

# ÉIGSE

A JOURNAL OF IRISH STUDIES

EDITED BY PÁDRAIG A. BREATNACH

VOLUME XXXV

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND

2005

## COMHAIRLE

IMLEABHAR XXXV (2005)

Caoimhín Breatnach, Ollscoil na hÉireann, Baile Átha Cliath  
William Gillies, University of Edinburgh  
Daniel McCarthy, Trinity College, Dublin  
Uáitéar Mac Gearailt, Coláiste Phádraig, Baile Átha Cliath  
Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh  
Tomás Ó Con Cheanainn, Seaneagarthóir ÉIGSE  
Brian Ó Curnáin, Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath  
Pádraig P. Ó Néill, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill  
Katharine Simms, Trinity College, Dublin  
Seán Ua Súilleabháin, Ollscoil na hÉireann, Corcaigh

## FÓGRA

ÉIGSE publishes articles in both Irish and English. All articles submitted for publication are tendered to referee.

Articles for publication should be addressed to the Editor, ÉIGSE, National University of Ireland, 49 Merrion Square, Dublin 2, Ireland.

*Treoir do Scribhneoirí.* For information on style contributors should consult the Editor's website [www.nui.ie/eigse/](http://www.nui.ie/eigse/).

Only books dealing with, or having reference to, Irish literary and linguistic studies (Léann na Gaeilge) should be sent for review in ÉIGSE.

Subscribers receive new issues post-free. All back numbers are normally available. Enquiries should be addressed to the Registrar, National University of Ireland, at the above address.

ISSN 0013 2618

© None of the contents of ÉIGSE should be reproduced without the consent of the Editor and the Contributor.

## CONTENTS

	Page
A MIDDLE-IRISH NOTE ON BOETHIUS'S <i>DE INSTITUTIONE ARITHMETICA</i> . <i>Pádraig P. Ó Néill</i> ... ..	1
ASPECTS OF THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF <i>SEX AETATES MUNDI</i> AND <i>DRUIMM CETTA CÉTE NA NOEM</i> . <i>Caoimhín Breatnach</i> ...	9
ELEGY OF AODH RUADH Ó DOMHNAILL (d. 1505). † <i>R. A. Breatnach and Pádraig A. Breatnach</i> ... ..	27
SEÁN AGUS TADHG Ó NEACHTAIN: CLEAMHNAS AGUS GAOL. <i>Cathal Ó Háinle</i> ... ..	53
THE VERBAL ENDING <i>-IDH / -IGH</i> IN MUNSTER DIALECTS. <i>Diarmuid Ó Sé</i> ... ..	71
A REVIEW OF SOME PLACENAME MATERIAL FROM <i>FORAS FEASA AR ÉIRINN</i> . <i>Diarmaid Ó Murchadha</i> ... ..	81
CANÚINTÍ AGUS COILÍNEACHTAÍ: FIANAISE Ó ALBAIN NUA. <i>Seosamh Watson</i> ... ..	99
TWO NOTES ON NAMES. <i>John Carey</i> ... ..	116

### LÉIRMHEAS

*Máire Herbert*: Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford College Libraries (Ó Cuív) 125; *Diarmuid Ó Sé*: An tOileánach (Ó Coileáin) 127; *Pádraig P. Ó Néill*: Apocrypha Hiberniae I: Evangelia Infantiae (McNamara, Breatnach, Carey, Herbert, Kaestli, Ó Cuív, Ó Fiannachta, Ó Laoghaire) 133; *Cathal Ó Háinle*: The World of Geoffrey Keating: History, Myth and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Ireland (Cunningham) 136; *Nicholas Williams*: Caint Ros Muc (Wigger) 150; *Pádraig Ó Macháin*: Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames I (Names in A-) (Ó Riain, Ó Murchadha, Murray) 159; Unity in Diversity: Studies in Irish and Scottish Gaelic Language, Literature and History (Ó Háinle, Meek) 161; *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*: the Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell. Historical and Literary Contexts (Ó Riain) 166; *Roy Flechner*: Ireland and Europe in the Early

Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission (Ní Chatháin, Richter) 169; *Pádraig P. Ó Néill*: Old Irish Wisdom Attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria: an Edition of Bríathra Flainn Fhína Mac Ossu (Ireland) 173; *Seosamh Watson*: Dr Bedell and Mr King: the Making of the Irish Bible (McCaughey) 175; *Caoimhín Breatnach*: Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars (Carey, Herbert, Ó Riain) 178; *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2000* (Ó Baoill, McGuire) 182; *Diarmuid Ó Sé*: Cumann Buan-Choimeádta na Gaeilge: Tús an Athréimnithe (Ó Murchú) 185; *Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail*: Scottish Gaelic Studies, Vol. 18 (1998) 190; *Gerald Manning*: Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, Band 52 (2001) 192.

## A MIDDLE IRISH NOTE ON BOETHIUS'S *DE INSTITUTIONE ARITHMETICA*

ANICIUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS SEVERINUS BOETHIUS (c. A.D. 480-524) is best known as the author of *De consolazione philosophiae*, but among his other works are treatises on the four mathematical disciplines (the *quadrivium*) intended to lay the foundations for the study of philosophy within a liberal arts education. The first of these four treatises, *De institutione arithmetica* (*DIA*), attained a unique status in the Middle Ages as the standard textbook on mathematics. It was also studied in Ireland – and from a very early date – as evidenced by its use in Hiberno-Latin computistical works of the seventh century<sup>1</sup> as well as in the Old Irish glosses on the St Gall Priscian.<sup>2</sup> In addition, a ninth-century fragment of *DIA* in Irish script and containing Old Irish glosses has survived,<sup>3</sup> which offers direct evidence for the study of the work in Ireland; while another copy, one of the *libri scottice scripti* that belonged to the library of Sankt Gallen in the mid-ninth century, could conceivably have originated in Ireland.<sup>4</sup> To these manuscript witnesses can be added a much neglected fragment now preserved in Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 1422 (*olim* H. 2. 12, part 7), which contains the present note in Middle Irish.

Since this fragment has been only summarily described,<sup>5</sup> a fuller account follows.

<sup>1</sup> See Maura Walsh and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter De Controversia Paschali and the De Ratione Computandi* (Toronto 1988) 122, n. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See Rijcklof Hofman, *The Sankt Gall Priscian commentary. Part 1*, 2 vols (Münster 1996) II 392.

<sup>3</sup> See Maartje Draak, 'A Leyden Boethius-fragment with Old-Irish glosses', *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde*, N.R. Deel 11, no. 3 (1948) 115-27. The manuscript fragment is now Leyden, University Library, MS. B.P.L. 2391a.

<sup>4</sup> The list of books in Irish script is contained in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 728, p. 4, which describes the present manuscript as 'Arithmetica Boetii, volumen I'. See Michael Richter, 'St Gallen and the Irish in the early Middle Ages' in *Ogma: essays in Celtic studies in honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin*, ed. Michael Richter and Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin 2002) 65-75 (at p. 68), who suggests, however, that some of these manuscripts may have been written in the scriptorium of Sankt Gallen.

<sup>5</sup> See Mario Esposito, 'Manuscripts in Irish Libraries, I' *Hermathena* 19, no. 42 (1920) 123-40 (at p. 138); and M. L. Colker, *Trinity College Library, Dublin: descriptive catalogue of the medieval and renaissance Latin manuscripts*, 2 vols (Aldershot 1991) II, no. 1249. James F. Kenney, *The sources for the early history of Ireland: ecclesiastical* (New York 1929), makes no mention of the Trinity fragment; nor do Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, *A bibliography of Celtic-Latin literature 400-1200* (Dublin 1985).

*Foliation*

Six folios (unbound), with foliation 1-6 added in pencil. The first and last folios form a bifolium which apparently served to enclose the gathering. Both of these outer folios are clean, showing no evidence of having ever been used as cover pages or as part of the binding of another book. The text of *DIA* begins *in medias res* (Bk II, ch. 19) and ends abruptly with an incomplete chapter (Bk II, ch. 44), suggesting that the present gathering was separated from a manuscript of the full text, perhaps at a relatively late stage in its history.

*Physical description and condition*

Dimensions of *c.* 270 x *c.* 202 mm (written space *c.* 235 x *c.* 160); text in two columns, normally 41 lines per column. The vellum is not of especially good quality and is damaged by at least two insect holes, some water staining in the lower part of the final three leaves, and some loss of parchment on the bottom right. Ink of the main text is black; ruling in dry-point.

*Decoration*

Consists of simple filling in of colours in important initials. Only two colours are used, yellow and red; usually one or the other is sustained for a sequence. Sometimes, where the form of an initial has two discrete parts (e.g. the letter 'S') the two colours alternate within the same initial.

*Script*

Irish (formal) minuscule, s. XII; a competent though hurried hand.<sup>6</sup> The scribe generally used triangular *a* with occasional instances of open *a* (also his normal form when that letter is suprascript). The abbreviations and contractions agree in the main with those found in other twelfth-century Irish manuscripts. Interesting are: *sem̄r* for 'semper'; *s* with suprascript *b* for 'sub'; 'per' always in the form *p* with the attached hook, never with the cross bar through the descender. The most distinctive feature is the suprascript symbol for *-ur*

<sup>6</sup> William O'Sullivan, 'Manuscripts and palaeography' in *A new history of Ireland I: prehistoric and early Ireland*, edited by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford 2005) 511-48 (at p. 544), characterizes it as 'an eleventh-/twelfth-century hand' and provides a specimen of the hand in plate 55.

which resembles a *w*, rather than the usual symbol of a hook. The symbol for the *spiritus asper*, in both Latin and Irish words, has the form of an inclining (leftwards) ‘2’.

### *Contents*

*DIA*, Book II, chs. 19-44. In addition there are some 42 glosses on the text, all in Latin, except for the present note in Irish. Most of the glosses are in the same black ink, and minuscule hand (though much reduced), as the main text; a few are in a lighter, brownish ink and a different hand. Most of the Latin glosses offer clarifications of the text; for example, ET HIC NUMERUS: .xxu (fol. 6v, col. b, line 7). A few of the glosses offer alternative readings, introduced by ‘uel’; e.g. RESURGET: uel ‘se suggerit’ (fol. 3r, col a, line 26), where the gloss (in a different hand) corrects a corrupt reading in the text. There are also at least two diagrams in dry-point on the margins of fol. 3r, col. b, illustrating respectively the terms ‘sphera uel circulus’ and ‘semi-circuli’ in the main text (Bk II, ch. 30).

### *The Irish note*

It begins on the left margin of fol. 5ra, line 8, adjacent to the final section of Bk II, ch. 34.<sup>7</sup> It is very much a contextual comment that can only be understood by reference to the principles of geometry and their numerical representation as explained in earlier chapters of Book II of *DIA*. There Boethius had discussed different geometrical forms, paying special attention to the triangle because ‘triangles produce all other forms’ of plane figures.<sup>8</sup> Among these other plane figures he gave special prominence to ‘squares’ (defined by four right angles and by equal sides) and to rectangles with one side longer than the other by one unit (*figurae parte altera longiores*, which Masi translated as ‘figures longer by one side’).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Henry Oosthout and John Schilling, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii De Arithmetica*, CCSL 94A (Turnhout 1999) 164-5. This edition supersedes that by Gustav Friedlein, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii De Institutione Arithmetica libri duo; De Institutione Musica libri quinque* (Leipzig 1867). There is an English translation by Michael Masi, *Boethian number theory: a translation of the De Institutione Arithmetica (with introduction and notes)*, Studies in Classical Antiquity 6 (Amsterdam 1983) 66-188.

<sup>8</sup> Bk II, ch. 6, *Adeo haec figura [sc. triangulus] princeps est latitudinis, ut ceterae omnes superficies in hanc resoluantur* (Oosthout and Schilling, *De Arithmetica* 114, lines 29-30).

<sup>9</sup> See Masi, *Boethian number theory* 149, n. 29.

Boethius also explained in these earlier chapters (9, 10 and 26, respectively) how all three types of figures have numerical expression. Take the triangle: the first and simplest triangle is based on the first natural number, unity (*unitas*), as the measure of its (equilateral) sides and produces a triangular number of '1'; the second triangle, which has the binary number as its side produces a triangular number of '3' ( $2 + 1$ ); the third triangle with three as its side has a triangular number of '6' ( $3 + 2 + 1$ ); the fourth with four as its side has the triangular number of '10' ( $4 + 3 + 2 + 1$ ); and so on in a progressive (and infinite) series of triangular numbers. However, since Boethius regarded the unity triangle as a triangle only in power but not in act or operation, he characterized the next triangle in the series, which has for its sides the binary number ('2'), as the first 'real' triangle.

In contrast with triangular numbers, which are based on a figure of three angles, squared numbers are based on a figure defined by four right angles and having equal sides. The same natural numbers, 1, 2, 3, 4, now applied to the square figure, produce the squared numbers 1, 4, 9, 16. The third type of figure, that which is longer by one side (than a square), gets its first numerical value from multiplying the first natural number (1) by the second (2), to make '2'; likewise, its second numerical value from  $2 \times 3 = 6$ ; its third from  $3 \times 4 = 12$ , and so on. Thus, the first four triangular numbers are 1, 3, 6, 10; the first four square numbers are 1, 4, 9, 16; the first four longer by one side numbers are 2, 6, 12, 20.

To return to the note in Irish. Its immediate context is *DIA*, Bk II, ch. 34, which has the heading, *Quod ex quadratis et parte altera longioribus omnis formarum ratio consistat*, 'that all numerical reckoning of [geometric] forms takes its being from squares [*tetragoni*] and figures longer by one side [*figurae parte altera longiores*]'.<sup>10</sup> Actually, the heading is misleading since the focus of the chapter is triangles which, as Boethius mentioned earlier, form the basis of all other plane figures, including squares and figures longer by one side.

<sup>10</sup> Oosthout and Schilling, *De arithmetica* 164, lines 1-2.



Then follows a demonstration of one such relationship between triangular numbers and the numerical values of squares and figures longer by one side, with the following conclusion:

Disponantur enim alternatim inter se tetragoni et parte altera longiores, qui ut melius pernotarentur, prius in duobus eos uersibus disposuimus. Post autem eosdem permiscuimus et, qui exinde trianguli nascerentur, adscripsimus.<sup>11</sup>

i iiii ix xui xxu xxxui. xlix. lxiiii<sup>12</sup> lxxxi.

ii ui xii xx xxx xlii lui lxxii xc.

iii ui x xu xxi xxiiii xxxui xlu lu lxui lxxiiii.

i ii iiii ui ix xii xui xx xxu xxx xxxui. xlii

The first row represents the sequence of numbers (1-9) that result from squares (*tetragoni*); the second row, numbers generated by figures longer by one side (*parte altera longiores*); the fourth row represents a combination of the numbers of the first and second rows, taking one from each in a sequence of alternation (*eosdem permiscuimus*). The adding of the first two contiguous numbers from the fourth row produces the triangular numbers in row 3 (*qui exinde trianguli nascerentur*); in other words, the sum of any two contiguous numbers in row 4 produces the triangular number immediately above in row 3.<sup>13</sup>

The Irish note, connected to the fourth row by means of a *signe de renvoi*, reads as follows:

<sup>11</sup> 'Let the squares and figures longer by one side be arranged alternating among themselves. These figures we previously arranged in two rows so that they could be better noted. Then we mixed them [*sc.* the two rows] and we have written down the triangles produced thereby'. The text given here is that of the Trinity fragment manuscript, which differs from Oosthout and Schilling's edition in omitting the headings for the first three rows of numbers – though headings for all four rows were subsequently supplied by the Irish glossator on the margin. The translation is my own.

<sup>12</sup> The manuscript incorrectly reads 'lxiiii'.

<sup>13</sup> Visually indicated in Oosthout and Schilling's edition by means of converging lines that connect individual pairs of numbers in the fourth row with their corresponding sum in the third row.

tetragoni 7 paī at longiores.  
 7 is uadaib  
 asait na  
 treullig  
 fil7 ua  
 saib. ū.  
 .ḡ. i. 7 bī  
 air, teī 7 .lō.  
 is uadaib  
 asas ī  
 tūillec  
 fil uas  
 aib .i. iii.

I expand as follows:<sup>14</sup>

Tetragoni *et parte altera* longiores. *Ocus* is uadaib asait na treullig filet uasaib; *uerbi gratia*, i *ocus* binair (*tetragonus et longior*) – is uadaib asas in *treuillech* fil uasaib, *ed ón*, iii.

(Tr. ‘Squares and figures longer by one side. And it is from them derive the triangles which stand above them [*sc.* in the third row]; for example, 1 and 2, a square and a figure longer by one side – it is from them derives the triangle that is above them, that is, 3’.)

This note first identifies the numbers of row 4 as a mixture of squares and longer-by-one-side numbers, *tetragoni et parte altera longiores*.<sup>15</sup> Then, switching to Irish, it points out that from the two combined (*uadaib*) come the triangular numbers above them (*uasaib*) in row 3. Finally, it supplies an illustration: in row 4, the first number is 1, a squared number (*tetragonus*); the second number, 2 (Ir. *bináir*), represents the first longer-by-one-side number (the product of 1 x 2); and the summation of these two numbers produces the triangular number, 3. No doubt this example was borrowed from the main text: *Namque ex uno primo tetragono et binario primo parte altera longiore ternarius triangulus copulatur*<sup>16</sup> (‘and so from

<sup>14</sup> Expansions are indicated in italics.

<sup>15</sup> This part of note linked to row 4 by means of *signe de renvoi* (see above).

<sup>16</sup> Oosthout and Schilling, *De Arithmetica*, 164, lines 7-8.

the one of the first square and the two of the first longer by one side a triangle of three is joined together').

It seems likely that this note was composed – not merely copied – by the scribe of the main text. Not only is it written in his hand but its *ad hoc* arrangement in the narrow space of the left margin, with some words broken into syllables and others arbitrarily contracted, suggests the work of someone composing on the spot. Also, the language of the note is consonant with the twelfth-century date of the manuscript. A significant linguistic indicator is the verb *filet*, a Middle Irish formation based on O.Ir. *fil* with 3rd person plural ending. First attested in *Saltair na Rann*, it occurs thereafter quite frequently in later Middle Irish texts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such as *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* and the Book of Leinster *Táin*.<sup>17</sup>

Since the Irish note contains nothing original or insightful, one is led to ask what purpose it served. Evidently its composer's first concern was to identify the nature of each of the four rows of numbers, which he did by inserting four marginal glosses in Latin above the Irish note, namely, 'tetragoni', 'parte altera longiores', 'trianguli', and 'tetragoni et parte altera longiores'. He also felt the need to make clear that the final row was not only a series of numbers taken from the first and second rows, but more importantly that the sum of any two of its numbers would agree with the triangular number immediately above in the third row. Hence his illustration, based on a paraphrase of Boethius's example.

Such concerns suggest a pedagogical purpose, as does his decision to comment on a passage where Boethius himself played the pedagogue, explaining a numerical relationship between triangles, squares and figures longer by one side. At the same time the note also bears witness to the fact that an Irish scholar could comment competently on mathematics, armed with a well-developed technical vocabulary of Irish mathematical terms, as indicated by words such as *treuillech* 'triangle' (apparently otherwise unattested in Irish as a substantival) and *bináir* 'binary number'. More broadly, the note and the accompanying glosses in Latin testify to the continued study of Boethius's *De Institutione Arithmetica* in Ireland in the twelfth

<sup>17</sup> See Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge' in *Stair na Gaeilge in ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta*, ed. Kim McCone *et al.* (Maynooth 1994) 323 (§12.191); and K. H. Jackson, *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (Dublin 1990) § xcvi (p. 134).

century alongside other mathematical works<sup>18</sup> – perhaps preparatory to a study of Boethius's *De Institutione Musica*.<sup>19</sup>

PÁDRAIG P. Ó NÉILL

*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

<sup>18</sup> For other mathematical works current in Ireland at this time, see Ludwig Bieler and Bernhard Bischoff, 'Fragmente zweier frühmittelalterlicher Schulbücher aus Glendalough' *Celtica* 3 (1956) 211-20.

<sup>19</sup> This work was apparently known in twelfth-century Ireland; see C. Meyer, 'Le Diagramme Lambdoïde du MS Oxford Bodleian Library Auct. F. III. 15 (3511)' *Scriptorium* 49 (1995) 228-37.

I am grateful to *Éigse* consultant-reader Dr Daniel McCarthy for valuable suggestions and corrections.

## ASPECTS OF THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF *SEX AETATES MUNDI* AND *DRUIMM CETTA CÉTE NA NOEM*

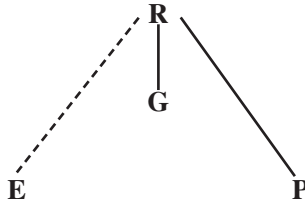
It is the purpose of this paper to illustrate the importance of a comprehensive analysis of all the relevant extant sources in the study of textual transmission, and the pitfalls of a partial examination of such sources, by reference to the transmission of two texts, *Sex Aetates Mundi* and the poem *Druimm Cetta cète na noem*.

### 1. The transmission of Recension I of *Sex Aetates Mundi*

The text of *Sex Aetates Mundi* (SAM) is to hand in two editions, one by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and the other by Hildegard Tristram.<sup>1</sup> Whereas both editors identify three recensions of the text, the former alone provides a *stemma codicum*.<sup>2</sup> The four manuscripts which belong to his Recension I, together with the sigla adopted by Ó Cróinín, are as follows:

- (1) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 502 (R)<sup>3</sup>
- (2) National Library of Ireland (NLI), G 2-3, 14th-15th cent. (G)
- (3) British Library, Egerton 1782, A.D. 1517 (E)
- (4) NLI, G 131, 17th cent. (P)

Ó Cróinín outlines the relationship between these manuscripts in his *stemma codicum* as follows:



<sup>1</sup> Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* (Dublin 1983); Hildegard L. C. Tristram, *Sex Aetates Mundi* (Heidelberg 1985). Both editions were the subject of pertinent criticism by Máire Herbert, 'The Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*: first editions' *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 11 (Summer 1986) 97-112.

<sup>2</sup> Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 48; for Tristram's view that the construction of a *stemma codicum* is inappropriate and relevant criticism see Herbert, 'The Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*' 101.

<sup>3</sup> All references to R in what follows will be to the second vellum part of that codex written in the twelfth century.

## 2. The version of SAM in P

P was written by Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh and four other unidentified scribes, one of whom wrote SAM and also collaborated with Ó Cléirigh in a number of other manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> The text of SAM in P has been regarded by Ó Cróinín, Tristram and Herbert simply as a transcript of R. But although P often agrees very closely with R, it is clearly not solely dependent on that manuscript. One noteworthy difference occurs in the first line of the third quatrain of the poem *Mathusálem, Noé cen lén* in §21 of Ó Cróinín's edition. The text and translation of the quatrain and the relevant variant readings for the first line given by the editor are as follows:

Sesca, nóí cét, dá bliadain,  
 má beith nech fora iarair,  
 ar each taidbsine ní chéil,  
 forair aimsire Iaréth.

'Nine hundred and sixty (and) two years –  
 if any should be seeking it  
 I will not conceal it from every exposition –  
 that was the sum of Jared's time.'

*Line a:* do bliadnaib R; da bliadain P<sup>5</sup>

What is striking here is that the text of the first line, giving the age of Jared, is based on P, supposedly a transcript of R. Furthermore, as indicated in a note on this line by Ó Cróinín, P's reading is supported by Genesis 5:20: *et facti sunt omnes dies Iared nongenti sexaginta duo anni*.<sup>6</sup> The source for P's reading here may well have been a version of a poem dealing with the same topic in *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (LG), the second quatrain of which reads as follows:

<sup>4</sup> See Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland IV* (Dublin 1977) 51.

<sup>5</sup> Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 72, 114.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* 147.

Tricha ar noi cetaib can ail  
 saegal airmidnech Adaim;  
 a dó sescat noi cet cain,  
 saegal Iareth abrad-chain.

‘Thirty over nine hundreds without reproach  
 the venerable life of Adam:  
 nine hundred sixty and two fair,  
 the life of Iareth of the fair brows.’<sup>7</sup>

Another important modification in P occurs in §14 of Ó Cróinín’s edition. In this passage there is reference to the life-span of Malaleel (the relevant variant reading from P is in parentheses):

Saégul Malaleel acccc (dccc.xc.<sup>at</sup> .u. P)

‘Malaleel’s life, 900 (years).’<sup>8</sup>

Instead of R’s 900 years, P has 895 years, which, as noted by Ó Cróinín, is supported by Genesis 5:17.<sup>9</sup> The authority for P’s reading in this instance is again likely to have been LG as indicated, for example, by the following:

Ocus doridnit uili laitheada Malaleel cuic bliadna nochat ar  
 ocht cetaib

‘And all the days of Malalehel were made eight hundred  
 ninety and five years.’<sup>10</sup>

Yet another example of textual modification in P can be found in the second line of the first quatrain of the poem *Gairthigern ainm in bérlai* in §7 of Ó Cróinín’s edition (the relevant variant from P is again in parentheses):

<sup>7</sup> R. A. S. Macalister (ed.), *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, 5 vols (ITS, London 1938-56) I, 198-9; cf. *ibid.* 100-01, 124-5.

<sup>8</sup> Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 70, 112.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.* 144.

<sup>10</sup> *LG* I, 98-9, §48 (macrons omitted).

Gairthigern ainm in bérlai  
 ro-buí ic Mac Dé dagšegdai (daighergna P)  
 ocus oc síl Ádaim huair  
 ria cumtuch in Tuir Nebruid.

‘Gairthigern was the name of the language  
 that the proud and noble son of God had,  
 and the race of stately Adam,  
 before the building of Nemrod’s Tower.’<sup>11</sup>

The reader, led to believe that P is simply a copy of R, would naturally assume that *daighergna* is an erroneous transcription of *dagšegdai* on the part of the scribe of P. It has been noted by Tristram in the variant readings of her edition, however, that the reading of P is also found in the Book of Lecan version of SAM and in a version of the same quatrain contained in LG.<sup>12</sup>

It is clear from the evidence discussed above that the text of SAM in P is not solely dependent on R but was modified on the basis of other authorities, most notably LG. It may well be the case that the modifications in the text of P were made in an earlier source. Another possibility is that the scribe of P himself was responsible for the changes.<sup>13</sup> Evidence illustrating Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh’s expertise as a redactor of chronological and hagiographical matter has recently been discussed by Professor Pádraig Breatnach.<sup>14</sup> The

<sup>11</sup> Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 67, 111.

<sup>12</sup> Tristram, *Sex Aetates Mundi* 211, where, with reference to P’s reading, it is noted ‘vgl. Lc und LG *degergna*’ (precise references are Book of Lecan, f. 22rb35 and LG II, 122). For omission of variant readings from the recension of SAM found in the Book of Lecan in Ó Cróinín’s edition see Herbert, ‘The Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*’ 102-3. A further example of P’s reading can be found in *Auraicept na n-Éces*, ed. George Calder (Edinburgh 1917; repr. Dublin 1995) 178 (cf. Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 31).

<sup>13</sup> In this regard attention may be drawn to the version of the poem *Rédig dam, a Dé, do nim*, ascribed to Dublittir ua hUathgaile, which follows the text of SAM in R and P. The version in P contains an additional nine quatrains written in margins by another scribe. As indicated by Ó Cróinín in the variant readings of his edition of this poem (*The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 97-108), the additional quatrains agree with the corresponding quatrains found in the Book of Lecan and Book of Ballymote.

<sup>14</sup> P. A. Breatnach, ‘The methodology of *seanchas*: the redaction by Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh of the chronicle poem *Leanam croinic Clann nDálaigh*’ *Éigse* 29 (1996) 1-18.



examples discussed above from the text of SAM in P may point to similar expertise on the part of one of Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh's scribal colleagues in the seventeenth century. (I hope to examine fully the text of SAM in P in a separate study.)

### 3. Material relating to SAM in G and E

Attention may now be focused on the other manuscripts supposedly belonging to Ó Cróinín's Recension I of SAM. We may firstly look at G which contains five non-continuous sections of SAM.<sup>15</sup> Ó Cróinín points out that the Book of Glendalough is cited as a source for some textual items in G and suggests that, in the case of sections of SAM, the scribe of G's immediate exemplar was R:

Speaking of the poem *Ádam ocus Eua án* (§11), which is found in G 3, [James] Carney suggested that the text of R (fol. 41rb 1-10) was 'possibly the immediate exemplar'; we might expand that remark to cover the other SAM items in G 3 as well. Ó Cianáin elsewhere in the manuscript says that he has copied from the Book of Glendalough, but the sequence of texts in G seems to me to indicate that R was his immediate exemplar.<sup>16</sup>

The Ó Cianáin referred to here is Ádhamh Ó Cianáin, the main scribe of G, who died in 1373.<sup>17</sup> There are a number of problems with

<sup>15</sup> Ó Cróinín's discussion of the sections of text of SAM in G in his edition is difficult to follow. On p. 14 he states that G contains copies of §§2, 9, 11 of SAM. On p. 53 he says that it contains four sections. On p. 35 he states: 'The G text opens with an abbreviated version of §9, on the children of Adam, and follows immediately with the poem *Ádam ocus Eua án* (§11), omitting the list in §10 (doubtless because the scribe thought it superfluous to the list in the poem).' In the variant readings for §§10 and 11 cited on pp 68-9, however, readings from G are included for §10 but none are cited for §11. Both §10 and §11 are, in fact, found in G 3, f. 18va. Part of §69 is also found in G and its readings are cited among the variant readings for this section by Ó Cróinín (97).

