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Image on title page: Statue of Breogán before the Tower of Hercules, known in *Lebor Gabála Érenn* as the Tower of Breogán. Picture taken from http://www.wearesweet.co/culture/travel/g288/most-amazing-lighthouses/?slide=9 (retrieved November 8, 2016).

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Abbreviations

EIHM Early Irish History and Mythology, T.F. O'Rahilly

DIL Dictionary of the Irish Language

GOI A Grammar of Old Irish, R. Thurneysen

LL Leabhar Laighneach, Book of Leinster, TCD MS 1339 (H.2.18)

LU Lebor na hUidre, Book of the Dun Cow, RIA MS 23 E 25

TM Tochmarc Momera, The Wooing of Momera

YBL Leabhar Buidhe Lecáin, Yellow Book of Lecan, TCD MS 1318 (H.2.16)

I. Introduction

The medieval Irish tale *Tochmarc Momera* has received little to no scholarly attention over the course of the past century. Since the publication of the edition of *Cath Mhuighe Léana or The Battle of Magh Leana, together with Tochmarc Momera or the Courtship of Momera* in 1855 by Eugene O'Curry,¹ it has only been mentioned by scholars in passing reference, while most remain unaware of its existence. Although Kenneth Jackson produced a new edition of *Cath Maighe Léna* in 1938, which was reprinted in 1990 with additional corrigenda,² he did not include a new edition of *Tochmarc Momera*. O'Curry's edition of the tale does not comply to the modern standards of an edition: not only is the translation outdated and does it lack a discussion on the language and date of the tale, it is also written in the Gaelic script, which obscures the level of editorial interference.

The aim of this thesis is to provide a new edition of *Tochmarc Momera* (TM), based on my own transcription made from the Yellow Book of Lecan, which contains the only extant copy of the text. It is preceded by an introduction to the contents, the historical background and the source of the tale. The chapter on the literary context provides a general overview of the role of the tale in transmission and its influence on other sources, since a full-scale analysis of the literary aspects of the tale is beyond the scope of this thesis. The edition itself is further supplemented with a linguistic analysis and textual notes, including a discussion of the language and dating, and a new translation is presented on the basis of this edition. The objective of this thesis is to make the tale *Tochmarc Momera* accessible, to both the general and academic public by providing a new edition and additional contextualization, to enable further research that may contribute to our knowledge of Irish language and literature.

Summary

Three strange young men arrive at the abode of Eógan Taídlech, son of Mugh Neid, and relate to Eógan that it has been prophesied to Éber, the king of Spain, that a man from Ireland would sail to Spain and marry his daughter, who would give birth to several children that would rule over Ireland. Éber asked his druid to find out who this man would be, and the druid replied that an Irishman would come to marry her if the king would send messengers to fetch him. Eógan decides to come with the three men, who are the sons of the druid, and travels with his fosterbrothers to Spain. In the meantime, the king of Spain inquires of his druid about the whereabouts of the messengers, and is

 $^{^1}$ O'Curry, Eugene (ed. & tr.), Cath Mhuighe Léana or The Battle of Magh Leana, together with Tochmarc Moméra or the Courtship of Moméra (Dublin 1855).

² Kenneth Jackson (ed.), Cath Maighe Léna (Dublin 1990).

answered in verse that they are on their way. When the company arrives they are entertained while a feast is held, and Eógan marries the princess. Afterwards, the druid tells the girl that it is foretold that a salmon will come every seventh year into the river Ebro, and that she will catch it and strip it of its wool. The salmon is trapped and its wool is taken off, and the girl makes a shining cloak from it for Eógan, whence he was henceforth called Eógan Taídlech or Eógan the Shining. The company returns to Ireland with Eógan and his pregnant wife, where he asks land of Cathair Mór, the king of Ireland. He receives land for three forts and while inspecting one of these, his wife gives birth to their firstborn Ailill. While working on building the forts, Eógan invents a new way to plough the earth. The druid tells him that this earns him the sobriquet Fidfecach and foretells that he will build the three forts and rule over half of Ireland.

History of the Eóganachta

Since Eógan is regarded as the founder of the Eóganachta, a general overview of the history of this kindred is provided here. The Eóganachta were a dynasty of the southern province of Munster, who ruled the province from the seventh to the mid-tenth century.³ The high-king of Munster was the king of Cashel, which was their principal settlement, who ruled over all of the Munster tribes.⁴ Geographically, the Munster territories can be defined as the lands around the Galty Mountains.⁵ Before the Eóganachta were in control, Munster was dominated by the Érainn or their descendants, the Corcu Loígde, who were still living in the province during the Eóganachta rule.⁶ The following branches of the Eóganachta can be distinguished:⁷

- The eastern Eóganachta, who belonged to the main branch of the dynasty⁸ and can be further divided into the Eóganachta Chaisil or Uí Maic Laire, Eóganachta Áine Cliach, Eóganachta Airthir Chliach and Eóganachta Glendamnach.
- The western Eóganachta, consisting of the Eóganachta Raithlind and Eóganachta Locha Léin.

According to the early Irish legal tract *Frithfolaid ríg Caisil fri túatha Muman* 'Counter-obligations of the king of Cashel towards the peoples of Munster', only the descendants of the Munster king

³ Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland', in Foster, Roy (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland* (Oxford 2001), p. 30.

⁴ Michael Richter, *Medieval Ireland: The Enduring Tradition* (Dublin 2005), p. 36.

⁵ Francis J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* (Dublin 1987), pp. 177-178.

⁶ Ó Corráin, 'Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland', p. 30.

⁷ Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, p. 178.

⁸ T.M. Charles Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge 2000), p. 538.

Nad Froich or main branch of the dynasty had a claim on the title of king of Munster. ⁹ Access to Munster was restricted and hence relatively cut off from the rest of Ireland. The province had a high standard of Latin learning in the sixth and seventh centuries and close clerical connections were maintained with the monasteries in their territory. ¹⁰

When compared to the powerful Uí Néill of Leinster, the Eóganachta appear to be a weaker dynasty. The claim that 'the Eóganachta ruled through prosperity and generosity' has probably arisen from silence, as both early annals concerning this kindred and a complete list of provincial kings are lacking. In propaganda literature the weaker position of the dynasty is turned into a positive attribute and the literary and legal sources stress the benevolent and generous nature of the the Eóganachta. This is illustrated in *Frithfolaid*, as the stress is on 'the priviliges and rights of the tribal kings' rather than on 'the powers of their overland'. Among these tribal kingdoms are the Corcu Loígde, the previous rulers of Munster whom had been politically marginalized by the Eóganachta. According to this tract, the king the Corcu Loígde still maintained considerable status and was excluded from paying tribute.

Munster was much 'a world of its own'and the kings of Munster looked to the king of Cashel as the highest seat of power. When in the eighth century the Uí Néill gained control over the northern half of Ireland, the men of Munster invented the concept of the division of Ireland into two roughly equal halves, known as *Leth Cuinn* 'Conn's half' and *Leth Moga* 'Mug's half'. It demonstrates an attempt by the Eóganachta to delimit the power of the rulers of Tara, the seat of power of the Uí Néill, as the notion that kingship of Tara symbolized control over the whole island. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the kings of Cashel tried to challenge the growing Uí Néill power and were relatively successful. But while the Uí Néill developed a strong dynastic propaganda, the kingship of Caisil remained to be 'a very loose hegemony operating under rules proper to the archaic and tribal stage of Irish society', lacking the type of dynastic cohesion that had developed among the Uí Néill. 17

From the period 820 to 964, the Eóganachta Chaisil held the kingship of Munster, but failed to effectively extend their influence beyond Munster. ¹⁸ Their power crumbled, and the Vikings

⁹ J.G. O'Keeffe (ed.), 'Dál Caladbuig and reciprocal services between the kings of Cashel and various Munster states', in Fraser, J., P. Grosjean, and J. G. O'Keeffe (eds.), *Irish texts, fasciculus I* (London 1931). pp. 19–21.

¹⁰ Byrne, p. 174; Ó Corráin, p. 30.

¹¹ Richter, Medieval Ireland, p. 36.

¹² Ibid., p. 37; Byrne, p. 199.

¹³ Kuno Meyer (ed.), 'The Laud genealogies and tribal histories', in Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie 8 (1912), pp. 291-338;

O'Keeffe (ed.), 'Dál Caladbuig and reciprocal services between the kings of Cashel and various Munster states', pp. 19–21.

¹⁴ Byrne, p. 198.

¹⁵ Richter, p. 37.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Byrne, p. 203.

¹⁸ Ó Córrain, p. 30.

managed to gain a foothold in Munster lands. ¹⁹ They were attacked by the Uí Néill, who kept trying to extend their power. ²⁰ In 954 AD, king Ceallachan of Caisil died, after which the kingship of the Eóganachta collapsed. As the power of the Eóganachta began to break down, the Dál Cais of north Munster took over the power in 964, which marked the ending of the Eóganachta as a ruling dynasty. ²¹

Source

The tale *Tochmarc Momera* is only found in one manuscript: *Leabhar Buidhe Leacáin* (YBL) or the Yellow Book of Lecan. This vellum manuscript is now part of the collection of Trinity College Dublin, and shelfmarked as MS 1318 (H.2.16).²² It is a composite manuscript of which only parts originally belonged to the YBL proper.²³ It is dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and consist of seventeen separate sections. The columns have been numbered throughout the manuscript, and *Tochmarc Momera* has been written on columns 341 to 343.²⁴ The tale is part of a section written by Murchadh Ó Cuinnlis, who names himself in the lower margin of column 322.²⁵ Murchadh was writing between 1398 and 1399 under the supervision of Gilla Íosa mac Donnchadh Mac Fhir Bhisigh at Ballymacegan, at a library owned by the Mac Aodhagain family.²⁶

The contents of section six, which contain *Tochmarc Momera*, are a mix of religious and pseudo-historical material, such as *Cath Maighe Rath*, *Aided Muirchertaig meic Erca*, *Fled Dúin na nGéd* and the Munster-related legal tract *Frithfolaid ríg Caisil fri túatha Muman*. The tale *Tochmarc Momera* begins at the top of the left-hand column 341 with an elaborate initial *F* in the shape of dog, consisting of traditional knotwork in black ink, approximately ten lines in height. There is no use of red ink and there is no double-height incipit, as is the case with other tales in this section.²⁷ It appears that rubrication and decoration with red ink ended at the beginning of column 336, since red ink is lacking in all the following folios. Possibly, this is the reason for the absence of an incipit and red ink in the decoration of the initial of TM. The text of the tale continues on the right-hand column and ends halfway down column 343 on the next page. In the lower margins of

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¹⁹ Richter, p. 112.

²⁰ Ó Corráin, p. 37.

²¹ Ó Corráin, p. 30.

²² T.K. Abbott and E.J. Gwynn, Catalogue of the Irish manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (Dublin 1921), pp. 94-110.

²³ Abbott and Gwyn, Catalogue of the Irish manuscripts, p. 94.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 100.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 344.

 ²⁶ Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'A medieval irish historiographer: Giolla Íosa Mac Fhir Bhisigh' in Smyth, Alfred P. (ed.) Seanchas:
 Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne (Dublin 2000), pp. 387-95.
 ²⁷ Cath Maighe Rath, Aided Muirchertaig meic Erca, Fled Dúin na nGéd and Frithfolaid ríg Caisil fri túatha Muman all contain an incipit.

these folios quatrain 25 of the poem Aimirgin Glúngel tuir tend, accredited to Gilla in Chomded Ua Cormaic, is written.²⁸ The tale is preceded by *Baile Moling*, a poem ascribed to St. Moling himself on column 340, and followed by various extracts on the remainder of folio 343, ranging from literary and historical tales to religious verse, before the section ends.

²⁸ Peter Smith, 'Aimirgin Glúngel tuir tend: a Middle-Irish poem on the authors and laws of Ireland', in *Peritia* 8 (1994), p. 128.

II. Literary context

Genre

The tale ends with the words *Conad tochmarc Momera ingeine rīg Espāine d'īar foī re h-Eōgan Toīdlech, 7 genemain Aililla Oluim indsin* 'And this is the wooing of Momera daughter of the king of Spain after she wedded Eógan Taídlech (the Shining), and the birth of Ailill Oluim'. Besides not being listed in the tale-lists as a known *tochmarc*, the tale does not adhere to the traditional structure of a *tochmarc* or 'wooing'. The typical outline of a *tochmarc* is as follows: a man and a woman fall in love, either in person or before they have met. In the latter case, we speak of *grád écmaise*, the literary motif of falling in love with someone on account of the stories that are told about him or her.²⁹ Before the lovers can be united, the man has to perform a number of tasks to prove his worthiness to the girl or to her father. If the man successfully carries out these tasks, he wins the girl's hand in marriage.³⁰ Central to a *tochmarc* is the 'active negotiation between a man and a woman', which often leads to their marriage.³¹

In TM, all the traditional elements of a *tochmarc* are absent. When Eógan is told by the sons of the druid that he will marry the daughter of the king of Spain, he expresses no love towards her. The only obstacle he has to overcome is his journey to Spain, which can hardly be considered a hindrance as the crossing iss swift and uneventful. When in Spain, Eógan proceeds to discuss the conditions of the marriage with the king, apparently without having met Momera beforehand. They are married and celebrations follow, effectively marking the end of the *tochmarc*. Throughout the tale, the part of Momera is passive and her function seems to be no more than that of a plot device, a motivation for Eógan to travel to Spain, in contrast to the active part played by the woman in negotiation between the two potential partners that is typical for a *tochmarc*.³² As the sons of the druid had foretold that Momera would bear him several children who will rule over Ireland, this is the motivation for Eógan to travel to Spain. Her function here is clearly no more than that of producing heirs.

Thus, despite its title, the tale can hardly be categorized as a *tochmarc*, as the element of courtship and other traditional aspects of this genre are absent in the tale. Moreover, the princess is not mentioned by name until the very end of the text, where the reader learns that she is called

²⁹ See M.A. O'Brien, 'Etymologies and notes', *Celtica* 3 (1956), p. 179, and Sarah Michie 'The lover's malady in early Irish romance' *Speculum*, vol. 12 no. 3 (1937) pp. 310-313 for more information on this motif.

³⁰ Vincent A. Dunn, *Cattle-Raids and Courtships: Medieval Narrative Genres in a Traditional Context*, Garland Monographs in Medieval Literature, vol. 2 (London 1989), p. 71; Lisa M. Bitel, *Land of Women: Tales of Sex and Gender from Early Ireland* (New York 1996), pp. 50-51.

³¹ Bitel, Land of Women, p. 45.

³² Ibid., p. 47.

Momera and this was her courtship. This last line might be a later addition by the scribe, as he might have taken it from the following entry on Eógan Taídlech in the Eóganacht pedigree as found in the Book of Leinster: Eogan Taidlech ainm aile, amail ro scríbsamar i Tochmarc Momera ingine ríg Espaine 'Eogan Taidlech [is] another name, like we have it written in Tochmarc Momera daughter of the king of Spain'. 33 Recognizing the name Eógan Taídlech, the scribe could have inserted the information from the genealogical tract and thus proclaimed this tale to be *Tochmarc* Momera. A different or earlier version of the story could have existed that did contain a proper courtship of a woman named Momera, but based on the foregoing analysis, it seems more likely that either the assignment of the title *Tochmarc Momera* to this specific text has been taken from the tract in LL, and that the elements of courtship have been removed or lost in transmission.

Since it has been demonstrated that this tale is not a traditional *tochmarc*, the question remains as to how this narrative may then be classified. Ruling out the subject of courtship, the main objective of the narrative appears to have been to provide an explantion for the claim of the Eóganachta on the kingship of half of Ireland. It is part of a body of interrelated legendary material that exists around Eógan, the eponymous ancestor of the Munster kindred, also known as Mug Nuadat. By examining the other sources on the Eóganachta legends and their connections with TM, we may uncover something about the compilation of TM, its place in this network of Eóganachta material and how it may be classified.

The earliest extant source of Eóganachta origin legend is the tract *Do bunad imthechta Éoganachta*, found in the Laud genealogical collection. ³⁴ Donnchadh Ó Corráin dates this short narrative piece to 'the late ninth or very early tenth century'. 35 It tells the story of how a fleet of Irish origin, manned by Eógan and his men, arrived in Ireland from Spain to settle down. They negotiated a truce with the inhabitants, who were so impressed by the wealth of Eógan's party that they agreed to foster his son. When a prophet foretold that at the end of three years there would be a great famine on the men of Ireland, Eógan and his men decided to store provisions. When the famine struck, the starving Irishmen turned to Eógan for help. He decided to feed them, and in gratitude his son was crowned king.³⁶

Kenneth Jackson notes that this is 'a very early version of the Origin of the Eóghanacht', ³⁷ as Eógan and his people are represented as a body of outsiders who come to take over the kingship of Ireland. Yet at this time, the 'Milesian' theory of Irish history was already quickly gaining

³³ M.A. O'Brien, *Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. 1 (Dublin 1976), p. 362, translation by me.

 ³⁴ Kuno Meyer (ed.), 'The Laud genealogies and tribal histories', in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 8 (1912), pp. 291-338.
 ³⁵ Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Irish Origin Legends and Genealogy: Recurrent Aetiologies' in Nyberg, Tore, Iørn Piø, and P. M. Sørenen (et al., eds.), History and heroic tale: a symposium (Odense 1985) p. 53.

³⁶ Byrne, Irish Kings and High-Kings, pp. 199-200.

³⁷ Jackson (ed.), Cath Maighe Léna, p. xxv.

ground as the accepted historical canon.³⁸ This theory claims that the Irish people are descended from Éber and Érimón, the sons of Míl from Spain, who were the last group of people to invade Ireland. The story was preserved in Lebor Gabála Érenn and was constantly revised and innovated until the end of the twelfth century.³⁹ According to this account, Ireland was divided between Érimón in the north and Éber in the south, thus rendering the latter the ancestor of the Eóganachta.

It appears that Do bunad imthechta Éoganachta represents an Eóganachta legend that had initially developed independently of the Milesian scheme, with a foreign force invading Ireland and taking over the kingship. Yet when Lebor Gabála Érenn became the accepted origin-tale, the story presented in Do bunad imthechta Éoganachta seemed anachronistic, as Éber son of Míl was now regarded as the ancestor of the Eóganachta instead of Eógan. 40 Since Éber had already conquered the southern half of Ireland centuries before Eógan arrived, the latter tale had to be modified to accord to this new standard. This resulted in Eógan and his fleet being depicted as an originally Irish group returning from Spain and gaining the power over part of Ireland. The story was therefore no longer an origin-tale, but served to explain Eógan's supremacy over Munster.⁴¹

The compiler of TM appears to have used *Do bunad imthechta Éoganachta* as a source in the composition of the tale, as well as Lebor Gabála Érenn. The account of TM represents an attempt at reconciling both traditions of origin: Eógan is depicted as a native Irishman, to comply with Lebor Gabála Érenn, but the influence of Do bunad imthechta Éoganachta can be seen as he comes from Spain after marrying the daughter of the Spanish king, and returns home to Ireland to claim more land. The Irish ancestry of Eógan as recorded in Lebor Gabála Érenn is not only incorporated in this tale, it is also further emphasized. By marrying the princess, Eógan rejoins his line with the Spanish royal family, which is important as in this tradition Spain is the ancestral country of the Irish people. Since the princess is the daughter of a king named Éber, the connection of Eógan with his Milesian ancestor Éber is underscored again. Another element from *Lebor* Gabála Érenn that is inserted in TM is the Tower of Breogán, which is the place from which Íth son of Breogán first spots Ireland.

Alternately, TM has also served as a source for other works, such as the Late Middle Irish treatise on personal names *Cóir Anmann* 'the Fitness of Names'. ⁴² In the third recension of this work we find a version of the episode in which the princess catches the salmon, strips it of its wool and produces a cloak from the material. The episode closely resembles the text from TM, and

³⁸ Byrne, p. 9.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

⁴¹ Jackson, p. xxv.

⁴² Sharon Arbuthnot (ed.), Cóir Anmann: A Late Middle Irish Treatise on Personal Names (Part 2), Irish texts Society vol. 60 (London 2006).

according to Sharon Arbuthnot, *Cóir Anmann* 'draws on a text of *Tochmarc Momera* but prefaces the episode concerning the salmon with a scene-setting paragraph'. This was necessary, as after the substraction of the material from TM specific to the explanation of Taídlech some context had to be provided for the audience. There are some differences between the episodes found in this version of TM and *Cóir Anmann*, such as the naming of the princess as Bera and the fact that the fish is caught and stripped of its wool by the king himself, which suggests that a different version of TM has been used by the compilator of *Cóir Anmann*. Moreover, it is stated that '[...] *tuc sí gradh égmaisi d'Eogan sú dochuaidh a nEspáin ara urscélaibh'*, [...] she had fallen in love with Eógan from afar before he had gone to Spain because of the famous tales about him.' This literal mention of *grád écmaise*, the literary motif of falling in love with someone on account of the stories that are told about him or her, very often occurs in *tochmarca*. This might have been added later by a copyist of *Cóir Anmann*, or could have been taken from the different version of TM that served as the source of this episode, which may have preserved traditional elements of a *tochmarc*.

Furthermore, the Early Modern Irish tale *Cath Maige Léna* also incorporates the salmonwool-cloak episode, apparently drawing on TM as its main source. ⁴⁶ Kenneth Jackson states that *Cath Maige Léna* is 'a late compilation, made up largely out of earlier material', such as the aforementioned tales and other Eóganachta material. ⁴⁷ TM was taken up and fitted into *Cath Maige Léna* by the compiler as an interlude to the tale. ⁴⁸ After having given battle to Conn Cétchathach, Eógan and his surviving men are driven to the shore, where he is rescued by his fairy mistress Édaín. ⁴⁹ He spends nine nights with her, and she tends to his wounds while he recuperates. From this point in the story the compiler incorporates the account from TM, but has to modify some elements to render a continuous narrative: before Eógan leaves, Édaín prophesies that he will go on an adventure to Spain, thereby assuming the role of the sons of the druid. Hereafter, the whole story of TM is inserted, which is adhered to fairly closely. In the salmon-wool-cloak episode, it is Bera who produces the cloak from the wool. This suggests that either *Cóir Anmann* was used as the source for this section instead of TM, or that it was borrowed from a different version of TM that also served as a source for *Cóir Anmann*.

Thus, from this examination we can gather that TM can more appropriatly be categorized as a pseudo-historical tale, as it attempts to explain the origins of the Eóganachta, linking them to Spain, like Éber son of Míl, and to justify their claim on Munster. Moreover, TM plays a key role in

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⁴³ Arbuthnot (ed.), *Cóir Anmann (Part 1)*, p. 66.

⁴⁴ Arbuthnot (ed.), *Cóir Anmann (Part 2)*, p. 11.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 87.

⁴⁶ Arbuthnot (ed.), Cóir Anmann (Part 1), p. 66.

⁴⁷ Jackson (ed.), Cath Maighe Léna, p. xxxiv.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. xxvii.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

the extensive network of legendary Eóganachta material, as it unites older, pre-Milesian origin-legends with the invasion-tale from *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, and is in turn taken up and incorporated in later works, such as *Cóir Anmann* and *Cath Maige Léna*. Lastly, the tale can be regarded as a political product of the elaborate parallelism that was created by the Eóganachta between their traditions and those of the Uí Néill. As has been demonstrated in the introduction, the need for this arose when the latter dynasty won the control of the northern half of Ireland, and the Eóganachta were forced to acknowledge the growing power of the Uí Néill, creating their own doctrine of the two halves of Ireland to equate both reigns.⁵⁰

Names

One aspect that is of particular interest in this tale and warrants closer examination is the role of names. Pseudo-etymological explanations have been absorbed into the narrative to account for the origin of some names, whereas others are clearly figurative or have been borrowed from historical or literary traditions. For example, the three sons of the druid are called Fáthe, Fis and Fírinne, which can be literally be translated as 'prophesy and knowledge and truth'. Hence, the three names of the sons of the druid embody the principal qualities of a druid. It has also been demonstrated in the preceding section that the name Éber for the king of Spain would have been chosen to stress the Milesian origin of the Irish as told in *Lebor Gabála Érenn*. Two names that have specifically incited discussions among scholars are Eógan and Momera, which is why these two will be further examined in the following sections.

Eógan

Several sobriquets are associated with the protagonist of this tale, and explanations for some of these have been absorbed into the narrative. The first sobriquet he receives in the text is *taídlech* 'shining', in the salmon-wool-cloak episode (§14). As prophesied by the druid, Eógan's wife catches a salmon with a fur or covering, which she takes off the fish and makes into a shining cloak for her husband. The choice of a salmon as the source of the wool is peculiar, yet can be explained as a pseudo-etymology of the personal name $E \acute{o} gan.^{51}$ The earliest Irish word for salmon is $e\acute{o}$, ⁵² which is later replaced by *bratán*. Thus the tale with the salmon is an attempt to relate the first element of the name Eógan with the word for salmon, whereas the shining cloak accounts for his sobriquet.

⁵⁰ Byrne, p. 202.

⁵¹ Based on the suggestion by Dr. Míchaél Ó Flaitheartha.

⁵² eDIL s.v. 1 eó, eú or dil.ie/20128

The next sobriquet is *fideach* or *fidhfhecach* or *fidfeccai*, which is explained in the tale in two ways (§18). The first is that while building his forts, Eógan invented spades (*fecca*) for his men to use in order to speed up the digging. In addition to that explanation, three forts had been given to Eógan that were all called *fidfeccai*. The pseudo-etymology of this sobriquet is also found in several other Eóganachta sources, such as in *Do bunad imthechta Éoganachta*. *Cóir Anmann* offers another explanation besides the account of the three forts, stating that *Fidfecach* derives from *fid* 'wood' and *fecad* 'bending', since when building the forts, Eógan was bending and intertwining the wood while placing it, and *figfec* (*fige* 'intertwining' + ?fecad 'bending') comes from from intertwining the same wood.⁵³ Kenneth Jackson remarks that the rare word *fithec* or *fidhec* can mean a tunnel or a passage, ⁵⁴ which would give the translation 'of the cellars' for the sobriquet *fidhfhecach*. ⁵⁵ This may refer back to the cellars in which Eógan stored his provisions for the upcoming famine in *Do bunad imthechta Éoganachta*, an etymology that the later writers failed to recognize. ⁵⁶

The alternative or original name Mug Nuadat for Eógan is missing in this text. Mug Nuadat is best known as the legendary source for *Leth Moga* or Mug's Half, a division of Ireland in two halves. The story behind this division of Ireland has not come down to us in a continuous form, but references are found in the annals and it has been assimilated into *Cath Maighe Léna*.⁵⁷ Eógan waged war against his counterpart Conn Cétchathach for many years. According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, a battle between the two that took place in 123 AD ended in victory for Eógan and Conn was forced to surrender the southern half of the land.⁵⁸ This resulted in the subsequent division of Ireland, with Conn ruling over the north, which was henceforth called *Leth Cuinn* or Conn's half, and Eógan over the south.⁵⁹ Another explanation for this division is that they denote 'the chief's half' and 'the slave's half',⁶⁰ since Nuada was the ultimate ancestor of many Irish tribes, and the name Mug Nuadat can also be translated as 'slave of Nuada'.⁶¹

Although TM does not employ the name Mug Nuadat, other pseudo-historical sources in the Eóganachta corpus do contain references to Eógan's name as Mug Nuadat. In *Do Bunad Imthechta Eóganachta* the following three names for Eógan are lister: *Trí anmand bátar fair .i. Eogan Táidlech 7 Mug Núadat 7 Eogan Fitheccach*. 62 One of the earliest attestations of this identification can be found in Ms Rawlinson B. 488, which contains an incomplete version of the 'Irish World

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⁵³ Byrne, p. 87.

