4, 13.13). This phrase is not found in LL and C, having been omitted in their exemplar in anticipation of the following *c* in *co* 'so that'. E_1's *co hUltaib* 'to the Ulstermen' is a scribal addition used to clarify the direction Cet is going in.

co tuc: LL/C's 3sg. perf. proto. *tuc* of **to-ucc* 'brings, gets' is the superior reading against the innovatory readings in E_1 and E_2. E_1's *tucust–*, while supporting the use of **to-ucc*, has an additional MidIr 3sg. dep. ending *-astar* (*EIV* 216–7). E_2's *tard* is the later form of the 3sg. perf. *-tarat*, used in the later sense of 'gets, obtains, wins' (*DIL* s.v. *do-beir*, IV (a)).

táin: The vn *tá(i)n* 'cattle raid' was an *ā*-stem in origin but fluctuates between *a*-, ī and *i*-stem flexion (see *DIL* s.vv. *áin*, *táin*; *GOI* §736).[763] Confusion between *ī*-, *i*- and *ā*-stems occurred due to the similarity of the dat. sg. Thus, the acc. sg. vocalic ending of *ī*-stems spread to the *ā*-stems at an early period, cf. the acc. sg. of *ā*-stem *long*: *lungai*, *AU* 920 (GOI §294 n.6). This confusion of stem is seen in LL, with C having the later analogical guttural stem flexion of *táin*. E_1 and E_2 preserve the more conservative reading of the acc. sg. *ā*-stem *táin*. However, the historically correct nasalization, due to the preceding acc. sg., is preserved in LL and C.

[763] This is due to the nom. sg. being replaced by the dat. sg. as a result of the common use of verbal nouns with the prep. *do* (*GOI* §§256, 294(b)).

[5b] *Donarraid i n-īarmōracht Ul*aid *ina diaid.*

The men of Ulster overtook him in pursuit after him.

LL: Do n*a*rraid i*niar*morac*h*t ul– i*n*adiaid

C: do n*a*raid hindi*ar*mor*acht* ul–inadiaig*h*

E_1: t*arr*– i[ ] f*air* ⁊ rogabso*m* f*r*iu i*ar*–

E_2: dofarraid toir mor fair ⁊ toig*r*i a ul– uile ⁊ rogabso*m* æna*r* f*r*iu

Da-n-arraid in íarmóracht Ulad inna diaid ⁊ ro gab-som friu.

The pursuing party of Ulstermen caught up with him and he held out against them.

Da-n-arraid: LL and C preserve the Class A 3sg. masc. inf. pron., albeit with *do-* replacing earlier *da-*, which already occurs in the ninth century (*GOI* §415 n.). The verbal form shows confusion between **to-air-reth* and **to-ad-reth* which occurs at an early stage (see *GOI* §822, *DIL* s.v. *do-airret*; cf. *don-árraid*, *CMM*[2] §56, l. 283; *domárraidsi*, *LU* 9361 (*Síaburcharpat Con Culaind*).[764] One would expect perhaps either *-a(i)rr-* with palatal quality or *-ár-* with *d* assimilated before *r* if the distinction was still clear.

E_2 supports LL/C's reading except for having an innovatory prosthetic *f* (*EIV* 200), as well as no nasalization as seen in LL/C. E_1 has the contracted deuterotonic *tarraid*, which is acceptable in Old Irish, but it is seen here without the infixed pronoun. Incidentally, the verb in these two manuscripts is used intransitively, meaning 'comes up with, overtakes, falls upon' with following prep. *for* 'on, upon' + 3sg. suff. pron., (see *DIL* s.v. *do-airret*, 195.21–35; cf. *tárthetar slúaig ⁊ sochaide in tíre forru im Theophras*, *TTR*.[2] 722, 'Hosts and multitudes of the country overtook them about Theophras'). The prep. *for* has the sense of 'on, towards' after the verb of motion (see *DIL* s.v. *for*, I (f); cf. *nícon tetarraid béim ná forgab fair*, 'no blow or thrust reached [him], *TBC I*, 1721).

in íarmóracht: I take this as the substantive 'a pursuing party', with a following gen. *Ulad* (*DIL* s.v. *íarmóracht*, c (i)) agreeing with the sg. verb rather than the prep. *i n-* 'in' + *íarmóracht* 'pursuit, search' (*DIL* s.v. *íarmóracht*, (a) (i)) as Meyer has done.

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[764] Vernam Hull (1949, 131–2) in discussing the 3sg. pres. subj. *do-āir/-tāir* 'overtakes, seizes', agrees with Thurneysen (*GOI* §822) that for *ad-* one finds *a(i)r-* because of their likeness and therefore, one gets confusion of two similar verbs *to-ad-reth* and *to-a(i)r-reth*.

Unfortunately the word in E_1 is illegible, but given the space in the manuscript, it is more likely that it contained the same word as in E_2, which shows scribal interference, with *toir mor* 'a great pursuing party' replacing *íarmóracht*. E_2 also has the additional phrase *toigri a ul– uile*, most likely for *toigri*[*m*] *(a) Ulad uile* 'in pursuit of all the Ulstermen'. I take *toigrim* as the vn of *do-greinn*, with innovatory palatalization of *-gr-*.

inna diaid: LL/C has the prepositional phrase *ina diad* (lit. 'into the end of him') in conjunction with *do-airret* implying an intent to pursue (see *DIL* s.v. *dead*, 175.46–54). Since the preposition *i n-* follows a verb of motion, the accusative is expected here. The spelling in both witnesses shows a palatal final due to the later *ā*-stem flexion of *dead*, which is seen as early as Wb., e.g. *fo deid*, Wb. 13d9, as well as towards the end of the Old Irish period, i.e. *diaid*, *Thes* ii, 340.3 (Broccán's Hymn). Thus, since it is already attested as early as Wb. I am inclined to leave it in the edition.

For a comment on *inna* vs. *ina*, see the textual note on [1g].

The Edinburgh manuscripts have the additional phrase. The 3sg. perf. of *gaibid* 'holds out against, resists' +*fri* is used in the sense of 'holds out against, resists' (*DIL* s.v. *gaibid*, V (f); cf. *ni gēbat frib for nach maig i cathaib, i comramaib*, 'they will not visit you in any field in battles or combats', *SR* 4835).

[5c] *Doriachtatar da*no *Connachtai dond leith aile dia thessarcain-seom.*
Then the men of Conaught came up from the other side to rescue him.

LL: **D**oriac*h*tat*a*r da– *con*nac*h*tai dondle¡t*h* aile diat*h*ess*air*cai*n*seo*m*.
C: do riacat– do– *con*con*acht* qq don leit*h* aile dia tes*air*gains¡m.
E_1: cota*n*cad– *conacht* don*leith* aili d¡a t*usar*c–
E_2: gotora*cht*ad– *con*n*acht*a donleit*h* aili dates*ar*gain seo*m*.

co torachtatar Connachta dond leith ailiu dia thesarcain-sem.
and the men of Connacht came up from the other side to rescue him.

co torachtatar: There is stemmatic support for the 3pl. pret. of *do-roich* 'comes, arrives' against the 3pl. proto. of *do-icc* in E_1. However, the later deuterotonic form of the verb is found in LL and C (see *DIL* s.v. *do-roich*, 363. 35; cf. *do-riachtatar*, *TE* §3), with *-riacht-* based on the pret. stem *siacht-* of the simplex *saigid*. The use of the consecutive conjunction *co* 'and' in E_1/E_2 with the following prototonic *tora*cht*ad–* in E_2, which is the rarer form, is the *lectio difficilior* against *do-riachtatar danó*. LL/C's exemplar omitted *co* and inserted *danó*, the functional equivalent of the connector *co* and also used the innovatory *do-riachtatar*.

Connachta: The *plurale tantum ā*-stem *Connachta*, referring to the '(inhabitants of) Connacht', is preserved in LL and E_2. The final vocalism in LL represents a schwa spelling variant (cf. *tánai*, LL [5a]). C's *con*con*acht* is corrupt, presumably as a result of the scribe writing the *con*-compendium twice by mistake. C and E_1 have the variant *Connacht* (cf. *DIL* s.v. *Connachta* notes *frisin tres* Con*n*acht, Corp. Gen. 153.22). I follow LL in this instance.

dond leith ailiu: LL preserves the final *nd* of the article before the following *leith*, against the other manuscripts which show assimilation of *-nd* to *-n* (*SnaG* III, §7.7, e.g. *don leith aile*, LL 32663 (*TT*)).

dia thesarcain-sem: On a trivial point, E_2 has the later reduced form *da* against the other manuscripts which preserve the prep. *do* 'to, for' + 3sg. masc. poss. pron. (*SnaG* III, §3.24). The 3sg. masc. emph. part., referring to the suff. pron. in *dia*, receives support from both sides of the stemma, albeit with modernised spelling in each witness.

[5d] *Fechair cath eturro.*

A battle is fought between them.

LL: Fec*hair* cat*h* etar*r*o.

C: fich*air* cat*h* etar*r*u

E_1: [ ]r si̇n 7

E_2: foc*h*erdat– cath mor et*ar*da and sin

Fechair cath etarro.

See Meyer's translation above.

Fechair: The verb *fichid* 'fights' is frequently attested in use with *cath* 'battle' (see *DIL* s.v. *fichid*, 124.21–40; cf. *fechair cath immi fochétoir*, 'a battle is fought over him at once', *TallÉ*, 77). Unfortunately, E_1 is illegible here, but there seems to be a space for approximately five letters, possibly standing for *fechair*.

E_2's *focherdat–* might be the 3pl. pres. ind. pass. of *fo-ceird* used here in the sense of 'performs, wages' (see *DIL* s.v. *fo-ceird*, 190.45–9; cf. *Fochartatar íar*um *an coin* co*cl*uic*he*, 'then the dogs raced', *CMT*[2] 201–2). it is found with main clause lenition (*EIV* 173). In this instance, I follow LL/C's common idiom, which represents the more conservative branch, rather than reconstructing an unsupported *ā*-pret. of *fo-ceird* on the basis of E_2's reading.

The use of *mór* in E_2 is stylistically over-explicit, and does not receive support.

[5e] *Dolluid Conchubur féin issin cath.*
Conchobar himself went into the battle.

LL: **D**olluid *con*ch– fei*n* issi*n* cat*h*.

C: **D**olluig *con*cub– fein don *cath*

E_1: dol– *con*c– fei*n* is$_i$*n cath*.

E_2: doluig*h* *con*chub– fei*n* isincat*h*.

Do-lluid Conchobar féin isin cath.

See above for Meyer's translation.

féin: The manuscripts agree in reading 3sg. masc. *féin* 'himself'. In Old Irish, the 3sg. masc. *feisin* (or *fessin*) of the pronominal *fadéin* is expected. According to *DIL* s.v. *fadéin*, the form *féin*, originally for 1sg. and 2sg., becomes widespread in all persons, genders and numbers, surviving into ModIr (see *DIL* s.v. *fadéin*, 4.66–74). According to Schrijver (1997, 76), confusion between 3sg. masc. *fesin/fadesin* and 3sg. neut. *féin* occurs in the Old Irish period. There are only two examples of the 3sg. *féin* found in the glosses, i.e. in domino *fein*, '*in Domino* Himself', Wb. 7b1; *dubuith dáit and fein secech talmain*, 'that thou shouldst be in it itself beyond every land', Ml. 84a2 (with the latter possibly being a 2sg.). It is of course a possibility that the MidIr scribe introduced *féin*, replacing *feissin*, since the former is the dominant form that is used from the MidIr period onwards, e.g. *am*al *asbert féin*, *LU* 4067, 'like he himself said' (*Senchas na Relec*). Nevertheless, I hesitate to emend the 3sg. masc. pron. *feissin* because the form *féin* is supported by the two attested examples in the glosses.

[5f] *Conid andsin gādatar mnā Connacht do Conchobur tuidecht for leith do dēscin a delba dóib.*

And it was then that the women of Connaught begged Conchobar to come aside so that they might see his shape.

LL: *Con*id andsi*n* gadat*ar* mna *con*nac*h*t do*chon*ch– tuidec*h*t f–leith dodesci*n* adelba dóib.

C: *con*ad an*n* si n gatat*ar* mna *con*nac*ht* do qqb– tuig*echt* f– leit*h* do fec*h*sain adealba doib

E_1: Is an*n*si*n* roguid*h* m*n*a *conacht con*– foleit*h* dodec*h*si*n* agn*use* 7 adelba doib

E_2: Isan*n* si*n* sin ro guid*h*sed mna *con*nac*h*ta conchub– i*m*tec*ht* f–l*eith* da fec*h*sain ad*h*eilbe doib

Conid and sin gádatar mná Connacht do Chonchobur tuidecht for leth do déicsin a delbae dóib.

See above for Meyer's translation.

Conid and sin: LL/C use *co*^{n} + 3sg. pres. ind. cop., although C has the later form with a reduced vowel (see *DIL* s.v. *is*, 307.68–82). *Co* functions as a mere sentence-connective equivalent to 'and' here (see *DIL* s.v. *co*, 275.14–24, *Luid in fecht n-aile dano araile fer día dúscud-som co mben-som dia dur*[*n*]*d ina étan*, 'On another occasion a certain man went to wake him and with his fist Cú Chulainn struck him on the forehead', TBC I 465; cf. *GOI* §897(b); for further examples of *co* in this construction, see Windisch (1880, 433). This construction is replaced in the Edinburgh manuscripts with the more straightforward 3sg. pres. ind. absolute form of the copula. Note the instance of dittography in E_2, i.e. *sin sin*.

gádatar ... do: The OIr 3pl. *ā*-pret. of *guidid* 'prays, beseeches' is preserved in LL/C, against the innovatory use of the pres. stem in the past formation in the Edinburgh manuscripts. Furthermore, E_1's *ro guidh* is the innovatory use of the singular verbal ending with a pl. subject (*SnaG* III, §14.2), while E_2's *ro guidhsed* shows the spread of the *s*-pret. to strong verbs such as *guidid*.

The verb *guidid* 'prays' is attested with *de* in the sense of 'begging, demanding', (see *DIL* s.v. *de*, XIV). However, LL/C have *do* which reflects the Old Irish confusion between *de* and *do*, but *do* is attested in other Old Irish texts also, cf. *gáid dó*, 'he besought

him', *TBC* I, 661. The Edinburgh manuscripts omit the prep. *do* possibly due to the orthographic similarity between *do* and *co*.

tuidecht for leth: LL/C have *tuidecht* 'act of coming, arrival' (vn of *do-téit* 'comes'), against E_2's *imtecht* 'going; wandering', while E_1 omits the verbal noun altogether.

The phrase *for leth*, meaning 'aside', is widely attested with *téit* and *do-téit* (see *DIL* s.v. *leth*, 127.24.43; cf. *Ocus tēit leo for leth*, *ScMMD* §4, 'And he goes with them aside'; see also [5m] below). Therefore, I expand *f-* in LL, C and E_2 as *for*. E_1 has *fo* 'under' instead of *for* 'on, upon'.

The acc. form of the *s*-stem *leth* 'direction' is expected following the prep. *for* 'on, upon' because the verbal noun implies motion in this instance. But the manuscripts all have a palatal form reflecting the MidIr spread of the dat. sg. to the acc. sg. (see *SnaG* III, §5.12). I restore the acc. sg. *leth* on this occasion, supported also by the preserved acc. sg. *leth* in [5q].

do déicsin: The manuscript readings represent various MidIr forms of OIr *déicsiu* 'looking, gazing, inspecting' (vn of *do-éccai* 'looks at, beholds, sees'), which in MidIr is attested in a large number of interchangeable forms (see for instance *DIL* s.v *déicsiu*, 3.47–49). The variants in the manuscripts here occurred as a result of individual scribal slips. I restore the OIr *déicsin*.

The redactor in E_1 has added the later gen. sg. form of the *i*-stem *gnúis* 'face, countenance' (OIr *gnúso*, see *DIL* s.v. *gnúis*, 126.21–3).

a delbae: The gen. sg. *ā*-stem *delb* 'form, figure, appearance, shape' with the OIr neutral intervocalic consonantal group *lb* is preserved in LL/C and E_1 (see Greene 1973, 127–136; see also *mesca* in [1b]). However, *-lb-* in E_2's *deilbe* has come under the influence of the later trend of palatalization.

[5g] *Fobíth nī rabi for tal*main *delb duini amail deilb Chonchobuir*
For there was not on earth the shape of a human being like the shape of Conchobar,

LL: Fobít*h* nirabi f–tal– delb dui*n*i am– de¡lb *con*ch–.
C: fo bit*h* niraib*h*e f– dealb duine am*m*l– deilb *con*qb–
E_1: oirn¡raibi [ ]n *con*c–
E_2: *air*niroibe f–talm*h*uin dealb *con*[..] am– delb*h con*chub–

Fo bíth ní rabae for talam delb duini amal deilb Conchobair.
For there had not been on earth the shape of a human being like the shape of Conchobar.

Fo bíth: The less frequently used causal conjunction *fo bíth* 'because, for, since' is found in LL and C (*GOI* §905). This is replaced in the Edinburgh manuscripts by the MidIr variants of *uair* 'for, because, since' (see *DIL* s.vv. *4 ór*, *úar*, III).
ní rabae: The use of the perfect in this instance conforms to Old Irish usage expressing anteriority to the present point of time of utterance, as well as having an expository function in this instance (see *EIV* 97–8). It adds a non-narrative detail to the prose. The analogical spread of palatalization is seen in the 3sg. conj. of the substantive verb *at-tá* 'is' in C, E and E_2. This may also be the case with LL's *rabi*, with the final unstressed vowel reduced to /ə/, representing a palatal schwa rather than a neutral schwa for earlier *-ae* (see Chapter 1.4.1 for the scribal tendency in LL to omit the *i*-glide). I restore the OIr form *-rabae* with the non-palatal *b* in syllabic anlaut expected in Old Irish (see *GOI* §166 (a)).

E_2's *con*[..] could stand for the gen. *Connacht* 'men of Connacht'. On the other hand, it may be a corruption that has been influenced by the following *delb*h con*chub*–. Unfortunately, the text in E_1 is illegible and therefore, is of no help in deciding between the reading in E_2, or in LL/C. I adopt the reading in LL/C due to the uncertainty between the variants in this instance.
for talam: The suspension stroke in LL's *tal*– is ambiguous as to whether it can be expanded for the short dat. sg. *talam* or the long dat. sg. *talmain*. The short dat. sg. is attested in Old Irish, e.g. *.i. cachdúil dianep*err *ainm nathar inim* et *itala*m *isóndathir dó*, 'i.e. every creature which is called by name of the father, in heaven and on earth, it is from the Father', Wb. 21d4; *.i. as intalam fessin*, 'i.e. from the earth itself', Ml. 45d13

(*GOI* §329B; *DIL* s.v. *talam*), and while the short dat. survives into MidIr, it is very uncommon (*SnaG* III, §5.11). Unfortunately, C omits this variant and E_1 is illegible at this point and therefore neither can support LL here against E_2's long dat. sg. However, LL also has *tal–* for the nom. sg. *talam* [11d]. Therefore, I expand *talam* here, supported by the unambiguous nom. sg. *tal–* in [11d].

Similarly, the short acc. of *talam* is also a marginal feature is attested in Old Irish. Jürgen Uhlich has also pointed out to me an example in the Prologue to the *Félire*, i.e. *ro lín flaith Dé Athar : nem, talam la trethan*, 'the kingdom of God the Father has filled heaven, earth and sea', *Fél.* Prol. 216. Although the short acc. survives into Middle Irish, it is very uncommon (*SnaG* III, §5.11). An example of the short acc. sg. *talam* is possibly found in the Middle Irish poem *Saltair na Rann*, i.e. *Rī do-ridnacht talam tlacht, do Ādaum iarna tharmthecht*, *SR* 1469. However, Greene translates this as a genitive on foot of Meyer's suggested emendation of *talam* to *talman*, i.e. 'the king gave the surface of the earth to Adam'.

amal: Meyer (1906, 6) expands LL's *am–* as the archaic spelling or the later form of the prep. *ama(i)l*. *Amail* is the Early Old Irish form that occurred before the process of depalatalization took place in the Classical Old Irish period, e.g. *amail*, *Thes* ii, 245.14 (Cambrai Homily); *amail*, Wb21c10, 22c24 (*SnaG* II, §10.5). Therefore, I expand *am–* as the OIr *amal* in accordance with the rule of depalatalisation of proclitics (*GOI* §168; *DIL* s.v. *amal* 206.24, for an example of *amal* written *plene* in the Old Irish sources, e.g. *amal*, Ml. 107c8).

[5h] *.i. etir chruth ₇ deilb ₇ dechelt, etir mét ₇ córe ₇ cutrummae,*
both for beauty and figure and dress, for size and symmetry and proportion,

LL: .i. et– c*h*ruth ₇de$_i$lb ₇ dec*h*elt. et– mét ₇córe ₇cutr–m$_a$e
C: .i. et– cr*u*t*h* ₇ deilb ₇ deit*h*cealt ₇ et– deilb dui*n*e ₇ meit ₇ coiri ₇ qd*r*uma
E$_1$: *etar* cr*u*t*h* ₇ ce$_i$ll ₇ dece$_i$lt *etar* de$_i$lb ₇ me$_i$t$_i$ ₇ core ₇ [.]ut[..]ma
E$_2$: *et–* crut*h* ₇ deilbh decei[……]₇ cut*r*umad*h*

.i. eter cruth ₇ deilb ₇ deichelt, eter méit ₇ chórai ₇ chutrummai
See above for Meyer's translation.

.i. eter …: It is difficult to say whether *.i.* is original or whether it is a scribal addition since it receives no support from the Edinburgh branch. Nevertheless, the use of the Latin abbreviation *.i.* (Lat. *id est*, OIr *ed ón* 'that is') does seem perfectly natural here, introducing the descriptive passage which explains exactly what constitutes *delb duini* mentioned in [5g].[765] Therefore, *.i.* is adopted in the edition rather than left out.

The words in the following sequences form a co-ordinate group governed by the prep. *eter* 'between' and are linked by *ocus* 'and', meaning 'both … and' (see *GOI* §881; *DIL* s.v. *eter*, III).[766] Note the MidIr lenition of *cruth* in LL after the prep. *eter* (*DIL* s.v. *eter*, 227.30). For a comment on the scribal omission of lenition after the *compendium* ₇, see the textual note on [1c].

cruth ₇ deilb ₇ deichelt: *DIL* s.v. *cruth* defines this as 'form, shape, appearance; beauty of form, shapeliness'. It refers to aesthetical beauty in this instance, in contrast to the following *delb*, which is defined in *DIL* s.v. *delb* as 'form, figure, appearance, shape', referring to the physical form of the person. According to *DIL* s.v. *deichelt*, a nominal compound of the prefix *de* + *celt* 'covering, garment', this refers to the 'outer garment worn by both sexes, robe, cloak' (*DIL* s.v. *deichelt*; cf. *Mo mind oir ₇ mo fail, mo delge ₇ mo dechelt*, 'my diadem of gold and my arm-ring, my brooch and my dress', Meyer 1899, 134; see also *LEIA*, D-39).

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[765] For a full analysis of the grammatical use of *.i.* in OIr glosses see Dottin (1912, 102–10, esp. 107). For a similar examination on the use of *.i.* in *Fingal Rónáin*, see Ó Cathasaigh (1985, 126–9).

[766] See also the similar example in [1c]: *eter Conall ₇ Choin Culainn ₇ Lóegaire mBúadach*, 'among Conall, Cú Culainn and Lóegaire'.

The redactor in E_1 replaces *deilb* with *ceill* 'sense', which does not receive support from either side of the stemma. Instead, *deilb* is used in the next sequence.

eter méit 7 chórai 7 chutrummai: The word *méit* refers to the physical size of the person (*DIL* s.v. *méit* (b); cf. *íar méit chorpdai*, 'according to bodily size', Stokes 1904, 238). E_2's *méiti* is the later form of original OIr *méit* (see *DIL* s.v. *méiti*, which states that this form is influenced by the use of the gen. sg. in expressions such as *is méite*). The word *córae* is used here in the sense of personal attributes (*DIL* s.v. *córae* (b); cf. *cruth ná córai ná congrai*m, 'figure, or grace, or beauty', *FB* §24, l. 10). The meaning of *cutrummae* is almost synonymous with *córae*, with *DIL* s.v. *cutrummae* defining it as 'equal weight, or amount, equivalent; eveness, good proportion(s) [...] of personal appearance'; cf. *Iter méit 7 chóre 7 chutrumae*, BDD^2 1075.

C has *deilb duine*, which is somewhat supported from the other side of the stemma with E_1's *deilb*. However, since this passage is mainly composed of sequences of three words, I follow LL here and do not adopt *deilb*. Furthermore, this would be repetitive with *deilb* already used in the first sequence.

[5i] *etir rosc* $_7$ *ḟolt* $_7$ *gile, etir gáis* $_7$ *álaig* $_7$ *erlabra,*

for eye and hair and whiteness, for wisdom and manners and eloquence,

LL: et– rosc $_7$ ḟolt $_7$gile. et– gaís. $_7$alaig. $_7$erlabra.

C: eit– rosg $_7$ folt $_7$ gile et– gais $_7$ alaig*h* $_7$ urlab*r*a

E_1: $_7$ g$_i$le *etar* gnais $_7$ alł $_7$ urlab*r*a

E_2: et– rosg[ ] $_7$urlabra

eter rosc $_7$ **ḟolt** $_7$ **gili, eter gaís** $_7$ **álaig** $_7$ **erlabrai**

See above for Meyer's translation.

eter rosc $_7$ **ḟolt** $_7$ **gili**: The following sequence describes particular parts of the body. *Rosc* refers specifically to the eye, *folt* to the hair, and *gile* most likely to the whiteness of the skin. This triad is also found in *BDD*^{2} 1076: *eter rosc* $_7$ *folt* $_7$ *gile.*

The mark of lenition on LL's *ḟolt*, after the tironian symbol $_7$, is not supported by the other manuscripts. This is most likely due to the scribal omission of the lenition mark, which has been discussed already in [1c]. E_1 omits *rosc* $_7$ *ḟolt.*

eter gaís $_7$ **álaig** $_7$ **erlabrai**: The abstract noun *gáes* (from adj. *gáeth* 'wise, intelligent'; cf. *GOI* §259.4), is defined by *DIL* s.v. *gáes* as 'sagacity, intelligence, acuteness'. *DIL* s.v. *álaig* gives this as 'habit, behavior, practice', but it probably is used in reference to good manners in this instance. According to *DIL*, this word is frequently found in use with the following *airlabrae* 'speech, eloquence', e.g. *iter gaís* $_7$ *álaig, errlabrae*, *BDD*^{2} 1076. For the spelling *er-*, rather than *air-*, see *GOI* §823. E_1 has *gnais*, possibly for *gnúis* 'face', as well as *alł*, which I take to be a form for later *áilne* 'beauty' (see *DIL* s.v. *áille*, 126. 19–22; *SnaG* IV, §3.15).[767]

[767] A sequence similar to the one found in E_1 is found in *The Triads of Ireland*: *Trí óible adannat seirc: gnúis, alaig erlabra,* 'Three sparks that kindle love: a face, demeanor, speech', Meyer 1906, 10/11, §86. The variant reading for §80 also reads *gnás alaig erlabra*, 'familiarity, fame (leg. *allad*), speech'.

[5j] *etir erriud ⁊ áne ⁊ écosc, etir arm ⁊ immad ⁊ orddan, etir gnāis ⁊ gaisced ⁊ chenēl.*
for raiment and nobleness and equipment, for weapons and wealth and dignity, for bearing and valour and race.

LL: et–erriud ⁊áne ⁊écosc. et– *ar*m ⁊i*m*mad ⁊ orddan. et–gnais ⁊ gaisced ⁊c*h*en–.
C: et– eairad ⁊ aine ⁊ ec*r*osg et– arm ⁊ imad ⁊ ordan et– gnais ⁊ gaisgc– ⁊ cineli
E_1: *et*a*r arm* ⁊ err– ⁊ h–usc eta*r* ai*n*e ⁊ [ ] gaisc– ⁊ ce*i*n*n*ol
E_2: et– arm⁊ err[ ] gaisged.

eter arm ⁊ erriud ⁊ écosc, eter áini ⁊ immad ⁊ orddan, eter gnáis ⁊ gaiscid ⁊ chenél.
For weapons and raiment and equipment, for nobleness and wealth and dignity, for bearing and valour and race.

eter arm ⁊ erriud ⁊ écosc: LL/C's exemplar has changed the order of the words in this section. The correct word order is found in the Edinburgh manuscripts, supported by the same sequence found in *BDD*[2] 1077: *iter arm ⁊ erriud ⁊ écosc*.

Arm generally refers to 'armour, battle-equipment, panoply etc', but according to *DIL* s.v. *arm*, it can be used collectively in the sense of 'weapons' (see *DIL* s.v. *arm* (a), which cites this particular example). The word *erriud* also refers to armour, but in the sense of 'harness, apparel, dress, attire' (see *DIL* s.v. *errad*). Lastly, the sense of *écosc* is somewhat obscure. According to *DIL* s.v. *écosc*, it can refer to 'equipment, accessories, ornament (?)', suggesting perhaps in the sense of 'garb, attire'.[768] Thus, in conjunction with *arm* 'weapons' and *erriud* 'raiment', it may have to do with some sort of attire used in battle, further supporting that these words should be grouped together in this sequence given their similar theme.

áini ⁊ immad ⁊ orddan: LL and C have *arm* instead of *áni*, which is supported by the sequence in *BDD*[2] 1077: *iter áni ⁊ imud ⁊ ordan*. Here again, as in the previous sequence, the words have been changed. E_1 has *aine*, but unfortunately the rest of the text is illegible, as well as E_2's section. *DIL* s.v. *imbed* defines this as meaning 'an abundance of wealth,

[768] See *DIL* s.v. *éccosc*, 21.30–41; cf. *Fethal* con*duala .i. fet[h]al comdala, ut est ni [co]nae fethal conduala .i. nó ni coimedus eccusc comduala .i. in merge no in brat sída no in rinde*, '*fethal conduala*, i.e. …, *ut est* 'a thing that protects an ornamented reliquary', i.e. what protects a … form, i.e. the banner or the silken cloak, or the *rinde* (?)', O'Dav. 992 (Stokes 1904, 369).

riches, fund' (*DIL* s.v. *imbed*; cf. *GOI* §152(c) for the phonological development of *mb* > *mm*). *DIL* s.v. *ord(d)an* gives it as masc. or fem. (*n*-stem (?)). However, this must have been originally a neut., e.g. i.e. *BA mór a n-orddan do Chonch*obur, 'Great was Conchobar's dignity', Stokes 1910, 22.[769] It is used here in reference to the high rank held by a person.[770]

[5k] *Nīrbo lochtach tra intí Conchobur.*
That Conchobar was faultless indeed.

LL: **N**irbolo*ch*tac*h* t*r*á i*n*tí *con*ch–.
C: **N**ibo lo*ch*tac*h* t*r*a antí *con*cubar
E_1: ⁊ nirbo lo*ch*tac*h* t*r*at in f– s*i*n .i. *conc*–.
E_2: Nirbo loch[ ][771]

Nírbo lochtach trá int-í Conchobar.
See above for Meyer's translation.

lochtach: The adj. *lochtach* 'faulty, defective' can refer either to being faulty in a moral sense 'guilty, sinful', or faulty in a physical sense, i.e. 'blemished, defective, unsound, tainted' (see *DIL* s.v. *lochtach* (a) and (b)). *DIL* gives this particular instance as an example of the latter meaning, translating [5k] as 'Conchobar was without blemish'. However, from the context of the previous descriptive passage, it is evident that the sense of *lochtach* here refers not only to physical defects, but also to mental attributes, as well as attire. Similarly, in *BDD*[2], the substantival *locht* '(physical) blemish' precedes the descriptive passage: *Nícon fil locht and isind fir sin eter cruth ⁊ deilb ⁊ decelt*, *BDD*[2] 1074 , 'there is no defect in that man whether in form or shape or vesture', *BDD* 211.
int-í Conchobar: The deictic particle *í* is replaced with *fer* 'man' + demonstrative particle *sin* 'that' in E_1, with a following narratorial gloss explaining that the referee is Conchobar.

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[769] See also *a n-ordun* in the version found in the *Book of Ballymote*, published by Hull (1956, 233–5).

[770] Thomas Charles-Edwards (1994, 109) observes that OIr *ord(d)an* corresponds to Welsh *urdden*, thereby refuting Thurneysen's claim that *ord* 'hammer' influenced the meaning of *ord* 'dignity' (see *GOI* §925).

[771] The text at the end of the column on this folio is lost due to the vellum being badly damaged.

Since this does not receive any support from the other witnesses, it can be assumed that it was introduced in E_1, replacing OIr *int-í* 'the aforementioned.

[5l] *A comairli im*morro *in Cheit rogabsat na mná ailgis do Chonchobur.*
However, it was by the advice of Cet that the women importuned Conchobar.

LL: **A** com*air*li im– *in*che$_i$t rogabsat namná ailgis doc*h*onch–.
C: acomairli [..][772] inceit ro gabsat na mna ailg*us* do *con*ch–
E_1: Do c–*air*li ceit [ ] mi*n* rogabsat mna *connacht* ailg*us* des$_i$u*m*
E_2: ac*h*om*air*le t*r*a ceit m–c mad*h*ach rocui*n*nig*h*si mna *con*n*acht con*chub*ar*

A comairli immurgu in Cheit ro gabsat mná Connacht áilgis de Chonchobur.
It was on the advice of Cet that the women of Connacht had importuned Conchobar.

a comairli: The prep. *a* 'out of, from' precedes *comairle* 'advice' and is used to introduce the instrument of the following action (see *DIL* s.vv. *a*, II (b), *comairle*, 341.80–4; cf. *a comarli*, 'on Ailill's advice', *TBC* I 1511). It provides the literal translation 'on the advice of Cet'. While E_1's *do* could be used here, meaning 'by the advice', there is support from both sides of the stemma for the use of the prep. *a* in this instance. E_2's *chomairle* contains hypercorrect lenition after the prep. *a*.
immurgu: Unfortunately C's text is illegible at this point. However, since the space in the manuscript suggests that only two letters are stained, it may be that an abbreviation similar to LL's *im–* was employed here. The readings in the Edinburgh branch do not support LL. In contrast, E_2 has *trá* while E_1 contains nothing at all. Thus, I surmise that perhaps the Edinburgh exemplar omitted *im–*, and E_2 subsequently added *trá*. I expand LL's *im–* as the Old Irish form *immurgu* in accordance with the archetype's Old Irish date of composition. I translate it as 'then', as per *DIL* s.v. *immurgu*, II (b), against Meyer's 'however' which implies an adversative force.
in Cheit: As was argued in [3e], the use of the article with anaphoric force before a proper name is the *lectio difficilior*. In this instance, LL and C preserve the article before the gen. sg. *Cheit*, i.e. 'the aforesaid Cet'.

[772] The ink is stained here.

ro gabsat: The verb *gaibid* is used in phrase with following *áilges* + prep. *de* 'from', meaning 'demands' (*DIL* s.v. *áilges*, 122.64–76). E_2 replaces the original 3pl. perf. of *gaibid* with the 3sg. form of the MidIr *cuinigid* 'demands, asks' (OIr *con-dïeig*).[773] I take the emphasizing particle *-si* as the later 3pl. form *-sim* (*DIL* s.v. *som*, 338. 29), but with the *m*-stroke lost in transmission. Since this does not receive support from any other witness, it is most likely a scribal addition.

mná Connacht: LL/C have the short fem. nom. pl. article + pl. of *ben* 'woman'. The Edinburgh manuscripts have an additional gen. of *Connachta*, 'women of Connacht', but no article. See also the similar phrase *gádatar mná Connacht* in [5f]. *Connacht* was lost in LL/C's line of transmission and the scribe of the MidIr exemplar subsequently added the article. I adopt the reading in the Edinburgh manuscripts. i.e. *mná Connacht*, supported by the reading in [5f].

áilgis de: According to Thurneysen (1921, 69), *áilges* is a compound of *áil* 'shame' + *geis* '*Schimpf-bitte*'. *DIL* s.v. *áilges* defines it as 'a prayer or request, the refusal of which brings reproach or ill-luck'. In early texts the word *áilges* is found with a short *a* (*DIL* s.v. *áilges*). But in later texts this vowel generally has a length-mark. This is confirmed by rhyme in *Met. Dinds.* iii: 62, ll. 107–8, where there is internal rhyme of *áilgis* with *fáid-lis*. Thus, I insert the length-mark above *a*.

As mentioned above, the verb *gaibid* + *áilges* is attested with following prep. *de* 'from'. LL and C have *do* against the better spelling in E_1. For a discussion on the normalisation of *de*, see the textual note on [3b]. E_2 omits the preposition in this instance perhaps due to the orthographic similarity between *do* and *co*.

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[773] For the MidIr tendency to replace a singular verb replacing a plural, see *SnaG* III, §14.2.; cf. *at-ráigestar fir Herend uile*, 'all the men of Ireland would come', *TBC LL* 10821.

[5m] *Luid īarum for leth a óinur dia dēscin dona mnāib.*
Then he went aside alone to be seen by the women.

LL: Luid iar– f–let*h* aoínur dia desci*n* donamnaib.
C: luig iar– for leit*h* aoenur dia fecsain do*n*amnaib
E_1: luid i*ar*– *con*c– a æ*n*or f– l*eith* d$_i$a dech [ ]a m*n*aib
E_2: luig*h* *con*chub– forl*eth* aæna*r* dafechsain donamnaib*h*.

Luid íarum for leth a óenur día déicsin donaib mnáib.
See above for Meyer's translation.

Luid: Note the phonetic confusion of final palatal lenited *d* and *g* in C and E_2 (*SnaG* III, §3.18).[774] There is support from both sides of the stemma for the temporal adverb *íarum* 'then'.
for leth: The prep. */or* 'on, upon' governs the acc. in this instance due to the preceding verb of motion. The expected acc. sg. of *s*-stem *leth* 'side, direction' (see *DIL* s.v. *leth*) is preserved in LL and E_2.[775] The other readings show MidIr confusion between the acc. and dat. sg. after the preposition */or* which governs the acc. and dat. in Old Irish (*SnaG* III, §5.1).
a óenur: The dat. sg. of *óenar* 'single individual' stands in apposition to the preceding 3sg. poss. pron. *a* (see *GOI* §§251.2, 388).
día déicsin: The prep. *de* + 3sg. masc. suff. pron. is preserved in LL/C and E_1, whereas the reduced form is used in E_2 (*SnaG* III, §3.24). For a comment on the interchangeable forms of *déicsiu* 'looking', see the textual note in [5f].
donaib: All four manuscripts have the later form of the prep. *do* with loss of the dat. pl. ending of the article (*SnaG* III, §7.5). I restore the standard Old Irish form *donaib* in this instance.

[774] see Chapter 1 for a complete survey of the orthography of the manuscripts.
[775] However, these spellings may also be an instance where the *i*-glide is not written (cf. *GOI* §86; cf. [5c]).

[6a] *Dolluid Cet im*morro *co mbúi etir na mná immedón.*

Cet, however, went until he was in the midst of the women.

LL: **D**olluid Cet im– co*m*búi et– namná i*m*medón.

C: **D**o lluig .u°. inceat co*m*bai am*ethon*

E_1: luit cet im– co*m*bai *etar* na m*n*aib *ar* medo*n*

E_2: luig*h* i*arum* cet et– na mnaib*h* amed*h*on

Do-lluid Cet immurgu co mboí eter inna mná i medón.

Cet, however, went among the women.

Do-lluid: LL/C use the 3sg. pret. of *do-téit* 'proceeds, goes forward', while the Edinburgh manuscripts have the 3sg. pret. of *téit* 'comes', albeit with modernised orthography. Either verb could be used here, although *do-téit* might be marginally better in this context to express the idea of Cet moving forwards until he reaches the centre of the women. Moreover, LL and C preserve the earlier orthographical feature of *ll-*, as seen in previous examples of this verb. It is possible that the preverb *do* has been lost in transmission in the Edinburgh recension. As in previous instances where the stemma is divided, LL is used as the leading manuscript.

The use of the article in C's *in ceat* is innovatory and may have been influenced by the previous occurence of the article, i.e. [5l]. Moreover, there is no support from the other witnesses in favour of the article here.

eter inna mná: LL preserves the historically correct acc. pl of *ben* 'woman' following the prep. *eter* 'between' (see *GOI* §835). However, the Edinburgh manuscripts show confusion of the acc. with the dat. after this prep. (*SnaG* III, §5.1). I restore the fem. acc. pl. article, as outlined in the editorial policy.[776] This phrase is missing in C.

[776] See Chapter 1.7.2.

[6b] *Nos-indlethar Cet inchind Mesgegra isin tābaill*
He adjusts the brain of Mesgegra in the sling,

LL: Nos$_i$*n*dlet*har* cet i*n*chi*n*d mes .g. is$_i$*n*tábaill.
C: nos indleast*air* ceat incin*n* meas .g*r*a. is$_i$ntaoobhaill
E_1: [ ]tabaill
E_2: $_7$ ros$_i$n*n*list– cet i*n*inchi*n*d i*n*atabaille

Na-indlethar Cet inchinn Meisse Gegrai isin tábaill.
Cet adjusts the brain of Mess Gegrai in the sling.

Na-indlethar: Meyer (1906, 50) takes the verbal form seen in LL as being of '*indellaim*'.[777] I take this to be a late OIr or early MidIr denominative verb *indlithir*, formed from the verbal noun *indell* of *in-lá* 'inserts', but with the meaning of 'arranges, harnesses' (see *DIL* s.vv. *indell* 'adjusting, fixing, harnessing', *indlid* (b)).[778]

The MidIr scribe treated *inchinn* as a feminine and inserted the fem. inf. pron. before the verbal form. I restore the OIr Class A 3sg. neut. proleptic inf. pron. (*GOI* §421). C and E_2 replace the 3sg. pres. ind. deponent ending with the innovatory dep. ending -*estar* (*EIV* 216), albeit with C having the palatalized by-form. E_2 also shows confusion of *ro* for *no* (EIV 197).

tábaill: *DIL* s.v. *táball* describes this word as a 'sling [...], weapon for throwing a missile'. For a brief discussion of this word and the difference between it and the later *tailm* 'sling', see Bauersfeld (1933, 306–7). This weapon was also used in adjusting the piece of cheese which killed Medb: *do-beir in ṁbloig isin tabaill* [...], 'he put the piece [of cheese] in the sling [...]', Hull (1938, 56/61).

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[777] It may be that this is a printing error for an intended compound *ind-ellaim*, i.e. 3sg. of **ind-ella* 'go into', but since there is no such entry cited in *DIL*, this is probably not the case. On the other hand, it may just be an error for *indlim*.

[778] It should not be confused with the later simple verb *indlid* which is widely attested in meaning 'arranges, prepares, adjusts' a weapon for attack and replaces OIr *in-lá*, basing it perhaps upon the prototonic form -*indle* (?) or the vn *indell* (see *EIV* 194; *DIL* s.v. *indlid*, (b); as well as the participle *indlide*: *Ro:gab Erc mac Cairpri in tres gae indlithi* [...], 'Erc grasped one of the three prepared spears [...]', *BMMM* 333.

This word, an *ā*-stem, is derived from the Latin *tabella* 'a small board' and a short *a* would be expected (see *LEIA*, T-3; *DIL* s.v. *táball*).[779] However, it is frequently seen with a length-mark in the manuscripts, as is the case in LL here. The long *a* is perhaps confirmed by rhyme in the *Met. Dinds.* iii, 258.31: *thábaill* : *rámaind.*[780] Thus, I retain the length mark in the edition. The vowels *aoo* in C's *taoobaill* represent an eccentric spelling. The gen. sg. *-e* in E_2's *tabaille* is an error for *tábaill*, and without it we can read 'in(to) his sling'.[781] The acc. sg. of *táball* is adopted since the gen. makes no sense or syntax here.