<sup>16</sup> Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 35.

<sup>17</sup> See Nessa Ní Sheághdha, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland I* (Dublin 1967) 13.

regard to Ó Cróinín's discussion of the relationship between R and G. He implies, for instance, that all the sections of SAM in G were written by Ó Cianáin; however, as Nessa Ní Shéaghda has suggested, ff 20-25r of G 3 and the intercalated leaves of G 2 may in fact be in a fifteenth-century hand.<sup>18</sup> One of the textual items from SAM is found in this part of G 3, and another is found on one of the intercalated leaves of G 2 (f. 28va). Furthermore, examination of the latter seems to invalidate Ó Cróinín's suggestion that R was the immediate exemplar for all the sections of SAM in G. This particular item corresponds to the following part of §69 of Ó Cróinín's edition:

Assia dano, ingen Neir 7 na bandia, dianid ainm Doridis, is uaidi-sin ro-ainmniged inn Assia .i. Neptúin mac Ióib, dia mara, tuc grád di corbo hé tinscra ro-gellad di .i. tress rann in domuin do ainmnigud huaidi ara hógi do lot 7 ar inbuth fri Neptúin.<sup>19</sup>

As indicated in the variant readings for this section of the text cited by Ó Cróinín, G agrees with two other manuscripts, viz. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 486 and Laud 610, against R in its omission of *dano*, *sin* (after *uaidi*), *mac Ióib*, *dia mara*, and *7 ar inbuth fri Neptúin* and also in reading *conad*, *ro geall* and *in treas* for *corbo*, *ro gellad* and *tress* respectively. G agrees with Rawlinson B 486 against R in reading *log* for *tinscra* (om. in Laud 610).<sup>20</sup> It is clear therefore that G does not derive directly from R in this instance.

We turn now to examine the textual item from SAM which is found on f. 24r of G 3 and is contained in that section which was written seemingly by a later hand. Significantly, this is also the section of G 3 in which the Book of Glendalough is twice cited as a source.<sup>21</sup> Since Ó Cróinín holds that R was the immediate exemplar

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.* Cf. James Carney, 'The Ó Cianáin miscellany' *Ériu* 21 (1969) 122-47 (at pp. 122, 125-6).

<sup>19</sup> Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 97.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.* 97. Ó Cróinín notes that Rawlinson B. 486 adds *is amlaidh seo focaemh-nacair sain* after *ro ainmniged inn Assia*. This additional text is also found in G and Laud 610.

<sup>21</sup> The Book of Glendalough is cited as a source on ff 22va and 23r; see Ní Shéaghda, *NLI Cat.* I, 25. It may be added that neither of the two specific references to the Book of Glendalough concerns an item found in R; see Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B 502' *Éigse* 18 (1981) 161-76 (at p. 170).

for the textual items from SAM found in G, the citing of the Book of Glendalough as a source in the latter would arguably constitute strong evidence that R was to be identified as this source.<sup>22</sup> The item of text in question is a chronological poem which was also discussed by Professor Pádraig Ó Riain and was one of the items which he believed furnished evidence for the identification of R as the Book of Glendalough.<sup>23</sup>

In R, SAM is preceded by two chronological poems on the subject of the Six Ages, the first according to the Septuagint, beginning *Cétna-amser bethad bind*, the second according to the 'Hebrew Verity' or Jerome's Vulgate, beginning *Cétaimmsir in bethad bind*.<sup>24</sup> The corresponding text in G points to some confusion between the two poems, presumably because of the similarity of the first lines. Here we find a single poem which consists of the opening line of the first poem as found in R and the remainder of the second poem. Attempts to explain this discrepancy have been made by both Ó Cróinín and by Ó Riain. Referring to the scribe of G, Ó Cróinín argues, not altogether logically, as it seems to me, that the fact that the text in G consists of the first line of one poem and the remainder of the other poem 'proves that, in fact, his exemplar contained both poems'. He continues: 'Thus the argument for that exemplar having been R is reinforced.'<sup>25</sup> Ó Riain's explanation of the discrepancy between R and G is as follows:

... the first line in G 3 does not correspond exactly to that of Rawl. which reads *Cétaimmsir in bethad bind*. It does correspond exactly, however, to the first line of the immediately preceding poem in Rawl. Evidently, the scribe had allowed his eye to wander before correcting himself.<sup>26</sup>

It will be observed that analysis by Ó Cróinín and Ó Riain of the relationship between R and G with regard to this poem is influenced by what in both cases is a preconceived view that R and the Book of Glendalough are one and the same manuscript. Such a stance will only allow for the scribe of G being responsible for the discrepancy in the first line. In order to resolve the issue of the origin of the

<sup>22</sup> Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 35.

<sup>23</sup> Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B 502' 170-1.

<sup>24</sup> Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 64-6 (§§ 2-3).

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.* 35.

<sup>26</sup> Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B 502' 171.

discrepancy in G, however, other available evidence cannot be ignored. There are, for example, a number of other significant differences between the poem as preserved in R and G, the most notable of which occurs in q. 8. The following is the text of that quatrain as edited by Ó Cróinín from R, together with the text of G as cited among the variants for this section of his edition:

<i>R</i>	<i>G</i>
INd ochtmad ó shain imach, is í-side int sírsaéglach. Innisimm, is ní bréc dam, ná bia crích ar a cétmad.	Agus laithe bratha buan ní rofitir gach roshluagh isi sen in tochtmad oll romsaera ara rochomlond. <sup>27</sup>

It is quite clearly the case that the text of this particular quatrain is very different in the two manuscripts. It is difficult to understand, therefore, how Ó Cróinín, although including the text of G among his variant readings, can nevertheless claim that the scribe of G was copying directly from R. Ó Riain explains away this serious discrepancy by suggesting that here again (as was argued in the case of the first line) the scribe of G may have allowed his eye to wander.<sup>28</sup> In this case, however, we are not told what it was to which the scribe's eye wandered. Quatrain 8 as found in G is not found anywhere in R. This quatrain is in itself clear evidence that the scribe of G could not have been copying from R. A number of other significant differences between R and G in the case of this poem are cited among the variants by Ó Cróinín but are not commented upon.<sup>29</sup> Some of the variant readings from G are also cited by Ó Riain, but their import is not discussed.<sup>30</sup>

Since R does not seem to have been the exemplar for this poem in G, we may now reconsider the discrepancy in the first line of the poem as found in the latter manuscript. If it is to be safely argued that the scribe of G was responsible for this discrepancy, it must first be established, if possible, that the discrepancy had not arisen in an earlier source. One obvious means of investigating such a possibility is to search for and examine other witnesses to the poem. Ó Riain does not mention any such witnesses, but, as pointed out by Ó Cróinín, another copy of the poem is found in the fourth manuscript of

<sup>27</sup> Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 66 (§3).

<sup>28</sup> Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B 502' 171.

<sup>29</sup> Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 65-6.

<sup>30</sup> Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B 502' 171.

Recension I cited above, viz. E. Significantly, the same discrepancy in G is also found in E. According to Ó Cróinín, ‘the implication of this parallelism between the texts of G and E is extremely difficult to work out’.<sup>31</sup> As can be seen in the section of his *stemma codicum* cited above, E, like G and P, is taken by Ó Cróinín to derive directly from R; but, whereas the descent of G and P from R is denoted by an unbroken line, E’s descent from R is denoted by a broken line, the purpose of which is not made clear.

It is clear, however, that Ó Cróinín was of the opinion that E and G derived independently from R. But this would imply that the error in the first line of the poem was made independently by the two different scribes of these manuscripts, surely a remote possibility. The only way to ascertain the actual relationship between the copies of this textual item as contained in R, G and E is, of course, to examine the manuscripts themselves, a task which, surprisingly, was not undertaken by Ó Cróinín. Such examination reveals that G and E ultimately derive from a common exemplar which is not R. Thus G and E agree with regard to the discrepancy in the first line. E is later in date than G, but as it is essentially in agreement with R against G, for example in the case of q. 8 discussed above, it cannot be a copy of G. The text of q. 8 in E (f. 44rb) reads as follows:

In .uiiii.mad o sin amach  
 budh hísín in sirshae<sup>l</sup>ach  
 innisim is ní brég damh  
 ní bia crích ar in cétmadh.

In addition to their sharing the discrepancy in the first line of q. 1, evidence that G and E derive from a common exemplar which is not R is provided by examination of q. 3 and the first two lines of q. 4. The relevant text as edited by Ó Cróinín from R is as follows:

q. 3  
 IN tress amser, fé<sup>g</sup> co fír,  
 óthá Abrám co Dauid;  
 a dó cethrachat, cen ail,  
 ar nóí cétaib do bliadnaib.

<sup>31</sup> Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 35.

q. 4ab  
 IN chethramad chubaid chóir,  
 ó shain co brait mBabilóin.<sup>32</sup>

In the variant readings for 4b it is noted by Ó Cróinín that *shain* is linked to *Dauíd* in the preceding quatrain by a construe mark.<sup>33</sup> The readings of 4b in G 3 (f. 24rb) and E (f. 44rb) are as follows:

o Daibhith braid Baibealoin G  
 o Daibid broid Babiloin E

The two points worthy of note here as regards the corresponding text in R are that *shain* has been replaced by forms of the name *Dauíd* and the preposition *co* has been omitted in both G and E. Again, it is unlikely that both of these changes were made independently by the respective scribes. The most plausible explanation here and in the case of the shared discrepancy in the first line of the poem is that the changes were already present in an earlier source common to G and E.

Examination of *Cétaimmsér in bethad bind* in G and E shows that the relationship of these manuscripts to R is not accurately represented in the *stemma codicum* of Ó Cróinín's edition. From the evidence discussed above it is clear that the scribe of G was not responsible for the discrepancy in the first line of the poem, as Ó Cróinín and Ó Riain argue, but that this had already occurred in an earlier source. As it is not present in R, this cannot have been the source in question. It will also be recalled that the poem is found in that section of G in which the Book of Glendalough is twice cited as a source and that neither of the texts for which it is directly cited as a source is found in R. Contrary to previously held views, therefore, this particular section of G furnishes telling evidence against the identification of R as the Book of Glendalough.

#### 4. Previous discussion of the poem *Druimm Cetta céte na noem*

Another text which is crucial in determining the relationship between R and the Book of Glendalough is the poem *Druimm Cetta céte na noem*. As James Carney has pointed out, there are four

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.* 65.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*

known copies of this poem, two of which are to be found in the commentary on *Amra Coluim Chille* in R and NLI, G 50. Two independent versions, ‘doubtless deriving from manuscripts of the commentary’, are to be found in the fifteenth-century manuscript RIA 1236 (C iii 2) and in the sixteenth-century Oxford manuscript Bodleian Library, Laud 615.<sup>34</sup> As also noted by Carney, the poem in C iii 2 is immediately preceded by the following introductory words:

don logaimsir so sis do reir lebuir Glinn da Lacha

‘concerning time and place [i.e. of the composition of *Amra Coluim Chille*] here according to the Book of Glendalough.’<sup>35</sup>

It is noteworthy, in the light of this information, that five consecutive quatrains of the poem in R are absent in C iii 2 (and in G 50). According to Carney, the five quatrains ‘have been dropped, obviously by homoioteleuton’. Carney goes on to argue as follows:

‘The same mechanical fault is found in G 50. This points to the following: the mechanical mistake was not made by the scribe of C iii 2 but was already present in his exemplar, the Book of Glendalough ...’<sup>36</sup>

This matter has been discussed also by Ó Riain.<sup>37</sup> As he points out, if what Carney says is true, ‘this, needless to say, would preclude any possibility of Rawl. B 502 and the Book of Glendalough being one and the same codex’.<sup>38</sup> Accepting Carney’s explanation for the omission of the five quatrains, Ó Riain argues on the basis of the evidence of a second poem, *Colum Cille co Dia domerail*, contained in both manuscripts, that C iii 2 and G 50 ‘belong to the same line of transmission’. Consequently, according to Ó Riain, ‘the omission in *Druim Ceta Céte na Náem* could have occurred at any point along the line and need not have been present in the Book of Glendalough.’ He

<sup>34</sup> James Carney (ed.), *The poems of Blathmac*, ITS vol. 47 (Dublin 1964) p. xii. The reading of the first line of the poem is based on R, f. 55rb.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.* p. xii.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Ó Riain, ‘The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B 502’ 171-4.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.* 172.

goes on to assert that *Colum Cille co Dia domerail* in G 50 'is clearly dependent on a C iii 2-type exemplar, if not on C iii 2 itself.'<sup>39</sup>

Ó Riain failed to test the veracity of the latter statement either by examining in detail the versions of *Colum Cille co Dia domerail* in both manuscripts or by examining the versions of *Druimm Cetta céte na noem*. Had such an examination been carried out in the case of the latter poem, it would have become evident that the version in G 50 cannot have been copied from C iii 2. This can be seen, for instance, in the case of q. 26 of the poem. The following text is from R with some variant readings from C iii 2 (f. 10b):

Im Goan coarthach cen chacht  
o tát coemchlanna Ciannacht  
Fidchad Sabarnach Sáergus  
Ech echen Fiacc is Fergus.<sup>40</sup>

*Line a:* cen chacht R; Saorgus C iii 2

*Line c:* Sáergus R; cin chacht C iii 2

The words at the end of lines *a* and *c* have been confused with one another in C iii 2. This error is not found in G 50 (p. 21):

Im Ghoan coarthach cen cacht  
oa ttád caomhclanna Ciandacht  
Findcadh Sabharnach Saorgus  
Eich eichen Fiac is Fergus.

Other cases where G agrees with R against C iii 2, thus indicating that it cannot have been copied from the latter, are these:

q. 4c  
co ro rann Rudraigi ind raith R  
co ro rann Rughraige an raith G 50  
co ro rand rudraige raith C iii 2

q. 24c  
a rath maroen ruind riar la R  
a rath maraon ruinn riar la G 50  
a rath maraon linn ler la C iii 2

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.* 173.

<sup>40</sup> The text in R has been edited by Whitley Stokes, 'The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille' *Revue Celtique* 20 (1899) 140.



q. 30a

Bendacht cach nemid cach noem R

Bendacht cech neimhidh cech naoimh G 50

Bendacht gach nime is gach naoim C iii 2.<sup>41</sup>

The poem in R is preceded by the heading ‘Do tathmet na rig 7 na noeb batar sin mórdail inso sis’. A similar heading is found at the beginning of the poem in G 50 (p. 21). In C iii 2, however, this heading is found not at the beginning of the poem but after q. 7. Accordingly, the version of *Druimm Cetta céte na noem* in G 50 cannot have been copied from C iii 2. It agrees with the latter primarily in its omission of the five aforementioned quatrains.

### 5. Manuscript references to the Book of Glendalough

Before dealing specifically with the five omitted quatrains, attention may be drawn to Ó Riain’s discussion of the transmission of *Druimm Cetta céte na noem* in the overall context of his identification of R with the Book of Glendalough. The latter is stated in one manuscript, C iii 2, to have been the source for this poem. There is, however, a marked discrepancy between the poem in this manuscript and the poem as it is in R. To account for this, Ó Riain posits that the scribe was not actually copying from the Book of Glendalough, even though he mentions it as his source, but from some intervening copy. The wider import of this viewpoint may be epitomised as follows. If the scribe of a later manuscript cites the Book of Glendalough as a source for a text which agrees very closely with a copy of the same text in R, then, according to Ó Riain, that scribe was definitely copying from the Book of Glendalough and the latter is to be identified as R. If, on the other hand, a scribe of a later manuscript cites the Book of Glendalough as the source for a text which does not agree closely with the same text as found in R, then it is to be assumed that he was not actually copying from the Book of Glendalough, but from an intervening source. This must surely qualify as a very insecure

<sup>41</sup> Text of R, *ibid.* 136, 140; text in G 50 at pp. 21-2 (for q.30a cf. Carney, *The poems of Blathmac*, p. xi); text in C iii 2 at f. 10.

basis on which to argue in favour of identifying R with the Book of Glendalough.<sup>42</sup>

#### 6. The transmission of *Druimm Cetta céte na noem*

We turn now to examine the transmission of the poem *Druimm Cetta céte na noem* in greater detail. Reading the contributions of Carney and Ó Riain on the subject, one could be forgiven for assuming that the five quatrains wanting in later copies of the poem are omissions caused by scribal error and, consequently, that these quatrains definitely formed part of the original poem. As we have seen, Carney stated that the absence of the quatrains in certain later copies was as a result of homoioteleuton. He is followed in this by Ó Riain, who does not allow for the possibility that the five quatrains were an addition in R. However, examination of the quatrains in question undermines the view expressed by Carney. The five quatrains in R are as follows:

Aed Dub rí Ulad na n-ech. ri Muman Aed Bendnan bil.	Aed Cerr rí laechda Laignech, rí Dessi Aed mac Fingin.
Aed Bolgc rí Duin Chermna chaiss	Aed mac Grillini glanmais
Aed mac Flaind cathrach curad.	ardrí tairbpech Tuadhuman.
Aed mac Echdach, ard a smacht.	ri crichi teora Connacht.
mac fir luid a Cruachain chain.	co Loch nEchtra fo thalmain.
Aed Slane ri Breg na mbla.	Aed mac Brenainn ri Tethba,
ri Airgial Aed Guaire gle.	Aed Gabran coemri Carpre.
Cethri rig fo thri trena.	Aed ainm cech fir ardsegda,
doruachtar druim na noeb n-an.	im Aed ocus im Aedán. <sup>43</sup>

Homoioteleuton arises where similar endings occur in two neighbouring words, clauses, or lines of writing, and it is a frequent source of omissions in copying. A scribe copies a particular word, his eye then strays to a similar ending and he continues copying from this

<sup>42</sup> It has also been seen in the discussion of the transmission of SAM above that there are a number of instances where the Book of Glendalough is cited in some manuscripts as a source for items of text which are not found in R. The explanation advanced by Ó Riain in these and other instances is that the items were once present in R but are now lost ('The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B 502' 170, 171).

<sup>43</sup> Stokes, 'The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille' 138, qq 15-19. I have deliberately reproduced the quatrains here as found in the manuscript for reasons which will become clear below.

second word onwards, thereby omitting the intervening text. An example of homoioteleuton resulting in scribal omission can be found in another version of our poem which is available in Oxford, Bodleian Library manuscript Laud 615, pp. 111-12. Quatrains 9 and 10 of the poem read as follows:

Tri fothai fritha don dáil.	ardaig fuaslacthe Scanlain,
im Dal Riadda, rigda in tress.	is im dichor na n-écess.

Tri coecait fer feochair féig.	d'eicsib Herenn fo oenchleir,
im Senchan, im Dallan dess.	is im Eochaid rigecess. <sup>44</sup>

Quatrain 10 of the poem is omitted in Laud 615 as a result of homoioteleuton (the two occurrences of the same word, viz. *écess*, are marked in bold). The scribe copied the first example of *écess* at the end of q. 9 and his eye then strayed to the second occurrence of that spelling at the end of q. 10. Mistakenly believing that this was the *écess* he had just copied he proceeded to copy from this point on, thus omitting all of q. 10.

It may be asked how this definition sits with the loss of the five quatrains of the poem discussed by Carney. His assumption that the five quatrains were omitted by a scribe copying from R as a result of homoioteleuton falls down on a number of counts. Firstly, *Aed* (the opening word of the first of these quatrains) and *Aedán* (the last word of the fifth quatrain) do not have the same endings. Secondly, in scribal errors caused by homoioteleuton one of the two words spelt similarly is always written and the second is always omitted, as exemplified in the case of *écess* in the Laud 615 version of the poem. This is not so in the quatrains omitted in C iii 2. Even if we were to allow for scribal confusion between *Aed* and *Aedán*, both words should not be omitted as a result of homoioteleuton. A further obvious flaw in Carney's argument is that errors caused as a result of homoioteleuton occur in cases where words with similar endings are found relatively close together, as in the quatrain omitted in Laud 615. In addition, we must bear in mind that the layout and arrangement of texts are not the same in all manuscripts. In the present context, particular attention may be drawn to the high quality of the script, layout and decorative features of R, a manuscript which was described by the late Brian Ó Cuív as being 'undoubtedly the most

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*

magnificent of the surviving manuscripts containing for the most part material in the Irish language.’ Ó Cuív went on to say: ‘In addition to the neatness and regularity of the script and of the overall layout, it is distinguished by the amount, variety, and structured order of its decoration.’<sup>45</sup> The five quatrains at issue here occupy ten finely written and well laid out lines of text on f. 55rb of R. The text in Stokes’s edition, cited above, follows the layout of the quatrains in the manuscript. Furthermore, the initial of each quatrain is written as a large decorated capital. The words *Aed* and *Aedán* are clearly not found in close proximity to one another, and the former is found at the beginning of a line with a large decorated initial, whereas the latter occurs at the end of a line.

When one takes all the points above into consideration, it is very difficult to see how any scribe copying from R could omit all five quatrains in error. The only scribal omission arising as a result of homoioteleuton that could reasonably be envisaged in a copy of this section of the poem from R is that of one, or possibly two, of the quatrains beginning with *Aed*.

The evidence discussed here suggests that we must seek an alternative explanation for the inclusion of the five quatrains in some versions of the poem and their omission in others. To this end we may consider the subject-matter of the quatrains. They mention twelve kings all called Áed who purportedly attended the convention of Druimm Cetta together with Áed mac Ainmirech and Áedán mac Gabráin. Now in other sources there are conflicting accounts of those who attended this convention. In Adamnán’s *Vita Sancti Columbae*, for instance, the only kings mentioned are Áed mac Ainmirech and Áedán mac Gabráin and there is no mention of the twelve additional kings named Áed as found in the poem in R.<sup>46</sup> The list of kings in R is also at variance with the list mentioned in Geoffrey Keating’s *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*.<sup>47</sup> Ryan regards neither list as trustworthy, and he points out that whereas all the kings named Áed in the list in R seem to be real persons, ‘the absence of all kings who did not bear the name Aed, excites suspicion.’<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Brian Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish language manuscripts in the Bodleian library at Oxford and Oxford college libraries*, 2 vols (Dublin 2001-03) I 172. For some appreciation of these matters the reader may consult Ó Cuív, vol. II, plates 15-18, 20-21.

<sup>46</sup> See John Ryan, ‘The Convention of Druim Cett (A.U. 575)’ *JRSAL* 76 (1946) 35-55 (at p. 53).

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*

Another important consideration with regard to the subject-matter of these five quatrains which has hitherto gone largely unnoticed is the existence of a separate poem, *Aodh mac Ainmirech na n-all*, consisting of ten quatrains, which deals exclusively with the same subject-matter and which is to be found in some versions of the commentary on *Amra Coluim Chille*. Versions of this poem are found in the following four manuscripts (the first line as found in the respective versions is also given in parentheses):

- (1) RIA MS 1230 (23 P 16 – Leabhar Breac), p. 238 c (*Aed mac Ainmirech cen fell*)
- (2) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud 615, p. 49 (*Aodh mac Ainmirech na n-all*)
- (3) British Library, Egerton 1782, f. 1, col. 1 (*Aedh mac Ainmirech na neall*)
- (4) NLI, G 50, pp 1-2.<sup>49</sup>

The first five quatrains of the poem have been edited by Kuno Meyer from Laud 615.<sup>50</sup>

The transmission of *Druimm Cetta céte na noem* and *Aodh mac Ainmirech na n-all* is evidently quite complex (and is made more difficult by the fact that the commentary on *Amra Coluim Chille* is found only in fragmentary form in some manuscripts). Copies of both the former poem (including the five additional quatrains) and the latter are found in one manuscript, Laud 615. G 50 also contains copies of both poems but does not include the five additional quatrains in the case of the former. R and C iii 2 contain only copies of *Druimm Cetta céte na noem* (R including the five additional quatrains). The remaining two manuscripts, Leabhar Breac and Egerton 1782, now contain copies of *Aodh mac Ainmirech na n-all* only. Whether or not the five quatrains of the poem *Druimm Cetta céte na noem* are based on *Aodh mac Ainmirech na n-all* or vice versa is a matter for future debate. With regard to the possibility that the five quatrains represent an interpolation in R, it will suffice here to note

<sup>49</sup> The first leaf of this manuscript is now fragmentary and the opening quatrain of our poem is lost; see Nessa Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland II* (Dublin 1961) 67.

<sup>50</sup> ZCP 13 (1921) 8-9. There are several differences in detail between *Aodh mac Ainmirech na n-all* and the five corresponding quatrains of *Druimm Cetta céte na noem*. The two poems (both of which are found in Laud 615) have been confounded in Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'Dún Cermna: a reconsideration' *Éigse* 34 (2004) 71-89 (at p. 78).

a recognised tendency on the part of that manuscript's compiler to extend other texts by interpolation and further means.<sup>51</sup>

The evidence discussed above has shown that it can no longer be sustained that the five quatrains of *Druimm Cetta céte na noem* pertaining to the twelve persons named Áed were omitted in certain sources as a result of scribal error. As they are not found in C iii 2, which quotes the Book of Glendalough as its source for the poem, it can reasonably be assumed that they were not in the version of the poem in that source, irrespective of whether the scribe of C iii 2 was copying directly from it or from an intervening copy.

The possibility that the transmission of *Druimm Cetta céte na noem* is even more complex is suggested by examination of the quatrain immediately preceding the five aforementioned quatrains:

Da epscop dec isin dail.                      doruactatar in mordail,  
na dá Aed dec, aebda a ndrech.    im Aed n-armac nAnmereich.

'Twelve bishops in the assembly, who came to the convention,  
(and) the twelve Aeds, – beautiful their faces – including Aed,  
Anmere's high son.'<sup>52</sup>

It is to be observed that the word *and* in the translation is in parentheses as it represents an editorial addition, influenced, no doubt, by the subsequent five quatrains. If these five quatrains are an interpolation, could it be that the twelve Áeds in the original poem were actually intended to refer to the twelve bishops mentioned earlier in the quatrain?

## 7. Conclusion

Study of the transmission of *Druimm Cetta céte na noem* and SAM reinforces the importance of examining all the extant evidence for any given text and of not imposing preconceived views on a selective and limited range of such evidence. Failure to analyse rigorously all the available data inevitably leads to a false impression of the transmission of texts and can result in a distorted understanding of their original form.

CAOIMHÍN BREATNACH

*University College Dublin*

<sup>51</sup> See Herbert, 'The Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*' 105-6.

<sup>52</sup> Stokes, 'The Bodleian *Amra Choluimb Chille*' 138-9.

## ELEGY OF AODH RUADH Ó DOMHNAILL (d. 1505)

### INTRODUCTION

THE SUBJECT of the elegy edited here, Aodh Ruadh (son of Niall Garbh) Ó Domhnaill, was chief of the O'Donnells from 1461 to 1505 (apart from a brief interruption in 1497).<sup>1</sup> Modern historians credit him as a remarkable soldier, politician and innovator whose principal legacy was the consolidation of the O'Donnell lordship during his lifetime into 'an effective force outside Ulster in the west of Ireland'.<sup>2</sup> That assessment is borne out by traditional chroniclers for whom he qualified as 'the greatest man of Clann Dálaigh to extend his power over neighbouring territories' (*an té as mó do chuir a neart ar choigríochuibh do Chloinn nDálaigh*)<sup>3</sup> and who claim it as 'no exaggeration to say that there was not in his time any Gall or Gael who had more power in Leth Cuinn than he' (*ní ró linn re rádha nach roibe re a linn Gall na Gaoidel dobad tresi ar Leith Cuinn inas he*).<sup>4</sup> His career as dynast had a cultural dimension that is well known. The recovery by him of possession of *Leabhar na hUidhre* from the O'Conors on taking Sligo Castle in 1470 was regarded as a noteworthy achievement, for example.<sup>5</sup> The following long and informative obituary concerning him by the Four Masters mentions the enduring legacy that his construction of Donegal Castle represented,<sup>6</sup> and likewise his endowment of the Franciscan monastery of Friars Observant in Donegal (1474). According to this account, Aodh Ruadh's death occurred on Friday 11 July 1505 in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

O Domhnaill Aodh Ruadh mac Neill Gairbh mic Toirrdhealbhaigh an Fhíona ticchearna Tíre Conaill, Insi hEoghain, Cenél

<sup>1</sup> His career is copiously documented in the annals as follows (source is *AFM* unless otherwise stated) s.a. 1420 (*AU*), 1429 (*ALC*), 1445 (*AU*), 1452, 1456, 1460, 1461, 1462 (*AU*), 1464 (*AC*), 1467 (*AC*), 1468 (*AC*), 1469, 1470, 1471 (*AC*), 1472 (*AU*), 1473 (*AC*), 1474, 1475, 1476 (*AC*), 1477 (*AU*), 1478 (*AC*), 1480 (*AU*), 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1502 (*AU*), 1503, 1504, 1505.