⁵⁴ eDIL s.v. fithec, fidec or dil.ie/22246

⁵⁵ Jackson (ed.), *Cath Maighe Léna*, p. xxix.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. xxix.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. xxx. The relevant paragraphs are §§42-51.

⁵⁸ John O'Donovan (ed. and tr.), *Annala rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616*, vol. 1, 2nd ed., (Dublin 1856), pp. 104-5.

⁵⁹ Byrne, Irish Kings and High-Kings, p. 168.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 168.

⁶¹ O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, pp. 190-191; Byrne, p. 168.

⁶² Meyer, 'The Laud genealogies', p. 312.

Chronicle', as O'Rahilly calls it.⁶³ He thinks it was compiled sometime from the ninth century onwards and is based on Latin sources, but infused with Irish pseudo-historical material.⁶⁴ The work contains the following entry:

K.uii. K.i. Randta on Ath clíath co chele iter Cond Cétcathach 7 Mogh Nuadhad, cui nomen erat Eogan Taidleach, a quo nominator Eoghanacht.

Ireland was divided, from the one Áth cliath (Dublin) to the other (in Galway), between Conn of the Hundred Battles and Nuada's Slave, whose name was Eogan the Splendid, from whom the Eoganacht is named.⁶⁵

T.F. O'Rahilly argues that the spread of the name Eógan to Mug Nuadat is a later development and that sources such as TM, which consistently refer to Mug Nuadat as Eógan Taídlech, may have influenced later writers to employ this name.⁶⁶ Yet from these relatively early sources it appears that the name Eógan as a first appellation for Mug Nuadat had already spread before the writing down of the earliest sources and is furthermore employed as his primary name.

Another sobriquet of Eógan that is missing in TM is *mór* 'great'. This is because this sobriquet originally belonged to his grandson, also called Eógan. In the following pedigree, taken from Rawlinson B502, the relations between these family members can be observed:

25. m. Éogain Móir
m. Ailella Óloim
m. Éogain Taidlig diarbo
ainm Mog Nuadat ro
raind hÉrind ra Cond

30. Cétchathachm. Moga-Néit ⁶⁷

O'Rahilly claims that it is the grandson of Mug Nuadat, Eógan Mór, who waged war with Conn Céthchathach and caused the division of the land, and that tales like TM illustrate the growing

⁶³ Brian Ó Cuív, Catalogue of Irish language manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford college libraries, Part 1: Descriptions (Dublin 2001), p. 150.

⁶⁴ O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, pp. 253-254.

⁶⁵ Whitley Stokes, 'The Annals of Tigernach [part 2]' in Revue Celtique 17 (1896), p. 7.

⁶⁶ O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, p. 184.

⁶⁷ M.A. O'Brien, Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae, vol. 1, p. 362.

tendency to amalgamate Mug Nuadat and Eógan Mór into a single individual.⁶⁸ However, this genealogical tract disproves this theory, and it is not until the following entry on Eógan's name in *Cóir Anmann*, a much later source, that we actually see that Mug Nuadat and Eógan Mór are equated:

§36. Eoghan mac Moda Nét: cethri hanmanna ro thecht .i. Eogan Mór 7 Eogan Fidhfeccach 7 Eogan Taidhlech 7 Mod Nuadat. Dia ndebhairt in file isin fursunduth:

Cethre hanmanna, gan bhron,

Do bhadur for Eogan Mór:

Eogan Fidfeccach(ach) fial gart,

Eogan Taídlech, Mod Nuadhat.⁶⁹

§36. Eogan son of Mug Néit: he had four names, i.e. Eogan Mór and Eogan Fidfecach and Eogan Taídlech and Mug Nuadat. Of which the poet said in the elucidatory verse:

Four names, no sorrow,

had Eogan Mór:

generous and hospitable Eogan Fidfecach,

Eogan Taídlech and Mug Nuadat. 70

Here the sobriquet *mór* is included for the first time and apparently has spread from Mug Nuadat's grandson to himself. The attestation of the sobriquet *mór* to Mug Nuadat only occurs in later sources, such as in the Early Modern Irish works *Cath Maighe Léna*, Geoffrey Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* and *Scéla Éogain Móir 7 Chuinn Chétchathaig*, in which Mug Nuadat is consistently referred to both as Eógan Mór and Mug Nuadat. Since the first two tales drew on *Cóir Anmann* in their compilation, the sobriquet could have been taken over from there. Furthermore, *Scéla Éogain Móir 7 Chuinn Chétchathaig* is most likely based on *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, this accounts for the further spread of this nickname.⁷¹

However, the spread of the sobriquet $M \acute{o}r$ does not appear to have caused the merging of the two individuals. ⁷² In *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, both characters make separate appearances. In the

⁶⁸ O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, p. 185.

⁶⁹ Arbuthnot (ed.), *Coir Anmann (Part 2)*, pp. 9-10.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 86.

⁷¹ Vernam Hull, 'Eogan Mór and Conn Cétchathach' in Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie 19 (1933), p. 59.

⁷² O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, p. 185.

following passage Eógan Mór is correctly referred to as the son of Ailill Oluim, indicating that the two individuals are still differentiated:

Fá clann do Shaidhbh inghin Chuinn an triúr-so ar a dtáinig sliocht. An céidfhear dhíobh Eoghan Mór mac Oiliolla do thuit i g-Cath Maighe Muchruimhe lé Béinne Briot> mac ríogh Breatan, agus fá mac don Eoghan soin Fiachaidh Muilleathan ór síoladh clann Charrthaigh agus síol Shúilleabháin go n-a ngabhlaibh geinealaigh.⁷³

These three who left issue were children of Sadhbh daughter of Conn. The first of them, Eoghan Mor son of Oilill, fell in the Battle of Magh Muchruimhe, by Beinne Briot, son of the king of Britain; and Fiachaidh Muilleathan, from whom clann Charrthaigh and the tribe of Suilleabhan, with their branches, are sprung, was the son of this Eoghan.⁷⁴

Although this inquiry remains superficial, as more sources should be consulted in order to give a more complete survey of the development of Eógan's alternative name and sobriquets, it provides a general overview of their roles. Moreover, on the basis of this examination, some of O'Rahilly's views can be challenged. Nowhere in the sources have Eógan Mór and Mug Nuadat merged into a single individual, which counters O'Rahilly's assumption that Eógan Mór and Mug Nuadat have been amalgamated into the same person. Instead, it appears that the name Eógan had spread to Mug Nuadat as a first rather than second appellation from the sources that have been studied, probably because the latter had impressed himself stronger on the minds of the people as the ancestor of the Eóganachta than his grandson Eógan Mór. This spread can be observed in *Do bunad imthechta Éoganachta*, one of the earliest sources, indicating that it had already taken place before the compilation of TM. Since TM drew on this tale for its compilation, it would have borrowed the name Eógan from there. Although TM may have contributed to the spread of Eógan as the primary name for Mug Nuadat, nowhere in this text is the sobriquet *mór* attributed to him. It appears that Cóir Anmann played a much more important role in the spread of the sobriquet mór to Mug Nuadat, as it is one of the first sources that connects this name to him. Since Cóir Anmann served as the source for multiple later texts, as has been demonstrated, it may be responsible for part of the spread of this sobriquet.

⁷³ O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, p. 273.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Momera

The name of the Spanish princess, Eógan's wife, is peculiar as her name is not disclosed until the very end of the tale. As previously discussed, this evokes the question whether the final line is a later addition to the tale. It may have been taken from the following passage that is found in a genealogical tract on the Eóganacht in LL: *Eogan Taidlech ainm aile, amail ro scríbsamar i Tochmarc Momera ingine ríg Espaine* 'Eogan Taidlech [is] another name, like we have it written in Tochmarc Momera daughter of the king of Spain'. This tract is also found in Rawlinson B502, the Book of Lecan and the Book of Ballymote, but in these sources it lacks the mention of TM, for indicating that if the final line has beeb taken from the entry on the pedigree, the specific source for it was LL.

Another work that contains references to the Spanish princess is the *Banshenchas* 'the women-lore', which was written in 1147 by Gilla Mo-Dutu Ó Caiside.⁷⁷ From this metrical work a longer version in prose was made.⁷⁸ When the prose version is consulted, the following two entries concerning the Spanish princess are found:

Book of Lecan	Bera ingen Emir ríg Espaine, mathair Aililla Ulaim, 7 Caimilli 7	
(RIA MS 23 P 2, p. 385)	Gothnemi in da ingen. ⁷⁹	
Book of Uí Maíne	Beara ingen Eb <i>ir</i> , mathair Aililla Eoluim. ⁸⁰	
(RIA MS D.ii.1 fol. 95)		

Both these entries call the princess Bera instead of Momera. In the previously consulted *Cóir Anmann*, it is also Bera that is found in the role of the daughter of king Éber of Spain in a version of the salmon-wool-cloak episode:

§38. Eogan Taidhlech do radh ris .i. fecht dochoidh Eogan Mór i nd-Esbain for ceilidhe. Iss é ba rí Espain in tan sin .i. Eber Mór mac Midhna. Fuair tra Eogan gradhugud mór i nd-Espain don toisc sin. Do bhoí didiu ingen airedha agin rígh a n-áentuma in tan sin .i. Bera ingen Ébir a hainm ocus tuc sí gradh égmaisi d'Eogan sú dochuaidh a nEspáin ara

⁷⁵ M.A. O'Brien, *Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. 1 (Dublin 1976), p. 362, translation by me.

⁷⁶ O'Brien, Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae, vol. 1, p. 190.

⁷⁷ Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The Manuscript Tradition of the Banshenchas' in *Ériu* 33 (1982), p. 109.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 131.

⁷⁹ Margaret E. Dobbs (ed. & tr.), 'The Ban-shenchus [part 2]' in *Revue Celtique* 48 (1931), p. 177.

⁸⁰ Dobbs, 'The Ban-shenchus', p. 385.

urscélaibh. Tug tra Eogan in ingin íar sin 7 rug sí clann tsainemhail dó .i. mac amra, .i. Oilill Ólom, 7 días ingen .i. Scoithniam 7 Caimill a n-anmanna.⁸¹

He was called Eogan Taidlech [< taídlech 'brilliant'], i.e. Eogan Mór once went to §38. Spain in a visit. Éiber Mór son of Midna was the king of Spain at that time. Eogan received great affection in Spain in that occasion, for the king had a remarkable daughter who was not married at the time. Her name was Bera daughter of Éiber and she had fallen in love with Eogan from afar before he had gone to Spain because of the famous tales about him. Afterwards, then, Eogan took the girl [as his wife] and she bore him excellent children, i.e. a wonderful son, i.e. Ailill Ólom, and two daughters named Scoithniam and Caimell.⁸²

This passage also occurs in *Cath Maighe Léna*:

1. 482 Is é ba rí a n-iarthar na h-Espáine an tan sin .i. Éibher mór mac Midhna; 7 do bí ingen oireghda a n-aentuma ag in rígh sin .i. Bera ingen Éibhir, 7 áirmid eólaig ar mnáib áill[e] a h-aimsire í.83

Since the wording of this passage is very close to the entry in *Cóir Anmann* and both use the name Bera, as opposed to the absence of a name in TM, it is likely that the entry on Eógan Taídlech from Cóir Anmann was used by the compiler of Cath Maighe Léna in his production of the text.⁸⁴

As for the discrepancy between the names Momera and Bera, a possible explanation would be that the name Momera derived from the combination 1sg possessive pronoun mo 'my' and Bera, or alternatively, the name Bera was extracted from the name Momera by deletion of the element mo. The possessive pronoun mo lenites the following word, which is not reflected in the spelling of a word starting with b, but in pronounciation would have changed the b to the voiced bilabial fricative β . This is almost identical to the pronounciation of the lenited m, which could have resulted in the spelling mo mera as opposed to mo bera. Another factor that could account for this difference in spelling is the confusion that arises between the b and the m in the Middle Irish period, the upshot being that these could be used interchangeably.85

Regardless of the cause of confusion between the names, the only two sources that refer to the name of the princess as Momera are TM and the note on the genealogical tract in LL, which

82 Ibid., p. 87.

⁸¹ Arbuthnot (ed.), Cóir Anmann (Part 2), p. 10.

⁸³ Jackson (ed.), Cath Maighe Léna, p. 19.

⁸⁴ Arbuthnot (ed.), Cóir Anmann (Part 1), p. 67.

⁸⁵ Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge' in McCone, Kim (ed.), Stair na Gaeilge in ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta (Maynooth 1994), p. 235.

Anmann has drawn on a text of TM for the salmon-wool-cloak episode that mentions the name of the princess, it is likely that the copy of TM as we have it can indeed be regarded as a version of TM. The differences between the episode in TM and *Cóir Anmann* reinforces the possibility that another version of the tale, perhaps a proper *tochmarc* with an element of *grád écmaise*, did exist at some point. Therefore, the extant version as we have it could be a reworking with a focus on the pseudo-historical elements of the tale, with removal of the elements that typify a traditional *tochmarc*. However, this assumption remains conjectural and provisional, due to a lack of evidence. Further research of other sources may reveal more about the development of the tale, but as the aim of this thesis is to provide a general overview, such an extensive examination is beyond its scope.

III. Language

Style

An idiosyncratic feature of this text is the use of collocated synonyms, as these can be found profusely in the tale. This stylistic device has been characteristic of Irish narrative style and traditional storytelling from early times onwards, and Proinsias Mac Cana argues that 'the facility with which the learned storytellers of the medieval period exploited this resource suggests that it formed part of their professional training'. 86 The compounding of synonyms in adjectives is highly frequent in Irish, as well as Welsh, and has always been deeply ingrained in colloquial and literary style to give an enhancing or intensifying force. 87 In the Irish language, collocation seems to be much more common than composition, 88 as is the case in TM. The following list contains the collocations found in this text:

- a mucha laī 7 laithe ambārach 'at early morning and dawn tomorrow' (1. 21)
- *cūan*, *no cenēl*, *no ciniud*, *no cland don fir* 'the family, or kindred, or race, or descendants of the man' (ll. 25-26)
- Būi frestal 7 frithāilem 'They had attendance and service' (l. 64)
- Ro ferad fāilte mīn muinterdhai friu 'They received a courteous and friendly welcome'
 (ll. 64-65)
- a tinnsccra 7 a tochra 'dowry and bride-price' (l. 82)
- ro chanaid a ciuil 7 a n-airfitid 'their songs and their music were recited for them' (l. 86)
- cor līn grīan tulcha 7 tūaithebra Espāine 'until the sun had filled the mounds and hills of Spain' (ll. 86-87)
- ro dāilit sēoit 7 maīne 7 indmasa don ingein 'presents and gifts and treasures were bestowed upon the girl' (l. 88)
- *ect 7 erred* 'form and apparel' (l. 104)
- *Cian ōtā i toicthi 7 i tarrngaire* 'A long time since it is destined and has been prophesied' (l. 106)
- bās 7 aiged 'death and a violent end' (1. 107)

⁸⁶ Proinsias Mac Cana, 'An instance of modified narrative repetition in *Fled Bricrenn*', in *Ériu* 28 (1977), p. 171.

⁸⁷ Proinsias Mac Cana, 'Composition and collocation of synonyms in Irish and Welsh', in Eska, Joseph F., R. Geraint Gruffydd and Nicolas Jacobs (eds.) *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica: Essays in honour of Professor D. Ellis Evans on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday* (Cardiff 1995), p. 107.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 112.

- dul dom crīch, 7 dom orba, 7 dom erann 'to go to my district, to my territory, to my land.' (l. 109)
- don sheon 7 don tsolaid 'to the portent and the omen' (l. 114)
- gabais doeta h-idan 7 lāmanda in ingen 'the girl received the pains of the pangs of labor and of childbirth' (l. 125)

These synonyms often carry an almost identical semantic force, which highlights that the primary purpose of this device is expressive and stylistic. 89 The pairs or series of collocated synonyms often share 'certain basic features of structure and prosody'. 90 Many of the ones listed above are alliterating pairs, and as a rule the second noun or adjective often contains more syllables than the first element of the pair or series.

The primary function of this device is patently 'stylistic, affective, and emphasizing', 91 which is also the main motivation for its use in this tale. Its application to stress or intensify is demonstrated for instance in the longest series of synonyms found in this text: cūan, no cenel, no ciniud, no cland don fir 'the family, or kindred, or race, or descendants of the man' (ll. 25-26). This collocation appears in a passage in which the king of Spain inquires of his druid where the man who will marry his daughter comes from. The quadruple repetition of alliterating synonyms in his question heavily underscores the importance of the origin of the man, namely Eógan. This also ties in with the main theme of the tale, which is the origin and lineage of the Eóganachta. Another example that serves a similar purpose is dul dom crīch, 7 dom orba, 7 dom erann 'to go to my district, to my territory, to my land.' (l. 109). After Eógan has married the princess and received his cloak, he deems it time to return home. The importance of the concept of ownership of land and territory is again emphasized in this series of synonyms, which is associated with the theme of the rightful claim of the Eóganachta to the province of Munster.

Noteworthy is the cluster of collocations in §12, where almost every sentence contains collocated synonyms. In this passage, Eógan marries the princess of Spain and a grand feast is held for them. Direct speech is absent in this episode, and the function of this passage is to depict a scene of festivities and carousel. The collocated synonyms here appear to be used as a narrative device to enhance the description of the feast, in order to depict a lively scene for the audience. A further study of the the collocated synonyms and their application in this text may reveal more about the workings of this stylistic device, but due to limited space this cannot be fully explored here.

⁸⁹ Mac Cana, 'Composition and collocation of synonyms in Irish and Welsh', p. 116.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid., p.121.

Language and date

O'Curry does not attempt to date the text in his edition, but states that 'the composition of this tract is certainly much older than the date of the Book in which it is preserved.'92 Although he provides no further argumentation for this conviction, it is probably based on the reference in the pedigree found in LL that mentions Momera, which he lists earlier in his introduction. 93 The dating of the manuscript provides us with an early fifteenth century *terminus ante quem* for the tale. As has been demonstrated in the previous section, the third recension of *Cóir Anmann* used TM as one of its sources. As this work was probably compiled in the first half of the thirteenth century, this pushes the date further back. However, there is no other reliable evidence that helps establish a possible date, except for the language of the tale itself.

The following linguistic analysis of the text provides a general overview of the most prominent changes that can be found in the text. For a more comprehensive analysis of the language, individual words that are of interest can be reviewed in the textual notes, where they have been analyzed in more detail. These notes follow directly after the relevant paragraphs in the edition. Overall, the language appears to be a mix of Old and Middle Irish, a basis on which a Middle Irish date may be assigned to the text. The Middle Irish period is generally assumed to encompass the centuries between 900 and 1200 AD. 94 Certain linguistic features, such as the extensive use of independent pronouns, the abundance of augmented preterites and new simple verbs, rule out an early Middle Irish period of composition.

Spelling

The spelling used in Middle Irish is essentially that of Old Irish and relatively few orthographic changes occur. One of these is that the letters -p, -t, -c could alternatively be written as -b, -d, -g. The following instances of this variation in spelling are found: rob (1. 5), corub (1. 14), adbertsom (1. 24), adbuileat (1. 31), adbert (1. 34), adrubairt (1. 126), go (1. 131), scrudan (1. 132). Two nouns occur in both spellings: bradan (1. 91) vs. bratan (1. 101), coiged (1. 122) vs. coiced (1. 122). Also, the voiceless stops can be spelled cc and tt, which occurs four times in TM: fochlucc (1. 20), freccra (1. 75), freccra (1. 77), freccra (1. 82).

⁹² O'Curry, p. xxiii.

⁹³ Ibid., p. xvii.

⁹⁴ Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 221.

⁹⁵ Kim McCone, 'Chapter 12: A basic introduction to Middle Irish', in McCone, Kim, *A first Old Irish grammar and reader: including an introduction to Middle Irish* (Maynooth 2005), pp.175-6

⁹⁶ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 228.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 228.

Among the phonological developments that can be observed in TM is the merging of d and g, especially when these are slender: 98 aiged (l. 107) for aided, taīglech (l. 99) for taīglech (l. 105) and mithid (l. 109) for mithig. In Middle Irish, the spelling -nd- changed to -nn-, which gave rise to confusion in writing.⁹⁹ A number of examples can be found in TM, such as *cend* (1. 2) for *cenn*, oland (1.91) for olann (1.94), anmanda (1.134) for anmanna (1.16), bruinde (1.20) for bruinne, tibrind (1. 29) for taibrinn. Due to the disappearance of the lenited f in orthography, an unhistoric f appears in initial position, ¹⁰⁰ as can be observed in the form ro fiarsa (1. 57). ¹⁰¹

In stressed syllables, glides and second elements of diphhtongs had a tendency to take over as the main vowel of a syllable. 102 This might have happened in the ending of the verbal form adbuileat (1. 31). In Middle Irish, the vowels o and a often alternate before a non-palatalized consonant, ¹⁰³ as in dam (1. 24), da (1. 38), rabum (1. 69), tiagum (1. 77), irrabutar (1. 78), rabu (1. 94), darōnad (l. 100), ra (l. 131). Distinctions between vowels in unstressed final open consonants are lost too, the upshot being the merging of the vowels into schwa (-2). 104 The repercussions of this development are especially great on the nominal system, which will be treated in the next section. Also in final unstressed closed syllables the vowels fall together, resulting in the forms ronbendachut (1. 4), ngēbut (1. 13), confebut (1. 57). Also, instances of ai becoming oi can be found: 105 oilēn (l. 34) for ailēn, taidlech (l. 1) for toīdlech (l. 107), aidchesin (l. 54) for oidchesin (l. 53). The e changed to eo/eu when standing before ch/g, 106 of which one example is found in TM: neoch (l. 117&8). Before a broad consonant, iu falls together with i, 107 which results in the form for a chindsom for ar a chiunnsom.

In unstressed words, the initial consonant c of unstressed words became g, 108 as in gar (l. 100), gu (l. 131). The first syllable of some words is lost as well, 109 for instance in the preposition i in na degaid (l. 41), na luing (l. 63), na lepthaib (l. 85), but examples of preservation of the original form also occur: ina n-imdadaib (l. 85), ina longaib (l. 114).

⁹⁸ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 234.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 238.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 235.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 230.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 232.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 230.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 232.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 233.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 235.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 236.

Nouns

During the Middle Irish period, the neuter gender gradually disappeared, a development that had already begun in the tenth century. Traces of the neuter may still be found, such as in the noun ainmm, originally a neuter *n*-stem. Breatnach notes that historically neuter nouns of this stemclass adopted the —anna/—enna ending of the masculine and feminine for the neuter endings —ann/—enn towards the end of the Middle Irish period, 111 which can be seen in the form a *n*-anmanna (1. 18). The compound noun sluaigtech (1. 83) is an originally neuter *s*-stem, preceded by *isin*, which indicates that it is taken as a masculine. The compound noun degārus (1. 129), of which the noun ārus is a neuter *o*-stem, is preceded by the article *in*, indicating it has also lost its neuter gender.

Possibly the words *a tinnsccra* and *a tochra* (l. 82) represent old neuters, but the *a* can also be interpreted as the 3sg feminine possessive pronoun, whence these cannot be considered as reliable examples. The decay of the neuter gender in nouns coincided with the disappearance of the neuter nominative and accusative sg article *a n*-, which was no longer in use by 1000 AD. It is therefore unlikely that the instances of nouns presented here preceded by *a* are remnants of the neuter, and the latter are more likely to represent possessive pronouns 3sg and pl.

As already mentioned, short vowels in unstressed final open consonants fall together during the Middle Irish period and merge into schwa (-a). This eventually leads to the breakdown of the distinct endings of many noun declensions. In the $io/i\bar{a}$ -stems, the result of this was a heavily simplified paradigm in which all the endings were identical, except for the dative pl. 113 Examples of this development in TM are the dative sg nouns *faithche* (l. 1), *baile* (l. 1), *orba* (l. 109), and possibly *bruinde* (l. 112). Also in the *i*-stem the endings begin to fall together, as is demonstrated in the nominative pl $ma\bar{i}ne$ (l. 68) of the feminine main, which in Old Irish would have been $ma\bar{i}ni$.

In the $\bar{\imath}$ -stem, the accusative and dative sg were now identical to the genitive sg, as can be seen in the dative sg *oidche* (l. 53). ¹¹⁴ The *u*-stem begins to show even more overlap with the *o*-stem in the Middle Irish period. The accusative pl ending -u disappears and is substituted by a new form, identical to the nominative. ¹¹⁵ Examples in TM are the accusative pl *choengnima* (l. 4) and *doeta* (l. 125). In the closed unstressed syllables of the *o*-stem, the nominative and dative singular fell together, which is apparent in the dative sg forms $c\bar{o}iced$ (l. 121) and erann (l. 108). ¹¹⁶ In Middle

¹¹⁰ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 241.

¹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 248-9.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 230.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 246.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 247.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 245.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 242.

Irish the distinctions between the nominative and accusative case tend to be abandoned, as in the feminine noun aiged (1. 107). 117

Adjectives

The development of the adjective is more progressive than that of the noun. Changes often take place in the adjective before they are adopted by the noun, such as the breakdown of the inflectional system. All adjectives in Middle Irish abandon the dative pl ending for the nominative/accusative pl ending -a. In Saltair na Rann, the ending -ib is still standard, but the new ending already appears in LL. In our text we find cornaib ilbreca (l. 84), with the dative pl o/\bar{a} -stem adjective ilbreca. However, in the same sentence, the older dative pl ending is also found: a h-escraib for \bar{b} for \bar{b} dative io/ \bar{a} -stems. The latter stems eventually became indeclinable due to the obscuration of the endings, except for the dative plural. The nominative plural ending of the \bar{b} -stem adjective loses its slender final vowel due to the merging of the unstressed final vowels, of which an example form TM is iumdada sainemla (l. 85).