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[779] Hull refers to Thurneysen who suggested that *táball* was a 'small board' upon which the sling-stones were put before they were shot forth (see Hull 1934, 407. n. 5).

[780] L reads *rámaind* but it should be noted that the *variae lectiones* read: *romaind*, M and *ramaind*, etc.

[781] cf. *Cáor theineadh do thábhuille, bráon do dheireadh dílinne (.c. ón dílinn)*, *IGT* ii 1956, 'the fireball of your sling is a drop of the end of a deluge'). The gen. sg. of *díle* makes *uaithne shlán* rhyme with *thábuille*. However, the second version of this citation, *IGT* ii 2003, is found in a paragraph which treats a series of nouns declined like *soighidh*, i.e. syncopated gen. sg., nom. pl., acc. pl., etc. Listed among them is the fem. *tábhaill*. Here, the same citation is followed by a note that the form is *tábhaill* is incorrect: *.l. méd na táibhle .l. do-rinneadh é*, '[the form *tábhuille*] is false, *méd na táibhle* [is the correct form], [the verse] was made incorrectly'. I am extremely grateful to Mícheál Hoyne for discussing these entries with me and for his helpful suggestions.

[6c] *7 nosteilc conidtarla immullach Conchobuir co mbátar a dā trīan inna chind*
and throws it so that it hit the crown of Conchobar's head, so that two-thirds of it entered his head,

LL: 7 nostei̯lc *con*idt*ar*la i*m*mullac*h con*ch–. co*m*bát*ar* adat*r*ian i*n*nac*hin*d
C: 7 nosteilg *con*adas tarla i*m* mull– cinn *conq*bai*r* combada*r* ada t*r*ian ina cin*n*
E_1: teilgi–[782] [...]*ar*la a mull– c*i*n*d con*c– [ ] i*n*a i*n*ci*nn*
E_2: 7 rotelg*ust*– *con*tarrluic imulloch *con*chub– gorabad– adat*r*ian i*n*ac*h*ind.

7 da-léici conid-tarlae i mullach Conchobair co mbátar a dá trian inna chiunn.
See above for Meyer's translation.

da-léici: LL, C and E_1 have the 3sg. conj. pres. ind. of the simple verb *teilcid* (OIr *do-léci* 'throws, cast, hurls' of missiles; *DIL* s.v. *do-léci*, 328.23 and II, (b)). E_2 has the past tense with the dep. conj. ending *-ustar* (*EIV* 216–7). LL/C's exemplar introduces the fem. inf. pron., attaching it to *no*, whereas the Edinburgh manuscripts are corrupt with the object not expressed. i.e. perhaps evidence for a *lacuna*. I reconstruct the Old Irish deuterotonic form *da-léici* 'he throws it', with a Class A neut. inf. pron. referring to *inchinn* against the manuscript evidence as the simple verb *-teilc* may have been introduced in the shared MidIr common source.

conid-tarlae: The 3sg. proto. resultative perf. of *do-cuirethar* 'puts', in impersonal construction, is supported by LL/C and E_1 against E_2's form *tarlaic* which may have been influenced by the preceding verbal form. The historical flexion of a 3sg. suffixless preterite ended in an unstressed final vowel, i.e. *-(a)e*, to differentiate it from 1sg. or 2sg. *-a* (see *EIV* 72). Thus, *-ae* is restored here.

LL's con*id* is the superior reading with *co n-* 'so that' + Class C 3sg. masc. inf. pron. against C's *conadas* which has the reduced vowel *a* of the copula + the innovatory MidIr inf. pron. (see *SnaG* III, §10.6).

mullach: The word *mullach* refers to 'the crown of the head' (*DIL* s.v. *mullach* (b)). Although there is support from either side of the stemma for the word *cinn* 'head', i.e. C and E_1, this word was most likely added for clarifaction by the individual scribes. LL and E_2 constitute the superior reading with *mullach* understood as referring specifically to the

[782] Final *d* is very faint. There may also be a suspension stroke above the letter *i*.

head, cf. *mullach*, 'crown (of the head)', *Gild. Lor.* 98 (gl. *meo ergo cum capilis uertice*, 'for the crown of my head with its hair').

co mbátar: LL/C preserves the pret. of the substantive verb *attá* 'is', against the MidIr use of the perf. as the narrative past in E_2.

a dá trian: The poss. pron. refers to the brain in this instance. *Trian* 'third part' is a neut. *o*-stem in Old Irish (see *DIL* s.v. *trían*). The length-mark is added above the dual *da* as per the editorial policy given in Chapter 1.7.2. However, it should be noted that *da* did not have a length-mark in origin (*GOI* §§48, 385; *DIL* s.v. *dá*).

inna chiunn: I adopt LL's *inna* despite stemmatic support for *ina* with a single *n*. See further the textual note on [1g] and [4f] discussing *inna* vs. *ina*. For the restoration of the OIr dat. sg. *ciunn*, see [3b].

[6d] *7 co torchair-seom isa cend, co tarla fri lár.*
so that he fell upon his head forward to the ground.

LL: 7 co tor–seo*m* isacend co t*ar*la fril*ár*.
C: 7 co tor– s$_i$m asacin*n* cotarla fria lar
E_1: 7 co t*ar*la a mul– roi*m*e atalm–.
E_2: 7 gotarla amullach roim*h*e mantalmui*n*

7 co torchair-sem asa chiunn, co tarlae fri lár.
and so that he fell head-first to the ground.

7 **co torchair-sem**: The suspension stroke is ambiguous in LL/C's 3sg. proto. perf. *tor–* of *do-tuit* 'falls'. The perfect can be justified as expressing resultativity here (*EIV* 93–6). The non-historical palatal ending is already seen encroaching in the Old Irish period, e.g. *dorochair*, Sg. 29a8. Therefore, it could be argued that the archetype had *torchair*. The palatal ending is supported in the fact that *-seo*m, LL, and *-s$_i$m*, C, are the post-palatal variant.

The emph. part. *sem* after verbs with a palatal final consonant is rare in the glosses, although it becomes common in Sg. (see *GOI* §403; *DIL* s.v. *som*, 38.21–3; e.g. *asbeir som*, 'he says', Wb. 4d17; *asb*eir *sem*, 'he says', Sg. 39a25).[783] It should be noted that *-som* is the only form used after a palatal consonant in Wb. (see Kavanagh 2001, 818–21). The post-palatal form is found in LL and C. Thus, *sem* supports the suggestion that the archetype had *-torchair*. In view of the lack of manuscript evidence indicating otherwise, and the attested forms of *do-rochair*/*-torchair* in Old Irish, I expand it as the innovatory palatal 3sg. proto. perf. of *do-tuit* 'falls', i.e. *-torchair*, as per Meyer, and adopt the emph. pron. *sem*. The 3sg. emph. pron. refers to Conchobar, rather than the brain, thus fulfilling its function of signalling the change of subject.

The text has been rewritten in the Edinburgh recension. The phrase *torchair-sem isa cenn* is replaced with *co tarla a mullach* in the Edinburgh manuscripts, with *roime* following *mullach* in both witnesses indicating that they understood it to mean 'head-first'.

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[783] For further examples of *sem*, alongside post-palatal *som*, in the St. Gall glosses, see Strachan (1903b, 490).

asa chiunn: I have not come across the idiom *do-tuit i cenn* meaning to fall head-first elsewhere. In this instance, it may be better to follow C's *asa* 'out of his' with following dat. sg. *cinn* used here in the sense of Conchobar toppled forward, i.e. 'he fell head-first' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *a*, II(a)). This is supported by the interpretation found in the Edinburgh manuscripts in which the text follows the sense in C (see note on *fri lár* below).

co tarlae: The conjunction *co n-* is used here in the sense of 'and' (*GOI* §897(b)). As to the restoration of the final unstressed vowel in the OIr 3sg. suffixless pret., see [6d] above. The use of the perfect is in keeping with Old Irish usage since it can be translated as 'was put'.

fri lár: LL and C preserve the superior reading with the OIr prep. *fri* 'towards, against, at'. This sentence gives a literal translation: 'and it (his head) was put on the ground'.

The Edinburgh variants *roime a/man talmuin* reinterpret the original text and make sense of it. *Roime* is a late MidIr form, replacing earlier *ríam* < OIr *riam*, i.e. the prep. *re* 'before, in front of' + 3sg. masc. poss. pron. (*DIL* s.v. 6. *ré*, 21.59–60). E_2 introduces the prep. *imm* 'by, at'+ article (*DIL* s.v. *imm*, I (c)), with the initial vowel elided. E_1 uses the preposition *i* 'upon'. The sense is that Conchobar's head falls before him at the ground, i.e. he toppled forward to the ground.

[6e] *Focherddat Ulaid chuci conidrucsat ō Chet.*

The men of Ulster ran towards him, and carried him off from Cet.

LL: Foch–ddat ul– c*h*uci *con*idrucsat oc*h*et.

C: fo c–dat ul– cucai *coni*drucsat *ar* ceat

E_1: Reitit na fir cu_ic_i iarsin co rs*a*t .h.

E_2: rithaid nafira cuca gurugsad uad

Fo-cerdat Ulaid cucai conid-rucsat ó Chet.

The men of Ulster run towards him, and carried him off from Cet.

Fo-cerdat: There is disagreement between the manuscripts. LL/C contains the 3pl. pres. ind. of *fo-ceird*, used intransitively, denoting indefinite motion (*DIL* s.v. *fo-ceird*, II(c)). LL's pretonic preverb shows main clause lenition which is predominant in MidIr (*EIV* 173–4). However, such lenition is found on rare occasion already in the glosses (see McCone 1985, 98; see also [5d] for examples from the glosses). In this instance it may be attributable to a scribal tendency of hand U as he also inserts main clause lenition in *ro chrithnaig*, [11d] and *ro chreti*, [12a]. The writing of *dd* may reflect modernised orthography with /*d*/ spelt with double *dd* (*SnaG* III, §2.3; cf. *orddnide*, *SR* 4130). But the orthographical feature of writing the 3pl. *-t*(-), pronounced /*d*/, as *dd* when in non-final position is already found in the Sg. glosses.[784]

The Edinburgh manuscripts contain the 3pl. pres. ind. of *reithid* 'runs, hastens' (note E_1's palatal root consonant (OIr *reth*(*a*)*it*) and orthographic replacement of original *-t* for *-d* in E_2). It is more likely E_1 and E_2's exemplar replaced the deut. compound verb with simple verb *reithid*, rather than LL/C's common source replacing a simple verb with a deut. verbal form. Therefore, I follow LL/C's readings here, albeit with normalised spelling.

cucai: In Old Irish, the 3sg. masc. pronominal form of *co* 'as far as, up to' was *cuc(a)i* with non-palatal /g/, e.g. *cuci*, Wb. 9d14, *cucai*, Ml. 38c1; Thurneysen also cites *cuccai*,

[784] This is noted by Bergin in the addenda to Strachan's *Old-Irish Paradigms*, where he observes that the sound of the 3pl. /*d*/ is 'expressed by *dd* in the S. Gall Glosses', when not final, citing *ad-cuireddar* 'they return', *remi-suidigddis*, 'they used to set before', see Strachan (1949, 207).

GOI §433, but does not mention its source. However, this was later replaced by *cuici* with palatal /g/ due to influence from the 3sg. fem. *cuice* (McCone 1993, 173).

The manuscripts contain ambiguous forms of the conjugated preposition in this instance. LL has a tendency to omit the palatal glide and moreover, final palatal vowels in open position reduced to /ə/ are represented as *-i* or *-e*.[785] Therefore *chuci* was most likely pronounced */chuici/* at the time of copying, rather than */cuc(a)i/*. C and E_2's *cucai* and *cuca* are perhaps more significant. C's *-ai* most likely represents an eccentric spelling, while E_2's *-a* is a non-palatal schwa. Nevertheless, these manuscripts are consistent in writing the palatal glide. The upshot is that these manuscripts may preserve a copied archaism, i.e. *cuca(i)*, with non-palatal /g/. Therefore, I restore the Old Irish form *cucai*.

conid-rucsat: LL/C contain the superior reading with consecutive *co n-* 'and' + Class C 3sg. masc. inf. pron., which is omitted in the Edinburgh manuscripts. Nevertheless, there is unanimous manuscript support for the 3pl. perf. of *beirid*, which is used here with a resultative force. Corruption may have occurred in the exemplar to E_1 and E_2, leading to *immorro* 'then and the prep. *ó* + 3sg. suffixed pronoun being introduced in the respective independent lines of transmission. Note also that E_1's *rsat* appears to have lost a suspension stroke during transmission.

[785] On the other hand, non-palatal schwas in LL's text of *AC* are written as *-a*. See Chapter 1.5.1 for comment on the orthographical system.

[6f] *For brú Átha Daire Dā Báeth is and dorochair Conchobar.*
On the brink of the ford of Daire Dá Báeth it was that Conchobar fell.

LL: f–brú áth*a* d*air*e da b$_{a}$́et*h* isand do roch– *con*ch–.

C: fa*r* b–t*h* atha daire dabaet*h* isan*n* do roc*hair con*c–

E_1: f– bru atha doire dabóeth $_7$ isan*n* adorc– *con*c–

E_2: f– bru atha daire dabæth is$_{i}$nd i dorochuir

For brú Átha Dairi Dá Báeth is and do-rochair Conchobar.
See above for Meyer's translation.

Átha Dairi Dá Báeth: The adj. *báeth* is treated substantivally, meaning 'fool, idiot' (see *DIL* s.v. *báeth*, II, (a)), referring to the two fools (*óinmiti*) mentioned earlier in [3] and [4]. Note that this phrase heads the sentence emphasizing that this is actually where the king fell.

do-rochair: The 3sg. deut. perf. of *do-tuit*, with an infixed *ro*, is found in LL, C and E_2. The perfect reflects a resultative force corresponding to the previous action, rather than corresponding to an English 'had' pluperfect (*EIV* 93). Regarding the non-historical ending in *do-rochair* (earlier *do-rochar*), see the textual note in [6e]. The Edinburgh manuscripts contain the prepositional relative *i n-* 'where', which is followed by the dependent verbal form in E_1. According to *DIL* s.v. *do-tuit*, *torchair* continues into the early ModIr period in the sense of 'was killed' (*DIL* s.v. *do-tuit*, 385.17–20; cf. *i torchair*, *Snám Dá Én Cid Dia Tá* (Marstrander 1911, 222.36). Therefore, E_1's *dorc–* is most likely innovatory. LL/C and E_2 have the superior reading because simple verbs become widespread in the MidIr period and the particle *ro* was treated as a conj. part. (*EIV* 187–8, 191–4).

The verb *do-tuit* used in its literal sense can mean 'falls'. However, it can also be defined as 'falls, perishes, is killed; usually but not exclusively of death in battle' (*DIL* s.v. *do-tuit*, (a), (c); cf. '*iss ed dorochair leiss ar galaib óenfir isin magin sin .i. dá Roth* [...]', 'In that place there fell by him in single combat two men called Roth [...]', *TBC I* 1557.

[6g] *Atá a lige and baile i torchair ⁊ corthe fria chend ⁊ corthe fria chossa.*

His grave is there where he fell, and a pillar-stone at his head, and another at his feet.

LL: Atá alige and baile itor– ⁊cort*h*e fr*i*ac*h*end ⁊cort*h*e fr*i*ac*h*ossa.

C: ⁊ at*h*a a líe and bail itor– ⁊ acorti fr*i*a cosau

E_1: ⁊ ata al*echt* an*n* ⁊ a ligi bail atorc– ⁊ cort*h*$_i$ fr*i*a ci*n*d ⁊ *ar*aili fr*i*a bon*n*.

E_2: ⁊ ata aligi and i*n*abail idorochuir ⁊ c*air*the fo chind ⁊ iraile fr*i* cassaib⁊

⁊ attá a lige and baile i torchair ⁊ chorthe fria chenn ⁊ chorthe fria chossa.

And his grave is there where he fell, and a pillar-stone at his head, and another at his feet.

⁊ ... **lige**: There is support from C, E_1 and E_2 for the tironian symbol ⁊ 'and'. The manuscripts vary in terms of the following word, i.e. *lia/lige/lecht*. Old Irish disyllabic *lia* 'stone' is treated as a later monosyllable in C, and is defined in *DIL* as 'standing stone, pillar-stone', usually of a memorial stone, one marking place of death or burial' (*DIL* s.v. *lia*, 142.77–8). *Lecht* 'grave' is found only in E_1. LL and E_2 support the use of *lige* used figuratively meaning 'grave, flat burial space' (*DIL* s.v. *lige*, II (b)). Since it is found in LL, and also in E_2, *lige* is retained in the edition.

baile: LL's *baile* is the superior reading here, preserving the final vowel, against *bail* in the other manuscripts where final vowel is lost due to elision before the following prepositional relative *i n-* (*DIL* s.v. 1. *baile*, (e); This is not to be confused with *DIL* s.v. 1. *bail*. For the idiom *bail*(*e*) *i*, see O'Brien 1958, 99).

i torchair: Concerning the expansion of the manuscript readings to *torchair*, see the discussion in [6e].

At this point in the text, E_2 contains the following quatrain and a half, (see E_2, p. 8ra9–11). This is also found in RIA D iv 2, fol. 52rb13–6 (version D).[786] In E_2, it is introduced by ⁊ *is de itbert fland mainistrech*, 'and it is of it Flann Mainistrech said':

*Conchub*ur *clæthech ⁊ ceilg*	'Conchobar, famous was his guile,
*m*ac *noithech nesa niamd*erg.	Ness' celebrated son of ruddy beauty,
*airdrig*h *Ul*ad *roteacht de.*	high king of Ulster [he deserved it]

[786] See further Chapter 1.4.

*diarbo leacht le*arg *lamh*ruid*h*e	by whom the slope of Lámraige was cut down.
*inalecht ni laimth*e *lag*	In his grave, [...],
*fu*air *tri traigh*t*h*e *is .uii. mod*h*ad.*	he found seventy-three feet.' (Meyer 1906, 19)

Note that the piece of poetry here is in *deibide*.

[7a] *Maidid tra for Connachta co Sciaig Aird na Con.*

The men of Connaught are then routed to Scé Aird na Con.

LL: **M**aidid t*r*a f– connac*h*ta co sciaid *air*d nacon.

C: **M**oidig*h* t*r*a f– *con*n*acht* co sciaid aird na *con*

E_1: Srai*nt*– *conacht* cosciaic*h* *ar*[.] na *con* s*i*a*r*.

E_2: Sraint– t*r*a *con*n*acht*aig*h* gomuine *ar*d na*con* siar.

Maidid trá for Connachta co Sciaid Aird inna Con.

The men of Connacht are then routed to Scé Aird na Con.

Maidid: The two branches of the stemma diverge here. It is difficult in this instance to make a firm decision between either side of the stemma because both readings are plausible. LL/C uses the 3sg. abs. pres. ind. of *maidid* + prep. *for* 'on, upon', denoting the direction in which the Connachtmen fled (see *DIL* s.v. *maidid*, 29.29–35; cf. *Maidti forru sair co hAndobor*, Meyer 1907, 141, l. 203, 'they are routed eastwards to *Andobor*'). The Edinburgh manuscripts have the 3pl. pres. ind. pass. of *sraínid*, in the sense of 'routes', but without an expected prep. *for* (see *DIL* s.v. *sraínid*, II (a), as well as (c) which has various applications, citing MidIr examples; cf. *rosrainid Fir Bolg dar in sreb catha*, 'the Fir Bolg were driven across the battlefield', Fraser 1916, 38 §42). It may be that the Edinburgh exemplar introduced the later use of *sraínid* but this is difficult to substantiate and it could just as well reflect the reading from the archetype. It is worth noting that the Edinburgh manuscripts use *maidid* in the next line, i.e. [7b], whereas LL/C use *do-bertar*, which may point towards *maidid* being in the archetype. In instances such as this where both sides of the stemma provide plausible readings, I follow LL/C which represents the more conservative branch (see Chapter 1.6.2).

Connachta: LL has the acc. of the *ā*-stem *Connachta* 'men of Connacht', while E_2's con*n*acht*aig*h has an innovatory guttural ending. C and E_1 have the variant *Connacht*. A similar instance is seen in [5c], where LL/E_2 have *Connachta* vs. C/E_1 *Connacht*. I follow LL in this instance.

Sciaid Aird inna Con: There is substantial agreement in the manuscripts in reading *Sciaid*, with E_2 replacing *sciaid* with *muine* 'brake, thicket'. Meyer emends LL's *sciaid* to *Sciaig* and translates it as 'the Hawthorn of the height of the hound (or hounds)' (1906, 6/7, §7). According to Thurneysen, the noun *scé* 'a thorn bush, whitethorn' may have

been originally an *iā*-stem (*GOI* §320; cf. dat sg. *scí*, *Thes* ii 240.26 (Arm.)), while also showing guttural and dental stem flexion. However, Aaron Griffith (2009, 157–8), following Binchy (1971, 163–4, n. 65) and O'Rahilly (1942, 119), notes that it is an original dental stem and not a guttural stem, i.e. nom. sg. *scé* < **skuiiats* (cf. Welsh *ysbyddad* 'whitethorn'). Therefore, LL/C's *sciaid* acc. sg. dental stem is the superior reading against E_1's *sciaich* which can either be an acc. sg. guttural stem or it reflects MidIr confusion between a final lenited palatal *g* and *d* (*SnaG* III, §3.18).
The exemplar to E_1 and E_2 adds *siar* 'westwards' for clarification.

[7b] *Dobertar Ulaid sair doridisi co Áth Daire Dā Báeth.*
The men of Ulster are driven eastwards to the ford of Daire Dá Báeth.

LL: **D**ob–t*ar* ul– s*air* doridis$_i$ coáth d*air*e dabæt*h*.
C: do b–t*ar* ul– s*air* doridis$_i$ co hat doire do baet*h*
E_1: Muidid d$_i$– f– ult– soir cohath doire dabæt*h* uili
E_2: **M**oigid*h* da– f–ulltaib guhath daire da bæth sair.

Do-bertar Ulaid sair do ṙithissi co Áth Dairi Dá Báeth.
See above for Meyer's translation.

do-bertar: As above, there is disagreement in the manuscripts in relation to the verb. On this occasion, LL/C has the 3pl. pres. ind. pass. of *do-beir*, with the historical non-palatal ending *-ar*. Although non-palatal and palatal conj. 3pl. pass. endings are interchangeable in MidIr, a distinction between these is still relatively well maintained in *TBC LL* (O'Daly 1946, 39–40). Therefore, this cannot provide reason alone to adopt LL/C's reading. The Edinburgh manuscripts have the idiom *maidid + for* 'routes'. Both forms show the development of $a^i > o^i$.[787] Since it cannot be shown that either verb is that of the original, I use LL as the guiding manuscript.

LL/C's *doridisi* is not supported by the Edinburgh branch. This is the petrified form of the 2sg. poss. pron. *do* + *frithissi*, most likely used here in the sense of 'again' meaning (*DIL* s.v. *frithissi*, II (a), 'in the reverse direction, back (to the same place) used with verbs of motion'; cf. *for a cūlu co sceol glē ni thanic do-ridise*, 'he did not come

[787] i.e. a^i (OIr) > o^i (MidIr) > u^i (EModIr). See *SnaG* III, §3.4 and IV, § 2.4.

back again with the good news', *SR* 2556). This word may represent a scribal addition in LL/C's exemplar. On the other hand, it is possible that its absence represents a *lacuna* in the Edinburgh branch, the word having been omitted due to the orthographic similarity between *do* and the following *co*. Therefore, I adopt LL/C's reading here and restore the lenited *f*.

[7c] *'Mo brith-se ass!' ar Conchobur.*
'Let me be carried out of this!', said Conchobar.

LL: mo brithse ass ar *con*ch–.
C: mobreit*h*s$_{i}$u as ar *con*cub–
E_1: Ise i*n*de$_{i}$gac*h* adub–t *con*c–
E_2: Is– deig*h*$_{i}$nach t*r*a [ ]chub–

'Mo brith-se ass!' ol Conchobar.
See above for Meyer's translation.

Mo brith-se ass: The MidIr form of the OIr nom. sg. *ā*-stem *breth* 'carrying, bearing', verbal noun of *beirid*, is used here with the function of an imperative. For a discussion on the variation between *e* and *i* in *ā*-stems, see Breatnach (1997, 49–57; esp. 53–56).

This sentence and the following passage, i.e. [7d] - [7i] is found at the end of the text preserved in the Edinburgh manuscripts: E_2, p. 8ra42 - p. 8rb5; E_1 p.2.27 - p.3.3. This passage was transposed in the Edinburgh MidIr common source. It is introduced by *Is é in deighinach adubairt Conchobar*, 'This is the last [thing] Conchobar said', with E_1's *de$_{i}$gac*h missing a suspension stroke for *déidenach* 'last, final' (note the MidIr confusion of lenited palatal *d* and *g* in E_1/E_2). Concerning the transposing of the following passage at the end of the Edinburgh manuscripts, see also Chapter 1.6.2.

[7d] '*Dobér ríge nUlad do neoch nombéra connici mo thech.*'

'I shall give the kingship of Ulster to anyone who will carry me as far as my house.'

LL: Dob–[788] ríge nul– doneoc*h* no*m*b–a[789] *con*nici mo*th*ec*h*.

C: do b–im rig*h* nul– do n–c *ł* mb–a *con*icce mo teat*h*

E_1: Gidbe no*m*b–asa c$_i$*n* *tair*is$_i$u*m* fu*m* *con*nuici motech *ar*se

E_2: cepe nob*h*erad sa gan tairis$_i$m f–u orse cohemui*n* [ ]

Do-bér ríge nUlad do neoch nom-béra connicci mo thech.

See above for Meyer's translation.

do-bér: LL's *dob–*, with a length-mark above the suspension stroke, is the historical formation of the 1sg. deut. fut. of *do-beir*. C's *do b–im* has the innovatory 1sg. pres. ind. ending. This was used originally with W1 and S3 type verbs, which eventually spreads to strong verbs of the S1 and S2 types (*EIV* 203–4). While the spread of this inflectional ending to S1 type verbs occurs already in the St. Gall glosses (McCone 1982, 11–12), the sense of the future indicative fits the context better here.

In moving this passage to the end of the text in the Edinburgh recension, the redactor embellishes the original adding *cin tairisium* 'without resting'. The redactor also uses *cipé* 'whomsoever' to introduce the dialogue.

ríge: LL's acc. sg. of *ríge* 'kingship, sovereignty' is better suited here since C's acc. sg. of *rí* 'king' is illogical. This may be a corruption with a suspension stroke missing. The historically correct nasalization is preserved after the acc. sg. in LL/C.

neoch nom-béra: According to *DIL*, the pronominal *nech* 'anyone' is frequently followed by a limiting relative clause, which is in the subjunctive mood (*DIL* s.v. *nech*, 18. 23–34; cf. *.i. nechbed chare do*, 'i.e. anyone that was a friend to him', Ml. 29c16). Although the spelling of the dat. sg. *neuch* is historically older, *neuch* and *neoch* are already interchangeable in Old Irish (*GOI* §489a; see also *GOI* §88, where according to Thurneysen, *o* can replace *u* after *e* and before *ch*). However, according to *DIL*, *neuch* was later replaced by *neoch*. Thus, LL's *neoch* is retained in the edition.

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[788] A length mark appears above the medial stroke.

[789] A length mark appears above the medial stroke.

There is support from LL, C and E_1 for the 3sg. fut. + Class A 1sg. inf. pron. E_2 replaces the inf. pron. with a len. rel. clause, adding *-d* onto *-bera* to form the past subj.[790]

conicci mo thech: LL/C and E_1 have *connici* 'as far as, up to, till' (see *DIL* s.v. *conicci*). E_2 replaces *connicci mo thech* with the more straightforward *co hEmuin* 'to Emain'.

[7e] *'Notbēr-sa,' ar Cend Berraide, ar a gilla fadéin.*

'I will carry thee,' said Cenn Berraide, his own attendant.

LL: Not b–sa *ar* cend b–raide *ar* a gilla fadé*in*.

C: **N**odb–sa e*ar* ceand bearraide *ar* a gilla fadein

E_1: em [..] na [..] b–ai*n*d rig[.] nul– nob–sa ar c*ent* beirrit$_i$

E_2: nobersa rige nul– do nod*h*bersa orcend birraigi oragilla

'Not-bér-sa', ol Cenn mBerraide, ol a gillae fadéin.

See above for Meyer's translation.

not-bér-sa: The manuscripts support the use of *beirid*, although there is confusion of *no* and *do* in C, and orthographical *-d* for *-t* in E_2. E_1 omits the inf. pron.

The Edinburgh MidIr common source places the phrase *do-bér-sa ríge n-Ulad*, 'I will give the Kingship of Ulster' here, in contrast to LL/C which has it at the beginning of [7d]. E_1's *b–aind* is most likely the 1sg. past subj. for 'I shall give'.

ol Cenn mBerraide: There is overall support from the manuscripts to read *ar Cenn mBerraide* here. Since *cenn* is a neuter in Old Irish, I restore the nasalization on the following *Berraide*. The only trivial point of observation concerns the orthographical confusion of palatal lenited *d* and *g* in E_2 and the plebe spelling *t* for lenited *d* in E_1.

ol a gillae fadéin: The use of the defective verb *ol* is repetitive, after *ol Cenn mBerraide*. This may represent an earlier explanatory gloss that has now been incorporated into the text by the shared MidIr common source to LL, C, E_1 and E_2. Since this appears in three witnesses, I hesitate to omit it from the edition.

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[790] Although this could also be an instance where an *m*-stroke has been lost. For use of the 1sg. and 2sg. Class A infixed pronouns in relative clauses see *GOI* §413, Strachan (1904, 155).

The OIr 3sg. masc. form is *fade(i)sin* (*DIL* s.v. *fadéin*; e.g. *fadesin*, Wb. 6c18, Ml. 61b17).[791] The 3sg. *fadéin* occurs due to the spread of the 1sg. and 2sg. form similar to 1sg./2sg. *féin* spreading to the 3sg. Thurneysen observes that the singular for all persons is given as *fadén* in *Auraicept na nÉces* 650 (*GOI* §485 n.). Furthermore, one finds 3sg. masc. *fadéne* in the *Fél.* Ep. 352, confirmed by rhyme with *lére*.[792] *Fadéin* continues into the MidIr period. While it could represent a scribal addition in LL/C's common source, it is most likely original to the archetype since it makes good sense here. The scribe of E_1 was not content with the repetition of *ol* and chose to omit *ol a gilla* altogether.

[7f] *Dob*eir-*side lomain imme* 7 *nombeir for a muin co Arddachad Slēbe Fuáit.*
He puts a cord around him, and carries him upon his back to Ardachad of the Fews.

LL: **D**ob–s$_i$de lo*m*ai*n* i*m*me 7 no*m*be$_i$r f–amui*n* co*ar*ddac*h*ad slebe fuaít.
C: Do b–saide lomai*n* ime oc*us* łmb– f–amu$_i$*n* co *ar*dach– sleibe fuait
E_1: do b–*us*u*m* lam u$_i$*m*e 7 b–it*h* g– h*ar*dach– tsl–$_i$ fuait f– a mu$_i$*n*
E_2: uodei*n* gabail lumai*n* ui*m*e 7nodbeir f–amui*n* cohardachadsleip*h*e fuait.

Dobeir-side lomain immi 7 no-mbeir fora muin co Ardachad Sléibe Fúait.
See above for Meyer's translation.

do-beir-side: LL/C and E_1 agree on the use of *do-beir*. LL's *do b–* can be expanded as the 3sg. pres. ind. *do-beir*. E_1's form is unusual with a suspension stroke + *us*-compendium, *do-beru* perhaps for *do-bera*, but the 3sg. pres. subj. or fut. would not fit the context here. E_2's *uo dein gabail* is unusual and is perhaps a modernised 3sg. pres. ind. of *do-gní* 'makes, does' + vn *gabál* 'taking' in the sense of putting an item around him (see *DIL* s.v. *gaibid* I (f)).

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[791] The pronominal *fadéin* can have contrastive, rather than emphatic, meaning here. For a discussion of the contrastive pronominal, see Schrijver (1997, 78–83).

[792] The metre of the *Félire*, i.e. *rinnard*, requires that each line ends in a disyllabic end word or stressed portion, i.e. *-déne* (see Stokes 1905, xxxix). The variant readings also support reading *fodéne* (Stokes 1905, 280).

LL/C contain the unstressed anaphoric pronoun *side* emphasizing the pronominal element of the verb.

lomain: LL, C and E_2 support *lomain* 'cord'. It is used in construction with *do-beir* in the sense of 'ties up' (see *DIL* s.v. *lomain*, 192.67–70; cf. *dadascara a nōnbur ⁊ dobeir lomain forru*, Meyer 1921, 176.16, 'he overthrew his/their nine men and he ties them up'. E_1's *lam* may be corrupt, missing a suspension stroke, or it can also be taken as *lám* 'arm'.

immi: The manuscripts have the prep. *imm* 'around, about' + 3sg. masc. suff. pronoun. All the spellings support *mm* < *mb*. This spelling occurs alongside the conservative spelling already in the Ml. glosses (McCone 1985, 86; *GOI* §152). Thus, I retain this spelling in the edition and normalise the final palatal schwa spelling.

no-mbeir: LL and C preserve the superior reading with the 3sg. pres. ind. of *beirid* + 3sg. masc. inf. pron. attached to the particle *no*. According to Thurneysen, *no* for *na* occurs already in the ninth century (*GOI* §415 n.). The readings in E_1 and E_2 have changed during transmission. *No-mbeir* has become *nod-beir* in E_2 with a MidIr 3sg. dental infixed pronoun (see Strachan 1904, 171). E_1's reading may provide the *lectio difficilior* with the object in ellipsis, since Conchobar has already been mentioned in the preceding clause. However, this argument is weakened by the already corrupted text of the preceding clause. Moreover, the erratic spelling in E_1's *b–th* reflects a tendency found in later manuscripts for hypercorrect *-th* in place of original *-d* (cf. McCone 2000, 33–4). Nevertheless, since there is support from LL, C and E_2 for an infixed pronoun expressing the object, it is used in the edition.

Ardachad: E_1's *h*ar*dach* is missing the final *-ad*, most likely due to loss of a suspension stroke, against all the other manuscript readings which support *Ardachad*. E_2's *sleiphe* contains the erratic spelling of *ph* for *b* for OIr *sléibe*, while E_1's *tsl–$_i$* has a hypercorrect *t* placed on the initial *s*, after the preceding voiceless dental fricative.

[7g] *Maidid a chride isin gillu.*

The attendant's heart broke within him.

LL: **M**aidid ac*h*ride is*i*n gillu.

C: Moid*h*i t*r*a acruidi is*i*n gill–

E_1: M[..]d[ ] is*i*n g*i*llu

E_2: Moid*h*e and s*i*n icroid*h*e as*i*ngilla

Maidid a chride isin gillu.

See above for Meyer's translation.

Maidid ... gillu: The manuscripts all support the use of the verb *maidid*. Intransitive *maidid* is used here in the physical sense of 'breaks, bursts, gives way' (*DIL* s.v. *maidid*, II (a)). The orthography in LL is more conservative compared to the others, while C, E_1 and E_2 all demonstrate orthographical and phonetic changes.[793] For instance, C's *cruidi* and E_2's *croidhe* hows the development of *i* > *ui*/*oi* respectively (*SnaG* IV, 2.4 (10)).

[793] See chapter 1.5 for an orthographical survey for each witness.

[7h] *Conid de sin atá 'ríge Cind Berraide for Ult*aib'

Hence is the saying 'Cenn Berraide's kingship over Ulster,'

LL: ***Con***iddes$_{i}$*n* atá ríge ci*n*d b–raide f–ul–

C: *con*ade s$_{i}$n ata rigi cin*n* birruidi f– ull–

E$_1$: *con*ide ata rige ce$_{i}$n*n* b–it$_{i}$ f– ult–

E$_2$: *con*ad de s$_{i}$n ata rig*h*i cind birraigi

Conid de sin atá 'ríge Cinn Berraide for Ultaib' ...

See above for Meyer's translation.

conid de sin: Similar to [7g], there is full support from the manuscripts for this sentence. LL preserves the superior reading with *conid de sin* 'so that it is of that' against later *conad* (see *DIL* s.v. *is*, 307.68–82). E$_1$ and C demonstrate the loss of double consonants, due to delinition of /*d*/ before /*d*/, while E$_2$ and C show the reduction of the vowel in the proclitic copula, i.e. *i* > *a*. E$_2$'s *birraigi* shows the merger of lenited palatal *d* and *g* in MidIr (*SnaG* III, § 3.18).

[7i] *.i.in rí for a muin leth ind lái.*

to wit, the king upon his back for (only) half the day.

LL: .i. i*n*rí f–amui*n* let*h* i*n*dlái.

C: .i. in rig f–a mui*n* leat*h* hindlai

E_1: .i. i*n*ri f– a mu$_i$*n* le[..] lai.

E_2: .i. *con*chub– f–a mui*n* le$_a$t*h* i*n* lai.

.i. in rí fora muin leth ind laí.

See above for Meyer's translation.

.i.: The use of the Latin symbol *.i.* is found in all the manuscripts. This represents a narratorial intrusion, explaining the previous phrase.[794]

leth ind laí: It is difficult to tell if the gen. sg. *lá* 'day' is a neut. or later masc. in this instance on account of the preceding gen. sg. def. art. Since the restored text aspires to an Old Irish date of composition, I treat it as a neut.

LL/C might preserve the spelling *nd* of the gen. sg. art. *ind*. However, it should be noted that given that LL and C are manuscripts written after the Old Irish period, *nd* may also be a variant spelling of *nn*, cf. for example *dat*h i*nnóir*, 'colour of gold', LL [10a] (OIr *dath ind óir*).

[794] See also [5h] and footnote 66 for the use of *.i.*

[8a] *Conócbad trá in debaid ón trāth co araile dar éis in ríg.*

However, the fight was kept up after the king from one hour of the day to the same hour on the next day,

LL: *Con*ócbad t*r*á i*n*debaid on t*r*á*th* co*ar*aile d*ar*éis i*n*ríg.

C: *Con*baid t*r*a indeabaid*h* on t*r*ath coroile t*ar* eiss

E_1: ro bas t*r*a a *con*deb– o*n* t*r*a*th* co^{h}*ar*aili d*ar* eis i*n*rig

E_2: robas t*r*a ogandeabaig*h* s$_{i}$n ont*r*ath goaraile dar eis i*n*rig

Con-acbad trá in debaid ón tráth co araile dar éis ind ríg.

See above for Meyer's translation.

Con-acbad: LL's con*ocbad*, the 3sg. perf. pass. of *con-gaib* 'keeps (up)' is the better reading against C's MidIr simplex verb *con(g)baid*. LL's reading is incorrectly cited under *DIL* s.v. *con-ocaib* 'lifts, raises, exalts'. The long *o* may be analogical or due to contamination with another verb. I restore it to OIr *con-acbad* (from *con* + *ad* + *gab*).

The Edinburgh manuscripts diverge from LL/C here and have the MidIr perf. pass. of the substantive verb *attá* 'is' (OIr *ro-both*), in a periphrastic construction with following *debaid* 'fight', used in the sense of the fighting continued.

in debaid: The manuscripts support the later spelling *debaid*, rather than historical *debuith/debuid* (a compound of the prefix *dí* + *buith* (vn of *attá* 'is'), *LEIA*, D-30). Given that the archetype was composed in the Classical Old Irish period, it is not surprising to find final *-d*, rather than earlier *-th* (*GOI* §130.2). However, as a result of internal vowels in unstressed syllables being reduced to schwa in Old Irish (see *SnaG* II, §10.6), *debaid* occurs already in the Old Irish period, e.g. *indebaid*, Ml. 19c15.

ón tráth co araile: For the idiom *ón trath co araile* meaning 'until the same time the next day', see *DIL* s.v. *tráth*, 1 (c). On the form *araile*, see the textual note in [4a].

dar éis ind ríg: The prepositional phrase *tar éis* 'after the departure of, in the absence of' (*DIL* s.v. 2 *éis*, 94.25–35) receives unanimous support from all the manuscripts. LL/C and E_2 contain the perhaps earlier spelling *dar* against E_1's *tar*.[795] Given that the manuscript evidence predominantly supports *dar*, I adopt this in the edition.

[795] See also the more detailed discussion of *dar* and *tar* in the textual note in [3f].

[8b] *Co rāimid for Ulto īarsin.*

after which the men of Ulster were routed.

LL: coraimid f–ulto i*ar* s$_i$*n*.

C: ce ro moid f– ull–i*ars*$_i$*n*

E_1: muigid f– ult– i*ars*$_i$*n*.

E_2: cormuig f–ulltaib sair iaram*h* $_7$ or*con*n*acht*aib s$_i$*ar*

co róemaid for Ultu íarsin.

See above for Meyer's translation.

co róemaid: The manuscripts overall support the use of the verb *maidid*, with LL/C and E_2 further supporting the 3sg. perf. after resultative *co* 'so that, until'. In Old Irish, *co róemaid* with non-palatal intervocalic *-m-* as per the rules of reduplication is expected (see *GOI* §687; for a comment on *roí-/róe-* replacing the redup. pret. in perf. formation, see *EIV* 131). However, each manuscript's verbal form shows some degree of modernisation. C's *ce* represents an eclectic spelling characteristic of this scribe and is treated as a conjunct particle. LL's *co raimid* most likely represents an intermediary stage between the OIr redup. form and the innovatory s-preterite. This form may have arisen because by the time the scribes were copying it, the diphthongs *oí* and *óe* had broken down and it is likely that the scribe pronounced the intervocalic *-m-* as palatal, due to the spread of the *s*-pret. formation to strong verbs in the MidIr period (*SnaG* III, §§12.40, 12.67: Breatnach points out that this is already seen in *Saltair na Rann*; cf. *co roímidh*, *AU* 947 against *diar' maid*, *SR* 5582).

E_2's verb uses the innovatory pres. stem for the perfect formation, as well as loss of *o* in proclitic *ro* (*SnaG* III, §11.3). While the use of a historical present could be admissable here, as in E_1's *muigid* (albeit having undergone modernisation, i.e. $a^i > u^i$; lenited palatal $d > g$), it does not receive any support from the other witnesses. Therefore, I adopt the 3sg. perf. and restore it to *-róemaid.*

for Ultu: The acc. pl. in LL is the superior reading against E_2's *ulltaib* which shows MidIr confusion of the acc. and dat. case after prepositions (*SnaG* III, §5.1). Unfortunately, the medial stroke in C and E_1 is ambiguous and could be expanded as either *-u* or *-aib*. For the normalisation of the acc. pl. ending to OIr *-u*, see [3d].

There is support from both sides of the stemma for the adverb *íarsin* 'after that', but E_2 expands the text stating further 'and the Connachtmen westwards'.

[9a] *Doberar tra a liaig co Conchobar .i. Fingen.*
In the meantime his physician was brought to Conchobar, even Fingen.