<sup>2</sup> D. B. Quinn, "'Irish' Ireland and 'English' Ireland" in *NHI* II 619-37 (at p. 621).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Paul Walsh, 'Short annals of Tír Conaill' in *BAR* II 86-97 (at pp 92-3).

<sup>4</sup> *AC* 610; *ALC* II 204.

<sup>5</sup> *AFM* IV 1068; on the background see Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'Textual and historical associations of *Leabhar na hUidhre*' *Éigse* 29 (1996) 65-120 (at p. 72).

<sup>6</sup> For reference to a sixteenth-century description of the castle see *MD* II 208.

Moain, 7 Iochtair Chonnacht fear dár ghiallattar Firmanach, Oirghialla, Clann Aodha Buidhe an Rúta 7 Cathánaigh. Ro ghiallsat dna Goill, 7 Gaoidhil Connacht ó Mac Uilliam Cloinne Riocaird anuas dó, 7 gidh eisidhe ann do dhioghail Ó Domhnaill a anumhla fair a leith re dol ina dhúthaigh dá aimhdheóin co meinic cona baí aen cethraimhe fhearainn ó Shuca anuas 7 o Sliabh O nAedha don taoibh thiar nach raibhe fó chíoschain d’Ua Dhomhnaill. An tUa Domhnaill si tra esca iomlan einigh 7 uaisle an tuaisceirt, fear bá mó greann, 7 gaisceadh, fear bá fearr ionsaicchidh 7 anadh, fear rob fearr smacht, reacht, 7 riaghail baí i nErinn ina aimsir do Gaoidhealaibh, ar ní déntaóí do choimhéd i tTír Chonaill ré a linn acht iadhadh dorais na gaoithe nama, fear bá fearr do chiond ecllaisi, 7 eiccsi, fear ro thiodhlaic almsana aidhble i n-onóir an Choimhde na ndúl, fear las ro turcbbhadh 7 las ro cumhdaigheadh caislén cétus i nDun na nGall fó daigh gomadh inneoin fiosaighthi dia clannmaicne ina dheadhaidh, 7 mainistir bhrathar de obseruantia i tTír Conaill .i. Mainistir Dhúin na nGall, fear las a ndearnadh iliomat do chreachsluaigheadhaibh timchill fó Erinn, fear dár díleas August iarthair thuaisceirt Eorpa do rádh fris, d’fhaghail bháis iar mbuaidh ó dhomhan 7 o dheamhan, iar n-ongadh, 7 iar n-aithrighe tocchaighe ina longport fein i nDún na nGall dia hAóine do shonnradh isin cúiccidh Íd. Iulii, isin ochtmadh bliadhain seachtmoghath a aoisi, 7 isin ceathramhadh bliadhain ceathrachath a fhilatha, 7 a adhnacal i Mainistir Dúin na nGall.<sup>7</sup>

Two poems have survived with Aodh Ruadh as subject.<sup>8</sup> The earlier *Cia rer fuirgheadh feis Teamhra* (55 + 2 qq.) is attributed in two

<sup>7</sup> *AFM* V 1282-3; cf. *AU* III 474 (ending *isin ochtmadh bliadhain seachtmoghath a aisi 7 isin 4 bliadain cethorchad a fhlaithiusa, Sexta feria 7 a adhnacal Dia Sathairn a mainistir Duin na nGall*); for other obituaries concerning him, not including reference to his age, see *AC*, *ALC* s.a. 1505; his birth is recorded variously in entries s.a. 1420 (*AU*) and 1429 (*AC*).

<sup>8</sup> Aodh Ruadh was also a figure of literary legend, as witness some versions of the popular tale known variously as *Eachtra an Cheithearnaigh Chaoilriabhaigh* or *Ceithearnach Uí Dhomhnaill*, which according to T. F. O’Rahilly is to be ‘ascribed with fair certainty to the mid-sixteenth century’ (review of *Ceithearnach Uí Dhomhnaill* (Ó Muirgheasa, 1912) in *Gadelica* I/3 (1913) 206). These open with a visit by the principal character (*an ceithearnach*) to the castle of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill at Béal Átha Seanaigh; other versions give the party visited as Aodh Dubh (i.e. Aodh Ruadh’s son and successor in the lordship of Tír Conaill), however.



extant copies to ‘Ó Dálaigh Breithfne (Í Raghallaigh) .i. Seaán,<sup>9</sup> who is probably to be identified with a poet who died in 1490.<sup>10</sup> This runs as follows: ‘Who is it for whom Tara’s nuptial feast has been delayed? *Aodh Ó Domhnaill* is the one to whom Ireland looks to be her spouse; destiny and all of nature acclaim him as Tara’s king; all five provinces designate him; he is another *Conn Céadchathach* who vanquished his rival *Mogh Nuadhat* in the battle of *Magh Léana*’ (qq. 1-29). Then follows a *caithréim* recording a long series of battle encounters, including such datable events as the ousting by Aodh of *Toirrdhealbhach Cairbreach* (son of *Neachtan*) from the O’Donnell lordship (1461), the capture by him of Sligo Castle (1470), his burning of Dundalk (1483), and other campaigns conducted over a widely extended area (*Íochtar Connacht, Íbh Eachach, Fir Mhanach, Bréithfne, Iarthar Midhe, Dealbhna, Cairbre Laighean and Uachtar Connacht*) (qq. 30-55).

*Cionnas tig Éire gan Aodh, Ó Domhnaill’s* elegy, is the work of *Conchubhar Ruadh* (son of *Fearghal*) *Mac an Bhaird*, known also as ‘*Conchubhar Ruadh Mór*’,<sup>11</sup> a poet whose death annalists record for 20 December 1541, and whose son *Cú Uladh* and grandson *Maol Muire* (*mac Con Uladh*) are known also as poets.<sup>12</sup> At his death *Conchubhar Ruadh* was both head of his name (*Mac an Bhaird Tíre Conaill*) and *ollamh* in poetry to *Ó Domhnaill* (*sc.* *Maghnus* s. of *Aodh Dubh* s. of *Aodh Ruadh*).<sup>13</sup> It was probably in the latter capa-

<sup>9</sup> The text from Oxford MS Rawlinson B 514 is given by J. G. O’Keeffe, ‘Poems on the O’Donnells (1200-1600)’ *Irish Texts* 2 (1931) 96-103 (= no. 21); another copy in National Library of Ireland MS G 167 p. 89.

<sup>10</sup> *Ua Dálaigh Breifne, Sean mac Uilliam mic Aodha saoi le dán ... décc* (AFM IV 1180). The identification must remain tentative pending full analysis of the poem’s references to actual events and their date (see below).

<sup>11</sup> The evidence for the double sobriquet is found in headings accompanying a composition *Fuigheall formaid fuil Dálaigh* attributed to the poet’s son *Cú Uladh*, for notice of which see P. A. Breatnach, ‘A poem of protest’ *Celtica* 17 (1985) 91-100 (at p. 92 n. 5).

<sup>12</sup> *Cú Uladh* (see foregoing note) was the father of *Maol Muire*, notable as the author of a number of compositions addressed to *Aodh Ruadh* (*mac Aodha mic Maghnasa*) *Ó Domhnaill*; for details see Breatnach, ‘A poem of protest’ 91.

<sup>13</sup> (AFM V 1464-66) *Mac an Bhaird Conchobhar Ruadh mac Fearghail ollamh Uí Dhomhnaill lé dán oide scol 7 saoi gan urubhad i ffoghlaím an dána 7 i n-eal-adhnaibh oile, fear tige aoidhedh coitcinn do chongmhail 7 d’fothucchadh d’écc iar n-ongadh, 7 iar n-aithrighe an 20 December [1541];* (ALC II 332) *Mac In Baird Tíri Conaill .i. Conchobar Ruadh mac Ferghail .i. saoi fhir dána a bfoclaim ocus a*

city that we find him acting as a signatory and guarantor of an agreement drawn up between Maghnas Ó Domhnaill and Tadhg (son of Cathal Óg) Ó Conchobhair concerning the custody of Sligo Castle in June of 1539.<sup>14</sup> The fact that he outlived the subject of the present elegy by some thirty-five years indicates that Conchubhar Ruadh was Aodh Ruadh's junior by a considerable margin. Although his earlier career cannot be traced in detail, the nature of this composition and its frequent references to the status accorded by Ó Domhnaill to the author (qq. 5, 12-14, 17, 21) allow us to conclude that his tenure of the office of *ollamh Uí Dhomhnaill* dated from Aodh Ruadh's lifetime when the poet was still a young man.<sup>15</sup> That he enjoyed the esteem of his contemporaries is evident from the fact that two citations from *Cionnas tig Éire gan Aodh* occur in the *Irish Grammatical Tracts* (IGT II exx. 1637, 1754);<sup>16</sup> these qualify among the very latest citations to be accommodated in that source which dates from the first half of the sixteenth century in its extant form.

The poem begins with an apparent literary reference to the opening quatrains of *Cia rer fuirgheadh feis Teamhra* whereby Ireland is depicted as a widow sorrowing after the death of her spouse and the deceased is lamented not as king of Ulster merely — *ná cí 'na rígh Uladh é!* — but as one to whom all five provinces gave allegiance

---

*bferacht dána, ocus fer thighe n-aoidhidh do commail (sic) suas da cach ndae archena d'écc in bliadain sin [1541]; (AC 720) Mac an Baird Tíri Conoild .i. Conchobar Ruad mac Fergail, saí re dan 7 re fõghlaim 7 fer tighe oiged coitchinn, d'fagbail bais iar n-ongad 7 iar n-aitrighe [1541].*

<sup>14</sup> For details see P. A. Breatnach, 'The chief's poet' *PRIA* 83 C (1983) 37-79 (at pp 58-9). (The identity of the signatory of the agreement and the author of *Cionnas tig Éire gan Aodh*, tentatively suggested *ibid.* p. 59 n. 110, seems beyond reasonable doubt.) Cf. Breatnach, 'A poem of protest' 92 n. 8.

<sup>15</sup> On the topic of internal evidence for *ollamh* status in such poems see P. A. Breatnach, 'The poet's graveside vigil' *ZCP* 49/50 (1997) 50-63 (at pp 53-5); see further the note on *moirn* (q. 5b).

<sup>16</sup> See qq. 20cd, 16cd respectively (*variae lectiones*); the former citation is transmitted in two vellum manuscripts of the 16th century, referred to by Bergin in the edition as C (= RIA MS 1218 (C II 3) (sect. B), dated 1552, see *IGT* I p. ii) and C<sup>2</sup> (= RIA MS 1218 (C II 3) (sect. C) (cf. *RIA Cat.* p. 3267 ff.)); the latter citation is transmitted in the 17th century paper manuscript copy P (= RIA MS 752 (24 P 8)). Cf. P. A. Breatnach, 'The metres of citations in the Irish Grammatical Tracts' *Éigse* 32 (2000) 7-22 (at p. 14).

(q. 4).<sup>17</sup> The ensuing elegy leaves an impression of a deeply felt personal sorrow (see in particular qq. 5, 8, 12-14, 16-18, 21-25, 28, 31-37, 40-42, 46-51), while embodying also many of the themes and motifs commonly associated with the genre:

- The breaking news, later confirmed (*sgéal gan orraidh* 19; *dear-bhadh sgéal* 24, 31; *sgéala an chéidfhir* 32; *sgéal oile* 44)
- The feast of grieving (*fleadh orchra, f. bhróin* 11, 24, 35, 38)
- Sorrow's potion (*deoch bhróin* 24, 35, 37, 38, 41, 49)
- Tear-shedding (*déar* 5, 12, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 31, 35, 37, 44, 46) and tears of the colour red (*dath na gcaor/caor dhearg* 10, 20, 30, 34)
- Communal weeping (*comaidh chaoi* 4, 13, 32, cf. 51)
- The keening (*caoine* 15, 40, 43, 44, 46, 51; *caoi/gol* 17, 29, 33, 34, 36, 40, 46, 21; *cumha* 7, 29, 48)
- The poet must learn to keen (5, 34, 36)
- His sorrow is contagious (37)
- His vigil at the grave (*loighe* 16, 22, 27; *uain* 21, 27; *uille* 28)
- He reads the name inscribed (23)
- Others vie for a place at the grave (22, 39)
- The keening women (19, 22, 29, 41, 43)
- Clapping of hands (30).<sup>18</sup>

#### METRE

The metre is *rannai gheacht mhór* (7<sup>1</sup> 7<sup>1</sup>). Assonance instead of perfect rime occurs in one or both of the two internal correspondences in the opening couplet in up to one-half of all quatrains (viz. 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, 50, 51). This usage conforms with the rules for *rannai gheacht* (*r. mhór* and *r. bheag*) described in the later metrical handbooks by Ó hEódhusa and Ó Maolchonaire, according to which the internal requirements of the opening couplet (*seóladh*) are met either by perfect or broken rime (*comhardadh slán nó brisde*) or by assonance (*do réir amuis*).<sup>19</sup> However, compositions in *rannai gheacht* metres of earlier

<sup>17</sup> The scribe of MS *D* has marked this quatrain 'nota bene' in the margin.

<sup>18</sup> Concerning the thematic complex represented here see Breatnach, 'The poet's graveside vigil' *passim* (additional references in textual notes *infra*). Some items of less prominent imagery are dealt with below in the notes to qq. 6, 10, 23, 27.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *GBM* 98, ll. 2673-81; 135, ll. 3675-77.

date than the present one tend to show perfect internal rimes in both the first and second couplets of the quatrain. Accordingly, *Cionnas tig Éire gan Aodh* arguably marks a stage in the development of the metre in this respect.<sup>20</sup>

Two apparent anomalies relating to the practice of rime in opening couplets in this poem may be observed. (1) According to the rules of the later handbooks, the final words of lines *b* and *d* make perfect rime and *a* and *c* make consonance with them, but perfect rime between *a* and *c* is not permitted.<sup>21</sup> However, in the present poem *ac* make final rime in a half-dozen quatrains (qq. 9, 13, 17, 29, 32, 47), and in one further case this rime is of a word with itself (q. 36).<sup>22</sup> It is perhaps significant that in all but two of the affected quatrains (17, 47) the assonantal device known as *breacadh* is present.<sup>23</sup> *Breacadh* is commonly employed to offset the effect of the metrical fault known as *caoiche* in which a word rimes with itself.<sup>24</sup> Although the issue clearly requires further study, it seems plausible that a compensatory function may be indicated by *breacadh* in the present context also. (2) The repetition of one or more words in the first couplet is a rhetorically motivated feature common in opening quatrains as here (q. 1 *Cionnas tig/an dtig*);<sup>25</sup> it is also of frequent occurrence in the body of the poem (qq. 7, 10, 20, 25, 30, 39, 47, 48).

#### TRANSMISSION AND EDITION

The poem is transmitted in the following manuscripts:

- (N) National Library of Ireland G 992, f. 9r ('Nugent manuscript') (16th cent.)

<sup>20</sup> A full analysis of the evidence for this will appear elsewhere. For editorial policy governing such internal correspondences in opening couplets see below.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *GBM* 135 (ll. 3688-89): *ní dhlig uathne na cédcheathromhan don tseoladh coimhtheacht a ccomhardadh re haonfhocal don rann uile.*

<sup>22</sup> See textual note on q. 36a.

<sup>23</sup> Thus *breacadh* is given in qq. 9, 13, 29, 32 by repetition of the vowels *i, é, u, é*, respectively. (On special circumstances attending the use of *breacadh* in q. 36 see textual notes.)

<sup>24</sup> According to *GBM* 92 (ll. 2531-33) *caoiche* is excused in cases where the repeated word is used differently or where compensation is made in the quatrain in the form of *breacadh* (*Ní cóir focul do chomhardadh ris féin muna rabh claochlúdh céille san dara hionadh aige, nó muna rabh breacadh ann*).

<sup>25</sup> See comment by Cuthbert Mhág Craith, 'Anomalous rime in Irish bardic poetry' *Studia Celtica* 2 (1967) 171-95 (esp. p. 183 f.).

- (B) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique MS 6131-33, p. 27 ('Leabhar Inghine Í Dhomhnaill' 17th cent.)
- (C) Book of O'Conor Don, f. 168r (1631) (Photostat in University College Dublin)
- (D) Royal Irish Academy, MS 1 (23 D 14), p. 12 (17th cent.)
- (A) UCD-Franciscan MS A 32 (item 6) (17th cent.) (fragment)
- (G) NLI MS G 167, p. 102 (18th cent.)

Significant divergences among the manuscripts are rare, and all copies share a series of unclassical readings (9*b*, 12*a*, 16*c*, 22*b*, 27*a*, 29*c*, 33*a*, *c*, 34*a*). Only *N* and *D* appear close enough to be directly related. *D*'s dependence on *N* or a copy of it appears in readings throughout the text (e.g. 13*a*, 17*d*, 20*b*, 23*b*, 24*c*, 29*a*, 30*d*, 37*b*, 38*b*, 42*a*, *b*, 45*b*, *d*, 47*b*, 49*b*), most notably, however, in instances in which the form otherwise unique to *N* is copied and later corrected by the scribe to conform with other copies (29*a*, 32*b*, 41*b*). (*D* does not follow *N*'s error at 13*d*; minor variants unique to *D* are in 6*b*, 8*b*, 10*a*, 14*d*, 25*a*, 33*a*, 36*c*, 39*b*, 49*a*, 50*b*, 51*b*.) *N* (usually with *D*) apart from being the oldest witness occasionally preserves older grammatical usage and includes a number of other superior readings against the remaining manuscripts (e.g. 2*d*, 3*c*, 4*a*, 5*a*, 6*a*). *B* furnishes a small number of superior readings (5*d*, 16*c* (= *IGT*), 26*a* (= *G*), 47*b*), others that are faulty (2*d*, 24*d*, 28*d*, 29*a*, *b*) and numerous additional independent variants mainly of a minor kind (5*a*, 11*a*, 13*a*, 14*a*, 16*a*, 22*a*, *b*, 23*b*, 28*b*, 44*a*, *d*). It also shares some readings with *C* of which few are significant, however (e.g. 21*b*, 37*a*). *C* itself has some errors unique to it (19*a*, 20*d*, 48*b*, 49*d*) as well as a short series of other minor variants (e.g. 7*b*, 10*a*, 14*cd*, 35*a*, 38*a*, 41*a*, and the corrected readings at 15*a*, 43*c*); apart from variants in common with *B* (above), it also shares a few superior readings in common with *G* (6*b*, 21*d*, 29*a*). *G* stands apart among all manuscripts as the only copy to include q. 18 which is clearly integral to the poem.<sup>26</sup> Apart from the superior readings shared with *B* and *C* (above), others are unique to it (33*b*, 39*d*, 44*a*); *G*'s remaining unique readings are for the most part inferior, however (e.g. 1*b*, 2*b*, 8*d*, 10*c*, 15*a*, 22*a*, *c*,

<sup>26</sup> See textual note on q. 18.

28*a*, 34*a*, 36*a*, 37*c*, *d*). *A* has the final ten quatrains only;<sup>27</sup> the majority of variant readings unique to it are inferior (43*a*, *b*, 44*a*, 45*c*, 46*b*, 49*a*).

The *N* copy provides the basis for the edition, with readings from other witnesses and classical forms substituted for unclassical as appropriate. It may be noted that since perfect rime in opening couplets is optional (see above) it has not been supplied editorially unless supported by one or other of the manuscript copies, even in those instances in which recourse could have been had to a recognised alternative form not supplied by the manuscripts (see q. 14*b* n.); on the other hand, where such a form is present in one or more copies it has been adopted (e.g. 20*b*, 26*a*, 33*b*, 41*a*, 49*b*). In the absence of perfect rime, assonating forms are supplied as required (e.g. 22*a*, 41*b*).

## NOTE

This edition was begun by the late Professor R. A. Breatnach, who brought both text and translation to an advanced stage of completion. These have here been revised and introduction and notes have been added.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> See *Cat. FLK* 69.

<sup>28</sup> I am grateful to Dr Katharine Simms for helpful comments on a draft of this article.

## CONCHUBHAR RUADH MAC AN BHAIRD CC.

1. Cionnas tig Éire gan Aodh?  
An dtig re céile ar n-a crádh?  
Sgíth le croidhe ciall na sgéal,  
léan riamh is goire don ghrádh.
2. An chéadtoil mharas ag mnaoi  
a tréagadh ní lamhthar lé;  
dá mbeith fear lér dhéanta dhí,  
bean Da-Thí ní fhéacfa é.
3. Tárraidh Éire d'oighre Néill  
céile nach foighbhe go fóill;  
tug gan fhear Thulaigh an Trír  
ag rígh nár chubhaidh bean bhróin.

## TRANSLATION

1. How fares Ireland without Aodh? Can a spouse in torment go on? The import of the tidings grieves the heart, sorrow ever being nearest to love.

2. The first enduring love a woman has she dare not forswear. Should a man be to hand who might warrant her doing so, the spouse of *Da Thí* will not countenance him.

3. It has befallen Ireland that because of the descendant of Niall she will not gain a consort for now; since a woman in mourning is not a fitting spouse for a king *Tulach an Trír* must be without a husband accordingly.

*Headings* *Concubar rúadh mac an bháird cc ND; Concubar rúadh mhac an bhaird cecenit B; concobar mac an bhaird cc C; marbhnaith an Aodh ruaidh chenda [Ó Domhnaill .i. Aodh Ruadh mac Néill Ghairbh] do righne mac an bháird .i. concho-bar ruadh G*

**1** *b* ttís G le B: ré D chéile DG *d* as BND gaire G

**2** *a* -tol G: -thol C: -thoil *cet.* mhaire N: mhairios BD *b* tréigion B: tréicceadh G lamhar G *c* rer ND *d* treabh B fhécfá N: fhechfa B: fhéachfa DCG he BD

**3** *a* tárraidh N: tarthaidh C: tarraidh *cet.* doidhre N *b* foighbhe C: bfoighbhe BDG: foidhbhe N *c* tu. DBCG *d* bróin B

4. Cúig thíre i gcomaidh dá chaoi  
san ríge nach ronnadh sé;  
rí dár bh umhal tír Dha-Thí,  
ná cí 'na rígh Uladh é!
5. Do-bhéara oirn fhoghlaím déar  
i moirn Í Dhomhnaill, más díol;  
iúl na caoine gur chuir fúm,  
níor sguir tnúdh na ndaoine dhíom.
6. Sgéal naoidhe ina gcuirfe chéill  
le haoidhidh dtuinne go tráigh;  
níor thaitigh an tonn i dtír  
gan rígh gur aithin Fonn Fáil.
7. Cumha na ndaoine 's na ndúl,  
ní saoilte an chumha do chlódh;  
ní hé ar mbróinne a-bháin budh bríogh,  
do-róine an tsíon báidh rem brón.

4. Five provinces bewail him in unison in the kingdom he did not divide; lament not as a king of *Ulaidh* a king to whom *Da Thí*'s land gave allegiance.

5. The favour Ó Domhnaill showed (towards me) will force me to learn how to shed tears, if that is a fitting return for it; until it taught me the art of keening the people's envy did not deflect from me.

6. New tidings in which she (i.e. Ireland) will put meaning came ashore with a strange wave; the wave did not come on land before perceiving that the land of *Fál* was without a king.

7. The grief of the people and of the elements is grief that no-one could think to suppress. Not my sorrow alone was of account; the weather reacted in sympathy with it.

**4** *Note in margin in D:* 'NB' a tí. DBCG a gcomhaidh N: a ccomhuigh C da B: om. CG caoí NDG b sa C rondadh B c dar N: darb C da N: dha cet. tí N: thf with í altered to aoi B d na B ci (followed by letter space) N: caoí B

**5** a fhodhlaim N: fo. cet. dheor B b i CG: a NBD mu. G ui G d tnúdh NDCG

**6** a ce. DBCG b haoidhidh dtuinne N: háoibhe ttuinne D: háoidhe tuinne CG: haoidhigh tuinne B traidh N c thathaidh B: tháthuigh C a mss d athain BC

**7** b sháoilte C c bhúdh N bríodh N: brígh B d -roinne BC tsin báigh B lem C



8. Annamh fear nach fill a shéan –  
ní rinn nachar bhean a bhríogh;  
ó so amach ní fheadar m'eól;  
do leagadh seól don rath ríogh.
9. Mairidh cuimhne a luisne lé,  
an tuirse gé duilghe dhí;  
brón falaigh ar Thulaigh dTé,  
cumhain lé gur adhain í.
10. A rath ní chreidinn do chlódh,  
do chreidinn don rath fa-ríor!  
do bhí a dath ar dheóir an druadh  
gomadh tuar leóin an rath ríogh.
11. Tearc fear i n-easbhaidh a hiúil,  
an fhleadhsóin nachar fhleadh shuain;  
ní fhuil teagh acht 'na thoigh óil,  
fleadh bhróin in gach toigh badh thuaidh.

8. 'Rare the man whose good fortune does not falter' – the saying has relevance indeed for me. Henceforth what I know I know not; the sail has been lowered for the king's good fortune.

9. The memory of his glowing countenance still lives with her although the grief is distress to her; for *Tulach Té* it is a hidden sorrow – she remembers that he gave her fire.

10. I did not believe his good fortune would change. Alas! I put faith in good fortune. The colour of the druid's teardrop foretold that the royal good fortune would be an omen of grief.

11. Few were unaware of that feast that was no feast of slumber; there is no dwelling but is a house of drinking; in every house to the north is a feast of sorrow.

**8** a bhfill G b linn B: sonn D brí. B: bhrígh C: bhriodh N c fheadair N: fheadamh (?) G mheól BD

**9** b do. mss c falaidh B tu. G thé B: té C d hí B

**10** a an (r.) D chreidind BG: creidinn ND: creidim C cl. B b creidind B fá-. ND c a om. G dhath BC

**11** a fhear C a ne. mss heoil B b fl-. C: fhleagh-. B passim –sin G c fu. C to. BC d bróin BD bhadh B

38 †R. A. BREATNACH AND P. A. BREATNACH

12. I n-íoc gráidh Í Dhomhnaill dúinn  
ní chongbhaim ar dháil mo dheór;  
ar an deirc do bhreith ní bhéar  
ceilt sgéal 's a mbeith in gach beól.
13. Dob fhiú an anáir do fhéagh mé  
gabháil ris an léan gach laoi;  
ní híoc muirne ollaimh é,  
dá bhfuilnge mé i gcomaidh chaoi.
14. Sé i gcionn ar roimheadhra riamh,  
sinn do dhoimheanma dá díol;  
táraidh ní don mheanma mhór  
rí ar an mbrón go ndearna díom.
15. Seachnaid daoine Dún na nGall  
do rún na caoine 'na gcionn;  
níor thoghtha an cuan do chuan long  
fár bhual an tonn orchra ionn.

12. In return for Ó Domhnaill's love for me, I do not restrain the flow of my tears; I will not constrain the eye to conceal tidings that are in every mouth.

13. The honour I experienced warranted continuance of grief day after day; no fitting return is it for the favour shown an *ollamh* if I suffer in a communal weeping.

14. He was ever exhorting my high spirits; with my dejection I requite it. He benefited from the great exhilaration until I became the king of sorrow.

15. People stay away from *Dún na nGall* because of awareness of the keening that awaits them; the harbour where the wave of ruin struck us deserved not its being chosen as a haven for ships.