The Old Irish comparative ending -iu was often written as /e due to the falling together of final unstressed vowels, resulting in varied spelling of the ending: -e/-i after slender consonants, -a after broad consonants. This development can be observed in sine (1. 18). This Middle Irish comparative form of sen 'old' is used here as the superlative. Already in the Old Irish period this substitution took place, but in Middle Irish the use of the comparative in this function became the norm. 122

Pronouns

In Old Irish the infixed pronoun functions as the pronominal object of the verb in a sentence. These are still in use during the Middle Irish period, but begin to lose their original meaning. The three classes A, B and C fall together, there is confusion of gender and of relative and non-relative forms. ¹²³ As the neuter gender disappears, infixed neuter pronouns in these verbal forms are adopted as meaningless integral parts of the preverbs and conjunct particles. This leads to petrified verbal forms that eventually supersede their counterparts without infixed pronouns. An example found in TM is *adrubairt* (1. 114), as Old Irish *as-beir* is replaced by Middle Irish *at-beir*.

¹¹⁷ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 240.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 251-2.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 252.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 255.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 256.

¹²² Ibid., p. 257; GOI §366.

¹²³ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 265.

Besides the petrified forms, TM contains only two instances of infixed pronouns, which points to a later date of composition. The first is *ronbendachut* (l. 4), with an infixed *n* class A 1pl infixed pronoun. The other example is *nos roindfithi* (l. 117), with the infixed pronoun *s* suffixed to the particle *no*, which can either represent the Old Irish class A feminine 3sg or a petrified 3sg neuter *s*, used without real meaning. The latter clause also contains an independent pronoun that possibly refers to the same object as the infixed pronoun, and may therefore represent a transitional phase in which the infixed pronoun was inserted in order to conform to the standard of Old Irish. 125

The independent pronouns, which were very restricted in use in Old Irish, substitute the infixed pronouns as the object of both active and passive verbs in Middle Irish. This development sets in during in the eleventh century, as examples of this feature are found already in *Saltair na Rann*. Throughout TM, sixteen independent pronouns can be found. The neutral pronoun ed, which is on the way out in the Middle Irish period due to the erosion of the neuter, occurs three times in the text: ead (Il. 15&19), ed (I. 89), but is mostly replaced by the masculine and feminine equivalents. The new 3sg feminine form i develops, derived from the masculine independent pronoun e, which occurs twice in TM (Il. 117&134), alongside the form $s\bar{t}$ (I. 101). The new 3pl form iat/siat with a distinct 3pl ending develops, through influence of ol-seat 'they say', which is found in abundance in the text. Some examples include $s\bar{t}at$ (I. 4), $\bar{t}at$ (I. 6), sead (I. 33), eat (I. 59).

<u>Article</u>

The Old Irish system of articles was reduced at the end of the Middle Irish period to three forms: in, int and na. Eventually, the form in changes to an, 129 but only one example of the latter form is found in this text: an inghen (l. 26). The neuter article is lost, a development that has already been discussed in the previous section on the historically neuter nouns. The nominative pl article ind is replaced by inna, which in turn is superseded by the shorter form na. 130 In this tale, the latter short form occurs exclusively: na $maccoe\bar{i}m$ (l. 40&77), na meic (l. 40&41), na techta (l. 73).

In the dative sg, the singular ending could take the ending -nd when placed before a word with an initial vowel or lenited f, l, r or n. This ending changed to -n in Middle Irish, ¹³¹ which has been adopted throughout TM. Examples of this development are *don oibnes* (l. 8), *don rīg* (l. 24&27), *don fir* (l. 26&27&103), *don ingein* (l. 88), *don olaind* (l. 101). The distinct dative pl

¹²⁴ McCone, The Early Irish Verb, p. 190.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 271.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 273.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 272.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 258.

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 258-9.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 259.

ending -aib is replaced by -a in Middle Irish, 132 a development that has also occured throughout this text: *dona feccaib* (1. 134), *arna fedaib* (1. 132&135).

Verbs

This category undergoes the most significant developments during the Middle Irish period. These changes took place in the stem of the verb, the personal endings and the formation of tenses and moods. The difference between prototonic and deuterotonic forms becomes a redundant feature in Middle Irish and was simplified, with the prototonic forms adopting the inflection of simple verbs. A few examples from the verbal forms that have undergone this change in TM are *ro chuinchit* (1. 80) from *cuingid* < *con-dïeig*, *taispenta* (1. 103) from *taispénaid* < *do-aisféna*, *ra tochlad* (1. 131) from *tochlaid* < *do-claid*. Verbal nouns could also serve as the basis for a new simple verb: *ro innis* (1. 24) from *indisiu* < *in-fét*. Hybrid forms also appear, such as *ro īarfacht* (1. 76), from *íarfaigid* < *íarmi-foich*.

In the course of the Middle Irish period, the 1sg ending -us spreads from the s-preterite to other verbs, 135 such as $doch\bar{u}adusa$ (l. 27) and asbertus (l. 27). In the future tense, the 1sg ending -at/-et spreads to absolute verbal forms, superseding -(e)a and the deponent -er, which is attested in this text in regat (l. 44). The 3sg and 3pl of the s-preterite may adopt a deponent ending as an alternative to the zero ending. 136 Instances of this are $3sg \ g\bar{e}nastar$ (l. 12) and 3pl $ro \ innisetar$ (l. 79). In the present indicative 2pl endings, the Old Irish absolute ending -the/-thi spreads to the conjunct, 137 an example being roindfithi (l. 117). This development also occurs in the subjunctive and the future forms of the 2pl endings, 138 of which $dog\bar{e}ntaisi$ (l. 73) is an example.

During the Old Irish period, *ro* has the status of a preverb, which means that it is pretonic in simple verbs, and in compound verbs inserted between preverb(s) and the root of the verb. In Middle Irish, *ro* becomes a conjunct particle and is no longer part of the verbal form. A few forms of *ro* functioning as preverb can still be found: *adrubairt* (l. 114), *adrubramar* (l. 16), but it is mostly employed as conjunct particle. This is why forms such as *adbert* (l. 34) appear alongside *adrubairt* (l. 114) in TM, both denoting the narrative past.

In Old Irish, the preverbal particle *ro* was used to give a potential sense to all tenses and moods of the verb, excluding the past and imperative, or it could give a perfective sense to any

¹³² Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 259.

¹³³ Ibid., pp. 282-3.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 283.

¹³⁵ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 303; McCone, *The Early Irish Verb*, p. 261.

¹³⁶ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', pp. 287 & 289; McCone, *The Early Irish Verb*, pp. 236-7.

¹³⁷ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 295.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 316.

tense or mood except for the imperative. Only the latter use survives into the Middle Irish period and eventually develops into the standard form for the past tense. ¹³⁹ Eventually, the perfective sense is lost as well and the past forms with *ro* become the augmented preterites. Almost all past tense verbs in TM belong to this category, some examples being *s*-preterites *ro ferad* (l. 64) for *ferais*, *ro fheg* (l. 104) for *fegais*.

As for developments that took place in the tenses and moods, the endings of the weak conjugations (s-preterite, f-future, \bar{a} -subjunctive) spread to the strong verbs. Thus the s-preterite spreads to the strong verbs at the expense of the t- and suffixless preterites. ¹⁴⁰ Examples of this development in this text include the historical suffixless preterites ro chanaid (1. 86) and ro benad (1. 101). The latter instance also shows a new past passive formation, as it was modelled on the stem of the verb, another development adopted from the weak conjugation: ro benad (1. 130) for benaid > ro bith. ¹⁴¹ The f-future and \bar{e} -future also spread to strong verbs, but there are no examples of this development found in this text.

A peculiar Middle Irish form that appears to be idiosyncratic to this text is the appearance of the verbal form $ams\bar{o}i$. It seems to derive from the compound verb imm- $s\bar{o}i$ 'to turn round, move', although this specific spelling of the form is not listed in DIL. The preverb imm can change to am in Middle Irish, due to the fluctuation in the spelling of the schwa in unstressed preverbal particles. This verb appears often in text, where it takes the place of the more common verb $t\bar{e}it$ 'to go'.

Miscellaneous developments

Prepositions, prepositional pronouns and adverbs are lenited in Middle Irish, such as *chuca* (l. 72), *chugamsa* (l. 81). This lenition begins to appear in the ninth century, and from this time onwards the texts contain a mix of lenited and unlenited forms, 144 as is the case in this tale. Also, throughout the text the Old Irish preposition *fri* is often replaced by the Middle Irish equivalents *re* and *ar*.

¹³⁹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 299.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 299.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 307.

¹⁴² eDIL s.v. *imm-sói* or <u>dil.ie/27928</u>

¹⁴³ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 284.

¹⁴⁴ Sanne Jongeleen, 'Lenition of the Conjugated Prepositions in Irish and Welsh' *Unpublished MA-thesis* (Utrecht University, 2016), p. 59.

IV. Edition

Editorial practice

One of the primary aims of this thesis is to provide a complete edition of the text. To justify the editorial method adopted in this thesis, a definition of what is meant by an edition is required. In his article 'Reviews, reviewers and critical texts' in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 57, Kevin Murray provides an overview of the various editorial methods that are commonly employed by Celtic scholars, as part of his reaction to critique expressed by Jürgen Uhlich and Liam Breatnach on Murray's recent edition of *Baile in Scail*.¹⁴⁵

The first method Murray treats is the **critical edition**, which often refers to the **Lachmannian method** in medieval Irish studies. Within this method the editor aims to provide a text as close to the original as possible. This is done by studying the different manuscripts of a text and constructing a stemma based on shared errors, which is consequently used to reconstruct the 'archetype' of the text. ¹⁴⁶ Either the manuscript that is supposedly closest to the original is chosen to serve as the basis of the edition, or for each variant reading a different manuscript is selected. All flaws and mistakes are removed from the critical edition, which results in a clean text free from errors. ¹⁴⁷ It is a very suitable method for poetry, but it can also work well with prose if the variant readings are made available to the reader in an apparatus. ¹⁴⁸

The production of a **normalized** edition is only possible when the archetype of the text(s) has been dated or a date of composition has been argued for. The spelling of the text will be normalized according to the standards of its supposed period. Its aim is to construct a standard version of the text, which is also why this edition is often used for educational purposes. Murray mentions that this approach may overlap with the aforementioned critical method. The danger of this method is the risk of over-normalizing and consequently trying to reconstruct an 'original' text that may never have existed.

A further editorial method is the **codex optimus** or **Bédierist** approach, in which the manuscript that is considered to be the 'best' is picked to serve as the basis for the edition. ¹⁵¹ This approach advocates as little emendation as possible by the editor, and variant readings are only

¹⁴⁵ Kevin Murray, 'Reviews, reviewers and critical texts', *CMCS* 57 (Summer 2009), pp. 51-70; Kevin Murray (ed. and tr.), *Baile in Scáil: The Phantom's Frenzy*, Irish Texts Society 58 (London 2004).

¹⁴⁶ Murray 'Reviews, reviewers and critical texts', p. 52.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, pp. 54-55.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 55.

followed when the best text contains clear mistakes, such as corruptions.

Another methodology is the **semi-diplomatic** editorial practice, which overall interferes little with the text. Manuscript abbreviations are expanded and put in italics, word division may be introduced and punctuation and capitalization can be added. Minor mistakes are usually not amended, but errors may be discussed and another reading proposed. When only one extant manuscript is available, this method is often employed.

Murray indicates that the last editorial method he discusses, the **multiple text** edition, is also his personal preferred method.¹⁵³ In such an edition, all the extant copies of a text are presented in the form of a diplomatic transcription, so that the multiple versions of the text may be examined side by side. A critical edition is also provided, conforming to one of the previously discussed methods.¹⁵⁴

For the editing of TM some editorial methods are excluded, such as the codex optimus and multiple text editions, because these require the existence of more than one source of the text. Since the date of the text remains uncertain, as has been demonstrated in the previous discussion of the manuscript and the following examination of the linguistic features, normalizing the text is also not a preferable approach. Therefore, I have decided to make a semi-diplomatic edition, as there is only one extant source of the text and the level of interference by the editor is kept at a minimum.

The production of a new transcription for this edition was required, since O'Curry's edition is printed in the Gaelic script, which is not readily accessible to every scholar. Moreover, expanded abbreviations have not been indicated and it lacks any explanation of editorial method, which obscures the level of editorial interference. The present edition has been based on a transcript made from the digital images of YBL, available on the *Irish Script on Screen* (ISOS) website by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. ¹⁵⁵

Word division and punctuation have been introduced, even though this is not the most common practice in semi-diplomatic editions. I have chosen to apply this to aid the legibility of the text. Capitalization has been normalized to modern standards, which entails capitalizing of proper and place names, as well as capital letters at the beginning of a sentence. Nazalisation indicated by n or m has not been separated from the word it accompanies, except when it is prefixed to a vowel, in which case a hyphen is used to separate it. Prefixed h is also separated from the following vowel by a hyphen. Emphasizing particles have been left attached to the word they belong to, as wel as preverbs connected to a verb, with the exception of ro-, as the function of this originally preverbal particle changed to a conjunct particle during the Middle Irish period. Since lengthening of vowels

¹⁵² Murray 'Reviews, reviewers and critical texts', p. 56.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Irish Script on Screen, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. http://www.isos.dias.ie.

is not indicated in the manuscript, macrons have been added to vowels where historically lengthening would be expected according to Middle Irish standards.

Abbreviations have been expanded and put into italics, as well as the superscript dot indicating lenition. Most numerals in the tale appear in the Roman notation and have been written out in accordance with the contemporary spelling according to DIL. Errors have not been emended, but are discussed in the textual notes and alternative readings are proposed where possible. Halfway through the first column (341) of the first folio, the first letter(s) have not been scanned properly and are unreadable in the digital version on ISOS. Although O'Curry's edition lacks an explanation of his editorial approach, overall, I found that the transcription contains few mistakes, and therefore the letters from O'Curry's edition have been inserted to fill in these gaps. The letters have been put into square brackets in the transcription and have been silently incorporated into the edition, for the sake of legibility. Other illegible letters have been put into brackets in the edition. Words in round brackets have been inserted when these should be supplied to render an understandable reading.

A translation has been provided that is as faithful to the original Irish text as possible, with literal translations given in the textual notes when more natural or modern English is adapted because direct translation of the original Irish would hinder the readability of the text. This way both the text and edition can serve as accessible sources of study for others. The translation is presented on the same page as the edition, so the reader can easily switch between both. Since O'Curry did not introduce paragraphs to divide the text, I have introduced my own paragraphing. Secondary sources such as Thurneysen's *A Grammar of Old Irish*, ¹⁵⁶ the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* and Liam Breatnach's chapter on 'an Mheán-Ghaeilge' from *Stair na Gaeilge* have been consulted for the translation and are referred to in the textual notes, which follow directly after the relevant paragraphs of the edition.

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Rudolph Thurneysen, Grammar of Old Irish, revised and enlarged, ed., transl. D.A. Binchy and Osborn Bergin (Dublin 1946).
 E.G. Quin, et al. (red.), Dictionary of the Irish language, based on mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials, compact edition, (Dublin 1990).

¹⁵⁸ Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', pp. 221-333.

1. [col. 341] Fecht n-ōen d'Eōgan Taīdlech f*or* faithche baile a ath*ar* fes*i*n, Moga Nēit h-ic Rāith *Air*th*ir* Fhemin. Nīrba cīan dō *co n*-accai t*rī* m*a*ccōemu chuige and hi cend na faigthe.

'Ronbendachut do choengnīma, a maccoeīm,' ar sīat.

5. 'Rob samlaid duibse, a macu,' ar ēsium.

'Is oebind duit,' ar īat.

'Is oebind ēcin,' ar sē.

'Libse bar cuid don oibnes hīsin,' bar Eōgan.

'Nach fitir cid tusa, a meic,' ar iatsom, 'int oebnius fil anān duit.'

10. 'Nī fil lium a fis cose,' ar sē.

'Fil a *fh*is acainde duit,' *ar* na m*a*c, 'dā ainm bāt*ar* f*or*t c*us*a in*d*iu, biaid i*n* tres ain*m* f*or*t anossa. ⁷ amensat do s*h*īl *ar* Ēr*inn* .i. gēbaid do s*h*īl ar Ēr*inn*, ⁷ nī gēnast*ar* duits*iu* co ngēbut.'

1. One time Eógan Taídlech was on the lawn of the abode of his own father, Mugh Neid, at Rath Airthir Femhin (i.e. the Fort of East Femin). He was not long there until he saw three young men (coming) towards him there in the direction of the lawn.

'May we bless your good works, o young man,' said they.

'May the same be to you, o young men,' said he.

'It is pleasant for you,' said they.

'It is pleasant indeed,' said he.

'To you your share of happiness in it,' said Eógan.

'Do you not know that, o young man,' said they, 'the happiness that is to you.'

'I do not know its knowledge hitherto,' said he.

'Its knowledge is by us for you,' said the young men, 'you had two names until today, you will have the third name now. And your seed shall burst over Ireland, that is, your descendants will reign over Ireland, and were they¹⁵⁹ born to you until they will be conceived.'

¹⁵⁹ i.e. 'the descendants'.

- 1. 1 *fecht n-ōen*: The combination *fecht n-ōen* has the function of an adverb here. 160 *for faithche baile*: The preposition *for* can take either the dative or the accusative. The noun *faithche* is an *iā*-stem, which should give us the form *faithchi* in Old Irish. The noun *baile*, a masculine *io*-stem, is a genitive sg and should take the form *baili*. These two forms can be explained as Middle Irish developments, as the vowels in unstressed final open syllables fell together in speech and were all pronounced as -ə (schwa). 161
- 1. 2 *Rāith Airthir Fhemin*: Literally the Fort of East Femin.
 - Nīrba cīan dō: Literally 'it was not long for him'.
 - co n-accai: The particle co- functions here both as the perfective particle of the verbal form of ad-cí 'to see', and the conjunction 'until, so that'.
 - *hi cend:* For the combination of the preposition i and the noun *cenn* to form this prepositional phrase, see DIL 1 *cenn* (45). 162
- 1. 4 *Ronbendachut*: The infixed *n* could be the class A 1pl infixed pronoun. This verb consists of the particle *ro*, which used to denote possibility in Old Irish, but loses this connotation during the Middle Irish period¹⁶³ and is followed by the verb *bennachaid* 'to bless, greet', in the present subjunctive conjunct 3pl form. The ending spelled –*ut* is a Middle Irish development, since the unstressed vowels -*a*; -*u* and -*o* in final unstressed closed syllables fell together.
 - *choengnīma*: This word consists of the *i*-stem adjective cain 'fine, good'¹⁶⁴ and the masculine *u*-stem noun gnim 'action, work'¹⁶⁵.
- 1. 5 *rob*: Copula present subjunctive sg.
- 1. 9 $an\bar{a}n$: This peculiar word is a contraction of the combination a $nd\acute{a}n$, consisting of the preposition i 'in' and the noun $d\acute{a}n$ 'gift'. O'Curry translates this as 'destined'. ¹⁶⁶ I have translated the combination as 'destined to, in store for'. ¹⁶⁷
- 1. 10 *Nī fil lium a fis cose*: Literally 'there is not knowledge of it hitherto'. The relative form of the substantive verb *attá* is used here in combination with the preposition *la* 'with'.

¹⁶⁰ eDIL s.v. *fecht* (**II**) or <u>dil.ie/21408</u>.

¹⁶¹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 230.

¹⁶² eDIL s.v. 1 *cenn* or <u>dil.ie/8622</u>

¹⁶³ GOI §531.3.

¹⁶⁴ eDIL s.v. 1 *caín* or dil.ie/7787.

 $^{^{165}}$ eDIL s.v. 1 gním or $\overline{\text{dil.ie}/26218}$.

¹⁶⁶ Eugene O'Curry (ed. & tr.), Cath Mhuighe Léana or The Battle of Magh Leana, together with Tochmarc Moméra or the Courtship of Moméra (Dublin, 1855) p. 153.

¹⁶⁷ eDIL s.v. *dán* **VIII** (**b**) or <u>dil.ie/14559</u>.

According to DIL, this construction is used for 'expressing possession and related ideas'. ¹⁶⁸ The conjunction *co* followed by the substantival form of the demonstrative pronoun *sin* 'this' means 'hitherto'. ¹⁶⁹

1. 11 fil a fhis acainde duit: Literally 'there is knowledge to us for you'. The form fil, derived from the substantive verb attá is usually not found in absolute position in Old Irish, yet in the Middle Irish period it is frequently found in this position at the beginning of a sentence.¹⁷⁰

 $d\bar{a}$ ainm $b\bar{a}tar$ fort: Literally 'two names were on you'. The numeral $d\bar{o}$ loses its inflectional pattern, as the dual paradigm was gradually eliminated in the Middle Irish period and the old masculine nominative/accusative form $d\hat{a}$ becomes generalized. It is followed by the originally neuter n-stem noun ainmm, here in the accusative sg. Although historically neuter nouns develop the plural nominative/accusative ending $-a^{172}$, the numeral is followed by the sg in Middle Irish.

biaid in tres ainm fort: Literally 'the third name will be on you'.

1. 12 *amensat*: this verbal form of *maidid* 'to break, burst' ¹⁷³ should probably be read as *memsat*, a 3pl *s*-future. The minims of *m* would have been mistaken by the scribe for the *n* in the middle and the *a* at the beginning of the word. A similar confusion is listed in DIL from *Lebor na hUidre*, where the form *co mensat* (LU 6097) occurs, which should be emended to *co memsat*. ¹⁷⁴ DIL notes that 'the present stem *maid*- is used in Middle Irish to form the subjunctive, future and preterite', which could explain the confusion, as the verbal form would not have been recognized anymore.

 $g\bar{e}baid\ do\ sh\bar{\imath}l$: the verb is the absolute $3sg\ \bar{e}$ -future of gaibid 'to take', with the nominative $sg\ o$ -stem $s\hat{\imath}l$ as the subject.

gēnastar: From the deponent verb *gainithir* 'to come to life, be born'. This is a *s*-preterite 3sg, with the Middle Irish ending *-estar*. ¹⁷⁵ It has been translated as a pl, because it refers back to the noun *sil*, which is translated as pl 'descendants'.

co $ng\bar{e}but$: 3pl conjunct \bar{e} -future of gaibid 'to take'. The Old Irish ending -at has changed to -ut, since distinctions between short vowels in final unstressed closed syllables were lost in Middle Irish, allowing for variant spellings. 176

¹⁶⁸ eDIL s.v. *attá* **I** (**a**) or <u>dil.ie/4927</u>

¹⁶⁹ eDIL s.v. 1 so **II** (**a**) or <u>dil.ie/38191</u>

¹⁷⁰ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 323.

¹⁷¹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 260; David Greene, 'Chapter 14: Celtic' in Gvozdanovíc, Jadrankja (ed.) *Indo-European Numerals*, Trends in linguistics: Studies and monographs 57 (Berlin & New York, 1992), p. 523.

¹⁷² Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', pp. 248-9.

¹⁷³ See GOI §756, p. 465.

¹⁷⁴ eDIL s.v. *maidid* or <u>dil.ie/31300</u>

¹⁷⁵ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 300.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 317-8.

- 2. 'Dāig nī faigbesu cēli *no* cu roīs sruth Ebir in Espāin 7 corub and fogēbasu cēli, 7 is ead īs*i*de ingen rīg Espāine. 7 co *m*bēras*i*de duitsi cethrar clainde, 7 *con*bia lāech dīb, 7 mescuid a s*h*īl for Ēirinn feib adrubramar fecht n-aill rias trāthsa. 7 biaid lāech dīb 7 bid būaid lāich dīb immorro. 7 beit dā choemrīgain, shūaichnite, sainemla dībs*ide*, 7 ba sead a n-anmanna in cethrar sin, .i. Ailill, in mac bad sine dīb, 7 bid Coemell ingen Eōghain, bus nesa dō, 7 bid Lugaid, bus nesa dīseni. 7 bid for iumda lechta lāech les*ide*, 7 bud ead 20. fochlucc bruinde bias fa deoid and, Sconiam ingen Eōgain. 7 ardaisiu for a cend, .i. da hīarraid a mucha laī 7 laithe ambārach.'
- 2. 'Because you will not find a companion until you reach the river Ebro in Spain and it is there you will find a companion, and it is she, the daughter of the king of Spain. And she will bear to you four children, and there will be a warrior among them, and his descendants spread over Ireland as we have said on another occasion before this time. And there will be a warrior among them and, moreover, they will have the gift of champions. And there will be two beautiful, distinguished, excellent princesses among them, and these will be the names of these four: that is Ailill, he will be the eldest of them, and Coemill, daughter of Eógan, who will be next to him, and Lugaid, who will be next to her. And on many will be deaths of warriors by him. And it will be the youngster of the womb that will be last then, Scothniam daughter of Eógan. And you are ordered towards her¹⁷⁸, that is, in order to seek her at early morning and day tomorrow.'

39

¹⁷⁷ MS: *buaid* appears double here and has been removed for the sake of readability.

¹⁷⁸ i.e. the daughter of the king of Spain.

1. 14 *faighesu*: future 2sg form of *fo-gaib* 'to find' with a suffixed personal emphatic pronoun 2sg. The syncope of the future \bar{e} -marker can be attributed to the spread of the syncopated future form of *do-gni* 'to do' to other common verbs in Middle Irish. In Old Irish, the future \bar{e} -marker in in an unstressed syllable of the prototonic form of compound verbs was resistant to syncope, except for the future of *do-gni* 'does'. 179

 $fog\bar{e}basu$: also a future 2sg form of fo-gaib 'to find', without syncope of the future \bar{e} -marker, followed by a suffixed personal emphatic pronoun 2sg.

is ead $\bar{\imath}$ side: The word ead is a form of the personal pronoun 3sg neuter ed, followed by the personal pronoun 3sg feminine i, with a suffixed anaphoric pronoun.

1. 16 *mescuid a shīl*: Literally: 'his seed plunges/falls upon'. The verb *mescaid* 'mixes', combined with the preposition *for* it may also denote 'to fall upon, attack' in a hostile sense. When the *u* is interpreted as the *f*, this renders the *f*-future 3sg *mescfid*, which fits better into the context, as this is a rephrasing of the prophecy in the first paragraph. I have chosen the translation 'to spread', to maintain the metaphor introduced in line 11.

feib: This word derives from *feb*, which is translated as 'excellence' or 'wealth' when taken as a substantive. When in the dative case, it can also function as a conjunction meaning 'in the way that, as', ¹⁸⁰ which is the translation that has been adopted here.

bid būaid lāich dīb: Literally 'the gift of champions will be to them'.

l. 17 $d\bar{a}$ choemr \bar{i} gain: The numeral $d\hat{a}$ 'two' correctly lenites the following compound noun. The latter word consists of the o/a-stem adjective $c\hat{a}$ em 'dear, precious; fair, beautiful' ¹⁸¹, which has undergone the phonetic change ai > oi during the Middle Irish period, ¹⁸² followed by the

nominative sg form of the feminine $\bar{\imath}$ - or later \bar{a} -stem noun riga(i)n 'queen'. In Old Irish, the numeral $d\hat{a}$ should have been $d\hat{i}$ (nominative feminine), but the nominative/accusative masculine form of the numeral became generalized in Middle Irish. The feminine noun riga(i)n becomes an \bar{a} -stem in Middle Irish. As the Old Irish nominative dual was abandoned during the Middle Irish period, this form is unlikely to be a dual case. The dual was usually replaced by the singular, which explains this form.