LL: **D**ob–*ar* t*r*a aliaig co *con*ch– .i. fi*n*gen.
C: **d**ob–t t*r*a aliaig*h* co *con*ch– .i. fingei*n*
E_1: Dob–*ar* a aliaig co *conc*– .i. fi*n*g*i**n***
E_2: Dob–t*har* aliaig*h* docu*m* *conch*ob–íars*i**n*** .i. fingei*n* fathliaig*h*

Do-berar trá a liaig co Conchobar .i. Fíngen.
In the meantime, his physician was brought to Conchobar .i. Fíngen.

do-berar: There is overall support for the verb *do-beir*, but the verbal ending vary in the witnesses. C has the 3sg. t-pret. and this cannot be faulted as a reading. E_2's *dob–t*har represents either the 3sg. pass. pres. subj., 3sg. pass. fut. or 3pl. pass. pres. ind. None of these make sense in this context. The 3sg. deut. pres. ind. pass. is adopted because this receives stemmatic support from LL and E_1, which also preserve the historical non-palatal final *-r*. Meyer translates this as the historical present 'has brought', behaving syntactically as the past.

The conjunction *trá* 'then, therefore' appears only on one side of the stemma. It is possible that it was added by the scribe in LL/C's exemplar. However, it may also have been omitted in the Edinburgh branch, especially when one considers the similar letters such as *r* and *a* preceding the word. Due to the uncertainty in this instance, LL's reading is adopted.

a liaig: E_1's *a a* is an instance of dittography. The spelling *liaig* 'doctor, physician' is supported in all the manuscripts, against earlier *lieig* (*GOI* §105), which is consistent with a Classical Old Irish date of composition, e.g. acc. sg., *liaig*, *Aisl. Óeng.* 45.[796] Contrary to the entry in *DIL* s.v. *líaig*, which suggests this is a monosyllable, Hamp (1984, 200) has suggested that this word was disyllabic in origin, i.e. *lïaig*. While this word appears

[796] The text of *Aislinge Óengusso* appears in one manuscript only which is dated to the early 16th century, i.e. British Library MS Egerton 1782.

in prose here and it therefore cannot be definitively proven (through metrical requirements) that it is disyllabic, it is spelled *liaig* without the length-mark, in keeping with an Old Irish date of composition.

Fíngen: The manuscripts all support the use of this proper name, while E_2 further adds *fathliaig*h 'physician, leech'. That *Fíngen* contains a long *i* is confirmed by an example with it making internal rhyme with *-dírged* in the metrical *dindshenchas* on Cerna (*Met. Dinds.* iv, 202).

[9b] *Iss ēsside nofinnad don dīaid nothēiged don tig in lín nobíd i ṅgalur 'sin tig ocus cech galar nobíd and.*

'Tis he who would know from the smoke that arose from a house, how many were ill in the house, and every disease that was in it.

LL: IS*s*es–e no fi*n*nad don diaid nothe$_i$ged dontig. i*n*lín nobíd iṅgalur s$_i$*n*tig. Et ce–gal*ar* nobíd and.

C: ise s$_i$*n* ł fin*n*ad dondiaig ł teig*h*ead do*n* taig*h* in lin do dainib bid angal– is$_i$n taig ⁊ cac g^l*ar* ł bid and

E_1: eis$_i$de$_i$*n* ⁊ ise t*r*a*th* ł fi*n*ded i*n* diaid ł tig– do*n* tig i*n* li*n* ł bid an gal– is$_i$n tig ⁊ gac*h* gala*r* nobi*th* an*n*.

E_2: iseis$_i$de*n* doin*n*ad dondiaigh tig*i*d dontig anlin dobid*h* angal– astig*h* ⁊ inlin gal–i*m*bid*h* ⁊ gach gal– ambid gach aen.

Is é-side ro-finnad don diaid no théiged don taig a lín no bíd i ngalur isin taig ⁊ cach galar no bíd and.

It is he who used to know by the smoke that used to come from the house the number of those ill in the house, and every disease that was in it.

Is é-side: The 3sg. masc. ind. pron. is used as the predicate with the copula in a cleft construction, followed by a len. rel. clause (*GOI* §494). LL and E_1/E_2 support the anaphoric pron., although E_1/E_2 contain the later forms.

ro-finnad: The 3sg. ipf. of the MidIr verb *finnaid* (OIr *ro-finnadar*) is found in the witnesses. E_2 shows MidIr confusion of the particles *no* and *do* (*EIV* 197). I restore the OIr verbal form *ro-finnad*. LL's *nofinnad* preserves the *punctum delens* above the letter *f* due to the len. rel. clause. But the other manuscripts do not show this lenition.

don diaid: LL/C and E_2 support *don diaid*, i.e. either the prep. *do* 'to, for' or *de* 'from, of' + dat. sg. of *dé* 'smoke', apart from the merger of lenited palatal *d* and *g* in C and E_2 (*SnaG* III, §3.18). E_1 replaces the prep. + art. for the article only, which does not receive support from the other witnesses.

don taig: The older dat. sg. *taig* of neut. *s*-stem *tech* is preserved in C (later dat. sg. *tig*; see *SnaG* III, §15.3).

a lín: The basic definition provided in *DIL* s.v. *lín* is 'full number, complement', but it can also be used as a quasi-relative 'as many as' (*DIL* s.v. *lín*, II (b)). According to Thurneysen (*GOI* §309), confusion occurs in Old Irish between the neuter and masculine gender in *u*-stems, citing *lín* in particular but does not provide any examples. The manuscripts treat *lín* as a masc., evidenced by the acc. sg. art. *in* rather than the OIr neut. acc. sg. *a*. In a parallel passage in *Aislinge Óengusso*, *lín* is treated as a neuter: *ad-gninad din dieid no théiged din tig a llín no bíth co ngalar and*, 'and he could recognize from the smoke which would come from the house, the number of those sick therein',[797] *Aisl. Óeng.* 45. The textual correspondence between the sentence in *Aislinge Óengusso* and the sentence found here in *Aided Chonchobair* represents an intertextual parallel between the two texts. Since the text in this version of *AC* has undergone revision by the intermediary MidIr scribe, it is possible that he changed the original neut. article *a* to the MidIr article *in*. I restore the acc. sg. neut. art. in keeping with the Old Irish date of composition.

C's *do dainib* does not receive support from any other witness and therefore it is safe to assume that it is a scribal addition for clarificatory purposes.

no bíd ... isin taig: There is manuscript support for the use of the 3sg. ipf. of the substantive verb *attá* 'is', although E_2 shows confusion of *no* and *do*. LL's *sin* shows loss of the initial proclitic vowel of the prep. + art. (*SnaG* III, §3.26[798]). See previous comment on *taig* vs. *tig*.

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[797] I am grateful to Christina Cleary for providing me with a translation of the text from her recent edition (see Cleary 2012).

[798] The shortened form of the preposition + definite article is seen in *Saltair na Rann* e.g. *'sind aircc*, *SR* 2453; *'sind aidchi adhūair*, *SR* 3966 etc. and also in front of dentals and lenited s, e.g. *'sin dechmaid lá*, *SR* 6327; *'sint sanctáir*, *SR* 4317. See *SnaG* III, §7.8 for other examples from the *Book of Leinster*.

[9c] *'Maith,' or Fingen, 'dia taltar in chloch as do chind biat marb fo chétōir.*
'Well,' said Fingen, 'if the stone is taken out of thy head, thou wilt be dead forthwith.

LL: Mait*h* or fi*n*gen diatalt*ar* i*n*chloc*h* as doc*hin*d biatm*ar*b foc*h*etóir.
C: Mait*h* or fingen dia tallt*ir* incloc*h* ass do cin*n* bidat marb fo .c. oir
E_1: Mait*h* t*r*at or fi*n*gin d¡a t*u*cth– asacend i*n*cl–*h* bid m*ar*b fo cet oir
E_2: Maith t*r*a or fingei*n* datallt*ar* asaci*n*d i*n*cloch bud*h* marb*h* i*n*fersa a .c. oir

'Maith', ol Fíngen, 'dia talltar in chloch as do chiunn ba marb fo chétóir'.
'Well', said Fíngen, 'if the stone is taken out of your head, you will die immediately'.

dia talltar in chloch: Both E_1 and E_2 show the MidIr reduction of OIr *dia* to *dā* (SnaG III, §3.24). LL and C, both descending from the same sub-node, preserve the earlier form *dia*.

LL, C and E_2 support *talltar*, the dependent sg. pass. form of *do-alla*, the suppletive form used for the perfective forms of *gataid* 'removes' (*GOI* §764; see also Ped. ii, 511; cf. *atbél-sa dia talltar in gáe as mo chind*, 'I shall die if the spear is taken out of my head', *TBC* I, 1470). E_1's variant *tucthar* contrasts with the other witnesses, being the dependent sg. pass. pres. subj. of **to-ucc-* 'brings', perhaps influenced by the same form in the following clause, i.e [9d].

DIL states that stones can be regarded as missiles, sling-stones etc. (*DIL* s.v. *cloch*, (b)). In this case, Mess Gegrai's brainball is referred to as *cloch*.

LL and C use the 2sg. poss. pron. *do* and E_1 and E_2 use the 3sg. poss. pron. *a*, albeit with no lenition seen on the following noun as is usual scribal practice in both of these manuscripts. Although dat. sg. *cinn* rather than original *ciunn* is found already in Wb. (*SnaG* II, §11.4), *ciunn* is restored since *cinn* is widespread in the MidIr period and could easily have been introduced by the scribes.[799]

It is difficult to say whether the OIr archetype had Fíngen addressing Conchobar or whether he is talking about Conchobar to the Ulstermen. The text in both branches is well incorporated. The reading in the Edinburgh manuscripts is perhaps the easier of the two with the redactor changing *as do* to *asa*, in an attempt to make the text more cohesive

[799] See also [3b] and [6e] for the normalisation to the standard OIr *ciunn* rather than *cinn* in the witnesses.

since it is the Ulstermen who reply '*is asso dún* [...] *ind athis oldás a écsom*', 'It is easier for us [...] to bear the blemish than his death' in the following sentence, i.e. [9e]. This could likely present as the easier option for a redactor, who changed the text to create a dialogue between Fíngen and the Ulstermen rather changing it to an isolated statement aimed at Conchobar.

ba: The copula and the adj. *marb* is supported by all the manuscripts. However, there is a certain amount of variation in the manuscript readings of the copula. LL/C have innovatory forms of the OIr 2sg. fut. abs. copula *be/ba*, which is not found attested in the glosses (cf. see *GOI* §808; *DIL* s.v. *is*, 315.52–4, which provides examples from MidIr texts only). LL's *biat* is a MidIr 2sg. fut. and C's *bidat* is the 3sg. fut. + 2sg. inf. pron., a verbal form used purely as a 2sg. (see *DIL* s.v. *is*, 303.78; see also O Daly 1943, 88)). E_1's *bid* is the OIr 3sg. fut. of the copula, while E_2 has the later form *budh*. The Edinburgh exemplar has changed the 2sg. copula to the 3sg. in agreement with the preposition mentioned above. I reconstruct the OIr cop. *ba* here against the manuscript evidence because the form in each witness has undergone some innovation.

E_2's *in fer sa* is not supported by the other manuscripts and therefore likely a scribal addition. This is easily understandable as an additional clarification.

[9d] '*Mani tucthar ass im*morro, *not-ícfaind* ⁊ *bid athis duit.*'
If it is not taken out, however, I would heal thee but it will be a blemish for thee.'

LL: Mani tuct*har* ass im– not ícfai*n*d. ⁊bid at*h*is duit.
C: Mu*n*a t*u*cth*ir* ass .h. nat iccfuin*n* ⁊ bid ant*h*aiss duit
E_1: ⁊ m–a t*u*ct*h*–as rohicfait*h*– biaid at*h*ais dó.
E_2: manatallt*ar* im*m* rohicfait*her* ⁊bud aithis do cena.

'Mani tucthar ass immurgu, not-ícfainn ⁊ bid aithis duit.'
'If it is not removed, however, I would heal you and it will be a blemish to you.'

Mani tucthar: LL preserves the conservative form of the conjunction *má* 'if' + conjunct particle *ní*, while the others have *muna/ mana*, with the final unstressed vowel confused with original *i* (*SnaG* III, §11.8; cf. *manu thīsat* 'if they don't come' *LL* 11080 (*TBC*)). LL/C use *do-beir ass* here rather than the previously used suppletive form *talltar* in [9c]. E_1's reading provides stemmatic support to LL/C. *Do-beir ass* is attested elsewhere in early literature with the sense of taking a weapon out of a wound, e.g. *do: beir Cú Chulaind in ṅgaí ass*, 'Cú Chulainn draws the spear out', *BMMM* 318 (see *DIL* s.v. *do-beir*, 211.34; cf. E_1's reading in [9c]). E_2's repetition of *talltar* was most likely influenced by [9c]'s *talltar*, which occurs almost directly above it in the previous line in the manuscript.
not-ícfainn: Although the verb *íccaid* 'heals' is supported in all the manuscripts, there is a contrast between act. and pass. sec. fut. forms in the readings. Moreover, they unanimously agree on the neutral quality of *-f-*, contrary to a perhaps expected palatal quality (see *GOI* §636, *EIV* 42–3).[800]

A problem arises with the treatment of the personal endings in the manuscripts. The LL/C branch has the 1sg. sec. fut. of *íccaid* + Class A inf. pron. 2sg., i.e. 'I would heal you', addressing Conchobar. The form found in E_1 has a suspension stroke attached to the initial letter *h*, which can be expanded as either *-ir*, *-er* or *-e*. Given the context of the sentence, the sec. fut. is preferable, i.e. the pass. sec. fut. *hicfaithe*, with a possible *ro* of potentiality (cf. *EIV* 109), 'he could be healed'. However, given that the Edinburgh

[800] See also Quin (1978, 24–5), for a discussion on the origin of the palatal quality *-f-* in the Old Irish future, and reasons for the subsequent fluctuation between palatal and non-palatal quality.

manuscripts, and indeed their shared exemplar, has a higher tendency to innovate, *ro* most likely represents an instance of MidIr confusion of *ro* for *no* (*EIV* 197) and the use of the inf. pron. and the 1sg. of the verb in LL/C constitutes the more difficult reading here.
bid: LL/C and E_2 support the 3sg. fut. of the copula. Apart from being outweighed by the evidence of the other witnesses, E_1's *biaid* is the MidIr 3sg. fut. (OIr *bieid*) and may show confusion between the copula and the substantive. But it may also be correct use of the substantive with following *aithis* the subject, 'there will be a blemish'. Since both sides of the stemma support the use of the copula + predicate, *bid* is retained in the edition.
aithis: A*aithis* is used here in a concrete sense 'blemish' referring to Conchobar's healing wound (see *DIL* s.v. *aithis*, (c); *LEIA*, A-55). C and E_1 have the later *athais*.

Once again, LL and C have the 2sg. conj. prep. *duit* versus E_1 and E_2's 3sg. *do*.

[9e] '*Is asso dún' ar Ulaid 'ind athis oldás a éc-som.*'
'It is easier for us,' said the men of Ulster, 'to bear the blemish for thee.'

LL: IS asso dún *ar* ul– i*n*dat*h*is oldás aécso*m*.
C: IS*us*u duin*n* arull– indat*h*ais oldais aégsu*m*
E_1: IS *us*a du*n* *ar*ult– anathais a*n*das aécso*m*.
E_2: ISusa duine orul– inathis dobeth de inas aeg.

'Is assu dún' ol Ulaid 'ind aithis oldás a éc-som'.
'It is easier for us,' said the men of Ulster, '[to accept] the blemish than his death.'

Is assu dún: There is support from either side of the stemma for the comparative *usa* 'easier'. However, LL has the superior reading with the comparative *asso* 'easier', from io/iā stem adjective *assa(e)*, 'easy', albeit with scribal *o* for original comparative ending *-u* (*GOI* §369). The other witnesses have the later form *usa* (ModIr *fusa*). The Edinburgh manuscripts and C have the later comparative form *us(s)a* 'easier', taken from the more emphatic form *airassa* 'easy, lightly' (see *DIL* s.vv. *airassa*, *usa* which gives examples from fourteenth century manuscripts onwards).
ind aithis: LL/C preserve the fem. nom. sg. article *ind*, although it should be noted that final *-nd* could also represent a variant spelling for *nn*, given that LL and C are Middle Irish and Early Modern Irish manuscripts respectively.

oldás: In Old Irish, the comparative + *oldaas/ oldás* 'than' + nominative eventually replaces the use of the comparative and the dative.[801] The manuscripts have the less frequently used *oldás/ indás* with a preceding comparative (*SnaG* III, §6.16). LL/C and E_1's *éc* is followed by the OIr 3sg. emph. pron. *-som*.

[10a] *Ro-īccad īarum a chend ⁊ rofūaged co snáth óir, ar ba cumma dath fuilt Conchobuir ⁊ dath inn óir.*

His head was then healed; and it was stitched with thread of gold, for the colour of Conchobar's hair was the same as the colour of gold.

LL: **R**oiccad iar– ac*h*end ⁊ rofuaged cosnat*h* óir *ar*bac–ma dat*h* fuilt *con*ch– ⁊ dat*h* i*n*nóir.

C: ro hicad i*ar*– aceann ⁊ ro fuaidead*h* cosnat*h* oir *ar*baco*m*maith d*a*th fuilt *con*qb– ⁊d*a*th indoir

E_1: Rohic– i*ar*– i*n* c*ent* ⁊ ro fuaided co snait*h*$_i$ óir[802] [ ] folt [ ]ór

E_2: Rohicad*h* da– cend *con*chub– rofuaig*h*ed*h* cosnathoir arbacomdatha f̀olt *con*chub– ⁊ i*n*tor

Ro íccad íarum a chenn ⁊ ro úaiged co snáth óir, ar ba cummae dath fuilt Chonchobair ⁊ dath ind óir.

See above for Meyer's translation.

Ro íccad íarum: The witnesses support the 3sg. pass. perf. of *íccaid*, with resultative force, used here in the sense of 'heals, cures, mends' (*DIL* s.v. *íccaid*, II(a)). In Old Irish, *ro* did not lenite, placing a /*h*/ before a following vowel in main clauses (*GOI* §243C.2). The verb in C, E_1 and E_2 is preceded by *h*- and may be a copied archaism, being purely graphic (*GOI* §25). But it seems unlikely that LL (a 12th cent. manuscript) would omit the letter *h* intentionally because the practice of writing non-phonetic *h* continued into the MidIr period (*SnaG* III, §2.7). The individual scribes are more likely to have added *h* in

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[801] However, Liam Breatnach notes that examples of the latter use are still found in MidIr , e.g. *mó rígaib*, 'greater than kings', *SR*7464 (*SnaG* III, §6.16).

[802] The scribe uses a small circular shaped grapheme to show that the marginal entry belongs here. See p. 3, l. 11 for a similar symbol to signal that text written in the margin belongs to this point in this sentence.

C, E_1 and E_2. Therefore, I omit the letter *h* in this instance, contrary to the stemmatic support. Lastly, there is stemmatic support for adopting *íarum* 'then', against E_2's *dano*.

ro úaiged: The 3sg. pass. perf. of *úaigid* 'sows' (*DIL* s.v. *úaigid*, cites this example) is supported in all the manuscripts with a prosthetic *f-*. This might have been written in the Old Irish archetype (*EIV* 7, 152). However, seeing as the use of *f* becomes quite common in unlenited forms in the MidIr period, it is possible that the MidIr intermediary scribe inserted this (*EIV* 199–200). Thus, I restore *-úaiged* against the manuscript evidence.

co snáth óir: LL, C and E_2 support the use of the collective dat. sg. *snáth* 'thread' + *óir*, as is the case here (see *DIL* s.v. *snáth*, 299.26–32).[803] E_1 has the singulative *io*-stem *snáithe* 'a thread', which might be the preferred reading against the collective *snáth* 'thread' seen in the other witnesses.[804] However, either reading is plausible in this context, i.e. 'with a golden thread' or 'with golden thread'. Since there is stemmatic support for the collective *snáith*, this is used in the edition.

cummae: The equative clause is attached by *7* 'and' (*GOI* §911n.; *DIL* s.v. *cumm(a)e*, 621.48; cf. *.i. mad cumme imned ácheli et aimned fessin*, 'i.e. if his fellow's tribulation and his own tribulation be the same', Wb. 20c6). LL's *c–ma* is the superior reading of the copula with the noun *cummae* (vn of *con-ben*) serving as the predicate in the idiom 'it was the same'. C and E_2's variants are innovatory, consisting of adjectival compositions (*SnaG* III, §6.10), e.g. *commaith*, C = *com* + *maith* (*DIL* s.v. *commaith*, 'equally, very good'); the predicative genitive *comdatha*, E_2 = *com* + *dath* (*DIL* s.v. *comdath*, 'the same colour, equal colour'), followed by the referent, i.e. Conchobar's hair.

dath ind óir: E_1's copyist omits the text between the first occurring *óir* and the second *óir* caused by eye-skip, as a result of haplography. The scribe must have been aware of this mistake and subsequently added the omitted text in the margin. See further Chapter 1.4.1 for a comment on the tendency of this scribe to omit words and inserting them above the line or in the margin.

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[803] *Ór* 'gold' is also frequently used in a compound with *snáth*, see *DIL* s.v. *ór*, 151. 65–8, e.g. *Comba samalta ra tétaib órṡnaid dar or n-indeóna fo láim suad saincherda*, 'so that the sparkle of each lock of hair of that youth were like strands of gold thread over the edge of an anvil, *BMMM* 268.

[804] cf. *GOI* §274(a). Thomas O'Rahilly (1931, 67) shows that the suffix *-ne* (< **in(i)o*) can be used to form a singulative, when added to a collective. This is similar to Welsh examples e.g. *plant* 'children' and *plentyn* 'a child'. OIr *snáthe* < **snathne* with the *n* lost through 'haplology' (see O'Rahilly (1931, 68). See also the singulative *úaithne* in [3a].

[10b] *Ocus asbert in liaig fri Conchobar co mbeth i fomtin*

And the physician said to Conchobar that he should be on his guard

LL: **E**t asb–t *in*liaig f*r*i*con*ch– co*m*beth ifo*m*ti*n*

C: ⁊ isb–t in liaigh f*r*ia *con*c– cumbeith a foimt*i*n

E_1: ⁊ isb–t *in* liaig co*m*beit*h* afoiditi*n*

E_2: ⁊ isb–t *in* liaig*h* gombeth t*r*i fomtei*n* fair

⁊ as-bert in liaig fri Conchobar co mbeth i foimtin

See above for Meyer's translation.

⁊ **as-bert**: Meyer (1906, 8) expands LL's *et* to *ocus*, without italicizing it. However, the use of the Latin plene spelling instead of the tironian symbol in LL is merely a characteristic of the scribe (see Chapter 1.4.1). Thus, I adopt the tironian symbol, which is supported by C, E_1 and E_2. The confusion of proclitic *a* and *i* in the enclitic preverb of the 3sg. deut. pret. of *as-beir* 'says' seen in C, E_1 and E_2 is a mere triviality.

co mbeth: The conjunction *co* 'that' is followed by the 3sg. past subj. of the substantive verb *attá* 'is' here. LL and E_2 preserve the historical form, against the innovatory palatal ending in C and E_1. But one cannot rule out that *beth* could also reflect the non-writing of the *i*-glide (cf. *GOI* §86(a)), especially considering the scribal tendency of LL. Moreover, *-beith* is already attested for OIr *-beth*.[805] In this instance, I tentatively adopt the historical form *-beth* since it is supported on both sides of the stemma, rather than restoring a palatal glide.

i foimtin: LL/C and E_2 support the dat. sg. of *n*-stem *foimtiu* 'being in readiness for; anticipating, being on one's guard against' (see *DIL* s.v. *foimtiu*, citing this example amongst others). While E_1's variant *foiditin* does not receive stemmatic support, it is interesting nevertheless since it can mean 'bearing, enduring' or 'longsuffering, patience, forbearance', generally of moral quality (see *DIL* s.v. *foditiu* (a) and (b)). This word illustrates that the redactor may have interpreted Conchobar's immobility as representing

[805] See for instance: In *Bethu Phátraic*, the 3sg. past subj. is found as *-beith* (see Mulchrone 1927, 443). Furthermore, Falconer (1955, 123) observes that *beth* is written x4, *beith* x 5 and *bith* x1 in the *TBC* copy preserved in Y.

a period of penitence. Be that as it may, since the majority of the witnesses support *foimtin*, this is kept in the edition.

[10c] *.i. ar nā tísad a ḟerg dó 7 nā digsed for ech 7 nā etraiged mnāi [7 ná rocaithed biad] co anfeta 7 nā rethed.*

lest anger should come on him, and that he should not mount a horse, that he should not have connexion with a woman, that he should not eat food greedily, and that he should not run.

LL: .i. *ar*natísad aḟerg dó 7 nadigsed f–ec*h* 7 naet*r*a$_{i}$ged mnai coanfeta 7 naret*h*ed.

C: .i. *ar*natisad afe*ar*g dó 7 na digs– f– each 7 nah^{e}traig*h*$_{i}$ mnoui i co anf*h*eta 7 na rit*h*ad*h*

E$_{1}$: .i. *con*a tis– f–g fai 7 natis– for ec*h* 7 natis–co*m*nái 7 naro caithed biadcoha*n*feta

E$_{2}$: .i. arnatisad*h* fe*ar*g fæ 7 nat$_{i}$sad*h* f–ech 7 t$_{i}$s*a*d gonamnai cohanfetha

.i. arna tísed a ḟerg dó 7 na digsed for ech 7 na etraiged mnaí co ainféta 7 na reissed.
that is, that he should not get angry, and he should not mount a horse, and he should not have sexual relations, and he should not run.

arna tísed ... **dó**: There is stemmatic support for adopting the conjunction *ara n-* '(in order) that' + dependent negative *na*.

According to McCone (1997, 87; 2000, 182), the OIr 3sg. s-subj. of *do-icc* was *-tísed*, as the colour of the *s* was originally determined by the preceding vowel, e.g. *manithised*, Wb. 4c15. McCone (2000, 182) further adds that forms such as *tísad* arose through confusion with verbs following the pattern of non-palatal consonance after a 'back stem vowel'. Therefore, the form seen in LL/C and E$_{1}$ could easily have been introduced by the Middle Irish copyists, replacing original *-tísed*. Thus, I restore *-tísed* in the edition.

LL/C has the conjugated 3sg. masc. prep. *dó* while the 3sg. *foí* (OIr 3sg. masc. acc. *fo*, Ml. 37a14) is reflected in the Edinburgh manuscripts. The verb *do-icc* is attested with *do* in the sense of 'comes to, befalls' (*DIL* s.v. *do-icc*, 300.10–7; cf. *co tísad féth dó*, 'that a calm night might come to him'), whilst *fo* conveys the sense of anger coming over Conchobar (*DIL* s.v. *fo*, I (d) 'throughout, over' gen. of motion). It is difficult in this instance to decide on which may have been in the original as both forms would suit here,

although the Edinburgh manuscripts have a modernised form of the conjugated preposition. Therefore, I follow LL in this instance.

7 **na digsed**: There is a divide in the stemma with regard to the verb. LL/C have the 3sg. past subj. of *téit* 'goes', with the perfective particle *com*, expressing resultativity, i.e. 'he might not go upon'. The Edinburgh manuscripts recycle the 3sg. past subj. of *do-icc* not only here but also in the next phrase. It is feasible to suggest that the latter was influenced by the preceding *-tísed* and therefore, I follow LL/C here.

It could be that the neg. rel. *nád* 'that … not' (*DIL* s.v. *2 nád*) is intended here but with the following verb beginning with an initial *d-*, the final *-d* may have been dissimilated. However, this does not apply to the following *na etraiged* where the manuscripts also have *na* rather than *nád*, or the expected *arna* 'lest' (see *DIL* s.v. 3 *ná*; *GOI* §863n.; cf. .i. *naimroimser*, 'i.e. lest thou sin', Wb. 20c4). Thus, *na* in these instances could possibly be a rare use of *(ar)na*.

na etraiged: Once again, there is disagreement in the manuscripts in relation to the verb. LL/C has the 3sg. proto. (?) past subj. *etraiged* while E_1/E_2 have the 3sg. past subj. of *do-icc*. The Edinburgh exemplar, influenced by the first occurring *-tísed* in the sequence of prohibitions, replaces the more unusual verb with *-tísed*. LL/C's verbal form may be an otherwise unattested original *-igidir* deponent.[806] In Middle Irish, it would of course be treated as a simple verb possibly based on the prototonic form (*EIV* 192). *DIL* s.v. *etraigid* defines this as 'has to do with, has dealings with; interferes with'. The earliest attestation appears in the early MidIr text *Móirthimchell Éirenn Uile*, 'The great circuit of the whole Ireland', e.g. *ná etruiccid clainn Eogain*, '"oppose" not the race of Eogan', 27/26, §27.[807] It is also found attested several times in *Saltair na Rann*, with one particular example used in a similar context to the instance in *AC*: *nī hetraigim dāla ban*, 'I do not frequent

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[806] See Meyer (1913a, 451). See also the verbal noun *etráin* (*DIL* s.v. *etráin*, I 'interference with, meddling with, intervening between (persons quarreling)'; cf. *Dogní Concobur ocus mathi Ulad olchena a n-etrain coro glethe a m-brethugud*, LU 8472–3, 'Conchobar with the nobles of Ulster interposed with the view of settling upon adjudication of the heroes', *FB* 33). Strachan (1895–8, 67) also suggested that it was a deponent but questioned 'can it stand, with the loss of one of two similar syllables for **ētradaigim* (i.e. **etragaigim* from *étradach* 'libidinosus', *étrad* 'libido'?' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *étradach*, *étrad*).

[807] This poem is ascribed to Corbmacán, son of Mael-Brígte, and was composed between 942 and 943 (see Hogan (1901, 6, 7).

trysts with women', *SR* 3178. Despite the lack of Old Irish attestations of this verb, this does not necessarily mean that this verb did not exist at that time.[808]

co ainféta: LL/C and E_2 have the adverbial construction *co* + *anfeta*. The adverbial formation of *co* + the neut. acc. sg. is already found in the Wb. and Ml. glosses (*GOI* §381; McCone 1985, 90; e.g. *commaith*, 'well' Wb. 7b15; *commór*, 'greatly' Ml. 38c12). *DIL* s.v. *ainféta* defines this as 'tumultuous, turbulently', while in his glossary to *The death-tales*, Meyer gives it as 'an-feta *violent*, a derivative of *anfeth*,[809] for which see *DIL* s.v. *1 ainféth* 'unrest, turmoil, tumult'.[810] I provide a modernised translation of *na etraiged mnaí co ainféta* as 'he should not have sexual relations [with] a woman' in contrast to Meyer's translation in order to convey the sense more clearly. The Edinburgh manuscripts use the prep. *co* 'to' and *co* 'with' after the verb *do-icc* 'comes', with E_2's *gona* including the poss. *a*.

Furthermore, E_1's *7 naro caithed biad* 'that he should not eat food' is a scribal addition because it does not receive support from any other witness. Thus, it is not included in the edition.

na reissed: The MidIr intermediary scribe replaces the original *s*-subj. *-reissed* with a Middle Irish *ā*-subj. stem, i.e. *-rethed*. I restore the Old Irish form here. This was omitted in E_1/E_2's exemplar in anticipation of the following letter *r* in *ro boí* (see [11a] below).

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[808] Indeed, if one takes Strachan's suggestion that it it is a denominative formation of either *étrad* or *étradach*, these words are attested in the Old Irish glosses with the meaning of 'lust, lustful', e.g. *étrad*, Wb. 9d1, 9d9; Sg. 68b9; *étradach*, Sg. 53a19. See footnote 109 above.

[809] See Meyer 1906, 48.

[810] See Meyer 1906, 48.

[11a] *Robói da*no *isin chuntabairt sin céin robo beō .i. secht mbliadna*
In that doubtful state, then, he was as long as he lived, even seven years;

LL: **R**obói da– is$_{i}$*n*ch*u*ntab*air*t s$_{i}$*n* cei*n* robobeo .i. uii. ṁbl–.

C: **R**oboui di– is$_{i}$*n* cun*n*tab–t issin ge– roboui beou .i. uii. mbl–$_{i}$

E_1: $_{7}$ roboi is$_{i}$*n* cu*n*tab–t s$_{i}$*n* i*n* ce$_{i}$*n* robo béo $^{.i.\ secht\ mbl–}$

E_2: $_{7}$ robai da– *con*chub– is$_{i}$ncun*n*tab–t s$_{i}$n ge*n* roba beó .i. uii. mbl–a

Ro boí danó isin chuntabairt sin céin robo béo .i. secht mblíadnai.
In that dangerous predicament, then, he was as long as he lived, that is seven years.

Ro boí danó: The 3sg. perf. of the substantive verb *attá* 'is' is used here with resulative force (*EIV* 93–6). C's *boui* shows the scribe's propensity for irregular orthography, particularly with regard to vowels (see the second *boui*, and also *beou* (for *béo*), in this sentence).

There is stemmatic support for *danó* rather than C's *didiu* or lack of either in E_1.[811] E_2's con*chub*– 'Conchobar' reflects a scribal addition since it is not supported by the other witnesses.

céin robo béo: In Old Irish, a nasalizing relative clause was not obligatory after temporal conjunctions and could be replaced by an independent clause (*GOI* §§497, 505; cf. also *in tan bátar*, [4a] and the textual note on this form). However, examples of the temporal conjunction *céin* '(for) as long as' (*DIL* s.v. *cían*, III (a)) are found in the glosses with the nasal relative marker or with a relative verbal form, e.g. *céin bas m béo infer*, 'so long as the husband is alive', Wb. 10b23; *.i. ceín gaibes*, 'i.e. while he holds', Wb. 26a13.[812] I have not found any examples of this particular temporal conjunction used in parataxis in the glosses. Nevertheless, I follow the manuscripts here since none of the witnesses contain the temporal conjunction with a nasal marker. The perfect marks anteriority here (*EIV* 100). E_1's *i*n is an instance of dittography.

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[811] For a discussion on the presence of the final long vowel in *danó*, see Breatnach (2003, 139).

[812] See also Wb. 23b18, 33a17, 33a18; Ml. 33a1 x2, 33a5, 53d9, 84c5, 107d8. For a full survey of temporal conjunctions serving as antecedents in the glosses, see Ó hUiginn (1986, 36–48).

chuntabairt: *DIL* s.v. *cuntabart* (b) 'danger, peril' cites this example. Meyer translates it as 'doubtful state', which is also applicable in this context.[813] O'Rahilly suggests although the original meaning of *cuntabart* was 'a judgement which inclines equally to both sides [...] a hesitation to decide in favour of either side', this changed to danger, i.e. 'when danger threatens, the event, so to speak, hangs in the balance'.[814] Bearing O'Rahilly's definition in mind, the use of the word in this particular context is significant because it signifies the liminal position Conchobar finds himself in, i.e. neither dead nor alive.

The demonst. pron. *sin* is supported by LL, E_1 and E_2 and adheres to Old Irish usage (*GOI* §475(b)), against C's *issin* for *í-sin*.

.i. secht mblíadnai: This phrase appears as a gloss in E_1 only. In LL/C and E_2 it is incorporated into the text. It would be tempting to suggest that E_1 has copied this gloss from the common shared MidIr source of all the witnesses, while LL, C and E_2 incorporated the gloss into the text. However, E_1's redactor has a tendency to omit words and phrases.[815] This weakens the suggestion that it may represent an original gloss and more than likely is another instance of E_1's scribe omitting text through carelessness, adding it above the line at a later point. Moreover, the use of *.i.* seems natural here and represents a narrative intrusion, with the author explaining to the audience how long Conchobar remained alive.[816]

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[813] Meyer 1906, 9.

[814] See O'Rahilly 1942, 147.

[815] See also [10a], as well as Chapter 1.4.1 for a complete discussion of this scribal characteristic.

[816] See Chapter 3.9 for a further discussion on the significance of the seven year period in this particular context.

[11b] *7 nīrbo eṅgnamaid, acht a airisium inna ṡuidi nammā .i. naco cūala Crīst do chrochad do Iudaidib.*

and he was not capable of action, but remained in his seat only, until he heard that Christ had been crucified by the Jews.

LL: 7 nirboeṅgna*m*aid *acht* aairis¡um i*n*na ṡuidi na*mm*a .i. nacocuala cr– do c*h*roc*h*ad do iudaidib.

C: 7 nirbou eagna*m*aid *acht* eirg¡u ina suig¡u namau .i. cu cualaid cr– do croc*h*uo diu iudaig¡u

E_1: 7 nirbo he*n*gna*m*aid *acht* t*ai*ris¡*m* i*n*as*h*u¡di amain c*u*si*n*u*air* roc*r*och– cr– la iud–.

E_2: 7 nirbo i*n*engnama *acht* airisem na su¡g*h*e na*mm*a g*u*sinai*m*s¡r inrocrochad*h* cr– lahiudaib*h*.

7 nírbo engnamaid acht a airisem inna ṡuidiu nammá .i. na co cúalae Críst do chrochad la Iúdeu.

and he was not capable of action except remaining in his seat only, that is, until he heard that Christ had been crucified by the Jews.

engnamaid: *DIL* s.v. *engnamaid* defines this as 'one proficient in arms; an active warrior', citing this example only. In his glossary to *The death-tales*, Meyer translates *engnamaid* as 'valourous', while rendering it as the more suitable 'capable of action' in the edition.[817] This is a standard agent formation (*GOI* §267), employed adjectivally here, derived from a compound of *gním* (? vn of unattested verb **in-gní*), with *engnam* being frequently attested in the sense of war-like action (*DIL* s.v. *engnam*, (b) 140.1 'an exploit, valorous deed, warlike action'). *Engnamaid* is a *hapax legomenon*.

acht a airisium inna ṡuidiu nammá: The prep. *acht* + the strengthening adverb *nammá* is used here in the sense of 'except ... only' (*GOI* §908; *DIL* s.v. *acht*, I(d); *DIL* s.v. *nammá*, 13.4–10). The *u*-stem *airisem* 'resting, remaining, stopping' (vn of *ar-sissedar*) receives support from both sides of the stemma, i.e. from LL and E_2. LL's *aairisium* is somewhat problematic. The *a* represents the 3sg. masc. poss. pron. followed by the dat. of apposition *airisium*, literally 'his remaining'. This poss. pron. was omitted in E_2 due to haplography.

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[817] See Meyer 1906, 49 and 9 respectively.

E_1 replaces *airisem* with *u*-stem *tairisem* 'remaining, staying', perhaps motivated by the final *t* in the preceding prep. *acht*. C replaces *a airisium* with *eirgiu* 'rising' (vn of *éirgid* (OIr *at-reig*), and the final vocalism reflects the scribe's tendency towards eccentric spelling.[818]

The witnesses support the prep. *i* 'in' + 3sg. masc. poss. pron., followed by the noun *suide* 'seat' (*DIL* s.v. *suide* (c)), albeit the MidIr merger of lenited palatal *g* and *d* in C and E_2 (*SnaG* III, §3.18). E_1's *amain* is the MidIr form which replaces the earlier *nammá* 'only' (see *DIL* s.v. *amáin*). This phrase translates literally as 'except his remaining in his seat only'.

.i. na co cúalae Críst: The LL/C branch faithfully copy *.i.*. LL's *na co* (*co*, C) with the following pret. has the sense of 'until' here (*DIL* s.v. *no co*). The Edinburgh shared source replaces *na co cúalae* and uses the more straightforward *cusin uair/aimsir* 'until the time'.

la Iúdeu: The Edinburgh branch supports the correct OIr pl. *Iúd(a)ei* (see *DIL* s.v. *Iúd(a)ei*), against LL/C's *Iudaidib*, which in the Old Irish glosses refers only to the singular (*DIL* s.v. *Iúdaide*).

[818] See Chapter 1.4.1 for further examples.

[11c] *Tānic and side crith mór forsna dūli*

At that time a great trembling came over the elements,

LL: tanic ands–e crit*h* mór f–s na duli

C: **T**ainicc aundsi*n* cr*i*t*h* maru f–snat*h*u dulib

E_1: Tan– an*n*si*n* cr*i*t*h* mor f–sna duilib

E_2: Doluig da– crith forn$_a$ duilib*h* gomor de fei*n*

Tánic and-side crith mór forsna dúili.

See above for Meyer's translation.

Tánic: Although E_2's *do-luig* cannot be faulted (apart from the confusion of final lenited *d* and *g*), the contracted deuter. pret. of *do-icc* 'comes' receives stemmatic support. C's *tainicc* shows innovatory palatalization of *n*.

and-side: LL/C and E_1 support the locative pronominal expression *and*, which can also be used temporally. E_2's *da–* 'then, thereupon' is a scribal replacement. LL's *s–e* can be expanded as the enclitic pron. *-side*. This appears to be a late OIr construction, rather than the standard *i suidiu* 'then, on that occasion' (see *GOI* §480; cf. *fuiri sidi*, Sg. 199a5).[819] C and E_1's demonstrative *sin* after the pronominal *and* 'then' is also an innovative use rather than *and* alone (*DIL* s.v. *i*, II 2). It could be that both *side* and *sin* have been added by the individual scribes. However, given the attestation in Sg. 199a5, it is possible that *side* was in the original and that the scribes of C and E_1 replaced it with the more commonly used *sin*.

mór: LL/C and E_1 support the adj. *mór* 'great, big'. It might be argued that C's *maru* preserves the older etymologically correct spelling *már* (cf. Gaul. *-maros*, W. *mawr*; see *RelChron*, 59–60), albeit with an erroneous vocalic ending. Nevertheless, given that this form is not supported by any other witness, it is more likely that C's *már* (see also [11g]

[819] Another example of an early use of a conjugated prep. with a following enclitic anaphoric pronoun may be found in the OIr tale *Compert Mongáin*: *do:dechas úad-side*, 'a message had come from him', White 2006, 71/78, §2. However, this example has to be treated with caution as it may well have been introduced in the MidIr archetype (White 2006, 90).

and [11i] below), reflects a scribal attempt at archaisation.[820] Thus, *mór* is adopted. E_2 places the adj. at the end of the sentence in an adverbial construction, i.e. *go mór* 'greatly'. **dúili**: The prep. *for* 'on, over' governs the acc. due to the preceding verb of motion. C's *f–snathu* contains an innovatory dental element *-th-* (*SnaG* III, §13.13). LL preserves the historically correct acc. pl. of *dúil* 'element' against the other manuscript witnesses who demonstrate MidIr confusion of the acc. and dat. case, resulting in the spread of the dat. pl. ending *-(a)ib* as the new prepositional marker (*SnaG* III, §5.1).

[11d] *7 rochrithnaig nem 7 talam la mēt in gníma darónad and*
and the heavens and the earth shook with the enormity of the deed that was then done,

LL: 7 ro c*h*rit*h*naig ne*m* 7tal– lamet i*n*gní*m*a darónad and
C: 7 ro c*r*it*h*n– neoam 7 taluin la met in gni*m*a do ronad and
E_1: 7 roc*r*it*h*n– nem 7 tal– la meit i*n*gn$_i$*m*a don$_i$th– is$_i$*n* lait*h*ius$_i$ aniu
E_2: gorac*r*ithnaig*uster* nemh7tal– lamed i*n* gni*m*a doronad*h* sund

7 ro crithnaig nem 7 talam la mét in gníma do-rónad and,
and heaven and earth shook with the enormity of the deed that had been done then,

ro crithnaig: The 3sg. resultative perf. of OIr **crithnaigidir* 'shakes, trembles' shows loss of the deponent flexion in LL/C and E_1. The general loss of the deponent flexion begins already in the glosses, more frequently in Ml. than Wb. (*EIV* 75, 216). However, the 3sg. conj. deponent ending resisted such changes until the MidIr period (*EIV* 216). It should be noted that the denominative verb *crithnaigid* is mainly attested with non-deponent endings (see *DIL* s.v. *crithnaigid*).[821] E_2's verbal ending is most likely a scribal innovation because the scribe has a general tendency to add the innovatory 3sg. dep. ending *-ustar* (*EIV* 216–7), i.e. *ros$_i$*n*list–* [6b], *rotelgust–* [6c]. MidIr main clause lenition is seen after LL's *ro* (*EIV* 171).