**12** a i: a *mss* íoc B *gráidh* NDC: ghr. BG dúinn *mss* b co. C: connmhaim BN: chonnmhaim D c bre. B d ce. na s. (*with na crossed out*) B ann (gach) C

**13** a fiu B onoir B: uair ND fhéc N: fhéich BD: fhég C b ris an B: risin ND: leisin C: leis an G c mú. D he B d bhfuilgin me N i G: a *cet.* gcummaidh G ca. B

**14** a accinn C ar: a B b sind B le doimhe. BC aga C dhiol BG cd *This couplet and 15cd transposed and marked 'a' and 'b' in margin respectively in C c* taraidh ND: tarrus C mhoir B: moir C d ar an: don D: an G bhrón D díom N: dhí. *cet.*

**15** a seachnaidh G: seigin (*written above: † seachnuid*) C dhun C c nir B d bhuaill BDG inn CG

16. Cíodh fá bhfuighinn toil do thriall  
don chloich ar a gcuirim taobh?  
seacht dtroighe is uaisle don úr  
fúm ag loighe ar th'uaighse, a Aodh.
17. Tuirse ar leith do mheabhraigh mé  
le beith 'na leanmhain gach laoi;  
ó nár caitheadh ribh mo ré,  
do dhligh mé a caitheamh réd chaoi.
18. Ní lamhaim mo dhearc do dhíon,  
ó bhar bhfeart ní fhaghaim eól;  
bréagthar leanb ar th'fhiort, a Aodh,  
i riocht gur caor dhearg mo dheór.
19. Go ndiongnadh caoi tar a céill  
do mhnaoi níor iongnadh ar h'uaigh;  
níor chongaibh dearc ar a deóir  
ar dteacht sgeóil gan orraidh uaibh.

16. How should I conceive a desire to leave this gravestone upon which I rest my side? Seven feet of the most noble earth are beneath me as I lie on your grave, o Aodh.

17. Exceptional sorrow gave me the mind to continue it day by day; since you did not live for my life-span, I was bound to spend it in lamenting you.

18. I do not dare to cover my eyes; from your grave I find no escape; a child is drawn to your burial mound, o Aodh, as though a tear-drop of mine were a red berry.

19. It was no wonder that a woman should weep beyond her control on your grave; when an unvouched report came no eye held back its tear.

**16** *a cred B fa mss bhfuidhinn N b cl. B cd = IGT ii 1754 c dtroighe B, IGT: ttroughthi NDCG úr IGT: úir mss d fuinn BCG loighe: loidhe v.l. IGT, not legible in N húaighse B, IGT*

**17** *a tuirrsi C mheabraidh B b re B: lé na C beith N, (lenition point added later over b) B: bheith cet. c libh C d dl. BC chaitheamh ND ca. B*

**18** *Quatrain in G only c a om. a (r.)*

**19** *a che. C b nirbh B thú. BC: tuaigh D c ni B: nír D chonnuimh NDB d urraidh B: orruigh C*

40 †R. A. BREATNACH AND P. A. BREATNACH

20. Ní dath ar dhéaraibh budh dual  
a ndéanaimh ar dhath na gcaor;  
ní dheachaidh déar i riocht riamh  
nár fhéagh cliar ós t'fhiort, a Aodh.
21. Tuigid féin go ndlighthir dhíbh  
gan dréim re t'fhillidh fán uain;  
an éirghe do chleacht ré gcléir  
'na reacht ag féin Éirne ar t'uaigh.
22. Gion go leigthir mé ar a muin  
don leic-sin ní théid mo thail;  
ní hé aoinfheart a-tá is-tigh,  
a mhná, is sibh i n-aoinfheacht air.
23. Léaghadh th'anma, a eighir Néill,  
is damhna dom dheithbhir bhróin;  
do-chuaidh fám fhreasdal déar dhúin  
an tsúil do fhéagh t'easgar óir.

20. It is not a natural colour for tears to be made the colour of berries; never did a teardrop take on a colour (*lit.* form) that poets did not behold over your grave, o Aodh.

21. They themselves appreciate that they are obliged not to compete with your poet for the vigil; the order of rising before poets the soldiery of *Éirne* practised is observed by them on your grave.

22. Although I am not allowed on it, my desire does not waver from that grave-stone; it is not the only grave that is within, o women, and you are (all) on it together!

23. Reading your name, o descendant of Niall, has caused my rush of sorrow; the eye that beheld your golden goblet has affected my response of tears.

20 *b* ndéanamh ND, (*with i added later below* a) B dath G *cd* = IGT ii 1637 *c* a  
B *d* fhech NDB ós: ar C

21 *a* ndlighthear G *d*ibh G: dhiobh BC *b* red fh. G *fa* túain B: fattuain C *c* ria C  
*d* na (re.) CG: an NDB *huaigh* B: thuaidh C

22 *a* gion go: gen G léigthear NDG: leicthir C: leigthir B *b* leicse B *thoil* *mss* *c*  
asdtigh N: astegh G: astigh *cet.* *d* as (sibh) N an aoin-. *mss*

23 *a* leagadh B *t'a.* C: anma B *a om.* B *eigre* C: oidhir N: oighir D: eidhir G *b*  
is B: as *mss* dá. D *don* ND *dheithbhir* CG: *deithfear* ND: *dheibhiodh* B *bróin*  
BCG *c*-chóidh C *dhér* C *dhúinn* BC *d* súil C *fhegh* (*corrected later from fhech*)  
B: légh NDC: *leagh* (*tall e*) G *t'e.* ND: he. B: the. *cet.*

24. Níor an dearc re dearbhadh sgéal,  
is fleadh ar bearnadh an brón;  
déar 'na héanar do fhear uam,  
dual an fhleadh d'fhéaghadh ré n-ól.
25. Do-ní an cridhe a dhúthracht déar,  
ní dúthracht nach dlighthear dhíom.  
Cá huaisle crodh ar an gceól?  
Mo dheór uaimse ag dol 'na dhíol.
26. Cá fearr cairte ar chánaibh cáigh  
ag maicne Dhálaigh id dhiaidh?  
Lór na geimhle falmha fuair  
dot eighre d'uaim Bhanbha Briain.
27. Ní fhuair sgol an uain dob ál  
acht dol ar h'uaigh mar gach n-aon;  
a breath féin do chleacht an chliar,  
do bhiadh réidh ar t'fheart, a Aodh.

24. No eye awaited confirmation of the tidings; grief is a feast that has got underway (?). A single tear fell from me: 'it is proper to test a feast before drinking'.

25. The heart makes its due offering of tears; that is indeed a service from me that is owing. Is stock in return for music more worthy? From me my tear is its equivalent.

26. What better claims are there to the tributes of all for the descendants of Dálach after you? The empty fetters he has inherited are sufficient for your successor to bind together the land of Brian.

27. Poets did not get the vigil they desired, but could only access your grave like everyone else. Poets were accustomed to having their demands granted; they would readily approach your burial mound, o Aodh.

24 a le CG b as mss bérnadh D bróin (*with i expunged*) D c deór ND uaim B d flegth dféchain re B

25 a cridhe B: croidhe *cet.* a *om.* ND dú. D b díom N c ga B d mo: do *with †* mo *written above* C dul G díol BC

26 a ga BG cairt ND b dá. NDC ad B: it GC d dot oidri N: dot oighre G bhanbha N: ba. *cet.*

27 a fu. B ail mss b dhol C húaigh D: húaigh N: thúaidh C: thúaidh BG d hfert N: thfe. G: tfeart B

42 †R. A. BREATNACH AND P. A. BREATNACH

28. Dob iongnadh an t-adhbhar tnúidh  
an iomdha nach adhbha shuain;  
dá mbeith éad ar dhuine dhíbh  
créad do-ním dom uille ar th'uaigh?
29. Ní hí an chumha nach bí ar bun;  
cia dhínn is lugha dá lean?  
ní ar ghol laoi budh dual a dhul;  
ag gul 'na suan do bhaoi bean.
30. Cloch ó mbí dath ar gach deóir,  
ní hí an chloch ar nach bí buaidh;  
ní thig dearna ar a dath féin  
a-mach le féin Eamhna ót uaigh.
31. Osglaidh mé doirse na ndeór  
don toirse suil téid a rún;  
ní dearnadh ach mo dhíoth déar  
críoch na sgéal gur dearbhadh dún.

28. How strange a matter for envy was the bed that is no place of slumber! Should one of their number be envious, what will I do with my elbow resting on your grave?

29. This is not mourning that is not sustained; which of us does it least engage? Not by a day's weeping should his passing be worthily marked; one woman was weeping (even) as she slept.

30. A gravestone that causes every tear to change colour is a stone of special quality indeed! None of the warriors of *Eamhain* emerges from your grave whose palm retains its normal colour.

31. I open the doors that hold back my tears before grief's intent falters; only a portion of my tears had been shed when the final outcome was confirmed for me.

**28** *a iongnamh* G tnúith BC *b iomdhaidh* B tsuain B: suain C *d dot* G don uile B huaidh N: húaigh D: túaidh C

**29** *a bia* ND ar bun CG: ar baidh (b. *smudged*) N: ar baidh (b. *crossed out and ar bun written above with following note at foot of page: 'ar bun, an dá fhocal úd atá os cionn an cheidlíne don dá líne dheigheancha')* D: ar bail B *b as* NC da CG: do B *c ghul mss dol* G *d bhí* NDBC

**30** *b cloch* B *d nE.* ND

**31** *a doirse mss b toirrsi mss sul mss (corrected from ni)* G théid G *c dhearnadh* G dhíth BC *d dúinn* N: dhuinn B

32. Sgéala an chéidfhir níor chreid mé;  
 éigean a bheith mar do bhaoi;  
 go gcluinim ó orraidh é,  
 do fhuiling mé i gcomaidh chaoi.
33. Ar feadh caoi Í Dhomhnaill dúnn  
 do bhaoi m'fhoghlaim ag gach aon;  
 do chuir mé mo ghal i ngníomh,  
 gur ghabh dhíom an té rem thaobh.
34. Ní re a cleachtadh is fhearr í,  
 an cheard dá leantar gach laoi;  
 ar dheóir ndeirg ní fhuighinn é,  
 cuirim lé nach ceird an chaoi.
35. Do léig fear ar dhéanamh ndéar  
 an fhleadh ina héanar uadh,  
 neach as mo láimh ní ibh fhíon  
 ní íobh an ndigh nach áil uam.

32. I did not credit the first man's message; it had to be so. Until I heard (*lit.* hear) from a vouched source I endured weeping in communion.

33. While I wept for Ó Domhnaill everyone could learn from me (?); I gave vent to my weeping and the person beside me took off from me.

34. The art pursued day after day is none the better for practising it; I could not do it for a red teardrop; besides (?), keening is no art.

35. One man moved away from the drinking for the sake of shedding tears; one refuses wine out of my hand; I will not drink the draught he declines to accept from me.

**32** a an; in B nir B b dob eigen (*with first word crossed out by scribe*) B be. BC bhí NB, (*before correction*) D c urraidh NDC d do fhulaing NG: dfuluing C a B cumaidh D: comuidh C caoi BG

**33** a chaoi B do. D d(h)uinn *mss* b bhaói G: bhi *cet.* mhfhó. D: mfhodhluim N c ghul *mss* a *mss* d gar (ghabh) N gabh C

**34** a le DCG cleacht G as NDG: budh BC ferr *mss* hi B b in B ce. CG c dhéir BG fhuidhinn N: bhfuighinn D d le B cerd in caoi C

**35** a léig B: leig *cet.* neach B ag dénamh G ndéar C: dé(a)r *cet.* b fhleagh B: fleadh C na C uaidh BC c mo *not legible* in N fhíon G, (*lenition of f later*) B: fion NDC d íobh *not legible* in N digh BCG uaim BC

44 †R. A. BREATNACH AND P. A. BREATNACH

36. Do-ní an t-osnadh d'éigin é  
nach éidir cosnamh re caoi;  
'na bhrón chéillidh is fhearr é  
ní éirigh sé leam gach laoi.
37. Rem fhaicsin ag dáil mo dheór,  
ní háil an faidsin an fíon;  
mairg lé bhfaghair mh'uille ag ól,  
gabhaidh brón gach duine dhíom.
38. A bhfleadh orchra um eighir Néill  
leigid ortha ó láimh do láimh;  
níor fhearr an teagh do thoigh óil,  
an fhleadh bhróin a-moigh ag mnáibh.
39. Iomdha fear agá bhfuil grádh  
ar an bhfeart fá bhfuil ar dtnúdh;  
fuair an uaighse don fhuil ríogh  
sól do chuir an uaisle i n-úr.

36. The force of the sobbing is such that there is no contending with keening; restrained sorrow is preferable, (yet) not every day do I achieve that.

37. For as long as he sees me shedding my tears he has no desire for the wine: pity the one who is seated at my elbow when drinking, (for) everyone is affected by my grief.

38. They set about (?) their mourning feast for Niall's successor one and all; the house was no better as a place of drinking, women held the feast of grieving outside.

39. Many persons of high rank are on the mound which is the object of my yearning; this grave has taken a scion of the blood of kings who has put nobility (itself) into the clay.

**36** *a* osnamh G deigen NDB he BC *b* fé. BG *c* bhrón D: brón NC: bron BG ceillidh BN: cheillidhe G is: dob B: as *cet.* fe. NDB he BC: é NDG *d* eiridh N *se mss.*

**37** *a* mfa. B ma N dhéar BC *b* in B faitsin ND: fhadsin C *c* le *mss* bfaghair B maille G: muille NDC *d* gabhaidh: *lenition of d doubtful*, N: gabhaid G díom B

**38** *a* orcra B im N *b* leigid B: léigid ND: leigidh C: léigidh G orra D: orrtha N: uirthé C (lá.) go (lá.) NDC *c* níor bhfearr BCG na toigh G *d* fle. BC bróin NDC amuigh C: a moidh N

**39** *a* gradh B *b* fa N bhfoil D ttuith BG: dtnúth ND: tuuidh C *d* an úr G: an úir *cet.*



40. Re Dún na nGall do bhaoi ar mbáidh,  
'na bharr ar an gcaoi do chóidh;  
an tonn mheanma do fhill uaim,  
do chuaidh linn go bearna an bhróin.
41. Magh Murbhaigh d'fhéaghadh gan Aodh,  
cungnamh do-bhéaradh dom brón;  
na tolcha ar a n-ibhinn fhíon  
díobh dhlighim an orchra dh'ól.
42. Do-rinne an céadchrádh díoth dúnn;  
ní fríoth acht an t-éanghrádh uann;  
ní thoillfe im chroidhe an dá chrádh,  
ní foighthe grádh oile uam.
43. Beag ré n-adhain brón na mban;  
tós ná gabhaidh ar an ngul!  
biaidh déar ar do bhreith, a bhean,  
feith re fear na sgéal do sgur!

40. *Dún na nGall* was dear to us; that added more to the keening; the wave of feeling that turned away from me accompanied me to sorrow's breach.

41. To look at the plain of *Murbhach* without Aodh would lend support to my sorrow; I owe it to the hillocks where I was wont to quaff wine, that I drink of sorrow's cup.

42. The first affliction left me bereft, one love only was ever got from me; you will not find room in my heart for two torments; you will not get another love from me.

43. It takes little to kindle the grief of the women – do not take the lead with the weeping! You will have a tear at your bidding, o woman! Wait for the man of the news to finish!

40 a ré C bhí NDB b an: in B: ar G

41 a madh N dfhechain NDB b congnamh mss dom NCG: don DB bhron G, (mark of lenition added) B: bhróin N, (with i expunged) D c fíon CD d dhiobh G dl. BCG an *urcra* C dól ND

42 A begins a –roinne N: róine D -cradh BC: -ghrádh ND: -ghrádh A díoth D: dith *cet.* dhuinn BGC: duinn NA: dhúinn D b bfrith B: fríth GCA uaim ND: uainn BCG: úaind A c thu. DCG: to. B: tu. A um B: am NDA: an G: im C cro. GA -chrádh G, (corrected from ghrádh) D: cradh C d fóidhthe N: bfoighthe B: fuighthe GDC: fuigte A uam G: uaim NBGA: uainn D

43 a lé N: le DB: re CG nadhaint A b ghul A c bhreith: dhreich (with † breith written above) C d feich DCG ar NDG fhear G scur B

- 46 †R. A. BREATNACH AND P. A. BREATNACH
44. Sgéal dár deireadh dáil ar ndeór,  
a chreideamh níor áil le haon;  
taisgidh croidhe a dhiamhair déar  
ag iarraidh sgéal oile ó Aodh.
45. Ní hé bríogh na bhfoghadh féin  
budh cosnamh ar an tír thuaidh;  
ag so ghaoi mar chronna cáigh,  
ní horra amháin do bhaoi an bhuidh.
46. Ní budh caoi ar Ó nDomhnaill dúinn  
ar chaoi dá gcongbhainn do thaom;  
déar í agus déar mo dheór  
déar le ceól an tí rem thaobh.

44. The tale whose end is a flood of tears: no one wished to credit it; the heart hides its secret teardrops while seeking other tidings from Aodh.

45. It was not the power of the small spears themselves that defended the northern country; they are spears like other spear-shafts; not on them alone did victory depend.

46. It would be no fitting lament for Ó Domhnaill if I were to restrict weeping to a single bout; a tear and my tear of tears (?) is the tear to music of the person at my side.

**44** *a* dhe. B ar ndeór G: ar ndear B: a ndeór NDC: i ndeór A *b* chreideadh BG: creideamh CA nirbh B: ní A: nir *cet.* hail A re B: lé D *c* cride A di. A déar (*corrected from sccel*) A *d* go hi. B

**45** *a* hí B bríodh N: bríogh D: brígh *cet.* *b* bú A cosmhail ND risin D dtír C thu. BDA *c* so *om.* A ghaoi N: gcáoi A: gaoi *cet.* do cronuiph caich A *d* bhí ND: bí A bu. A

**46** *a* bú A: bhudh N duinn NBC: dúin D *b* gcaoi B: ccaoi C: caoi A cconnmhuinn NDB: ccongmhainn C taom (?) B: táomh A *c* der A et GA ma N deór A *d* re CA an: ón A taoph A

47. Díot táinig Éire gan uaim,  
 rér dtréinne táinig a súil;  
 an mithigh libh aghadh uainn,  
 a fhir fuair taradh an tnúidh?
48. Cumha Í Dhomhnaill, mar is dual,  
 ní cumha ar a gcongbhaim clár;  
 fada mé rem rosg do riar,  
 is é is ciall don tosd i dtám.
49. Tarla neimh na dighe dhúinn  
 do-bheir an cridhe fá chiaigh;  
 a fhir dá ndéanaim dhigh mbróin,  
 féaghaim róimh an ndigh 's id diaidh.

47. Because of you Ireland has not been united; her hope that we should prevail has perished; o you who knew the fruit of envy, do you think it is timely to turn away your face from us?

48. Grief for Ó Domhnaill as is natural is not grief I keep under cover; long am I concerned to keep my eye in check; that is the reason for my silence.

49. The potency of the liquor has affected me and grieves the heart; o man for whom I make a draught of sorrow, I see you have left the drink untouched.

**47** a dhíot G: díoth A uaimh A b lér ttréine AC táinic DA: tanaig G a suil B: a (after correction from do) shuil C: do (added later by scribe) hshuil N: do hsúil D: do shuil G: do suil A c liph A aghaidh NDB uaim CG: uaimh A d toradh BC tuith G, -th corrected later to -dh B

**48** a as BNDC b a om. A cconnbhaim BD: congbhaim A glár C c lem DC d as e is BC: as (h)é as DG a ttám BD: i ttám A

**49** a nimh D neimh na: menma A, (after correction from 'menma') C dighe (after correction from 'airghe') A dhúin D b -bhir ND: bera A mo chr. G: in croidhe A croidhe NC fa mss ci. A: chiaidh (lenition of c doubtful) B c digh DBC: dicch A bróin A d fechaim B: feghain A róim G: roimh A digh B in digsi it diaigh A: a ttigset dháigh C sad diaigh B: sad dháigh D: sad dhiaidh G

48 †R. A. BREATNACH AND P. A. BREATNACH

50. An doigh chumhadh do chóidh tríom  
ó nach dóigh a dula ar gcúl  
(ní cneasda im loingse acht a lán)  
slán na toirse feasda fúm!

51. Ní tréigthear mo chonchlann caoi,  
comhthrom in gach éintigh í;  
teach gan daoine dob eadh é  
gibé teagh gan chaoine ad-chí.

CIONNAS

50. Since the pang of sorrow that went through me is not likely to recede (in my cup no more than its fill is fitting), I defy grief from henceforth!

51. The weeping that is the counterpart of mine is sustained; it is matched in every house; any dwelling you see where there is no weeping is (*lit.* was) a house without people.

50 *a* cumha A thr. BDG *b* o nach (*after correction from ni*) B dul D: dola G: dhola C c am C boingse (?) B: lu. NDG *d* toirre NB: tuirrsi DCGA *fdaa* (*sic*) D fúm G

51 *a* tréigthir B: treigeamh A chonchlond B: chonglonn A: conchlonn C *b* ann C éinteg D: éindigh G hí B c bú et é A hé C *d* cidh be A ca. CGA it cí A

## NOTES

*2ab* The proverbial character of the couplet is evident from comparison with similarly proverbial lines, e.g. *gibé cédtoil do-bhir bean / toil sin nach édtair d'fhilleadh* (tr. 'whatever the first love a woman gives is love that cannot be deflected') (*Cia ré gcuirfínn séd suirghe*, ed. P. A. Breatnach, *Celtica* 16 (1984) 70, q. 17*cd*, and consult references there cited). For other proverbialisms see qq. 3*d*, 8*a*, 10*d*, 24*d*, 50*c*.

*c dá mbeith* The predicate is here elided as often. The absence of tense sequence (*dá mbeith ... ní fhéacfa*) is a syntactic anomaly; similarly qq. 13*cd*, 28*cd*.

*3a oighre Néill* The subject of the elegy was son of Niall Garbh (see Introduction).

*cd* This evocation of the sovranity motif rests on the idea that a woman in mourning is disqualified as a potential spouse; compare the couplet *go dtuigeadh féin nach bhféadar / bréagadh croidhe i mbí toirre* (tr. 'in order that she might understand that a heart full of sorrow cannot be won') (*Croidhe so dá ghoid uainne* = DG no. 49, q. 2*cd*).

4 The quatrain contains a literary reference to section of the earlier composition *Cia rer fuirghtheadh feis Temhra* in which Aodh Ruadh is represented as being assured of the support of the five provinces in claiming the title of ‘Rí Teamhra’ (qq. 12-19) (see above p. 30).

5a The theme of ‘learning to shed tears’ is common, e.g. *Déanaid feasda foghlaim guil / ós é is énobair d’Ulltaibh* (tr. ‘let the men of Ulster learn to weep henceforward since that will be their sole occupation’) (*Do caitheadh aoibhneas Uladh*, Book of O’Conor Don, f. 239v, q. 5ab).

*déar* We should expect *ndéar*.

b *moirn* For the connotation of special status attaching to this term and its synonyms *grádh* (12a), *anáir* (13a), see Breatnach, ‘The chief’s poet’ 44 f.

c *gur chuir fúm* An idiomatic expression of uncertain meaning.

cd For a similar juxtaposition of the poet’s mourning with that of common folk see below q. 33.

6 Panegyric imagery often evokes the dryness of beaches owing to the calm of the sea and the shallowness of lakes and rivers from the heat of the sun as tokens of prosperous rule (e.g. *DDána* no. 109, q. 11; O’Keeffe, ‘Poems on the O’Donnells’ no. 21, q. 22). Here the converse imagery occurs of the sea in turmoil and waves thrown up on the shore marking the death of the ruler (see also q. 15d). The pathetic fallacy is pursued further in the following quatrain.

a *gcuirfe* The verb (3 sing. fut. dep.) agrees anticipatively with nom. *fonn Fáil*.

8c Cf. the Socratic saying ‘I know that I do not know’; expresses the poet’s utter desolation.

d *rath ríogh* ‘royal good fortune’ (also q. 10d); *séan* is a synonym (8a).

9b *gé* More correctly *giodh*, cf. *Éigse* 15/1 (1973) 49, q. 11 n.

10c a *dath* The proleptic feminine possessive pronoun *a* anticipates *deó(i)r*; the masculine alternative of some manuscripts (*a dhath*) anticipates the phrase *gomadh tuar* etc.

*deór an druadh* The motif of the druid’s teardrop as a presage of death occurs elsewhere albeit without reference to its colour, e.g. *do aithin mé ar dheóir an druadh / tuar an leóin is sé slán* (tr. ‘I knew by the druid’s tears that sorrow was in the offing while he was (still) alive’) (*Cumhaidh focas onóir ríogh*, Book of O’Conor Don, f. 360r, q. 15cd). A possible origin for it may be the story told in the genealogies of the Airghialla concerning the prophecy of Dubh Comair, the druid of Fiacha Sraibhtine, who foretold that Fiacha would be slain by ‘the three Collas’ in the battle of Dub Comair (Book of Leinster ff. 332c-333a = *LL* VI 1454-55; see the later version in *LCAB* 48). While no reference to tears shed by Dubh Comair occurs in that narrative a version recounted by Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn in the course of an apologue in the elegiac composition *Anois do tuigfidhe Tadhg* (= *AithdD*. no. 10, qq. 18-26) represents the druid as tearfully bringing the results of his divinations before Fiacha: *Ar Thadhg aithintear gur fhóir / sgéala an druadh*

*d'fhios an airdríogh; / tig ag caoi dá chliathuibh fis / a dhraoi d'Fhiachaidh ga n-aithris* (q. 21). The aspect of the teardrop's colour evoked in our text is linked to the well-documented elegiac imagery of 'tears of blood' (see below qq. 18, 20, 30, 34).

14a *ar roimheadhra* For the application of the term *meadhair* in this context cf. *anóir ríogh as meadhair mhór* (tr. 'a king's approbation is a (great source) of exhilaration') (*Cumhaidh íocas onóir ríogh*, Book of O'Conor Don, f. 360r q. 1d).

*b sinn* Since perfect rime in opening couplets is optional, it has seemed advisable not to supply it editorially even in cases such as the present one where recourse could have been had to a recognised alternative form (*sionn*), which however is not present in any of the manuscript witnesses (see Introduction, p. 32).

18 Although preserved in *G* only, the quatrain's authenticity is secure as evidenced by the fact that by means of a powerful image it continues the representation of the poet as being on the gravestone of the deceased from q. 16, and carries forward the direct address to the deceased of the preceding and following quatrains.

21d *uain* Lit. 'turn'; for the connotation 'vigil' applying here see Breatnach, 'The poet's graveside vigil' 55 f.

22a *leigthir* The passive reading with short vowel (*leig-*) is chosen for assonance with *leic-sin*. *B*'s reading *leigthe* (2nd pers. plural) has the merit of suiting the context of the address to the women in the second couplet.

*c is-tigh* The reference would appear to be to the graveyard; compare *bím ar uainibh thall is-toigh / eidir uaighibh Chlann gCarthaigh* (tr. 'I am there inside by turns among the graves of Clanna C.') (*Leaba charad i gCorcaigh* q. 35cd, ed. P. A. Breatnach, *Éigse* 21 (1986) 37-52 (at p. 49)).

23a This points to a custom of inscribing the deceased's name on the gravestone; for other evidence see: (1) *feart í Chonaill isin chill / re tteacht a oghaim aithnim* (tr. 'I recognise the grave of C.'s descendant in the graveyard before his inscription is written') (*Leasg an adhuighsi ar Eas Ruaidh* q. 17cd, ed. Lambert McKenna, 'Some Irish bardic poems no. 94' *Studies* 39 (1950) 187-92 (at p. 189)); (2) *cuid dom thoisg fán leic línigh / roisg do bheith ar na mbeóghuín* (tr. 'part of my visit to the inscribed stone is that (my) eyes are a living agony') (*Dá néll orchra ós iath Uisnigh*, RIA 23 D 14, p. 89, q. 4).

*d do fhéagh t'easgar óir* The verb as transmitted by *B* seems better suited to the context. The vessel was presumably a treasured possession, mention of which underlines the personal nature of the poet's grieving.

24b *ar bearnadh* The verb *bearnaim* (with obj. n. *fleadh*) is attested with the meaning 'I partake of, have a share in' (*DIL* s.v.); the sense here appears to be that the feast of grieving has begun even before death has been confirmed, in which case we should expect to read *ar mbearnadh* (or alternatively reflexive *ar n-a bearnadh*, but this gives a syllable too many; omit cop *is?*).

25a *cridhe* The reading of *B* is preferred for assonance.

26a *cairte* The plural form seems the superior reading; apart from giving full rime (: *maicne*) it also suits the context of apposition with *geimhle* in the following phrase.

27 The sense of the quatrain in the context is evident when taken in conjunction with that which follows. The author is drawing a distinction between the mass of poets (*sgol, cliar*) who have not had the opportunity of a lone vigil, and his own privileged vigil resting on the grave of the deceased.

33b *do bhaoi m'fhoghlaim ag gach aon* Translation uncertain. The line appears to foreshadow what is expressed more clearly in the second couplet (and is reaffirmed in the second couplet of q. 37), which is that those surrounding the poet followed his lead in the mourning.

34cd Translation tentative here also; the wording of the final line seems to conflict with the earlier reference to *iúl na caoine* (q. 5c).

36a *d'éigin* The feminine inflection adopted here is more usual.