¹⁷⁹ McCone, The Early Irish Verb, p. 244.

¹⁸⁰ eDIL s.v. feb **II** or <u>dil.ie/21378</u>.

 $^{^{181}}$ eDIL s.v. 1 *cáem* or dil.ie/7590.

¹⁸² Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 230.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 260.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 247.

shūaichnite: Deviates from O'Curry's reading of *śuaiċinte*. Since the manuscript is damaged here the minims could also read *śuaiċnite*, which is preferable, since this is closer to the attested Old-Irish word *súaichnid*, which can be used attributively meaning 'distinguished'. ¹⁸⁵

- 1. 18 *ba sead a n-anmanna*: Literally: 'they will be their names of these four'. The noun *anmanna* is derived from *ainmm* 'name', a neuter *n*-stem. Through the influence of the masculine and and feminine ending —a the historically neuter ending —ann/-enn was replaced by the former ending during the Middle Irish development, as the neuter gender fell out of use. ¹⁸⁶ *sine*: This is the comparative form of *sen* 'old', but is used here as a superlative. The comparative already started to supersede the superlative in the Old-Irish period (GOI §366) and became the norm in the Middle Irish period. However, the comparative in Old-Irish would have the ending -iu, which developed to /e/ and would have been spelled —i, —e, —a, as can bee seen here.
- 1. 19 *nesa*: This is the adjective of the comparative form of the adjective *ocus*, *acus* 'near'. ¹⁸⁷ *dīseni*: This is the conjugated preposition *do* 'to, for' in the 3sg feminine, with a suffixed demonstrative pronoun. I take the latter pronoun to derive from *sin* 'that, those'. In DIL it is mentioned that Kuno Meyer argues that forms like *sine*, *saine*, *sene* have developed as an analogical formation on the model of forms like *side*, *saide*, *sede*, ¹⁸⁸ which is likely to have occured with the pronoun as we have it here. The ending –*i* could be taken as a feminine ending, referring back to Coemell.

for iumda lechta: O'Curry transcribes these letters as forrimda, which he translates as 'numerous', a form otherwise unattested and with an additional r that does not occur in the manuscript. ¹⁸⁹ I have taken for as the preposition meaning '(up)on' and iumda as imdae 'many'. ¹⁹⁰ The noun lecht has the primary meaning of 'grave', but may by transference also denote 'death'. ¹⁹¹

1. 20 bud ead fochlucc bruinde: O'Curry here wrongly transcribes fothlucc for fochlucc and translates it as 'opener'. 192 The word derives from fochloc, which DIL translates as 'a poet or 'fili' of a lower grade'. 193 As Scothniam is the last one in Eógan's line to be born, it is translated it here as 'youngster'. The related word fochlocan acquires the meaning 'a young

¹⁸⁵ eDIL s.v. súaichnid, súaithnid or dil.ie/39059

¹⁸⁶ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', pp. 248-9.

 $^{^{187}}$ eDIL s.v. 1 ocus, acus or dil.ie/33483

¹⁸⁸ eDIL s.v. 1 *sin* or <u>dil.ie/37567</u>

¹⁸⁹ O'Curry, pp. 152-3.

 $^{^{190}}$ eDIL s.v. 1 *imdae* or <u>dil.ie/27433</u>

¹⁹¹ eDIL s.v. *lecht* or <u>dil.ie/29705</u>

¹⁹² O'Curry, pp. 154-5.

¹⁹³ eDIL s.v. *fochloc* or <u>dil.ie/22457</u>

boy, a schoolboy'. 194 This is followed by bruinde, a genitive pl of bruinne ('breast(s), bosom, chest'), 195 which is translated as $br\acute{u}$ 'womb', since the meaning of these words may be used interchangeably. 196

fa deoid: Middle Irish form of fo deud, fo diud '(at) last'. 197

ardaisiu: this verbal form could be ardaig(h)isiu, derived from ord(d)aigid(ir) 'to order, command', which would be a passive form with suffixed a 2sg emphasizing personal pronoun.

for a cend: Breatnach points out that in Middle Irish, the consonantcluster –nd changed to -nn, which results in confusion of both spellings in writing, and thence both appear side by side in texts. 198 As this noun historically ends on an -nn, the -nd ending here is a result of this confusion.

1. 21 a mucha laī 7 laithe: This could be an instance of two collocated synonyms, which occur frequently throughout this text.

¹⁹⁴ eDIL s.v. *fochlocan* or dil.ie/22458

¹⁹⁵ eDIL s.v. *bruinne* or <u>dil.ie/7117</u> 196 eDIL s.v. *bruinne* (b), or <u>dil.ie/7117</u>; eDIL s.v. 1 *brú* or <u>dil.ie/7037</u>

¹⁹⁷ eDIL s.v. *dead* (**B**) or <u>dil.ie/14812</u>

¹⁹⁸ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 238.

3. 'Canas tānic dūibse fis fairsin, a maccu?' ar Eōgan.

'Nī ansa: trī meic Antipater in Druad sinde a h-Espāin. 7 amsōi seic for a rūs fīs, feib dochūaid fair. Adcuas don rīg .i. ro innis dō. 7 is annsin adbertsom: "Dō dam, a haid, for ēsium," ar Ēber, ar rīg Espāine, "7 iarfaid dam don druīd can cūan, no cenēl, no ciniud, no cland don fir, dobēra an inghen mbic ucut fil for m'fīadnaise, .i. mo ingen fēn.'

4. 'Is and dochūadusa 7 asbertus frisin druīd fātsine do denam don rīg fo dāla a ingeni, 7 amsae in druī in formna a fessa. Ro faillsiged dō comad a h-Inis Cesrach cēle a ingine, .i. a Ērenn. "Cīa fūath fir a h-Ēirinn dia tibrindsea m'ingen?" ar Ēber. "Conticfa fer amra," ar in druī, "a h-Indse mac Miled dot shaigid, 7 ro gabsat secht sen trīcha dēc ar fichit i n-indsi nīam adbuileat." "Ces contiucfa?" ar Ēber. "In uair rachaid uait ara cheand," ar in druīd. "Cuirsi techta for a chend," ar Ēber frisin druīd, "co airm hi fil in maccoēm gellai."

3. 'From where comes to you knowledge of that, o young men?' said Eógan.

'It is not difficult: we are the three sons of Antipater the Druid from Spain. And he¹⁹⁹ returns a vision of his knowledge, as he told of it. And it was told to the king, that is, he told it to him. And it is then that he said: "(Go) away from me, o Faithe, for him," said Éber, said the king of Spain, "and ask for me of the druid from where the family, or kindred, or race, or descendants of the man is, who will take the little daughter there, who is in my presence, that is, my own daughter."

4. 'Then I went and told the druid to create a prophesy for the king concerning his daughter, and the druid turned to the summit of his knowledge. It was revealed to him²⁰⁰ that the husband of his daughter would be from the island of Ceasar, that is, from Ireland. "What sort of a man out of Ireland (is he) to whom I should give my daughter?" said Éber. "An extraordinary man will come," said the druid, "out of the island of the sons of Mil to visit you, and they have taken thirty-seven ancient cantreds in the splendid island in which he died." "When will he come?" said Éber. "When they²⁰¹ will go from you into his direction," said the druid. "You send messengers to him," said Éber to the druid, "to the place in which you pledge that the boy is."

25.

30.

¹⁹⁹ i.e. the druid.

 $^{^{200}}$ i.e. to the king.

 $^{^{201}}$ i.e. refers to the messengers in the next sentence.

1. 24

1. 23 *sinde*: From the Middle Irish *sinne* 'we', a 1pl personal pronoun.²⁰² *seic*: Middle Irish form of the anaphoric enclitic pronoun *side*.²⁰³ *amsōi*: Form of the verb *imm-sōi* 'to turn round, move',²⁰⁴ a 3sg historical present. The change from *i*- to *a*- in the preverb *imm* can be accounted for as fluctuation in the spelling of the schwa in unstressed preverbal particles.²⁰⁵ It has various translations, such as 'to turn round, move, drive, revolve'.

feib: For the explanation of the word feb 'excellence' as a conjunction, see line 14, where it

also is also employed in this manner. $doch\bar{u}aid$: perfect 3sg of ad-fét 'to tell, relate', with the prefix ad- substituted by do-. 206 Adcuas $don \ r\bar{\iota}g$.i. $ro\ innis\ d\bar{o}$: This sentence is of interest, as it may represent a clause that was originally a gloss. The form adcuas is the past passive sg of the verb ad-fét 'to tell, relate', 207 which is then explained by using the form $ro\ innis$, a augmented preterite 3sg of the verb indisid 'to tell, recount', which is a new simple verb based on the verbal noun of in-fét that replaced the verb ad-fét during the Middle Irish period. 208 This explanation could have been added by the scribe himself, or he could have incorporated an existing gloss from his exemplar into the narrative. Whichever is the case, it shows that at least in the period of the copying of this tale, the meaning of the form adcuas was considered as possibly obscure to the contemporary reader or audience.

 $d\bar{o}$ dam Ahaid: The verb in this sentence is elided, and the preposition do, here conjugated in the 3sg as $d\bar{o}$, expresses the sense of motion of onwards or away here. ²⁰⁹Combined with the conjugated preposition dam, the 1sg of the same pronoun, it conveys the sense of a command or order (adhortative). The name Ahaid has been rendered a Fathaid by O'Curry in his edition, which has probably been added by himself to explain who the king was addressing here. ²¹⁰ In the next paragraph, we learn that one of the sons of the druid is named Fathe, whom probably is addressed here.

1. 25 $r\bar{i}g$: Nominative sg masculine g-stem of ri 'king'. Confusion between the nominative and

²⁰² eDIL s.v. *mé* or <u>dil.ie/31705</u>

²⁰³ eDIL s.v. seic or dil.ie/36876

 $^{^{204}}$ eDIL s.v. imm-só \overline{i} or $\underline{\text{dil.ie}/27928}$

²⁰⁵ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 284.

 $^{^{206}}$ eDIL s.v. $ad ext{-}f\acute{e}t$ or $\underline{ ext{dil.ie}/440}$

 $^{^{207}}$ eDIL s.v. $ad\text{-}f\acute{e}t$ or $\underline{\text{dil.ie}/440}$

²⁰⁸ eDIL s.v. indisid or dil.ie/28439

²⁰⁹ eDIL s.v. 2 *dó* or <u>dil.ie/17101</u>

²¹⁰ O'Curry, p. 154.

accusative of the *g*-stems is uncommon, according to Breatnach, but a few examples are found in Harleian manuscript 1802.²¹¹

 $\bar{\imath}$ arfaid: 2sg imperative of $\acute{\imath}$ arraid 'to ask for, seek'. This form is the result of the merging of palatal g and d in Middle Irish ($\acute{\imath}$ arfaigid > $\acute{\imath}$ arfaig). 213 can $c\bar{\imath}$ and d in d considered in d considered

1. 26 *for m'fiadnaise*: O'Curry translates this clause as 'in my presence' 214 , yet the combination that is translated as such takes the preposition i 'in' instead of for. However, the preposition for can also indicate approximate positions and take the translation 'at, by', which appears to have been implied here.

Textual notes §4

- 1. 27 *asbertus*: Middle Irish form of the 1sg preterite of *as-beir* 'to say'. In the suffixless preterite, the endings of the 1 and 2sg were identical, which led to the transference of the *s*-preterite endings –*us* (1sg) and –*ais* (2sg) to these forms, in order to avoid confusion. The stem of the verb is Old-Irish, as *as-beir* is replaced during the Middle Irish period by *at-beir*. In the verb is of *dāla a ingeni*: This combination functions as a preposition and is followed here by a sg form of *ingen* 'daughter, girl'. This is a feminine *ā*-stem, but the ending that has been suffixed to the word indicates that it has been treated as an *iā*-stem. In that case, it could be could be either a dative or accusative.
- 1. 28 *amsae*: This word appears to be a past form of the verb *imm-sōi* 'to turn round, move', 219 with the Middle Irish *s*-preterite conjunct ending -a(i). 220 *Ro faillsiged*: Augmented preterite passive sg form of the verb *foillsigid* 'to show, reveal'. 221 Although the perfective particle *ro* indicates that it is a perfect, the *ro* loses its perfective meaning in Middle Irish and has the force of a preterite here. 222 *comad*: Conjunction co^n 'so that, and' 223 followed by the secondary future 3sg conjunct

²¹¹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 249.

 $^{^{212}}$ eDIL s.v. 2 *iarraid* or <u>dil.ie/27062</u>

²¹³ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 234.

²¹⁴ O'Curry, p. 155.

²¹⁵ eDIL s.v. *fíadnaise* (**b**) or <u>dil.ie/21911</u>

²¹⁶ McCone, *The Early Irish Verb*, p. 261; Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 303.

 $^{^{217}}$ eDIL s.v. as-beir or $\underline{\text{dil.ie}/4383}$

²¹⁸ eDIL s.v. 2 *dál* or <u>dil.ie/14345</u>

²¹⁹ eDIL s.v. *imm-sói* or <u>dil.ie/27928</u>

²²⁰ McCone, The Early Irish Verb, p. 260.

²²¹ eDIL s.v. *foillsigid* or <u>dil.ie/22888</u>

²²² Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 236.

²²³ eDIL s.v. 3 co or dil.ie/9788

- -bad'. The resulting form combad lost the nasalized b due to the confusion of b and m, especially in the vicinity of a nasal consonant.²²⁴
- 1. 29 *dia tibrindsea*: The first word is the preposition *do* 'to, for' combined with the relative particle *aⁿ*, followed by a form of the verb *do-beir* and the suffixed emphasizing personal pronoun 1sg –*s*(*e*)*a*. This verb appears to be the Middle Irish equivalent of the form *taibrinn*, which is a 1sg past subjunctive. Multiple Middle Irish developments can be observed here, such as the confusion between the –*nn* and –*nd*–, which led to the hypercorrect ending of *tibrind*²²⁵. The future *ē*-marker has been syncopated, a development that has previously been observed and explained in *faigbesu* (1. 14). Palatal *t* and prototonic *tib* might have spread from the prototonic future and conditional of *do-beir* to the subjunctive at the expensive of *taib*-.²²⁶

conticfa: DIL gives this form as a 3 sg f-futute of the verb con-ticc 'to come (with)', yet the examples given are scarce. Possibly the preverb has arisen from the conjunction co^n , which spread from the preterite co n-accae, co cúalae to the prototonic –ticc from do-icc, forming the new prototonic con-ticc. 228

- 1. 30 *dot shaigid*: The possessive adjective 2sg has a suffixed *t*, which occurred before vowels, \hat{f} and \dot{s} . ²²⁹ It is followed by the verbal noun *saigid*, ²³⁰ of the same verb, and is literally translated as 'your visiting'. *secht sen trīcha dēc ar fichit*: The word *trícha* refers to *trícha cét*, which is literally translated 'thirty hundred(s)'; ²³¹ with 'hundreds' denoting a territorial division in the current context. ²³² The combination *secht* [...] *dēc ar fichit* is translated as the numeral thirty-seven, defining *trícha*, which has the function of a noun here, preceded by the adjective *sen*.
- 1. 31 *adbuileat*: Form of the verb *at-bail(l)* 'to die' in what appears to be a Middle Irish spelled form of the early imperfect 3sg *atbailedh*.²³³ The original *t* of the preverb is spelled as *d*, as these fell together in Middle Irish ortography.²³⁴ However, for the *e* to be written as *ea* is uncommon and might not be attributable to changing ortography, but it could represent a

²²⁴ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 235.

²²⁵ Ibid., p. 238.

²²⁶ Based on the suggestion by Dr. Míchaél Ó Flaitheartha.

²²⁷ eDIL s.v. con-icc or dil.ie/12189

²²⁸ Based on the suggestion by Dr. Míchaél Ó Flaitheartha.

²²⁹ eDIL s.v. 2 *do* or <u>dil.ie/17097</u>

 $^{^{230}}$ eDIL s.v. 2 saigid or dil.ie/35952

²³¹ eDIL s.v. *trícha cét* or <u>dil.ie/41918</u>

²³² O'Curry, pp. 154-5.

²³³ eDIL s.v. *at-bail(l)* or <u>dil.ie/4577</u>

²³⁴ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 228.

sound development, namely the glide replacing the main vowel.²³⁵

ces: Interrogative pronoun consisting of cia and -es (conjugated preposition a in the 3sg neuter). It is found written in manuscripts as $c\bar{s}$ and functions as a question marker, in this case as 'when'. 236

rachaid: Middle Irish form of the verb $t\acute{e}it$, in the 3sg future. Breatnach only quotes the form ragaid with -g-. McCone explains this alternative form as a result of the devoicing of g to ch in the f-future, thus the g in the future form regaid could be replaced by the current form. This 'sporadic Middle Irish tendency' is an early instance of a 'dialect feature (present-day Connacht, Ulster and Scots Gaelic rach- vs. Munster ragh-)'. In addition, the 'ch/g alternations elsewhere in this verb's system, e.g. 3sg augmented subjunctive -dech or -dig etc. (X.1), were probably at least a contributing factor. 240

1. 32 *druīd*: Later form of the masculine *t*-stem noun *druí* 'druid'.²⁴¹ Throughout the text, both variants (*druí* and *druid*) are found.

cuirsi: This is the 2sg imperative of the verb *fo-ceird*, *-cuirethar* 'to put, throw' with the emphasizing pronoun 2sg.²⁴² The usual form of the 2sg imperative is *cuire* or *cuirthe*²⁴³, while Breatnach quotes the form *cuir* from LL.²⁴⁴

²³⁵ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 230.

²³⁶ eDIL s.v. 6 *ces* or dil.ie/8819

²³⁷ eDIL s.v. 1 téit or dil.ie/40447

²³⁸ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 319.

²³⁹ McCone, *The Early Irish* Verb, p. 249.

²⁴⁰ Ibid

²⁴¹ eDIL s.v. *druí* or <u>dil.ie/18853</u>

²⁴² eDIL s.v. 1 cuirid or dil.ie/13660

²⁴³ Timothy G. Barnes, 'Old Irish *cuire*, its congeners, and the ending of the 2nd sg. middle imperative' in *Ériu* 65 (2015), pp. 49-56.

²⁴⁴ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 298.

5. Ro chuir in drūid a trī meic, 7 ba sead a n-anmannaside: .i. Fāthe 7 Fis 7 Fīrinne.
Is andsin adbert in drūid rinde techt ar do chennsa, 7 tair lind a mucha laei ambārach. 7 na
cluined sochaide ūaid 7 na cluined trā side ingen Echach, do māthair, dāig nīt lēicfea for tonnaib mara dia cluined.'

'Ērgid, a macu, feib tēit cach, is*in* dūnad ndermā*irsi*n anu*n*d, co mucha laei imbā*r*ach, 7 (t)ucubsa da b*ar* saigid f*ri* dumach*aib* derid laei.'

5. 'The druid sent his three sons, and these are their names: that is Fáthe and Fis and Firinne. Then the druid told us to go to you, and you must come with us at daybreak tomorrow. And let not crowd hear about it, and let the daughter of Eochaid not hear (it), your mother, for she will not allow you (to go) over the waves if she hears.'

'Go, o young men, as all must go, into this very great fort over there, until early day tomorrow, and I will come to visit you by the mounds at the end of the day.

- 1. 33 *a trī meic*: The mutation caused by the 3sg masculine possessive pronoun *a* 'his', standing before the numeral *trí* 'three', will still occur.²⁴⁵ However, the appropriate lenition is not visible in writing.
 - a n-anmannaside: See comment on anmanna (l. 18).
 - *Fāthe 7 Fis 7 Fīrinne*: The names of the three sons of Antipater the Druid are literally 'prophesy and knowledge and truth'.
- 1. 34 *rinde*: Later form of the 1pl conjugated pronoun *fri* 'to, against', which is gradually replaced by *ri*, *re* in Middle Irish.²⁴⁶
 - a mucha laei ambārach: Literally 'at the early time of day tomorrow'.
- 1. 35 *na cluined*: The negation *na* is used before imperatives and past subjunctives and is followed by the subjunctive 3sg of *ro-cluinethar* 'to hear'.
 - $\bar{u}aid$: This preposition is taken as the conjugated 3sg here, 'from/about it', which is a later form.²⁴⁷ It refers to Eógan's plan to go away.
 - $n\bar{t}t$ $l\bar{e}icfea$: The negation $n\acute{t}$ is followed by the correct infixed pronoun, which is the 2sg of class A. The verb is the future conjunct 3sg of $l\acute{e}icid$ 'to leave'. The spelling of the ending has changed due to a Middle Irish sound change, as the schwa in the final unstressed open syllable in the 2sg f-future can be written -fa/-fea/-fe/-fi, which explain the ending in -fea here. 248
- 1. 36 *dia cluined*: The conjunction *dia n* is translated as 'if', as it is followed by the past subjunctive 3sg of *ro-cluinethar* 'to hear'.
- ērgid: This is the 2pl imperative of the simple verb éirgid 'to rise, stand up', based on the compound verb at-reig 'to rise and go, to go'.
 isin dūnad ndermāirsin: The noun dúnad 'encampment, fort' is a masculine o-stem, in the accusative sg. It is followed by the adjective dermár 'very great', also an o-stem, which can alternatively be spelled as dermáir according to DIL, and shows the correct nazalisation.
- 1. 38 *(t)ucubsa:* The verb here poses a problem. It could be the 1sg *f*-future *ticub*, deriving from the verb *do-icc* 'to come'. ²⁵⁰ This formation occurs in later language and may partly be

anund: Later form of the adverb innonn 'yonder'. 249

²⁴⁵ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 261.

²⁴⁶ eDIL s.v. *fri* or <u>dil.ie/24329</u>

²⁴⁷ eDIL s.v. 1 *ó* or <u>dil.ie/33364</u>

²⁴⁸ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 316.

²⁴⁹ eDIL s.v. innonn or dil.ie/28836

²⁵⁰ eDIL s.v. *do-icc* or <u>dil.ie/17788</u>

formed by analogy with do-ucci 'to understand'. This would require the addition of the t. Another possibility would be that the scribe misread the word *ucub* for *ticub*, since the only difference between these spellings would be the upper stroke of the t.

da bar saigid: Literally 'to your seeking': da is the Middle Irish form of the preposition do 'to, for', followed by the 2pl possessive pronoun bar and the verbal noun saigid 'going, proceeding'.252

 $^{^{251}}$ eDIL s.v. do-beir or $\underline{\text{dil.ie}/17216}$ 252 eDIL s.v. 2 saigid or $\underline{\text{dil.ie}/35952}$

6. Dochuat*ar* is*i*n dūnad, ⁷ buīs*i*u*m ar*a clesaib cluit*h*emuige co d*er*ed laei. Luid
40. ī*arsi*n co h-airm i mbāt*ar* na m*a*ccoeīm. Bāt*ar* an*n* co mucha laī ⁷ ro gabsat na m*ei*c lāma fair um dula leo. Tēit i*n* m*a*c *ar* fert fōdmaige ⁷ tīagait na m*ei*c ele na degaid, .i. m*ei*c in druad.

'Maith, a meic,' ar siat, 'in tici i lleth ro gellais?'

'Regat ēcin,' ar sē.

45. 'Cīa līn ticfa?' ar siat.

50.

'Nī raga *acht* mise 7 mo *cūic* comalta sund: Ut 7 Oen*ar*a 7 Fiacha Suigthi m*a*c Fedlimidh Rechtad*h*a, 7 Aiglend m*a*c rīg Osraige, comalta ele dam. 7 Ī*arsin* Magur m*a*c rīg desc*ir*t Ē*renn*, diatā Glend Mag*hair* indiu, 7 Gaiscedach m*a*c rīg Ī*arthair Mum*an, comalta ele da*m*, 7 Tigernach m*a*c rīg *Connacht*, comalta ele da*m*, 7 Mosad mo gilla, diatā Mag*h* Mosaid.

6. They went into the fort, and he was performing feats of the playing-field until the end of the day. After that he went to the place in which the young men were. They were there until daybreak, and the young men put (their) hands on him to go with them. The young man went out on a mound of the earthen plain and the other young men went following after him, namely the sons of the druid.

'Good, young man,' said they, 'will you come in the direction in which you have promised?' 'I will go indeed,' said he.

'What number shall come?' said they.

'None will go but myself and my five foster-brothers here: Ut and Oenara, and Fiacha Suighthi the son of Feidlimidh Rechtaid, and Aiglenn the son of the king of Osraige, another foster-brother of mine. And after him Magur the son of the king of the southern part of Ireland, after whom Glenn Maghar is named today, and Gaiscedach the son of the king of the western part of Munster, another foster-brother of mine, and Tigernach the son of the king of Connacht, another foster-brother of mine, and Mosad my servant, after whom the Plain of Mosad is named.

- 1. 39 ara clesaib cluithemuige: the preposition ar 'at' with the suffixed possessive pronoun 3sg masculine a 'his' is followed by the dative pl of the noun cles 'feat', which has the collective sense of 'performance of feats' in plural. Since a lenites, this should give chlesaib, which is not written here. Either the superscript dot marking lenition is missing, or it might not have been indicated. This combination is followed by the genitive pl compound cluithemuige 'playing-field', consisting of the nouns cluiche 'game, play' and mag 'plain'. The second word has the form muig-, which is common in disyllabic forms in Middle Irish. 154
- 1. 41 *um dula*: the first word is the preposition *imm* 'around', which is translated as 'to, into' after verbal nouns of motion.²⁵⁵

Tēit: the historical present is employed here.