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[820] Cf. for instance, *mór* in [1b], [1c] and [11i].

[821] *DIL* s.v. *crithnaigid* cites *ro-chrithnaigsetar*, *CRR*16. However, given that this text is a MidIr composition, it is unlikely that this is a historical 3pl. *s*-pret. deponent ending but most likely is an innovatory ending, influenced by the later hypercorrect use of such endings in hybrid forms (*EIV* 238–9).

LL, C and E_2 support the spelling *mét*, with the omission of the *i*-glide (cf. *GOI* §86(a)).

do-rónad: The stemma supports *la meit in gníma do-rónad and.* LL, C and E_2 have sg. perf. pass. of *do-gní* 'makes, does'. E_1's variant *don$_i$th– is$_i$n laithius$_i$ aniu* 'is being done on this day' represents a scribal replacement (see [11g] below).

[11e] *.i. Ísu Crīst mac Dé bí do chrochad cen chinaid.*
even Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, to be crucified without guilt.

LL: .i. ísu cr– m–c dé bí do c*h*rochad. cenc*hin*aid.
C: .i. ih– cr– m–c dé bíu do croc*h*ad ganci*n*aid
E_1: .i. ih–u cr– m– debi doc*r*och– ci*n* ci*n*aid diud– am*air*s–*h*a.
E_2: .i. isu c*rist*[822] m–*c* de bi doc*r*ochad*h*.

.i. Ísu Críst mac Dé bí do chrochad cen chinaid.
See above for Meyer's translation.

.i. ... chinaid: There is unanimous support from the witnesses for this sentence, except for the eccentric spelling of C's *bíu* for *bí* and E_1's scribal addition *d'Iúdaidib amairsecha* 'by the unbelieving Jews'. This sentence may in fact represent a gloss introduced in the shared MidIr common source, since it is seen in both branches. This is suggested by the fact that it provides a partially repetitive explanation to the one already given in [11b].

[822] The *est*-compendium which looks like the Arabic numeral 2 is used here. However, it is expanded as *st* because the letter *i* appears above the letter *c*.

[11f] *'Crāet so?' ar Conchobur fria drūid.*

'What is this?' said Conchobar to his druid.

LL: **C**r$_a$et so *ar con*ch– f*r*iadruid.

C: **C**ret so ar*con*cub– f*r*iad*r*aig*h*

E_1: Cid so or *conc*– f*r*ia d*r*uidib

E_2: **C**id s$_i$n or*con*chub– f*r*ia ad*r*uigtib*h*

'Cid só?' ol Conchobar fria druid.

See above for Meyer's translation.

Cid só: The manuscript tradition shows a clear divide between the reading in LL/C and E_1/E_2. LL/C has the contracted form of the unstressed interrogative *ce/ci* + *rét* 'thing' (ModIr *créad, céard*), rather than two separate words, i.e. *ciarrét*, Ml. 48c2; *ciadurét*, 121d1 (see *DIL* s.v. *rét*). *Cráet* is attested in early Irish literature, albeit in MidIr and EModIr sources, e.g. Corp. Gen. 405.5; Meyer (1907, 238); *BMMM* 314 (see *DIL* s.v. *crét*). But, since this version of *AC* is an Old Irish composition, *crét*, or even the (rarely) attested *cía rét*, is demanded. On the other hand, the Edinburgh manuscripts use the 'more fully stressed' form of *cía* + neut. pron. + the stressed demonst. pron. *só* (cf. *GOI* §456(b); *DIL* s.v. *1 cía*, II (h); Breatnach 2003, 137). Since the latter is attested in use with *só*, and *crét* is not, it would suggest that the Edinburgh branch preserves the superior reading against LL/C. Thus, I adopt *cid* in this instance.

In relation to the normalised form *ol* 'said', see the discussion in [1d].

fria druid: There is a conflict between the two branches of the stemma concerning the number of druids. LL/C has a sg. in the accusative case in accordance with the preceding prep. *fri* 'towards, against'. The Edinburgh manuscripts have a pl. in the dative case which shows MidIr case confusion after prepositions (*SnaG* III, §5.1). The scribe of E_1/E_2's exemplar may have confused an original acc. sg. *druid* as a nom. sg. (*SnaG* III, §5.11) and subsequently added the dat. pl., or indeed added the dat. pl ending to an original acc. pl. *druídea*. This of course still begs the question as to the number. The evidence of the sg. in [11h] suggests that the original had a sg. in this instance also.

[11g] *'Cia olc mór dognīth*er *isind lathiu-sa indiū?*
'What great evil is being done on this day?'

LL: **C**iaolc mór do gnith– is*i*n*d*la*thiu*sa i*n*diu.
C: cia olc m*ar* dognit*h*ar is*i*nlait*hi* seo inndiu
E_1: 7 cia g*h*n*i*m mor donith– an*n*so aniu
E_2: cia gni*m* mor dognither is*i*nlaithe s*i*u aniu

'Cía gním már do-gníther isind laithiu-sa indíu?'
'What terrible deed is being done on this day?'.

Cía gním már: The two branches of the stemma do not agree in the word following the interrogative *cía*. LL/C has the substantivized adj. *olc*, used here meaning 'evil, wrong; an evil, misfortune' (*DIL* s.v. *olc*, III). E_1/E_2 has *gním* 'deed'. Neither reading can be faulted here. However, *gním* may reflect a repetitive style, while LL/C's *olc* could be a redactorial replacement, conveying a greater sense of the negative impact of the portentious sign. Considering the reasons outlined in Chapter 1.6.2 for the omitted text in the passage below, i.e. [11i], I follow the Edinburgh manuscripts in this instance.
For a comment on *már* vs. *mór*, see the textual note on [11c].
do-gníther: The abbreviation stroke in LL's *do gnith–* and E_1's *nith–* is ambiguous, but E_2's verbal form preserves the historical pres. ind. pass. sg. conj. ending expected for a H2 type verb, i.e. *do-gní* 'makes, does' (*GOI* §589; *EIV* 81–2). C's *-thar* is an innovatory use of the pres. ind. pass. sg. conj. ending used with S1 type verbs. On strength of these considerations, as well as E_2's reading, the form *do-gníther* is used in the edition.
isind laithiu-sa: There is stemmatic support for the phrase *isind laithiu-sa indíu*, lit. 'in this day today' (see textual note below on *indíu*). LL/C and E_2 use the word *la(i)the*, which according to Thurneysen is the earlier form of *laa* 'day'.[823] LL preserves the historical OIr dat. sg. ending *-iu*. Moreover, it is possible that LL preserves *nd* in the prep. *i n-* 'in' + art. before *l-* against the later treatment in C and E_2 (*SnaG* III, §7.7). According to the examples given in *SnaG* III, §7.7, it seems the *-nd* of the definite article in particular

[823] *GOI* §284; see also Ped i, 133.

is well preserved before initial vowels, *l* and *r*.[824]

LL/C and E_2 use the demonstr. pron. according to Old Irish usage with a preceding article to express the present time (*GOI* §475.1(a); *DIL* s.v. *so*, I(a)), with LL preserving the earlier spelling after the non-palatal ending in *laithiu*.

indíu: The temporal dat. *indíu* 'today', a petrified formation of either the prep. *i n-* or the article + dat. sg. of *die/dia* 'day', is found in LL/C and E_2.[825] E_1 and E_2's *aniu* reflects the the MidIr assimilation of *nd* to *nn*, as well as the confusion of the initial proclitic vowel while C's *inndiu* is contains the variant *nnd* for *nd*.

[11h] *'Is fír ōn ém,' ar in drúi.*

'That is true, indeed,' said the druid.[826]

LL: IS fíron ém *ar in*drúi.

C: IS fir on orind*r*aig*h*

E_1: is fir or nad*r*uid$_i$

E_2: is*fh*ir on bar and*r*irai

'Is fír ón', ol in druí.

'It is true, indeed,' said the druid.

Is fír ón: *Ém* 'truly, indeed' is not supported in C, E_1 or E_2 and therefore, it is likely a scribal addition in LL. Concerning the normalisation of the OIr defective verb *ol* 'said', see the textual note on[1d]. The lenition in E_2's *fír* is hypercorrect.

in druí: The nom. sg. of *druí* in LL is the superior reading. C's *draig*h is a MidIr use of the acc. sg. for the nom. sg. (*SnaG* III, §5.11). E_1's *druid$_i$* is the innovatory MidIr use of the acc. pl. for the nom. pl. (*SnaG* III, §5.11; cf. *do-gniät druïdi ind ríg*, 'the kings' druids

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[824] Elisa Roma in her Italian edition of this *SnaG* chapter appears to intimate that this is due to the unique setup of this *-d* introducing a stressed syllable, a fact that may have protected it for a longer period (see Elisa Roma, *Il medioirlande/ Middle Irish. A Translation into Italian of the Gaelic text An Mheán-Ghaeilge by Liam Breatnach* (2013). I am grateful to Jürgen Uhlich for providing this reference to me.

[825] See *GOI* §§ 251.3, 340n.; *Hdb*. ii 98.

[826] Meyer adds after this translation the following which does not correspond to anything in the text: '[who then tells the story of the Crucifixion]' (1906, 9).

make', *SR* 3849). E_2's *drirai* is corrupt, with a superfluous *er*-compendium.[827] However, if one excludes this scribal slip, then it supports the nom. sg. in the LL/C branch.

[11i] *'Is mór in gním sin,' ar Conchobur.*
'Awful is that deed,' said Conchobar.

LL: IS mór i*n*gním s$_i$*n ar con*ch–.
C: ism*ar* an g$_i$ni*m* cr– do c*r*och– is mor em*h* or*conq*b–
E_1: is gn$_i$*m* mor don$_i$th– and .i. cr– m–c debi do c*r*och– laiud–
E_2: isgnim mor i*n*gni*m* mor dognith– and .i. c*rist* m–c de bi rocrochad*h* lahidaib*h*.

'Is mór in gním Críst do chrochad'. 'Is mór ém', ol Conchobar.
'Awful is the deed, Christ being crucified.' 'It is awful indeed', said Conchobar.

Is mór in gním: For a more detailed discussion on the omission of *Is már in gním do-gníther and .i. Críst do chrochad* in LL, as well as corruption in the other witnesses here, see Chapter 1.6.2.

In relation to C's *már* 'big, great', see the textual note on this in [11g]. The syntax of LL/C's *is mór in gním*, containing the copula + adjectival predicate + subject is marginally the *lectio difficilior* on stylistic grounds to the more straightforward use of the attributive adjective in E_1/E_2. Moreover, the scribe in E_2 inserts *in gním mór* for clarification. C's g$_i$ni*m* is corrupt.

C does not have *do-gníther and .i.*, as in the Edinburgh manuscripts. This constitutes the *lectio difficilior* since the verb is already supplied in the interrogative sentence in [11g].[828] The Edinburgh exemplar recycled *do-gníther* from the preceding example. It also added *and*, as well as *.i.* for clarification.

Both branches of the stemma support the use of *Críst do chrochad*. However, the Edinburgh exemplar added *mac Dé bí* 'the son of the living God' and *la hIúdaib* 'by the Jews' for clarification.

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[827] For a comment on this scribal slip, amongst others, in E_2, see Chapter 1.4.1.

[828] See *GOI* §512. According to Thurneysen, the verb can be omitted where the verb has already been supplied in the preceding interrogative sentence.

The Edinburgh manuscripts do not include *is mór ém, ol Conchobar*, '"It is great indeed", said Conchobar'. This is a scribal omission as a result of *homoeoarchon*. But since examples of *homoeoarchon* are not as well documented than *homoioteleuton*, this is only a tentative suggestion.

[11j] *'In fer sin da*no', *ar in drúi 'i n-óenaidchi rogein* 7 *regenis-*[*s*]*iu .i. i n-ocht cal*de *En*air *cen cop inund bliadain.'*

'That man, now,' said the druid, 'was born in the same night in which thou wast born, even on the eighth before the calends of January, though the year was not the same.'

LL: INfersi*n* da– *arin*drúi i*n*oenaidc*h*i ro ge$_{i}$n 7 rogenis$_{i}$u .i. i*n*. uiii. kł en– cen copi*nun*d bl–.

C: IS fir s$_{i}$n da– orin drai inoenoid*h*ci rogein 7 rogenu sa .i. uii kł enair cen cobi*n* an*n* bl–

E_1: .i. fer rogenad[829] ac–ais fr*i*ts$_{i}$. Bac*rac*h fil– dolagn$_{i}$b ise ro i*n*dis do *conc*– cr– doc*r*och–.

E_2: fer sen rogenar icoi*m*gen 7 icomais$_{i}$ fr*i*t su ł comad is$_{i}$nochtmad bl– .xx. flaithus *con*chub– no geined*h* cr–.

'In fer sin danó', ol in druí, 'i n-óenaidchi ro génair 7 **ro génar .i. i n-ocht calde Enair cenip inunn blíadain.**

'That man moreover,' said the druid, 'he was born in the same night as you were born, that is, on the eighth before the calends of January, though the year was not the same.'

'In fer sin danó': LL, E_1 and E_2 support *fer*, with C's *IS fir s$_{i}$n* 'it is true' influenced by *is fír sin* in the preceding sentence (see [11h]). The demonstrative pronoun is used in LL and E_2 and conforms to the Old Irish usage of the anaphoric demonstrative *sin* with a required preceding article (*GOI* §475(b)). The particle *danó*, although seen in LL/C only, is retained as it makes sense in this context. Since E_1's *.i.* receives no support from LL/C, one can only assume that it is a later scribal addition.

[829] Meyer (1906, 9) has *rogena*[*ir*].

ol in druí: This is found in LL and C only. Its presence here seems natural when one considers that this is a dialogue between Conchobar and the druid, who informs Conchobar that he and Jesus were born on the same night, albeit different years.

ro génair: Both branches have undergone some modernisation. The 3sg. perf. *ro gein* and 2sg. *rogeni*[830] in LL/C are MidIr forms of the weak act. verb (OIr *gainithir* 'is born') with *s*-pret. formation (*EIV* 237). E_1's scribe exchanges the *-a(i)r* ending for the 3sg. imperf. ending *-ed*, with confusion of *ro* for *no* (*EIV* 197). E_2's *rogenar* is the 3sg. perf. of the deponent verb, apart from the non-palatal ending. The use of the perfect here conforms to the Old Irish usage of the perfect in dialogue (*EIV* 96–7). I emend to OIr 3sg. perf. *ro génair* and OIr 2sg. perf. *ro génar*.

LL/C's construction of the *nominativus pendens*, i.e. *in fer sin*, followed by an emphatic cleft (*is*) *i n-óenaidchi*, provides the *lectio difficilior* against the Edinburgh branch. E_1 has the substantival *o*/*ā*-stem adj. *comáes* 'contemporary, coeval' (a compound of *com* + *áes*), while E_2 has *i comais*$_i$ (for *i comaís*?), as well as *coimgein* '(?) same birth'. *DIL* s.v. *comáes* does not cite any examples of the construction *i comáes*. Thus, it is probable that the Edinburgh common source has replaced *óenaidchi* with *comáes*, followed by *frit-su*, with E_2 adding *coimgein* for clarification.

.i. ... blíadain: E_1 contains the sentence *Bacrach fil– dolagn*$_i$*b ise ro indis do* conc– *cr– docroch–*. 'Bachrach, a poet of the Leinstermen, it is he who told Conchobar that Christ had been crucified', which does not receive support from any other witness. It represents a conflation of another version which is no longer extant.[831] LL/C's *.i.* is in keeping with the other instances of narratorial intrusions throughout the text. C's *uii* is a miscount of minims against LL's *.uiii.*

LL/C have the phrase *cenco* + the 3sg. pres. subj. of the copula, meaning 'though it is not'. O'Rahilly (1971, 113) suggests that *cenco* is the MidIr negative for OIr *ceni* ('the negative of the concessive conjunction *cía*, *ce* 'although, even if').[832] The MidIr intermediary scribe most likely replaced original *-ip* (cf. *cenip*, Ml. 59a23) with the MidIr

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[830] Meyer (1906, 8) suggests this is missing a final *s*, i.e. leg. *ro geni*[*s*]*-siu* with a normal 2sg. conjunct ending.

[831] This sentence is found, however, at the end of the copy found in LL (see [13] below). For a discussion on the conflation, see Imhoff (2012, 67–8).

[832] See also O'Rahilly (1971, 114) for a discussion of the formation of *cenco*, i.e. of *cía* + *níco*(*n*), with the vowel of the third syllable lost by syncope.

formation *-cop*, i.e. *cencop*. Since *cenco* is not attested in the Old Irish sources, I emend to the earlier form here.

The pronominal adj. *inunn* 'alike, equal, the same' is seen in LL with a variant *-nd*.[833] It should also be noted that although an article might be expected, it is not used before *blíadain*, perhaps because the preceding adj. already has a petrified form of it. Similar usage is attested in the glosses, e.g. *is inunn chiall*, Ml. 114b1 (see *DIL* s.v. *inunn*). LL/C's phrase constitutes the *lectio difficilior* against E_2's straightforward no *comad isin ochtmad bl*iadain *.xx. flaithus* Con*ch*ub*a*ir *no geinedh Cr*ís*t*, 'or it was in the twenty-eighth year of Conchobar's reign that Christ had been born'.

[12a] *Is andsin rochreiti Conchobar.*
It was then that Conchobar believed.

LL: IS andsi*n* ro c*h*rei̯ti conch–.
C: IS an*n*si*n* rocr– *conc*–
E_1: IS an*n*si*n* doc*r*eit *conc*–
E_2: **IS**and si̯n t*r*a rocreid *con*chob–

Is and sin ro creiti Conchobar.
See above for Meyer's translation.

ro creiti: There is overall majority support from the witnesses for this sentence, apart from the trivial confusion of *do* for *ro* in E_1 (*EIV* 196). The only discrepancy between the manuscripts is the treatment of the W2a type verb *creitid* 'believes'. The suspension stroke in C's rocr– is ambiguous. LL's verbal form has a vocalic ending, with MidIr lenition after *ro* (*EIV* 173). The 3sg. *s*-pret. conj. of W2a type verbs originally ended in a vowel and this was most prevalent at the time of the Wb. glosses (*EIV* 56–7). By the time of the Ml. glosses, this ending begins to be dropped to make it similar to W2b type verbs and to distinguish them from the 3sg. pres. ind. conj. ending of weak verbs. Nevertheless, the vocalic ending is still seen in the early MidIr period, with some 70 examples found in

[833] See *GOI* §484. Thurneysen suggests this is a petrified form of the numeral *oín* + the article. Thus, final *nn* is be expected, rather than *nd*, e.g. *inonn*, Wb. 7d10.

Saltair na Rann, with it even seen in use with W1 verbs (*EIV* 236; *SnaG* III, §12.32).[834] Since this is an OIr text, LL's *ro chreti* could be a preserved archaism. Moreover, the form *-creit* in the Edinburgh branch does reflect the universal later form, since *-creiti* did not last long past *Saltair na Rann*.

[12b] *Ocus issé sin indara fer rochreti do Dīa i nHērinn rīa tiachtain creitmi é .i. Morand in fer aile*

And he was one of the two men that had believed in God in Ireland before the coming of the Faith, Morann being the other man.

LL: Et issésin *in*dara fer roc*h*reti dodia i*n*her– riatiac*h*tai*n* cre¡tmi é .i. mora*n*d i*n*fer aile.

C: ise s¡n indala f*er* ro cre¡t do dia in er– re t¡ac*h*tain creidme .i. fe*ar* eile morand m–c c*air*p*r*i

E_1: ⁊ ise and*a*ra f– tois–*h* i*n* er– doc*r*eit do dia re tiac*h*tai*n* c*r*eitm¡ he ⁊ moran*n* m–mai*n*.

E_2: ⁊ ise i*n*dala fer docreid*uster* an eir– dodia riatiachtain c*r*eidme cot*h*oitc*h*end *con*chub– ⁊ morand m–c main infer aile.

⁊ is é sin indala fer ro chreiti do Día i nÉrinn re tíchtain creitme .i. Morand mac Maín in fer aile.

And he is one of the two men that believed in God in Ireland before the coming of the Faith, Morand mac Maín being the other man.

⁊ **... indala**: I adopt the tironian symbol here against LL's *et* since this reflects a scribal tendency.[835] The Edinburgh exemplar omitted *sin* due to the orthographic similarity of the following letters *in* of *indala*.

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[834] The fact that the vocalic ending is seen with W1 verbs suggests a (temporary) spread of this ending, e.g. *coro legai*, 'so that [it] melted away', *SR* 5063. However, McCone (*EIV* 236) points out that while this ending does not survive into the Modern Irish period, such vocalic 3sg. conj. preterite endings in the MidIr period 'may well be due to hypercorrections as the weak *-a* and *-i*/*-e* 3sg. pres. conj. came under pressure from endingless forms'.

[835] See also [10b] for a similar instance.

The stemma supports earlier *indala*, against the later *indara* seen with assimilation of *l* > *r*. The form *indala* is attested in the Passions and Homilies, which is preserved in a fourteenth century manuscript, e.g. *Nicomet in dala fer dec boi oc cungnam le Ísu*, 'Nicomet, the twelfth man who has been on the side of Jesus', PH 2803. However, I have found no examples of *indala* in later sources (cf. *DIL* s.v. *indala*). This supports the suggestion that *indala* in C and E_2, both fifteenth century manuscripts, are copied archaisms.

ro chreiti: In relation to the 3sg. perf. *ro chreit*, without the vocalic ending, against LL's *ro chreti*, see the previous discussion in [12a]. The Edinburgh manuscripts show MidIr confusion of *ro* with *do* (*EIV* 189–90), with E_2 adding the MidIr 3sg. dep. conj. *s*-pret. ending *-uster* (*EIV* 216–7).[836] The lenition of LL's verbal form is justified as relative clause lenition with a subject antecendent, whereas it is omitted in the other witnesses.

re tíchtain creitme: The form *re* of the prep. *ré* is generally found in the Old Irish sources, with the exception of *ría cách*, *Thes* ii 240.19 (Arm.) (see *DIL* s.v. *6 ré*, *GOI* §851C). Although *ré* and *ría* are interchangeable in the MidIr period, *ría* is the general form later (*SnaG* III, §13.23). I adopt *re* in the edition as it is more likely that the scribes could have replaced it with *ría*.

The dat. sg. *tíachtain* (OIr *tíchtain*) has the later vocalism influenced by *tíag-* in forms of *téit* (see *DIL* s.vv. *tíacht*, *tíchtu*). This was most likely introduced by the MidIr intermediary scribe and therefore, I restore the original vocalism here. Also, LL and E_1 have an additional innovatory independent pronoun (*SnaG* III, §10.14).

Morand mac Maín: Part of the proper name has been omitted in LL/C's shared source. LL's *in fer aile* is supported by E_2. C omits *in fer aile* and replaces it with the paternity of *Morann* for clarification i.e. *maic Cairpri*. E_2's adverbial *cothoitchend* 'commonly' (with phonetic confusion of *t* for *c*, i.e. *co coitchenn*) is most likely a scribal addition since it receives no support from any other witness.

The branches of the stemma diverge here. At this point in the text, the Old Irish archetype contained a *rosc* poem, *Ba aprainn*, that was composed prior to the extant versions. This poem is also interpolated into version B. For the restored text of *Ba aprainn*, see Chapter 4. Although LL preserves the *rosc* poem, C's redactor chose to omit it. In the Edinburgh manuscripts, the *rosc* poem was replaced by a narrative prose passage).

The following brief prose passage is found at the end of the text in LL/C:

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[836] See also a similar instance in [11d] amongst others.

[13a] *Is and doringni Conchobar in rethoric se dia ro-innis Bachrach drúi de Lagnib do Chonchobur Crīst do chrochad,*

This rhetoric Conchobar made when Bachrach, a druid of Leinster, told him that Christ was crucified,

LL: ISand dor*i*ngni *con*ch– i*n*ret*h*oricse diaroi*n*nis bac*h*rac*h* drúi delagnib do *chon*ch cr– doc*h*roc*h*ad.

C: [ ]

Is and do-ringni Conchobar in rethoiric-se día ro-innis Bachrach druí de Laignib do Chonchobur Críst do chrochad,

See above for Meyer's translation.

do-ringni: The 3sg. perf. of *do-gní* 'makes, does' contains *-ngn-*, rather than *-gn-*, which is common in MidIr (*SnaG* III, §12.197). However, Thurneysen notes one example from the glosses, i.e. *doringensat*, 'they did', Ml. 16d6.[837] The perfect represents a MidIr historical past here.

ro-innis: The verb *indisid* 'tells, recounts' is a MidIr replacement for the earlier compound *ad-fét* (see *DIL* s.v. *indisid*).[838]

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[837] See *GOI* §681n.

[838] *Indisid* reflects the new tendency in Middle Irish to create new simple verbs, replacing compounds, from verbal nouns formed from prototonic stems, i.e. *indiusiu* (vn of *in-fét* or *ad-fét*), > MidIr *indisid*, replacing OIr *ad-fét* (see *EIV* 193). Preverbal *ad-* often replaced *in-* in pretonic position (partially due to their appearance as *a-* before infixed pronouns), which led to *ad-fét* slowly making *in-fét* a redundant verb in the Old Irish period.

[13b] *dia ra-iarfaig Conchobar: 'Ciata airde iṅgantacha so ?' 7 c.*
when Conchobar asked: 'What wonderful signs are these?' etc.

LL: diarai*ar*faig *con*ch– ciata *air*de iṅgantac*h*a so. 7 c–.

C: do fiarfaid *con*ch– ciada *air*di in*n*an*n*th– so 7 c–

día ro íarfaig Conchobar, 'ciata airde ingantacha so' 7 c-.
See above for Meyer's translation.

ro íarfaig: LL's verbal form is a 3sg. perf. of the MidIr simple verb *íarfaigid* (OIr *íarmi-foich*, 3sg. pret./perf. *íarmi-foacht*). C omits the perfect particle *ro* (cf. *SnaG* III, §11.30), and also has a prosthetic *f*. Confusion of proclitic of *a* for original *o* is seen in LL's *ra*, due to the reduced proclitic vowel (*EIV* 169).
airde ingantacha: The nom. pl. of *ingnad* 'strange, wonderful' (cf. *ticfait airde inganta*, *SR* 8129; *airde inganta*, PH 3713) is found in C, and replaces the less widely attested *ingantacha*, as found in LL. C's reading is found with a scribal *h*, where one would expect *th* to be delenited due to the preceding homorganic *n*, and *g* lost by assimilation.

[14] *Nō dano co mbad é Altus in consul dodechaid ō Ochtauīn do chungid in chīsa co Gāedelaib no-innised do Chonchobur Crīst do chrochad.*

Or, again, it may have been Altus, the consul who had come to the Gaels from Octavian to seek tribute, who told Conchobar that Christ was crucified.

LL: ł da– combadé alt*us* i*n* *con*sul do dec*h*aid ooc*h*tau*in* doc*h*ungid i*n*chisa co gædelaib noi*n*nised doc*hon*ch– cr– dochroc*h*ad.,

C: ł da–comad e alt*us* i*n* *con*sal do deac*h*aid o.uiii. fin do cuinc*h*i in cisa o gaidel– ł in*n*isfed cr– do croch // fi*n*id

nó co mbad é Altus in consul do dechaid ó Ochtauin do chuingid in chísa co Gaedelaib no innised do Chonchobur Críst do chrochad.

See above for Meyer's translation.

cuingid: LL and C have two variants of the vn of *con-dïeig* 'seeks, requests' (see DIL s.v. *cuingid*). However, C shows loss of final lenited *d*.

co Gaedelaib: The use of the preposition *co* 'to' makes more sense rather than *ó* 'from', since Altus represents an external figure who comes from Rome. See further version B. Note the use of the dat. pl. ending rather than the expected acc. form (*SnaG* III, §5.1).

no innised: For the Middle Irish simple verb formation of *indisid*, see the textual note on this form in [13a]. The use of the imperfect in LL suits the context better rather than C's 3sg. conditional.

Version B: restored text

[1] [1a] Boí Conchobar mac Nessa fechtas n-ann. [1b] At-fét dó Altus, crochad Críst. [1c] Altus, is é no thathaiged co coímclodaib sét ó Thibir maic Augaist, ríg Rómán, do Chonchobur mac Nessa. [1d] Ar ba cummae bátar rechtairi ríg Rómán in n-aimsir sin for medón in betho 7 i n-insib fuinid 7 turcbálae, [1e] co mba chomderb isin mbith na scél n-airderc for-chumcad ann.

[2] [2a] Ba derb la Conchobar foa n-indas sin in cruth for-cuad crochad Críst. [2b] Ar at-fét dó Altus, ba hé Críst do-rósat nem 7 talam 7 is airi ar-roét colainn ar thaithchreicc ceinéoil dóendai. [2c] Ba creitmech Altus, is airi ad-fét cech maith imm chrochad Críst co creit Conchobar i Críst.

[3] [3a] 7 is íarum as-bert Conchobar ro festais fir in betho a chumang [3b] oc cathugud fri hIúdeu crochsite Críst, ma nu beth hi comocus do Chríst. Is dé as-bert Conchobar (Conchobar recites the *rosc* poem at this point in the text: see the critical edition of *Ba aprainn* for the restored text).

[4] [4a] Is íar sin cot-n-oscrastar amal bid oc techt hi roí catha ar bélaib Críst [4b] co sescainn asa chiunn a n-inchinn Meisse Gegrai 7 condid-epalt ind ór sin. [4c] Is ed as-berr dee íarum, is é cét-geintlide do-choid i flaith nime, [4d] fo bíth robo baithis dó ind fuil do-n-escmart 7 ro creiti do Chríst. Finit Amen.

Version B: translation

[1] [1a] On one occasion, Conchobar mac Nessa was [king]. [1b] Altus tells to him the crucifixion of Christ. [1c] Altus, moreover, used to visit Conchobar mac Nessa with exchanges of treasures from Tiberius, the son of Augustus, king of Romans. [1d] For at that time, stewards of the king of Romans travelled widely, [1e] so that every famous story that used to happen there was equally known in(to) the world.

[2] [2a] Hence, the manner in which the crucifixion of Christ had been achieved became known to Conchobar. [2b] For Altus relates to him it was Christ who had created heaven and earth, and it is for this purpose he had accepted human flesh, for redemption of the human race. [2c] Altus was a believer, therefore he relates every good thing about Christ's crucifixion [2d] so that Conchobar equally believes in Christ;

[3] [3a/b] and then Conchobar said that if he had been near to Christ, the men of the world would know what he could do in fighting the Jews who crucified Christ. Hence, Conchobar said (Conchobar recites the *rosc* poem at this point in the text: see the critical edition of *Ba aprainn* for the translation).

[4] [4a] After that he jumped upwards, as if he were going into the battlefield in front of Christ, [4b] so that the brain of Mess Gegrai sprang out of his head and he died at that time. [4c] This is what one says of him then, he is the first pagan who had gone into the kingdom of Heaven, [4d] because the blood which he had shed was a baptism to him, and (because) he had believed in Christ. Finit. Amen.

Version B: textual notes

[1a] *Bāi Conchobar mac Nesai fechtus n-ann.*
Once upon a time (see [1b] for rest of translation).

N: bai *conc*– m–c nesai fe*chtus* nan*n*

Boí Conchobar mac Nessa fechtas n-and.
On one occasion, Conchobar mac Nessa was [*king*].

fechtas n-and: The phrase *fechtas* is used here with the pleonastic preposition *i n-* + neut. pronoun (*DIL* s.vv. *fechtas* 'a turn, time, occasion', *i*, II.2; cf. *Fechtas and trá fertha óenach la hUltu i mMaig Murthemni*, SC^2 §2). It is synonymous with the set phrase *fecht n-ann* 'once upon a time' (see *DIL* s.v. *fecht*, II), but is less commonly attested in Old Irish prose. N retains the historically correct nasalization after the accusative of time (*GOI* §249.3).

Meyer (1906, 13) presents [1a] and [1b] as a unified sentence in his translation. In this instance, I follow the text more closely and provide a new translation.

[1b] *Atfēt dō Altus crochad Crīst.*

Altus related to Conchobar mac Nessa the crucifixion of Christ.

N: at fet do alt*us*s croch– crist

LFF: .i. roin*n*is do– alt*us*[839]

At-fét dó Altus crochad Críst.

Altus tells to him the crucifixion of Christ.

At-fét dó Altus: The syntax in this sentence is stylistic. One would expect the verb + agent + *dó*, which expresses the person to whom the information is given, i.e. in this instance it refers to Conchobar in the preceding sentence (*DIL* s.v. *ad-fét*, 54.3–43). However, here in N we find the subject placed after the prepositional phrase, thereby placing emphasis on the newly introduced agent, i.e. Altus.[840]

N's *at fet* is the superior reading because it preserves the 3sg. pres. ind. deut. of *ad-fét* 'indicates, tells, relates'. LFF's *ro innis* demonstrates scribal modernisation with the 3sg. perf. of *indisid* 'tells, recounts, mentions', replacing the earlier compound *ad-fét*.[841]

It is possible to suggest that the verb contains a proleptic Class B masculine infixed pronoun here with reference to the following object, i.e. masc. *crochad* 'crucifixion' (*GOI* §421; Breatnach 1977, 88). Given the manuscript was compiled in the sixteenth century, however, one cannot rule out entirely the possibility of *at-fét* containing a petrified neut. infixed pronoun and replacing earlier *ad-fét*. I have tentatively decided to take this as a proleptic inf. pron., which provides the literal translation 'Altus relates it to him (i.e. Conchobar), the crucifixion of Christ'.

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[839] *.i. roinnis dono Altus*, 'viz., Altus also had told this' (*The death-tales*, p.14/15, §2). After every transcription of LFF provided in the main text here, I give Kuno Meyer's edition of LFF (version C) in a footnote. This is merely to cater for ease of reading because producing Meyer's edition and translation of LFF in the main text, along with that of N, would be cumbersome for the reader. Any discrepancies in Meyer's edition of LFF are discussed in the textual notes. Meyer's edition of N is provided in italics in the main body of the text with his translation provided below each sentence, followed by the manuscript readings.

[840] See also [2b] below.

[841] See further discussion of this verbal formation in the textual note in [13a], version A.

Lastly, LFF's *do–* is for the conjunction *danó* replacing original *dó*.[842]

Altus: The personal name *Altus* in N consists of the *us*-compendium and an additional miniscule *s*, the double *ss* providing a scribal variant for *s* (*DIL* s.v. *s*, 1.3–5). However, *Altus* is the normalised form throughout the text.

[1c] *Altus imorro is hē dothathaiged co clōemclōdaib sēd ō Tibir mac Augaist rī*[*g*] *Rōmān co Conchobar mac Nesa.*

Altus, however, used to visit Conchobar with exchanges of treasures from Tiberius, the son of Augustus the Roman.

N: alt*us i–* ishe do t*h*at*h*aig– cocloemclodaib sed otibir m–c augaist ri roma*n* do *conc–* m–c nesa.

LFF: isse tigid conait*h*easguib*h* ⁊ cusedaib*h* ⁊ co mainib*h* otibir s*h*esair aug*h*uist rig*h* ro*m*an ⁊ orig*h* andom*h*ui*n* coco*n*cub– neasa do eam*h*uin macha[843]

Altus, immurgu, is hé no thathaiged co coímchlódaib sét ó Thibir mac Augaist, ríg Rómán, do Chonchobur mac Nessa.

Altus, moreover, used to visit Conchobar mac Nessa with exchanges of treasures from Tiberius, the son of Augustus, king of the Romans.

immurgu: Given that the text is datable to the Old Irish period, I expand *N's i–* as *immurgu* (*DIL* s.v. *immurgu*). Meyer translates the MidIr form *imorro* as 'however' which has an adversative force. This implies a contrast between this sentence and [1b] which is not the case in this context. It is more fitting to understand *immurgu* as 'moreover, besides' with emphasizing force, adding an additional statement to what has already been stated about Altus in [1b] (*DIL* s.v. *immurgu*, II(a)). Thus, I change the translation to 'moreover' accordingly.

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[842] Liam Breatnach (2003, 139) has shown that this conjunction is actually stressed and ends in a long vowel, which is confirmed by rhyme, rather than unstressed as Thurneysen mistakenly assumed (*GOI* §41).

[843] *iss ē tiged co n-aitheasguibh ⁊ cu sēdaibh ⁊ co māinibh ō Tibir Ṡesair Aughuist rīgh Rōmān ⁊ ō rīg an domhuin co Concubur [mac] Neasa do Eamhuin Macha.* ''Tis he who used to come with messages and with treasures and precious things from Tiberius Caesar Augustus, even the king of the Romans, and the king of the world, to Concobhar son of Ness, to Emain Macha' (*The death-tales*, p.14/15, §2).

no thathaiged: The syntax of this sentence is notable in that Altus is a nominativus pendens, with a following cleft construction.

The compound verb *do-aithigi* is poorly attested and the contracted form *taithigid* is frequently attested already from an early period (*DIL* s.v. *do-aithigi*, (a); cf. *no tathigtis*, *CCC* 1). LFF replaces original *do-aithiged* with *tigid* (OIr *do-iced/ ticed*).

coímchlódaib: N's *cloemclodaib* is a later variant of the vn *coímchloud* 'exchange'.[844] N's reading constitutes the *lectio difficilior*, as well as the *lectio brevior*, with the more unusual word *cloemchlód*.[845] LFF's *co n-aitheasguibh 7 cu sedaibh 7 co mainibh* 'with messages, with treasures and with precious things' is a replacement for the original *co cloemclodaib sed*, omitting *cloemclodaib* while retaining the construction with the preposition *co n-* 'with'. *Maín* 'treasure' is attested in use with *sét* 'treasure'.[846] Thus, N's variant is restored with normalisation to the OIr form, i.e. *coímchlódaib*.

ríg Rómán: N's reading of the dat. sg. of *rí* demonstrates loss of final lenited *g*, whereas it is retained in LFF's *righ*. It is in the dative case in agreement with *Tibir* 'Tiberius' which is preceded by the prep. *ó* 'from.

The word *Rómán* 'Roman' is largely confined to Old Irish material, with *DIL* s.v. *Rómán* citing two Middle Irish examples also (see discussion below), and is later displaced by the substantivized adjective *Rómánach* (see *DIL* s.v. *rómánach*). *DIL* s.v. *Rómán* cites the following examples, largely confined to the glosses: Wb. 26a10; Sg. 31b5; 33a11; 41b5.[847] *DIL* also cites an example from the early Middle Irish fragment of

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[844] See *DIL* s.v. *coímchloud* (b) for the sense of exchanging objects between people, i.e. bartering. The present example is cited in *DIL*. The Milan and St. Gall glosses still preserve *coímclód*, i.e. Ml 63d3; 76d12; 109d4; Sg. 62a4. There are other attestations cited in *DIL* outside of the glosses, e.g. *caemclód praindi*, Mon. Tall. 152.25 (cf. *DIL* s.v. *cláechlód*); *cóemchlód*, Triads of Ireland §72 (Meyer 1906b, 8); *fri caemchlúd*, Lebor na Cert (Dillon 1962, 9). The following are the earliest examples of *cláemchlód* I have found: *cen chloemchlód* (Mac Carthy (1892, 166) and *ar cloechlód*, *Fél.* comm. 244.37 (with dissimilated *m*). But note also *cóemchlód*, *TBC* I, 2476.

[845] The principle of *lectio brevior, lectio potior* is that the shorter reading tends to be the better (older) one, as scribes had a tendency to embellish the text.

[846] Cf. *DIL* s.vv. *maín* (b); 2 *sét* II. For instance, *di śétaib 7 maínib*, 'of chattels and treasures', *TallÉt* l.35; *febus mo chommain sét 7 maíni 7 indmassa foraib*, 'for the excellence of my bestowal of jewels, treasures and wealth', CRR 11 (Hogan 1892, 16).

[847] Séamas Kavanagh (2001, 763) also notes an attested form in Wb. 26a5. I have not encountered any examples in the Milan glosses.

Bede's Ecclesiastical History: *Is e sin crich flaithusa Rómán for Inis Bretan*, 'That is the end of the Roman rule over Britain'.[848] I take *Rómán* as the gen. pl.

LFF contains the additional phrases *7 ó righ an domhuin ... do Eamhuin Macha* 'and from the king of the world ... to Emain Macha', which are not found in N. N remains closer to the original with the shorter reading.

In relation the preposition *do*, N, versus *co*, LFF, both prepositions can be used to express the destination of the verb of motion (see *DIL* s.vv. *1 co*, 4; *do*, A 1). In this instance, it may be that *do* 'to,' is perhaps better than *co* 'to, towards'. LFF's *co* could have been influenced by the orthographic similarity of the initial letters in the following *concub–*. Thus, N's *do* is adopted here.

[848] Cf. Meyer 1910, 66 (trans. Cox 1910, 147). Cox (1910, 124) dates this text to the beginning of the tenth century, in contrast to Meyer's earlier suggestion that it was from the ninth century (1899, 321). However, *DIL* also cites the acc pl. *Romhanu* found in the late MidIr text *In Cath Catharda*, 1054.

[1d] *Ar ba cuma bātar rechtairea rīg Rōmān in n-aimsir sin for medōn in uetha 7 for indsip fuinid 7 turcbālai,*

For at that time stewards of the King of the Romans were equally over the centre of the world and over the islands of the west and east,

N: arba cu*m*a bat– re*achtar*ea[849] rig roman i*n*nai*m*s–[850] si*n*[851] f– medon in ueth– 7 f– i*n*dsip fuinid 7 t*ur*cbalai

LFF: *ar*ba cu*m*abadar rea*cht*uiread*h*a rig*h* ando*m*ui*n* isi*n* nai*m*sirsin f*r*i mead*h*on anbeatha 7 anin*n*sib fuinig*h* g*r*ei*n*e 7 tu*r*gabala[852]

Ar ba cummae bátar rechtairi ríg Rómán in n-aimsir sin for medón in betho 7 for insib fuinid 7 turcbálae,

For at that time, stewards of the King of the Romans travelled widely,

cummae: *Cumm(a)e* 'equally, in the same way' serves as the antecedent to the following 3pl. pret. of the substantive verb *at-tá* 'to be' (*DIL* s.v. *cummae*, 8). It is difficult to say whether the verb in this instance is relative or not since the two forms sound alike, i.e. *bátar*, later replaced by analogical *bátir* (*EIV* 73).

When *cumm(a)e* is used as the antecedent, a nasalizing relative clause is to be expected (*GOI* §498(b)). Nevertheless, such a construction is optional in Old Irish and can also be replaced by an independent clause (*GOI* §505). There are five instances of *cumm(a)e* in this construction attested in the glosses, i.e. Wb. 24a22; Ml. 31a23; 61a33; 69a18; Sg. 63b15 (Ó hUiginn 1986, 51–2). Of these, the examples in Wb. and Ml. are all

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[849] The scribe employs the letter *s* + the *us*-compendium *ȝ*, used to represent *acht* in this instance (cf. Maunde Thompson 1912, 87–88, including *sȝ* for *sed* 'but' = Irish *acht*). Similar examples are found in other Irish manuscripts, cf. Breatnach (2008, 3 n. 7): 'In B we may note the use of the abbr. for *-(a)cht* which looks like an *s* + the *us*-compendium, e.g. *becht* (q. 23c)'. Also see Hoyne (2011, 81 n. 4b): '[...] *s* + a symbol similar to the *us*-conjunction [*sic*] is used for Latin *sed* and Irish *acht* in other MSS'.

[850] An abbreviation stroke is seen going through the descending shaft of the letter *s*.

[851] Note the scribe's use of majuscule **s** here. For a discussion of the scribal features of this hand, i.e. Aodh's, see Chapter 1.4.2.