é The final shows a twofold anomaly both in presenting rime with *c*, which is proscribed, and also insofar as the rime presented is of a word with itself, which would normally constitute an instance of *caoiche* (see Introduction, p. 32). As was noted above, *caoiche* is excused if *breacadh* is present in the quatrain, and here it is supplied by repetition of the vowel é (*éigin/é/éidir/chéillidh/é/éirigh/sé*). However, whether the licensing power of *breacadh* can apply in a case such as the present where the fault is one that occurs, as it were, within the confines of another fault, seems unclear.

*c 'na bhrón chéillidh* Cf. *Nír chóir teacht tar chaoí ccéillidh / mar dhéinimh ccaoí ar feart nEóghuin* (tr. 'One ought not to speak of weeping calmly as being a (suitable) way of weeping on Eoghan's grave') (*Dá néll orchra ós iath Uisnigh*, q. 11cd).

38b *leigid ortha* The short vowel in the verb (*B*) is preferred for assonance. The expression seems reflexive but the translation is tentative ('they set about?'). Dr Simms suggests that the context might favour 'they set aside' (cf. *leigid uatha*), which would continue the theme, struck up in q. 35, of grief so intense as to leave no one with the heart to partake of drink.

40a *Dún na nGall* The castle of Donegal was built by Aodh Ruadh (Introduction p. 27).

41b *cungnamh* Assonance requires the alternate form (sanctioned *IGT* II §47).

44d *oile* More correctly *n-oile*.

45a *bríogh* (v.l. *brigh*) Assonance being the only requirement, either form will suit.

*c ghaoi* (*N*) Lenition of the initial in accusative plural is the older usage (see *IGT* I § 80); cf. *Éigse* 16/3 (1976) 221 f.

46cd Translation tentative; clearly a word-play is intended.

51 A number of bardic elegies have the same quatrain-total as the present one (fifty-one), but whether a particular significance attaches to this has not been determined.

## ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

- AC *Annála Connacht. The Annals of Connacht (a.d. 1224-1544)*. Ed. A. Martin Freeman. Dublin 1944.
- AFM *The Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*. Ed. John O'Donovan. 7 vols. Dublin 1848-51.
- AithdD. Lambert McKenna, *Aithdioghluim dána*. 2 vols. Dublin 1935-39.
- ALC *The Annals of Loch Cé*. Ed. by W. M. Hennessy. 2 vols. Repr. Dublin 1939.
- AU *Annála Uladh: Annals of Ulster*. Ed. W. M. Hennessy and Bartholomew MacCarthy. 4 vols. Dublin 1887-1901; repr. 1998.
- BAR *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*. Ed. Paul Walsh. 2 vols (ITS vols 42, 45), London 1948-57.
- Cat. FLK Myles Dillon, Canice Mooney, Pádraig de Brún, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Franciscan Library, Killiney*. Dublin 1969.
- DDána Láimhbheartach Mac Cionnaithe, *Dioghluim Dána*. Baile Átha Cliath 1937.
- DG Tomás Ó Rathile, *Dánta Grádha*. Corcaigh 1916.
- GBM *Graiméir na mBráthar Mionúr*. Ed. Parthalán Mac Aogáin. Baile Átha Cliath, 1968.
- IGT I-V *Irish grammatical tracts*. Ed. Osborn Bergin, *Ériu* 8 (1916) (suppl.) (I); 9 (1921-3) (suppl.), 10 (1926-28) (suppl.) (II); 14 (1946) (suppl.) (III-IV); 17 (1955) (suppl.) (V).
- LCAB Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe*. Baile Átha Cliath 1931.
- LL *The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Nuachongbála*. Ed. R. I. Best, Osborn Bergin, M. A. O'Brien, Anne O'Sullivan. 6 vols. Dublin 1954-84.
- MD T. F. O'Rahilly, *Measgra dánta*. 2 vols. Corcaigh 1927.
- NHI *The new history of Ireland II*. Ed. Art Cosgrove. Oxford 1987.
- RIA Cat. *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*. Dublin 1926-70.

†R. A. BREATNACH  
PÁDRAIG A. BREATNACH



## SEÁN AGUS TADHG Ó NEACHTAIN: CLEAMHNAS AGUS GAOL

### 1. ÚNA DE NÓGLA

SA bhliain 1717 bhreac Tadhg Ó Neachtain an lámhscríbhinn Brit. Lib. Egerton 198 ina bhfuil bailiúchán d'ábhar cráifeach ar chun a úsáide féin a chuir sé i dtoll a chéile é, dar le Robin Flower (1926, 576). I dtosach na lámhscríbhinne (f. 2) tá liosta de na dátaí idir 1706/7 agus 1749 ar tharla imeachtaí suntasacha áirithe ina shaol féin – na dátaí a bhfuair daoine muinteartha leis bás agus ar rugadh páistí dá chuid is ea a bhformhór. Is í an chéad iontráil: ‘1706/7 Feb. 5: ar maidin ag an seacht fuair Úna Ní Bhroin, bean Sheáin Uí Neachtain, máthair Thaidhg, bás’;<sup>1</sup> agus is í an dara ceann: ‘1710 Márta 30: ar maidin Déardaoin timpeall an seacht fuair Lúcás, deartháir Thaidhg thuas, bás.’ Bhreac sé an dá nóta sin sa bhliain 1715 agus bhreac sé an chuid is mó den chuid eile de réir mar a tharla na himeachtaí atá i gceist iontu, ina measc na cinn seo a leanas: ‘1728[9] Márta an 9[ú] lá fuair Seán athair Thaidhg Uí Neachtain bás,’ ‘1742 Márta an 25: adhlacadh Anna Ní Neachtain, deirfiúr Thaidhg.’ Sa lámhscríbhinn ollmhór TCD 1289 (H. 1. 15) a bhreac sé sa tréimhse 1732-45, scríobh Tadhg cóip de *Trecheng Brethe Féne* agus chuir an colafan seo léi ar lch 957: ‘Inniu an 15[ú] lá] de Bhealtaine 1745. Tadhg Ó Neachtain mac Sheáin in aois ceithre bliana déag agus trí fichid ro-scríobh na tréanna<sup>2</sup> thuas’ (féach Meyer 1906, lch vi).

Nós de chuid Thaidhg ab ea é nótaí den sórt sin a bhreacadh: tá mórán díobh le fáil i lámhscríbhinní éagsúla dá chuid agus soláthraíonn siad fráma tagartha dá bheatha féin agus do bheathaí a mhuintire. Mar shampla, i bhfianaise an chinn dheiridh sin thuas is eol dúinn gur rugadh Tadhg idir 16 Bealtaine 1670 agus 15 Bealtaine 1671, agus is féidir an aois a bhí aige nuair a tharla imeachtaí éagsúla a shaoil a dhéanamh amach. Ach go bhfios domsa ní thugann sé le fios in aon nóta mar sin gur phós a athair aon bhean seachas Úna Ní

<sup>1</sup> I ngeall ar a mhírálta atá an ortagrafaíocht sna lámhscríbhinní as a bhfuil ábhar á thógáil agam san aiste seo, agus ón uair nach cúrsaí teanga atá faoi chaibidil agam, tá caighdeán litrithe na linne seo curtha i bhfeidhm agam (os íseal de ghnáth) ar na dréachtaí as na lámhscríbhinní. Aon athrú beag a rinne mé ar an gcomhréir agus aon litir a bhí in easnamh agus a sholáthair mé, tá sé sin léirithe le lúibíní cearnacha.

<sup>2</sup> ‘trithibh’ (LS).

Bhroin ná go raibh aon duine eile clainne aige seachas Tadhg féin, Lúcas agus Anna.<sup>3</sup> Mar sin féin tá sé luaite ag mórán scoláirí gur phós sé bean eile, Úna de Nógla, cuid acu a deir gurbh í an chéad bhean í a phós sé agus duine amháin a deir gur i ndiaidh bhás Úna Ní Bhroin a phós sé í. Iarracht atá san aiste ghearr seo an fhianaise ina thaobh sin a scagadh agus a mheas.

Sa bhliain 1820 d'fhoilsigh Edward O'Reilly tuairisc ar Sheán Ó Neachtain faoin mbliain 1715 ina chatalóg de scríbhneoirí na Gaeilge:

John O'Neaghtan, or Norton, lived at this time in the county of Meath, a man much advanced in years. He was author of many original pieces, and translated several others from the Latin language into Irish. (O'Reilly 1820, lch ccxiii)

Níor nocht an Raghallach foinse an eolais sin i dtaobh Seán a bheith ina chónaí i gCo. na Mí thart ar an mbliain 1715, ach ghlac Seán Pléimeann (IG 3:27, 35)<sup>4</sup> agus Dúghlas de Híde leis go raibh sé fíor agus bhain de Híde de mhíthuiscint as gur Mhíoch é an Neachtanach (Hyde 1899, 597). I bhfad na haimsire rinne Eoghan Ó Neachtain tuilleadh taighde faoin scéal agus thug sé an tuairisc seo ar Sheán sa bhrollach lena eagrán de *Stair Éamuinn Uí Chléire*:

Is cosmhuil gur i gCluain Oileáin i gcontae Roscomáin a rugadh Seán Ó Neachtain ... Ba mhac fir dúitheche é ...

Thug Seán cuairt ar chúige Laighean uair, ag spailpíneacht, agus phós sé cailín de na Nóglaigh. Ba iad na Nóglaigh sin na daoine a raibh sé ar aimsir acu an uair sin. Ní innsighthear

<sup>3</sup> Luann Alan Harrison (1988, 52) go ndéanann Tadhg tagairt do 'brother Tom', ach ní shílím gur gaol fola le Tadhg a bhí ag an duine atá i gceist aige: féach anseo thíos mír 2. Thagair Tadhg do Labhrás Ó Neachtain i nóta sa LS TCD 1361 (H. 4. 20), 122 (féach Abbott agus Gwynn 1921, 195), ach ón uair nach ndúirt sé gur deartháir leis féin é, sílím gur féidir glacadh leis gur gaol éigin eile a bhí aige leis. Ní fios cén gaol le Tadhg a bhí ag Charles Norton a d'fhianaigh comhaontú idir Tadhg agus Richard Poole sa bhliain 1709 (féach Ó Cléirigh 1939b, 196). Maidir leis an leagan Béarla sin den sloinne Ó Neachtain agus le Thomas Norton éigin, féach n. 30 thíos.

<sup>4</sup> Foilsíodh sraith de dhreachtáí as *Stair Éamuinn Uí Chléirigh* in imleabhair 3-4 (1887-91) de *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*, ach ní raibh ainm eagarthóra ar bith ag gabháil leo. Ghlac R. I. Best (1913, 270) leis gurbh é eagarthóir IG, Seán Pléimeann, a chuir na dreachtáí sin in eagar agus tá leideanna thall is abhus tríothu gurbh amhlaidh a bhí (e.g. IG 4:36, 51; 4:37, 68; 4:39, 110).

dhúinn an dtug sé an bhean ar ais go Roscomáin, nó ar chuir sé faoi i gcúige Laighean, ná fós an fada gearr an saoghal a fuair an bhean... (Ó Neachtain 1918, lgh v-vi)

Deir Eoghan Ó Neachtain (1918, lch vi) go bhfuil fianaise againn ó bheirt ar a laghad gur Chonnachtach é Seán Ó Neachtain: a mhac féin Tadhg, duine acu, agus Brian Ó Fearghail an duine eile. Ag tagairt sa chéad chás a bhí sé do líne as dán Thaidhg ar scoláirí na Gaeilge i mBaile Átha Cliath inar thug sé mar thuirisc ar a athair gur ‘seanóir ársaigh a chrích Connacht’ é (O’Rahilly 1912-3, 158), ach is ar fhianaise Uí Fhearghail atá an cuntas sin thuas uaidh ar Sheán Ó Neachtain bunaithe. Sa bhliain 1774 (*RIA Cat.* 132) bhreac Ó Fearghail dán de chuid Sheáin Uí Neachtain, *Rachainn fón gcoill leat, a mhaighdean na n-órfholt*, sa lámhscríbhinn RIA 55 (23 O 35), 48-9. Chuir sé dhá cheanteideal ar an dán sa lámhscríbhinn sin (lch 48), ceann acu i nGaeilge agus an ceann eile i mBéarla: ‘Aisling Sheáin Uí Neachtain, más fíor do Bh[ri]an] Ó Fearghail’ agus ‘John Naughten for Winifred Nangle’; thug mar thuirisc ar Sheán ‘John Naughten of Cloonillane in ye parish of Drum prope Athlone ...’ (lch 49); agus bhreac cuntas ar na himeachtaí a spreag an dán, má b’fhíor:

Ag so síos mar leanas cuid de shuirí Sheáin Uí Neachtain, mac fir dúiche, [a] bhí ina chónaí i bparóiste Druma. Agus do ghluais an t-ógánach i gcuideachta buachalla eile as an áit [ag] tógáil fómhair, nó [ag] spailpíneacht, go cúige Laighean. Agus do chuir sé faoi deara do chách [a] bhí leis gan [a] admháil aon fhocal Béarla [a] bheith aige go fillleadh dó thar ais, cé [gurbh] éifeachtach an scoláire é. Ach cheana chomhnaigh Seán seal i dteach duine shaibhir de Nóglach [a] bhí san tír sin. T[h]áinig ógánaigh ag iarraidh cleamhna[i]s ar an Nóglach, agus fuair Seán slí ar a ghrá [a] chur i gcéill don óigbhean, Úna.

A léitheoir, fágadh an Seán thuas sa mbaile chun gach aon ní [a] bheith go beacht in ordú i gcoinne cháich agus na gcúirtéirí [a] theacht ó Aifreann. Ba amhlaidh sin aige-san, óir ba feasach glic an díolúnach é, agus d’iarr ar Úna [a] fágadh sa mbaile [ag] cur ordú ar dhinnéar, putóg [a] ordú dó féin. Is inna mBéarla [a] labhair sé ria agus dúirt: ‘Winnie, honey, will you order me a pudding?’ Scairt cách agus dúirt [s]ise leis go riarfadh é agus go mba cosúil dó Béarla [a] bheith aige. Ach cheana, fuair peann, dubh agus páipéar, thug leis don stábla

iad agus do chum na rainn thuas, agus d'fhág gan mhothú do chách i bhfuinneog an pharlú[i]s iad. Do rinneadar cách ionadh de, agus ba éigean do Sheán a léamh (lch. 48).<sup>5</sup>

I ndiaidh an dáin scríobh Ó Fearraoil: '*Finit* – agus fuair Seán an bhean' (lch 49).

Ainneoin gur chuir Robin Flower amhras ann mar scéal nuair a dúirt sé: 'There seems to be no other evidence for this marriage' (1926, 89), ghlac mórán den lucht tráchtairachta ar litríocht na Gaeilge feasta le cuntas Bhriain Uí Fhearghail ar imeachtaí Sheáin Uí Neachtain i gCo. na Mí agus chuir a mbreacaireacht féin air. Scríobh Aodh de Blácam go rómánsúil:

Seán was born in County Roscommon, but lived most of his life in Meath. There he won his bride, Winifred Nangle, with that song of Wordsworthian sweetness, *Rachainn fó'n gcoill leat*, 'I'd go to the woods with you, golden-haired maiden,' which rehearses the songs of the many birds and the delights of the greenwood. *Finit – agus fuair Seán an bhean*, notes the scribe ... Seán has an ardent and winning spirit; as a poet, he has the gentleness of his beloved Meath ... (1929, 286-7)

Ba é an scéal céanna a bhí le ríomh ag Piaras Béaslaí:

Rugadh Seán Ó Neachtain i gCluain Oileáin i gCo. Roscomáin timcheall na bliadhna 1655, nó roimis, béidir ...

Daoine acfuinneacha ab eadh a mhuintir, do réir gach tuairisge, agus mórchuid talmhan aca, ach, pé cúis a bhí leis, chuaidh sé 'na 'spailpín' go dtí Conndae na Midhe nuair a bhí sé óg, agus do thuit sé i ngrádh le hinghin a mháighistir, le hÚna de Nóglá. Do cheap sé amhrán gleoite grádha dhi 'Rachainn fón gCoill leat' do bhuaidh croidhe an chailín agus do phós sí é. Ní fada m[h]air sí aige. Do phós sé arís, Úna eile, Úna Ní Bhriain [*sic*]. Do chaith sé an chuid eile dá shaoghal i gConndae na Midhe, i dtreo is gur shíl mórán daoine gur Mhidheach ó dhúchas é ... (1934, 31)

Agus ba é a fhearacht sin ag Tomás Ó Raghallaigh é freisin:

I gCluain Oileáin i bparáisde Drumma (Condae Roscomáin) a rugadh agus a tóigeadh Seán Ó Neachtain ...

<sup>5</sup> Tá cóip dhioplómaitiúil den mhéid sin in Risk 1975, 53-4.

Más cóir Seán a mheas ón méid dá chuid saothair dá bhfuil ar fagháil, fear aerach a bhí ann – fear spóirt agus grinn – ach fear san am céadna a raibh diadhantacht agus daonnacht a’ baint leis. Deirtear linn le hughdarás gur mac fir dúit[h]che a bhí ann; agus marach go raibh sé aerach nar ghádh dhó a dhul a’ spailpínteacht go Condae na Midhe mar chuaidh sé. Ach bíod[h] go ndeac[h]aidh sé ar aimsir níor chuir an sglábhuidheacht briosbrón [*sic*] ná duibhthean croidhe air, mar tá an t-amhrán a rinne sé do Úna Ní Nóglaiigh [*sic*] inghean a mháighistir, ar an gcéad phíosa filidheachta dár chum sé. (Ó Raghallaigh 1938, 313)

An ‘le húdarás’ (mar a dúirt Tomás Ó Raghallaigh) a scríobh Brian Ó Fearghail faoi Sheán Ó Neachtain agus faoina shuirí le hÚna de Nóglai i ndáiríre?

Rugadh Brian Ó Fearghail i mbaile fearainn Chnoc Sciatháin i bparóiste Thigh Eoin i mbarúntacht Átha Luain, 5 Aibreán, 1715 (*RIA Cat.* 154)<sup>6</sup> agus mhair sé in áiteacha éagsúla i gCo. Ros Comáin (ina measc Baile Thomáis, mar ar chaith sé ceithre bliana déag agus mar ar phós sé Neillí Ní Cheallaigh) nó go bhfuair sé bás thart ar 1788-9 (Mac Enery, 1943-4, 133; 1945-7, 158). I gcead d’Eoghan Ó

<sup>6</sup> Sa dán fada ‘Teist agus aithrí Bhriain Uí Fhearghail 1786’ a bhreac sé sa LS RIA 56 (23 E 7), 119-136, tugann Ó Fearghail go leor sonraí faoi imeachtaí a shaoil féin. Is i línte tosaigh an dáin atá an t-eolas i dtaobh áit agus dáta a bhreithe:

‘I mbarúntacht Bhaile Átha Luain do rugadh mé  
ar thaobh Chnoc Sciatháin na sean-scéal,  
i bparóiste Thigh Eoin an eolais ghrinn  
is na gcomharsana suaire salmbhinn.

Trí chúig de bhliantaibh ar seacht gcéad déag  
ba haois do Chríost – ní chanfad bréag –  
an lá a rugadh Brian go soirbh gan gráin  
an cúigú lá déag den Aibreán.’

‘Cnoc Sciatháin’ an litriú atá ag Brian Ó Fearghail féin ar ainm na háite inar rugadh é. ‘[Cnoc] Sgitheán’ atá ag Mícheál Ó Braonáin mar litriú air sa chóip a scríobh sé dá dhán féin *Príomhshruith Éireann is iomlán innsí* in RIA LS 298 (23 B 27) 1-56, líne 570, agus rinne Éamonn Ó Tuathail ‘[Cnoc] Sgitheán’ (: Aibreáin) de sin agus an dán á chur in eagar aige (1948-52, 213). ‘[Cnoc] Sciatháin’ an fhoirm atá in Ó Braonáin 1994, 37, v. 143b, áfach. Tá mé buíoch den Dr Seán Ó Cearnaigh, Coimisiún na Logainmneacha, faoina dheimhniú dom gurb é ‘Cnoc Sciatháin’ an fhoirm atá molta ag an gCoimisiún mar cheartfhoirm.

Neachtain, ní fios cén áit ar rugadh Seán Ó Neachtain, ach is cinnte gur bhain sé féin agus a mhuintir le barúntacht Átha Luain agus le Co. Ros Comáin faoi mar a bhain Brian Ó Fearghail.<sup>7</sup> Is cinnte, dar liom, go raibh Seán Ó Neachtain ag cur faoi i mBaile Átha Cliath i mblianta tosaigh an 18ú céad (Ó Háinle 1992, 11) agus is é is dóichí go raibh sé tar éis teacht go dtí an ardchathair agus Úna Ní Bhroin a phósadh chomh luath le 1670-1, nuair a rugadh a mhac Tadhg.<sup>8</sup> Is cinnte mar sin go raibh Seán Ó Neachtain tar éis Co. Ros Comáin a fhágáil i bhfad sular rugadh Brian Ó Fearghail.

Deir May H. Risk (1975, 48) gur ‘intimate friend of the Ó Neachtuins’ (.i. Seán agus Tadhg) ab ea Brian Ó Fearghail, agus ní foláir gur i ngeall air sin a thug sí ‘definite information’ (1975, 53) ar chuntas Bhriain ar shuirí Sheáin Uí Neachtain le hÚna de Nógla. Níor thug sí aon fhianaise leis an gcaradas sin idir Ó Fearghail agus na Neachtanaigh, áfach, agus go deimhin, fearacht Robin Flower, chuir sí amhras i scéal Uí Fhearghail, á rá, ‘We know of no other reference to his employment as a spailpín nor is there any record of his marriage to Winifred Nangle’ (1975, 54).<sup>9</sup> Sílim gurb é an chaoi ar

<sup>7</sup> De réir Bhriain Uí Fhearghail, mar a luadh thuas, b’as Cluain Oileáin i bparóiste an Druma (i gCo. Ros Comáin) i ngar do Áth Luain Seán Ó Neachtain agus dá réir siúd freisin is cosúil gur bhain athair Sheáin leis an bparóiste céanna. Sa bhliain 1729 bhreac Tadhg Ó Neachtain nóta sa lámhscríbhinn RIA LS 439 (3 C 19), f 1v<sup>o</sup> (*RIA Cat.* 1168), a thugann le fios gur bhain seanathair Sheáin leis an gCartún Fiarach i gCo. Ros Comáin. Ba ábhar pléite ag an Athair M. Ó Connalláin agus Marcus Mac Enery cá raibh cuid de na háiteacha a bhaineann le hábhar anseo, go háirithe Baile Thomáis agus Cartún Fiarach (Mac Enery 1943-4, 133; 1945-7, 161, n. 8; Ó Connalláin 1945-7, 65; 1951, 106-7). Ghlac Eoghan Ó Neachtain (1918, lch viii) agus Marcus Mac Enery (1945-7, 161, n. 8) leis go raibh Cluain Oileáin agus Baile Thomáis sínte le chéile, agus is fíor go bhfuil ‘Cloonillan’ (atá ar bhileog 51 de Léarscáil Ordanáis na bliana 1838, Ros Comáin) teorantach le ‘Thomastown Demesne’ (atá ar bhileog 52 den léarscáil chéanna) agus taobh ó thuaidh de. Tá mé buíoch de Paul Ferguson agus Simon Fernandez, Leabharlann Glucksman na Léarscáileanna, Coláiste na Tríonóide, as ucht a gcabhrach i gcúrsaí léarscáileanna. Maidir leis an nóta taobh istigh de chlúdach tosaigh na lámhscríbhinne LNÉ G 132 (Ní Sheaghda 1977, 56-7), ní fios cé a scríobh é agus ní léir gur do Sheáin Ó Neachtain, file, a thagraíonn sé.

<sup>8</sup> Tá fianaise ann go raibh Seán i mbun saothair liteartha i mBaile Átha Cliath faoin mbliain 1688: féach Ó Háinle 1983, 390, n. 2c ‘teagasc dé’.

<sup>9</sup> Ar an gcaoi chéanna, deir William Mahon (2000, 15-16): ‘There is no evidence besides Ó Fearghail’s story for the marriage of Seán Ó Neachtain and Winifred Nangle, and one wonders if he got it wrong ...’; agus deir Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha (2002, 453-4): ‘[T]his tradition is probably spurious as Winifred Nogle and her putative marriage to [Seán] Ó Neachtain are otherwise unknown.’

thóg sí Séamas Ó Fearghail in amhlachas Bhriain. Ba as Co. an Longfoirt é Séamas agus bhí sé ina chónaí i mBaile Átha Cliath thart ar 1728 nó tamall gear roimhe sin (O’Rahilly 1912-3, 156), agus é ar dhuine de na scoláirí Gaeilge sin a raibh aithne ag Tadhg Ó Neachtain orthu – rud a d’fhág go bhfuil sé luaite i ndán Thaidhg *Sloinfead scothadh na Gaoidhilge grinn* (O’Rahilly 1912-3, 160, línte 85-8). Ní raibh na ceithre bliana déag slán ag Brian Ó Fearghail faoin am a bhfuair Seán Ó Neachtain bás i Márta na bliana 1729, rud a d’fhágfadh go raibh sé ró-óg le go mbeadh aithne aige ar Sheán; agus ní heol dom aon fhianaise a thabharfadh le tuiscint go raibh aithne aige ar Thadhg.

Ní móide mar sin go raibh aon eolas díreach ag Ó Fearghail faoi imeachtaí Sheáin Uí Neachtain, agus más mar sheanchas a fuair sé an cuntas a thug sé ar chumann an Neachtanaigh agus Úna de Nóglá, is ar éigean a fuair sé é go dtí thart ar an mbliain 1730, ar a luaithe (nuair a bhí sé féin cúig bliana déag d’aois), is é sin trí scór bliain ar a laghad i ndiaidh an ama ar phós siad, má phós.<sup>10</sup> Ní hamháin sin é, ach níor scríobh sé a thuairisc féin ar na himeachtaí sin go dtí an bhliain 1774, tuilleadh maith agus céad bliain, is dócha, i ndiaidh an ama ar tharla siad, má tharla. Ón uair nach bhfuil aon fhianaise a thacódh le scéal Bhriain Uí Fhearghail le fáil in aon fhoinsé eile, ní féidir a bheith an-mhuiníneach as mar scéal. Ar ndóigh d’fhéadfadh cuid d’éirim an scéil a bheith fíor agus a thuilleadh de a bheith ina fhinscéal, ach ba dhóigh liom gur cumadóireacht de chuid Uí Fhearghail féin an chuid is mó de. Níor leasc le Brian Ó Fearghail dul i mbun na cumadóireachta agus an eachtra a spreag dán á cur i láthair aige. Mar shampla, i dtaca leis an dán *Aithris dom agus ná can gó*, ‘Ceist Shéamais Uí Chatháin ar an gcrann agus freagra an chrainn air’, scríobh sé:

<sup>10</sup> Tá gach seans ann, dar liom, go raibh Brian Ó Fearghail níos sine fós faoin am ar chuala sé trácht ar Sheán Ó Neachtain. Tá Cnoc Sciatháin, áit ar rugadh é, thart ar fiche ciliméadar díreach trasna na tíre ó Chluain Oileáin, agus ní féidir talamh slán a dhéanamh de go mbeadh eolas ag muintir Chnoc Sciatháin faoin Neachtanach. B’fhéidir gur le linn dó bheith ag cur faoi i mBaile Thomáis i ngar do Chluain Oileáin a chuala Brian scéal an Neachtanaigh, is é sin, agus é ina fhear lánfhásta a bhí ag saothrú a choda mar thréadaí bó. Deir Brian go raibh tailte i gCluain Oileáin i seilbh ‘Thos. Naghten of Tho[ma]stow, Esq.’ lena linn féin (RIA LS 146 (23 O 5), 49). Ba é sin an Captaen Naughton, ar Phrotastúnach é, ach, más fíor do Bhrian Ó Fearghail, a d’iompaigh ina Chaitliceach sular bhásaigh sé (‘Agus d’iompaigh ó earráid re hucht éag’, Mac Enery 1945-7, 161, v.16). Ní móide gur uaidh siúd a fuair an Fearghaileach a chuid seanchais faoi Sheán Ó Neachtain.