 $f\bar{o}dmaige$: compound of which the first part is the noun $f\bar{o}t$ 'sod (of earth)/spot of earth', which is commen as a compound in poetry, where it takes the force of an adjective prefixed to a substantive and can be translated as 'earthen'.²⁵⁶

na degaid: combination of the preposition (*i*)*na* with suffixed possessive pronoun 3sg masculine and the adjective *degaid*, which together are translated in the idiomatic sense of 'after'.²⁵⁷ This combination is synonymous to the construction *i ndiaid* and later these two forms fell together.²⁵⁸ The loss of the 'i' is due to loss of the first syllable that occurred during the Middle Irish period.²⁵⁹

1. 43 *tici*: This verb has been interpreted as a future form of *téit* 'to go'here, in accordance with the following verbs in the paragraph. It is taken as standing for *ticfi*, deriving from the Old Irish *ticf(a)e*. In the 2sg *f*-future, the schwa in the final unstressed open syllable can be written *-fa/-fea/-fe/-fi*, which accounts for the ending in *i* here. ²⁶⁰

As some dialects of Modern Irish the -f- can be lenited, this might explain why it disappeared in writing here. In the present tense, the -c- would be pronounced as /g/, whereas in the future tense the consonantcluster -cf- with loss of the f would probably be pronounced as /k/. As this is the only difference between these forms, this could explain this

²⁵³ eDIL s.v. cles or dil.ie/9440

 $^{^{254}}$ eDIL s.v. mag or $\overline{\text{dil.ie}/31274}$

²⁵⁵ eDIL s.v. 1 *imm*, *imb* **I** (**e**) or dil.ie/27635

²⁵⁶ eDIL s.v. 1 *fót* or <u>dil.ie/24133</u>

²⁵⁷ eDIL s.v. 1 *degaid* (**f**) or <u>dil.ie</u>/15058

²⁵⁸ eDIL s.v. *dead* or <u>dil.ie/14812</u>

²⁵⁹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 236.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 316.

future form, yet it is not clear from writing which of the two tenses is meant, as the c can represent both pronounciations.

ro gellais: 2sg augmented preterite conjunct of the verb gellaid 'to pledge, to vow.'261

- 1. 44 *regat*: 1sg future of the verb *téit* 'to go', with the Middle Irish ending -at/-et, which only occurred in the absolute forms of the future. According to Kim McCone 'the new 1pl. abs. -m(a)it triggered reshaping in the fut. of the old 1sg. abs. -e/-a now indistinguishable from 2sg. -e/-a (OIr. 1sg. -(e)a, 2sg. -(a)e mostly) to -(a)it of which there are a few examples. '262 However, the resulting ending -ait gave rise to possible confusion with the 3pl absolute ending -(a)it, and thus the ending was depalatalized. 263
- 1. 46 *cūic comalta*: the numeral 'five', here in Middle Irish spelling, functioning as an adjective should lenite the following word in Old Irish. Either the lenition is missing, or might not have been indicated. Osborn Bergin gives a brief overview of examples of lenition after *cōic* in Middle Irish, but mentions that the available material is scanty and he does not include the voiceless stop *c* in his overview.²⁶⁴ DIL gives examples such as '*do[naib] coic cetaib*' without lenition from the Wurzburg glosses,²⁶⁵ which indicates that the absence of marking of lenition of *c* also occurs in earlier sources and is not a Middle Irish development, and hence may simply be lacking indication in here.
- 1. 48 *descirt Ērenn*: since the second syllable of the noun here has been abbreviated in the manuscript, it has been written out as the genitive sg. of the masculine/neuter *o*-stem *descert* 'southern part, south'. ²⁶⁶
- 1. 49 *diatā*: the preposition *de, di* 'from, of' combined with the substantive verb *attá* has the sense of 'of origin, descent'. ²⁶⁷

²⁶¹ eDIL s.v. gellaid or dil.ie/25587

²⁶² McCone, Early Irish Verb, pp. 249-250.

²⁶³ Ibid, p. 250.

²⁶⁴ Osborn Bergin, 'Lenition after *cóic* in Nom., Acc., and Dat.', *Ériu* 11 (1932), p. 226.

²⁶⁵ eDIL s.v. *cóic* or <u>dil.ie/10037</u>

²⁶⁶ eDIL s.v. descert or dil.ie/15754

²⁶⁷ eDIL s.v. 1 *de, di* **XXVII** or <u>dil.ie/14787</u>

7. Amsōset for sēt co h-airm a mboī long na maccoēm, 7 is ann boīside i nDūn na mBārc a n-īarthar Ērenn. Amsōset rompu ar muncind mara a nōnbar maccoēm. 7 lotar a n-oidchesin co h-Indsi na Faircsina. Is aire dano adberar Inis na Faircsina riaside: ūair itcither esti Ēirinn 7 Espāin. Confoiset in aidchesin isin oilēnsin.

55. **8.** Adb*er*t in rīg is*in* maidins*i*n ris*in* druīd: 'Finta dui*n*d imth*ūs* na m*a*ccoēm dochuat*ar* uai*n*d for munci*n*d m*ar*a.'

'Ro fī*ar*sa ōn duitse s*in*,' *ar* sē. 'Is annē tāncat*ar ar* fe*cht*, *7 con*febut anocht in Espāin.'

Is eat tanic ar fecht

60. is caīn t*ar*that a tuide*cht*conlethfa a shīl ar Magh Fhail
fir confoī anocht in Espāin

7. They went on the way to where the ship of the young men was, and it is in Dun na mBárc (i.e. the Fort of the Ships) that she²⁶⁸ was in the west or Ireland. Their group of nine young men went onwards over the strait of the sea. They went that night to Inis na Faircsina (i.e. the Island of Viewing). It is for this reason that she is called Inis na Faircsina: because from it Ireland and Spain can be seen. They spent that night in that island.

8. The king²⁶⁹ said in the morning to the druid: 'Find out for us the fate of the young men who went from us over the strait of the sea.'

'I will have sought this for you,' said he. 'It was yesterday they came on the journey, and tonight they will spend the night in Spain.'

It is they who come on a journey
Their arrival has happened smoothly
His offspring will spread over Magh Fail
The men who spend this night in Spain

²⁶⁸ i.e. the ship (feminine noun).

²⁶⁹ i.e. the king of Spain.

- 1. 51 *Amsōset*: 3pl *s*-preterite of *imm-sōi* 'to turn round, move'.²⁷⁰ For the spelling of the preverbal particle *imm* as *am*, see note on *amsōi* (1. 23). *co h-airm*: the noun *airm* 'place' functions as the conjunction 'where' here.²⁷¹ *nDūn na mBārc*: literally 'fort of the ships'.
- 1. 52 *rompu*: After verbs of motion, the preposition *ré* can be translated as 'on, forwards'. ²⁷² *ar muncind mara*: this is the dative singular of the noun *muincend*, a feminine \bar{a} -stem, correctly used after the preposition *ar*, which is later form of *for* 'on, over'. ²⁷³ O'Curry translates it as 'ridge of the sea' ²⁷⁴, by which he probably refers to the more common translation as 'a narrow expanse of sea, whether inlet or strait. ²⁷⁵ *a nōnbar*: This is a late Middle Irish form of the masculine *o*-stem noun *nōnbor* 'a group of nine persons'. ²⁷⁶
- 1. 53 *a n-oidchesin*: Later form of the feminine $\bar{\imath}$ -stem *adaig* 'night', ²⁷⁷ preceded by the Middle Irish form of the preposition i, causing nazalisation. As many of the endings of the $\bar{\imath}$ -stem fell together during the Middle Irish period, the old ending of the dative *aidchi* is spelled *oidche* here. ²⁷⁸

Inis na Faircsina: Literally 'the island of viewing', which appeared to have had a similar function as a cape lookout. The second word is a later genitive sg form of the verbal noun *forcsi* 'surveying, overlooking', which according to DIL might have derived from the verb *for-aicci* 'to overlook, survey'.²⁷⁹

aire: this is the conjugated preposition ar 'for' in the 3sg masculine or neuter, used as a conjunction with the meaning 'for, since, seeing that, for the reason that.'280 adberar Inis na Faircsina riaside: The verb as-beir combined with the preposition fri is translated as 'to say to, call'.281 According to DIL, the preposition fri is 'gradually replaced by the forms ri, re in Middle Irish.282 The form found here is 3sg feminine, which agrees

²⁷⁰ eDIL s.v. imm-sói or dil.ie/27928

²⁷¹ eDIL s.v. airm or dil.ie/2231

²⁷² eDIL s.v. 6 *ré*, *ría* II (b) or <u>dil.ie/34869</u>

²⁷³ eDIL s.v. 1 for or dil.ie/23272

²⁷⁴ O'Curry, p. 159.

²⁷⁵ eDIL s.v. *muincend* or <u>dil.ie/32723</u>

²⁷⁶ eDIL s.v. *nónbor* or <u>dil.ie/33300</u>

²⁷⁷ eDIL s.v. 1 adaig or dil.ie/256

²⁷⁸ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 247.

²⁷⁹ eDIL s.v. *forcsi* or <u>dil.ie/23505</u>

²⁸⁰ eDIL s.v. 2 ar or dil.ie/3903

²⁸¹ eDIL s.v. as-beir or dil.ie/4383

²⁸² eDIL s.v. *fri* or <u>dil.ie/24329</u>

with *inis* 'island', a feminine $\bar{\imath}$ -stem.

1. 54 *itcither*: This obscure word appears to have derived from a form of the verb *ad-ci* 'to see', namely the present passive sg *adcither*.²⁸³

Confoiset: Another obscure form, supposedly from the verb con-foi 'to spend (the night)', which has not been much attested. ²⁸⁴ DIL mentions that con- might be a relative particle. The ending indicates that it is a s- preterite 3pl, but DIL quotes the form con-foefet here (LU 9840). Another possibility is that the s- preterite ending here is a scribal error, as the only difference between the f and long s is the horizontal stroke, which could easily have been forgotten.

isin oilēnsin: From the masculine *o*-stem noun *ailén* 'island', in the dative sg case.²⁸⁵ The spelling *oilén* for the dative *oiléun* is a Middle Irish development, as the nominative /accusative case became indistinguishable from the dative case.²⁸⁶

Textual notes §8

- 1. 55 *finta*: The imperative 2sg of the verb *ro-finnadar* 'to find out, discover'. This form typically occurs in Old-Irish and early Middle Irish.²⁸⁷
- 1. 57 Ro fīarsa: This verb appears to have derived from *iarraid* 'to ask for, demand' a simple verb derived from the compound verb *ro-finnadar* 'to find out'. The suffixed emphasizing personal pronoun indicates that it is a 1sg form. If it is interpreted as a form of the verb *iarraid*, it may be the augmented preterite 1sg. The insertion of the *f* is a Middle Irish development: in Old Irish, there is already a limited tendency for the prosthetic *f* to spread 'before stressed vowels in appropriate deuterotonic compounds'. In Middle Irish, this phenomenon spreads further and the non-radical *f* functioned 'as a hiatus-filler to vowel-initial unlenited forms'. McCone mentions that this *f* would not have been pronounced as such and was purely graphic in nature. We such as the sufficiency of the property of the prosthetic of the property of the prop

annē: Middle Irish form of indé 'yesterday'. 291

confebut: Future 3pl of con-foi 'to spend'. GOI §644 contains a note on the verb foïd or

²⁸³ eDIL s.v. ad-cí or dil.ie/391

²⁸⁴ eDIL s.v. con-foi or dil.ie/12129

²⁸⁵ eDIL s.v. *ailén* or <u>dil.ie/995</u>

²⁸⁶ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 242.

 $^{^{287}}$ eDIL s.v. ro-finnadar or $\underline{\text{dil.ie}/35431}$

²⁸⁸ McCone, Early Irish Verb, p. 217.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ eDIL s.v. 1 *indé* or <u>dil.ie/28350</u>

foaid 'to spend the night', which serves as the stem of this compound verb. The reduplicated future of this verb is 3 sg – fifea, and a 3pl form fibait is attested. ²⁹² The verbal form maithbet (1. 82) also displays this fluctuation in the spelling of b for f in the future, which occurs occassionally in Middle Irish. ²⁹³ See also the note on confoiset (1. 53) for the verb; see note on confoiset (1. 12) for the spelling of the future ending.

- 1. 58 *tarthat*: Imperfect 3sg of the verb *do-airret* 'to overtake/to reach'.²⁹⁴ Literally 'it is smooth that their arrival has arrived'.
- 1. 59 *Is eat tanic ar fecht*: The following stanza is a form of *deibide scailte* (*fota*), with the following syllabic pattern: $7^x 7^{x+1} \circ 2^2 7^x 7^{x+1} \circ 2^2$ and the rhyme a:b c:d.²⁹⁵ The first line is a syllable short, which can be resolved by replacing *eat* with *eat-sin*, thereby meeting the required amount of syllables. The lines can then be analyzed as follows:

Is eat-sin tanic ar fecht	7^1
is caīn tarthat a tuidecht	7^2
conlethfa a shīl ar Magh Fhail	7^1
fir confoi anocht in Espāin	7^{2}

- 1. 61 conlethfa: This compound verb consists of the particle con- and the 3sg f-future of the verb lethaid 'to spread out, extend'. 296
- 1. 62 *confoī*: Present 3sg of *con-foi* 'to spend'.

²⁹² Thurneysen, GOI §644, p. 401.

²⁹³ Ibid, p. 396

²⁹⁴ eDIL s.v. *do-airret*, *do-áirret* or <u>dil.ie/17156</u>

²⁹⁵ Gerard Murphy, Early Irish Metrics (Dublin 1961), p. 65.

²⁹⁶ eDIL s.v. *lethaid* or <u>dil.ie/30044</u>

9. Dochuatar na luing īarsin 7 roiset co calad Espāine. Būi frestal 7 frithāilem forra, 7 rucad co dūnad rīg Espāine .i. cu Tor mBreogain i n-Espāin. Ro ferad fāilte mīn
65. muinterdhai friu, 7 ro freslait 7 ro frithailit iat. Tucad nūa bīd dōib 7 sean lenda. Bātar in oidchesin ann, 7 nir h-imrāided riu in chaingen fo ndechatar, 7 dano nir imrāidset ri nech.

'Maith, a m*i*c,' *ar* Fiac*h*a Suigt*h*i, 'a Eōgain, dia n-ab*ar*th*ar* f*ri*tsa tab*air*t na mnā, tīag*ar* uaitse d'agall*aim* in druad, 7 gellt*ar* sēoit dō, 7 maīne, 7 abrad na fil sēn fess*i* co cend mblia*dna* an*n*, co rabu*m* ic dēscin na h-ingine co cend mblia*dna*, co f*h*inda*m* bēs in tīre aneōil i tānc*am*ar.'

'Fata liumsa sin, a gilla', ar Eōgan.

70.

9. They went into their boat after that and they reached the shore of Spain. They had attendance and service, and they were brought to the fort of the king of Spain, that is to the Tower of Breogan in Spain. They received a courteous and friendly welcome, and they were attended to and entertained. Fresh food and old drinks were given to them. They were there that night, and not was the matter mentioned to them for which they had came, and they did not mention it to anyone.

'Well, o youth,' said Fiacha Suighthe, 'o Eógan, when you are ordered to take a wife, let there be a going from you²⁹⁷ to address the druid, and let presents be promised to him, and gifts, and let him say that there will not be a blessing of the wedding until the end of the year, so that we may look at the girl until the end of the year, so that we may discover the habits of the unfamiliar country in which we have come.'

'That seems long to me, o young man,' said Eógan.

58

²⁹⁷ i.e. let messengers be sent from you.

- 1. 63 *roiset*: This is the 3pl present subjunctive of *ro-saig* 'to reach'. It has been translated here as a past tense.
 - frestal 7 frithāilem: alliterative collocation of synonyms. This specific combination also occurs in *Táin bó Cuailnge* in LL (23.827): do frestul 7 frithālim lenna 7 bíd 'to prepare and provide food and drink'.²⁹⁸
- 1. 64 *mīn muinterdhai*: another alliterative collocation.
- 1. 65 $n\bar{u}a\ b\bar{\iota}d$: The adjective $n\acute{u}a$ 'new' takes on the function of a substantive when followed by a genitive, in this case the genitive sg of neuter/masculine o-stem biad 'food'. It is translated as 'that which is new (fresh)' according to DIL. ²⁹⁹ The noun $b\acute{\iota}d$, originally a disyllabic word, has lost its hiatus, a development that occured during the Old and Middle Irish periods. ³⁰⁰

sean lenda: This is the same construction as núa bíd; the adjective sean 'old' is a substantive here that is literally translated as 'that which is old'³⁰¹, followed by the genitive sg of neuter *u*-stem *linn* 'drink, liquid'.³⁰²

- 1. 66 nir h-imrāided: Negation and particle ro, followed by the verb imrádid, the later form of the compound verb imm-rádi 'to think (of), reflect (on)', in the preterite passive sg. 303 in chaingen fo ndechatar: The preposition fo can be translated as 'for which' after 'words denoting cause or reason, in relative construction with a verb' 304.
 ri: Middle Irish form of preposition fri.
- 1. 67 dia n-abarthar fritsa: Literally 'when it is ordered of you'.
 tabairt na mnā: According to DIL, the verb do-beir 'to give, place' combined with ben has the sense of 'taking a wife'. 305
- 1. 68 tāagar: Imperative passive sg form of téit 'to go'.
 gelltar: Imperative passive pl form of gellaid 'to pledge oneself, vow'. 306
 maīne: The ending of this feminine i-stem indicates that this form is a genitive. However, it functions as the subject of the verb gelltar, together with the nominative pl séoit 'gifts', and

²⁹⁸ Mac Cana, 'Composition and collocation of synonyms', p. 115.

²⁹⁹ eDIL s.v. *núa*, *núae* (**d**) or <u>dil.ie/33322</u>

³⁰⁰ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 231.

³⁰¹ eDIL s.v. 1 *sen* or <u>dil.ie/37090</u>

 $^{^{302}}$ eDIL s.v. 2 *linn* or $\overline{\text{dil.ie}/30275}$

³⁰³ eDIL s.v. *imm-rádi* or <u>dil.ie/27906</u>

³⁰⁴ eDIL s.v. *fo, fa, fá* **II** (**m**) or <u>dil.ie/22333</u>

³⁰⁵ eDIL s.v. 1 *tabairt* (**e**) or <u>dil.ie/39363</u>

³⁰⁶ eDIL s.v. *gellaid* or <u>dil.ie/25587</u>

should therefore be a nominative pl. As the vowels in unstressed final open syllables fell together during the Middle Irish period, the endings of all the pl cases except the dative in the i-stem, were indistinguisable.³⁰⁷

abrad: Later form of the imperative 3sg of as-beir 'to say'. 308

 $s\bar{e}n\ fessi$: o-stem noun $s\acute{e}n$ 'sign/charm', ³⁰⁹ followed by the feminine $i\bar{a}$ -stem fess, also the verbal noun of foaid 'to spend the night'. It has the meaning 'spending the night, sleeping', but can also imply coition and is therefore also used to refer to 'espousal'. ³¹⁰

- 1. 69 rabum: Later subjunctive present 1pl form of the substantive verb attá. ic descin na h-ingine: ic is the Middle Irish form of the preposition oc 'at, by', followed by the Middle Irish form of déicsiu, the verbal noun of do-éccai 'to look at, behold'. fhindam: Present subjunctive 1pl. of ro-finnadar 'to find out, discover'.
- 1.71 *Fata liumsa*: According to DIL, the combination of the copula *is*, the adjective *fata* 'long' and the conjugated pronoun *la* can be translated as 'I deem ... long, it seems long to me', which is still used in Modern Irish.³¹¹ The copula is elided in this clause.

³⁰⁷ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 244.

³⁰⁸ eDIL s.v. *as-beir* or <u>dil.ie/4383</u>

³⁰⁹ eDIL s.v. 1 *sén* or <u>dil.ie/37092</u>

³¹⁰ eDIL s.v. 2 feis(s), fess or dil.ie/21506

³¹¹ eDIL s.v. *fota, fata* or <u>dil.ie/24135</u>

- **10.** Imbaid bāt*arsom* uime sin, co n-acatar techta in rīg chuca.
- 'Math, a maccōema,' bar na techta,' cuin dogēntaisi in nī risi tāncubar?'
- 'Nī h-acaind atā a furech itir,' ar Eōgan, 'acht in uair bus accobar lasin rīg.' Is annsin dochuad a thechta co airm irrobe in rī 7 ro indis do freccra in maccoeīm fair. Is annsin ro īarfacht in rī don druīd, robuī ina farrad, cuin bud maith sēn fessi dōib.
 - 11. 'Is sī mo chabuis na fuigēb dōib sēn is ferr inā nocht. Tīagum isin tech itatt na maccoeīm.' Dochuaid in rī 7 maiti Espāine uime isin tech irrabutar na maccoeīm, 7 īarfacht a cenēl uile dīb, 7 īarum ro innisetar dō mar tā romaind anūas. Is andsin dorōnad a lām 7 a lepad, 7 nī ro chuinchit sēoit no maīne fair.

'A maccōemu,' ar in rīg, 'dā tissed bar comlīnsi chugamsa do chuinchid sēot no maīne no indmais, dobēraindsi duib. 7 maithbet a tinnsccra 7 a tochra na h-ingine ūt duib.'

10. On one occasion they were (speaking) about this, until they saw messengers of the king coming towards them.

'Well, o young men,' said the messengers, 'when will you do the thing for which you have come?'

'It is not with us to delay at all,' said Eógan, 'but when the king desires it.' Then his messengers went to the place in which the king was and told him of the answer of the young men. Then the king asked of the druid, who was in his company, when the blessing of the marriage would be good for them.

11. 'It is my confidence that I will not find a blessing for them that is better than this night. Let us go into the house in which the young men are.' The king and the good men of Spain around him went into the house in which the young men were, and he inquired of them all about their kindred, and they then told him as it is previously (stated) above. It is then that they were married and laid together, and they did not ask gifts nor presents of him.³¹²

'O young men,' said the king, 'if your number had gone to me to seek gifts or presents or treasure, I would have given them to you. And I will remit you the dowry and bride-price of the aforementioned daughter.'

80.

³¹² i.e. of the king of Spain.

- 1. 72 *imbaid bātarsom uime sin*: Literally 'On one occasion they were about this', which has been supplemented in the translation with the participle 'speaking'. The feminine noun *imbaid* derives from *inbaid* and is used as an adverb here.³¹³ *co n-acatar techta in rīg chuca*: For the use of the preposition *co* with verbs of seeing, see eDIL s.v. 1 *co* (10) or <u>dil.ie/9786.</u>
- 1. 73 dogēntaisi: Form of the verb do-gní 'to do, make', with suffixed emphasizing personal pronoun 2pl. It is a future 2pl, with the Middle Irish ending –th(a)i. In the Middle Irish period, the old absolute form takes over as the dependent form with the lengthened ending –th(a)i. This development also occurred in the subjunctive and future, with the attested do-géntaí 'which you will do' in the Book of Leinster (l. 33504). The s-preterite and perfect as well as the strong preterite 2pl of do-icc 'to come to, approach'. The s-preterite and perfect as well as the strong preterite and perfect develop new endings during the Middle Irish period, probably based on the 2pl possessive adjective for/bar. Gerard Murphy argues that this ending derived from the possessive adjective bar 'your', which was suffixed to the Middle Irish copula and served as a personal ending, which then spread by analogy to the past tense forms. The s-preterite and perfect develop new endings during the Middle Irish copula and served as a personal ending, which then spread by analogy to the past tense forms.
- 1. 74 *acaind*: Middle Irish form of the conjugated preposition 1pl *oc* 'at'. 318 *Nī h-acaind atā a furech itir*: Literally 'not is it with us that which is his delay at all', with 3sg neuter form of the conjugated preposition *eter* as the adverb 'in general, at all', 319 which is still used this way in Scots-Gaelic. 320 *in uair bus accobar lasin rīg*: Literally 'when desiring is with the king'. The form *accobar* is the verbal noun of the verb *ad-cobra* 'to desire, wish'. 321
- 1. 75 freccra: Accusative sg of frecra(e) 'act of answering, responding'; verbal noun of fris-gair.

³¹³ eDIL s.v. inbaid or dil.ie/28233

³¹⁴ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', pp. 290-1.

³¹⁵ Ibid., p. 318.

³¹⁶ Ibid., p. 301.

³¹⁷ Gerard Murphy, "Notes on analogy in Middle-Irish conjugation", in John Ryan (ed.), *Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill: Essays and studies presented to professor Eoin MacNeill on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, May 15th 1938* (Dublin 1940), pp. 72-81.

³¹⁸ eDIL s.v. oc or dil.ie/33397

³¹⁹ eDIL s.v. etir or dil.ie/20865

³²⁰ Seosamh Watson, 'Gaeilge na hAlban' in *Stair na Gaeilge*, p. 687.

³²¹ eDIL s.v. ad-cobra or dil.ie/394

1. 77 *is sī*: Copula 3sg present followed by the 3sg feminine personal pronoun, which refers to *chabuis*, a form of the feminine *n*-stem noun *cobais* 'confession; confidence, secret'. 322 *fuigēb*: Form of the verb *fo-gaib*, *fo-geib* 'to find, meet with', most probably the 1sg future. 323

inā: 3sg form of the particle indaas, indás 'than'. 324

1. 78 *maiti*: O'Curry translates this word as 'nobles'. 325 It derives from the *i*-stem adjective *maith* 'good', which has the (Old Irish) nominative plural *maithi*. Literally translated it means 'good ones', thus the pl noun 'men' has been supplied. The lenition is either lost or has not been marked, as in *math* (1. 73).

irrabutar: Preposition i 'in', followed by the perfect pl relative form of the substantive verb.

1. 79 mar: Form derived from the conjunction immar 'as, like'.³²⁶ romaind: Conjugated preposition 1pl ré, ría 'before us'. According to DIL, it can be used in the adverbial sense when it refers to a previous statement or passage, and is translated as 'previously, above'.³²⁷

dorōnad a lām 7 a lepad: The first word is the Middle Irish 3sg preterite of do-gní 'to do, make'. 328 The literal translation of this clause is 'their hands and their bed were made'. The verb do-gní has a wide variety of uses, and in combination with a lám 'their hands' and a lepad 'their bed', it appears to take on the meaning of joining hands in marriage.

- 1. 80 ro chuinchit: Augmented preterite 3pl of cuingid, a later form of con-dieig 'to ask, demand'. O'Curry translates it as a perfect passive sg, which leads to confusion as to who is the fair that is not asked for presents.³²⁹ In the next sentence it becomes clear that this refers to the king of Spain.
- 1. 81 *dā tissed*: The first word is the later form of the conjunction *díaⁿ* 'when/if', which is translated as 'if', since it is followed by the past subjunctive 3sg of *téit* 'to go'.
- 1. 82 *maithbet*: Form of the verb *maithid* 'to remit, excuse'. An explanation for the form of this verb would be that the *-b-* in the unstressed 1sg conjunct future (e.g. *léiciub*) has spread to

³²² eDIL s.v. cobais or dil.ie/9804

³²³ eDIL s.v. *fo-gaib*, *fo-geib* or <u>dil.ie/22696</u>

³²⁴ eDIL s.v. indaas, indás or dil.ie/28307

³²⁵ O'Curry, p. 161.