[852] *Ar ba cuma bādar reachtuireadha rīgh an domuin isinn aimsir sin for meadhōn an beatha 7 a n-innsibh fuinidh grēine 7 turgabāla,* For at that time stewards of the king of the world were equally over the centre of the world and in the islands of the setting sun and rising sun' (*The death-tales*, p.14/15, §2).

found with nasalizing relative clauses.[853] However, in Sg. 63b15, there is no nas. rel. marker but there is a rel. verb, i.e. *.i. is cummae bíte diblínaib*, 'i.e. it is in the same way that they both are', Sg. 63b15. Therefore, a nasal rel. marker. is not necessarily required here.

rechtairi: N preserves the older form against LFF's *re*acht*airead*ha which adopts the -*eda* ending of dental stems (*SnaG* III, §5.9).

ríg Rómán: The earlier attested word gen. pl. *Rómán* is replaced with *an domhuin* in LFF.

in n-aimsir sin: I follow Meyer (1906, 12) in taking N's *innaims–* as the acc. sg. definite article + temporal acc. sg. of *aimser*, expressing a duration of time (*GOI* §249.3). LFF supplies the preposition *i n-* 'in' for clarity (*DIL* s.v. *i*, II.1(b)). Alternatively, N may preserve an independent dat. sg., with a later spelling *-nn* for earlier *-nd*. However, the temporal dative is generally used to express a particular point of time (cf. *GOI* §251.3) and the sense here is that the stewards travelled far and wide during the span of time when Tiberius was ruler, rather than travelling on a particular day.

for medón: I expand N's *f–* as the preposition *for* and understand it in the sense of local relations 'over, above' as per Meyer (1906, 12; cf. *DIL* s.v. *for*, 1(a)). In later manuscripts, this preposition is usually replaced by *ar*. LFF's *fri* is a replacement for original *for*. While it can also be used in local relation, meaning 'towards, turning to' (*DIL* s.v. *fri*, 1(a)), the context suggests that the use of *for* 'over' as against *fri* 'towards' is preferable as it conveys the sense that the messengers were all over the centre of the world at that time. Moreover, *medón* is attested with *for*, not with *fri*, with *for* later replaced by *ar* (see *DIL* s.v. *medón*).[854] N's *u-* in *uetha* is a scribal spelling for lenited *bh* /v/ (lenited due to

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[853] They are as follows: .i. *condibcumme donduccam uili*, 'i.e.so that we may all understand it equally', Wb. 24a22 (I understand *donduccam* to contain a Class C infixed pronoun *-d-*, with the preceding *n* representing the nasal relative marker); *.i. is cummae m bis menmæ cechtar de fri togais alali*. 'i.e. the mind of each is equally bent upon deceiving the other', Ml. 31a23; *.i. iscummae ṁ bis* [...] *enartae ⁊* [...] *sonartae*, '.i.e. there is equally [...] weakness and [...] strength', Ml. 61a33; [...] *.i. conid cumme aramber biuth hua cechrét frissacomraic etir glan ⁊ anglan*, 'i.e. so that he enjoys equally every thing that he meets with, both pure and impure', Ml. 69a18.

[854] For instance, in Broccán's Hymn: *gēnais for medón maige*, 'she wrought in the midst of the plain', *Thes* ii, 328.11. However, although *for* here is used in local relations, it means 'in, amongst' here rather than 'over, above' (*DIL* s.v. *for*, I (f)). Similar meaning is applied to the later form *ar*, replacing *for*, attested with *medón*, cf. *gach gaid & gach slad & gach saragud do gnithi isin cathair ar medhón*, 'every theft and robbery and outrage that was committed amidst the city', *CCath*, l. 55.

preceding gen. sg. masc. article).[855] LFF's *an beatha* shows orthographical modernisation, as well as reduction in proclitics resulting in confused spelling of *i* and *a*. The readings have been normalised as per Classical OIr spelling standards.

for insib: The variants show the common spelling of double *nn/nd* before *s* (*SnaG* III §3.17). N's *f–* can again be expanded as the preposition *for* 'on, upon, over'. It could be argued that N's variant was influenced by the preceding *for*, thereby replacing original *i n-* 'in' as seen in LFF, which specifies the exact places the stewards went. However, the prepositions *for* and *i n-* are both attested in use with *inis*, albeit the latter more widely (see *DIL* s.v. *inis*). However, *for* in the sense of '(all) over' makes better sense overall in this particular context and thus I follow N here (cf. *dul for insib mara immach*, 'to go forth on islands of the sea', *Thes* ii, 299.15).

fuinid 7 turcbálae: *Fuined* literally means 'setting, sinking (of sun): sunset' and can refer to the West (*DIL* s.v. *fuined*, (b)). The use of *turcbál* and *fuined* in a set phrase is often synonymous with the East and West (see *DIL* s.v. *turcbál*, (b)). Apart from LFF's phonetic confusion between palatal *-d* and *-g* in *fuinigh* (*SnaG* III, §3.17), I would argue that LFF's variant *fuinigh greine 7 turgabala* 'of setting of sun and rising' constitutes the *lectio difficilior*, with the intentional ellipsis (i.e. not omitted by a copyist) of the gen. sg. of *grían* in the second instance. N omits *gréine*, having instead *fuinid* and *turcbál* in close conjunction without the use of qualifying *gréine*.[856] N's reading constitutes the *lectio brevior* against LFF's use of *gréine* which was added for clarification. I follow N's earlier variant *turcbálai* against LFF's *turgabala*.[857] Meyer (1906, 13) renders this as 'west and east'. The literal meaning of *for medón in betho 7 for insib fuinid gréine 7 turcbálae* is 'over the centre of the world and (all) over the islands of the setting and rising sun'. However, a less literal translation 'travelled widely' is better in this instance.

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[855] See chapter 1.4.5 for scribal nuances in the text.

[856] See for instance the examples cited in *DIL* s.v. *fuined*, 477.20–3.

[857] See *DIL* s.v. *turcbál* for examples in the glosses and also of *turgabál* in later material. *Turcbál* (< **to-r(o)-uss-gabál*, *GOI* §849A) and innovatory *túrgabál* (<**to-uss-ro-gabál*) both occur with regular syncope. However, the latter must have been influenced by the former at a later stage (see Uhlich (1995, 31–2). This latter shows *ro* in preverbal position rather than coming before the preverb *uss* as expected.

[1e] *co mba comderb isin mbit[h] nach sgēl n-airdirc forcumcad ann.*
so that every famous story that would happen there was equally known in the world.

N: co*m*ba co*m* d–b isi*n* mbit na– sgel n*air*dirc f–cu*m*cad an*n*.
LFF: co*m*a co*m*di*r*bh isi*n*bith uili nach sgel *air*d*r*e*ch* fos c–ad*h* an*n*[858]

co mba chomderb isin mbith na scél n-airderc for-chumcad and.
so that every story that used to happen there was equally known in(to) the world.

chomderb: This instance is the only example cited in *DIL* s.v. *comderb*.[859] Both manuscript readings have an *m*-stroke. Therefore, I follow Meyer (1906, 12) in expanding it as the letter *m*. I understand *comderb* to be a compound of the prepositional prefix *com* 'equal, mutual' and the *o/ā*-stem adj. *derb* 'certain, sure, fixed, determinate', i.e. equally known. *Con* would be expected before the initial *d* against the later general form *com* used before all initials (*GOI* §830.1). The mark of lenition is inserted as per *GOI* §495(c).
isin mbith: N treats *bith* as an acc., implying motion, with the prep. *i n-* (*DIL* s.v. *i*, B.1), i.e. 'into the world'. Jürgen Uhlich has pointed out to me the competing expression with *fo*, i.e. *ro closs fon ṁbith ṁbuidnech*, '[it] has been heard throughout the troopful world', *Fél.* Oct. 15. However, LFF's scribe considers *bith* as a stationary dative which would be the more obvious choice for a scribe after the copula and thereby constituting the *lectio facilior* against the more difficult reading in N.
na scél n-airderc: As *scél* 'story, tale' is a neut. *o*-stem in Old Irish, the pronominal adjective *na* would be expected before this noun. However, both manuscripts have the MidIr form *nach* (*DIL* s.v. 1 *nach*, 5.45-8). *DIL* s.v. *1 nach* defines this as 'any, whatever, some ... or other [...], occas. verging on the sense every'. Meyer translates it as the latter sense, i.e. 'every'.

N preserves the historically correct nasalization on the attributive adj. *airdirc* 'well-known, obvious, manifest' from the preceding neut. nom. sg. *scél*. *DIL* cites the

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[858] *co m[b]a comhderbh isin bith uili nach sgēl airderc foscumadh ann,* 'so that every famous story that happened was equally known in the whole world' (*The death-tales*, 1906, p.14/15, §2). Meyer suggests reading 'was achieved' for 'happened' (cf. Further Addenda and Corrigenda, 53).

[859] Meyer fails to italicize the suspension stroke expanded as *-er*.

variants *airdairc*, *airderc* and *airdr(a)ic*, amongst others. It is a compound of *air* + *i*-stem *derc* (*LEIA* A-41; *GOI* §345), with final *c* pronounced /*k*/ and not /*x*/. LFF's *airdrech* is a later form, seen with metathesis and an erroneous mark of lenition of final *c*.[860] Meyer emends LFF's variant to *airderc* (1906, 14).

Given that *scél* is a neuter, and because the text is datable to the Old Irish period, I emend *nach* to the original pronominal adj. *na*.

for-chumcad: N reads *f–cumcad* and LFF has *fos c–adh*. *DIL* s.v. *for-cumaing*, 327.30 'happens, comes into being' cites N's *for-cumcad* as 3sg. imperfect.[861] The regular syncope pattern of this verb (its root being *-icc*) should of course result in a palatal consonantal cluster *-mc-*. But the non-palatal consonantal cluster is already attested in the glosses on (see *DIL con-icc*; cf. 3pl. pres. ind. *annadcumget*, Ml. 112b16 vs. 3sg. cond. *cumcaibed*, Ml. 42a32. Meyer (1906, 43) has suggested that LFF's *fos c–adh* may be miswritten for *forcumcad*. Alternatively, it could also be that the *r* was taken as the MidIr rel. marker *-s-* (cf. Strachan 1904, 169). Furthermore, one cannot rule out LFF's variant *fos-cumad* entirely. It may be from *for-fen* 'fulfill, achieve, complete (a task, duty)' with *-m-* acting as a hiatus filler, i.e. a perf. pass. rel (but cf. *forchuaidh* in [2a] below). The sense of *for-cumaing* meaning 'happens' fits better to the context here. Therefore, I adopt N's reading and restore lenition due to *scél* being the subject antecedent.

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[860] While there is such a word as *airdrech* (a formation of *drech*) cited in *DIL*, i.e. *DIL* s.v. *1 airdrech*, 'sprite, phantom and *DIL* s.v. *2 airdrech*, 'face, front', neither of these would make sense in this particular context. Perhaps the lenition in LFF's *airdrech* could also be due to analogy with formations of *drech*.

[861] The manuscript reading has a suspension stroke above *f*, which I have expanded as the preverb *for-*.

[2a] *Ba derbh 'diu la Conchobur fon n-innus sin in crut[h] forcūa[i]d crochad Crīst.*
Hence, in that way, the manner in which the crucifixion of Christ was achieved became known to Conchobar.

N: ba d–b d$_{i}$u la *conc–* fo*n*nin*nus* s$_{i}$*n* in c*r*u*t* f–cuad c*roc–* cr–

LFF: **b**a de*r*b*h* le co*nch*ub*h*ur foninn*us* si*n* anc*r*uth forc*h*uaid*h* crochad c*hr–*.[862]

Ba derb didiu la Conchobar foa n-indas sin in cruth for-cuad crochad Críst.
Hence, in that way, the manner in which the crucifixion of Christ had been achieved became known to Conchobar.

ba derb didiu la: For further examples of the copula + adj. *derb* with the preposition *la* 'with' meaning 'he is (feels) sure', see *DIL* s.v. *derb*, 30.35–9.

The shorter form *diu* of the particle of transition *didiu* 'hence' is found in N. This has been lost in LFF through haplography. The longer form is restored to the text since the shorter form is found only in Middle Irish and later manuscripts (Ó Máille 1926, 155–6).

Given that the archetype is datable to the Classical Old Irish period, it is unlikely that *le* is an archaic form of the preposition *la* but rather the common form used in later manuscripts (see *DIL* s.v. *la*, 1.29–32).

foa n-indas sin: See the textual note in [2], version A for a more detailed discussion of *foa n-indas* used in the sense of 'in the manner of, like'. The form in N may have undergone some modernisation with *indas* treated as a masc., with preceding *fon n-* representing the prep. + masc. acc. sg. article. Similarly, LFF's *fon* reflects the simplification of *nn* > *n* (cf. the general article *an* found in ModIr). But this could also be a contracted form of *fo* + *a*, i.e. *fó* (see Chapter 2.2.3). Since the text is dated to the OIr period, the prep. *fo* + neut. acc. sg. article, i.e. *foa n-*, is restored. The anaphoric demonstrative refers to the manner in which the stories were spread in the preceding paragraph. I follow Meyer's translation of 'in that way', to avoid repetition of 'manner', seen in the following phrase *in cruth*. This phrase, translated as 'the manner', is the antecedent to the followed by a nasalizing relative clause (*GOI* §498).

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[862] *Ba derbh le Conchubhur fōn innus sin an cruth forcūaidh crochad Crīst* 'In that way the manner in which the crucifixion of Christ happened became known to Conchobar' (*The death-tales*, p. 14/15, §3).

for-cuad: Meyer (1906, 12) emends N's reading to *forcūa*[*i*]*d*, but in his further *Addenda and Corrigenda*, he retracts this emendation (1906, 53). But in his notes, he tentatively writes 'Perhaps instead of *forcua*[*i*]*d* we should read *forcu*[*mc*]*ad* as in §1' (Meyer 1906, 43). However, he is uncertain about this and notes *forcuad* 'has been completed' in Tur. 49.

I propose taking N's variant as a rare instance of the 3sg. pass. rel. perf. of *for-fen* 'fulfill, achieve, complete (a task, duty)' formed with the perfective particle *com*, with the loss of *-m-* (*GOI* §830 A), causing the two vowels to come together (with *o* > *u* in hiatus (*GOI* §79)). This form is supported by the example in Tur. 49 and also *ó for-cuäd aurgabál* 'when capture was completed', *Blath.* l. 194. The use of the perfective particle *com* is already becoming obsolete in the glosses, as is seen by the use of more easily recognizable proclitic *ro* in the perfective formation. For instance, *.i. conglobata. farro-chuad* (gl. *confecta est*) 'zusammengebracht ist', Glosses in Augustine's *Enchiridion* (Stern 1910, 479, 486). This example has an additional proclitic *ro* added, together with the particle *com*, in order to identify it as a perfect. This is also witnessed in *forruchui*, Ml. 121c24. McCone writes that in this 'proclitic *ro* has been added as a more easily recognised augment' (*EIV* 157).

Furthermore, N's *f–cuad* preserves the superior reading with the OIr pass. perf. *-ad* against LFF's *forchuaid*h which is a perfect active (*SnaG* III, §12.59). See also LFF's reading fos c–adh, [1e]. It may be that the verb intended there is also *for-fen*.

Since the antecedent designates the manner of the relative clause, a nasalizing relative marker might be expected (*GOI* §498b), although it was not obligatory (*GOI* §505). It is difficult to say in N's instance whether this is a nasalizing relative clause or an independent clause since nasalization cannot be orthographically shown on the letter *c*. The lenition in LFF's *forchuaidh* is the innovatory use of a leniting relative clause (Ó hUiginn 1986, 69–75).

The use of the perfect here is in accordance with OIr usage rather than the MidIr use of the perfect for the historical past.

[2b] *Ar atfēt dō Altus ba hē Crīst doros*at *nem 7 talmain 7 is airi arfōit colainn ar tathcreicc in cineda dōenai.*

For Altus told him that it was Christ who had made Heaven and earth, and that to redeem mankind He had assumed flesh.

N: ar at fet do alt*us* ba he cr– do ros– nem 7 talm– 7 is airi *ar*foit colain*n ar* tath creicc in ci*n*eda doenai

LFF: *ar*ro in*n*is alt*us* dobahe cr–. dorin*n*id*h* neam*h* 7 talum*h* **et** is *air*e arro et colan*n* omuiri oig*h* artaithc*r*eich ceineoil dæn*n*a[863]

Ar at-fét dó Altus, ba hé Críst do-rósat nem 7 talam 7 is airi ar-roét colainn, ar thaithchreicc ceinéoil dóendai.

For Altus relates to him, it was Christ who had created heaven and earth, and it is for this purpose he had accepted human flesh, for redemption of the human race.

at-fét: This is the 3sg. deut. pres. ind. of *ad-fēt* 'tells, relates'. Note the unusual syntax which has already been seen in [1b] above. LFF's variant ar*roinnis* is a scribal modernisation (see textual analysis on [1b]). Similar to *at-fét* in [1b], this may contain a proleptic infixed pronoun, referring to the following clause, i.e. 'for he, Altus, relates it to him...'. However, given the fact that this form is found in a ModIr manuscript, one cannot rule out the possibility that this represents a petrified neut. infixed pronoun. I have restored the proleptic infixed pronoun in this instance.

do-rósat: I follow Meyer in expanding N's *do ros–* as *do-rosat*. This is clearly the superior reading of the two manuscripts preserving the inherited 3sg. deut. *t*-pret. of *do-fuissim* 'creates, builds', with 'preverbal' perfective particle *ro* (**to-ro-uss-sem-t*).[864] The innovatory deuterotonic form *do-forsat*, based on the prototonic form *-torsat*, is attested already in the glosses (*EIV* 140), e.g. *doforsat*, Ml. 17b2; *doforsat*, Sg. 31b5 (rel.). LFF's *do rinnidh* is the *lectio facilior* here. The scribe replaces the more difficult verbal form

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[863] *Ar ro-innis Altus dō ba hē Crīst dorinni neamh 7 talumh. Et is aire arroēt colann ō Muiri ōigh ar taithchreich an ceineōil dænna*, 'For Altus told him that it was Christ who had made Heaven and Earth, and that He had assumed flesh from the Virgin Mary for the sake of redeeming the human race' (*The death-tales*, p.16/17, §3).

[864] I use McCone's term 'preverbal' here (*EIV* 148).

do-rósat with the more common and straightforward verb *do-gní*. It is seen here with assimilated *-g-* (< *-ngn-*, for which see *SnaG* III, §12.197) and hypercorrect ending *-dh*.

talam: I expand N's *talm–* as the long acc. sg. of *talam*, following Meyer (1906, 12). I understand LFF's *talum*h to be the short acc. sg. (*GOI* §§315, 329 B). For further discussion of the short acc./ dat. of *talam*, see the textual note in [5g], version A. LFF's reading constitutes the *lectio difficilior*, with it being replaced in N with the more common long acc. at the time of copying.

LFF's *et* reflects a scribal tendency of writing ⁊ as *et* (see Chapter 1.4.3). I restore the palaeographical abbreviation ⁊ in accordance with the editorial policy.

airi: This is the preposition *ar* 'on account of, because of' with suffixed 3sg. neut. acc. sg. pronoun which has a later form *air* (*DIL* s.v. *ar*, 365.15–7 and also 367.13–29). The manuscripts preserve the earlier form here with the copula + *airi*, a phrase which is attested in OIr glosses, e.g. *.i. isairi inso rogabad som hirige*, 'i.e. hence it was that he was adopted into the kingship', Ml. 14a4. The pronoun is proleptic here and anticipates the following *ar thaithchreicc* ..., 'for redemption ...'.

ar-roét: The context here dictates that the perfect, corresponding to an English pluperfect, should be expected denoting anterior completion, i.e. Altus told him that Christ is dead now but he had assumed human flesh prior to dying (*EIV* 99–100). Therefore, it appears that LFF has the preferred reading with the 3sg. perf. of *ar-foím* (> **ar(e)-r'-(f)o-em*) rather than the 3sg. pret. ar*foit* in N.

It is difficult to decide whether the verb in question is *ar-eim* or *ar-foím*. Pedersen (ii 512) does not differentiate between *ar-eim* 'receives' and *ar-foím* 'accepts, receives'. However, according to Thurneysen, these are two seperate compound formations (*GOI* §837 A). Armstrong (1976, 59–60) has suggested that *ar-eim* is the earlier formation and this is already being superceded by *ar-foím* in the earliest glosses. Therefore, it is more likely that the more commonly used *ar-foím* is the verb used here.

colainn: N retains the OIr acc. sg. *i*-stem *colainn* 'body, flesh', while LFF's *colann* is treated as a later *ā*-stem (see *DIL* s.v. *colann*).

ar thaithchreicc: I understand the preposition *ar* in the sense of 'for the purpose of, in order to obtain' (*DIL* s.v. *1 ar*, II (f)). This is followed by the acc. in the Wb. glosses and the dat. in the Ml. glosses. *DIL* s.v. *taithchrecc* 'redemption, salvation' gives this as an *ā*- and *i*-stem. In origin it may have been a fem. *ī*-stem (vn of *do-aithchren*), just like *fochraicc*, and therefore a long acc. or dat. sg. would be expected, i.e. **taithchrici*. However, the *ī*-stem can have short acc. and dat. sg. forms influenced by the *ā*- and *i*-

stem paradigms, which is already seen occurring at an early period, i.e. *occar taithchricc*, 'at [...] redeeming us', Wb4b16 (*GOI* §294(b)).

Neither manuscript marks lenition on the initial *t-* or *-c-* in the compound. Therefore, I have inserted lenition on the second element (*GOI* §235.3). The scribe of LFF adds the variant *o muiri oigh*. Note that in LFF, this sentence echoes a similar sentence seen earlier in the version contained in this manuscript, i.e. *co roēt coluinn o Muiri oighinchin ....do ícc ceineoil daenna* 'and He assumed flesh from the Virgin Mary ... to save the human race' (cf. version C, [2d] or *The Death-Tales*, 14, §2).

ceinéoil dóendai: N reads *in cineda doenai* while LFF has the variant *ceineoil dænna*. *Cenél* 'kindred, race' and *ciniud* 'tribe, race' are both attested in use with the following *io/iā*-stem derivative *doínd(a)e* 'man, human, mortal'. However, the latter is far more widely attested in phrase with *doíndae* than *cenél* (see *DIL* s.vv. *ciniud*, (b) 194.81–3, *cenél*, *doénda* (a)). It is more likely that the gen. sg. of *cenél* is original and that this was replaced by the more commonly used *ciniud*. Thus, I adopt LFF's reading as well as without the use of the definite article (cf. *GOI* §470). The article could easily have been added in N to mark the determinate whole.

Due to the obscuration of final unstressed vowels in Middle Irish, the *io/iā*-stems became indeclinable (*SnaG* III, §6.6). Furthermore, final vowels in an EModIr. manuscript such as N cannot be taken seriously. Therefore, the final vocalism in N's *doenai* is to be treated as a schwa spelling, even though the original gen. sg. was *dóendai*.

[2c] *Ba cretmech Altus, is aire atfēd cec[h] mait[h] im crochad Crīst.* [3][865] *Concreid Conchobur do Chrīst.*

Altus was a believer. 'Tis therefore he told every good thing about the crucifixion of Christ. [3] Conchobar believes in Christ;

N: **ba** c–tmec*h* alt*us* is*air*e atfed cec mait i*n* c*r*och– cr– co*n*cre¡d *con*c– do cr–

LFF: ba c*r*eidm*h*each do– alt*us* féin is*air*e atfet ar sgela cr– co*m*aith *coc*reid[866] co*n*cub– acr–[867]

Ba creitmech Altus, is airi ad-fét cech maith imm chrochad Críst co creit Conchobar i Críst.

Altus was a believer, therefore he relates every good thing about Christ's crucifixion so that Conchobar believes in Christ.

ad-fét: The manuscripts contain a petrified infixed pronoun.

cech maith imm chrochad Críst: Apart from N's confusion of an *m*-stroke for an *n*-stroke in the preposition *im*(*m*) 'about', N's *cech maith in crochad Críst* 'every good thing about Christ' is better suited to the context here rather than LFF's variant *atfet ar sgela Críst comaith* 'he told the stories of Christ well'.

co creit: N mistakenly copied *con* from the abbreviated grapheme ɔ, wich was used as the abbreviation for *con* or *co*. The *con*-compendium is left unexpanded in LFF. I expand this as *co n-* 'so that' followed by the 3sg. conj. pres. ind. of *creitid* 'believes'.

i Críst: The verb *creitid* is attested more frequently in intransitive construction with the following preposition *do* in the glosses as well as in the later language (*DIL* s.vv. *creitid*, 520.4–15, *do*, B I (b)), e.g. *.i. creifite dúnni*, 'i.e. who will believe in us', Wb. 14c4. On the other hand, *creitid* with *i n-* + dative, expressing belief in someone or something is used less frequently (*DIL* s.v. *i*, 6.40), e.g. *nicretid hicrist*, 'ye believe not in Christ', Wb. 20a13; *ácretem india*, 'their belief in God', Ml. 97b2. It seems that either preposition can

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[865] Meyer (1906, 12) treats this sentence as the beginning of paragraph 3. However, it is in fact a contintuation of [2c]. Therefore, I provide Meyer's reading here.

[866] The manuscript has the *con*-compendium which can be expanded either as *co* or *con*.

[867] *Ba creidmheach dono Altus fēin. Is aire atfēt arsgēla Crīst co maith.* Con*creid Concubur a Crīst*, 'Altus himself, however, was a believer. 'Tis therefore he told the story of Christ well, and Conchobar believed in Christ' (*The death-tales*, p.16/17, §3).

be used in this expression, with *do* perhaps meaning '[believes] something', while *i n-* seems to concentrate on direct faith in God/Christ, thus implying the sense of '[believes/ has faith] in'. It may be that LFF's variant constitutes a marginal *lectio difficilior* in this instance. Since the preposition *do* supercedes *i n-* with the verb *creitid*, it is more likely that original *i n-* was replaced by the more frequent *do* than the other way around. Therefore, I am adopting LFF's variant.

The textual correspondence between N and LFF is interrupted at this point. LFF continues with a prose passage, which I have noted as [...] in the manuscript transcription below: *Nó is aml*aid *so at cæmnacair hé*, 'Or 'tis thus it happened' ... *'Ba aprainn na hIdhuil co hard iar n-ēguibh righ' 7 rl.*, 'It was a pity that the Jews, highly, after a King's death, &c.'.[868] See the critical edition of version C, [4a]. The two manuscripts correspond again below:

[868] See version C [4k] for the textual note discussing my rendering of *co hard* as 'highly'.

[3a] *7 is īarum asṁbert Conchobur rofestais fir in betha a chumang*
and then he said [...] the men of the world would know what he could do[869]

N: 7 is i*ar*– asṁb–t *conc*– rofe*st*tais[870] fir in b*eth*a acu*m*ang

LFF: [...] **O**cus as i*ar* si*n* asb-t *con*cub- ro feasdais fir i*n* beat*h*a mo cu*m*ang[871]

7 is íarum as-bert Conchobar ro festais fir in betho a chumang
and then Conchobar said [...] *the men of the world would know what he could do ...*

as-bert: N has the copula construction with *íarum* being the temporal adverb referring to the past tense 'thereupon, thereafter, then'. The nasalization seen in N's *as-mbert* represents a pseudo-archaism.[872] The non-relative 3sg. *t*-pret. of *as-beir* is restored.
ro festais: The manuscript readings agree in the 3pl. past subj. of deponent *ro-fitir* and preserve the historical ending with a short vowel *-tais*. However, both forms show short *-e-* and do not display a length-mark rather than the earlier *-é-/-ía-*, this development occurring due to the influence of the preterite passive form *-fess* (*GOI* §615).
a chumang: N's indirect speech by Conchobar is adopted in keeping with the style of version B's prose narrative which does not contain any dialogue. LFF's redactor changed this into direct speech to suit the style of the text in version C, which also contains other pieces of dialogue (see version C). This also applies to the readings in [3b] below (cf. note on **ma nu beth** below in [3b]).

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[869] I have broken up Meyer's translation in this instance and the next section below in order to match the corresponding Old Irish sections. However, in the restored text, the translation corresponds to the syntactical construction.

[870] The Latin abbreviation for *est* is written here and it resembles the Arabic numeral two (Breatnach 2012, 127).

[871] *Ocus as iarsin asbert Concubur: 'Rofeasdais fir in beatha mo cumang*, 'And thereupon Conchobar said: 'The men of the world would know what I can do [...]' (*The death-tales*, p.16/17, §4, §5).

[872] Cf. Ó hUiginn 1986, 84.

[3b] *oc cathugud fri hIudaidi croc*[*h*]*siti Crīst, ma nubet*[*h*] *hi comfogus do Chrīst. Is de ismbert Conchubar:*

in fighting against the Jews that had crucified Christ, if he were near Christ. Hence Conchobar said:

N: occat*h*ug– fr*i*h;udei crocs;ti cr– manubet hico*m*fog*us* do cr– isde ismb–t c*on*cub–

LFF: accathug– fr*i*th hiug*h*aid*h*b*h*[873] t*r*e c*r*ochad*h* cr– dia mbein*n* aco*m*fog*us* do[874]

oc cathugud fri Iúdeu crochsite Críst, ma nu beth hi comocus do Chríst. Is dé as-bert Conchobar:

in fighting the Jews who crucified Christ, if he had been near to Christ. Hence Conchobar said:

fri Iúdeu: Meyer (1906, 12) read N's reading as *Iudaidi*. This is incorrect as the manuscript clearly reads *h;udei*, with *e* ligatured to the shaft of the letter *d*. The loan-word *Iúdae* is mainly attested in the Old Irish glosses for the plural 'Jews' (*DIL* s.v. *Iúd*(*a*)*ei*). No singular form of this word exists. The substantival adj. *Iúdaide* was used in Old and Middle Irish referring to singular 'Jew', which later came to be inflected also in the plural (*DIL* s.v. *Iúd*(*a*)*ide*). Therefore, it is clear that N preserves the earlier attested form against the later reading in LFF.

crochsite: N's *crocs;ti* is the 3pl. abs. *s*-pret. relative of *crochaid* 'crucifies'. N's reading is reflected in the text of *Ba aprainn* preserved in N, i.e. *duírchoirp crochsiti Ríg* 'they are base bodies who crucified the King', [8c].[875] LFF replaces this with a simplified variant *tre chrochadh Críst* 'on account of Christ's crucifixion'. N's reading constitutes the *lectio difficilior* by preserving the relative clause construction, and is not lenited since it has a spec. rel. ending.

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[873] sic. *hiughaidhaibh*.

[874] *ac cathugud fri hIudaidhibh tre crochad Crīst dia mbeinn a comfogus dō*, 'in fighting against the Jews for the sake of the crucifixion of Christ, if I were near Him' (*The death-tales*, p. 16/17, §5).

[875] Corthals (1989, 52) comments that 'this version [B] shows some agreements with the poem' and that 'the prose context of N must have been written by someone who was fully aware of the meaning and the intention of the poem'. Note that LL omits this sentence in its text of *Ba aprainn*.

ma nu beth: N and LFF differ in syntax and the person of the substantive verb, i.e. 3sg. past subj. in *manubet*, N, vs. 1sg. past subj. in *dia mbeinn*, LFF.[876] The substantive verb is used here with the preposition *i n-* and following *comocus* (*DIL* s.vv. *attá*, 472.6–39 and *com(ḟ)ocus*).

For the interchange of *o* and *u* in the proclitic *no*, especially between another particle and verb, see *GOI* §101.

hi comocus: N's *i* 'in' is found with a prefixed *h-*. It is left in the edition since it would not have been pronounced /*h*/ with preceding *-beth*, and thus represents a copied archaism by default. See the textual note on *h-* in [1a], *BA*.

The prepositional compound *comocus* (*com* + *ocus*) is found in both manuscripts with an prosthetic *f* (see *DIL s.vv. ocus* and *comḟocus*). It is used in a phrase here with the preceding preposition *i n-* and followed by *do*, meaning 'near to'.

as-bert: N's *ismb–t* shows confusion of proclitic vowels which is typical of later use.[877] See further the textual note on *as-bert*, [3a], in relation to the pseudo-archaic nasalization.

At this point in N, the text continues with the poem *Ba aprainn*. LFF does not include the entire *rosc* poem. However, it does contain a variant of the first line of the poem (see version C, [4k]). It then continues with *is iarsin attraacht* [...], 'then he rose up [...]'. The correspondence between N and LFF resumes on par after the *rosc* poem ends in N, as follows in [4] below:

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[876] Corthals (1989, 52) draws attention to the agreement of the prose text here with the *rosc* poem, i.e. of *ma nubeth hi comfogus do Chrīst*, 'if he were near to Christ' with [1a]: *ba aprainn nad ndáil ... arnac*, 'Alas that I did not meet'.

[877] Cf. McCone 1996, 142–3; McCone 2000, 145.

[4a] *Is iar sin cotnoscrast*ur *am*ail *bid oc techt hi rōi cathai ar bēlaip Crīst*

Thereupon he shook himself(?) as if he were going into a battlefield in the presence of Christ,

N: IS i*ar*si*n* cotnoscrast*ar* am– bid oc te*cht* hi roi cat*h*ai *ar* belaip cr–

LFF: [...] is i*ar* si*n* att*r*a*cht* ⁊ rosgob*h* f*u*rsin dearguil[878]

Is íar sin cot-n-oscrastar amal bid oc techt hi roí catha ar bélaib Críst

After that he jumped upwards, as if he were going into the battlefield in front of Christ,

Cot-n-oscrastar: Meyer (1906, 15 footnote a) suggests that the form comes from **con-oscra* ('**con-od-scaraim*') and translates 'he shook himself(?)'. It should be noted here that N's variant is incorrectly cited in *DIL* s.v. *con-oscaigi*, 455.67–9, with '?' 'moves, changes; removes, shakes', since the presence of the intermedial *-r-* suggests that it is derived from a different verb.[879]

Meyer follows Pedersen in taking the preverb here as **-od-*.[880] However, Thurneysen, followed by Vendryes, refer to this as Celtic **uss-*/**oss-*.[881] Thus, I construe the verb to be **con-uss-scar*, with preverb *uss-* having a spatial function i.e. 'up, upwards' in this instance.

The words *oscar* 'not belonging' or *oscor* 'a leap, bound' may give a clue as to **con-oscra*'s meaning in N. Pedersen suggests that *oscar*, with the original sense being 'not belonging', is a derivative of *scaraid* 'seperates' (Ped. ii, 615; *DIL* s.v. *1 oscar*). Furthermore, Pedersen suggests that *oscor* was the verbal noun of **od-scar-*, or better **uss-scar-* (Ped. ii 614; *DIL* s.v. *oscor*). Perhaps *oscar* 'not belonging' and *oscor* 'a leap,

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[878] *Is iarsin attraacht ⁊ rosgobh forsin deargail*, 'Then he rose and made the onslaught' (*Death-Tales*, p. 16/17, §5). See the textual note below on the transcription of *attracht* vs. Meyer's *attraacht*.

[879] The form in *DIL* s.v. *con-oscaigi* is in fact incorrectly abstracted from the attested prototonic forms, instead of correct deuterotonic *con-oscai*; proto. *-cumscaigi*. The verb *scuchaid* is a strong verb but its compounds are inflected as weak *i*-verbs (*GOI* §522). In accordance with the rules of syncope, *con-oscai* (< **com-uss-sc†ch* < **com-uss-scuichi*) is expected with appropriate delenition and devoicing of *-c†ch-* (*EIV* 6). Cf. 3sg. pres. ind. *con-oisce*, Laws iv 356.15; *cot-roscai*, *MU*[2] 952; proto. *-cumscaigi*, *Crith Gabl.* 263.

[880] See Ped ii, 294–5, 299. Also Lewis Pedersen 1961, 262, 265.

[881] *GOI* §849n.; *LEIA* O-34. For a full discussion on the form and function of *uss* in Old Irish, see Russell (1988, 95–126).

bound' are originally of the same formation but that a semantic shift occurred resulting in two meanings.

Returning to N's variant then, I propose that the verb can be understood as **cot-n-oscrastar*, from **com-uss-scar-* 'jump' (lit. 'seperate oneself upwards)', used here with a Class B reflexive infixed pronoun like, for example, in its competitor *cot-éirig* (*DIL* s.v. *con-éirig*, 'arises, gets up; sets out, departs; in hostile sense revolts, arises to attack'). This verbal form represents a *hapax legomenon* in the text.

This incidentally makes it a 3sg. preterite (**uss* already being a fixed part of the verb). One might suggest that the deponent ending is a scribal innovation here.[882] But the use of deponent endings with active verbs is attested in the OIr period (see *GOI* §675) as is confirmed in Broccán's Hymn. In this poem, there are three deponent endings with active verbs found in one stanza, i.e. *sénastar*; *rodglinnestar*; *millestar*, *Thes* ii, 339.45–6, all confirmed by the syllable count. Stokes and Strachan take these forms as indications of 'later origin' (*Thes* ii, xxxix). However, Carney (1983, 182, n. 5) notes that these deponent forms are not 'scribal'. Another instance is also noted in the *Poems of Blathmac*, e.g. *in coimdiu ro-coínsemmar*, 'the Lord whom we have keened', *Blathm.* l. 534, where the metre requires seven syllables. Carney (1964, 138) writes that the verb *coínid* is attested with both deponent and active endings. As a result of the foregoing attested examples in the Old Irish language, one cannot rule out entirely that the deponent ending in N's *cot-noscrast*ar is not original. But given the overall conservativeness of the verbal system in the text, it may well be authentic. Thus, I tentatively leave the form as is in the manuscript.

LFF's *attracht* is the 3sg. deut. pret. of compound *at-reig* (**ess-reg*) 'rises (and goes)'. Although Meyer expands this verb as *attraacht*, the *sed*-compendium can be expanded as either *-cht* or *-acht*. A similar instance is noted in [1d] in LFF above, i.e. *rea*ch*tuiread*h*a* also has the *sed*-compendium, but just as in *attracht*, an *a* can be written before the compendium.[883] It is seen here with the later vowel *a* representing the earlier vowel *e* in the stem *-racht* (for OIr *-recht*).[884] It is more likely that the more common form

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[882] Cf. *EIV* 216; *SnaG* III, §12.34.

[883] See also *atraacht* on f. 52 v. a, line 12. This is written with suprascript uncial *a* and *acht* is written out in full. The form *atraacht* is an attested MidIr form and 'may be a dissimilation-form from the perf. *at-raracht*' (*DIL* s.v. *at-reig*, 463.81).

[884] Cf. *GOI* §83a. For further discussion on interchange of *e* and *a* see McCone (1985, 170). For the sound change of *re-* > *ra-*, see *SnaG* III, §3.12.

atracht was added by LFF's redactor to replace the hapax *cot-n-oscrastar* than the other way around. Thus, I follow N's reading.

amal bid oc techt hi roí catho: Meyer (1906, 14) expands N's *am–* taking it as the analogical Middle Irish form *amail*. See further discussion in the textual note on *amal* in [5g], version A. I expand it as the Classical Old Irish depalatalized proclitic *amal* (*GOI* §168). I understand it to be the conjunction used in the sense of 'as if, as though' (*DIL* s.v. *amal*, II (b).) As a rule, when thus construed with the past subj. it is not followed by a nasalizing relative clause, e.g. *.i. am*al *do-berrthe*, 'i.e. as though she were shorn', Wb. 11c12 (Strachan 1949, 209).

I take *bid* as the 3sg. past subj. of the copula + following prepositional phrase, and the expected past subj. of the substantive verb has been optionally omitted, i.e. it is a curtailed cleft construction *amal bid oc techt* ... [*no beth*] 'as if it were going ... [that he were]'. A similar construction is found at the end of *Echtrae Chonnlai* in Y^2 and N/E/Eg, where Y^2 omits the 3sg. pres. ind. of the subst. verb, as against the more straightforward use in N/E/Eg: *is de Art Óenfer de*, Y^2 vs. *is de atá Art Óenfer*, N/E/Eg (McCone 2000, 51 and 198–9).[885]

LFF's variant *ros gob*h *fursin dearguil* 'and he made for the onslaught' is seen in two other instances preceding this point in the same text in LFF, i.e. *ro gob iarum deargail ōtā sin* 'he made an onslaught from thence' and *is oc in deargail iarum rogobh Concubur an lāid si* 'Tis during the onslaught then that Conchobar sang this lay'. I suggest that LFF replaces the clause in N with *rosgobh forsin deargail*, which he has recycled from a previous section in the text. See further the textual note on *deargail* in version C, [4i].

For the meaning of 'before, in front of' in the stereotyped phrase of *ar* + dat. pl. of *bél*, see *DIL* s.vv. *ar*, 365.35–41, *bél*, 63.36–45.

[885] McCone (2000, 51) also notes two other examples found in early sources that demonstrate this contrast in construction, i.e. *is friabinn aníar atá tesérge*, 'It is to the west of a river in Cúl Maige that thy resurrection is (to be)', *Thes* ii, 242.3-4 and *isara miscuis incúrsachad*, 'the reproving is out of hatred to them', Wb 7d8, with the latter showing the optional deletion of the substantive verb.

[4b] co *sesceand asa c[h]inn an inc[h]inn Meisgedra 7 conidebilt ind ar sin.*
so that Mesgegra's brain jumped out of his head, and then he died there.

N: *co*sesce$_a$nd asac*i*n aninc*i*n meisged*r*a 7 *co*nidebilt ind *ar*s$_i$*n*

LFF: cur scéin*n* in cin*n* mes gead*h*ra asa cin*n* 7 con e*ar*bailt co*n*cub– fo .c. oir[886]

co sescainn asa chiunn a n-inchinn Meisse Gegrai 7 condid-epalt ind ór sin.
so that the brain of Mess Gegrai sprang out of his head and he died at that time.

co sescainn This is the 3sg. reduplicated pret. of *sceindid* 'springs apart, flies off (as a head from the body etc.)'.[887] In OIr, the initial radical consonant, or consonantal group, in the reduplicated preterite is non-palatal (*GOI* §687, and cf. §699), e.g. *ro sescaind*, Corm Y 698. N's *-sc-* has palatal quality. Moreover, one would expect the 3sg. suffixless ending to be palatal (GOI §699; *EIV* 72). However, N's *-e$_a$-* suggests a non-palatal 3sg. ending. It may be that *a* was written at a later stage, merely for clarification, reflecting MidIr fluctuation of the quality of the final consonant in the 3sg. of the suffixless pret. (*SnaG* III, §12.59).[888] If one omits *-a-*, this still leaves the internal unstressed *e* representing /e/ indicating a palatal *-sc-*. It may be that the exemplar had **sescend* which might have changed from the expected original *sesc(a)inn/nd* by partial influence from the *s*-pret. inflection, i.e. to represent **sesceind*, but omitting the *i* in a slightly faulty spelling. LFF's *scéinn* is clearly late since it uses the *s*-pret. formation rather than reduplication. Therefore, I have adopted N's superior reading and emend the OIr form *sescainn*.

Both manuscripts have consecutive *co n-* 'with the result that, so that' before the verbal forms. In LFF, the reduced form of *ro* is found attached to *co* (*SnaG* III, §11.3). The perfect form is common already in the OIr period after *co* with resultative force (cf. *EIV* 95-6; e.g. *contorchartar*, 'until there had fallen', *Thes* ii 242.1). However, the pure

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[886] *cur'sceinn incinn Mesgeagra as a cinn 7 conearbailt Concubur fochētōir*, 'until Mesgegra's brains jumped out his head, so that Conchobar died forthwith' (*Death-Tales*, p.16/17, §5).

[887] *DIL* s.v. *sceinnid* does not cite this example. On the etymology of this verb, see McCone 1998, 465–76; Fortson 2009–2010, 48–78.