One James Cain composed the above, whom I well remember to see, and as he was coming from Lord Dillon's, who then lived in Mountalbut, to Sir Edward Crofton's in Mote, the day suddenly changed with thick dark clouds, thunder and lightning, accompanied with prodigious heavy rain, which occasioned said Kein to shelter himself in the trunk of a withered huge oak, on the lands of Tobberciogh, now Rocksavage. *He drew forth pen, ink, & paper* [liomsa an bhéim anseo], and whilst the storm continued was rhiming the above.' (23 O 35, 26; féach *RIA Cat.* 134-5)

Ina theannta sin níor luaigh Tadhg Ó Neachtain riamh go raibh a athair ina bhaintreach nuair a phós sé Úna Ní Bhroin.<sup>11</sup> Go deimhin, mar atá áitithe ag William Mahon (2000, 26 n. 44), ghlac sé leis gur d'Úna Ní Bhroin a chum Seán an dán *Rachainn fón gcoill leat, a mhaighdean na n-órfholt*.<sup>12</sup> Ar lgh 79-82 den lámhscríbhinn LNÉ G 135 (a bhreac sé sna blianta 1739-52) scríobh Tadhg trí dhán a chum a athair dá mháthair, dhá cheann acu á caoineadh nuair a fuair sí bás, *A théagair, is é m'éagsa is mé beo do bhás* (faoin gceannteideal 'Ar bhás Úna Ní Bhroin, bean Sheáin Uí Neachtain, seo amhrán do rinne sé i gcrá croí') agus *Thug mé searc mo chléibh is mo ghrá* (faoin gceannteideal 'Amhrán iar mbás Úna Ní Bhroin. S. Ó N.'). agus eatarthu sin *Rachainn fón gcoill leat, a mhaighdean na n-órfholt*, is an ceannteideal seo ag gabháil leis: 'Ag seo na héanlaith darbh eol páirt dá deise seo ina n-óige mar dhearbhas Seán ag súirí re hÚna aga mealladh.'

<sup>11</sup> Ón uair gur phós Tadhg féin faoi cheathair (féach Flower 1926, 98-9; Ó Háinle 1992, 13), ba dhóigh leat nár leasc leis a lua gur phós a athair níos mó ná bean amháin, dá mb'fhíor é sin. Is iad na mná a phós Tadhg: Cáit Nic Fheorais a fuair bás 12 Aibreán, 1714; Máire Ní Chomáin a fuair bás 29 Samhain, 1715 (féach Flower 1926, 99); Máire Ní Reachtagáin (féach thíos lch 65); agus Bett / Betty / Bess Meares ón Muileann gCearr, Co. na hIarmhí, a phós sé 3 Samhain, 1733, agus a fuair bás 23 Iúil, 1745. Isebel Ní Láithrín / Larrach / Lairín a thug Tadhg ar an gceathrú bean seo i nGaeilge (maidir leis na leaganacha éagsúla dá hainm is dá sloinne i mBéarla is i nGaeilge a d'úsáid Tadhg, féach LS LNÉ G 135, 128-32, agus Flower 1926, 99).

<sup>12</sup> Ghlac Edward O'Reilly leis sin freisin, ní nach ionadh ón uair gur ar lámhscríbhinn úd Thaidhg, G 135, atá cuid mhór den chuntas a thug sé ar shaothar fileata Sheáin Uí Neachtain bunaithe (O'Reilly 1820, 213-7: 215, uimh. 16; féach lch. 217 agus Ní Sheaghda 1977, 69).



Cúig véarsa dhéag<sup>13</sup> atá sa leagan de *Rachainn fón gcoill leat, a mhaighdean na n-órfholt* atá i lámhscríbhinn Thaidhg Uí Neachtain .i. an leagan a d'fhoilsigh Úna Ní Fhaircheallaigh (1911, 3-9), ach go bhfuil línte 73-96 (= trí véarsa) in easnamh air. Tá leagan eile den amhrán ar marthain a bhfuil an chóip is sine de i lámhscríbhinn a bhreac Risteard Tuibear sa bhliain 1717, mar atá RIA 111 (23 L 32). Seacht véarsa dhéag atá sa leagan sin (atá ar lgh 22-3) .i. an leagan a d'fhoilsigh Úna Ní Fhaircheallaigh ach go bhfuil línte 65-72 (= aon véarsa amháin) in easnamh air. Cóp den leagan fada seo a bhreac Brian Ó Fearghail in 23 O 35, 48-9, ach ní ó lámhscríbhinn Risteaird Tuibear a d'athscríobh sé í.<sup>14</sup> An leagan amach a bhí i lámhscríbhinn an Tuibearaigh ar an gcuid den ábhar a bhaineann le hábhar anseo, áfach, tá an chuma air go raibh an leagan amach céanna sin uirthi sa lámhscríbhinn a bhí mar eiseamláir ag Ó Fearghail. Na focail lenar thosaigh an Fearghaileach an ceanteideal fada a chuir sé leis an amhrán, is é atá iontu aithris ar an gceanteideal atá air i lámhscríbhinn an Tuibearaigh, mar atá, 'Ag seo cuid de shuirí Sheáin Uí Neachtain.' Ina theannta sin, tar éis nach aisling é an t-amhrán seo, is é an chéad cheanteideal a chuir Ó Fearghail air 'Aisling Sheáin Uí Neachtain, más fíor do Bh[riain] Ó Fearghail.' An t-amhrán a leanann *Rachfainn fón gcoill leat, a mhaighdean na n-órfholt* i lámhscríbhinn an Tuibearaigh .i. *Tar, a bháis, tráth is beir mé leat*, tá na focail sin 'Aisling Sheáin Uí Neachtain' mar cheanteideal air.<sup>15</sup> Ní foláir nó

<sup>13</sup> Meadaracht le ceithre aiceann in aghaidh na líne atá san amhrán seo. Is í deilbh na chéadlíne ann:

x   ◡   ◡   ai   ◡   ◡   ai   ◡   ◡   ó   ◡

Bhris Úna Ní Fhaircheallaigh gach líne ina dhá cuid ina heagránas agus rinne véarsa as gach leathvéarsa.

<sup>14</sup> Mar fhianaise leis sin féach, mar shampla, go bhfuil an léamh botúnach 'ascreithé' sa cheathrú líne den tríú véarsa ag Tuibear, áit a bhfuil an léamh ceart 'ahegar' (= a théagair) ag Ó Fearghail.

<sup>15</sup> 23 L 32, 24. Tá an t-amhrán seo curtha i gcló ag Úna Ní Fhaircheallaigh (1911, 16-20). Tugtar 'Aisling Sheáin Uí Neachtain' air i lámhscríbhinn eile freisin, mar atá, RIA 518 (23 D 39), 87 (1753) is 628 (23 A 25), 75 (1770, 1780) agus MN M 105, 64 (1816). Bhí cuntas Edward O'Reilly ar an amhrán seo ag teacht leis an tuiscint gur aisling é freisin. Dúirt seisean agus é ag trácht ar dhán dar tús *Gluais a bháis trath 'sbeir me leat* gur chum Seán Ó Neachtain é 'on seeing his wife, Una or Winifred O'Briain [sic], in a dream, after her death' (1820, 216). Is cinnte gurb é an dán atá faoi chaibidil agam anseo a bhí i gceist ag O'Reilly, mar níl sa chéad líne sin aige ach leagan leasaithe den chéad líne den chóip den chéad tríocha líne den dán seo a bhreac Tadhg Ó Neachtain in LNÉ G 135, 139-40, mar atá, *Gluais a bháis go trath bir me leat*. Bíodh gur dhóigh le O'Reilly gur i ndiaidh d'Úna bás a fháil a chum Seán an dán seo, is é an ceanteideal a chuir a mhac, Tadhg, air: 'Seán Ó Neacht[ain] *cecinit* ag suirí re Úna Ní Bhroin, a bhean phósta.' Is dóigh, mar sin, gur ghlac Risteard Tuibear leis gur cúpla (.i. dhá dhán ghrá) an dá dhán seo de chuid Sheáin Uí Neachtain a bhreac sé in 23 L 32, 22-25.

gurbh amhlaidh a bhí i gcás na lámhscríbhíne a bhí mar eiseamláir ag Brian Ó Fearghail freisin, agus gur cheangail seisean an ceanteideal sin go hiomrallach leis an aon dán amháin le Seán Ó Neachtain a chóipeáil sé.

Bhí teacht ag Brian Ó Fearghail ar ainm an fhile i gceanteideal an amhráin, mar sin; agus bhí teacht aige air sa dara líne den séú véarsa déag den amhrán freisin. Sa véarsa sin ‘freagraíonn’ an bhean an file agus tugann ‘... a Sheáin bhig Uí Neachtain’ air (Ní Fhaircheallaigh, líne 124).<sup>16</sup> Bhí teacht aige ar ainm na mná dár cumadh an t-amhrán .i. ‘Úna iníon Shéamais’ sa dara líne den deichiú véarsa den amhrán (Ní Fhaircheallaigh, líne 76), véarsa nach bhfuil i leagan Thaidhg Uí Neachtain de ach atá i leagan Risteaird Tuibear agus i leagan Bhriain Uí Fhearghail féin.<sup>17</sup>

Ní luaitear sloinne na mná dár cumadh an t-amhrán in aon áit i lámhscríbhinn Risteaird Tuibear (23 L 32). Tharlódh gur chuir scríobhaí éigin idir 1717 agus 1774 ceanteideal leis an dán *Rachainn fón gcoill leat, a mhaighdean na n-órfholt*, inar tugadh de Nógla ar an mbean sin; ach tharlódh sé freisin nach raibh an sloinne sin luaite leis an amhrán sa chóip óna ndearna Brian Ó Fearghail a leagan féin, agus gur thug sé sin caoi dó dul i mbun na cumadóireachta. Níl aon fhianaise inmheánach in aon chóip dá maireann den

<sup>16</sup> Deir Brian Ó Fearghail sa cheanteideal a chuir sé leis an amhrán seo gur ‘mac fir dúiche, [a] bhí ina chónaí i bparóiste Druma’ ab ea Seán Ó Neachtain. Sa leagan den amhrán a bhreac Ó Fearghail tá ‘fianaise’ leis an eolas sin sa cheathrú líne den cheathrú véarsa déag: in áit ‘Ag tafann mar choileán gan fhiáin gan fhiatacht’ (féach Ní Fhaircheallaigh, línte 111-2) tá ‘sa bporraisde drumma ta fortún da thrial duit’. Tá mé san amhras, áfach, gurb é Brian Ó Fearghail féin a chuir an líne sin mar chomaoin ar an amhrán mar níl sí le fáil i leagan Thaidhg Uí Neachtain ná i leagan Risteaird Tuibear, ní réitíonn sí lena dtagann roimpi sa véarsa agus tá sí bacach i dtaca le meadaracht is ciall de.

<sup>17</sup> I leagan Bhriain Uí Fhearghail den amhrán tá an ceanteideal ‘Freagra Úna, más fíor’ roimh an tríú véarsa ón deireadh (.i. roimh líne 121 in Ní Fhaircheallaigh). Níl sé sin sa chóip a bhreac Tadhg Ó Neachtain ná sa cheann a bhreac Risteard Tuibear, sa tslí go gceapfaínn gurbh é Ó Fearghail féin a chuir mar chomaoin ar an amhrán é. Mar sin féin, is é atá sa véarsa sin den amhrán (Ní Fhaircheallaigh, línte 121-4) agus b’fhéidir sna trí véarsa dheiridh de (Ní Fhaircheallaigh, línte 121-44) freagra na mná. Ní raibh a bhac ar Sheán Ó Neachtain an chuid sin den amhrán a chumadh chomh maith leis an gcuid eile de; áitíonn Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, áfach, gurbh í Úna Ní Bhroin a chum na véarsaí sin (2002, 422-3, 453).

dán sin i dtaobh ‘Úna de Nóglá’ agus, mar atá luaite agam cheana, tugann mac Sheáin, Tadhg, le fios gur dá mháthair féin, Úna Ní Bhroin, a chum Seán é. Dá bhrí sin, pé ar bith bunús a bhí le scéal sin Bhriain Uí Fhearghail, is cosúil nach raibh aon bhaint aige le *Rachainn fón gcoill leat*.

An bhféadfadh sé a bheith i gceist gur phós Seán Ó Neachtain bean darbh ainm Úna de Nóglá i ndiaidh bhás Úna Ní Bhroin sa bhliain 1706/7? Deir Alan Harrison gurb amhlaidh a tharla (1988, 52), ach ní thugann sé aon fhianaise leis an tuairim seo. Má phós, is cinnte nach leis an bpósadh sin a bhain scéal Bhriain Uí Fhearghail, mar is é an tuairisc a thug sé ar an Neachtanach ann gur ‘ógánach’ ab ea é nuair a bhí sé ag suirí le hÚna de Nóglá, agus ní raibh sé óg a thuilleadh faoin mbliain 1706/7.<sup>18</sup> Agus ar aon chaoi, níor luaigh Tadhg Ó Neachtain gur phós a athair aon bhean i ndiaidh Úna Ní Bhroin, ach oiread le roimpi.

## 2. BROTHER TOM

Sa lámhscríbhinn TCD 1361 (H.4.20), 597, bhreac Tadhg Ó Neachtain liosta de leabhair agus de lámhscríbhinní a bhí tugtha ar iasacht aige ag amanna éagsúla thart ar an mbliain 1736.<sup>19</sup> Seo cuid de:

The books lent abroad.  
Foresith has Clarindon.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Ar an gcaoi chéanna deir Tadhg Ó Neachtain go raibh a athair agus a mháthair ‘ina n-óige’ nuair a bhí siad ag suirí (féach thuas, lch 60). Ní fios cén uair a rugadh Seán Ó Neachtain, ach déanann May H. Risk amach (1975, 48) gur dócha gur rugadh é roimh 1654 agus gur féidir gur rugadh é chomh luath le 1640. D’fhágfadh sé sin go raibh sé ar a laghad dhá bhliain is leathchéad d’aois sa bhliain 1706/7 agus go bhféadfadh sé a bheith sé bliana is trí scór d’aois. Faoin mbliain 1728 nó b’fhéidir tamall roimhe ‘seanóir ársaigh’ ab ea Seán de réir Thaidhg, mar a luadh cheana, lch. 55 thuas.

<sup>19</sup> Féach Harrison 1988, 39-40; féach freisin Ó Háinle 1986, 114, n. 38. Tá cuid de na hiontrálacha sa liosta scriosta amach ag Tadhg ar shlí a thabharfadh le fios go raibh na leabhair / lámhscríbhinní sin faighte ar ais aige. Tá roinnt ainmneacha agus teideal nua curtha leis an liosta aige freisin; tá siad seo curtha idir lúibíní cruinne agam. Baineann an iontráil faoi ‘brother Tom’ leis an mbunliosta. Iontráil bhreise is ea an ceann deireanach sa liosta a bhfuil an dáta 1736 ag gabháil leis: thabharfadh sé sin le fios gur uair éigin níos túisce ná dáta na hiontrála sin (pé dáta é) sa bhliain 1736, nó fiú roimh an mbliain sin, a breacadh an bunliosta. An iontráil dheireanach sa liosta ag Alan Harrison (1988, 40), níl sí sa liosta seo sa lámhscríbhinn ar chor ar bith: i measc nótaí éagsúla ag bun an leathanaigh (598) i ndiaidh an chinn ar a bhfuil an liosta seo atá sí, áit a bhfuil an dáta ‘1736, June 30’ ag gabháil léi.

<sup>20</sup> Féach Harrison 1988, 39 agus 127, n. 101.

Oliver French a Virgil and *The hind and pant[h]er*,<sup>21</sup> *The man on the glib*, *Malart an ghreimig*. (John Heydon<sup>22</sup> has the Irish survey.)

Brother Tom: *The garden of health*, *Criathar meala*, agus *Eochair Pharthais*.<sup>23</sup>

Stephen Rice:<sup>24</sup> an English *Metamorphoses*.<sup>25</sup> (Has *Farmaltas*<sup>26</sup> and another book.)

...  
(1736 Mr Tipper<sup>27</sup> has *naor*,<sup>28</sup> *Imeacht cúigir*, *Gleacaí*,<sup>29</sup> *Leabhar an reacht*, agus leabhar eile.)

Agus é á lua go ndearna Tadhg an tagairt sin don duine seo ar a dtugann sé ‘brother Tom’, labhraíonn Alan Harrison faoi ar shlí a thabharfadh le tuiscint gur ghlac sé leis gur deartháir de chuid Thaidhg ab ea é,<sup>30</sup> ach tá mise geall le bheith cinnte gur deartháir céile, seachas deartháir, dá chuid ab ea é.

<sup>21</sup> Dán fada le John Dryden a foilsíodh den chéad uair sa bhliain 1687 is ea é seo. Ní heol dom cé na saothair atá i gceist leis an dá theideal ina dhiaidh sin.

<sup>22</sup> ‘Hedin’ (LS). Ba dhóigh liom gurb é seo Seán Ó hÉidéin, cara agus comhghleacaí de chuid Thaidhg Uí Neachtain: féach O’Rahilly 1912-13, 161; Ó Háinle, 1983, 390-1, nn. 2b, 2c ‘teagasc dé’, 6a.

<sup>23</sup> Leabhar urnaithe a chuir Seán Ó Neachtain le chéile agus a ndearna Seán Ó hÉidéin cóip de in 1735, ab ea *Eochair Pharthais*; féach Ó Háinle 1983, 391, n. 6a. Glacaim leis gur leabhair chráifeacha freisin an dá cheann a luaitear roimhe. Ní mé an ionann iad *The garden of health* agus an leagan de *A godly garden out of which most comfortable herbs may be gathered for the health of the wounded conscience of all penitent sinners* a d’fhoilsigh Henry Middleton (London 1574)?

<sup>24</sup> Stiabhna Ríghis, cara ‘ionúin’ agus comhghleacaí de chuid Thaidhg Uí Neachtain: féach O’Rahilly 1912-3, 160, ll 69-72, 162, 302-3.

<sup>25</sup> Leagan Béarla den saothar cáiliúil Laidine le Publius Ovidius Naso, ní foláir.

<sup>26</sup> Dán fada a chum Seán Ó Neachtain é seo. Féach Harrison 1988, 39 agus 127, n. 98; Ní Shéaghdha 1961, 91-2; Ó Háinle 1983, 392, n. 7a.

<sup>27</sup> ‘tipper’ (LS). Cara agus comhghleacaí de chuid Thaidhg Uí Neachtain ab ea Risteard Tuibear: féach Ní Mhurchú agus Breathnach 2001, 183; Ó Háinle 1983, 390-1, nn. 2b, 2d, 3b, 3c-4c; Ó Háinle 1986, 114-5.

<sup>28</sup> Tá smúid ar an bhfocal seo sa lámhscríbhinn, ach sílim gur ‘naor’ (= ‘An aor’, b’fhéidir) atá ann. Níl a fhios agam cén saothar atá i gceist.

<sup>29</sup> Dhá shaothar a chum Seán Ó Neachtain iad sin, *Imeacht an Chúigir* agus *An Gleacaí Géaglonnach*; féach Ó Háinle 1983, 393, n. 7d, agus 391, n. 6c.

<sup>30</sup> Deir Harrison (1988, 52): ‘Níl a fhios againn cén méid páistí a bhí [ag Seán Ó Neachtain]. Rugadh Tadhg thart ar 1670 agus rinne seisean tagairt do “brother Tom” ina chuid lámhscríbhinní.’ Deir sé chomh maith: ‘Tagraítear do Lúcas agus d’Anna freisin, mac agus iníon le Seán is cosúil’ (1988, 129, n. 154). Ach níor ghé dó amhras a chur ansin ón uair go bhfuil fianaise shoiléir ann go raibh deartháir agus deirfiúr ag Tadhg darbh ainmneacha Lúcas agus Anna (féach lch. 53 romham). Tá tagairt do

Phós Tadhg Máire Ní Reachtagáin, an tríú bean aige, i bhFeabhra na bliana 1716/17, rud a chuir sé féin i gcuntais sa lámhscríbhinn MN B 9 (a), 1 (féach Ó Fiannachta 1967, 130-1; Ó Háinle 1992, 15). Fuair deartháir de chuid Mháire, Seoirse,<sup>31</sup> bás 15 Samhain, 1725 (féach Flower 1926, 99; Ní Shéaghdha 1977, 62), agus cuireadh é i Laitheach Cora, Co. na Mí, mar a luaitear sa chéad líne den chaoineadh a cumadh faoi, *Faoi liag sa Láithreach, crá mo chroí is mo chléibh*.<sup>32</sup> Fuair Máire bás, 11 Aibreán 1733 (Flower 1926, 99),

---

‘Thomas Norton’ éigin i nóta doiléir a breacadh ar an taobh istigh de chlúdach lámhscríbhinne a bhreac Tadhg Ó Neachtain idir 1723 agus 1741, .i. RIA 24 D 39: ‘Thomas Norton – i beg pardon John Heydon.’ ‘A later addition’ a thug Tomás Ó Concheanainn (*RIA Cat.* 3610) ar an nóta sin, ach ní fhéadfadh sé a bheith mórán níos deireanaí, más é Seán Ó hÉidéin, cara Thaidhg Uí Neachtain, an dara duine a luaitear sa nóta. I gcáipéisí Laidine agus Béarla de chuid na bliana 1709 tugtar ‘Naghten’ ar Sheán agus ar Thadhg Ó Neachtain (féach Ó Cléirigh 1939a, 104; 1939b, 196), ach tugtar ‘Norton’ ar Thadhg i gcáipéisí Béarla de chuid na mblianta 1724 agus 1731 (Flower 1926, 103, Ó Cléirigh 1939a, 106) agus d’úsáid sé féin an fhoirm chéanna i nóta Laidine a chuir sé le dán a chum sé i mBéarla idir 1733 agus 1745: ‘per me Thaddius Norton’ (Ní Shéaghdha 1977, 78) agus i nóta Béarla a bhreac sé sa bhliain 1739: ‘The tedious and troublesome labour of Thaddeus Norton ...’ (TCD 1398 (H. 5. 27), 70). D’fhéadfadh gaol a bheith ag an Thomas Norton sin le Tadhg, mar sin, ach ní féidir a dhéanamh amach ón nóta sin thuas cén gaol é.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Athair cleamhnais’ Thaidhg Uí Neachtain a thugann Alan Harrison air seo (1988, 27). Más ina ‘father-in-law’ (athair cleamhna) ag Tadhg a mheas sé Seoirse a bheith, ní mar sin a bhí.

<sup>32</sup> Ba é Tadhg Ó Neachtain a chum an caoineadh sin, is cosúil, agus tá cóip de i lámhscríbhinn a bhreac sé, G 132, 109-11. Maidir leis an logainm, ‘laireach’ atá sa lámhscríbhinn, ach éilíonn an mheadaracht á sa chéad siolla. Tá mé buíoch den Dr Seán Ó Cearnaigh faoina dheimhniú dom gurb é ‘Laitheach Cora’ atá molta mar cheartleagan ag Coimisiún na Logaimneacha. ‘Lathrach Corra’ an leagan atá ag Hogan (1910, 476), ach maidir le logainm eile ina bhfuil an eilimint tosaigh chéanna, dar leis, ‘[lathrach] bruin’, tugann sé freisin ‘laitheach briúin’ agus mar mhalairtí air sin ‘Láthrach B.’ agus ‘Lathrach B.’

Cumadh caoineadh eile faoi bhás Sheoirse, mar atá, *Is mise a chaill an planda dílis*. Leag Tadhg é sin ar a athair sa lámhscríbhinn chéanna sin G 132 mar a bhfuil sé le fáil díreach i ndiaidh a dháin féin, 111-5. Ach i lámhscríbhinn eile, RIA 410 (23 I 23) (1758-9; scríobhaí, Waitéar Ó hEisleanáin) is ar Mháire Ní Reachtagáin, bean Thaidhg, a leagtar é (lch 66). Bíodh gurb í Máire atá ag caint sa dán, d’áitigh Mary Risk (1951, 479) gurbh é Seán Ó Neachtain údar an dáin, agus dúirt gur ar éigean a leagfaidh Tadhg an dán ar a athair dá mba í a bhean féin a chum é i ndáiríre. Tá dath ar an áitiú sin, dar liom. Glacann Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha (2002, 424, 454) leis, áfach, gurb í Máire Ní Reachtagáin a chum *Is mise a chaill an planda dílis*. Tá an chóip den dán atá in 23 I 23 sách truaillithe agus tá eagarthóireacht sách dian déanta uirthi freisin ag scríobhaí/scríobhaithe éigin. Dhá véarsa atá ar na breiseanna a chuir Tadhg lena dhán féin faoi bhás Sheoirse, tá siad curtha sa lámhscríbhinn seo le deireadh *Is mise a chaill an planda dílis*.

agus cuireadh ise freisin san áit chéanna mar a luaigh Tadhg i ndán a chum sé á caoineadh, mar atá, *Och, och, gan mo cheann ina linn déara*:<sup>33</sup> ‘... mo chéile/ tá anocht sínte faoi líg, mo léanchreach/ i Laithreach Cora na gcorp naofa.’<sup>34</sup> Thabharfadh sé sin le tuiscint gur bhain muintir Reachtagáin le paróiste Laithreach Cora.

Is cosúil go rabhthas ag súil leis go dtabharfadh deartháir Sheoirse, Tomás, aire dá bhaintreach, Eastair Ní Bhreasail, agus dá gclann óg, ach gur tháinig an galar dubhach ar Thomás i ngeall ar bhás Sheoirse agus go raibh sé ag déanamh trua dó féin in áit dul i gcúram na bpáistí sin a bhí ‘taobh leis mar athair’, mar a dúirt Tadhg Ó Neachtain (Ó Cléirigh 1939b, 200). Mheas duine uasal darbh ainm Mac Ualron go raibh iompar Thomáis míréasúnta ar fad, agus, dá bhrí sin, nuair a bhí sé i mBaile Átha Cliath chuir sé fios ar Thadhg agus d’iarr air scríobh chuig an Ath. Proinsias Laighneach lena impí air comhairle a chur ar Thomás (Ó Cléirigh 1939b, 200), rud a rinne 6 Feabhra, 1725/6.

Rugadh Proinsias Laighneach i mí Dheireadh Fómhair, 1651, más fíor do Burke (1762, 588); oirníodh ina shagart é i Tuy sa Spáinn sa bhliain 1686 agus cláraíodh é mar shagart paróiste Laithreach Cora sa bhliain 1704 (Ireland. Privy Council, 1705).<sup>35</sup> Nuair a bhí sé tar éis tuilleadh agus tríocha bliain a chaitheamh mar shagart pobail (Burke 1762, 588), thart ar an mbliain 1720, dar le Fenning (1962, 30), chuaigh sé in ord N. Doimínice in Áth Troim, Co. na Mí. Ní in Áth Troim féin a bhí teach na nDoimíniceach an uair úd ach i nDún Uabhair, áit a raibh *locus refugii* acu ar bhruach thuaidh na Bóinne

---

Luaitear in *Is mise a chaill an planda dílis* go bhfuil ‘Tomás ...., mo scóladh, .../ gan deartháir lá na bruíne/ ...’. Glacaim leis gurb é deartháir Sheoirse atá i gceist anseo, ach shíl eagarthóir an dáin, Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha (2002, 427), gur mac de chuid Sheoirse a bhí i gceist. Déantar tagairt do Thomás sa chaoineadh *Faoi liag sa Láithreach, crá mo chroí is mo chléibh* freisin: ‘Is is trua mo chléibh Tomás céasta cráite in uch’ agus tá an líne sin ar cheann de na hocht líne bhreise a cuireadh le deireadh *Is mise a chaill an planda dílis* in 23 I 23.

<sup>33</sup> Bíodh nach gcuirtear an dán seo i leith Thaidhg san aon lámhscríbhinn ina bhfuil sé le fáil RIA 23 I 23, 71-6, is cinnte gurb é a chum. Tugann an cainteoir sa dán ‘mo chéile’ ar Mháire agus tá stíl agus friotal an dáin ag teacht go hiomlán le stíl agus friotal véarsaíocht Thaidhg.

<sup>34</sup> ‘Íog’, ‘laithreach corradh’ (LS).

<sup>35</sup> Sa taifead a breacadh ina thaobh nuair a chláraigh sé sa bhliain 1704 deirtear go raibh sé 44 bliana d’aois an uair sin (Ireland. Privy Council, 1705), rud a thagann salach ar fhianaise Burke. Tá go leor botún cló agus dearmad eile i liosta 1704, rud a fhágann nach féidir brath ar an eolas a sholáthraíonn sé (féach Walsh 1875-6, 550; Fagan 2001, 62-9).

siar ó dheas ó Áth Troim, agus ar an taobh thall den Bhóinn ó Laithreach Cora agus tuilleadh agus dhá chiliméadar déag díreach trasna na tíre uaidh.