³²⁶ eDIL s.v. *immar* or <u>dil.ie/27721</u>

³²⁷ eDIL s.v. 6 *ré*, *ría* (c) or dil.ie/34869

³²⁸ eDIL s.v. *do-gní* or <u>dil.ie/17752</u>

³²⁹ O'Curry, p. 161.

this form, although such a form is not mentioned by Breatnach.³³⁰ It is more likely that the f-future is spelled here with a b, which occasionally happened in Middle Irish.³³¹ Another instance of this spelling is found in this text, namely *confebut* (l. 57). The verb has the Middle Irish 1sg future ending -et/-at.³³²

a tinnsccra 7 a tochra: These two nouns are originally neuter io-stems, both preceded either by the appropriate form of the article (accusative sg neuter), or the 3sg feminine possessive pronoun 'her'. The noun tinnscra 'dowry' has been spelled with a double c, which is a Middle Irish development.³³³ The tinnscra is the payment that should be made either to the bride's tuath or her father.³³⁴ Tochra is the verbal noun of the verb do-cren 'to purchase', and is similar to the tinnscra, denoting a 'payment made by bridegroom to bride or bride's father'.³³⁵ They also form a pair of alliterative collocated synonyms.

 335 eDIL s.v. tochra or $\underline{dil.ie/41091}$

³³⁰ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 316.

³³¹ Thurneysen, GOI §635, p. 396

³³² McCone, Early Irish Verb, pp. 249-250.

³³³ eDIL s.v. *tinnscra* or <u>dil.ie/40913</u>; Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 228.

³³⁴ See Anne van den Bosch, 'De bruidsschat in de vroeg Ierse maatschappij: Een vergelijking van wetteksten en proza' *Unpublished BA-thesis* (Utrecht University, 2014), for a discussion of the variety of terms employed in the laws and literature for bride-price. For a study of the word *tinnscra*, see Rudolph Thurneysen, 'Aus dem irischen Recht II-III' in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 15 (1924), pp. 356-360; Rudolph Thurneysen, Power, Nancy and Dillon, Myles (eds.) *Studies in early Irish law* (Dublin 1936), p. 119 ff. For more information on the *tochra*, see Thurneysen et. al. (eds.) *Studies in early Irish law*, p. 121 f.

- 12. Is ands*in* docuas is*i*n slūaigtech na sochaide 7 ro gab*ad* fled ōl 7 tomaltus leo a cornaib ilbreca ecoir 7 a h-escraib f*or*ōrdaib 7 a cūach*aib* findruine, ū*air* bā breth ca*ch* 85. brīath*ar* dōib. Ro dērgit iumdada sainemla dōib 7 dochuat*ar* ina n-imdadaib 7 na lepthaib, 7 ro chanaid a cīuil 7 a n-*air* fitid dōib. Bāt*ar* ann ina n-imdadhaib cor līn g*rī* an tulcha 7 tūaithebra Esp*āine*. Bāt*ar* ann trī lā 7 trī h-aidche. Aeibnes acu ca*ch* lā, ōl ca*ch* n-aidche. Hi cind trī laa *co n*-aidche ro dāilit sēoit 7 maīne 7 indm*as*a don ingein.
- 12. Then one went into the troop-house of the host and a feast of drinking and eating was held by them out of much variegated inlaid goblets and out of golden pitchers and tinned bronze cups, because every word of them was carried out. Excellent beds were prepared for them and they went into their beds and cubicles, and their songs and their music were recited for them. They were there in their beds until the sun had filled the mounds and hills of Spain. They were there three days and three nights. They had festivities every day, drinking every night. At the end of three days and nights presents and gifts and treasures were bestowed upon the girl.

- 1. 83 *slūaigtech*: Compound word consisting of the *o*-stem masculine (originally neuter) *slōg*, *slúag* 'host, army' and *s*-stem neuter, later masculine *tech* 'house'. This specific compound is listed in DIL under *slúag* and translated as 'house for a host, billet'. ³³⁶ O'Curry takes this word to mean a modern-day barrack. ³³⁷
 - docuas: Past passive sg of the verb ad-fét 'to tell, relate'.338
- 1. 84 *cornaib ilbreca ecoir:* O'Curry translates this clause as 'thickly studded carved horns'. 339

 The attributive adjective *ilbreca* consists of the adjectives *il* 'many, numerous' and *brecc* 'speckled; variegated'. 340 The inflected form should be *ilbreccaib*, with the dative plural ending –aib, which is missing here due to a Middle Irish development, as all adjectives lost their distinctive dative pl endings and adopted the nominative/accusative pl ending –a. 341

 The following noun is the attributive genitive of *ecor*, *ecar*, which O'Curry takes to mean 'carved'. It is translated here according to DIL as 'inlaid, ornamented; wrought' 342 The dative pl *o*-stem noun *cornaib* has been translated as 'goblets', with the combination of *ilbreca* and *ecoir* describing the decorations of inlaid metal or stones on the drinking-vessels.

escraib: Dative pl of the masculine noun *escra*; according to DIL, this is 'a vessel for dispensing water, wine, or other liquids'.³⁴³

findruine: For this translation of *findruine*, see the article '*Findruine*: tinned bronze?' by Niamh Whitfield.³⁴⁴

1. 85 ro dērgit: Past passive pl form of the verb dérg(a)id 'to spread, make a bed'. 345 The ending –(a)it began to be used as the preterite passive ending during the Middle Irish period, instead of the ambiguous ending –the/–tha. 346 McCone explains that due to the convergence of the 3sg imperfect passive and the 3pl augmented preterite passives, the need for a new and recognizable 3pl conjunct ending for the preterite passive arose. 347 The initial solution

³³⁶ eDIL s.v. slóg, slúag or dil.ie/37981

³³⁷ O'Curry, p. 161.

³³⁸ eDIL s.v. ad-fét or dil.ie/440

³³⁹ O'Curry, p. 161.

³⁴⁰ eDIL s.v. 1 *il* or <u>dil.ie/27239</u>

³⁴¹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 252.

³⁴² eDIL s.v. *ecor*, *ecar* II or <u>dil.ie/19636</u>

³⁴³ eDIL s.v. *escra* or <u>dil.ie/20480</u>

³⁴⁴ Niamh Whitfield, 'Findruine: tinned bronze?', in Davies, Mary, Una McConville and Gabriel Cooney (eds.) A grand gallimaufry: collected in honour of Nick Maxwell (Dublin 2010), pp. 55-60.

³⁴⁵ eDIL s.v. *dérgaid*, *dérgid* or <u>dil.ie/15639</u>

³⁴⁶ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 306-8;

³⁴⁷ McCone, *The Early Irish Verb*, p. 252-3.

would have been to adopt the ending -a(it) among the existing 3pl endings, but this would have resulted in 'confusion with the 3pl active of the still quite common augmented subjunctive', which 'would be formally indistinguishable from a putative.' Therefore, the palatalized -(a)it was chosen, as it avoided these problems. 349

iumdada: Nominative plural of the feminine noun *imdae*, which 'may originally have been an $\bar{\imath}$ -stem', but fluctuates between an $i\bar{a}$ - and t-stem in later language. In the sagas, it denotes a compartment for sleeping. Combined with the verb $d\acute{e}rg(a)id$, in this context it takes on the meaning of 'bed, couch'.

ina n-imdadaib $_7$ na lepthaib: The verb dochuatar 'they went' implies there is a sense of motion. In that case, the accusative would follow the preposition i 'in' in Old Irish, otherwise the dative would be used. As both nouns here have the dative pl form, this would imply that the distinction between the accusative and dative pl after the preposition i has more or less been given up. 351

lepthaib: Dative plural of the feminine *i*-stem *lepaid*, which denotes the technical term 'harbourage, house-room' in Laws, but can otherwise be translated as 'bed; cubicle, sleeping-apartment'.³⁵²

1. 86 *ro chanaid a cīuil 7 a n-airfitid*: The verb *canaid* 'to sing, recite', a 3pl augmented preterite, is translated as a past passive here. During the Middle Irish period, the active endings were sometimes used in some strong verbs as past passive endings, such as in *canaid*.³⁵³ As the original preterite of *canaid* was the suffixless preterite based on the reduplicated form *cechan*-, this augmented form is a Middle Irish development. Through analogy with the paradigms of the weak verbs, the suffixless preterite begins to adopt the endings of the *s*-preterite.³⁵⁴

The verb is followed by the o-stem masculine noun $ce\bar{o}l$ in the nominative plural, which was originally a neuter noun. The last noun, airfitid, derives from the verbal noun airfitiud, which in turn originates from the verb ar-peiti, which meant 'to blow, sound'. ³⁵⁵ DIL lists

³⁴⁸ McCone, *The Early Irish Verb*, p. 252-3.

³⁴⁹ McCone also argues that the precise model for this development can be traced back to the copula, which was becoming depersonalized as was the passive. During the Middle Irish period, the tendency to attach the appropriate infixed pronoun to the 3sg form of the copula instead of using the Old Irish forms gradually took over (*The Early Irish Verb*, p. 254). From here, the 3 pl perterite copula ending (-)bat would have been transferred to the 3pl preterite passive. 'As a proclitic liable to depalatalization (cf. I.2.3b), the copula sometimes opposed endings with non-palatal final consonant to corresponding endings in stressed verbs with a palatal final, e.g. 1sg. pres. cop. (-)am vs. general –(a)im, and this will have made a response to the systemic pressure noted earlier towards palatalized –(a)it in the 3pl. pret. pass. of normal verbs particularly easy' (pp. 254-5).

³⁵⁰ eDIL s.v. 2 imdae or dil.ie/27434

³⁵¹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 328.

³⁵² eDIL s.v. lepaid or dil.ie/29968

³⁵³ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 308.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 299.

³⁵⁵ eDIL s.v. *ar-peiti* or <u>dil.ie/4244</u>

the more common meanings as 'to sound to, play for, entertain, with subject meaning music, entertainment'. These two nouns are collocated synonyms, which also occur in $T\dot{a}in\ b\dot{o}$ Cuailnge in LL (19.686-87): cantar ce\(\delta il\) τ airfiti lind 'let us make music and melody'. 356 cor $l\bar{\imath}n$: Conjunction co^{n-} with the suffixed particle ro-, followed by the verb $l\dot{\imath}naid$ 'to fill' in the 3sg (augmented) preterite.

1. 87 *tuaithebra*: Compound of *túae* 'rampart, fortification'³⁵⁷ and *temair* 'any high place, eminence, hill'³⁵⁸. In Middle Irish, *ml*- and *mr*- can alternatively be spelled *bl*- and *ml*-,³⁵⁹ as is the case here with *tuaithebra* for *tuaithemra*. Together with *tulcha* it is part of a pair of alliterative collocated synonyms.

trī h-aidche: In Old-Irish, this would have been *téora aidche*. The numeral *trí* is followed by the Middle Irish form of the *ī*-stem *adaig* 'night'. A duration or period of time is often denoted by the use of the accusative case. ³⁶⁰ Since most of the endings in this paradigm fell together during the Middle Irish period, ³⁶¹ this form of the noun can be interpreted as an accusative plural.

aeibnes: Late form of the masculine *u*-stem noun *oíbnius* 'pleasure, enjoyment'.³⁶² The copula is supplied in the translation, as it is elided in this sentence, thus the literal translation would be 'festivities were with them every day, drinking every night.'

hi cind: For this prepositional phrase, see DIL s.v. cenn 52.363

1. 88 *ro dāilit*: 3pl augmented preterite passive, with the Middle Irish preterite passive ending -(a)it. 364

sēoit 7 maīne 7 indmasa: Three collocated synonyms.

³⁵⁶ Mac Cana, 'Composition and Collocation of Synonyms', p. 115.

³⁵⁷ eDIL s.v. 1 *túae* or <u>dil.ie/42142</u>

³⁵⁸ eDIL s.v. temair or dil.ie/40480

³⁵⁹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 234.

³⁶⁰ GOI §249, p. 157.

³⁶¹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 247.

³⁶² eDIL s.v. oíbnius or dil.ie/33609

³⁶³ eDIL s.v. 1 *cenn* or dil.ie/8622

³⁶⁴ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 306-8.

13. A n-imthūs ō sen amach: nocon ed dob*erar* for aird, acht bātar co cend mbliadna 90. i n-Espāin. Sruth for lār Espāine, 7 sruth n-Ebir a ainm, 7 cach sechtmad blīadna tic innti sene bradān ō diamraib na ndūl, 7 oland tritside. 7 is andsin adbert in druīd cēdna: 'indiu atā i ndān a fagbāil in nī dia mbia in tres ainm ar th' fer 7 ar do chēli. 7 ēirg dochum in srotha indiu .i. srotha Ebir. 7 indiu atā i ndān in bradān do thuidecht and, 7 secht mbliadna cusa indiu tānic. 7 gabar acutsa hē, 7 ben a olann de. Ō rabuī Ligbratach ingen rīg Espāine sund, 7 secithri bliadna aturra sin 7 t'athairse.' 7 dixit:

Ērig don tsruth, a ainder, conciuchlastar in chaingen, co tibre ass tlacht cen meth, bid de bias Eōgan taīglech.

13. Their history from that time onwards: it is not mentioned expressly, but they were in Spain until the end of the year. There is a river in the middle of Spain, and the river Ebro is its name, and every seventh year a salmon comes into this from mysterious places of the universe, and (there is) wool throughout it. And then said the same druid: 'Today it is destined to find the thing from which the third name will be on your husband and companion.³⁶⁵ And you must go towards the river today, that is the river Ebro. And today it is destined that the salmon comes there, and it is seven years since today that it came. And he is caught by you, and you must strip his wool off him. Since Ligbratach daughter of the king of Spain was here, and four years were between them there and your father.' And he said:

Go to the river, o woman,

The claim will be heard,

So that you may bring from it an unfailing garment,

It is from it that Eógan will be shining.

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³⁶⁵ The druid is addressing the princess of Spain here, Eogan's wife.

- 1. 89 ō sen amach: The Middle Irish form of the adverb sin is used here as a substantive after the preposition ō 'from', and is followed by the adverb amach 'outwards; heneforth'. Taken together, this combination can be translated as 'from that time onwards'. 366 for aird: The combination of the preposition for with the noun aird 'peak, point' forms an adverbial phrase that has multiple meanings. 367 In the current context the translation 'to mention expressly, cite' has been chosen.
- 1. 90 for lār: The preposition for together with the noun lár 'surface, middle' forms a prepositional phrase 'in the middle (midst) of'. 368 cach sechtmad blāadna: After the pronominal adjective cach 'each, every', the genitive case is used, 369 which is why the ending of the noun bliadain 'year' has been expanded as a genitive sg. The ordinal form sechtmad 'seventh' is found 'declined in agreement with following substantive' but in later language it is invariable. 370
- 1. 91 sene: See the note on di-seni (l. 17) for the explanation of this form of sin 'this, that'. bradān: The noun bratán 'fish, salmon' is consistently written with a d instead of a t in the tale, which is a Middle Irish orthographical development. 371 diamraib na ndūl: The first word is the substantive, derived of the adjective diamair 'hidden; mysterious', in the dative pl case. 372 DIL also denotes it can be a 'lonely or remote place'. It is followed by a later genitive pl form of the noun dúil 'element, being', which in the pl often denotes 'Creation, the created universe'. 373 oland: This spelling of the ending of olann is probably hypercorrect: -nd changed to -nn during the Middle Irish period, which gave rise to confusion in writing. This development has also been discussed in the note on for a cend (l. 18). In line 93 the form olann is found, which further establishes that this development cannot be used as a reliable instrument for dating.

in druīd cēdna: When the article and the noun precede the ordinal cétnae, it can be translated as '(the) same'. 374

³⁶⁶ eDIL s.v. 1 *sin* **II** (**a**) or <u>dil.ie/37567</u>

 $^{^{367}}$ eDIL s.v. 1 aird or $\underline{dil.ie/1792}$

³⁶⁸ eDIL s.v. *lár* **II** (**b**) or <u>dil.ie/29580</u>

³⁶⁹ GOI §250.4, p. 159.

³⁷⁰ eDIL s.v. 1 sechtmad or dil.ie/36806

³⁷¹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 228.

³⁷² eDIL s.v. 1 *díamair* or <u>dil.ie/15931</u>

³⁷³ eDIL s.v. 1 *dúil* or <u>dil.ie/19089</u>

³⁷⁴ eDIL s.v. cétnae (II) or dil.ie/8944

 $at\bar{a}\ i\ nd\bar{a}n$: This combination of the preposition i 'in' with $d\acute{a}n$ is only found in connection with the verbs $at\acute{a}$ and dorala and is translated as 'destined to, in store for'. ³⁷⁵

- 1. 92 $in \ n\bar{\imath} \ dia \ mbia$: The masculine o-stem noun ni, in the nominative sg, is preceded by the definite article in, and functions as the antecedent of dia, which consists of the preposition di 'from' and the relative particle a^n . It is followed by the future 3sg form of the substantive verb.
- 1. 94 $gabar\ acutsa\ h\bar{e}$: already during the Old Irish period, the distinction between the palatal present stem gaib- and non-palatal gab- in other positions began to erode. The traditional slender form gaibther of the indicative present passive sg form of gaibid is thus hence rendered gabar. The conjugated preposition acut, 2sg of the preposition oc, is used as an agent in the same sense as the preposition do would be used. In the passive oc often replaces do. The conjugated preposition do would be used. In the passive oc often replaces do.

ben a olann de: The combination of the verb benaid and the preposition de is translated as 'to take from', specifically of a covering or of clothing.³⁷⁸

Lighratach: Compound consisting of the noun *li* 'beauty, luster' and the adjective *brattach* 'having a cloak, mantled'.³⁷⁹ The name literally means 'the bright-mantled'. O'Curry notes that 'there is a sentence, at least, omitted here by the original transcriber'.³⁸⁰ This is probably right, since the following clause *ceithri bliadna aturra sin 7 t'athairse* (l. 94) is disjointed. The conjugated preposition *aturra* 'between them' has no apparent antecedent, and the mention of the princess' father is unconnected to the rest of the sentence.

1. 96 The following stanza can be analysed as another type of *deibide scailte* (*fota*), with erroneous rhyme in the first line, as this should be one syllable instead of two:³⁸¹

Ērig don tsruth, a *ainder*, 7² conciuchlastar in ch*aingen*, 7² co tibre ass tlacht cen m*eth*, 7¹ bid de bias Eōgan taīgl*ech*. 7²

ērig: imperative 2sg of érig 'to rise', a simple verb derived from the prototonic stem of the

³⁷⁵ eDIL s.v. *dán* **VIII** (**b**) or <u>dil.ie/14559</u>

³⁷⁶ McCone, *The Early Irish Verb*, p. 231; GOI § 593.

³⁷⁷ eDIL s.v. *oc* (**e**) or dil.ie/33397

³⁷⁸ eDIL s.v. benaid or dil.ie/5647

³⁷⁹ eDIL s.v. 1 *brattach* or <u>dil.ie/6599</u>

³⁸⁰ O'Curry, pp. 162-3.

³⁸¹ Murphy, Early Irish Metrics, p. 65.

compound verb at-reig 'to rise, go'. 382

- 1. 97 *conciuchlastar*: Future passive sg form of the verb *ro-cluinethar* 'to hear'. ³⁸³ During the Middle Irish period, there is considerable confusion between corresponding preverbs, as is the case in this verb. ³⁸⁴ In this future form the pretonic preverb *ro-* has been replaced by *con-*, described in DIL as a 'Middle Irish reflex of the Old Irish preverb [...] functioning as prefix of the imperfect and conditional (Old Irish *no*) and as relative particle'. ³⁸⁵ This confusion may also have arisen since the verb *ro-cluinethar* marks the preterite by prefixing the conjunction *coⁿ*. ³⁸⁶ The retained deponent ending *-astar* is not necessarily an indication that this is and Old Irish form, as it occurred as a variant to the newly acquired ending of the zero ending of the *s*-preterite that had spread to the preterite forms of the deponent verbs. ³⁸⁷ *in chaingen*: This originally feminine \bar{a} -stem is later interpreted as a masculine *o*-stem, but the lenition indicates that the noun is still taken as a feminine noun here. ³⁸⁸
- 1. 98 *cen meth*: This combination is translated as 'without fail' and DIL notes it is common in poetry, where it is 'often a mere expletive'. 389
- taīglech: It is on account of this cloak that Eógan received his epithet Taídlech 'shining'.
 During the Middle Irish period the d and the g fall together, especially when they are slender, as is attested in the form aigchi (LU 8966) for aidchi.³⁹⁰

³⁸² eDIL s.v. éirgid or dil.ie/19823

³⁸³ eDIL s.v. ro-cluinethar or dil.ie/35401

³⁸⁴ McCone, *The Early Irish Verb*, pp. 214-17.

³⁸⁵ eDIL s.v. 5 *con*- or <u>dil.ie/11955</u>

³⁸⁶ GOI §536, p. 347.

³⁸⁷ McCone, *The Early Irish Verb*, pp. 236-7.

³⁸⁸ eDIL s.v. caingen or dil.ie/7832

³⁸⁹ eDIL s.v. *meth* or dil.ie/32096

³⁹⁰ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 234.

- 100. **14.** Amsōi docu*m* i*n* tsrotha, ⁷ darōnad *air*ceist accu *ar* i*n* mbradān, g*ar* gab*ad* leo hē. ⁷ ro benad de i*n* tl*acht* buī fair *co n*derna sī brat dia fir don olaind boī *ar* i*n* mbratān. ⁷ bāt*ar* na h-uile dath ind isin bratān sin. In lathi *con*gēbeds*om* in brat uime, in dath do-aidbistea don fir buī ina f*arrad*, nī hē ro taispenta don fir bud nesa dō sein. Is andsin fegais in rī f*air* ⁷ inbaid ro f*h*eg, toīdliges uile hē itir ect ⁷ erred.
- 105. 'Dar m'brethir,' ōl in rī. 'Is comthoīdlech ria brat uile Eōgan anossa.' 'Cian ōtā i toicthi 7 i tarrngaire,' ar in drui, 'in t-ainm sin do beith fairsium, 7 biaid fair no go fhadba bās 7 aiged, .i. Eōgan Toīdlech, 7 bid ainm īartain dō Eōgan Fideach.'
- 14. She went to the river, and a trap was laid by them for the salmon, so that it was caught by them. And the covering that was on him was taken off him and she³⁹¹ made a cloak for her husband of the wool that was on the salmon. And all the colours in that salmon were in it³⁹². On the day that he would put the cloak around him, the colour that would show to the man that was in his company, it was not shown to the man that was nearer to him there. Then the king examined him and when he looked, he³⁹³ grew all bright both of form and apparel.

'By my word,' said the king, 'Eógan is all shining like his cloak now.'

'A long time since it is destined and has been prophesied,' said the druid, 'that that name would be on him, and will be on him until he receives death and a violent end, that is Eógan Taídlech,³⁹⁴ and the name Eógan Fideach will be on him afterwards.'

³⁹¹ i.e. the daughter of the king of Spain (Momera).

³⁹² i.e. in the cloak.

³⁹³ i.e. Eógan.

³⁹⁴ The epithet 'shining, brilliant'.

1. 100 *amsōi*: This verb has a present sg form, whereas the following clauses have a past pl subject. A solution would be to emend the text to read *amsōid*, which is the 3pl form with Middle Irish *d* written for *t*. The combination *Amsōid docum* could account for the disappearance of the first *d*, as a final –*d* before another *d* can be written as a single *d*. If the verb is interpreted as a historical present, as in 1. 23, the congruence with the following clauses is maintained. Another possibility is to interpret the princess as the subject of this clause. The incongruence with the rest of the sentence could be explained as her company could have caught the fish for her. This interpretation is preferable, as it does not require any editorial interference.

 $dar\bar{o}nad$: perfect passive of do-gni 'to do', with historic o written as a in the pretonic particle, due to the merger of proclitic vowels as schwa.³⁹⁵

airceist: nominative sg form of the feminine noun *airches* 'act of trapping; trap, snare'. ³⁹⁶ *accu*: the conjugated preposition *accu*, 3pl of the preposition *oc*, is here used as an agent in the same sense as the preposition *do* would be used. ³⁹⁷

bradān: Perhaps a pun or wordplay is intended here, between the words bratt 'cover, cloak' and bratán 'salmon'. Yet this would be a very bad one as 'cloak' is pronounced with a /t/ (Modern Irish brat) while 'salmon' has a /d/ (Modern Irish bradán). It might be also just be wordplay for the eye.³⁹⁸

gar: Middle Irish form of the conjunction co^n 'so that, and'. 399

gabad: The verbal form is contracted in the manuscript and has been expanded as an s-preterite passive, since this construction fits with the independent personal pronoun $h\acute{e}$ 'it' and the conjugated preposition leo 'by them'.

gar gabad leo $h\bar{e}$: The independent pronoun has taken over the function of infixed pronoun here, which is a Middle Irish development. Infixed pronouns occur twice in this text, otherwise the independent form is used. For a more extensive explanation of this development, see the heading 'pronouns' in II Language and Date.

1. 101 *ro benad*: The irregular verb *benaid* 'to beat, strike' originally had the preterite passive form *–bíth*, but as the *s*-preterite spread during the Middle Irish period, the form *(ro)-benad*

³⁹⁵ McCone, *The Early Irish Verb*, p. 183.

³⁹⁶ eDIL s.v. 1 airches or dil.ie/1704

³⁹⁷ eDIL s.v. *oc* (**e**) or <u>dil.ie/33397</u>

³⁹⁸ Suggestion by Mícheál Ó Flaithearta.

³⁹⁹ eDIL s.v. 3 co or dil.ie/9788; Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 235.

⁴⁰⁰ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 265.

emerged.401

co nderna: Middle Irish form of the 3sg augmented preterite of do-gní 'to do'.

- 1. 102 congēbedsom: secondary future ē-stem 3sg of con-gaib 'to contain/found', 402 with a suffixed 3sg masculine personal emphasizing pronoun.
- 1. 103 do-aidbistea: secondary future sg of do-adbat 'to show'. 403

 $n\bar{i}$ $h\bar{e}$ ro taispenta: the masculine personal pronoun sg $h\acute{e}$, refers back to dath 'colour', which was originally a neuter u-stem. The masculine pronoun indicates that the noun has lost its neuter gender and was now treated as a masculine.