[888] For a full collection of subscript *a* in the manuscript, see Chapter 1.4.2.

3sg. preterite in N is beyond suspicion since it is more likely to have been in the original than replacing a perfect. Thus, the restored text has **co sescainn**.

asa chiunn a n-inchinn Meisse Gegrai: For a discussion of the neuter gender of the noun *inchinn*, see [1e], version A. N's *anincinn* can perhaps be taken as *a n-inchinn*. Given that N reflects an OIr original, I treat *inchinn* as a neuter rather than a later fem. N's reading is stylistically more sophisticated in highlighting the brain against LFF's reading. It is placed after the prepositional phrase *asa chiunn* and used with a resumptive 'double' article (cf. the resumptive *intí Connle*, 'the aforesaid Connle' in *Echtrae Chonnlai* (McCone 2000, 164). LFF rewords it, bringing forward the brain. The standard OIr dat. sg. spelling with *u*-affection is restored in *chiunn*.

7 **condid-epalt**: N preserves a Class C 3sg. neut. infixed pronoun, which is regularly used with the verb *at-baill*. According to Thurneysen, this pronoun is sometimes omitted in later sources (*GOI* §423). It is more likely that LFF omits this infixed pronoun rather than N reinstating it. The form *condid* already became *conid* in the OIr period due to the assimilation of pretonic *nd* to *nn*, *n* (*GOI* §151(c)). However, *nd* is restored as per the editorial policy outlined in Chapter 1.

Note the palatal quality of the final consonant group after the unstressed vowel in N and LFF (see *SnaG* III, §12.45). Although N seems to have omitted the a-glide, which occurs in the Wb. glosses (see *GOI* §103.5). In Old Irish, *-epalt* would be expected. In both manuscripts, the verbal forms come after resultative *co* and therefore both are compatible here. However, similar to that discussed in the note on *co sescainn*, the pure preterite is preferable. Thus, N's reading is adopted.

ind ór sin: N's *ind* ars$_i$n must consist of the art. + a form of *ór*[889] + demonstrative, having the function of an adverb of time, usually 'at that time' but here 'at that time' (*DIL* s.v. *2 úar*, 33.80–1, s.v. *indorsa*; cf. *indorsa*, Wb. 12c35, 14d28; *indorso*, *De Causis* §1).[890] LFF's variant can also be used in this context, meaning 'at once, immediately' (*DIL* s.v. *cetóir*, 164.34–41). In this instance, however, N's reading constitutes a marginal *lectio difficilior* against the widely used *fo chetóir* 'at once' in LFF.

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[889] The *ar*-compendium is found in the manuscript. However, I am unaware of this compendium being used for *or*.

[890] I am grateful to Jürgen Uhlich for pointing this form out to me.

[4c] *Ised isb*er[*at*] *dee iarum is ē cēt-gentlide docōid hi flait*[*h*] *nimea,*
This is what they say, that he was the first pagan who went into the kingdom of Heaven,

N: is– isb– dee iar– ise gei*n*tri*n*s$_{i}$*n* docoid h$_{i}$ flait*h* n$_{i}$mea

LFF: *co*nad*h* esin adb–t na g*h*æid*h*il *co*nad*h* he co*n*cub– c. gein*n*tligh*i* docoid*h* docu*m* neim*h*i aneir–[891]

Is ed as-berr dee íarum, is é cét-geintlide do-choid hi flaith nime,
This is what one says of him then, he is the first pagan who has gone into the kingdom of Heaven

Is ed: I follow Meyer in expanding the suspension stroke in N's *is–* as the neut. proleptic ponoun *ed*, in periphrasis with the copula (*DIL* s.v. *ed* I (b)). LFF's redactor rewrites the sentence in order to explain the original in his own words. Meyer emends LFF's *conadh esin* to *conadh* [*d*]*esin* (see footnote). The demonstrative is used anaphorically (*GOI* §475(b)). Therefore, the phrase can be translated literally as 'so that it is from that', or as Meyer translates it, 'hence'. The initial *d* has been lost due to assimilation, i.e. final *-d* is delenited before *d-*, and the spelling reflects the phonetic reality. Also, *conad* shows confusion of reduced proclitic *a* and *i*. See also the textual note below for further comment on LFF's additions. N's reading constitutes the *lectio potior* against LFF's more elaborate sentence.

as-berr: Meyer (1906, 14/15, note b) expands N's *isb–* to *isb*er[*at*], taking it as a 3pl. and noting 'the Irish is corrupt here'. Damian McManus has suggested that Meyer's emendation *isber*[*at*] *dee* (N) is unnecessary and that *isb–dee* may be *as-beirthe*, the imperfect passive singular of *as-beir* (see Imhoff 2012, 72 n. 82). While this is a valid suggestion, the emendation of *d* for *th* is perhaps somewhat drastic. On the other hand, the double *e* final vocalism represents /ə/ suggests (stressed) length, and thereby read *dee*

[891] *Conadh* [*d*]*esin adb*er[*a*]*t na Gœidhil conadh hē Concubur* cēt-*geinntlide docōidh docum neimhi a nĒireann*, 'Hence the Gaels say that Conchobar was the first pagan who went to Heaven in Ireland', (*The death-tales*, p.16/17, §5).

'of him (it)' (see Breatnach 2003, 135).[892] Thus N's *isb–* can be taken as the 3sg. pass. pres. ind. *as-berr* (*GOI* §578), with minimal editorial interference.

Meyer (1906, 16/17) emends LFF's *adb–t* to *adb*er[*a*]*t*, taking it as a 3pl. with the following agent *na ghœidhil*. LFF's redactor rewrites the original sentence adding *con*a*dh* h*e* co*n*cub– 'that it is Conchobar' for further clarification. Note that *adb–t* has a petrified Class B neuter infixed pronoun

cét-geintlide: Meyer reads *geit rinsin* in the N manuscript and takes *cēt-gentlide* 'gentile, heathen', from version C (see Meyer 1906, 14, n.1). The text in N is slightly faded making it difficult to distinguish the letters. It is a corrupt spelling for *gentlide*. LFF's *geinntlighi* is a substantival form of sg. *gentlide* 'a gentile, a heathen, a pagan' (*DIL* s.v. *gentlide*, I; cf. *GOI* §284),[893] showing the phonetic change of lenited palatal *d-* > *-g-*.

do-choid: The two manuscripts agree in reading *docoid*(h), 3sg. deut. perfect of *téit* 'goes'. Meyer renders this as an English preterite in his translation. However, in context of the sentence, the perfect is used here with resultative function. Therefore, I translate it as a perfect 'has gone' corresponding to the pres. ind. *as-beir*. This is a cleft construction with the subject antecedent preceding the verb. Therefore, a leniting relative clause is expected here and lenition has been restored accordingly.

hi flaith nime: LFF replaces original preposition *i n-* 'into' + acc. sg. with *dochum* 'to, towards'. The vocalic ending in N's *nimea* is possibly a scribal transcription of the ligature *-æ*, representing /e/ (*GOI* §24.1), such as in the Stowe Missal, i.e. gen. sg. *nimæ*, *Thes* ii 254.11. However, it may also reflect a scribal oddity. LFF's *neimi* is based on the nom. sg. *nem*, with *ei* reflecting the spelling for /e/ before the palatal *m*.

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[892] Indeed, there are other examples in this manuscript of the writing of double vowels to show length. See Chapter 1.5.5 for a full collection.

[893] The word *genti* is used referring to pl. 'heathens, pagans', cf. *DIL* s.v. *genti* (a) and (b). This is similar to the use of pl. *Iúd(a)ei* vs. sg. *Iúdaide* discussed earlier, see [3b].

[4d] *fobit*[*h*] *robad bat*[*h*]*ais dō ind fuil donescma*cht ⁊ *rocreit ē do Chrīst. Finit. Amen.*

because the blood which he shed was a baptism to him, and (because) he had believed in Christ. Finit. Amen.

N: fobit robad batais [ ]l dones[.]ma[ ]– . ⁊rocreit e do cr– Finit amen

LFF: fobith robobait*h*is do infuil dolui[.]g*h* as cin*n*[894]

fo bíth robo baithis dó ind ḟuil do-n-escmart ⁊ ro creiti do Chríst. Finit Amen.

because the blood which he had shed was a baptism to him, and (because) he had believed in Christ.

robo: LFF's 3sg. perf. *robo* is the superior reading against N's *robad*, which I take to have a hypercorrect final *-d*. The context would not allow for the use of a past subjunctive or secondary future here. The use of the resultative augment *ro* illustrates that Conchobar was baptized before he went to Heaven (see *EIV* 99–100, for discussion of the resultative augment and anteriority).

The use of a nasalizing relative clause after the causal conjunction *fo bíth* is optional in Old Irish (*GOI* §§502, 505). Thus, *rombo* might be expected (see *GOI* §812). But as mentioned, this is not obligatory and therefore it is not restored, leaving it as a non-relative verb in parataxis.

baithis: The Latin loan-word *baithis* 'baptism' (< **batisma* < Lat. *baptisma* (McManus 1983, 49, note 73) is found in LFF with the expected palatal quality of the spirant *-th-*(cf. *fobaithis*, Wb. 3a15; *do baithius*, 12c39; *fobathis*, Tur. 55). I have not encountered any examples with non-palatal *-th-* in the Old Irish sources. *Bathais* is found in ll. 678, 668 and 935 in the *Poems of Blathmac*, preserved in a seventeenth-century manuscript (see Carney 1964, 58; 78). In this instance the colour of the *-th-* is not confirmed by rhyme. The non-palatal form *bathais* is cited in *IGT*§150 alongside *baithis* (Bergin 1926/8, 150). Thus, given the date of compilation of N, it may be that the *-t*(*h*)- in N's *batais* represents

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[894] *Conadh* [*d*]*esin adb*er[*a*]*t na Gœidhil conadh hē Concubur cē*t-*geinntlide docōidh docum neimhi a nĒirinn, fobīth robo baithis dō in fuil dobidg as*[*a*] *cinn*, 'Hence the Gaels say that Conchobar was the first pagan who went to Heaven in Ireland, for the blood that sprang out of his head was a baptism to him' (*The death-tales*, p. 16/17, §5).

/h/ which is incapable of distinguishing palatalization (see Uhlich 2009–2010, 153, n. 65). Therefore, LFF's reading is adopted here.

ind ḟuil: This part of N is illegible due to fading. However, Meyer (1906, 14) transcribed *ind fuil*, which suggests that this part of the manuscript was still legible at that time.

I take this as the nom. sg. of fem. *fuil*, meaning 'blood' (see *DIL* s.v. *fuil*, (a)). Binchy has suggested that this word may possibly have been neuter in origin since it is treated as such in the legal text *Bretha Déin Chécht*.[895] In the absence of any attested forms of *fuil* as a neuter in the glosses, apart from the instances in the latter text, I have decided to leave *fuil* as a feminine in this instance.

do-n-escmart: N's text is difficult to read due to fading.[896] The last letter of the word appears to be the letter *r* with a suprascript stroke, which is likely for the *acht*-compendium, as suggested by Meyer, i.e. *donescma*cht. The formal similarity between the palaeographical symbols of *r* and *s* could have lead to this confusion. If, furthermore, Meyer's emendation of this reading is correct, then N's variant represents the 3sg. act. deut. *t*-pret. of the compound *do-essuirg* (**di-ess-org*) 'sheds (blood)', with perfective particle *com* (cf. *GOI* §533.2; *DIL* s.v. 2 *do-es(s)uirg*, 259.32–5). *DIL* cites this example along with another, albeit possibly a pass., from *Scúap Chrábaid*: *ar ēcnairc ina fola fincare doescmart crond isin croich sin* 'for the sake of the generous blood that was shed for us on that cross', (Meyer 1900, 97/103, §30).[897]

I have also noted the following example in the *Poems of Blathmac*; however, in this instance the sense is 'pours', i.e. *in tan don-escmart* (*do nescmat*, MS.) *olla / tar Crist téora glantonna* 'when it poured over Christ three great pure waves', *Poems of Blathmac* l. 683f. (Carney 1964, 58/59). Carney (1964, 143) suggests that the MS reading *don-escmat* can be compared with *du-escmat* (gl. *confudit*), Ml 103d4, which is indicative of 'a by-form rather than with two identical scribal errors'. He states 'a by-form *do-escmat* might have arisen under the influence of pret. forms of the synonym *do-essim*'; cf. for

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[895] See Binchy (1966, 3). Binchy dates the first twenty four sections to the eighth century. However, Binchy finds the word *fuil* problematic for positing such a date. In this text *fuil* is treated as a neuter against the other attested forms in early sources (see *DIL* s.v. *fuil* for examples). He rightly avers that a scribe would not be likely to change a feminine noun into a neuter but rather the other way around.

[896] This line appears at the bottom of the page and the text is significantly faded making legibility difficult.

[897] The variant readings are *doresmart* and *rohesreded*. A parallel reading is found in the following: *ar ec*nair*c na fola firch*aire *doresm*art *orai*nd *as*in *chrund si*n, 'for the sake of the truth-loving (?) blood which was shed on us from that tree', Litany of Jesus II (Plummer 1925, 42/43).

instance the perf. pass. in the following gloss: *.i. tresinfuil storidi doresset assathóib intain rombói fricroich* ..., 'i.e. through the actual blood which has been poured out of His side when He was on the Cross', Wb. 20d13.

Meyer (1906, 16/17 and n. 16) reads the variant in LFF as *doluidgh* and emends it to *dobidg*. It suggests that Meyer takes *lu* to be for *b*, a copying error based on formal similarity. He reads *d* after the letter *i*,[898] thereby yielding a form of the verb *do-bidci*. *DIL* s.v. *do-bidci* (a) defines this as 'shoots, casts, hurls', with the object of the thing cast, i.e. *ind fuil*.

It is possible that the rarer original *donescma*[*rt*], with a nas. rel. marker due to the conjunction *fo bíth*, and the perfect formed with the particle *com*, has been replaced with the more commonly used verb *do-bidci* earlier in the line of transmission to LFF.

ro creiti: Meyer (1906, 14) interprets N's reading as *rocreit ē*, with *ē* being the object independent pronoun. However, Corthals (1989, 52) suggests reading '*rocreite* (= *-i*)'. The 3sg. conj. pret. *-creiti* (W2a) is found in Wb. but slowly gives way to the endingless type *-creit* in order to avoid confusion with pres. *-creiti* and coming under the influence of the endingless types of W1 and W2b verbs (*EIV* 56–7; *SnaG* III, §12.32). Thus, the scribe interprets final -e as an independent stressed pronoun, thereby separating it from the verbal form.[899] I have restored the older form *ro creiti* here.

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[898] In LFF, *d* normally has a long vertical shaft or a shorter horizontal stroke curving to the left. Thus, it appears to my eye that the grapheme in question is a technical error in that the scribe began to write the letter *g* but too much ink flowed from the nib of his pen causing a blotch where the rounded stroke of the letter *g* should be. The scribe did not add the vertical stroke on top of this blotched grapheme but moved on and wrote *g* properly next to it. This gives the variant *do lui*[*g*]*gh*. This is likely a corrupt spelling.

[899] For a discussion on the analytical verbal forms consisting of 3sg. + pronoun, see *SnaG* III, §10.19. For independent pronouns with active verbs in Middle Irish, see *SnaG* III, §10.17.

Version C: restored text

[1][900] [1a] Boí dáil mór la hUltu i Muig Muirtheimne. [1b] Do-luid íarum Bachrach, fili ocus druí do Laignib, dochum na dála íar tuidecht dó a Laignib íar foglaim filidechtae. [1c] Fíafraigis Conchobar scéla Alban ocus Letha dó.

[2] [2a] 'Atá scél mór éim,' olsé,' do-rónad isin bith toir [2b] .i. crochad ríg nime 7 talman la hIúdeu 7 is é ro tirchansat fáithi 7 druíd. [2c] Do ícc 7 do thesarcain doíne in domuin do phecad Ádaim do-dechaid ó nóebnim; [2d] co róet colainn ó Muiri óigingin cen láthair ferscáil, [2e] co luid i crann croiche la hIúdeu do ícc in cheineóil dóenna. [2f] Imon cáisc do-cúaid úainn 7 at-raacht isin tres ló íarna chésad'. **[1b] At-fét dó Altus, crochad Críst. [1c] Altus, is é no-thathaiged co coímclodaib sét ó Thibir mac Augaist, ríg Rómán, do Chonchobur mac Nessa. [1d] Ar ba cummae bátar rechtairi ríg Rómán in n-aimsir sin for medón in betho 7 for insib fuinid 7 turcbálae, [1e] co mba chomderb isin mbith na scél n-airderc for-chumcad ann.**

[3] **[2a] Ba derb didiu la Conchobar foa n-indas sin in cruth for-cuad crochad Críst. [2b] Ar at-fét dó Altus, ba hé Críst do-rósat nem 7 talam 7 is airi ar-roét colainn ar thaithchreicc ceinéoil dóendai. [2c] Ba creitmech Altus, is airi ad-fét airscéla Críst cech maith imm chrochad Chríst co creit Conchobar i Críst.**

[4] [4a] Nó is amlaid so at-cáemnacair hé. [4b] Boí Conchobar i ndáil 7 maithi fer nÉirenn imme in lá ro crochad Críst. [4c] In tan do-dechaid teimel forsin ngréin 7 ro-suí éscae i ndath fola [4d] ro fíarfaig Conchobar immurgu do Chathbad dús cid ro mbátar na dúili. [4e] 'Do chomalta-sa', olsé, 'in fer ro génair i n-óenaidchi frit, innossa martrae do-cuirthe fair'. [4f] 7 do-radad i croich é 7 is é sin chanait na hí sin. [4g] At-reig trá Conchobar súas la sodain 7 gabaid a gaisced fair 7 as-bert: [4h] 'Is é sin éim', ol sé, 'mo chomalta-sa 7 mo chomaís 7 is é ro génair i n-óenaidchi frium'. [4i] 7 ro gab íarum dergail óthá sin co roacht isin fairrgi 7 co luid inti conrici a fíacail. [4j] Is oc in dergail íarum ro gab Conchobar in laíd-se: [4k] 'Ba aprainn na hÍduil co hard íar n-écaib ríg' 7 rl.

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[900] The corresponding text of version B is presented in bold type. I apply the paragraph and sentence numbering of that in version B, as these also correspond to the textual notes in the edition of version B.

[5] [3a] 7 **is íarum as-bert Conchobar ro festais fir in betho a chumang** [3b] **oc cathugud fri Iúdeu crochsite Críst, ma nu beth hi comocus do Chríst.** [4a] **Is íar sin cot-n-oscrastar amal bid oc techt hi roí catha ar bélaib Críst** [4b] **co sescainn asa chiunn a n-inchinn Meisse Gegrai 7 condid-epalt ind ór sin.** [4c] **Is ed as-beir dee íarum, is é cét-geintlide do-choid hi flaith nime,** [4d] **fo bíth robo baithis dó ind ḟuil do-n-escmart 7 ro creiti do Chríst.** [5a] Et is annsin rucad ainim Chonchobair i n-ifrenn co comfraiced Críst fria oc tabairt na braite a hifiurnn, [5b] co tuc Críst leis ainim Conchobair dochum nime. Finit.

Version C: translation

[1] [1a] The men of Ulster were holding a great gathering in the plain of Murthemne. [1b] Then towards the gathering came Bachrach, a poet and druid of the men of Leinster, having come out of Leinster after learning poetry. [1c] Of him Conchobar asked tidings of Alba and Letha.

[2] [2a] 'There is great tidings indeed,' said he, 'which have happened in the eastern world [2b] even the crucifying of the King of Heaven and Earth by the Jews; and He it is whom seers and druids have prophesied'. [2c] To save and rescue the men of the world from the sin of Adam He came from holy heaven; [2d] and assumed flesh from the Virgin Mary without the presence of a man, [2e] and to save the human race He went upon the tree of the cross at the hands of the Jews. [2f] About Easter He had gone from us and arose on the third day after His suffering. **(1b) Altus tells to him the crucifixion of Christ. (1c) Altus, moreover, used to visit Conchobar with exchanges of treasures from Tiberius, the son of Augustus, the king of Romans. (1d) For at that time, stewards of the King of Romans travelled widely, (1e) so that every famous story that used to happen there was equally known in(to) the world.**

[3] **(2a) Hence, the manner in which the crucifixion of Christ had been achieved became known to Conchobar. (2b) For Altus relates to him it was Christ who had created heaven and earth and it is for this purpose he had accepted human flesh, for redemption of the human race. (2c) Altus was a believer, therefore he relates every good thing about Christ's crucifixion, (2d) so that Conchobar equally believed in Christ.**

[4] [4a] Or it is thus it happened. [4b] On the day that Christ was crucified, Conchobar was at a gathering, and the nobles of the men of Ireland around him. [4c] Now when darkness had come upon the sun, and the moon had turned into the colour of blood, [4d] Conchobar asked of Cathbad what ailed the elements. [4e] 'Your own foster-brother,' said he, 'He who was born on the same night as you, just now has been martyred.' [4f] and has been put on the cross, and that is what those things portend.' [4g] At that Conchobar arises and arms himself, and he said: [4h] 'He is indeed my foster-brother and coeval, and it is He that was born in the same night with me,' [4i] and then he made an onslaught from thence until he reached the sea, and he went into it up to his teeth. [4j] It is during that onslaught then that Conchobar sang this lay: [4k] 'It was much a pity that the Jews after a king's death', etc.

[5] **[(3a/b)] and then Conchobar said that if he had been near to Christ, the men of the world would know what he could do in fighting the men who crucified Christ. [(4a)] After that he jumped upwards, as if he were going into the battlefield in front of Christ, [(4b)] so that the brain of Mess Gegrai, sprang out of his head and he died at that time. [(4c)] This is what one says of him then, he is the first pagan who had gone into the kingdom of Heaven, [(4d)] because the blood which he had shed was a baptism to him, and (because) he had believed in Christ.** [5a] And then Conchobar's soul was taken to hell so that Christ might encounter it as He brought the captive host out of hell, [5b] so that Christ took the soul of Conchobar with him to Heaven. Finit.

Version C: textual notes

[1a] [*B*]*udh dāil mōr la hUlltu a Muigh Muirthui*[*m*]*ni.*

The men of Ulster were holding a great gathering in the plain of Murthemne.

LFF: (**B**)ud*h*[901] dail mór lahulltu amuig*h* muirrt*h*uini[902]

Boí dáil mór la hUltu i Muig Muirtheimne.

See above for Meyer's translation.

Boí: LFF's (***B***)*ud*h could be a variant of the copula (i.e. *bad*), but this would provide the 3sg. imp., past subj. or conditional, none of which would make sense here. Thus, this is the 3sg. pret./ perf. of the substantive verb *attá* 'to be' with a following noun + prep. *la* 'with, amongst', expressing possession, i.e *attá* x *la* y, 'y has x' (see *DIL* s.v. *la*, VI (a); cf. *boí fled mór la Bricrind*, *LU* 8041, 'Bricriu had a feast', *FB* 1. The verbal form is seen here with a hypercorrect final *-dh* Therefore, I emend *budh* to (-)*boí*. A literal translation would be 'the Ulstermen had a great gathering'.

The absence of *ro* may reflect a preterite, or it may in this instance represent a MidIr past with *ro* omitted (see *SnaG* III, §11.30; see also *boí*, [4b]).

dáil: The dat. sg. of *ā*-stem *dál* 'meeting, assembly' is used for the nom. sg. (*SnaG* III, §5.6).

la hUltu: The letter *h-* in *hUltu* is perhaps a MidIr graphic representation of phonetic /h/ caused by h-mutation from the preceding preposition *la* 'with', or an OIr 'cosmetic' letter *h-* (*GOI* §25). Since it could be either case here, I leave it in the edition. The acc. pl. of *Ulaid* 'Ulstermen' is written in the manuscript with double *l* representing delenited *l* before *t*.

i Muig Muirtheimne: An *m*-stroke is missing in LFF's *muirrthuini*. For the vocalisim in *muig*, rather than *maig*, see *GOI* §80.

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[901] The initial rubricated letter *b* appears in the left margin. The vertical shaft of this letter is partially illegible because of heavy staining in the margin.

[902] There is a very faint hair-stroke visible in the manuscript, above the first minim, which distinguishes the letter *i* from the following *n*

[1b] *Doluidh iarum Boc*hra*ch fili* ⁊ *drāi do Loighnibh docum na dāla iar toidhicht dō Laighnibh iar foghluim fili*[*d*]*echta.*

Then towards the gathering came Bochrach, a poet and druid of the men of Leinster, having come out of Leinster after learning poetry.

LFF: do luig*h* i*ar*– boc*r*ach fili ocus draig*h* doloig*h*nib*h* docu*m* nadala iartoidí*cht* do alaig*h*nib iarfog*h*luim fili*cht*a

Do-luid íarum Bachrach, fili ocus druí do Laignib, dochum na dála íar tuidecht dó a Laignib íar foglaim filidechtae.

Then towards the gathering came Bachrach, a poet and druid of the men of Leinster, having come out of Leinster after learning poetry.

Bachrach: The personal name *Bachrach* is seen in the manuscript with the spelling *o* for *a*, in stressed position. This also occurs further down in the text, e.g. *ro gob*, [4i] and [4j]. The writing of *o* for *a* in stressed position before a neutral consonant most likely reflects a dialectal feature (cf. *SnaG* III, §3.6; IV §2.4 (15)). I am unsure as to the formation of this personal name. However, it most likely contains the adjectival suffix *-ach* denoting possession (see *GOI* §347; < **-āko/ā-*; Gaul. *-aco-*, *-aca*). Thus, I tentatively normalise the spelling to *Bachrach*.[903]

fili ocus druí: The conjunction *ocus* 'and' is written *plene* in the manuscript and therefore, it is represented as such in the edition.[904] Note that the conjunction is written with initial *o*, rather than the later variant *a-*, i.e. *acus*. The nom. sg. of *druí* is seen here with a hypercorrect ending (with *-gh* reflecting the MidIr merger of lenited *d* and lenited *g*, see *SnaG* III, §3.18). Bachrach is simultaneously referred to as a *fili* 'poet' and *druí* 'druid'.[905]

tuidecht: LFF has *-ícht*, reflecting *-íocht* found in manuscripts at that time (*cht* resists palatalization (see *GOI* §162).

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[903] This name also appears in version A as Bachrach; see *Bacrac*h, E_1 [11j]. It also is found at the end of the text in LL: *bac*hra*c*h, LL [13a].

[904] Meyer (1906, 14) emends this to the tironian symbol ⁊.

[905] In comparison, these terms are used interchangeably in version A, i.e. *Bachrach* is referred to as a *druí* (LL) and *file* (E_1). For *fili* and *druí* as interchangeable terms, see Plummer (1910, clxi, clxii).

filidechtae: The spellings *filiechta* and *filichta* reflect EModIr pronunciation, where lenited *d* ceased to be a dental (*SnaG* IV, §2.11).

[1c] *Fiafraiges Concubur scēla Alban ⁊ Leatha Mogha dō.*
Of him Conchobar asked tidings of Alba and Letha Moga.

LFF: fiabraid*hus* co*n*cub– scela alban ocus leatha mogha do

Fíafraigis Conchobar scéla Alban ocus Letha dó.
Of him Conchobar asked tidings of Alba and Letha.

Fíafraigis: LFF's verbal form is the 3sg. past of MidIr *íarfaigid* (OIr *íarmi-foich /-íarfaig*; 3sg. t-pret. *íarmifoacht*, *TBC* I 612), with prosthetic *f-* and metathesis, with an *s*-pret. ending replacing the original *t*-pret. formation (cf. *iarfaigis*, *LU* 8535 (*FB*)).

DIL states that the preposition *do* or *de* follows the verb, governing the person inquired of. Furthermore, *DIL* suggests that the preposition *do* is more commonly found in OIr use, while *de* partly replaces *do* in MidIr (cf. *DIL* s.v. *íarmi-foich*, 26.22–24 for examples). Thus, *dó* in this instance, rather than later *dé*, can be considered an OIr archaism. On the prep. *do* + 3sg. masc. pron. ending in a stressed long vowel, see Breatnach (2003, 137).

Alban ocus Letha: The placename *Albu* is used here in the original sense referring to the whole island of Britain, rather than the later localised sense referring to North Britain, more specifically Scotland.[906] Furthermore, Meyer suggests that *Mogha* is a scribal addition and it is better to read *leatha* 'continent' rather than *Leth Moga* referring to the South of Ireland.[907] Bachrach has just come from Leinster and it would not make sense that Conchobar is asking him for news about the Southern half of Ireland and Scotland. It is better to understand it as '[Great] Britain and the Continent' as suggested by Meyer (1906, 2).

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[906] See Watson 1926, 10–1; Meyer 1906, 2; cf. *ailter Leatha, líntar Alba*, 'Armorica is nourished, Britain is filled', Kelly 1975, 81. For further discussion on the etymology of *Alba* and *Letha* see Koch 1986, 1–28; Koch 1991, 17–27; Dumville 1996, 175–187.

[907] Originally, *Leth Moga Nuadat* (or later *Leth Moga*) referred to the Southern half of Ireland or Mug Nuadat's half (O'Rahilly 1971, 191 and 385).

[2a] *'Atā sgēl mōr ēimh', ol sē, 'dorōnnadh isin bith thoir*

'There is great tidings indeed,' said he, 'which have happened in the eastern world

LFF: at– sgel mor eimh olse do ron*n*ad*h* isi*n*bith toir

'Atá scél mór éim,' olsé,' do-rónad isin bith toir

See above for Meyer's translation.

atá: The straight suspension stroke in *at–* is taken as standing for a final vowel.[908] Therefore, I expand it as atá as per Meyer. The writing of one *t* for the expected two is a common feature in the glosses (cf. *attá*, Wb. 4b11 vs *atá*, 2b7).

olsé: The variant *ol* of the defective verb *ol* 'says' occurs twice in the text. The independent pronoun *é* is used to mark the pronominal subject in Old Irish, i.e *olse* 'he said' (cf. *GOI* §408). For a comment on the long *e* in Old Irish, see Breatnach (2003, 138). In Middle Irish, the pronoun is separated from the defective verb (*SnaG* III, §10.12), i.e. *ol se* or *ol sé*. However, it should be noted that *olse* is written together in the manuscript.

do-rónad: This is the 3sg. perf. pass. of *do-gní* 'makes, does', but the *-nn-* may show some confusion with the active perf. stem *-rign-* (> *-rinn-*), as is often the case in the MidIr period due to the convergence of the preterite active and passive stems (*EIV* 234).

[908] See Breatnach (2011, 103) for further examples of the use of a suspension stroke expanded as a vowel.

[2b] *.i. crochad rīgh neimhi 7 talman la hIubhdaibh 7 is ē rotirchansat fāidhi 7 drāidhthi.*

even the crucifying of the King of Heaven and Earth by the Jews; and He it is whom seers and druids have prophesied'.

LFF: .i. c*r*och*a*d rig*h* neim*h*i 7 talm– la hiub*h*daib*h* 7 ise rotirc*h*ansat faid*h*i 7 draid*hth*i

.i. crochad ríg nime 7 talman la hIúdeu 7 is é ro tirchansat fáithi 7 druíd.

See above for Meyer's translation.

nime: The *-ei-* vocalism in the gen. sg. *neim*h*i* is based on the nom. sg. *nem*, with *ei* reflecting the spelling for /e/ before the palatal *m*.

la hIúdeu: The form *hiub*h*daib*h contains an internal hypercorrect *-bh-*, which represents the pronunciation of the scribe (*SnaG* IV, §2.11 (4)). I emended it to *hIúdaib*, as is suggested by *DIL* s.v. *? Iubdae*. Furthermore, this is the earlier pl. form *Iúd(a)ei* (see *DIL* s.v. *Iúd(a)ei*), rather than the later use of *Iúdaide* as the new pl. (see *DIL* s.v. *Iúdaide*), the latter only referring to the sg. in the glosses.

ro tirchansat: The 3pl. perf. of MidIr simple verb *tirchanaid* 'foretells, prophesies' is used with *ro* and *s*-pret. ending (OIr *do-airchain*; 3pl. pret. *nadtairchechnatar*, Wb. 5a1).

fáithi: LFF's *faid*h*i*, with voiced *-d-* instead of OIr *-th-*, is innovatory. There are numerous examples of *fáid* found in the MidIr sources (cf. Bergin 1938, 216), while the glosses generally retain *-th-* (*DIL* s.v. *fáith*). Therefore, this spelling is retained.

druíd: The form in the manuscript shows the later use of the acc. pl. for the nom. pl. (cf. *SnaG* III, §5.11). I restore the OIr nom. pl. *druíd*.

[2c] *Do īcc 7 do teasraguin dāini an domuin do phecadh Ādhaim dodeachaid ō næmneimh*

To save and rescue the men of the world from the sin of Adam He came from holy heaven;

LFF: doic 7 do teasraguin daini andomuin dop*e*cad*h* adai*mh* do deachai donæ*m* neim*h*

Do ícc 7 do thesarcain doíne in domuin do phecad Ádaim do-dechaid ó nóebnim;
See above for Meyer's translation.

Do ícc: The verbal noun *ícc* is used here in the sense of 'salvation, redemption' (*DIL* s.v. *ícc*, 1 (d)).
thesarcain: Metathesis has occurred in *teasraguin*, verbal noun of *do-essairg* 'saving, delivering, protecting', rather than *tesarcain*.
Ádaim: The length-mark is restored to the initial *a* in the personal name since it is confirmed by rhyme, e.g. *síl ṅÁdim* (: *árim*), *Fél.* July 15.
nóebnim: The dat. sg. of *nim* has *ei* which is a variant spelling for /e/ (cf. *DIL* s.v. *noíb*; cf. *do noebnim*, 'from holy heaven', *SR* 312).

[2d] *co roēt coluinn ō Muiri ōighinghin cen lāthair freasguil,*

and He assumed flesh from the Virgin Mary without the presence of man

LFF: coro et coluin*n* omuiri oig ingin cen lath*air* freasguil

co róet colainn ó Muiri óigingin cen láthair ferscáil,
and assumed flesh from the Virgin Mary without the presence of a man,

co róet: This is the 3sg. perf. of either *ad-cota* 'gets, obtains' or a variant form influenced by *ar-foím* or even uncompounded **eimid* (see *DIL* s.v. *ar-foím*, 394.61–9). The manuscript reads *coro et* which suggests that it is treated as a disyllable (see *DIL* s.v. *ar-foím*, 394.62–8; cf. the following examples where the metre requires seven syllables: *ō ro hēt*, *SR* 1058, *dia ro ēt*, *SR* 7510).[909] Meyer treats this as the Middle Irish use of the perfect as the historical past, translating it as 'he assumed' and places a macron on the second syllable (cf. *ōenaidchi*, [4e]).

Muiri óigingin: The dat. sg. of *Maire* 'Mary' is seen in the manuscript with *-u-* which is permissable in Old Irish, for which see *GOI* §80 (cf. *muig* and *maig*, dat. sg. of *mag*), followed by the dative of apposition *óigingin* (cf. *DIL* s.vv. *óg*, *ingen*, *Mairei hūag-ingen*, 'the virgin Mary', *Cáin Ad.* §9 (Meyer 1908, 6)).

cen láthair ferscáil: The manuscript treats *láthar* as the later fem., originally neut. (see *DIL* s.v. *láthar*). In this context, *láthar* means 'vigour, energy, power', but can be translated more loosely as 'presence' (see *DIL* s.v. *láthar* II). Meyer (1906, 15) suggests that LFF's phrase *cen lath*air *freasguil* is parallel with the phrase *cen láthair ferdai*, which *DIL* s.v. *láthar*, II, translates as 'without male agency (of virgin birth)'. The well attested examples of the phrase *cen latha(i)r ferdai* are all found in relation to the conception and birth of Christ: *compert maic Dé athar uli chumachtaig i mbroind Muire óige cen láthar (*v.l. *láthair) ferdai acht rath ⁊ tinfeth in spirtu nóib*, 'the conception of the Son of God the Almighty Father in the womb of the Virgin Mary without man's presence, but the grace and inspiration of the Holy Ghost', *Cáin Domnaig* (O'Keeffe 1905, 198, 16).[910]

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[909] Another possibility is to take this as *coro ét* with proclitic but not yet elided *ro*, of the otherwise unattested simplex **eimid* (cf. *DIL* s.v. *ar-foím*, 394.63–8).

[910] Other examples are: *Ísa Crist do geinemhain o Muire cin dith n-oighe, cin lathar ferrda*, 'Jesus Christ was born from Mary without loss of virginity, without man's presence', *Beathadh Sir Gui* [*o Bhar*] *Bhuic*

The adjective *ferda(e)* is found in the glosses, used with reference to male virility, i.e. *imme folngar dund síl ferdu iarná esfóit isin mbroin mathardi* (gl. *semen*), 'which is formed of the *semen virile* after its emission into the matrix', Ml. 44 a 10. The phrase *cen látha(i)r ferdai* may have been coined at some point in the early MidIr period and is found only in use for the conception of Christ by Mary.

Under the headword **fresgol*, *DIL* cites the example from LFF only and suggests that it is for *ferscál* 'male person, man' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *ferscál*).[911] Although the compound *ferscál* 'a male person, man' is an attested form, I have not come across any other example of the phrase *cen látha(i)r ferscáil* 'without a man's vigour' used in the same context as seen in LFF, i.e. conception of Christ without male agency.[912]

(Robinson 1908, 84.9); *in corp on rogenair o Muire óig ingine cen díth n-óige cen scailiud n-indiuda, cen lathar ferrdai*, 'the body which was born from the Virgin Mary without loss of virginity, without dispersing of ?, without man's presence', LB 251b23 (Tract on the Eucharist as in the Stowe Missal, *Thes* ii, 252).

[911] The nominal compound *ferscál* consists of *fer* + *scál* (opposite to *DIL* s.v. *banscál* 'woman'). *DIL* s.v. *scál* is used here with transferred meaning 'man, human being', rather than its original sense 'supernatural or superhuman being; phantom, giant, hero'.

[912] See *DIL* s.v. *ferscál* for examples.

[2e] *cor'luidh a crand croichi la hIudhaib do īcc an ceineōil dænna.*
and to save the human race He went upon the tree of the cross by the command of the Jews.

LFF: corluigh acrand[913] croithi lahiud*h*aib doiccan cei*n*eoil dæn*n*a

co luid i crann croiche la hIúdeu do ícc in cheineóil dóenna.
and to save the human race He went upon the tree of the cross at the hands of the Jews.

co luid: The *-r* in LFF's *cor* is for *coro*. The loss of the proclitic vowel in the particle *ro* features already in early MidIr (*SnaG* III, §11.3). In this case, the copyist could easily have added it due to the spread of *ro* in the historical past. The verb is followed by the prep. *i n-*, seen here as reduced *a*, used here with the meaning 'upon' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *i*, I, A1, (c); cf. *hi crann cruche*, 'on the tree of the Cross', *Thes* ii, 253.17.

crann croiche: Meyer (1906, 14) silently emends the manuscript reading *croithi* to *croichi*. I have also noted the following two examples by the same hand in the first volume of the same manuscript, i.e. *na croithe*, fol. 22vb33; *croithi*, fol. 1va8. This reflects the phonetic confusion of /θ/ and /χ/. This spelling reflects how the guttural fricative *ch* was pronounced in the thirteenth century (see O'Rahilly 1930, 158).

The expression *crann croiche* 'tree of the Cross' is also found in a tract on the mass in the Stowe Missal, i.e. *hi crann cruche* 'on the tree of the Cross'(*Thes* ii, 253.17).

la hIúdeu: Compare with *hIubhdaibh* in [2b], with hypercorrect *-bh-*. The preposition *la* is followed by non-historical use of the dative pl. (see *SnaG* III, §5.1). See also the textual note on [2b] for a note on the use of the pl. *Iúdae*.

[913] The second *a* appears as suprascript *a* in the manuscript.

[2f] *Imon cāisc docūaidh ūainn 7 atraacht isin treas lō iarna cēsadh'*
About Easter He went from us and arose on the third day after His suffering,

LFF: imon caisc do cuaid*h* uain*n* 7 at*r*aacht isi*n* t*r*eas lo iar na cesadh

Imon cáisc do-cúaid úainn 7 at-raacht isin tres ló íarna chésad'.
About Easter He had gone from us and arose on the third day after His suffering.

at-raacht: While one might presume that *atraacht* is an error for the regular perfect *-raracht*, *atraacht* occurs 13 times in the LL version of the *Táin*.[914] There are too many attestations of this form for this instance to be considered a mistake. It is a reduction of *ro* + *-recht*, through dissimilation (see *DIL* s.v. *at-reig*, 463.81–3; *atracht*, *LU* 8420 (*FB* 29. Cf. also *SnaG* III, §12.199). The use of the perfect here and the preceding use of the 3sg. perfect of *téit* makes good sense here in denoting a final result of a chain of events (cf. *EIV* 95–6). The manuscript contains the dat. sg. variant *ló*, cf. *isind losa*, LL 13988 (*BMMM*).

At this point in the manuscript, the text corresponds with the prose narrative in N, that is beginning with *.i. ro-innis dono Altus ... ar taithchreich an ceineōil dœnna* 'that is, Altus had also told this ... for the sake of redeeming the human race'. It has been discussed in Chapter 1.6.3 that the corresponding sections in LFF and N are copied from a shared exemplar. The manuscript readings of LFF's corresponding text are provided in the edition of N in Chapter 4: version B, along with Meyer's edition for comparison. Analysis and comment on individual forms are provided in that edition also. However, the restored text of that particular section in version B is included in version C's restored text to allow for a readable text. The independent text in LFF resumes with the following sentence, i.e. [4a]:

[914] O Daly 1946, 69.

[4a] *Nō is aml*aid *so atcæmnacair hē.*
Or 'tis thus it happened.

LFF: noisa*m*l– so at cæ*m*nac*hair* he

Nó is amlaid so at-cáemnacair hé.
Or it is thus it happened.

amlaid: This sentence has been added by the Middle Irish compiler. *Amlaid* is the later form replacing earlier *samlaid* + demonstrative (see *DIL* s.v. *amlaid*, (a); *SnaG* III, §3.22)).

at-cáemnacair hé: The 3sg. pret. of *ad-cumaing* is found here with a diphthongized *-cáem-* for earlier *com* and deponent ending (cf. *adcæmnacair*, *TBC* I 2620; *forcáemnacair*, *LU* 2044 (FA)). It contains a petrified inf. pron. as well as an independent pron. (*SnaG* III, §10.17). I have omitted the erroneous *h* since historically this *c* was not lenited (see *DIL* s.v. *ad-cumaing*). This sentence has been added by the compiler when bringing together the various materials. For a discussion on the date at which the compiler was working, see Chapter 2.2.4.

[4b] *Budh Concubur i ndāil 7 maithi fer nĒirenn uime an lā rocrochadh Crīst.*
On the day that Christ was crucified, Conchobar was at a gathering, and the nobles of the men of Ireland around him.

LFF: buid*h* co*n*cub– in dail 7 maithi f*er* neir– ui*m*e anla roc*r*ochad*h* rcr–[915]

Boí Conchobar i ndáil 7 maithi fer nÉirenn imme in lá ro crochad Críst.
On the day that Christ was crucified, Conchobar was at a gathering, and the nobles of the men of Ireland around him.

Boí: Note the use of hypercorrect final *-dh*, as seen in [1a]. Concerning the use of the preterite here, see the textual note on [1a].
in lá: The noun *lá* is treated as a new masc, rather than an OIr neut. (*DIL* s.v. *lá*).

[915] *sic cr̄.* There is a *punctum delens* beneath the first letter *r*.