Ní raibh an tAth. Laighneach ina shagart paróiste i Laithreach Cora a thuilleadh, mar sin, nuair a fuair Seoirse Ó Reachtagáin bás sa bhliain 1725,<sup>36</sup> agus bhí a fhios ag Tadhg Ó Neachtain nach raibh. Go deimhin is cosúil go raibh a fhios aige go beacht go raibh an sagart lonnaithe taobh thall den Bhóinn ó Laithreach Cora mar scríobh sé ina litir chuig an Ath. Laighneach: ‘mo thrua an tsean-Bhóinn do bheith eadraibh ...’ (féach Ó Cléirigh 1939b, 199-200). Shílfeá freisin gur thuig sé go mbeadh ar an sagart turas sách achran-nach a chur de le teacht chomh fada le Laithreach Cora, sa chaoi, siúd is gurbh fhearr leis gur ó bhéal a chuirfeadh sé comhairle ar Thomás, gur ghlac sé leis gurbh fhéidir gur i litir a dhéanfadh sé amhlaidh: ‘ná bacadh abhainn, móin, ná sliabh sibh ón gcumhachta tug bhur nDia féin daoibh, ag cur a aithne in eagar i do bhriathraibh béil, más féidir, nó i do scríbhinn’ (féach Ó Cléirigh 1939b, 200).

Rinne an tAth. Laighneach rud ar Thadhg agus scríobh litir fhada gan mhoill (12 Feabhra, 1725/6) chuig Tomás á chomhairliú go dian, ach go cneasta, i mBéarla bláfar. Gach uair dar labhair sé leis ina ainm ‘Tom’ a thug sé air.<sup>37</sup>

Ní foláir nó go raibh teagmháil ag Tadhg le Tomás uair éigin ina dhiaidh sin, tráth a bhfuair sé litir an Ath. Laighneach uaidh agus ar bhreac sé an chóip di atá i LS H. 4. 20, 15-21. Is dócha, fad a mhair a bhean, Máire, go raibh caidreamh ag Tadhg lena muintir-se agus gur thug sé cuairt ar Laithreach Cora ó am go chéile. Ní foláir nó go ndeachaigh sé ann ar aon nós ar shochraid Mháire sa bhliain 1733. Níorbh aon iontas é, más ea, go mbeadh sé fós i dteagmháil le Tomás roinnt blianta ina dhiaidh sin agus, dá mbraithfeadh sé go raibh sólás agus cabhair spioradálta ag teastáil ó Thomás faoi mar a theastaigh

<sup>36</sup> Ní fhágann sé sin nach raibh sé ina shagart pobail a thuilleadh, mar bhí cúram paróiste ar phríóirí Dhún Uabhair agus bhí an tAth. Laighneach ina phríóir ansin go minic. Soláthraíonn dhá leac chuimhneacháin fianaise go raibh sé ina ‘Parish Priest of Killyon’ (Cogan 1867, II 387 agus féach I 309). An chéad leac díobh sin (Cogan 1867, II 387), arb í leac uaigne an tsagairt í, bhí sí ar láthair choinbhint na nDoimniceach i nDún Uabhair anuas go dtí thart ar an mbliain 1970, tráth ar tógadh isteach i seilbh phríobháideach í. Tugadh do shagart paróiste Bhaile Íomhair, an tAth. Matthew Mollin í, mí Lúnasa, 2004, agus tá sí anois i séipéal an pharóiste (féach Ó Háinle 2005, 62).

<sup>37</sup> TCD H. 4. 20, 15, 18 (x 2), 19, 21: ‘Dear Tom’. Tá an litir sin curtha in eagar agam in Ó Háinle 2005, 63-7.

sa bhliain 1725-6, go dtabharfadh sé roinnt leabhar cráifeach dó le léamh. Más mar sin a bhí, ní foláir gurb é an duine céanna é an ‘Tom’ ar scríobh an tAth. Laighneach chuige, .i. Tomás Ó Reachtagáin, agus an ‘Tom’ atá luaite ag Tadhg Ó Neachtain sa liosta de dhaoine ar thug sé leabhair agus lámhscríbhinní ar iasacht dóibh. Níorbh aon iontas é go dtabharfadh Tadhg ‘brother’ ar dheartháir céile dá chuid; tar éis an tsoil thug sé ‘mo dheirfiúr dhil’ ar Eastair Ní Bhreasail, bean Sheoirse Uí Reachtagáin,<sup>38</sup> a raibh a ghaol léi níos faide amach ná an gaol a bhí aige le Tomás Ó Reachtagáin.

## GIORRÚCHÁIN

RIA	Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann
RIA Cat.	<i>Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy</i>
Brit. Lib.	British Library
TCD	Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath
IG	<i>Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge</i>
LNÉ	Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann
MN	Coláiste Phádraig, Maigh Nuad

## FOINSÍ

- Abbott, T. K. agus Gwynn, E. J., 1921: *Catalogue of the Irish manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*. Dublin and London.
- Béaslaí, Piaras, 1933-4: *Éigse Nua-Ghaedhilge*. Cuid 2. Baile Átha Cliath agus Corcaigh.
- Best, R. I., 1913: *Bibliography of Irish philology and of printed Irish literature* I. Dublin.
- Burke, Thomas, 1762: *Hibernia Dominicana*. Cologne.
- Cogan, Anthony, 1867: *The diocese of Meath*. 3 Iml. Dublin and London. (Athchló 1992, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.)
- de Blácam, Aodh, 1929: *Gaelic literature surveyed*. Dublin and Cork.
- Fagan, Patrick, 2001: *The diocese of Meath in the eighteenth century*. Dublin.
- Fenning, Hugh, 1962: *Ríocht na Midhe* 3:4, 21-32.
- Flower, Robin, 1926: *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the British Museum*. Vol. II. London.
- Hogan, Edmund, 1910: *Onomasticon Goedelicum*. Dublin and London.
- Hyde, Douglas, 1899: *A literary history of Ireland*. London.
- Ireland. Privy Council, 1705: *A list of the names of the popish parish priests*. Printed by Andrew Crook: Dublin.

<sup>38</sup> Féach an dán *Bás Eastair Ní Bhreasail bháin* a chum Tadhg ag caoineadh bhás Eastair mí Feabhra 1741/2 agus a bhreac sé féin sa lámhscríbhinn LNÉ G 135, 60.



- Mac Enery, Marcus, 1943-4: 'Úna bhán' *Éigse* 4, 133-46.  
 — 1945-7: 'Memoirs of Brian Ó Fearghail' *Éigse* 5, 158-63.
- Mahon, William, 2000: *The history of Éamonn O'Clery*. Indreabhán.
- Meyer, Kuno, 1906: *The triads of Ireland*. Todd lecture series, no. 13. Dublin.
- Ní Dhonnchadha, Máirín, 2002: 'Courts and coteries 2: c. 1500-1800' in *The Field Day anthology of Irish writing IV*. Ed. Angela Bourke et al. Cork. 358-457.
- Ní Fhaircheallaigh, Úna, 1911: *Filidheacht Sheagháin Uí Neachtain*. Cuid a haon, an dara cló. Baile Átha Cliath.
- Ní Mhurchú, Máire, agus Breatnach, Diarmuid, 2001: *1560-1781: Beathaisnéis*. Baile Átha Cliath.
- Ní Shéaghdha, Nessa, 1961: *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland*, Fasc. II. Dublin.  
 — 1977: *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland*, Fasc. IV. Dublin.
- Ó Braonáin, Micheál, 1994: *Príomhshruth Éireann*. Luimneach.
- Ó Cléirigh, Tomás, 1939a: 'A student's voyage' *Éigse* 1, 104-115.  
 — 1939b: 'Leaves from a Dublin manuscript' *Éigse* 1, 196-209.
- Ó Concheanainn, Tomás, 1970: *RIA Cat*. Fasc. 28. Dublin.
- Ó Connalláin, M., 1945-7: 'Úna bhán' *Éigse* 5, 65-6.  
 — 1951: 'True location of Tadhg Ó Neachtain's home in Cartron' *The Irish Book Lover* 31, 106-7.
- Ó Fiannachta, Pádraig, 1967: *Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Choláiste Phádraig Má Nuad: Clár*, Fascúl 4. Má Nuad.
- Ó Háinle, Cathal, 1983: 'Ar bhás Sheáin Uí Neachtain' *Éigse* 19, 384-94.  
 — 1986: 'Neighbors in eighteenth-century Dublin: Jonathan Swift and Seán Ó Neachtain' *Éire-Ireland* 31:4, 106-121.  
 — 1992: 'A life in eighteenth-century Dublin: Tadhg Ó Neachtain' in *Féile Zozimus* 1, eag. Uíbh Eachach, Vivian, 10-28.  
 — 2005: 'Father Francis Leynagh's letter (February 1725/6)' *Ríocht na Midhe* 16, 59-69.
- Ó Neachtain, Eoghan, 1918: *Stair Éamuinn Uí Chléire do réir Sheáin Uí Neachtain*. [Baile Átha Cliath]
- O'Rahilly, T. F., 1912-3: 'Irish scholars in Dublin in the early eighteenth century' *Gadelica* 1, 156-62.
- Ó Raghallaigh, Tomás, 1938: *Filí agus filidheacht Chonnacht*. Baile Átha Cliath.
- O'Reilly, Edward, 1820: *A chronological account of nearly four hundred Irish writers*. Athchló 1970, Shannon.
- Ó Tuathail, Éamonn, 1948-52: 'The river Shannon poetically described by Michael Brennan' *Éigse* 6, 193-240, 275-311.
- Risk, M[ary] H., 1951: *The poems of Seán Ó Neachtain*. Tráchtas neamh-foilsithe Ph.D. Coláiste na Tríonóide.

Risk, May. H., 1975: 'Seán Ó Neachtain: an eighteenth-century Irish writer' *Studia Hibernica* 15, 47-60.

W[alsh], W[illiam] J., 1875-6: 'Registry of Irish Parish Priests' *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 12, 302 etc.

CATHAL Ó HÁINLE

*Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath*

## THE VERBAL ENDING *-IDH/-IGH* IN MUNSTER DIALECTS

1. In most of the spoken dialects of Irish the verbal ending which is written *-idh/-igh* is subject to the variation in form illustrated here for a Munster dialect (1) and for an Ulster dialect (2); the modified spelling follows Ó Sé (1995, 43) and Ó Baoill (1996, 30, 31, 54) respectively.

(1) *cuirhig Seán ~ cuirhe sé*      ‘Seán will put/send ~ he will put/  
send’  
*beig Seán ~ be sé*                  ‘Seán will be ~ he will be’  
*cheannaig Síle ~ cheanna sí*      ‘Síle bought ~ she bought’

(2) *cuirhí Seán ~ cuirhe sé*  
*béy Seán ~ béy sé ~ be sé*  
*cheannaí Síle ~ cheanna sí*

The rightmost examples above are so called ‘analytic forms’ – closely bound phrases or even wordlike units consisting of a verbal form followed by a subject (personal) pronoun. The leftmost examples show the form of the ending before full (i.e. non-pronominal) noun phrase subjects, and also before demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *cuirhig san* ‘that one (or he) will put/send’ (Ó Sé 2000, 80). The additional option in the case of *beidh sé* in north Donegal will be noted. A number of works on Ulster dialects which I have consulted shed no light on O’Rahilly’s statement (1932, 55) that ‘sometimes in Northern Irish’ one hears *mhíne Seán é* for *mhíní Seán é* ‘S. explained it’, but it is not necessarily to be discounted for that reason; in any event he indicates that the phenomenon in question is uncommon.

2. In each alternating set in (1) and (2) it is the leftmost example which shows a direct reflex of the historical endings *-idh* and *-igh*. O’Rahilly (p. 53) states that: ‘Final *-idh* in Irish became everywhere *-igh*, in sound, in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.’ This merged *-igh* became *-ig* in Munster and *-í* in dialects from the northern reaches of Co. Galway northwards. In an intermediate zone extending from the west Galway littoral to south Leinster the reflex was a neutral vowel, so that *cuirfidh* is pronounced as *cuirhe* and *cheannaigh* as *cheanna* in all contexts. It is for this reason that the alternation in question cannot be exhibited for the Cois Fharraige,

Co. Galway, dialect described by de Bhaldraithe (1953). Since the leftmost forms in (1) and (2) show the regular reflexes, the rightmost forms *cuirhe*, *be* and *cheanna* must be due to some special development. Bergin (1904, 143) and O'Rahilly (1932, 55) put forward a phonetic explanation whereby the original fricative *gh* was deleted before the slender *s* of the closely-bound pronoun subject, the verb and pronoun forming a wordlike unit. In more recent linguistic terminology we might say that the *gh* was deleted before a morpheme boundary but not before a word boundary. Greene (1973, 127) rejected a purely phonetic development and suggested instead that the verbal form in *cuirhe sé/sí* continues the older conjunct form *cuirfe* and that that in *cuirhig/cuirhí Seán* continues the older absolute form *cuirfidh*. Bergin (p. 143) had already dismissed this possibility as 'unlikely' and Ó Buachalla (1997, 178) points out that pronoun subjects could occur with both absolute and conjunct forms in the Early Modern language. Greene did not explain how the conjunct and absolute forms might have been redistributed so that the former would be used before personal pronouns acting as subject and the latter in all other contexts, and this is a serious difficulty with his proposal. Ó Buachalla (pp. 178-9) avoids these difficulties with his suggestion that 1 pl. fut. forms such as *beimid* 'we will be' and *buailfidimid* 'we will hit' were reanalysed as *be* + *mid* and *buailfi* + *mid* respectively. The reinterpretation of the ending *mid* as a pronoun (Connacht and Ulster *muid*) would have facilitated the use of other pronouns with the new bases *be* and *buailfi*. Both Greene's and Ó Buachalla's proposals require the alternation *-ig* ~ *-e* or *-í* ~ *-e* to have arisen first in the future tense and subsequently spread to the past tense (Greene 1973, 128, Ó Buachalla 1997, 179). The purpose of this article is to consider the Munster data in (1) in more detail than has hitherto been done and to uphold a future tense origin for this alternation.

3. The schema given for West Kerry in (1) is of necessity simplified. It is well known that the deletion of *g* before subject pronouns does not occur with all monosyllabic verbal forms in Munster. In my description of W. Kerry Irish (Ó Sé 2000, 271-301) I note *be sé* 'he will be', *geó sé* 'he will get', *geó sé* 'he will go', *ragha sé* 'he will go' and *chua sé* 'he went', but retention of the *g* in all other monosyllabic past tense forms, e.g. *shuig sé* 'he sat', *luig sé* 'he lay down', *dhóig sé* 'he burnt' etc. According to Ua Súilleabháin (1994, 515-16) a similar situation obtains in West Muskerry, but those monosyllables con-

taining long vowels which retain the *g* may drop it in fast speech, e.g. *dhó' sé* 'he burnt'. From the same area, which he refers to as Mid-Cork, Bergin (1904, 143-4) reports *g*-deletion in *do ní sé* 'he washed', *do lui sé* 'he lay down', *do dhó sé* 'he burnt', retention of *g* in *do shuig sé* 'he sat down', and both possibilities in *do ghui sé* ~ *do ghui sé* 'he prayed'. Allowing for some differences between W. Kerry and Muskerry, and some local variation within the broader West Cork area, it is uncontroversial that there has been extensive retention of *g* in monosyllabic forms in Munster.

4. What remains to be clarified is the extent to which *g* may be retained in polysyllabic forms such as *cheannaig* 'bought' or *d'fhoghlamaig* 'learnt' when a personal pronoun subject follows. Unfortunately, none of the works which have mentioned this matter since Bergin (1904), including Ó Sé (2000), have dealt with it in sufficient detail; furthermore, some of the descriptions are unclear, or potentially misleading. The following are summaries of existing treatments of this point, in chronological order:

- (a) Bergin (1904, 143), referring to Muskerry (p. 139), says that the 'g-forms are very rarely used with personal pronouns except in the case of monosyllabic verbs.'
- (b) O'Rahilly (1932, 55) states in a footnote: 'In Munster *mhínig sé* and the like may also be heard, but only when the words are pronounced in a more or less slow and deliberate (and hence disconnected fashion)', but he does not make it clear whether the *g* may also be retained in the future tense (giving e.g. *cuirhig sé*).
- (c) Sjoestedt-Jonval (1938, 131), describing W. Kerry Irish, gives *cheannaig sé* as the type-example of the 3 sg. past in the 2nd Conjugation and does not report *cheanna sé/sí*.
- (d) Ó Cuív (1944, 112), in a historical section on the sounds of Muskerry Irish, records deletion of historical slender *gh* in final position in a number of forms and contexts, including: 'In verbs when a pronoun subject follows, except in slow speech, e.g. *mhínigh sé* > *mhíne sé*, *cuirfidh tú* > *cuirfe tú*' [I have omitted the author's phonetic transcriptions here]; it seems to be implied that *g* < *gh* occurs in both past and future tenses in slow speech, but one would have wished for a more explicit statement accompanied by examples.
- (e) Sheehan (1944, 136), describing the Irish of Ring, states that 'final *-idh*' is not pronounced in future tense forms such as *tiocfa' mé* 'I

- will come' and *an raghai' sé* 'will he go', and that 'the same rule holds for final *-idh*, *-igh*, or *-ig* of the 3rd sing. past tense active, unless the verb is a monosyllable'; note that his example (3b) '*Ar bhaili' Seán ...?*' – '*Níor bhailig'*' ('Did Seán collect ...?' – 'No') is at variance with the rule which he has just given.
- (f) Breatnach (1947, 133), in a historical section on the sounds of Ring Irish, says that: 'In some cases final palatal *dh*, *gh* is lost. This happens (1) in verbal forms followed by a pronoun, e.g. *dh'ime sé*, *be sé*' [examples transliterated here]. In a footnote he gives as counterexamples without commentary the verbal forms [transliterated here] *dhreog sé* 'it decayed', *luig sé* 'he lay down', *threig sé* 'he ploughed'.
- (g) Wagner (1959, 18), lists only *cheanna sé* for W. Kerry, directly contradicting Sjoestedt-Jonval, and he explicitly adds that the form *cheannaig* is the basic past tense form but that *cheanna* is used before pronoun subjects.
- (h) Ua Súilleabháin (1994, 517), writing on Munster dialects in general, states that: 'Is ionann cás é do *-g* deiridh na haimsire fáistíní agus do *-g* na haimsire caite maidir lena dhul ar ceal' ('The same situation arises with the final *-g* of the future tense and the *-g* of the past tense as regards deletion'); however, his elaboration of this point cites only the monosyllabic form *raghaig* 'will go'.
- (i) Ó Sé (2000, 309) describes the alternation in W. Kerry Irish as entailing synchronically the deletion of the final *g* of the verbal form before a subject (personal) pronoun, giving examples from both the future and past tenses, and further remarking that: 'Uaireanta coinnítear an *g'* i gcaint cháiréiseach' ('Sometimes the *g'* is kept in careful speech'). The only examples given are [here transliterated] *lonnaig sé* 'he settled' and *déarfai' gob anso a dh'fhoghlamaig sé é* ('It would be said that it was here he learned it') from one particular speaker, Julia Bean de Lónhra. I failed to add that all examples of this retention of *g* which I have heard in the area were in the past tense, and that with *lonnaig* and *dh'fhoghlamaig* *g*-retention seems to be the norm.
- (j) Ó Buachalla (2003, 69), describing the Irish of Cape Clear, states that with 2nd Conjugation verbs such as *ceannaíonn* the *gh* of the past tense form *cheannaigh* is not usually pronounced before the pronouns *sé* and *sí* ('ní fhuaimnítear an *gh* de ghnáth roimh na forainmneacha *sé/sí*'); for the future tense (p. 71) he indicates that the *dh* is never pronounced ('ní fhuaimnítear an consan *-dh* roimh fhorainmneacha').

I note with regret that my own treatment of the matter is among the least satisfactory, and a revised statement of the situation in W. Kerry Irish is required. More generally, an examination of the evidence for Munster as a whole indicates that *g*-retention is well attested in the past tense and marginal in the future. Sjoestedt-Jonval had clearly noticed this divergence, but exaggerated it by failing to mention *cheanna sé/sí*.

5. In many years study of the spoken Irish of W. Kerry I have no note or recollection of having heard a retained *g* before a subject (personal) pronoun in future tense forms, whether monosyllabic like *beig* 'will be' or disyllabic like *cuirhig* 'will put'. I have noted this phenomenon often enough in disyllabic or trisyllabic forms in the past tense, however. The distinguished folklore collector Seosamh Ó Dálaigh of Dún Chaoin (Dunquin) invariably pronounced the *-g* in *lonnaig sé* 'he settled down' and *dh'fhoghlamaig sé* 'he learned', as Bean de Lónra did, and this was irrespective of rate of speech or other stylistic considerations. Indeed, this phenomenon seems particularly common in trisyllabic forms like the latter, and can also be heard in forms such as *shocaraig sé* and *thosanaig sé* in which the medial vowel is historically epenthetic. It seemed appropriate to calculate statistics for *g*-retention in a body of texts collected and transcribed by somebody other than myself, and of necessity one which uses either phonetic script or modified orthography. The stories collected (with three exceptions, p. 85) from the storyteller Peig Sayers in Jackson (1938) are suitable for this purpose. There are various errors and misunderstandings in Jackson's rendering of these texts (e.g. *múr* throughout for Peig's invariable *muar* 'big', confirmed by sound recordings, and *a bhí i ndise na leapa* for *i bhfí-ainise na leapa* 'alongside the bed', p. 47), but the point which concerns us here is non-lexical and Jackson would probably have been aware of its significance from Bergin's and O'Rahilly's references to it. These stories were dictated to Jackson, who took them down in phonetic script; the rate of delivery will therefore have been markedly slow, but presumably consistently so. I have calculated figures for three polysyllabic types, and these are presented in (3). 1st Conjugation future refers to variants of forms such as *cuirfidh sé*, 2nd Conjugation future to variants of forms such as *ceannóidh sé*, and 2nd Conjugation past to variants of forms such as *d'imigh sé*; the pronoun *sé* 'he, it' stands for the entire set of personal pronouns.

(3) 1st Conj. future	- <i>he sé</i>	77
	- <i>hig sé</i>	1
2nd Conj. future	- <i>ó sé</i>	5
	- <i>óig sé</i>	0
2nd Conj. past	- <i>e sé</i>	63
	- <i>ig sé</i>	67

There is clear evidence here for a divergent treatment of the future and past tenses with regard to *g*-retention. Although in the future tense the alternation *cuirhig Seán* ~ *cuirhe sé* is consistent virtually to the point of fixity, in the past tense we have in fact *d'imig Seán* ~ *d'imig sé* ~ *d'ime sé*, and *g*-retention is approximately as common as *g*-deletion in this slow narrative style. The sole exception in the 1st Conjugation future in (3) above is in *níor bhuaig capall ráis fós air; agus ní lú mar bhuaifig sé go deó air* 'no racehorse has beaten him before, and it is no likelier that one will beat him ever' (p. 45). This isolated exception may be due to an unmarked hesitation or, as Dr Seán Ua Súilleabháin suggests, to a particularly emphatic delivery. One notes also the presence in the previous clause of a past tense form of *buann ar* 'defeats' with expected *-g*. Monosyllabic verbs in this volume generally behave as indicated in my monograph on the dialect, but note *g*-retention in *pé uair a bheig sé* 'whenever it will be' (p. 60) and *do chuaig sé* 'he went' (p. 53). The latter occurs in a story collected from Peig's son Mícheál Ó Guíthín.

6. As a cross-check on the data from Jackson (1938) I have noted all examples of polysyllabic past tense analytic forms in *-ig* in c. 100 minutes of tape recordings of Peig Sayers which were made available to me by the RTÉ sound archive (the only corresponding future tense form was in verse, and lacked the *g* as expected). Of twelve examples, eight show *g*-retention (*do thosanaig sí* 'she began'; *do shocaraig sé* 'he arranged'; two instances of *do bheannaig sé* 'he blessed'; *chumhdaig sí* 'she covered'; *do dh'ainsig sé* 'he hit (a target)'; two instances of *do dh'fhoghlamaig sé* 'he learned'), and four show *g*-deletion (*do dh'iompa sé* 'he turned'; *dh'árda sé* 'he lifted'; *dh'ime sé* 'he went away'; *tháine sé* 'he came'). Although *tháine sé* is analogical, and perhaps historically late, it is surprisingly consistent in its *g*-deletion, both in these recordings and in Jackson (1938); Sjoestedt-Jonval (1938, 147) and Ó Sé (2000, 298) report



only *tháine sé*. The overall number of examples is smaller than one would expect because several of the recordings are of reminiscences which are largely in the past habitual. I conclude that Jackson (1938) accurately represented the narrator's usage in this regard. A further crosscheck is provided by a story entitled 'Iníon an cheannaí' (The Merchant's Daughter) narrated by Peig Sayers in 1933 and given in phonetic notation by Sjoestedt-Jonval (1938, 188-92). All six past tense analytic forms of 2nd Conjugation verbs in this text retain the *g* of the ending *-ig* before the pronouns *sé* and *sí*. Sjoestedt-Jonval's reporting of only *cheannaig sé* in her grammatical description was probably due to an excessive reliance on oral narrative as a source of examples.

7. Dr Seán Ua Súilleabháin has supplied figures from one of the published volumes of folklore collected from the West Muskerry storyteller Amhlaoihbh Ó Loingsigh (Ó Cróinín 1971). This yields 150 examples of *-ig sé* and 209 examples of *-a sé* or *-i sé* in the 2nd Conjugation past tense. This is a less even distribution than in the stories which Jackson collected on the Great Blasket, the figures for which are presented in (3) above, but the sample is much bigger in this case, making comparison difficult. In any event it would be necessary to examine a wider range of texts before suggesting an inter-dialectal difference. The only examples of *g*-retention before *sé* or other pronouns in the volume of Ó Loingsigh's stories are as follows, with figures: *beig sé* (3), as against 11 examples of *be sé*; *raghaig sé* (1), *raghaig tusa* (1), as against 46 examples of *ragha mé/tú/sé*. One wonders whether the occasional instance of *g*-retention in the future tense in Muskerry Irish is confined to irregular monosyllabic forms.

8. On the basis of the foregoing discussion, it is clear that the schema presented for W. Kerry in (1) above must be modified as in (4):

- (4) (a) *cuirhig Seán ~ cuirhe sé*  
 (b) *beig Seán ~ be sé*  
 (c) *cheannaig Seán ~ cheannaig sé ~ cheanna sé*

The retention of *g* in polysyllables (type 4c above) in W. Kerry is determined by at least the following factors:

- (a) trisyllabic forms such as *dh'fhoghlamaig* typically retain the *g* in all styles of speech (Ua Súilleabháin points out that this would not appear to be true of West Muskerry);
- (b) certain disyllabic forms such as *lonnaig* 'settled' also tend to retain the *g* in all styles of speech;
- (c) other disyllabic forms, especially common forms such as *d'imig* 'went away' and *cheannaig* 'bought', typically delete the *g* in normal speech but show a high rate of retention (approaching 50%) in oral narrative style.

Some of the works cited in section 4 above state that *g*-retention is more common in slow speech; O'Rahilly's formulation (1932, 55) is that it occurs 'only when the words are pronounced in a more or less slow and deliberate (and hence disconnected fashion)'. It is, however, difficult to reconcile this claim with the very slight evidence which I have found for *g*-retention in the future tense. If rate of speech is the factor causing *g*-retention why does it not affect the past and future tenses equally? I have therefore been reluctant to cite slowness of speech above, although it may have a role. The morphological effects of varying rate of speech have not been systematically studied for Irish and it is as well to leave this matter open for the moment. On present evidence, there is a more compelling case for pointing to register as a factor and regarding (c) above in that light. Perhaps 'careful' or 'deliberate' speech are indicators of a higher register. This is supported by Breatnach's statement (1947, 133) that: 'A more studied pronunciation may be heard, however, with *dh, gh* = *g'*, e.g. in reciting verse'. We may also have to reckon with inter-personal and intergenerational variation. (It is possible that a linguistic variable in Labov's sense is involved in all of this, but I do not have sufficient statistics to take that suggestion further.)

9. It is likely that an analogical relationship with another ending has helped to maintain a substantial degree of *g*-retention before *sé* and *sí* in the past tense. Several 2nd Conjugation verbs have *-imh* instead of *-ig* in their basic past tense form (Ó Cuív 1958) and *-imh* does not undergo deletion of its final consonant, in W. Kerry at any rate, e.g. *sheasaimh sé* 'he stood', *chomhairimh sé* 'he counted'. Ó Cuív (p. 154) has explained the ending *-imh* as deriving from the verbal noun in *-amh* on the analogy of *chuir* 'put, placed': *cur* 'putting, placing' etc. Where *-imh* occurs in the absence of a verbal noun in *-amh* we apparently have analogical spread, e.g. *bhailimh sé* 'he collected' in

W. Kerry (verbal noun *bailiú* 'collecting'). Ó Cuív (p. 155) shows that these past tense forms in *-imh* are attested as far back as the seventeenth century at least.