The verb is a passive augmented preterite pl of the simple verb taispénaid, a later form of the compound verb do-aisféna 'to show, exhibit'. 404 It has been translated as a sg form here, since the antecedent of the verb is the nominative sg noun in dath (1. 101). Since the plural form of this noun is identical to the sg, this may have given rise to confusion and explain the use of the passive pl here.

nesa $d\bar{o}$: the first word is the adjective used as the comparative of accus, ocus 'near', which is often followed by the preposition do 'to', as in this instance.⁴⁰⁵

- 1. 104 ect: this obscure word is glossed by O'Curry as $\dot{c}u\dot{c}t^{406}$, a form derived from the u-stem noun cucht 'external appearance, aspect'. 407 However, it could also be interpreted as erc, which according to Mícheál Ó Flaithearta 'has the semantic range or scope from 'shine' to 'sky' to '(bright) shape/form/appearance'. 408 As it is found in collocation with the synonym erred 'apparel', 409 this would suggest it means 'appearance'.
- 1. 105 *comthoīdlech*: prepositional prefix here used in composition with the adjective *taídlech* 'shining'. In later compounds it can have the semantic function of an intensive prefix 'greatly, very'.410

dar: the proclitic form dar of the preposition tar is used in swearing or oaths.⁴¹¹ ria: the preposition fri is used after adjectives and nouns denoting resemblance or equality, especially when compounded with com-.⁴¹²

⁴⁰¹ McCone, *The Early Irish Verb*, pp. 228-9.

⁴⁰² eDIL s.v. con-gaib or dil.ie/12134

⁴⁰³ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', pp. 320-1. 404 eDIL s.v. *do-aisféna* or <u>dil.ie/17158</u>

⁴⁰⁵ eDIL s.v. 1 ocus, acus or dil.ie/33483; eDIL s.v. 1 nes(s)a or dil.ie/33131

⁴⁰⁶ O'Curry, p. 162.

⁴⁰⁷ eDIL s.v. 1 *cucht* or <u>dil.ie/13415</u>

⁴⁰⁸ Mícheál Ó Flaithearta, 'Old Irish richt' in Ó Baoill, Dónall, Donncha Ó hAodha and Nollaig Ó Muraíle (eds.) Saltair Saíochta, Sanasaíochta agus Seanchais (Dublin 2013), p. 314.

⁴⁰⁹ eDIL s.v. 1 errad, erriud, irrad or dil.ie/20337

⁴¹⁰ eDIL s.v. 1 *com*- or <u>dil.ie/10554</u>

⁴¹¹ eDIL s.v. 1 tar, dar (**B V**) or <u>dil.ie/40049</u>

⁴¹² eDIL s.v. *fri* (**IV a**) or <u>dil.ie/24329</u>

l. 106 $\bar{o}t\bar{a}$: combination of the preposition \bar{o} and the 3sg present form of the substantive verb $(at\hat{a})^{413}$.

i toicthi 7 i tarrngaire: the preposition *i* combined with the feminine *n*-stem noun *toicthiu* 'fortune, chance' is translated as 'destined'. ⁴¹⁴ The same construction is used with the following noun, a collocated synonym, which is derived from the *io*-stem noun *tairngire* 'promising', ⁴¹⁵ and is translated as 'has been prohesied'. Together these two form a pair of alliterative collocated synonyms.

in t-ainm: Originally a neuter *n*-stem noun, but later takes the masculine form. The article *in* confirms that it has taken the masculine gender here.

do beith: subjunctive imperfect 3sg of the substantive verb attá.

1. 107 *fhadba*: subjunctive present 3sg of *fo-gaib* 'to find, get'. In later language, 'prototonic forms *fagb*- is frequently reduced to *fag-*'. ⁴¹⁶ The combination of the verb *fo-gaib* and *bás* is the exact expression for 'to die' in Modern Irish.

aiged: feminine noun aided 'violent death' with Middle Irish spelling, since d and g fell together, especially when the consonantcluster was slender.⁴¹⁷

bās 7 aiged: A similar collocation of two synonyms also occurs in *Táin bó Cuailnge* (29.1076-77): airdena báis 7 ēca 7 aideda 'symptoms of death and destruction and dissolution'.⁴¹⁸

Fideach: literally 'wooded, of trees'.⁴¹⁹ This refers to §18, where the attribution of this sobriquet is explained.

⁴¹³ eDIL s.v. *óthá*, *(ótá)* or <u>dil.ie/34102</u>

⁴¹⁴ eDIL s.v. *toicthiu* or <u>dil.ie/41204</u>

⁴¹⁵ eDIL s.v. tairngire, tarngaire or dil.ie/39777

⁴¹⁶ eDIL s.v. fo-gaib, fo-geib or dil.ie/22696

⁴¹⁷ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 234.

⁴¹⁸ Mac Cana, 'Composition and collocation of synonyms', p. 116.

⁴¹⁹ eDIL s.v. fidach or dil.ie/22000

15. 'Mithid lemsa,' ar in mac, 'dul dom crīch, 7 dom orba, 7 dom erann.'

'Ēirg, a mic,' ar in druīd, 'for muncind mara. Caīn ternais 7 atā th'athair for do 110. chind ina flathius. 7 beir do bancēli, 7 ni bethi acht naī n-aidche i n-Ērinn in ūair bēras ingen fil fo bruinde, 7 bid lān beōil fer n-Ērenn de.' Tucait sēoit 7 maīne 7 indmasa tōibsium. Bātar ann co mucha laei 7 lathi īarnabārach.

'Tānic n*er*t don sheon 7 don tsol*aid*,' adrub*air*t in druid riu. 7 amsōiset ina longaib 7 ro līnait *sē* longa leo. Tānic in drūid chuca ic dula ina longaib 7 tuc a ucht ar in luing i rroibe 115. Eōgan. [col. 343] Atb*er*t fris: 'Bid mōr fīch cāich riut isin crīch hi tēgi, dāg nī lēcfise Ērinn do neoch 7 nī lēcfea nech Ēirinn duit, 7 nos roindfithi edruib hī.

15. 'I deem it time,' said the young man, 'to go to my district, to my territory, to my land.' 'Go, o young man,' said the druid, 'over the strait of the sea. You got away smoothly and your father is before you in his reign. And take your wife, and you will not be but nine nights in Ireland when the young woman will bear that which is in her womb, and the mouths of the men of Ireland will be full of him.'420 Presents, gifts and treasures were given to them. They were there until the early morning on the next day.

'Strength has come to the portent and the omen,' said the druid to them. And they went in their ships and six ships were filled by them. The druid came with them as they went into their ships and he put his breast on the ship in which Eógan was. He said to him: 'The enmity of everyone towards you will be great in the district in which you are going, because you will not allow Ireland to anyone and not will any one allow Ireland to you, and you will divide her⁴²¹ between you.'

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⁴²⁰ i.e. all the men of Ireland will praise him.

⁴²¹ i.e. Ireland.

1. 108 *mithid lemsa*: the first word is a form of the adjective *mithig* 'timely' that appears in late manuscripts written with a final *d*. 422 DIL states that in combination with the copula and conjugated preposition *la* 'with', the construction is translated as 'I deem it time (to...)'. *dom orba*: the preposition *do* 'to' (here with suffixed possessive adjective *mo* 'my') is followed by the *io*-stem noun *orba* 'patrimony, heritage' (both neuter and masculine). The preposition usually takes the dative case, which has the distinct –*iu* ending in the *io*-stem. This ending is lacking on account of a Middle Irish development, since the final vowels of the *io*-stem fell together end became identical. 423 The later form of the noun also has a non-radical *f* in initial position (*forba*), which has probably been lenited here, as has happened in the following noun.

dom erann: the dative sg ending of the o-stem noun ferann (both neuter and masculine) has become indistinguishable from the nominative sg in the Middle Irish period.⁴²⁴ dom crīch, 7 dom orba, 7 dom erann: collocation of three synonyms, see chapter III for an analysis of this specific series.

1. 109 *caīn*: *i*-stem adjective *caín* 'fine, good'⁴²⁵ that further defines the verb. It has been translated here as 'smoothly', relating to the verb *ternais* 'you will get away'.

ternais: 2sg s-preterite of do-érni 'to get away, escape'. 426

for do chind: adverbial phrase translated as 'in front of, before', which consists of the preposition ar, here substituted by for, followed by the possessive adjective 2sg do 'your' and the o-stem noun cenn 'head/end'.

1. 110 *ina flathius*: preposition i 'in', followed by the masculine possessive adjective $3 \text{sg } a^l$ 'his' and the masculine o-/u-stem noun flaithius 'rule, sovereignty'⁴²⁷.

banceli: Literally 'female companion'; this compound consists of the adjective ban 'female' 428 and the io-stem masculine noun céile 'companion'.

bethi: 2pl future of the substantive verb attá.

naī n-aidche: the roman numeral in the manuscript has been expanded to the Middle Irish form of noi 'nine'. 429 For the use of the accusative to denote a period of time, see the note on

⁴²² eDIL s.v. *mithig* or <u>dil.ie/32384</u>; Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 234.

⁴²³ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 246.

⁴²⁴ Ibid, p. 242.

⁴²⁵ eDIL s.v. 1 caín or dil.ie/7787

⁴²⁶ eDIL s.v. *do-érni* or <u>dil.ie/175</u>81

⁴²⁷ eDIL s.v. *flaithius* or <u>dil.ie/22290</u>

⁴²⁸ GOI §254

⁴²⁹ eDIL s.v. *noi* or <u>dil.ie/33243</u>

trī h-aidche (1.86).

1. 111 fo bruinde: the preposition fo 'under' with the masculine io-stem bruinne 'breast(s), bosom'⁴³⁰, which is used here in the sense of the feminine n-stem brú 'abdomen, belly', is literally translated as 'under (her) belly'. The preposition takes either the dative or accusative case, but due to the conflation of the endings of the io-stem in Middle Irish, the ending here can be either. Note also the confusion between -nn and -nd in writing, with in this instance hypercorrection to the older -nd ending.⁴³¹

Tucait: perfect passive 3pl of *do-beir* 'to give', according to DIL derived from *to-ucc.⁴³²

- l. 112 *co mucha laei 7 lathi īarnabārach*: Literally 'until the early morning of the day on the next day'.
- l. 113 don sheon 7 don tsolaid: collocation of two synonyms.

adrubairt: 3sg preterite of at-beir, the later form of as-beir. Since the conjunct endings of this verb in the 1sg (asrubart) and 3sg (asrubart) of the t-preterite would have fallen together during the Middle Irish period, according to McCone the solution was to apply the palatalization of the old suffixless preterite to create 1sg atrubart and 3sg atrubairt. 433

1. 114 *ro līnait*: passive augmented preterite 3pl of *línaid* 'to fill', with the new Middle Irish ending -(a)it.

 $ic\ dula$: later form of the preposition oc 'at, beside', 435 followed by the verbal noun of $t\acute{e}it$ 'to go' and literally translated as 'at their going', referring back to the men.

i rroibe: preposition i 'in' followed by the preterite 3sg of the substantive verb $att\acute{a}$, introducing a relative clause.

1. 115 *hi tēgi*: preposition *i* 'in' followed by the indicative present 2sg of *téit* 'to go', introducing a relative clause.

 $d\bar{a}g$: probably the conjunction $d\acute{a}ig$ 'because of/for'. 436

 $n\bar{\imath}$ $l\bar{e}cfise$: future 2sg of $l\acute{e}iciud$ 'to let go, release'. The ending has now been reduced in contemporary speech to a schwa, which leads to variable spellings of the ending -fa/-fea/-fe/-fi. A later variant of the 2sg emphasizing pronoun -s(i)u has been suffixed to the verb. 438

⁴³⁰ eDIL s.v. bruinne or dil.ie/7117

⁴³¹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 238.

⁴³² eDIL s.v. *do-beir* or <u>dil.ie/17216</u>

⁴³³ McCone, *The Early Irish* Verb, pp. 264-5.

⁴³⁴ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 307-8.

⁴³⁵ eDIL s.v. *oc* or <u>dil.ie/33397</u>

 $^{^{436}}$ eDIL s.v. 1 *dáig* or <u>dil.ie/14171</u>

⁴³⁷ McCone, *The Early Irish* Verb, pp. 316.

⁴³⁸ eDIL s.v. *tú* (**V**) or <u>dil.ie/42137</u>

1. 116 *nos roindfithi edruib hī*: *f*-future 2pl of *rannaid* 'to divide'. ⁴³⁹ O'Curry translates this as 'it (Erinn) shall be divided between you', taking the verb as a future passive sg. ⁴⁴⁰ However, the correct spelling of this form would be *roindfithir*. During the Middle Irish period, the old absolute 2pl ending *-the/-thi* spreads to the conjunct in the present indicative. ⁴⁴¹ This ending subsequently spreads to the subjunctive and the future. ⁴⁴²

The s suffixed to the coatrackparticle no can either be the Old Irish class A feminine 3sg infixed pronoun, referring back to $\acute{E}irinn$ 'Ireland', or it might be an example of a 'non-neuter third person s [...] used without real meaning, perhaps by hypercorrect response to the demise of infixed pronouns in contemporary speech', as McCone explains this petrified s. The independent personal pronoun feminine 3sg $h\acute{t}$ at the end of the clause can either indicate that the infixed pronoun had lost its function and the independent pronoun had to be supplied. During the Middle Irish period, the infixed pronoun could also anticipate the object pronoun, unlike in Old Irish. Thus, this construction might also represent an intermediate stage between the infixed pronoun as object, and the dependent pronoun as object.

The dividing of Ireland that the druid refers to here is most probably the division between *Leth Conn* and *Leth Moga*, as Conn Cétchathach and Eógan will supposedly contend for the supremacy of Ireland, resulting in the division of Ireland into a northern and a southern part.

439 eDIL s.v. rannaid or dil.ie/34809

⁴⁴⁰ O'Curry (ed. & tr.), *Cath Mhuighe Léana*, p. 165.

⁴⁴¹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 295.

⁴⁴² Ibid., p. 316.

⁴⁴³ McCone, *The Early Irish* Verb, p. 190.

⁴⁴⁴ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 272.

16. Tāncatar fairend sē long lais, do neoch buī for a chur fēn 7 for a thūarustal. Conid ann gabsat hic Dūn Chorcan a n-Īarmumain. Amsōset īarsin hi tīr, 7 ro h-indised fo Ēirinn a torachtain. 7 ba rīg Ērenn for a chindsom Cathair Mōr, 7 īarsin trā ro faīded techta 120. ūad d'acall*aim* rīg Ēr*end* 7 ro cuinced c*rī*ch ūadib f*air*.

'Dobērsa inad dūine dō i cōiced Condacht, 7 dobēr dā dūn dō a dā cōiged Muman.' Conid andsin tucad Dubthelach dō hi cōiged Conri, 7 tucad Druimin n-Ard dō hi cōiced Condacht 7 tucad Telach in tSloig dō hi n-Uib Liathain.

17. Tānic Eōgan īarum dia fēgad na n-inad tucad dō, 7 gabais dōeta h-idan 7 125. lāmanda in ingen, 7 ruc mac sainemail. 7 adrubairt in druid: 'Bid oll ndāile dobēra arna crīchaib uimme.' 7 ro baisted a srothaib druīdechta, 7 tucad Ailill fair. 7 biaid fortōrmach anma fair īartain.

16. The company of six ships came with him, of all who were under his own contract and his pay. And it is there that they landed at Dún Corcan in West-Munster. After this they went ashore, and their arrival was told of throughout Ireland. And Cathair Mór was king of Ireland before him, and after this then he sent messengers from him to address the king of Ireland and asked land from him⁴⁴⁵ for him⁴⁴⁶.

'I will give the site of a fort in the province of Connacht to him, and I will give two forts to him out of the two provinces of Munster.'

And it was then that Dubthelach (i.e. Black Hill) in the province of Curoi was given to him, and Druimin n-Ard (i.e. High Ridge) in the province of Connacht was given to him and Telach in tSloig (i.e. Hill of the Host) in Uí Liathain was given to him.

17. Eógan came then to examine the places that were given to him, and the girl received the pains of the pangs of labor and of childbirth, and she bore a very fine son. And the druid said: 'Great will be the tribes that he will cause in the districts around him.' And he was baptized in magical streams, and (the name) Ailill was placed on him. And he will have a sobriquet thereafter.

⁴⁴⁵ i.e. 'the king of Ireland', with the use of the majestic plural.

⁴⁴⁶ i.e. Eógan.

1. 117 *fairend sē long*: The feminine *ā*-stem *fairend*, a form of *foirenn* 'an indefinite number of persons', often takes the place of the indefinite pronoun pl.⁴⁴⁷ In this case it replaces the definite pronoun pl, which is then defined by the genitive *sé long*, as per the usual construction.

do neoch: In later Middle Irish, DIL notes that the following construction commonly appears: 'de (do) neoch, followed by the relative clause, of that (which), of all (that)', which is always followed by a singular verb in the relative clause. 448 chur: o-stem masculine verbal noun cor, derived from the verb fo-ceird 'to set, put', with later spelling. Used here in a legal context with the translation 'contract'. 449 thūarustal: o-stem. Legal term, which in the laws can denote either the 'description of a crime; eye-witness', or 'stipend/wages'. 450

- 1. 118 ro h-indised: passive preterite 3sg of indisid 'to tell (of)', the verb that replaces ad-fét in Middle Irish. 451
- 1. 119 for a chindsom: For the combination of the preposition ar with cenn meaning 'awaiting, ready for'. 452
 ro faīded: imperfect 3sg of foidid 'to send'.
- 1. 120 *d'acallaim*: preposition *do* 'to', followed by the feminine \bar{a} -stem verbal noun *acallam* of the verb *ad-gládathar* 'to address'. The ending, which is contracted in the manuscript, has been expanded to the Middle Irish dative sg ending, ⁴⁵³ as the preposition takes this case. *ro cuinced*: imperfect 3sg of the later simple verb *cuin(d)gid*, derived from the compound verb *con-dïeig* 'to ask, seek'. ⁴⁵⁴
- 1. 121 dūine: neuter o-stem noun dún 'fort', but towards the eighth century it is adopts the s-stem inflexion, as is the case here. 455
 i cōiced: this noun derives from the numeral cōic 'five'. As a substantive, it is an o-stem neuter 456 and frequently denotes 'one of the 'five fifths' of Ireland'. 457 As the preposition

⁴⁴⁷ eDil s.v. *foirenn* (a) or dil.ie/22968

⁴⁴⁸ eDIL s.v. nech III or dil.ie/33014

⁴⁴⁹ eDIL s.v. 1 *cor* **12** or <u>dil.ie/12406</u>

⁴⁵⁰ eDIL s.v. *túarastal* or <u>dil.ie/42220</u>

⁴⁵¹ eDIL s.v. *indisid* or <u>dil.ie/28439</u>

⁴⁵² eDIL s.v. 1 cenn **29** or dil.ie/8622

⁴⁵³ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 243.

⁴⁵⁴ eDIL s.v. con-dïeig or dil.ie/12067

⁴⁵⁵ eDIL s.v. *dún* or <u>dil.ie/19227</u>; GOI §208, pp. 178-9.

⁴⁵⁶ eDIL s.v. *cóiced* or <u>dil.ie/10045</u>

⁴⁵⁷ O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, p. 172.

takes the dative case here, this suggests that the inflection is Middle Irish, since the nominative and dative sg endings of the o-stem noun $c\bar{o}iced$ (both in the neuter and masculine flexion) fell together in the Middle Irish period. 458

 $d\bar{a}$ $d\bar{u}n$ $d\bar{o}$ a $d\bar{a}$ $c\bar{o}iged$: The numeral $d\hat{a}$ 'two' is followed by the accusative sg forms of the nouns $d\hat{u}n$ and $c\hat{o}iced$. As the noun $d\hat{u}n$ is originally a neuter o-stem and later an s-stem, it should take the old endingless plural after a numeral. The accusative plural form of the o-stem would be $d\hat{u}(i)nu$, whereas the s-stem form is $d\hat{u}ine$ or $d\hat{u}n$, thus pointing to a later s-stem. The preposition a 'out of' takes the dative case, thus in the noun $c\bar{o}iced$ (a neuter o-stem) we can observe the falling together of vowels in unstressed final syllables, as the distinct dative sg -iu- ending could alternatively be spelled i or e. 460

- 1. 122 Dubthelach: Compound noun consisting of the u-stem adjective dub 'black, dark' and the ā-stem tulach 'hill(ock), mound'; thus literally translated as 'black hill'. 461 Druimin n-Ard: Compound consisting of the noun druimne 'back/elevation, ridge' and the o/ā-stem adjective ard 'high'; thus literally translated as 'high ridge'. 462
- 1. 123 *Telach in tSloig*: Compound consisting of the \bar{a} -stem *tulach* 'hill(ock), mound' and the genitive sg masculine *o*-stem *slog*, *slúag* 'host, army'; thus literally translated as 'hill of the host'. ⁴⁶³

Textual notes §17

1. 124 *dia fēgad na n-inad*: preposition *do* 'to, for' combined with the masculine possessive adjective 3sg *a^l*. It is followed by the verbal noun of *fégaid* 'to look at', which takes the objective genitive, ⁴⁶⁴ here in the form of genitive pl of the masculine *o*-stem *inad* 'place, spot'. Literally: 'for his examining of the places'. *gabais dōeta h-idan 7 lāmanda*: the verbal form is the absolute *s*-preterite 3sg of the verb *gaibid*, which is uncommon in the Middle Irish period outside of the 3sg, as it is replaced by the augmented preterite form *ro gab*. ⁴⁶⁵ The word *dōeta* is the nominative pl form of the masculine *u*-stem noun *dúad* 'labour, trouble', followed by two genitive sg nouns: feminine

⁴⁵⁸ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 242.

⁴⁵⁹ David Greene, 'Distinctive Plural Forms in Old and Middle Irish', in *Ériu* 25 (1974), p. 196.

⁴⁶⁰ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 242.

⁴⁶¹ eDIL s.v. *dub* or <u>dil.ie/18985</u>; eDIL s.v. 1 *tulach* or <u>dil.ie/42443</u>.

⁴⁶² eDIL s.v. *druimne* or <u>dil.ie/18865</u>; eDIL s.v. 1 *alt* or <u>dil.ie/3016</u>

⁴⁶³ eDIL s.v. slóg, slúag or dil.ie/37981

⁴⁶⁴ eDIL s.v. *fégad*, *féc(h)ad*, *dégad*, *déc(h)ad* or <u>dil.ie/21448</u>

⁴⁶⁵ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 299.

n-stem *idu* 'pain, pang'⁴⁶⁶ and the *u*-stem verbal noun *lámanda*, derived from the verb *lámnaid* 'to give birth'.⁴⁶⁷ The two genitive nouns form a pair of collocated synonyms.

1. 125 *ruc*: augmented preterite 3sg of *beirid* 'to bear'. The Old Irish the *t*-preterite is replaced by the *s*-preterite in the Middle Irish period, which in turn is superseded by the perfective or augmented preterite form *ruc*- in the past tense. 468

adrubairt: for this form, see note on l. 113.

bid oll ndāile: the future 3sg copula is followed by the o/\bar{a} -stem adjective oll 'great', functioning as an adjectival predicate, and the nasalized o-stem noun $d\acute{a}l$ 'tribe'. As the subject of the sentence, this neuter o-stem noun should be nominative sg or pl, yet this gives the forms $d\acute{a}l$ and $d\acute{a}la$. However, the later plural forms of the o-stem neuter took a slender final consonant. The masculine o-stem developed an alternative nominative plural ending -e, which could have been adopted here as the neuter gender eroded. Another explanation would be that it has developed into an s-stem, which is also the case with the historically neuter o-stem noun $d\acute{u}n$ (see $d\~uine$ (l. 122)).

The nasalization of *ndáile* is caused by inversion of the noun and the adjective. If the noun is a nominative sg feminine it is lenited, and when it is a neuter it is nasalized.⁴⁷¹ An example of a neuter noun occurs in 'a poem in praise of Colum Cille': *ni slim n-atach* 'he is no slight refuge' for *ni atach slim* of normal word-order.⁴⁷²

The noun *dáile* is the antecedent of the following relative clause, which could either lenite or nasalize the verbal form *dobéra*, as it functions as the object of the relative clause.⁴⁷³ The absence of nasalization may point to the replacement of these relatives by the leniting variety, which is a Middle Irish development.⁴⁷⁴

1. 126 *a srothaib druīdechta*: Middle Irish form of the preposition i^n 'in', followed by the dative pl of masculine *u*-stem *sruth* 'stream' and the \bar{a} -stem noun *druídecht* 'secret lore and arts of the druids'. 475 The latter noun is used as an attributive genitive here.

fortormach anma: according to DIL, the former neuter o-stem noun combined with the genitive sg of neuter n-stem noun ainmm 'name' denotes 'a surname, sobriquet'. 476

⁴⁶⁶ eDIL s.v. 1 *idu* or <u>dil.ie/27221</u>

⁴⁶⁷ eDIL s.v. *lámnad* or <u>dil.ie/29533</u>

⁴⁶⁸ eDIL s.v. *beirid* or <u>dil.ie/5583</u>

⁴⁶⁹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', pp. 242-3.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 242.

⁴⁷¹ James Carney (ed.), *The poems of Blathmac, son of Cú Brettan: together with the Irish Gospel of Thomas and a poem on the Virgin Mary*, Irish Texts Society 47 (London 1964), p. 20-21.

⁴⁷² Fergus Kelly, 'A poem in praise of Colum Cille' in *Ériu* 24 (1973), pp. 6-7.

⁴⁷³ GOI §494, p. 314.

⁴⁷⁴ McCone, Early Irish Verb, p. 194.

⁴⁷⁵ eDIL s.v. *druídecht* or dil.ie/18855

⁴⁷⁶ eDIL s.v. fortórmach or dil.ie/24007

18. & doroacht a ath*air* fēn 7 ro gabad leoso*m* in dūnad 7 in deg*ārus* do thochul. 7 rucad in mac co dūnad a m*ātharsom* fēn 7 a ath*ar*. 7 ro benad les*ium* in fhidbaid i comfocus dō, gu ra tochl*ad* leis in tal*am* dī. 7 ba bec leiseo*m* f*uir*med a llām na lāech co *m*beth f*uir*med a cos mar aen ris. *Con*id ē scrūdan aicenta fu*airsium*: fecca do thab*airt ar*na fedaib buī i llāmaib na lāech.

'Is hī ar cobais cena,' ar mac in druad, 'is indiu atāit t'anmanda ule fort: dona feccaib ūt tucad arna fedaib acut, bad Eōgan Fidfhecach de. 7 dogēntar let na trī dūine tucad duit, 7 Fidfeccai ainm cech dūine dīb, 7 congēba leth Ērend ule leo.

As lir tuirem a scēl ō sin amach. *Con*ad tochmarc Momera ingeine rīg Espāine d'īar foī re h-Eōgan Toīdlech, 7 genemain Aililla Oluim indsin 7 ocus araile. Finit, amen.