[4c] *Antan dodechaidh teimheal forsin ngrēin 7 rosūi ēsga a ndath fola*

Now when darkness came upon the sun, and the moon turned into the colour of blood,

LFF: a*n*ta*n* do dec*h*aid*h* teim*h*eal fu*r*si*n* ng*r*ein 7 rosuig*h* esga andat*h* fola

In tan do-dechaid teimel forsin ngréin 7 ro-suí éscae i ndath fola

Now when darkness had come upon the sun, and the moon had turned into the colour of blood,

do-dechaid: The use of the 3sg. perf. of *do-téit* is somewhat ambiguous here, but it could correspond to the English 'have' perfect (*EIV* 94–5).

teimel: *DIL* s.v. *teimel*, (b) cites this word meaning 'darkness', 'considered as an enveloping or concealing medium'. The following glosses are found, with particular reference made to Mark 15:33, i.e. *.i. in tan forcomnacuir ingnímso crochtha crist 7 dodechuid temel tarsingréin asrubartatarfir betho tiagar huáin dochum hirusalem dús cid forchomnacuir indi indinaimso airis ingnad linn anadciam*, 'i.e. when this deed of the crucifixion of Christ happened, and darkness came over the sun, the men of the world said, "let one go from us to Jerusalem, to learn what hath happened therein at this time, for we marvel at what we see', Ml. 16c5; *dintemul*, Ml. 16c7 (see *DIL* s.v. *teimel*, (b) for further examples).

The preposition *for* 'on, upon' is used here, with implied motion, meaning 'across' (*DIL* s.vv. *for*, 297.49, *do-tét*, 381.28–35: 'comes or falls on'), rather than the perhaps expected *tar* (see *temel tarsingréin*, Ml. 16c5). However, *for* 'upon, across' in the phrase *teimel forsin ngréin* does not change the concept, i.e. the sun being obstructed.

ro-suí: The form *rosuig*h in the manuscript has a non-historical ending *-gh*. In OIr, the hiatus verb *soïd* 'turns, changes' did not have a consonantal ending but a vocalic ending in the 3sg. *s*-pret. formation, and the 3sg. conj. of the *s*-pret./ perf. did not have an additional consonant ending, whence *ro soí* (*GOI* §679).[916] The verb is used intransitively in the sense 'turns' with following prep. *i n-* (see *DIL* s.v. *soïd*). Meyer takes this as an

[916] The following examples, found in Middle Irish and Early Modern Irish sources, are cited in *DIL*: *ro sóe*, *SR* 7379; *ro soi*, *SR* 4641; *niro soí*, *LU* 2953; *ro sae*, *CCath.* 201; *ro shói*, PH 1830; 2127; 4141

active form, translating it as 'turned'. For the use of the perfect expressing anteriority, see *EIV* 99–100.

[4d] *rofiarfaigh Concubur im*morro *do Cathbad dūss cid rombādar na dūile.*
Conchobar asked of Cathbad what ailed the elements.

LFF: rofi*ar*faid*h* co*n*cub– im– do cat*h*baid*h* duss cid ro*m*badar naduile

ro fíarfaig Conchobar immurgu do Cathbad dús cid ro mbátar na dúili.
See above for Meyer's translation.

ro fíarfaig: The 3sg. perfect of the MidIr verb *íarfaigid* is found in LFF with a prosthetic *f-* (see also *fiafraigis*, [1c]). The perfect functions as a MidIr historical past.
cid ro mbátar: The interrogative *cía*, with affixed neuter pronoun, is seen preceding the substantive verb *at-tá* meaning 'to be angry, vexed' (*GOI* §779.2; *DIL* s.v. *attá*, 473.47–84). For a discussion of the nas. rel. marker here, see Chapter 2.2.4.

The first *a* in the rel. form *batar* is seen here without a length mark. In Middle Irish, there was the tendency to lengthen this vowel (cf. *bátar*, *LU* 9246).

[4e] *'Do comhalta-sa,' ar sē, 'in fer rogēanair a n-ōenaidchi frit, anosa martar docuirthi(?) fair*

'Thy own foster-brother,' said he, 'He who was born on the same night as you, is now undergoing martyrdom

LFF: do com*h*altasa arse inf*er* rogeanair anaenaidchi f*r*it anosa martar do cui*r*thi f*air*

'Do chomalta-sa', olsé, 'in fer ro génair i n-óenaidchi frit, innossa martrae do-cuirthe fair'.

'Your own foster-brother,' said he, 'He who was born on the same night as you, just now has been martyred.'

in fer ro génair i n-óenaidchi frit: The 3sg. suffixless perfect of *gainithir* 'born' is seen here, against later use of the active stem *gein-*. The use of the perfect here is permissable in dialogue (see *EIV* 97).

The repetition of the phrase *ro génair i n-áenaidchi fri X*, seen here and further below, illustrates the author's intent to create a dialogue between Cathbad and Conchobar. For a more indepth look at the stylistic practices employed by the redactor, see Chapter 3.9.

innossa: This is understood as referring to the immediate past, i.e. 'just now' (cf. *DIL* s.v. *indossa*). The syntax is unusual and it has been forward for emphasis.

martrae do-cuirthe fair: The pass. pret. of *do-cuirethar* is used here in the sense of 'puts' or 'invites' (*DIL* s.v. *do-cuirethar*, I). The verbal form in the manuscript is seen with a MidIr use of the 3sg. abs. pass. pret. ending *-thi*, instead of the pass. pret. *-ed* (see *EIV* 229; *SnaG* III, §12.70). The verb is preceded by *martar*, literally meaning 'he has been martyred'. But one might expect *martrae* 'martyrdom' (see *DIL* s.v. *martrae*, (a); cf. *nach macc dochuaid martrai*, 'every boy that has gone to martyrdom', *Fél.* 267). In this instance, later confusion has arisen on the basis that *martrae* and the pl. *martir* can be used for 'relics' (see *DIL* s.vv. *martir* (b), *martrae* (c), (d)). I restore *martrae* here. Meyer's translation is adhered to in this instance, i.e. 'he had been undergoing martyrdom'.

[4f] *7 doradadh a croich hē 7 isē sin chanuid anní sin'.*
and has been put on the cross, and that is what this portends.'

LFF: 7 do radad*h* ac*r*oid he 7ises*i*n c*h*anuid a*n*ní si*n*

7 do-radad i croich é 7 is é sin chanait na hí sin.
and has been put on the cross, and that is what those things portend.'

do-radad i croich é: The 3sg. masc. subj. pron. is separated from the 3sg. perf. pass. This is a MidIr construction and Liam Breatnach provides further examples in *SnaG* III, §10.16, e.g. *7 ra fastád ar ēcin é*, *LL* 32739 (TT); *7 ro linad do thorcaib 7 do martaib hé*, *LL* 38381 (Bór).
croich: On the spelling *croid*, see Chapter 1.5.6.
is é sin chanait: The 3sg. ind. pron. *é*, for OIr neut. *ed*, is used here. The neut. pron. *ed* is generally preserved in Middle Irish in constructions such as this (*SnaG* III, §10.13), i.e. copula + *ed* + relative verb. Since this is a cleft fronted sentence, one would expect a rel. clause to follow. LFF's *chanuid* is a MidIr 3pl. rel. of time, for which see Chapter 2.2.4). LFF's *anní* may be a MidIr form abstracted from *na-nní* 'anything' (see *DIL* s.v. 2 *ní*, 41.38–43; Hamp 1990, 175–7). However, this is sg. Therefore, I emend to the pl. *na hí* since it refers to the previosuly mentioned *na dúili* 'the elements' in [4d].

[4g] *Atraigi trath Concubur sūas la sodhuin 7 gab*aid *a gaisgedh fair 7 atbert*:
At that Conchobar arises and takes his weapons upon him, and he said:

LFF: At*r*aigi t*r*at*h* co*n*cub– suas lasog*h*uin 7 gab– a gaisced*h* fair 7 atb–t

At-raig trá Conchobar súas la sodain 7 gabaid a gaisced fair 7 as-bert:
At that Conchobar arises and arms himself, and he said:

at-raig: The 3sg. pres. ind. of the compound verb *at-reig* is used here with a hypercorrect vocalic ending *-i*. [917] This is a historical present.
gabaid: The medial stroke attached to the letter *b* is ambiguous. It could be expanded as *-ais*, reading the 3sg. *s*-pret. *gabais*. But given that this version is datable to the MidIr period, it is more likely to be *gabaid*, with a non-palatal *-b-*, showing the MidIr generalisation of neutral *gab-* from outside the present stem, due to erosion of weak and strong formation (*EIV* 212).

[917] This demonstrates that the compiler was copying at a time when W2a and W2b verbs in the 3sg. conj. pres. had adopted the zero endings of strong S1 and S2 verbs to differentiate themselves from the 3sg. conj. pres. subj. (see *EIV* 205).

[4h] *'Is ē sin ēimh' ol sē, 'mo comalta-sa 7 mo comāis 7 is ē rogēanair a n-ænoidchi frium'*

'He is indeed my foster-brother and coeval, and 'tis He that was born in the same night with me,'

LFF: is e si*n* eim*h* olse mo co*m*altasa 7 mo co*m*ais 7 is e ro geanair anae*n*oidc*h*i fri*um*

'Is é sin éim', ol sé, 'mo chomalta-sa 7 mo chomaís 7 is é ro génair i n-óenaidchi frium'.

See above for Meyer's translation.

This sentence is similar to a sentence in version A, preserved in the Edinburgh witnesses.[918]

mo chomaís: The use of *comaís* shows the author's intent to stress that Christ and Conchobar were born on the same day. This, including the following phrase, i.e. *is é ro génair i n-óenaidchi frium*, illustrates the author's familiarity with the tradition of the synchronization of Christ and Conchobar's birth, as seen for instance in the *Scéla Conchobair*.[919] In terms of the textual tradition of AC, comaís would appear to be an addition.

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[918] See Chapter 4, version A [11j]: *.i. fer rogenad a comais frit-si*, E_1; *fer seu ro genar i coi*mgen 7 *i comaisi frit su* no *comad isin ochtmad bl*iadain *.xx. flaithus* Con*chu*bar *no geined*h Cr*í*st, E_2.

[919] In the *Book of Leinster* version, Christ and Conchobar were born at the same time: '*Ba cáin tra a n-orddan ro genair i suidiu .i. intí* Conchobar. *Deithb*er *són da*no, *uair issind úair ro génair Cr*ís*t iss and ro genair-seom. Ro bátar* secht *fáthi oca thairchetul secht m*bl*í*adna *riana genemain. No geinfed gein n-adamra la gein Crí*s*t forsin chloich ucut forsa ro genair Conchobar, 7 ropad irdairc a ainm i n-Herinn*, 'Bright indeed was the dignity that was born in him, namely Conchobar. That then was reasonable, for in the hour that Christ was born, he was born. Seven years before his birth seven prophets were foretelling him, (and they said that) a wondrous birth would be born, at Christ's Nativity, on yonder stone whereon Conchobar was born, and his name would be famous in Ireland.' Stokes 1904, 22, 23. Similarly, in the longer version 2 of *Compert Conchobair*, found in RIA D iv 2, Cathbad requests Nessa to stay her labour so that Conchobar may be born on the same day as Christ: *'Mad dia m-beith at cumang, a ben, ol Cathbad, 'in ghein fil fat bruindi gan a breith có abhárach, daigh ro budh ri Ulad no Erenn uili do mac 7 forbia a ainm fa Eirinn co brath, uair is a comainm in lae cétna geinfis in gein irrdairc ro leth a clú 7 a cumachtu dar in domun .i. Isu Crist mac dé bithbi,* 'O would it were be in thy power,' said Cathbad, 'O wife, not to bring forth the child that is in thy womb till to-morrow, for thy son would then be king of Ulster, or of all

[4i] *7 rogob iarum deargail ōtā sin co ro-acht isin fairrgi 7 cur'luidh innti conruigi a fiacuil.*

and then he made an onslaught from thence until he reached the sea, and he went into it up to his teeth.

LFF: 7 ro gob i*ar*– deargail otasi*n* coroac*h*t isi*n* f*err*gi 7 cu luig*h* in*n*ti *con*u*r*ruigi afiacuil

7 ro gab íarum dergail óthá sin co roacht isin fairrgi 7 co luid inti corrici a fíacail.
See above for Meyer's translation.

ro gab íarum dergail: *Deargail* is found three times in the text, i.e. *ro gob deargail*, [4i]; *is oc in deargail iarum,* [4j]; *rosgobh forsin deargail*, see [4e] in version B. *DIL* s.v. *dergail* suggests it may originally be from *dair* 'oak' and *caill* 'wood', based upon a reading found in version A: *ro gab don chaillid uime*, '(he) attacked the wood about him', E_1. However, *der-* would seem to speak against the use of 'oak' (OIr *daur*, *u*-stem) in this formation.

Meyer (1906, 49) understands *deargail* differently, taking it as a nominal compound of *derg* + *gal*, with the construction of the verb *gaibid* + verbal noun in the sense of 'takes up, sets about, begins' (see *DIL* s.v. *gaibid*, I, (k), translating it as 'made an onslaught'.[920]

co roacht isin fairrgi: The 3sg. perf. of *saigid* 'goes towards, approaches' or *ro-saig* 'reaches, comes' is used here. It contains *-oa-* which presupposes Middle Irish contraction to *-o-*, e.g. *co rocht*, *SR* 3106; cf. *dorochtamair*, *TE* 174, §2; 178, §9.

The scribe employs a double *er*-compendium in the manuscript. In his detailed examination of the compendia used in LFF, Caoimhín Breatnach (2011, 128) notes that the double *er-* compendium is only expanded as *-arr-* when it is preceded by the letter *t*. Therefore, I expand this as *ferrgi* rather than *fairrgi*, as Meyer (1906, 16) has done. The

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Erinn, and his name will last in Erinn for ever, for it is ... of the same day that the illustrious child will be born whose glory and power has spread over the world, namely Jesus Christ, the son of God everlasting' (Meyer 1883, 17–6 and 180).

[920] For the meaning of *gal*, see *DIL* s.v. *1 gal*, (a) 'warlike ardour, fury, valour'. The editor notes that the form *gal* may have had an original sense of 'seething heat', whose meaning then transferred into the emotion of mental excitment or rage (*DIL* s.v. *1 gal*, 35.21–5).

-e- is a spelling variant for *ai* /e/. Thus, this word is the acc. sg. of *fair(r)ge* 'sea, ocean' (see *DIL* s.v. *fairrge*, II).

A local relation is implied by *ota* and is followed in the next clause by con*urruigi*,[921] which I take as the complementary phrase *corrici*, i.e. 'from x until he reaches as far as y' (*DIL* s.vv. *óthá*, *ro-icc*, II (e); cf. *ótha crích drommo nit cuglais tamlachtæ*, 'from the border of Druimm Nit to the stream of Tamlacht', *Thes* ii, 238.8 (Ardm. 17a2).

a ḟiacail: Meyer (1906, 17) translates this as 'his teeth', taking the sg. *fiacal* as a *pars pro toto* expression (*DIL* s.v. *fiacail*; cf. *ic meilbleith a fiacal*, *CCath.* 4959, 'grinding his teeth').

[4j] *Is oc in deargail iarum rogobh Concubur an lāid si:*
'Tis during that onslaught then that Conchobar sang this lay:

LFF: is ocin deargail i*ar*– ro gobh co*n*cub– an laigsi

Is oc in dergail íarum ro gab Conchobar in laíd-se:
It is during that onslaught then that Conchobar sang this lay:

laíd: The term *laíd* 'poem, lay, metrical composition' originally referred to a type of poem that was not of a syllabic or '*bairdne*' type (see Murphy 1961, 3, 12). *DIL* s.v. *laíd*, (b) states that it is often recited by heroes or warriors in the tales. LFF's example would fit into *DIL*'s description of its use in such a context. [922]

[921] This form is found in the manuscript with the *con*-compendium and a superscript *ur*- compendium.

[922] For a discussion of *laíd* corresponding to the word *rosc* poem, see Mac Cana (1966, 76).

[4k] *'Ba aprainn na hIdhuil co hard iar n-ēguibh righ' 7 rl.*
''Twas a pity that the Jews after a King's death,' &c.

LFF: ba ap*r*ain*n* nahid*h*uill co h*ar*d i*ar* neguib*h* rig*h* 7rl.

'Ba aprainn na hÍduil co hard íar n-écaib ríg', 7 rl.
'It was much a pity that the Jews after a king's death', etc.

co hard: Meyer (1906, 17) leaves *co hard* unrendered in his translation. I take the phrase *co hard* as a MidIr adverbial formation of the prep. *co* 'to' + acc. sg. adj. *ard* (*GOI* §381). The syntax is unusual here, with the adverb expected after the verb. The meaning *of ard* here may be 'great, extensive' (see *DIL* s.v. 1 *ard*, I (g); also 386. 51–4).
íar n-écaib: For other examples of the dat. pl. of *éc* 'death' referring to an individual death, see *DIL* s.v. *éc*, 9.24–29.[923]

This sentence echoes the opening sentence of the *rosc* poem uttered by Conchobar in LL and N, i.e. *Ba haprainn nan dáil cu Artríg n-arnac*, 'Alas that I did not get to meet the High-King'.

At this particular point in the manuscript, the text corresponds with the prose narrative in N, that is beginning with: ***O**cus as i*ar *sin asb–t concub–*, 'and thereupon Conchobar said'. The corresponding text from LFF is provided in the edition of version B, together with analysis and comment on individual forms. However, the restored text of these particular passages of version B are included in version C's restored text to allow for a readable text. The independent text in LFF resumes with the following sentence, i.e. [5a]:

[923] For a discussion of this word in the pl. for a sg., see the textual note on [4d], as well as footnote 53, in version A.

[5a] *Et as annsin rucadh ainim Concobuir a n-ifrinn gu comraiced Crīst fria ac te:uir na broide a hifrinn,*

And then Conchobar's soul was taken to hell until Christ encountered her as he brought the captive host of hell,

LFF: Et as an*n* sin rucad*h* ai*n*im *con*cob– anifr*i*in*n* guco*m*fraicead cr–. friad*h*a act[ ] broide ahif*i*r*n*n

Et is annsin rucad ainim Chonchobair i n-ifrenn co comraiced Críst fria oc tabairt na braite a hifirnn,

And then Conchobar's soul was taken to hell so that Christ might encounter it as He brought the captive host out of hell,

et: The Latin *et* is written plene, rather than represented by the expected tironian symbol ⁊.[924] This form is a stylistic variation and is doubtless to be read as the conjunction *ocus*.

i n-ifrenn: The scribe has mistakenly written the letter *i* after the *er*-compendium, possibly interpreting it as the later form *ifrenn* (see *DIL* s.v. *ifern*; cf. *écsamla iffrind*, *LU* 1951 (FA). It is restored to acc. sg. *ifernn*.

comraiced: The 3sg. past *ā*-subj. of the MidIr simple verb *comraicid* 'meets, encounters' (OIr *con-ricc*; *-comairsed*, Ml. 39c15) contains a hypercorrect prosthetic *f-*. The use of the subjunctive makes more sense in this context than the imperfect which would imply a sense of continuity which is not the case here.

fria: Meyer (1906, 17, n. 18) states that the manuscript spelling *friadha* is 'of the disyllabic *fria* "versus eam" is evidently intended to distinguish it from *fria* "to his (her, its)"'. However, it is more likely that the internal dental form *dh* (for *th*) represents the analogical spread of the *t* in OIr *inte*, *intiu* (cf. O'Rahilly 1930, 165; *SnaG* III, § 13.1). It refers to Conchobar's soul, i.e. *ainim*.

oc tabairt na braite: The text in the manuscript was already somewhat illegible when Meyer transcribed it, with further deterioration occurring to it since then because upon consultation now the writing is completely faded. Therefore, I follow Meyer's reading in this instance. Meyer (1906, 17, esp. n. 19) suggests reading *tabairt* for *te:uir*. I am unsure what Meyer intended with ':', perhaps a form of the usual *us*-compendium, although this

[924] See Chapter 1.4.3.

is hardly suitable. If indeed *te:uir* originally appeared in the manuscript, with final *t* already illegible in *te:uir*, it must be some mispelling or corruption (*te-* = ?).[925] The verbal noun *tabairt* of *do-beir* is restored here.

Meyer's *broide* is the gen. sg. of *DIL* s.v. *1 brat*, (a) 'captive(s) as spoil' (cf. *do thabairt braite ⁊ athgabala esti*, 'to bring thereout booty and reprisal', TTr^2 386), and is treated here as a feminine, rather than later masc.[926]

[5b] *co tuc Crīst leis anim Concabair docum neimhi. Finid.*
so that Christ took the soul of Conchobar with him to Heaven. Finit.

LFF: co t*u*c cr– leis anim co*n*cabair [illegible]mi. Finid

co tuc Críst leis ainim Conchobair dochum nime. Finit.
See above for Meyer's translation.

co tuc: The 3sg. perf. of *do-ucc* 'brings, leads' is used here with resultative force, followed by the preposition *la* 'with' referring to the subject (cf. *DIL* s.v. *do-beir*, 210.79). The form *co tuc* is seen with the analogical non-palatal ending rather than *-tuic* (*GOI* §759 II (a); Bergin 1907, 80), however, the non-palatal form is attested early on, e.g. *tuc*, '[he] put', Ml. 40c17; *rodatuc*, 'one who drove you', *TBC* I 4050).

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[925] It could that lenited b has been omitted, reflecting how the EModIr scribe would have pronounced this at the time of writing. Neutral *bh* was reduced to a 'half-vowel [w]' between two vowels from the 13th century onwards as is evident from written forms, reflecting pronunciation at the time of writing, such as Odude = Ó Dubda (cf. O'Rahilly 1930, 156, 159, n. 13; *SnaG* IV, §2.11 (4)).

[926] O'Rahilly (1942, 169) suggests that *brat* as a feminine is an analogical form and was influenced by *gad* 'taking away, stealing', whereas *brat* as a masculine goes back to **braddo-* < **brazdo-*, i.e. *o*-stem.

Version D: restored text

[1] [1a] Incipit do aidid Chonchobair mac Nessa insó sís. [1b] Cet mac Mágach ro theilc in cloich .i. inchinn Mesgegra, ríg Laigen, for Conchobhar oc Áth Daire Dá Báeth. [1c] Fíngen fáthlíaig Conchobair is é náro léic in cloich do thabairt asa chinn. [1d] Munnu immorro in cherd is é do-rat cumtach impe fria chenn immuig. [1e] Bachrach file do Laignib is é ro innis do Chonchobur Críst do chrochad. [1f] I mMaig Lámraige at-chúaid dó. [1g] Is and do-rochair Conchobar oc glanad in maige. FINIT.

Version D: translation

[1] [1a] *Incipit* of the violent death of Conchobar mac Nessa in what follows below. [1b] At the Ford of Daire Dá Báeth, Cet mac Mágach threw the stone at Conchobar, viz. the brain of Mesgegra, king of Leinster. [1c] Fíngen, the wizard-leech of Conchobar, it is he who would not let the stone be taken out of his head. [1d] Munna, however, the artificer, it is he who put a cover around it outside his head. [1e] Bachrach, a Leinster poet, it is he who told Conchobar that Christ had been crucified. [1f] In Mag Lámraige he had told it to him. [1g] It is there Conchobar fell in clearing the plain.

Version D: textual notes

[1a] *Incipit do oidhedh Concubuir mic Nessa annso sīs.*

Incipit of the tragic death of Conchobar son of Ness here below.

S: INcipit do oid*h*ed*h* concubuir m^{ic}nessa annso sis.

Laud: Salt– cc–

Incipit do aidid Chonchobair mac Nessa insó sís.

Incipit *of the violent death of Conchobar mac Nessa in what follows below.*

Title: In S, the title is written in a smaller and neater script, but in the same hand as the main text. In Laud, the title *Salt*air *cec*init is written above the text. It is written in red ink and is very faint. It is difficult to say if it is in a different hand to that of the text. It may be that a later rubricator wrote this when he was rubricating the capital letters on the page.[927] In this instance, I follow S and leave the title in the restored text as it cannot be shown that it was added later.

aidid: I use the translation 'violent death' as given in *DIL* s.v. *aided*, rather than Meyer's 'tragic death'. See further discussion on the meaning and interpretation of *aided* in Chapter 3.

inso sís: Meyer bases his translation on *and so*, rather than the common formula used in titles, i.e. *insó sís*. This is a formation of the prep. *i n-* 'in' + the demonst. *so* + the adverb of motion sís which *DIL* s.v. *sís* defines as 'referring to what follows in writing below; onwards' (see *DIL* s.vv. *sís* (d), *so*, II (e); cf. *beim foris inso sís uile*, 'all this below is a recapitulation', Wb. 25c18). The manuscript has *ann* which could show confusion of *a* and *i*, as well as orthographical *nn* for *n*. Thus, *insó sís* can be restored literally meaning 'this going downwards' + 'in what follows below'. For the stressed long vowel in *só*, see Breatnach (2003, 137).

[927] The psalter in question here is *Saltair Chaisil*, for which see a more detailed discussion in Chapter 1.4.4.

[1b] *Ceat mac Mādach rotheilg in cloich .i. inchind Miscedhra rīgh Laighen for Concubur hic Āth Dhaire Dá Bhœth.*

At the Ford of Daire Dá Báeth, Cet mac Mágach threw the stone at Conchobar, viz. the brain of Mesgegra, king of Leinster.

S: Ceat m–c madach rot*h*eilg incloich .i. inchi*n*d misced*h*ra rig*h* laig*h*en f– *con*cub*h*–hicath d*h*aire dab*h*æt*h*.

Laud: Cet .m. magac*h* roteilc incloic*h* .i. inc*h* in*n* mesge^{g}rai rig laigen icat*h* d*air*e dába^{e}t*h*

Cet mac Mágach ro theilc in cloich .i. inchinn Messgegra, ríg Laigen, for Conchobar oc Áth Daire Dá Báeth.

See above for Meyer's translation.

Cet mac Mágach ro theilc: The Middle Irish merger of lenited non-palatal *g* and *d* is seen in S's *madach* (*SnaG* IV, §2.11(3)). For further discussion of the *á* in *Mágach*, see the textual note on [3d] in version A.

The opening sentence deviates from the normal VSO order, with a *nominativus pendens* construction and a following leniting relative clause. The MidIr verb *teilcid* is used, rather than the OIr compound *do-léci*. It is used with a following preposition *for* to express the person aimed at (*DIL* s.v. *do-léci*, II (b)).[928] The perfect functions as a historical past here.

inchinn Messgegra, ríg Laigen, for Conchobar: Laud omits the phrase *for Conchobar* 'upon Conchobar', which is expected after *teilcid*. In his seperate edition of the passage preserved in Laud, Meyer reads *mac inn Mesgegrai*.[929] In this, *mac inn* is a transcription error for *inchinn*. There is a hair-stroke visible above the first minim in the manuscript, distinguishing the letter *i* from the following *nc*, with a *spiritus asper* above the letter *c*. I cannot explain why there is a space between *inc*h and *in*n.

The proper name is treated as two separate elements in S with the first element possibly an later *o*-stem genitive rather than an expected fem. See the discussion of this

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[928] Cf. *dosléiced tathbéim forsna héonu*, *AOA* §2; 'and [he would] launch a stunning shot at the birds', Meyer 1904, 115.

[929] Meyer 1921, 7.

proper name in the textual note on [1d] of version A. The name is written together in Laud, and *mess* is uninflected. The final *-ai* is most likely a schwa spelling, given that this is an Early Modern Irish manuscript. I adopt Laud's treatement of the proper name in keeping with the MidIr date of the text, cf. *ro theilc*.

The gen. sg. of *rí* 'king' stands in apposition to Messgegra and is found in both manuscripts with final lenited *g* (cf. dat. sg. *ríg* [1c], version B, with loss of final *-g* in N).
oc: Although *ic* is attested in Middle Irish (i.e. *ic*, LL 38526 (*Bór*)), demonstrating the reduction of proclitic vowels, I normalise the preposition to *oc*.

[1c] *Finghen fāthliaig Concobuir is é ná rolēig in cloich do thabairt asa chind.*
Fingen, the wizard-leech of Conchobar, 'tis he who would not let the stone be taken out of his head.

S: Fing*h*en fathliaig *con*cob– isé naroleig i*n*cloich dot*h*ab–t asa chi*n*d.
Laud: fingen fat*h*liaig*h* *con*qb– ise n*a*roleic incloic*h* dotab*air*t asa c*h*ind

Fíngen fáithlíaig Conchobair is é náro léic in cloich do thabairt asa chinn.
See above for Meyer's translation.

Fíngen fáithlíaig: This sentence is also fronted by a *nominativus pendens* construction resumed by a cleft sentence. The proper name *Fíngen* has a long *i* which is confirmed by rhyme.[930] In version A, he is also referred to as *fingein fathliaigh* in E_2 only (see [9a]).[931] It is possible that *fáithlíaig* is an addition influenced by *TBC* I.
náro léic: The particle *ro* is unstressed and therefore it is positioned with the negative *ná*, rather than Meyer's *ná rolēig*. On the retention of the unstressed *-o-* in *náro*, perhaps reflecting a conservative orthography, see Chapter 2.2.5.

[930] For more detailed discussion of this feature, see the textual note on [9a], in version A.

[931] See also *Fíngin Fáithliaig*, 'Fíngin, the seer-physician', *TBC* I 3189.

[1d] *Muma* immorro *in cerd iss é dorat cumdach impe ria cenn amuich.*

Muma, however, the artificer, 'tis he who put a cover around it outside his head.

S: Mu*m*a .h. i*n*c–d isse dorat cu*m*dach i*m*pe riace*n*n amuich.

Laud: **M**uniu .h–. incerd ise dorat c–tach i*m*pe f*r*iacen*n* immuig*h*

Munnu immorro in cherd is é do-rat cumtach impe fria chenn immuig.

Munna, however, the artificer, it is he who put a cover around it on the outside of his head.

Munnu: This sentence has the same structure as [1c]. It consists of a *nominativus pendens*, i.e. *Mumu ... in cerd*, resumed by a cleft construction.

Both manuscripts have copying errors for intended *Munnu*. This hypocoristic name is a formation of *mo ḟinnu* 'my white one', and is attested in the commentary to *Fél.* Oct. 21: *.i. Munna mac Telchain druad*, 'Munnu son of Telchan the wizard', Stokes 1905, 226.[932] S's *Mumu* 'Munster' (or *Muma*?) is out of place in this version's context since it generally used as a placename and not as an individual's name (see *DIL* s.v. *Mumu*). Laud's ***M**uniu* could be for *Muine*, with final *-iu* an eccentric spelling, but again this generally refers to a place name (see *DIL* s.v. *muine*). I restore *Munnu* in this instance.

in cherd: *Cerd* is an *ā*-stem (*DIL* s.v. *cerd*; e.g. *In sét arggait nádchombaig in cherd*, 'The precious thing of silver which the smith did not break', *Thes* ii 346.4; cf. O' Rahilly 1942, 159). Thus, lenition is expected after the nom. sg. art. preceding *cerd*.[933] It is possible that the exemplar from which the scribes of S and Laud were copying did not have the lenition mark. I restore *in cherd* here.

do-rat: The 3sg. deuter. perf of *do-beir* is seen here, with *do-rat* used in the sense of 'puts, places'. The deuterotonic form is still found in the Middle Irish period, e.g. *do-ratsatar*, *SR* 3508, 3401; *do-ratsam*, *LU* 2331 (*Scéla laí brátha*). Given the particular context in

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[932] Cf. *Mundu .i. mō a finda .i. ainm bāide*, Corm. Y 878, 'MUNNU, i.e. *mo Fhinnu*, a pet name', O' Donovan 1868, 110. The macron on *mo* is an error, for which this should be the poss. pron. Cf. Thurneysen (1933, 365) for a similar example of elision in *Moedōc* < *Mo Aedōc*.

[933] The manuscripts are generally conservative in marking lenition of *c*. For a more detailed comment on the scribal tendency of marking lenition in these manuscripts, see Chapter 1.4.4.

which *do-rat* is used, the perfect may or may not express anteriority in this instance (*EIV* 99).

impe: The 3sg. fem. conj. prep. *impe* refers to the fem. *cloch* in [1d].

fria chenn immuig: The prep. *fri*, expressing local relation here (*DIL* s.vv. *fri*, I (b) 'against (touching), alongside, down along by'), is used with the 3sg. masc. poss. pron. However, the expected lenition is not seen in either manuscript. Note the later form *ria* in S, due to the loss of the initial lenited *f* (*SnaG* III, §13.14).

[1e] *Bacrach file do Laighnibh ro-indis do Chonchubar Crīst do chrochad.*
Bachrach, a Leinster poet, told Conchobar that Christ had been crucified.

S: bacrach file dolaig*h*nib*h* ro i*n*dis do *con*ch– c*r*ist doc*r*och–

Laud: **B**ac*h*rac*h* file do laigníb ise roin*n*is do *con*qb– cr– doc*r*och–

Bachrach file do Laignib is é ro innis do Chonchobur Críst do chrochad.
Bachrach, a Leinster poet, it is he who told Conchobar that Christ had been crucified.

is é ro innis: S omits *is é*. The use of *is é* fits the style of the prose passage, since the *nominativus pendens* construction followed by a resumptive cleft sentence is also used in [1c] and [1d]. The 3sg. perf. of the MidIr simple verb *indisid* is used here, for which see further the textual note in [13a], version A.

Omission of lenition seen in both manuscripts after both instances of the prep. *do* 'to, for'. I restore it accordingly.

[1f] *I Maigh Lāmrighe atchūaidh dó.*
In Mag Lamraige he told it to him.

S: imaig*h* lamrig*h*e atchuaid*h* dó
Laud: i*m*maig lamraige atc*h*uaid dó

I mMaig Lámraige at-chúaid dó,
In Mag Lámraige he had told it to him.

I mMaig Lámraige: For a more detailed discussion of *á* in *Lámraige*, see Chapter 3.6, footnote 111.
at-chúaid dó: The 3sg. perf. of the OIr verb *ad-fét* 'relates' is used here with an anaphoric 3sg. neut. inf. pron. The context indicates that this is not a MidIr petrified inf. pronoun (*EIV* 172).[934] Both manuscripts contain a length-mark above the conj. prep. *dó*, for which see Breatnach (2003, 137).

[934] See also the discussion of this verbal form in Chapter 2.2.5.

[1g] *Is annsin dorochair Concobar ac glanadh in mhaighe.*
'Tis there Conchobar fell in clearing the plain.

S: isan*n* s$_i$n daroch– *con*cob– acglanad*h* i*n*m*h*aig*h*e.
Laud: is an*n* doroc*hair con*qb– ocglanad i*n* maige F // //

Is ann do-rochair Conchobar oc glanad in maige. FINIT.
See above for Meyer's translation.

Is ann: It is difficult to decide whether S or Laud is the correct reading here since both *ann* and *ann sin* are permissable (see *DIL* s.vv. *i*, II 2; *I sin*, B I (e)). It is possible that Laud omits the demonstrative *sin*. I tentatively follow S's reading here.
do-rochair: The inherited 3sg. perf. *do-rochair* is used rather than the later *ro-thuit* (*EIV* 202). It is seen in Laud with an innovatory palatal ending, although this is seen already in the glosses (*EIV* 54). S's *da* shows MidIr confusion of *a* for *o* (*EIV* 169). The perfect functions as the historical past here.

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II. Manuscript transcriptions

LL: TCD MS 1339 (H 2.18; hereafter referred to as LL), p. 123b40–124b32; 13 x 9; 12th century.

p. 123b

.Aided *chon*cob–.
Bai mesca mór f– ulto fec*h*t na*n*d
i*n*emai*n* .m. docurid*ar* di– i*m*m*ar*ba
ga móra 7 co*m*ra*m*a etar*r*o .i. et– *chon*all
7 coi*n*cul– 7 loeg*air*e. Tucaid da*m*sa *ar con*all i*n*chi*n*d
mess .g. coroacilliur ócu nac*h*o*m*ra*m*. Babes dultaib
i*n*dinbaid s*i*n ca–curaid nom*ar*bdais *ar*galaib oenfir
nogatta ani*n*chi*n*d assacendaib 7 co*m*mesct*h*a æl *airth*ib
co*n*denad liat*h*roite cruade díb. Et i*n*tan nobitis
i*n* i*m*m*ar*baig noc*h*o*m*ra*m*aib dob–tis doib co*m*bitis i*n*na
lamaib. Mait*h* a *chonch– ar con*all nacond–nat oic na
co*m*ram ec*h*t fon i*n*nasa *ar* gala*m* ói*n*fir nidat tualngi
co*m*ra*m* fr*i*msa. IS firón *ar conch–*. Doratad iar– f–
s*in* forud f–a*m*bid dog–s[935] i*nd*inchi*n*d. Luid cá*ch* alet*h*i *ar*
nabarac*h* dia cluc*h*iu. Dolluid da– cet m– matac*h*
doc*h*ua*ir*t ectra laulto. beist assandsa*m* ro bói i*n*her–.

p. 124a

i*n*cet. IS– dolluids–e d*ar* faidc*h*i na*h*emna 7 tri l$_a$ec*h*ci*n*d
leis doultaib. INtan bát*ar* naóinmite co
cluc*h*iu doi*n*chi*n*d mes .g. ISs– atb–t i*n*dónmit fria
raile. Rocluined*ar* cet anís$_i$*n*. Et*h*aids$_i$de i*n*ni*n*
c*hin*d alláim i*n*dalanái 7 b–id leis. O rofit– cet ro bói
it*ar*ngere do mess .g. adigail iarnaécaib. Ca– cat*h*
7 ca– irga nobíd dochon– friulto dob–ed cet
i*nn*i*nch*ind i*n*nac*h*riss d*ús* i*n*te t*arth*ad ec*h*t na*m*ra
dultaib dom*ar*b– di. **Fec***h*t and di– dolluid seo*m*
i*n*tí cet s*air* cotuc tánai mbó aferaib ross. Do

[935] There is a mark of length on the suspension stroke.

n*ar*raid i*niar*morac*h*t ul– i*n*adiaid. **D**oriac*h*tat*ar*
da– co*n*nac*h*tai dondle¡t*h* aile diat*h*ess*air*cai*n*seo*m*.
Fec*hair* cat*h* etarro. **D**olluid co*n*ch– fei*n* issi*n*cat*h*. *Con*id
ands¡*n* gadat*ar* mna co*n*nac*h*t doc*hon*ch– tuidec*h*t
f–leith dodesci*n* adelba dóib. Fobít*h* nirabi
f–tal– delb dui*n*i am– de¡lb *con*ch– .i. et–c*h*rut*h* ⁊de¡lb
⁊ dec*h*elt. et–mét ⁊córe ⁊cutr–m$_a$e et–rosc ⁊
fȯlt ⁊gile. et–gaís. ⁊alaig. ⁊erlabra. et–er
riud ⁊áne ⁊écosc. et–*ar*m ⁊i*n*mmad ⁊orddan. et–
gnais ⁊gaisced ⁊c*h*enl–. **N**irbloc*h*tac*h* t*r*á i*n*tí
*con*ch–. **A** com*air*li im– i*n*che¡t rogabsat namná
ailgis doc*h*onch–. Luid iar– f–let*h* aoínur dia
desci*n* donamnaib. **D**olluid Cet im– co*m*búi et–
namná i*n*medón. **N**os¡*n*dlet*har* cet i*n*chi*n*d mes.g.
is¡*n*tábaill. ⁊ noste¡lc *con*idt*ar*la i*n*mullac*h* *con*ch–.
com*b*át*ar* adat*r*ian i*n*nac*h*i*n*d ⁊ cotor–seo*m* isacend co t*ar*la
f*r*il*ár*. Foch–ddat ul– c*h*uci *con*idrucsat oc*h*et.
f–brú át*h*a d*air*e dab$_a$´et*h* isand doroch– *con*ch–. A
tá alige and baile itor– ⁊cort*h*e f*r*iac*h*end ⁊
cort*h*e f*r*iac*h*ossa. **M**aidid t*r*a f–connac*h*ta co
sciaid *air*d nacon. **D**ob–t*ar* ul– s*air* doridis¡ coáth
d*air*e dabáet*h*. Mo brithse ass ar *con*ch–. Dob–[936]
ríge nul– doneoc*h* no*m*b–a[937] *con*nici mot*h*ec*h*. **N**ot
b–sa *ar* cend b–raide *ar* agilla fadéi*n*. **D**ob–s¡de lo*m*ai*n*
i*m*me ⁊ no*m*be¡r f–amui*n* co*ar*ddac*h*ad slebe fuaít.
Maidid ac*h*ride is¡*n* gillu. ***Con***iddes¡*n* atá ríge ci*n*d
b–raide f–ul– .i. i*n*rí f–amui*n* let*h* i*n*dlái. *Con*ócbad
t*r*á i*n*debaid on t*r*át*h* co*ar*aile d*ar*éis i*n*ríg.
coraimid f*r*iulto i*ar* s¡*n*. **D**ob–*ar* t*r*a aliaig
co *con*ch– .i. fi*n*gen. **IS**ses–e nofi*n*nad don
diaid nothe¡ged dontig. i*n*lín nobíd

[936] A length mark appears above the contraction.

[937] A length mark appears above the contraction.

iṅgalur s$_i$ntig. Et ce*n*gal*ar* nobíd and.
Mait*h* or fi*n*gen diatalt*ar* i*n*chloc*h* as doc*hi*nd
biatm*ar*b foc*h*etóir. Manituct*har* ass im– not
ícfai*n*d. 7 bidat*h*is duit. IS asso dún *ar* ul– i*n*dat*h*is
oldás aécso*m*. **R**oiccad iar– ac*h*end 7 rofuaged
cosnat*h* óir *ar*bac–ma dat*h* fuilt *con*ch– 7 dat*h* i*n*nóir.
Et asb–t i*n*liaig fri*con*ch– co*m*beth ifo*m*ti*n* .i. *ar*natísad
afḟerg dó 7 nadigsed f–ec*h* 7 naet*r*a$_i$ged mnai
co anfeta 7 naret*h*ed. **R**obói da– is$_i$*nch*untab*air*t
s$_i$*n* cei*n* robobeo .i. uii. ṁbl–. 7 nirboeṅgna*m*aid *acht*
aairis$_i$um i*n*naṡuidi na*m*ma .i. nacocuala cr– do
c*hroch*ad doiudaidib. tanic ands–e crit*h* mór f–s
naduli 7roc*h*rit*h*naig ne*m* 7tal– lamet i*n*gní*m*a
darónad and .i. ísu cr– m–c dé bí doc*h*rochad.

p. 124 b

cenc*hi*naid. **C**r$_a$et so *ar con*ch– f*r*iadruid. **C**iaolc mór do
gnith– is$_i$*n*dlat*hiu*sa i*n*diu. IS fíron ém *ar* i*n*drúi. IS
mór i*n*gní*m* s$_i$*n* *ar con*ch–. INfersi*n* da– *ari*ndrúi i*n*oenaidc*h*i
roge$_i$n 7 rogenis$_i$u .i. i*n*. uiii. kł en– cen copi*nun*d bl–.
IS ands$_i$*n* roc*h*re$_i$ti conch–. Et issési*n* i*ndar*a fer roc*h*reti
dodia i*n*her– riatiac*h*tai*n* cre$_i$tmi é .i. mora*n*d i*n*fer
[938]aile. **M**ait*h* t*r*a *ar con*ch–. **B**a*h*apr*ai*nd nadáil cu*ar*dríg.
nar nagg atu*m*beoir irric*h*t c*h*ruadc*h*urad cic*h*tis
cic*h*tis mo beoil *con*cic*h*lais crúas mór miled. maidm
nit*h*a muáid ni*m*ṡlóig serb*air*lec*h*. sordnifed soerc*h*ob*air*
la cr– coṅgenai*n*d. g*air* bæt*h* baruléi*m* f–let*h* ainlan
c*hom*ded lanscél céchoi*n*tir croc*h*ad ríg bamoo
coirp arí *ar*drac*h* ada*m*rai. tu*m*cic*hth*e i*n*gní*m* iti*n*ol t*air*i
sem treói*n* uasal icoi*m*ded coi*mthec*ht coṅgna*m* cái*n*
bé ladia dilgadac*h* diac*h*ob*air*. cái*n* f–lund fób–ai*n*d.
cái*n* co*m*lund crot*h*fi*n*d cr– *ar*ne*m*thuir. nipuscít*h* ce

[938] .R. is found in the margin.

ch*é*ssaitís coirp ch*r*iad. ci*ar*bo *ar* cr– cáid c–ac*h*tac*h* cia
dú dún nadroc*hem* rád dúr derc*hoin*te runort*ar*
i*n*armen mona miad nadríg roac*h*tm*ar* ronc*r*áidi
croc*h*ad cr– mac*h*otócbai*m*mis ba*h*assu nad be*m*mis
i*arnar*drac*h* eco*m*nart uasal rí rocés croic*h* cruaid
*ar*doi*n*e digmaig diaráith ragaindse bás ac*h*tu
flait*h* f–leccai*n*d foc*h*il néca nabuní ne*m*thuir necht
remiteised doc*hoim*rid moc*h*ride cluás i*nar*drac*h* ṅguba
ar mudia i*n*dscib nadríg roac*h*t cofír f–tac*h*t fr*itum*
thá brón báis conatbiur *ar* omun do*m* dul druib.
cendulemai*n* digail. **IS**and dori*n*gni *con*ch– i*n*ret*h*o
ricse diaroi*n*nis bac*h*rac*h* druí delagnib do*chon*ch–
cr– doc*h*roc*h*ad. diaraia*r*faig *con*ch– ciata *air*de
iṅgantac*h*a so. ⁊c–. ł da– combad é alt*us* i*ncon*sul do
dec*h*aid ooc*h*taui*n* doc*h*ungid i*n*chisa cogædelaib
noi*n*nised do*chon*ch– cr– dochroc*h*ad.,

E2: NLS MS Adv. 72.1.5 (formerly Gaelic V; hereafter referred to as E2), fol. 7vb1-8rb12; 26 x 19.5cms. 15th century (?).

fol. 7vb

Bai meisgi mor f– ultuib fechtnaill aneam*u*in
macha. Docuired*h* im*a*rbaid*h* ⁊ comrama r–na
curad*h*aib .i. et– *con*all cerndach ⁊ *coin*culaind ⁊ laegaire
mbuadach. **T**ucaid*h* damsa or *con*all i*n*chind
mesgera goraigillear icoraib*h* imarbad*h*a nacuraid*h*
arbabes doulltaib*h* i*n* inbaid*h* sin gach t*r*einfer
nomarbdais argalaib ænfir rogadaithea ai*n*ci*nn*
asachind laisintⁱ romarb*h*ad*h* ⁊ nacumaiscea ail
fær lais *con*denad*h* liathroid c*r*uaid*h* de ⁊ i*n*tan ro
bidis igim*ar*baid*h* *no* icomram*h*aib*h* doberdis qq
cumbidis nalam*h*uib*h*. **M**aith a *con*chubuir or *con*all
gonderndad*h* naoig nahecht comramaso
orgalaib ænfir mad*h* tailgne comrama ri*m*sa
asfir or*conch*ob–. **D**oradad iaram*h* i*n* inchind forsanuai*n*e
fora mbid dogres. luig*h* cach alethe dontsluad *ar*namaruch.
At*con*cad– t*r*a daoinm*h*id *con*chub– cindti*n*ed
a*n*caingen mor dorig*h*ned*h* imoncind i*n*oid*h*che sin istig*h*
⁊ nosberad leo iarnamaruch amach diacluic*h*e[939]
Dorala and da– cett m*a*c madach do*con*n*acht*aib*h* t*air*tec*h*ta
la hultuib*h* .i. in f*h*est asdocomla ⁊ isangbuid*h*e aneir– a*n*
cet sin. ISand doluig*h* sen forfait*h*che nahemna ⁊ t*r*i
laech chind doultaib leis. I**N**tan iaram bad– nahoi*n*midi
icluit*h*che doninchind .i. do inchind mesgera for
lar nafaithche isand sin adb–ed*h* i*n*oinmid f*r*ia araile
dib sin aso aso ari*n*oinm*h*id f*r*ia araili agalægad*h* ara
ceile dofæth rig*h* de oraraile. **R**ocluin cet i*n*nisi[.]
Robui alaim indala nai i*n*inchind ⁊ beired lais gach ec
⁊ gech *conair* irg*h*ail iteiged nobid*h* et– *con*n*acht*aib*h* ⁊ulaid*h*. dob–id
da– cet i*n*inchind lais i*n*acris dus infuig*h*ed*h* echt amra

[939] There is an ink stain above the first letter *c*, which is not to be confused with a *punctum delens*.

doulltaib*h* do marbad*h* de ardoidir cet robai at*air*[..]iri
domeisgeadra adig*h*ail fei*n* iarnaeguib*h*. **F**echt
and doluig*h* cet sair for creich cotard tain bo a
fearuibros dofarraid toir mor fair ⁊ toig*r*i a ul–
uile ⁊ rogabs*om* ænar fr*i*u gotora*cht*ad– *con*nach*t*a donleit*h*
aili dates*ar*gai*n* seo*m*. foc*h*erdat– cath mor et*ar*da
and sin doluig*h* *con*chub– fei*n* isincat*h*. Isan*n* si*n* sin ro
guid*h*sed mna *con*nach*t*a conchub– i*m*te*cht* f–l*eith* da fec*h*sai*n*
ad*h*eilbe doib *air*niroibe f–talm*h*uin dealb *con*[..]
am– delb*h* *con*chub– *et*– crut*h* ⁊ deilb*h* decei[.....]
⁊ cut*r*umad*h* et– rosg[ ]
⁊urlabra et– *ar*m ⁊ err[ ]
gaisged. Nirbo loch[ ]

fol. 8ra

ac*h*om*air*le *tr*a ceit m–c mad*h*ach rocui*nn*nig*h*si mna *con*nacht *con*chub*ar*
luig*h* *con*chub– forl*eth* aænar dafechsain donamnaib*h*. luig*h* i*ar*um
cet et– na mnaib*h* amed*h*on ⁊ ros$_i$n*n*list– cet i*n*inchi*n*d i*n*atabaille
⁊ rotelg*ust*– *con*tarrluic imulloch *con*chub– gorabad– adat*r*ian
i*n*ac*h*ind ⁊ gotarla amullach roim*h*e mantalmui*n* rithaid
nafira cuca gurugsad uad f– bru atha daire dabæth
is$_i$nd idorochuir ⁊ ata aligi and i*n*abail idorochuir ⁊ c*air*the fo
chind ⁊ iraile f*r*i cassaib ⁊ is de itb–t fland mainistrech
Conchub– clæthech ⁊ ceilg m–c noithech nesa niamd–g. aird*r*ig*h*
ul– roteacht de. diarbo leacht le*ar*g lam*h*ruid*h*e inalecht ni
laimt*h*e lag fu*air* t*r*i t*r*aig*ht*he is .uii. mod*h*ad. Sraint– t*r*a *con*nach*t*aig*h*
gomuine *ar*d na*con* siar. **M**oigid*h* da– f–ulltaib guhath daire da
bæth sair. robas t*r*a ogandeabaig*h* s$_i$n ont*r*ath goaraile dar
eis i*n*rig cormuig f–ulltaib sair iaram*h* ⁊ or*con*nach*t*aib s$_i$*ar* Dob–t*har*
aliaig*h* docu*m* *conch*ob– íars$_i$*n* .i. fingei*n* fathliaig*h* iseis$_i$dei*n* doin*n*ad
dondiaig*h* tig*id* dontig anlin dobid*h* angal– astig*h* ⁊ inlin gal– i*m*bid*h*
⁊ gach gal– ambid gach aen. Mait*h* t*r*a or fingei*n* datallt*ar* asaci*n*d
i*n*cloch bud*h* marb*h* i*n*fersa a .c. oir manatallt*ar* im*m* rohicfait*h*er
⁊ bud aithis do cena. I**S**usa duine orul– inathis dobeth de

inas aeg. Rohicad*h* da– cend *con*chub– rofuaig*h*ed*h* cosnathoir
arbacomdatha fȯlt *con*chub– ⁊ i*n*tor ⁊ isb–t i*n* liaig*h* gombeth t*r*i
fomtei*n* fair .i. arnatisad*h* fe*ar*g fæ ⁊ nat$_{i}$sad*h* f– ech ⁊ t$_{i}$s*a*d
gonamnai cohanfetha ⁊ robai da– *con*chub– is$_{i}$ncun*n*tab–t s$_{i}$n ge*n*
roba beó .i. uii. mbl–a ⁊ nirbo i*n*engnama *acht* airisem na su$_{i}$g*h*e
na*nn*ma g*us*inai*m*s$_{i}$r inrocrochad*h* cr– lahiudaib*h*. Doluig da– crit*h*
forn$_{a}$ duilib*h* gomor de fei*n* gorac*r*ithnaig*uster* nemh⁊tal– lamed i*n*
gni*m*a doronad*h* sund .i. isu c*rist*[940] m–c de bi doc*r*ochad*h*. **C**id s$_{i}$n or*con*chub–
f*r*ia ad*r*uig*h*tib*h* cia gni*m* mor dognither is$_{i}$nlaithe s$_{i}$u aniu isf*h*ir
on bar and*r*irai isgnim mor i*n*gni*m* mor dognith– and .i. c*rist* m–c de
bi rocrochad*h* lahidaib*h*. fer sen rogenar icoi*m*gen ⁊ icomais$_{i}$ f*r*it
su ł comad is$_{i}$nochtmad bl– .xx. flaithus *con*chub– no geined*h*
cr–. ISand s$_{i}$n t*r*a rocreid *con*chob– ⁊ ise i*n*dala fer docreid*uster* an
eir– dodia riatiachtain c*r*eidme cot*h*oitc*h*end *con*chub– ⁊ morand
m–c main infer aile. Maith t*r*a ol *con*chob– do fæthfad*h* .c. fer n*arm*ac*h*
limsa ogtes*ar*gain cr– damad*h* i comlond ł i cathdofaetfad*h*.
Roling i*ar*sin docu*m* aga⁊ acloid*h*im*h* ⁊ i*n*t sluag*h* inad*h*iaig*h* go
fid lamraige ⁊ rogab dong caill g*h*onde*r*na mad*h* di .i. mad*h* lamraige
iferuib ros ⁊ is– itb*h*eired igsluig*h*e i*n*fead*h*a isam– so
orse dodigelaind cr– isinluc*ht* roscroch dianastaruind.
la[...] f[..]g[941] dodeochaid*h* fai roling i*n*chind mesged*h*ra as
[ ] tairis amach gorbam*ar*b
ar sin fo[ ] med*h*ach conc*h*ub– t*r*iasan m[942][ ]
nis$_{i}$n Is– deig*h*$_{i}$nach t*r*a [ ]chub– cepe nob*h*erad sa gan
tairis$_{i}$m f–u orse cohemui*n* [ ] nobersa rige nul– do

fol. 8rb

nod*h*bersa orcend birraigi oragilla uodei*n* gabail
lumai*n* ui*m*e ⁊ nodbeir f–amui*n* cohardachadsleip*h*e

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[940] The *est*-compendium which looks like the Arabic numeral 2 is used here. However, it is expanded as *st* for the *nomina sacrum*.

[941] There may be a subscript *e* but it is very faint.

[942] This could just as likely stand for *ni*.

fuait. Moid*h*e and s$_{i}$n icroid*h*e as$_{i}$ngilla *con*ad de
sin ata rig*h*i cind birraigi .i. *con*chub– f–a mui*n* le$_{a}$t*h* i*n*
lai. ro foilsig*h* dia da– dobuide m*a*c b*r*onaig*h* i*n*chind
mesged*h*ra go nad*h* hi isad*har*t buid*h*e aniu$_{7}$is
nei*m*ed*h*ach cach focab*air* cend ogtecht f*r*iabas
$_{7}$ ata ambriat*h*raib abreit*h* i laig*h*nib*h* aris $_{7}$ forlamus
doib*h* iardai*n* f–cach fír aid*h*ed*h* *conch*ub– and
sin dianebrad*h*. **B**a sgel gach muig*h*i go muir.oig*h*
ead*h* i*n* rig*h* *con*chub–. ba mor naenguine[943] gancath. dolai*m*
cet mor m*a*c madach. rl–

[943] It should be noted that the scribe departs from his habitual use of uncial *u* here and uses a different graphic style.

C: RIA MS 1234 (C i 2; formerly Stowe and Ashburnham collection; hereafter referred to as C), fol. 5va12–8rb30; 5 x 4; 15th – 16th century (?).

fol. 5va

12 **B**ui measca mor
f– ulltaib f*echt* an*n* hi
naemai*n* mac*h*a do cu*r*
15 it*er* tan*n* im*ar*baidu
moru 7 cuimruma
et*arr*a .i. eit*ir* *con*all 7 *coin*q

fol. 5vb

1 lain*n* 7 læg*air*e tucaid
damsa *ar* *con*all incind
meas.g*r*a. coro aig;ll*ar*
ocu nacu*m*ramau
5 **b**a bes dull– ininbaid
s;n ca– curaid ł m*ar*b
dis *ar* galaib enf*ir* *no* ga
ta an incin*n* asaceann
aib 7 cu*m*asg asga æl
10 airtaib *con*denad liat*h*
roiti c*r*ui*m*ne cruaide
dib 7 intan ł bitis
anim*ar*badib *no* acom
romaib*h* dob–dis i*n*a
15 lam*h*aib \\ no *con*de–
Mait*h* aqnqb– ar*con*all
ait oic naco*m*rama e*cht*
fon innd*us*a *ar*galaib*h*

fol. 6ra

1 enf*ir* nitad tualg
in*n* cumru*m*a rfriu*m*
sa \\ rada inin

IS fir on ol qnqba*r*– da
cin*n* i*ar*– f–s$_i$*n* forad
f–mbid do g–s luid
da– cac*h* in lea$_i$t*h*i ar
nabarac*h* diaclu
ice \\ magach
Doluid di– ceat m–
do cuairt ea*chtr*a la
ull– \\ bai aneri
Beist is an*n*sam ro
i*n* ceat s$_i$n \\ it*hch*e
IS– do luig s$_i$d*h*e t*ar* fa
nea*m*an $_7$t*r*i laigcin*n*
lais diul– i*n*tan ba
da*r* na hoinmidiu

fol. 6rb

oc cluit*h*e do incin*n*
mes.g*r*a. is– atb–t inoinm
it f*r*ia *ar*oile \\ eit*h*aits$_i$di
Ro clui*n*iti*r* ceat inis$_i$n $_7$
in incin*n* alaim*h* indala
noei $_7$ b–id lais oro
fit$_i$r ceat abeit*h* at*ar*
rngaire do meis.g*r*a.
adigail *arn*a écaib cac*h*
*cat*h $_7$ ca– irgal nobid*h*
do *con*a*cht*aib*h* f*r*ia ull– do
b–ead ceat inincin*n*
ina c*r*iss d*us* intaradh
e*cht* nad*h*am*r*a dull– do
m*ar*b– dii. Fea*cht* and
do luig s$_i$*m* int$_i$ ceat s*air*
cut*u*c tanaig*h* mbo a

f–aib*h* rroiss do n*ar*

fol. 6va

aid hindi*ar*mor*acht* ul–
inadiaig*h* \\ don
do riacat– do– *con*con*acht* qq
leit*h* aile dia tes*air*
gains$_i$m fic*hair* cat*h*
etar*r*u \\ don *cath*
Dolluig *con*cub– fein
*con*ad an*n* s$_i$n gatat*ar*
mna *con*n*acht* do qqb–
tuig*echt* f– leit*h* do fe
c*h*sain adealba doib
fo bit*h* niraib*h*e f–
dealb duine am*m*l–
deilb *con*qb– .i. et– c*r*ut*h*
7 deilb 7 deit*h*cealt
7 et- deilb dui*n*e 7
meit 7 coiri 7 qd*r*u
ma eit– rosg 7 folt
7 gile et– gais 7 al
aig*h* 7 urlab– et– eair

fol. 6vb

ad 7 aine 7 ec*r*osg et–
arm 7 imad 7 ordan
et– gnais 7gaisgc–
7 cineli \\ cubar
Nibo loc*ht*ac*h* t*r*a antí *con*
acomairli [..][944] inceit
ro gabsat na mna

[944] The manuscript is stained here.

ailg*us* do *con*ch– \\ ur
Luig i*ar*– for leit*h* aoe*n*
dia fecsain do*n*am
naib \\ bai am*ethon*
Do lluig .u°. inceat co*m*
nos indleast*air* ceat
incin*n* meas .g*r*a. is$_i$nt
aoobhaill 7 nosteilg
*con*adas tarla i*m* mull–
cinn *con*qb– combada*r* ada
t*r*ian ina cin*n* 7 co tor–
s$_i$m asacin*n* cotarla
fria lar fo c–dat

fol. 7ra

ul– cucai *coni*drucsat
ar ceat fa*r* b–t*h* atha
daire dabaet*h* isan*n*
do roc*hair* *con*c– 7 at*h*a a
líe and bail itor–
7 acorti f*r*ia cosau
Moidig*h* t*r*a f– *con*n*acht* co
sciaid aird na *con*
Do b–t*ar* ul– sair dorid
is$_i$ co hat doire do
baet*h* mobreit*h*s$_i$u
as *ar* *con*cub– do b–im
rig*h* nul– do n–c
łm b–a *con*icce mot
eat*h* \\ arraide
Nodb–sa e*ar* ceand be
ar a gilla fadein
Do b–saide lomai*n*

fol. 7rb

ime oc*us* *no*mb– f–amu$_i$*n*
co *ar*dach– sleibe fu
ait \\ gill– *con*adé
Moid*h*i t*r*a acruidi is$_i$*n*
s$_i$n ata rig$_i$ cin*n* bi
rruidi f– ull– .i. in
rig f–a mui*n* leat*h*
hindlai \\ on t*r*ath
c*o*nbaid t*r*a indeabaid*h*
coroile t*ar* eiss ce
ro moid f– ull– i*ar*s$_i$*n*
dob–t t*r*a aliaig*h* co *con*c–
.i. fingei*n* ise s$_i$*n*
ł fin*n*ad dondiaig ł
teig*h*ead do*n* taig*h* in
lin do dainib bid
angal– is$_i$ntaig 7
cac g^{l}ar ł bid and

fol. 7va

Mait*h* or fingen dia
tallt*ir* incloc*h* ass do
cin*n* bidat marb
fo .c.oir \\ iccf
Mu*n*a t*u*cth*ir* ass .h. nat
uin*n* 7 bid ant*h*aiss
duit \\ arull–
IS*us*u duin*n* indat*h*ais
oldais aégsu*m* ro
hicad i*ar*– aceann 7 ro
fuaidead*h* cosnat*h*
oir *ar*baco*m*mait*h*
d*a*th fuilt *con*qb– 7d*a*th

indoir 7 isb–t in
liaig*h* fria *con*– cum
beit*h* afoimt$_{i}$n
.i. *ar*natisad afe*ar*g
dó 7 na digs– f–

fol. 7vb

each 7 nah^{e}traig*h*$_{i}$
mnoui i co anf*h*eta
7 na rit*h*ad*h* \\ tab–t
Roboui di– is$_{i}$*n* cunn
issin ge– ro boui
beou .i. uii. mbl–$_{i}$
7 nirbou eagna*m*
aid *acht* eirg$_{i}$u ina
suig$_{i}$u namau
.i. cu cualaid cr–
do croc*h*uo diu
iudaig$_{i}$u[945] \\ crit*h*
Tainicc aunds$_{i}$n
maru f–snat*h*u
dulib 7 ro c*r*it*h*n–
neoam 7 taluin
la met in gni*m*a
do ronad and .i.

fol. 8ra

ih–cr– m–c dé bíu
do croc*h*ad ganci*n*
aid \\ f*r*iad*r*aig*h*
Cret so ar*con*cub–
cia olc m*ar* dognit*h*

[945] There is a stain between the letter a and the letter i.

ar is$_{i}$nlait*h*$_{i}$ seo
inndiu \\ ism*ar*
IS fir on orind*r*aig*h*
an g$_{i}$ni*m* cr– do c*r*och–
is mor em*h* or*con*qb–
IS fir s$_{i}$n dan– orin
drai inoenoid*h*ci
rogein 7 rogenu
sa .i. uii kł enair
cen co bi*n* an*n* bl–
IS an*n*s$_{i}$*n* rocr– *con*c– 7
ise s$_{i}$n indala f*er*
ro cre$_{i}$t do dia in

fol. 8rb

er– re t$_{i}$ac*h*tain
creidme .i. fe*ar*
eile morand mac
c*air*p*r*i \\ ciada *air*di
do fiarfaid *con*h–
in*n*an*n*th– so– 7 c–
ł da– comad e alt*us*
i*n* *con*sal do deac*h*
aid o o.uiii. fin
do cuinc*h*i in cisa
o gaidel– ł in*n*isfed
cr– do croch fi*n*id

E1: NLS MS Adv. 72.1.40 (formerly Gaelic XL; hereafter referred to as E1), pp. 1.1–3.7; 21.5 x 16.5cms; 15th - 16th century

p. 1

1 [ ]

7docuiret[ ] im*ar*[ ]

7 loeg–i mbu–*h*ac*h*. Tuc– damsa *ar* [ ]

ailler ocu nac–r–a u*air* ba bes do ult– [ ]

5 m*ar*bdais *ar*gal– ae*n*f– ł gata an*i*n*c*in*n* asa chi*n*dia 7 ł[ ]

[ ]ta liat*r*oit c*r*uaid di 7 i*n* ta*n* ł bitis aci*mar*b– ł aco*m*r–a do b–tis q[ ]

f–ala*m*uib o*conimar*b–. Maith a co*n*ch– *ar con*– cu*i*n*der*sit nahoig e*cht* c–r–a [ ]

*ar*gal– æ*n*f– 7 nidat*h* tualai*n*g c–r–a ri*m*si is fir *ar con*[ ][946]rat– i*ar*– [ ]

f–sa*n*uat*h*ni f–ambid dog–s. Luid cach ni *conair ar*nam*ar*[947] do*n*tsl– do [ ]

10 oi*n*m– *con*c– dobad– aci*nn* nati–*h* 7 i*n* cai*n*gen mor doro*n*ad i*m*o*n* i*n*ci*nn*. B–ait sidei*n* [ ]

amac*h* *ar*nam*ar*–*h* doclui*th*i nahemna. Tan– da– cet m– mag–*h* do*connacht*aib do q*air*[]

lahult– p*est* is an*n*si*u*m 7 isdoc–l– robai anr– incet si*n* isan*n* robaisi*u*m [ ]

t*echt* d*ar* faith*c*i nahem*n*a 7 t*r*i l–*h*ci*n*d doult– lais. Anta*n* bat– nahoi*n*m[…]

cl–t[ ]i*n*7 las*nn*[948] si*n* misg– 7 is– ade*r*dis no foet*h* ri di. Ro cual– Cet i*n*isi*n* dob–[ ]

15 i*n* d*ar*a f– an*i*n*c*in*n* 7 ruc lais docr–*h*ai*n* .Ga– *cath* 7 irg– ł bid a *connacht*– fri hult– b–ed Cet ani*n*cin*n* [.]a[949] c*r*is da fis i*n* rois*eth* lais e*cht* eici*n* bud a*m*ra la [ ]

[ ] dir do feit– cet coroibi at*ar*ng–i do mi*s*c– adigailt [.]*ar*[ ]

d– do luid cet s*air* f– c*r*eic*h* cohult–[950] cotucust– tai*n* bo o f–aib r*us* t*arr*– i[ ]

---

[946] The manuscript is stained.

[947] There is staining in the manuscript above the abbreviation of **ar** in *arnamar*, but I suspect that a suspension stroke should be here for the compendium **ach**.

[948] There is a small hole in the manuscript due to a defect in the vellum. It appears that the scribe tried to write *s* with a superscript stroke where the hole is, but repeated it immediately. The scribe avoids writing on this part of the vellum on page 2. Compare with lasi*n* on p.2.25.

[949] The manuscript is smudged here and it is difficult to make out the letter. It appears to be a single letter with a suspension stroke and a subscript *a*. It most likely reads i*n*a.

[950] The letter *l* is superscript above the letter *t*, with the suspensions stroke. He corrected himself by adding it.

[....] *fair* ⁊ rogabso*m* fr*i*u i*ar*– cota*n*cad– *conacht* do*n*l*eith* aili d$_{i}$a t*usar*c–[ ]

[.]r[ ][951] s$_{i}$n ⁊ dol– *con*c–fei*n* is$_{i}$*n cath*. Is an*n*s$_{i}$*n* roguid*h* m*n*a *conacht con*– [ ]

folei*th* dodechs$_{i}$*n* agn*use* ⁊ adelba doib oirn$_{i}$raibi[ ]

[ ]n *con*c– *etar* c*r*ut*h* ⁊ ce$_{i}$ll ⁊ de$_{i}$celt ⁊ *etar* de$_{i}$lb ⁊ me$_{i}$t$_{i}$ ⁊ core ⁊ [.]ut[..]ma ⁊

gile *etar* gnais ⁊ all ⁊ urlabr*a etar arm* ⁊ err– ⁊ h–*us*c eta*r* ai*n*e ⁊ [ ]

gaisc– ⁊ ce$_{i}$*n*ol ⁊ nirbo lo*chtach* t*r*at in f– s$_{i}$*n* .i. *con*c–. Do c–airli ceit [ ]

mi*n* rogabsat [mna] *connacht* ailg*us* des$_{i}$u*m*. luid i*ar*– *con*c– a æ*n*or f– l*eith* d$_{i}$a dech[

]

[.]a m*n*aib ⁊ luit cet im– co*m*bai *etar* na m*n*aib *ar* medo*n* cet [ ]

p. 2

[...]abaill [..]teilg–[…]*ar*la a mull– c$_{i}$*n*d conc– [ ]

i*n*a i*nci*n[.] ⁊ co t*ar*la a mul– roi*m*e atalm–. Reitit na fir cuici i*ar*si*n* co

rs*at* .h. f– [.]ru atha doire dabóet*h*[952] ⁊ isan*n* adorc– *con*c– ⁊ ata a l*echt* an*n* ⁊ a

ligi bail atorc– ⁊ cort*h*$_{i}$ f*r*ia ci*n*d ⁊ *ar*aili f*r*ia bon*n*. Srai*n*t– *conacht* cosciaic*h*

ar[.] na *con* s$_{i}$*ar*. Muidid d$_{i}$– f–ult– soir cohath doire dabæt*h*[953] uili ro

bas t*r*a a *con*deb– o*n* t*r*at*h* co^{h}*ar*aili d*ar* eis i*n*rig muigid f– ult– i*ar*si*n*. Dob–*ar* a

aliaig co *con*c– .i. fi*n*g$_{i}$*n* eis$_{i}$de$_{i}$*n* ⁊ ise t*r*at*h* ł fi*n*ded i*n* diaid ł tig– do*n* tig i*n*

li*n* ł bid an gal– is$_{i}$ntig ⁊ gac*h* gal– nobit*h* an*n*. Mait*h* t*r*at or fi*n*gin d$_{i}$a

t*uct*h– asacend i*n*cl–*h* bid m*ar*b fo cet oir ⁊ m–a t*uct*h–as rohicfait*h*– ⁊

biaid at*h*ais dó[954]. IS *us*a du*n ar*ult– anathais a*n*das aécso*m*[955]. Rohic– i*ar*–

i*n* c*ent* ⁊ ro fuaided co snait*h*$_{i}$ óir[956] [ ]folt [ ]ór ⁊ isb–t i*n* liaig co*m*beit*h* afoiditi*n*

.i. *con*a tis– f–g fai ⁊ natis– for ec*h* ⁊ natis– co*m*nái ⁊ naro caithed biad

coha*n*feta. Roboi is$_{i}$*n* cu*n*tab–t s$_{i}$*n* i*n* ce$_{i}$*n* robo béo [.i. *secht* mbl–] ⁊ nirbo he*n*gna*m*aid

acht tairis$_{i}$*m* i*n*ash*u*$_{i}$di amai*n* c*usinuair* roc*r*och– cr– la iud–.Tan– an*n*s$_{i}$*n* c*r*it*h*

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[951] The letter *r* is legible but this is followed by a stained section.

[952] The length-mark is visible in the digitized image, but no longer visible in the original manuscript.

[953] There is a length-mark above *æ*. As above, the length-mark is visible on the digitized image but not present in the original manuscript.

[954] As above, the length-mark is visible on the digitized image but not present in the original manuscript.

[955] In contrast to the above instances, the length-mark is visible in both the manuscript and the digitized image.

[956] The scribe uses a small circular shaped grapheme, to indicate the reading in the margin belongs here. See p. 3.11 for a similar symbol and text added in the margin.

mor

f–sna duilib ⁊ rocr*ith*n– nem ⁊ tal– la meit i*n*gn$_i$*m*a don$_i$th– is$_i$*n* lait*h*ius$_i$ aniu .i. ih–u cr– m– debi doc*r*och– ci*n* ci*n*aid diud– am*air*s–*h*a. Cid so or *con*c– f*r*ia d*r*uidib ⁊ cia g*h*n$_i$*m* mor donith– an*n*so aniu is fir or nad*r*uid$_i$ is gn$_i$*m* mor don$_i$th– and .i. cr– m–c debi do c*r*och– la iud– .i. fer rogenad ac–ais f*r*its$_i$ Bac*r*ac*h* fil– dolagn$_i$b ise ro i*n*dis do *con*c– cr– doc*r*och–. IS an*n*s$_i$*n* doc*r*eit *con*c–

do cr– ⁊ ise and*ar*a f– tois–*h* i*n* er– doc*r*eit do dia re tiac*h*tai*n* c*r*eitm$_i$ he ⁊ moran*n* m– mai*n*. Mait*h* t*r*at*h* or *con*c– do faetsat mile fer n*ar*mac*h* li*m*sa act*usar*c– cr–. roli*n*g i*ar*si*n* c–adagai ⁊ r*us*b–taig cot–n g–romuigit– i*n*a dor*n* ⁊ rogab i*ar*– acl–em i*n*alaim ⁊ rogab do*n* caill– ui*m*e *con*der*n*aig mag doncaill .i. mag la*m*r–i af–aib rus ⁊ is– atb–t isaml– so dodigol–

si*n* cr– f–iudal– ⁊ f–inluc*ht* rocroc*h* he daroisi*n*d iat lasi*n* f–gsi*n* roli*n*g i*n*cin*n* misc– asa cin*n* cotai*n*ic ai*n*ci*n*d fei*n* fair gu*r*bo m*ar*b de ⁊ *con*id*air*esi*n* ade*r*ait cach is ne*m*edac *con*c– t*r*it andurtac*ht* doroi*n*e *con*c–. Ise i*n*de$_i$gac*h* adub–t *con*c–. Gidbe no*m*b–asa c$_i$*n* t*air*is$_i$u*m* fu*m* *con*nuici motech *ar*se

p.3

[ ]em [..] na [..] b–ai*n*d rig[.] nul– nob–sa ar c*ent* beirrit$_i$ [ ]
do b–*us*u*m* lam u$_i$*m*e ⁊ b–it*h* g– h*ar*dach– tsl–$_i$ fuait f–amu$_i$*n*. M[..]d[ ]
is$_i$*n* g$_i$llu *con*ide ata rige ce$_i$n*n* b–it$_i$ f– ult– .i. i*n*ri f–a mu$_i$*n* le[..] lai.
Ro foillsig [dia] do búiti m– bro*n*aig*h* i*n*ci*n*d misc– *con*idhi is ad*ar*t buiti aníu ⁊ is n–edach g*a*c æn [f–a] racha i*n*ci*n*d misc– ic dol f*r*ia bás[957] ⁊ ata [ ]
briath– abreth fodes alagnib ⁊ f–taml*us* doib i*ar*si*n* conid hi ad–
co*n*ch– *con*nuici si*n*

[957] The mark of length is visible on the digitized image only.

N: RIA MS 967 (23 N 10, formerly Betham 145, hereafter referred to as N), fol. 16.1–31.8 x 5 1/2. 16th century.

fol. 16

bai *con*c– m–c nesai fe*chtus* nan*n* atfet doalt*us*s croch– cr–. alt*us i*– ishe do
th*ath*aig– cocloemclodaib sed otibir m–c augaist ri roma*n* do *con*c–
m–c nesa. arba cu*m*a bat– re*achtar*ea rig roman i*n*naim*s*–[958] si*n* f– medon
in ueth– 7 f– i*n*ds$_{i}$p fuinid 7 t*ur*cbalai co*m*baco*m*d–b is$_{i}$*n* mbit na–sgel n*air*
dirc f–cu*m*cad an*n*.ba d–b d$_{i}$ula *con*c– fo*nn*inn*us* s$_{i}$*n* in c*r*ut f–cuad c*r*och– cr– ar
at fet do alt*us* ba he cr– do ros– nem 7 talm– 7 is airi *ar*foit colain*n ar*
tath cre$_{i}$cc in ci*n*eda doenai ba c–tmec*h* alt*us* isa*ir*e atfed cec mait
i*n* c*r*och– cr– co*n*cre$_{i}$d *con*c– docr– 7 isi*ar*– asṁb–t *con*c– rofe*st*tais[959] fir in
b*eth*a acu*m*
ang occathug– f*r*i h$_{i}$udei crocs$_{i}$ti cr– manubet hico*m*fog*us* docr– isde is
mb–t c*on*cub– Ba hap*r*ain*n* nandail cuartrig narnaic atumfir h$_{i}$ric*ht* croad c*h*urad
cic*h*tis *con*ciuc*h*lis mar milit*h*a maid*m* netho moit*h*
n$_{i}$mdai sluag se$_{a}$rb*air*l– soistnefe$_{i}$t soir cob– la cr– *con*gaib ge*n*$_{a}$n g*air*
bait forletenæ la*n* coi*m*d– barola*n* scel cic*h*oi*n*tir croc*h*at fir bai*n* moo
mocorp canæ n*ar*trig nada*m*rai n*air*rerin atumcichtæ gni*m* fir
h$_{i}$ tinol tairisem t*r*iu*n* uaisib incoimded c*h*ait*h* cumac*ht*aig*h* ca*n*beei*n*la*m*
dee nd$_{i}$lgodag do cob– canf–lon*n* foabe$_{a}$ba rin*n* ca– comlan*n* croitfin*n*
la cr– arnemtir nibuscit*h* cic*h*estæ *ar*cr– cat*h* cumac*ht*oc*h* cid duda*m*̄
du*n* d–coi*n*ti d$_{i}$nreil roc*h*u$_{i}$*n*em nadne$_{a}$ nderaga*m* .i. digal duir coirp c*r*oc*h*
siti rig dorearoosat ronort i*n*n$_{i}$ m–ma*n* med nad rig roac*ht*ama*r* ro*n*
craide croch– cr– mac*h*utooccaibmis atbelm$_{a}$is bahasa art*r*ag
eco*m*nart hoasal ri roces c*r*oic*h* coirt *ar* doi*n*e ndicma*ir*c d$_{i}$arait no
regain*n* h$_{i}$mbas atu*m* flait f–leicib fac*h*el neconibai*n*e inmain *art*riun
do co*m*rat*h* mochridea cloasi*mar*trac*h* atgubai *ar*u*m*eda inscib i*n*na ro
a*cht* fir f–ta*cht* cr– f*r*itombro*n* bais cuadb*air* *air*omu*n* *air*iniud tomdrub
ce*n* du$_{i}$lema*n* d$_{i}$gail. IS i*ar*s$_{i}$*n* cotnoscrast– am– bid oc t*echt* hi roi cat*h*ai

[958] An abbreviation stroke is seen going through the descending shaft of the letter *s*.

[959] The Latin abbreviation for *est* is written here and it resembles the Arabic numeral two (see Breatnach 2012, 127).

ar belaip cr– *co*sesce$_{a}$nd asaci*n*n aninci*n*n meisged*r*a 7 *con*idebilt ind
30 *ar*s$_{i}$*n* is– isb– dee ia*r*– ise gei*n*tri*n*s$_{i}$*n* docoid h$_{i}$ flaith n–ea fobit robad
batais [ ]l doescmai[ ] 7 rocreit [ ] do cr– Finit [ ]

LFF: RIA MS 476 (23 O 48, also known as Liber Flavus Fergusiorum; hereafter referred to as F), fol. 52ra3-52rb2; 11 x 8, 15th century.

f. 52ra

1

(**B**)ud*h* mór lahulltu amuig*h* murrt*h*uini do luig*h* i*ar*–
boc*r*ach fili ocus draig*h* doloig*h*nib*h* docu*m* nadala iartoidi*cht*
5 do alaig*h*nib iar fog*h*luim fili*cht*a fiabraid*hus* co*n*cub–
scela alban ocus Leatha Mog*h*a do at– mor eim*h* olse
do ron*n*ad*h* isi*n*bit*h* toir .i. c*r*och*a*d rig*h* neim*h*i ⁊talm– la
hiub*h*daib*h* ⁊ ise rotirc*h*ansat faid*h*i ⁊ draid*hth*i doic ⁊do
teasraguin daini andomuin dope*c*ad*h* adai*mh* do deachai
10 donæ*m* neim*h* coro et coluin*n* omuiri oig íngín cen
lath*air* freasguil corluig*h* acrand c*r*oit*h*i lahiud*h*aib doiccan
cei*n*eoil dæn*n*a imon caisc do cuaid*h* uain*n* ⁊ at*r*aacht isi*n* treas
lo iar na cesadh .i. roin*n*is do*n*alt*us* isse tigid conait*h* easguib*h*
⁊ cusedaib*h* ⁊ co mainib*h* otibir s*h*esair aug*h*uist rig*h* ro*m*an
15 ⁊ orig*h* andom*h*ui*n* coco*n*cub– neasa do eam*h*uin macha *ar*ba
cu*m*abadar rea*cht*uiread*h*a rig*h* ando*m*ui*n* isi*n* nai*m*sirsin f*r*i mead*h*o*n*
anbeatha ⁊ anin*n*sib fuinig*h* g*r*ei*n*e ⁊ tu*r*gabala co*m*a co*m*di*r*bh
isi*n*bith uili nach sgel *air*d*r*e*ch* fos c–ad*h* an*n* [*ar*ro in*n*is alt*us*]
ba de*r*b*h* le co*nch*ub*h*ur foninn*us* si*n* anc*r*uth forc*h*uaid*h* crochad c*h*r–.
20 dobahe cr–. dorin*n*id*h* neam*h* ⁊ talum*h* **et** is *air*e arro et
colan*n* omuiri oig*h* artaithc*r*eich ceineoil dæn*n*a ba
c*r*eidm*h*each do–alt*us* féin isa*ir*e atfet ar sgela cr– co*m*aith *concr*eid
co*n*cub– acr– noisa*m*l– so at cæ*m*nac*hair* he. **b**uid*h* co*n*cub– in
dail ⁊ maithi f*r*i neir– ui*m*e anla roc*r*ochad*h* rcr–[960] a*n*ta*n* do
25 dec*h*aid*h* teim*h*eal f*r*isi*n* ng*r*ein ⁊ rosuig*h* esga andat*h* fola rofi*ar*
faid*h* co*n*cub– im– do cat*h*baid*h* duss cid ro*m*badar naduile
do com*h*altasa arse infe*r* rogeanair anaenaidc*h*i f*r*it anosa
martar do c*r*oithi f*air* ⁊ do radad*h* ac*r*oidhe ⁊isesi*n* canuid
a*n*ní si*n* **A**t*r*aigi Co*n*cub– suas lasog*h*uin ⁊ gab– a gaisced*h*

[960] There is a dot under the first r to show that the scribe has wrongly entered this.

fair ⁊ atb–t is e si*n* eim*h* olse mo co*m*altasa ⁊ mo co*m*ais
⁊ is e ro geanair anae*n* oidc*h*i fr*i*u*m* ⁊ ro gob i*ar*– deargail o
tasi*n* coroac*h*t isi*n* f*airr*gi ⁊ cu luig*h* in*n*ti *con*u*r*ruigi afiacuil is
ocin deargail i*ar*– ro $^{go}\dot{b}$ co*n*cub– an laigsi ba ap*r*ain*n* nahid*h*
iul coh*ar*d i*ar*neguib*h* rig*h* rl //cu*m*ang accathug–
Ocus as i*ar* si*n* asb–t *con*cub– ro feasdais fir i*n* beat*h*a mo
fr*i*th hiug*h*aid*h*b*h* t*r*e c*r*ochad*h* cr– dia mbein*n* aco*m*fog*us* do is i*ar* si*n*
att*r*ac*ht* son ⁊ rosgob*h* fr*i*siu dearguil cur scéin*n* in cin*n* mesg
ead*h*ra asa cin*n* ⁊ con e*ar*bailt co*n*cub– fo .c. oir *con*ad*h* esin
adb–t na g*h*æid*h*il *con*ad*h* he co*n*cub– c. gein*n*tlig*h*i docoid*h* docu*m*
neim*h*i aneir- fobith robobait*h*is do infuil dolui[ ]g*h* as
cin*n* **Et** as an*n* sin rucad*h* ai*n*im *con*cob– anif*ir*in*n* guco*m*fraic

Col. b

ead cr– friad*h*a act[ ]broide ahif*ir*n*n*
co tu*c* cr– leis anim co*n*cabair [ ]mi. Finid.

Laud: MS. Laud Misc. 610, Bodleian Library (hereafter referred to as Laud); fol. 42vd1-42vd13; 33.5–34 x 24.5–25cm; 15th century.

fol. 42vd

Salt– cc–[961]

Cet .m. magac*h* roteilc

incloic*h* .i. íc*h*in*n* mesge^{g}*r*ai

rig laigen icat*h* d*air*e dába^{e}t*h*

fingen fat*h*liaig*h* *con*qb– ise

n*ar*oleic incloic*h* dotab*air*t asa

c*h*ind **M**uníu .h–. íncerd ise

dorat c–tach i*m*pe f*r*iacen*n* im

muig*h* **B**ac*h*rac*h* file do laig

níb ise roin*n*is do *con*qb– cr–

doc*r*och– i*m*maig lamraige at

c*h*uaid dó is an*n* doroc*hair* *con*qb–

ocglanad i*n* maige F // //

[961] *Salt– cc* is written in red ink above the text. It is slightly faded.

S: RIA MS 1224 (D iv 2: formerly Stowe collection, hereafter referred to as S), fol. 52 (54) rb1-52 (54) vb6; 11 x 8 1/2cm; 15th century (?).

fol. 52.

INcipit do oid*h*ed*h* concubuir m^{ic}nessa annso sis.
Ceat m–c madach rot*h*eilg incloich .i.
inchi*n*d misced*h*ra rig*h* laig*h*en f– *con*cub–
hicath d*h*aire dab*h*æt*h*. Fing*h*en fath
liaig *con*cob– isé naroleig i*n*cloich dot*h*ab–t asa
chi*n*d. Mu*m*a .h. i*n*c–d isse dorat cu*m*dach i*m*pe
riace*n*n amuich. bacrach file dolaig*h*nib*h* ro
i*n*dis do *con*ch– c*r*ist doc*r*och– imaig*h* lamrig*h*e at
chuaid*h* dó isan*n* s$_i$n daroch– *con*cob– acglanad*h*
i*n*m*h*aig*h*e.

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