18. And his own father came and he pitched the camp and dug the noble residence with them. And the boy was brought to the fort of his own mother and his father. And the trees near to him were cut down by him, and the earth was uprooted by him with them⁴⁷⁷. And little was the effort of the hands of the warriors according to him and the effort of their feet would be great together with it. And it is he⁴⁷⁸ who discovered the natural invention: to place spikes (treadles)⁴⁷⁹ on the trees that were in the hands of the warriors.

'It is our confidence indeed,' said the son of the druid, 'that it is today that all your names are on you: from the aforementioned spikes that were put on the trees by you, you will be Eógan Fidhfhecach (of the spike-trees) from it. And the three forts that have been given to you will be built by you, and Fidfeccai (will be) the name of every fort of them, and you will possess half of all Ireland with them⁴⁸⁰.

From it are as many recountings of the tale from that time forth. And this is the wooing of Momera daughter of the king of Spain after she married Eógan Taídlech, and the birth of Ailill Olum furthermore. Finit, amen.

135.

⁴⁷⁷ i.e. 'the trees': he used the trees he had cut down to uproot the earth.

⁴⁷⁸ i.e. Eógan.

⁴⁷⁹ I have inserted O'Curry's supplemented 'treadles' here, as this represents the way in which the trees would have been used (O'Curry, pp. 164-66).

⁴⁸⁰ i.e. with the forts.

- 1. 128 *ro gabad*: augmented preterite 3sg of *gaibid* 'to take'. With the noun *dúnad* it takes on the specific meaning of 'pithcing a camp'.⁴⁸¹

 degārus: compound noun consisting of the later form of the adjective dag 'good' and the neuter o-stem árus 'abode, residence'.⁴⁸²

 do thochul: preposition do 'to', followed by the ā-stem verbal noun tochailt of the verb do-claid 'to dig, uproot'.⁴⁸³
- 1. 129 ro benad lesium in fhidbaid i comfocus dō, gu ratochlad leis in talam dī: This sentence is translated by O'Curry as 'And he [Eoghan] cut down trees all round him, and dug up the ground with them.' 484 Both verbs have been interpreted as preterite passives in this edition, so that the constructions with the conjugated prepositions *lesium* and *leis* from *la* 'with' in both clauses refer back to Eógan.

The conjugated preposition di from de 'from' is a 3sg feminine, which I take to refer back to in *fhidbaid* 'the trees'. 485 This is a collective feminine noun, which is why the preposition has the feminine form.

 $i \ comfocus \ d\bar{o}$: this prepositional phrase, translated as 'near (to)', consists of the preposition i 'in', followed by the noun com(f)ocus 'near' and the masculine 3sg conjugated preposition $do.^{486}$

- 1. 130 *fuirmed*: verbal noun of *fo-ruimi* 'to set, place', which has been translated as 'effort'. 487 *ba bec leiseom*: in phrases with the copula the preposition *la* 'with' can form the construction 'according to, in the opinion of', which is 'very common at all periods to indicate possession of opinion, notion, feeling, desire, impulse etc.'488
- 1. 131 *mar aen ris*: this adverbial phrase consists of the preposition *mar* 'like', followed by the numeral *ōen* 'one' (here in late spelling) and the preposition *fri*. It is translated as 'together with'. ⁴⁸⁹ David Greene mentions that this phrase first appears in the Middle Irish period, and the form of the numeral here is even later. ⁴⁹⁰

 $^{^{481}}$ eDIL s.v. *gaibid* **I** (i) or <u>dil.ie/25119</u>

⁴⁸² eDIL s.v. *árus* or <u>dil.ie/4355</u>

⁴⁸³ eDIL s.v. tochailt, tachailt or dil.ie/41068

⁴⁸⁴ O'Curry, p. 165.

⁴⁸⁵ eDIL s.v. *fidba(i)d* or <u>dil.ie/22009</u>

⁴⁸⁶ eDIL s.v. com(f)ocus or dil.ie/11179

⁴⁸⁷ eDIL s.v. *fuirmiud* (**d**) or <u>dil.ie/24902</u>

⁴⁸⁸ eDIL s.v. *la* **V** (**g**) or <u>dil.ie/29233</u>

⁴⁸⁹ eDIL s.v. *óen* (**III**) or <u>dil.ie/33512</u>

⁴⁹⁰ David Greene, 'Chapter 14: Celtic', pp. 523 & 528.

scrūdan aicenta: the verbal noun scrūtan, derived from scrūtaid 'to examine/excogitate' 491, was translated by O'Curry as 'invention of mind' 492. The translation 'invention' has been adopted in this edition, as it refers to the meaning given in DIL as 'act of excogitating; plan, plot. The following io/iā-stem adjective aicnetae 'natural', also spelled aicenta, further defines the nature of his idea, as it came to him by watching the work of the men.

- 1. 133 hī: the feminine 3sg independent pronoun is used as it refers to the feminine n-stem noun cobais 'confession, confidence'. 493
 cena: the preposition cen with suffixed masculine sg pronoun is used as an 'adverb of asseveration 'moreover, indeed' here. 494
 anmanda: for this pl form of n-stem ainmm, see the note on anmanna (l. 16). As -nd- was
- replaced by -nn-, the upshot was that these were confused in writing, as in this instance.⁴⁹⁵
- 1. 136 *lir tuirem*: equative of the *i*-stem adjective *il* 'many, numerous', 496 followed by the \bar{a} -stem verbal noun of *do-rími* 'to count/speak of' 497 . According to DIL, the latter is frequently found with comparatives and occasionally with equatives. 498 \bar{o} *sin amach*: the preposition \bar{o} 'from', followed by the demonstrative pronoun and the adverb *ammach* form the stereotyped temporal expression 'from that time forth'. 499
- l. 137 *foī re*: Middle Irish form of the preterite 3sg of *foaid* 'to spend the night'. It may also denote cohabitation and uses the conjugation *la*, seldom *fri*. ⁵⁰⁰ The Middle Irish form of the latter preposition is found here.

ocus araile: the abbreviation rl in the manuscript represents Latin et reliqua or Irish ocus araile. According to DIL, the conjunction ocus 'and' followed by the word aile 'other' as a substantive are translated as 'furthermore'. 501

⁴⁹¹ eDIL s.v. scrútan, scrútain or dil.ie/36672

⁴⁹² O'Curry, p. 165.

⁴⁹³ eDIL s.v. *cobais* or dil.ie/9804

⁴⁹⁴ eDIL s.v. *cen* **III** (**d**) or <u>dil.ie/8581</u>

⁴⁹⁵ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Gaeilge', p. 238.

⁴⁹⁶ eDIL s.v. 1 *il* or <u>dil.ie/27239</u>

⁴⁹⁷ eDIL s.v. *do-rími* or <u>dil.ie/18342</u>

⁴⁹⁸ eDIL s.v. *tuirem* or <u>dil.ie/42381</u>

⁴⁹⁹ eDIL s.v. 1 *ó* **IX** (**a**) or dil.ie/33364

⁵⁰⁰ eDIL s.v. foaid or dil.ie/22348

⁵⁰¹ eDIL s.v. 1 *aile* **II** (**d**) or <u>dil.ie/978</u>

V. Conclusion

On the basis of the edition and textual notes it has been shown that *Tochmarc Momera* is a Middle Irish narrative that contains a peculiar mix of Old and Middle Irish vocabulary, such as the sporadically attested verbal form *am-sōi* for *imm-sói*. Styllistically, the high number of collocated synonyms is a marked feature of this text, and further inquiry into the use of this device in the tale may reveal more about its function in specific contexts. As the exploration of its role in literature is restricted due to the constraints of space, further research may shed light on other literary aspects of the tale. Elements that have not been discussed but warrant additional examination are for instance the *tinnsccra* (dowry) and *tochra* (bride-price), which Eógan refrains to demand from the king of Spain, and the latter's subsequent granting of these; and the role of the druid and his prophecies.

Of particular interest is the salmon-wool-cloak episode, which can be explained as a pseudo-etymology of the personal name *Eógan* and represents an attempt to relate the first element of the name Eógan with the word for salmon. Yet it is peculiar that the later form *bratán* for cloak is used throughout the tale instead of *eó*. This episode may possibly show signs of biblical influence: the multi-coloured cloak is reminiscent of Joseph's coat of many colours, which was given to him by his father. Since Joseph's brothers interpreted the coat as an indication that Joseph would take over the leadership of the family, it could be regarded as a symbol of authority and power, which is a dominant theme in TM. Such influence of scripture on Irish literature was not unknown and can also be witnessed in *Do bunad imthechta Éoganachta*, which has served as a source for the compilation of TM. Ó Corráin shows that this tale is modelled on the biblical story of the Pharaoh's dream and Joseph's interpretation. However, deeper examination is required before a similar connection may be established for TM.

The presentation of this edition and the preliminary study of the tale carried out in this thesis may provide a stepping stone for further research. The conclusion that can be drawn from this thesis is that the extant text that we have may be called *Tochmarc Momera*, but it has been shown that in all likelyhood it represents a version of the tale, which may have been stripped of the typical *tochmarc*-elements and reworked into a pseudo-historical tale. Moreover, the narrative formed a significant node in the interrelated and intertextual body of legendary Eóganachta material. It includes explanations for Eógan's sobriquets, and combines older legendary material of the origins of the dynasty with the later Milesian theory of the invasion and conquest of Ireland by the sons of Mil, and hence contributed to the formation of the identity of the Eóganachta and justifying their claim on the province of Munster, or even the southern half of Ireland.

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⁵⁰² King James Bible, Genesis 37:3

⁵⁰³ Ó Corráin, 'Irish Origin Legends and Genealogy: Recurrent Aetiologies', p. 53.

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VII. Appendix

Index of personal and placenames

Personal names

Aiglend mac rīg Osraige (l. 47) one of Eógan's foster-brothers who travels with him to Spain.

Osraige was a small provincial kingdom to the east of Munster.

Ailill Oluim (l. 18, 126, 137) eldest son of Eógan Taídlech, who is the father of Eógan Mór.

Antipater in Druad (l. 23) druid who prophesied the coming of Eógan to Spain, his marriage and offspring. His name is probably inspired by classical sources.

Cathair Mōr (l. 119) High-king of Ireland, who reigned for a short time before Conn Cétchathach deposed and killed him.

Coemel ingen Eōghain (l. 18) daughter of Eógan Taídlech and Momera.

Ēber (l. 25) King of Spain, father of Momera. Shares his name with Éber the son of Mil, who ruled the south of Ireland while his brother Éremón ruled the north.

Eōgan Taīdlech also called Eógan Fidhfhecach in this text, and Mugh Nuadat and Eógan Mór in other sources. Son of Mogh Néit and legendary king of Munster in the second century AD.

Fāthe 7 Fis 7 Fīrinne (1. 33) Three sons of Antipater the Druid.

Fiacha Suigthi mac Fedlimidh Rechtadha (l. 46, 67) one of Eógan's foster-brothers who travels with him to Spain. He is the youngest of Fedlimid Rechtmar's sons and ancestor of the Dal Fiachra Suighe. His eldest brother was Conn Cétchathach.

Gaiscedach mac rīg īarthair Muman (l. 48) one of Eógan's foster-brothers who travels with him to Spain. He is not attested in the historical sources and as his name literally means 'one bearing arms, warrior' ⁵⁰⁴, it appears he is a fictional character.

Ingen Echach (1. 35) mother of Eógan Taídlech.

Ligbratach (1. 94) daughter of the king of Spain.

Lugaid (l. 19) second son of Eógan Taídlech.

Magur mac rīg descirt Ērenn (l. 47) foster-brother of Eógan who travels with him to Spain. Since

⁵⁰⁴ eDIL s.v. gaiscedach or dil.ie/25265

this name is not attested in the historical sources he appears to be fictional character.

Moga Nēit (l. 1) Father of Eógan Taídlech.

Momera (l. 136) Daughter of Éber, king of Spain.

Mosad (l. 49) Eógan's servant, who travels with him to Spain.

Oenara mac Fedlimidh Rechtadha (l. 46) one of Eógan's foster-brothers who travels with him to Spain. Since this name is not attested in the historical sources as a son of Fedlimid Rechtmar, he appears to be fictional character.

Sconiam ingen Eōgain (l. 20) last daughter of Eógan.

Tigernach mac rīg Connacht (l. 49) foster-brother of Eógan who travels with him to Spain.

Ut mac Fedlimidh Rechtadha (l. 46) one of Eógan's foster-brothers who travels with him to Spain. Since this name is not attested in the historical sources as a son of Fedlimid Rechtmar, he appears to be fictional character.

Placenames

Druimin n-Ard (l. 122) High Ridge, one of the forts given by Cathair Mór to Eógan, in the province Connacht.

Dubthelach (l. 122) Black Hill, one of the forts given by Cathair Mór to Eógan, in modern county Kerry. ⁵⁰⁵

Dūn Chorcan (l. 118) place at the sea in West Munster, probably near to Dún na mBárc.

Dūn na mBārc (l. 51) The Fort of the Ships, in the present bay of Ballinaskellig in Munster. ⁵⁰⁶

Ebir (l. 14, 90, 93) River Ebro in Spain.

Glend Maghair (l. 48) Valley of Magair, now called Glanmire in county Cork. 507

Indse mac Miled (1. 30) The Island of the sons of Mil, i.e. Ireland.

Inis Cesrach (1. 28) The Island of Ceasar, i.e. Ireland.

Inis na Faircsina (l. 53) The Island of Viewing, from which supposedly both Ireland and Spain can be seen.

Magh Fhail (l. 61) the Plain of Fail, i.e. Ireland. Lia fail was the stone on which the kings were

⁵⁰⁵ Edmund Hogan, Onomasticon Goedelicum locorum et tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae (Dublin 1910), p. 378.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 387.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 444.

crowned at Tara, hence the name.

- **Magh Mosaid** (l. 49) Plain of Mosaid, which is located between Eile and Cashel in county Tipperary. ⁵⁰⁸
- **Rāith Airthir Fhemin** (1. 2) The Fort of East Femin, the residence of Mogh Néit and his son Eógan, in county Tipperary, Munster. ⁵⁰⁹
- **Telach in tSloig** (l. 123) Hill of the Host, one of the forts given by Cathair Mór to Eógan, in the territory of the Uí Liathain, modern barony of Barrymore in county Cork.
- **Tor mBreogāin** (l. 64) The Tower of Breogán in Spain, which appears in *Lebor Gabála Érenn* as the place from which Íth son of Breogán first spots Ireland.

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⁵⁰⁸ Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, p. 526.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

Transcription

- 1] [col. 341] Fecht noen deogan taidlech forfaithche ba ile aathar fesin. moga neit hicraith airthir femin. nirba cian do conaccai trimaccoemu chuige and hicend nafaigthe. Ronbend
- 5] achut do ċoengnima amaccoeim arsiat. Rob samlaid duibse amacu aresium. IS oebind duit ariat. isoebind ecin arse. libse barcuid don oibnes hisin bar eogan. nach fitir cid tusa ameic ariatsom in toebnius fil anán duit
- 10] Ni fil lium afis cose *arse*. Fil afis acainde duit *ar*n amac. Daainm batar fort cusaindiu. biaid intres ainm fort an ossa 7 amensat do sil *ar* erinn .i. gebaid do sil *ar*erinn. 7 nige nastar duitsiu congebut. daig ni faigbesu celi no curois sruth ebir inespain. 7 corub and fogebasu celi 7 is
- ead iside ingen rig espaine 7 combera side duitsi ceth rar clainde 7 conbia laech dib 7 mescuid asil for eirinn feib adrubramar fecht naill riastrathsa. 7 biaid laech dib 7 bid bu [ai]d [bu]aid laich dib immorro 7 beit dacoemrigain suaic nite sainemla dibside 7 basead ananmanna in cethrar
- [s]in .i. ailill in mac badsine dib 7 bid coemell ingen eoghain b[us] nesa do 7 bid lugaid busnesa diseni 7 bid forrimda lechta laech leside 7 budead fochlucc bruinde bias fadeoid and. sconiam ingen eogain. 7 ardaisiu fora cend .i. dahiarraid amucha lai 7 laithe ambarach // in druad //
- Canas tanic duibse fis fair sin amaccu ar eogan. ni ansa. tri meic anntipater sinde ahespain 7 amsois eic forarus fis feib dochu aid fair. ad cuas donrig .i. roinnis do. 7 isannsin adbert som do damahaid foresium areber arrig espaine 7 iarfaid dam do[n] druid can cuan no cenel no ciniud no cland don fir
- dob*er*a aningen mbic ucut fil *for*mfiad*nais*e .i. moi*n*gen fen
 [I]San*d* dochuad*us*a 7 asb*ertus fri*sindruid fats*in*e ^{do denam} don rig
 fo dala aingeni 7 amsae i*n*drui i*n*f*or*mna afessa ro
 [f]aillsiged do comad ahinis cesrach cele aingi*n*e .i. a

- er*enn* cia fuath fir aheir*inn* dia tibri*n*dsea mi*n*gen *ar* eb*er*:

 [c]onticfa fer amra *ar* in drui. a hi*n*dse m*a*c mil*id* dotsa
- igid 7 rogabsat .uii. sent*ri*cha dec *ar* xxit. ini*n*dsi nia*m* adbuileat c*es con*tiucfa *ar*eb*er*. in u*air* rach*aid* uait *ar*ach
 - [eand] ar indruid. cuirsi techta for a chend areber frisin druid
- [co] airm hi fil in maccoem gellai // 7 fis 7 firinne. Is and
- 40] Rochuir indruid atri meic 7 ba sead anamnannaside .i. fathe
 - s*i*n adb*er*t i*n* druid rinde techt *ar*dochennsa 7 t*air* lind [a] mucha laei amb*ar*ach 7 na cluined soch*aid*e uaid 7
 - [n]a cluined tra side ingen echach do mathair daig nit leicfea
 - [for] tonnaib mara diacluined. ergid amacu feib teit
- 45] [c]ach isin dunad ndermair sin anund comucha laei im
 - [b] arach 7 ucubsa dabar saigid fri dumachaib derid laei. do
 - [c]huatar isin dunad. 7 buisium ara clesaib cluite muige
 - [c]o dered laei. luid iarsin cohairm i mbatar namaccoeim
 - [b]atar ann comucha lai 7 rogabsat na meic lama fair
- [u]m dula leo Teit in mac ar fert fodmaige 7 tiagait
 - [n]a meic ele na degaid .i. meic in druad Maith a meic
 - [ar] siat in tici illeth rogellais. regat ecin arse Cia lin
 - [t]icfa arsiat. niraga acht mise 7 m° .u. comalta sund
 - [ut] 7 oenara 7 fiachasuigthi mac fedlimidh rechtada
- [7] aiglend mac rig osraige comalta ele dam 7 iarsin
 - [m]agur mac rig descert erenn diata glend maġair indiu 7 ga
 - [i]scedach mac rig iarthair muman comalta ele dam 7 tigernach
 - [m]ac rig connacht comalta ele dam 7 mosad mo gilla diata maġ
 - [m]osaid // boiside indunna mbarc aniarthar erenn. amsoset
- [a]msoset for .s. cohairm amboi long na maccoem 7 isann
 - rompu armuncind mara anonbar maccoem 7 lotar an
 - [o]idche sin cohindsi nafaircsina. isaire dano adberar inis naf
 - [airc]sina riaside uair itcither esti eirinn 7 espain confoiset inaid
 - [ch]esin isin oilen sin. adbert in rig isin maidinsin risin dr
- [u]id. finta duind imthus namaccoem dochuatar uaind
 - [for] muncind mara. Rofiarsa ón duitse sin arse. isanne

[col. 342] tancatar arfecht 7 confebut anoct in espain // armaġ fail

IS eat tanic arfecht. iscain tarthat atuidecht. conlethfa asil fir *con*foi anoct in espain // estal 7 frithailem forra rucad 701 Dochuatar naluing iarsin 7 roiset cocalad espaine. bui fr co dunad rig espaine .i. cutor mbreogain in espain Ro fer ad failte min muinterdai friu. 7 ro freslait 7 ro frith ailit iat. Tucad nua bid doib 7 sean lenda. batar in oidchesin ann 7 nirhimraided riu in chaingen fondech 75] atar 7 dano nirimraidset ri nech Maith a mic arfiacha suigti. aeogain dianabarthar fritsa tabairt namna. tiagar uaitse dagallaim indruad 7 gelltar seoit do 7 m aine 7 abrad nafil sen fessi cocend mbliadna ann cora bum icdescin nahingine cocend mbliadna co findam bes 801 intire aneoil i tancamar // atar techta in rig chuca. mat Fata liumsa sin a gilla ar eogan IMbaid batarsom uimesin conac amaccoema bar na techta cuin dogentaisi in ni risi tancubar. nihacaind ata afurech itir. ar eogan. acht inuair busac cobar lasin rig. isannsin dochuad atechta coairm irrobe 85] inri 7 roindis do freccra inmaccoeim fair IS annsin roiarfacht in ri dondruid robui ina farrad, cuin bud maith sen fessi doib. issi mochabuis na fuigeb doib sen is ferr ina noct. tiagum isin tech itatt namaccoeim Dochuaid inri 7 maiti espaine uime isin tech irrabutar na maccoeim. 901 7 iarfacht acenel uile dib 7 iarum roinnisetar do marta. romaind. anuas // no maine fair a maccoemu ar inrig datissed bar com IS andsin doronad alam 7 alepad 7 ni rochuinchit seoit linsi chugam^{sa} dochuinchid .s. no maine no indmais do beraindsi duib. 7 maithbet a tinnsccra 7 atochra nahingine 95] ut duib IS and sin docuas isin sluaigtech nasoch aide 7 rogabad fledol 7 tomaltus leo acornaib ilbreca ecoir 7 ahescraib forordaib 7 acuachaib findruine. uair babreth cach briathar doib. rodergit iumdada sainemla doib 7 dochuatar inanimdadaib 7 nalepthaib 7 rochanaid a ciuil 7 anairf

itid doib. batar ann inanimdadaib corlin grian tulcha 7 tua

la. ol cach naidche. Hi cind trilaa conaidche rodailit seoit

ithebra espaine. batar ann trila 7 tri haidche. aeibnes acu cach

100]

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- 7 maine 7 indmasa doningein. A nimthus o sen amach nocon ed doberar for aird acht batar co cend mbliadna in espain. sruth forlar espaine
- 7 sruth nebir aain*m* 7 ca*ch* .uii. mad bliadain tic in*n*tisene bradano o diamraib nandul 7 oland t*ri*ts*ide* 7 is ands*in* adb*er*t indruid .c.na indiu ata indan afagbail inni dia*m*bia intres ain*m* arthfer 7 ardocheli 7 eirg dochum introtha indiu .i. srotha eb*ir* 7 indiu ata indan inbradan dothuide*cht* and 7 .uii. mb
- 110] lia*dna cus* indiu tanic 7 gab*ar* acu*t*sa he 7 ben a olan*n* de Ora bui ligbratach ingen rig esp*ain*e sund 7 .iiii. blia*dna* at*ur*ra s*in* 7 tat *air*se. 7 d*ixit* // tl*acht* cenmeth. bid de bias eog*an*. taiglech. amsoi Erig dontsruth aainder. *con*ciuchlast*ar* inchaingen. cotibre ass docum intsrotha 7 daronad *air*ceist accu *arin*mbradan g*ar* gab*ad*
- leo he 7 robenad de intlacht bui fair conderna si brat diafir donolaind boi arinmbratan 7 batar nahuile dath ind isinbratan sin // bui ina farrad. ni he rotaispenta donfir bud nesa do sein IS IN lati congebedsom inbratuime. indath doaidbistea don fir and sin fegais inri fair 7 inbaid rofeg. toidliges uile
- he itir ect 7 erred. Darmbrethir ol inri is comtoidlech ria brat uile eogan anossa. cian ota itoicti 7 itarrngaire ar indrui intainmsin dobeith fairsium 7 biaid fair nogofadba bas 7 aiged .i. eogan. toidlech. 7 bid ainm iartain do eogan fideach Mithid lemsa arinmac dul dom crich 7 domorba 7 domerbann. eirg
- amic arindruid formuncind mara. cain ternais 7 ata thatair fordochind ina flatius 7 beir dobanceli 7 nibethi acht .ix naidche inerinn inuair beras ingen fil fil fobruinde 7 bidlan beoil fer nerenn de. tucait seoit 7 maine 7 indmasa toib sium. batar ann comucha laei 7 lati iarnabarach. tanic nert
- 130] donseon 7 dontsol*aid* adrub*air*t indruid riu 7 amsoiset inalongaib 7 rolinait .ui. longa leo tanic indruid chu ca ic dula inalongaib 7 tucaucht arinluing irroibe eogan
 - [col. 343] 7 atbert fris bid mor fich caich riut isin crich hitegi dag ni lecfise ere doneoch 7 nilecfea nech eire duit 7
- nosroindfithi edruib hi // fen 7 forathuarustal conid
 Tancatar. fairend .ui. long lais do neoch bui foracur

- ann gabsat hicdun corcan aniarmumain amsoset
 iarsin hitir 7 rohindised foeirinn atorachtain 7 barig
 erenn forachindsom cathair mor 7 iarsin tra rofaided techta
- uad dacall*aim* rig er*end* 7 rocuinced c*ri*ch uadib f*air* Do bersa inad duine do icoiced cond*acht* 7 dober da dun do ada coiged m*um*an. *con*idand s*in* t*uc*ad dubthelach do hicoiged *con*ri 7 t*uc*ad druimin n*ar*d do hicoiced *condacht* 7 t*uc*ad telach intsloig do hinuib liathain. tanic eog*an* i*arum* diafegad
- naninad tucad do. 7 gabais doeta hidan 7 lamanda iningen 7 ruc mac sainemail 7 adrubairt indruid bid oll ndaile dobera arnacrichaib uimme 7 robaisted asro thaib druidechta 7 tucad ailill fair 7 biaid fortormach anma fair iartain & doroacht aathair fen 7 roga
- bad leosom indunad 7 indegarus dothochul 7 rucad inmac codunad amatarsom fen 7 aathar 7 robenad lesium infid baid i comfocus do guratochlad. leis intalam di. 7 babec le iseom. fuirmed allam nalaech combeth fuirmed acos mar aen ris conide scrudan aicenta fuairsium fecca do
- 155] thab*airt ar*nafedaib bui illamaib nalaech // ule f*or*t dona
 IShi *ar*cobais cena *ar*mac indruad isindiu atait tanmanda
 feccaib ut tucad arnafedaib acut. bad eogan. fid fecaè
 de. 7 dogentar let na tri duine tucad duit 7 fidfeccai
 ainm cech duine dib 7 congeba leth erend ule leo. as lir tu
- irem ascel osin amach conad tochmarc momera in geine rig espaine diarfoi reheogan. toidlech 7 genemain aililla oluim indsin 7 ocus araile; finit. amen;