10. The clear divergence between the future and past tenses as regards the alternating forms of the ending *-idh/-igh* has undoubted historical implications. First, it seems to argue against the phonetic development suggested by Bergin and O'Rahilly. If deletion of slender *gh* before the slender *s* of a 3 sg. pronoun were involved one would expect it to have applied equally to future tense forms such as (in modified spelling) *cuirfigh sé* and past tense forms such as *mhínigh sé*. It is not clear why the past tense should have undergone less deletion of *gh* in Munster if a purely phonetic process were involved. This suggests that a morphological explanation is required. However, it lies outside the scope of this article to comment further on the historical origins of these alternations.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am most grateful to Dr Seán Ua Súilleabháin for helpful comments and corrections and in particular for generously supplying supporting statistics from West Muskerry by courtesy of the Editor of *Éigse*.

## REFERENCES

- Bergin, O. J., 1904: 'Analogy in the verbal system of Modern Irish' *Ériu* 1, 139-52.
- Breatnach, R. B., 1947: *The Irish of Ring*, Co. Waterford. Dublin.
- de Bhaldraithe, Tomás, 1953: *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht*. Baile Átha Cliath.
- Greene, David, 1973: 'Synthetic and analytic: a reconsideration' *Ériu* 24, 121-33.
- Jackson, K. H., 1938: *Scéalta ón mBlascaod*. Dublin.
- Ó Baoill, D. P., 1996: *An teanga bheo: Cúige Uladh*. Baile Átha Cliath.
- Ó Buachalla, Breandán, 1997: 'Synthetic and analytic: addendum', in *Miscellanea Celtica in memoriam Heinrich Wagner*, ed. Séamas Mac Mathúna and Ailbhe Ó Corráin, Uppsala, 175-81.
- 2003: *An teanga bheo: Gaeilge Chléire*. Baile Átha Cliath.
- Ó Cróinín, Donncha, 1971: *Scéalaíocht Amhlaoibh Í Luínse. Béaloideas* 35-6.
- Ó Cuív, Brian, 1944: *The Irish of West Muskerry*. Dublin.
- 1958: 'Some verbal forms in Modern Irish', *Ériu* 18, 153-7.

- O'Rahilly, T. F., 1932: *Irish dialects past and present: with chapters on Scottish Gaelic and Manx*. Dublin.
- Ó Sé, Diarmuid, 1995: *An teanga bheo: Corca Dhuibhne*. Baile Átha Cliath.
- 2000: *Gaeilge Chorca Dhuibhne*. Baile Átha Cliath.
- Sheehan, Rev. M., 1944: *Sean-Chaint na nDéise*. Dublin.
- Sjoestedt-Jonval, Marie-Louise, 1938: *Description d'un parler irlandais de Kerry*. Paris.
- Ua Súilleabháin, Seán, 1994: 'Gaeilge na Mumhan' in *Stair na Gaeilge*, ed. Kim McCone *et al.*, Maigh Nuad, 479-538.
- Wagner, Heinrich, 1959: *Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln*. Tübingen.

DIARMUID Ó SÉ

*University College Dublin*

A REVIEW OF SOME PLACENAME MATERIAL FROM  
*FORAS FEASA AR ÉIRINN*

INTRODUCTION

GEOFFREY KEATING'S history of ancient Ireland, the first work of modern Irish literature to draw on such sources as *Leabhar Gabhála* and compilations of Irish annals, became a landmark in Gaelic scholarship. Written in the early 1630s when most of his learned clerical contemporaries had chosen to write in Latin or English, his *magnum opus* gave a new impetus to those who cherished the literary traditions of the Irish language. Almost from the time of its completion c. 1634, manuscript copies of *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* were disseminated throughout many parts of Ireland, but the full Irish version did not appear in print until the Irish Texts Society published it in four volumes, edited by David Comyn (1902) and P. S. Dinneen (1908, 1914). These are the volumes (as reprinted in 1987) used in the present survey.

This contribution is in no way intended as a denigration of Keating's prodigious achievement, carried out in difficult conditions. But while his mellifluous classical prose became the model for later generations of writers, the very excellence of his style tended to obscure the fact that he was not part of the close-knit familial Irish literary tradition. The presumption that he attended a bardic school at Burgess, Co. Tipperary, is attributable to Thomas O'Sullevene, a shadowy character from the fringes of literary circles in London. The same unreliable source names Burgess as Keating's place of birth, whereas recent work (Cunningham, 2002) indicates that Moorstown Castle in the parish of Inishlounaght was his probable birthplace. In her biographical study, *The World of Geoffrey Keating*, Cunningham refers to 'the theory that Keating had been trained in the bardic tradition where placelore was an inherent part of the body of knowledge preserved in the bardic schools' (pp. 71-2). This theory does not seem to fit the facts, however. Though acquainted with the Mac Craith and Mac Aodhagáin families of his native county, and admired by contemporaries such as Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh and Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha, he does not seem to have put in the requisite years of training, and for readings of early manuscripts probably depended largely on others. Cunningham has noted that an early sixteenth-century Ó Maoil Chonaire manuscript (now British Library, Egerton 1782) contains a miscellany that corresponds very

closely to a range of sources used by Keating in his *Foras Feasa*, and also quotes Anne Cronin, who showed that the Book of Lecan contained all the *Leabhar Gabhála* material used by Keating (Cunningham 2000, 78, 65). In the 1630s the Book of Lecan was in the possession of Archbishop Ussher, but was on loan to Conall Mageoghagan of Lismoyney, Co. Westmeath, who may have provided Keating with copies of extracts. One tract, almost certainly used by Keating (for his boundaries of Midhe, *FFÉ* I 114), was edited by Paul Walsh from two manuscripts, RIA 1223 (D iv 2) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 512 (Walsh 1912). Keating's version appears to be related more to Rawl. B. 512, but of the thirty placenames listed in the tract he misread or copied incorrectly about one-third. As a grandson of Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh remarked, these old writings were often corrupt even before they reached Keating, *nar thuig 7 nar légh go romhaith iad* (Ó Cuív 1965, 122). Due allowance must, of course, be made for the fact that we do not have any autograph copy of his work, so that variants from the norm may not all be his fault. But as against that, the earliest copyists belonged to professional literary families such as Uí Dhuibhgeannáin and Clann Uí Mhaoil Chonaire who would have had too great a respect for Keating to alter his versions.

The whole point about *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* is that it was intended as a comprehensive historical survey, in the broad sweep of which details such as name forms were quickly – and sometimes incorrectly – copied. As Cunningham remarks, 'He was a synthetic historian, not a scribe, and he was interested in interpretation not transcription' (2000, 81). But such was his reputation that his lead in regard to placenames was followed by later scholars – John O'Donovan, P. W. Joyce, T. F. O'Rahilly – and in particular by Edmund Hogan in whose *Onomasticon Goedelicum* practically all the placenames listed below were accepted without question.

#### (A) MISREADINGS AND MISTAKEN FORMS

[The following is the system used in treating the placenames: (1) Name and text as given by Keating, *FFÉ* vols I-IV, with part and page numbers. (2) Form deemed more correct, with identification of site where possible. (3) Relevant quotations from earlier texts to justify form given in (2).]

**Abhainn Chara** *Abhainn Chara, gus* (v.l. *go soiche*) *an Sionainn*, I 114. Abha(nn) Charadh Coinche, a boundary of ancient Midhe, prob.

the Little Brosna r., a tributary of the Shannon, between Cos Offaly and Tipperary. *cusind abainn frisa raiter abann Chara Coinche 7 in tSinann*, AH I 3.

**Achadh Cuinnire** *Cathfuidh easpog Achadh Chuinnire*, III 56. Achadh Cinn, an eccl. site in N. Co. Antrim (see HDGP 14 and PNNI 4, 221). *Cathub mc. Ferghusa, epscop Achid Cinn*, AU 555.1 (= MartG 70); *epscop Achaidh chúin*, ATig. 554; *Epscop Achaidh Cuinn*, CS 555.

**Aibhle** *A hiath Aibhle i Leitribh Craoi*, II 320. This text on the birth of Fiacha Muillethan obviously derives from Lec. (167a) where *ahiath* is at the end of l. 37 and *aib lai* on l. 38. Stokes's reading (RC 11 (1890) 42) is a *hiathaib lai il-leitrib Crai*.

**Ael na Míreann** *Easpog na Midhe, no do réir Chamden easpog Ael na Míreann .i. Uisneach*, III 386. Ail na Midhreach, the 'Rock of Judgements' on the Hill of Uisneach, Co. Westmeath. Keating was inclined to give undue weight to extraneous sources; his mistaken version ('stone of divisions') is derived from William Camden's 'Elnamirand' (*Britannia*, 1st ed. (London 1586); ed. used by Keating prob. 1607 – see Cronin 1944, 251). Cf. *Easboc na Midhe no easboc Ael namidreth* (from TCD MS 1309 (H. 2. 12, no. 9), *Éigse* 17 (1978-9) 454).

**Ard Bric** *gur thuit le hEoghan i n-Árd mBric*, I 222. (Ard) Inbhir was the cognomen of the Eoghan in question. *coros marb Eogan airdInbir*, LL I. 14772; *Docer Fiachna 7 Aí án / la Heogan Inbir imshlán / docer Eogan Inbir úair*, LG IV 238).

**Áth Crionna** *Ó áth Crionna go hArd-Céin*, II 292. Crionna was a battle site, not a ford, near r. Boyne. *o tá Crinna co hArd Céin*, LL I. 43267 (= *ot[h]á Crinna*, CGH 328f54).

**Áth Luain** *go Maothail, as sin go hÁth-Luain*, I 114. Áth Dá Onn, a boundary of Midhe, prob. near t.l./L. Atoon, bar. Mohill, Co. Leitrim. *co Maothail 7 assin d'Ath da on* (v.l. *lon*), AH I 3.

**Athghort** *Cath Athghuirt i Seimhne*, II 129. Cúil Athghoirt, a battle site at Island Magee, Co. Antrim. *cath Chúile Athguirt i Semniu*, LG V 204; *Cath Cuile Athgoirt tiar tra*, LL II. 2062, 6015.

**Baltinglas** *mainistear an Bhealaigh alias Baltinglas*, III 354. Bealach Conghlais is the usual Irish name for the abbey site in Co. Wicklow (as in *AU* (1) s.a. 1163) but this name seems to have been avoided by Keating (who wrongly associated it with Cork – see below).

**Beag an Bun** *san áit ré ráidhtear Beag an Bun* (v.l. *Beganbun*), III 324. Baginbun, landing-place of Raymond le Gros in S. Co. Wexford, A.D. 1170. The site was originally named *Dún Domhnaill* (as noted in III 330). Keating's use of outside sources was not always to his advantage. 'Beag an Bun' is an illconceived hibernicisation of Baginbun, which, according to Orpen, may derive from the names of two ships that made landfall there (*IUN* I 183-8).

**Bealach an Luchaide** *ó Bheirn trí gCarbad ag Carn Fhearadhaigh go Luchad .i. Bealach an Luchaide*, III 70. Áth Luchaid, at Lughid Bridge in b. Inchiquin, Co. Clare. (*Go hÁth Luchad* in accompanying quatrain is more accurate.) *o Carn'd Feradaich co hAth Lucait*, *CGG* 66.

**Beanncha(i)r** *Inis Teimhín is Beannchair is Cluain Uama*, III 156 (= *CGG* 4-6). Beigéire, Begerin Island in Wexford harbour. The fault here lay not with Keating, but with the MS of *CGG* from which he copied; cf. *CGG* 6). The *LL* version (ll. 39337-8 = *CGG* 222) reads: *Inis Temli 7 Becherinn 7 Cluain Úama*.

**Beatha** *Fiachaidh mac Baodáin ... gur thuit an tráth-so i gCath Beatha le Fiachaidh mac Déamáin*, III 76-8. Leithead Midhinn, battle site in Ulster. *Bellum Leithet Midind in quo cecidit Fiachna Lurgan. Fiachna m. Demmain victor erat*, *AU* s.a. 626; *Cath Lethid Midhínd in Druing*, *ATig.* s.a. 625.

**Bróin Bhearg** *Bróin Bhearg is Craobh Dhearg is Craobh Ruaidh*, II 198. Téite Brecc, hospital at Eamhain Mhacha. *in Chroebrúad 7 in Téite Brecc 7 in Chroibderg*, *LL* l. 12495; *dom sergligu .i. don Teti Bricc*, *LU* l. 3294 (see *Éigse* 15 (1973) 107-9).

**Brú Bhriodáin** *ag Brú Bhriodáin ag tóchar idir da mhagh i dtuait Ghéisille*, II 104. Brí Dhamh, battle site in Uí Fhailghe. *for Tennus in Uib Failghe, ar brú Bri Dam, hic Tóchur-etir-dá-magh*, *LG V* 160 (= *AFM* I 28; *LGen.* 100.1); *Iugulatio ... i mBrí Dam for Suaniu*, *AU* s.a. 600 (= *ATig.*, *CS*, *AFM*).



**Camchluain** *Laighin féin do mharbh Brandubh i gCath Camchluana*, III 114. Damhchluain (? recte Slabhra), where Brandubh, king of Laighin, was slain. *Bellum Slaebhre in quo uictus est Brandubh ... Iugulatio Branduibh regis Laegen a genere suo per dolum* [interpol.: *a cath na Damcluana ro marbhadh*], *AU* s.a. 605; *Cath Slabra*, *ATig.* s.a. 604.

**Caoininis Ó bhFathaidh** *tángadar Gaill i gCaoininis* (v.l. *a gCaoimhinis*) *Ó bhFathaidh*, III 156. A good example of Keating's difficulty with clusters such as *mm* – which he (or perhaps his exemplar?) read as *inin*. Cam(m)as was prob. in south Co. Tipperary. *tángadar Goill i gCamas ó Fothaid Tíre*, *CGG* 4; *a Cammus Hua Fathaid Tíre*, *LL* ll. 39331-2.

**Casán Brige** *tug Maoilseachlainn rí Midhe cath ar Lochlonnaibh i gCasán Brige san Midhe mar ar thuit seacht gcéad díobh*, III 170. Caisteal Glinne, prob. in tl. Farrow, par. Leny, Co. Westmeath. *Ra briss dano Mael Sechnaill ri Temrach cath Caistail Glinne forro du i torchair secht cet*, *LL* ll. 39463-4; *cath Caislen Glinni*, *CGG* 20; cf. *Cath re Mael Sechnaill for genti i Foraig in quo ceciderunt .uii. cet*, *AU* s.a. 848 (= *CS* s.a. 848). (See *PNW* 131-2).

**Ceall Mhic Creannáin** *I gCill mic Creannáin do gairthí Ó Domhnaill*, III 12. Ceall Mac nÉanáin, Kilmacrenan, Co. Donegal. *Teach Coluim Cille i Cill Mc. nEnain*, *AU* s.a.1129; *i cCill Mac Nénáin*, *BAR* I 38.

**Cealla Sáile** *Sláine is Cealla Sáile*, III 156. Ceall Ausaille, Killashee near Naas, Co. Kildare. *Slani, ocus Orllasaili*, *CGG* 6; *Sláni 7 Cell Ausailli*, *LL* ll. 39352-3; *abbas Cille Ausaile*, *AU* s.a. 829.

**Cealltair/Cealltrach** *do marbhadh Ceannfaolaidh ... i gCath Cealltrach*, III 138. Airchealtair, battle site in bar. Kells Upr, Co. Meath (see *HDGP* 34). *i Cath Aircheltra / Ailcheltra*, *LG* V 380; *do uathbás i nAircheltrú*, *LL* ll. 1324-5; *a hAircheltraibh*, *Ériu* 4, 163.

**Cloch Mhionnuirc** *cath idir Dhál Riada is Bhreathnaigh san áit dá ngairthear Cloch Mhionnuirc*, III 144. Perh. Manner in Peebles, Scotland (see *VC* (1) 381; also *CPNS*, 387). *in lapide qui uocatur Minuirc*, *AU* s.a. 717 (= *ATig.* s.a. 716).

**Cloch na Cinneamhna** see Lia Fáil.

**Coill Lamhruidhe** *Coill Lamhruidhe i bhFearaibh Rois ghoirthear don mhuine choille sin*, II 202. (Wood where Conchubhar mac Neasa died.) ‘Coill’ is not found in earlier sources: *I Maigh Lámrighe atchuaidh dó ... dia ro[sh]lecht lerg Lamraidhe*, DTUH 18; *For Lettir Lámraigi luimm*, DTUH 20; *Ri toeb Leitreach Lamraighi. .i. Dia ro selaidh Concobar Fidh Lamraige ...*, MM 643. (Perhaps this is another example of replacement of *fiodh* by *coill*, for which see Nicholls 2004, 228-9.)

**Corcach** *lucht Corcaighe*, III 56. *Recte* Corca Oiche (see Cúil).

**Crannach Ghéisille** *ó Thóchar Cairbre go Crannaigh Ghéisille*, I 114. Crannach Mhaighe Géisille, at Geashill, Co. Offaly. *ó Chorr-Chairpre co Crannaig Moighe Géisille*, AH I 3.

**Crionna Cinn Chomair** *go Brugh mic an Óig i gCrionna Chinn Chomair*, II 290. Two separate names here; see Crionna under ‘Áth Crionna’ above. *combadar a mbruig meic in og i crich chrindo 7 i cind chomair*, Lec. 221ra41-2.

**Cúil** *Cath Cúile, áit ar thuiteadar iomad de lucht Corcaighe*, III 56. Cuilleann / Cuillne, battle site in W. Limerick (see *Ainm* 7 (1996-7) 11). *Bellum Cuilne (Cath Cuillne, ATig.) in quo ceciderunt Corcu Oche Muman*, AU s.a. 552 (see Corcach).

**Cumar** *go Snámh Eugnachair, go Cumar, agus ó Chumar go Life*, I 114. Ghost-name; *recte* ‘co muir’ (?). *co Cuan Snama Aigneach (?) 7 assin cusin muir ocus assin co habainn Life*, AH I 3.

**Dá Fhearta** *do thuit Aodh Uairiodhnach ... i gCath dá Fhearta*, III 116. Áth Dá Fhearta, battle site in N. Co. Louth; see HDGP 126. *Mors Aedha mic Nell Frosaigh ic Ath da ferta i Muigh Conaille*, CS s.a. 819; *ag Ath dha Fertá*, AU s.a. 819; *ag Ath da fhearta*, AFM I 428. (Áed Uairidnach did not (according to LG V 374) die in battle.)

**Daimhliag Chiaráin** III 156. Duleek, Co. Meath. Cian(n)án (not Ciarán) was its founder-bishop (see IV 246, Index). *Quies sancti Ciannaini Daim liag*, ATig. s.a. 488; *i nDaimliac Chiannan*, AU s.a. 1123.

**Deagh-charbad** *Ráith Mothaigh i nDeagh-charbad*, II 118. Each-Charbad, district around tl./par. Raymoghly, Co. Donegal. *Ráith Mothaich in Ech Carbad / Ráith Moidigh in Eocharbud*, LG V 190/2.

**Doire Dá Bhaoth** *ag dul go Doire Dá Bhaoth dhó*, II 202. Áth D. D. B., where Conchubhar was felled with the brain of Meis Geaghra. *For brú Átha Daire da Báeth is and do rochair Conchobor*, LL II. 14334; cf. *co hAth Daire Da Baeth*, LL I. 19344.

**Druim Connla** *thugadar Lochlonnaigh maidhm mór ar Laighníbh i nDruim Chonnla, áit ar thuit Conuing mac Con Choingiolt*, III 162. Doubtful name for battle site in Laighin. *AU* (s.a. 827) does not name the site: *Coscraidh dunaidh Laighen do gentibh ubi ceciderunt Conall m. Con Congalt*; *AFM* (s.a. 825) has *Coscraadh aonaigh i nDruim la Geintibh* (but, according to O'Donovan (I 440), a line has been omitted between *aonaigh* and *i*, coalescing two separate entries). Also 'Conuing' from *AFM* is incorrect ('Conall' in *AU* s.a. 827, and *CGH* 120b17). No other source has 'Druim Connla'.

**Druim Dá Chon** *dá fhichid déag ag Druim dá Chon le Tighearnach rí Locha Gabhair*, III 174 (a repetition of III 170, where it more correctly appears as *Doire Dhisirt dhá Chonna*). Díseart Da-Chonna, a battle site which O'Donovan placed in par. Dysart, near Dunleer, Co. Louth (*AFM* index). Cf. *AU* s.a. 848: *i ndairiu Disirt Do-Chonna* (= *AFM* I 476).

**Dubhghlaise** *Colum Cille ... ag Dubhghlaise i dTír Luighdheach i gCinéal Chonaill*, III 100. Tulach Dubhghlaise, tl. Templedouglass, Co. Donegal, traditional site of Colum Cille's baptism. *o Thelaig Dub-glaissi hi Tír Lugdach i Cinel Conaill*, LH II 121-2. *Tulach Dubglaisi, a cinel Conoill*, BCC 42; *ó Thelaig Dubglaisi*, MartO 144.

**Dubhloch Leasa Cuile** *loisceadh Ughaire ann ag Dubhloch Leasa Cuile*, III 288 (see IV 266 Index n.). Dubhloch (in Laoighis Chúile), Co. Laois. *Ughaire ... tech do gabail forra ic Dubloch*, *AU* s.a. 1024 (= *ATig*. s.a. 1024; *AFM* II 806); *ac Dubloch i lLaigis Chule*, LL I. 5480.

**Duibhir** *go Mágh Cnoghbha, go Duibhir*, I 114. Dubhdoire, a boundary of Midhe. *co clár Dubdhaire*, AH I 3.

**Dún Creige** *Aonghus ... gur loisc Dún Creige*, III 148. Creag, prob. in Argyll, Scotland. *Oengus ... combussit Creic*, AU s.a. 736 (= ATig. s.a. 735).

**Fán Mic Connrach** *i bhFán Mic Connrach, do bhris Brian do Lochlonnaibh*, III 240. Fán Con(n)rach, site of Brian's victory over Lochlannaigh. *tuc Brian cath Fain Conrach* (v.l. *Dúin fáinconnrach*), CGG 106.

**Feart Cath Feirt**, III 136. Feartas, battle site, prob. at Belfast. *Bellum Fertsi*, AU s.a. 668; *Cath Feirtse*, ATig. s.a. 665 (= AFM I 278).

**Fréamhainn** *lé hÉireamhón i gCath Breoghain i bhFréamhainn*, II 106. Feimhean, prob. that in Breagha (see Ó Corráin 1971). *i cath Breogain hi Femen, la hÉiremón*, LG V 160; *i cath Breogain i bhFemhean*, AFM I 32.

**Glaislinn** *Cath Glaislinne*, III 174. Repeat of account of battle of 'Casán Brige' (see above). *Cath Caslen Glinni* (v.l. *Cais-ghlinne*), CGG 20.

**Gleann Colpa** *Ro genair Colpa an Chlaidhimh / i nGlionn Colpa i nGaothlaidhibh*, II 48. Gleann Gamh, mythical glen overseas. *roge-nair Colptha in chlaidim / hi nGlinn Gam a nGaothlaigib*, LG V 124.

**Iardobhar** *go Dobhar agus go hIardobhar i dtuaisceart Alban*, I 186 (also I 204). Irdhobhar, a place in N. of Scotland (see CPNS 40-1, n.). *co Domon 7 co Herdomon i tuascirt Alban*, LG III 124 (= LL I. 648); *co Dobur 7 co Hirdobur a túaiscirt Alban*, LG III 144; *co hIrrdobur*, Book of Ballymote 27a33.

**Iarthair, na h-** *Magh Foithin sna hIartharaibh*, II 116. Oirthir, bar. Orior Lr / Upr, Co. Armagh. *Mag Fáithne la hAirtheru*, LL I. 1896; *Mag Faithne las na hAirthera*, LG V 188; *Magh Faithne la hAirthera*, AFM I 34-6. (DIL (I 34.49) cites *sna hIartharaibh* from Keating.)

**Inis Locha Cé** *Do tógbhadh iomorro lé Brian ... Inis Locha Cé is Inis Locha Gair*, III 262. Inis Locha Ceann, at Loughkent, Co. Tipperary (see O'Rahilly 1933, 208-10). *Inis Locha Cend*, CGG 140; *Orgain Locha Ceand*, FAI 855 (270).

**Lannraidhe** *Lanna ó ráidhtear Lannraidhe*, II 216. Lámhraighe, a tribal group. *ro bendach a láma ... Lamaed ... is húad atáat Lámraige*, BP II. 2343-4; *Lama a quo Lamraigi*, CGH 158, 1; *ri Lamraidi Ulad*, GT 148; *Cath Lamraige*, AcS I. 5876.

**Lia Fáil** *ó chloich tugsad leó innte, d'á ngairthí an Lia Fáil; agus 'Saxum fatale', eadhon, Cloch na Cinneamhna, ghaireas Hector Boetius di, i stair na hAlban*, I 100. Fál/Inis Fáil, an alias for Ireland. (The belief that it signifies 'destiny' has, as E. J. Gwynn pointed out almost a century ago (*JIS* 2, pt 7 (1910) 153), 'no higher authority than the Scotchman, Hector Boetius' (or Boece).)

**Loch mBreunainn** *Loch mBreunainn ar Magh n-asail i n-Uibh Nialláin*, I 176. Loch Cál, Loughgall, Co. Armagh. *Loch Cál in Hu Niallain*, LG III 130; *Loch Cál la Hú Nialláin*, LG III 120 (= LL 614); *Loch Cal i nUibh Nialláin*, AFM I 10. I cannot explain from where Keating may have taken 'Loch mBreunainn'.

**Mágh, an** *go Druim Leathain, go soiche an Mágh*, I 114. Feabhail (Fabhall), a river in Co. Cavan. *co Druim Leathain 7 assin co roich an Febal* (v.l. *co Febhal*), AH I 3. Cf. *co ndeachaidh isin Febail*, ATig. s.a. 1054; *isin Fabail*, AU s.a. 1054.

**Mágh Cnoghbha** *go Loch-dá-eun, go Mágh Cnoghbha*, I 114. Mucshnámh, eccl. site in par. Muckno, Co. Monaghan. *co Loch da en 7 assin co Mucshnamh*, AH I 3.

**Magh Laighne** *Magh Laighne agus Magh Luirg i gConnachtaibh*, II 124. Magh Aidhne, Co. Galway. *Mag nAidne 7 Mag Luirg la Connachta*, LL II. 2173-4 (= LG V 214); *Magh nAidhne*, AFM I 46.

**Oiléain, na h-** *Maghnus mac Arailt, rí na nOiléan / lucht na nOiléan*, II 72 / III 308. The Western Isles of Scotland, usually 'na hInse' (as in III 258). Cf. *for Gallaibh Atho Cliath 7 na nInsedh*, AU s.a. 980; *ri Lochland 7 na n-Indsi*, ATig. s.a. 1103.

**Ráith Eoamhain** *do tógbhadh lé hÉibhear féin Ráith Eoamhain i Laigheanmhaigh*, II 98. Ráith Beoain in the plain of Laighin. *clas la hÉber, erccad gal, / Ráith Beoain hi Laigenmuig*, LG V 128.

**Rathfonn/Cnoc Rathfonn** *go Ráith Naoi ré ráidhtear Cnoc Rathfonn ...* (quatr.) *Go Ráthfonn réil go Ráith Naoi*, II 320. Faffann,

in Uí Fhailghe (see *Faffand*, MD II 66-70). *co fafaind reill co rath nai*, Lec. 167rb39.

**Ros Maolaidh** *is gur hairgeadh ... Cluain Uama is Ros Maolaidh*, III 156. Ros Nialláin (? nGialláin), prob. eccl. site in par. Rostellan, E. of Cork harbour, about two miles from Cloyne (cf. Ros Gi[a]lláin, *MartO* 202). *Cluain Úama. 7 Ros Nialláin*, LL I. 39338; *Cluain Uamha, ocus Ros Maeláin*, CGG 6.

**Sliabh Caoin** *ó Shliabh Uidhe an Ríogh go Sliabh Caoin nó Gleann Caoin*, III 304. These are boundaries of the diocese of Killaloe, but Sliabh Caoin (Ballyhoura Hills between Cos Limerick and Cork) was never one. Gleann Caoin (Glenkeen) is the correct reading; Keating was apparently undecided whether to read *Sl-* or *Gl-*.

**Sliabh Musaigh** *Cath Sléibhe Musaigh*, II 262. Mosadh/Magh Mhosaidh, a plain in mid-Tipperary. *cath Seigi Mosad*, ZCP 19 (1933) 60. (For trad. origin of name, see LL II. 22364-73).

**Sliabh Ughmhóir** *gabháil ... mic Ughmhóir a Sliabh Ughmhóir*, I 162. Sliabh Éamhóir, prob. a mythical place, said to be in the East. *meic Gúmóir a Sléib Émóir/meic Húathmóir a Sléibh Émhóir*, LG III 10/14; *anair, a tírib Émóir*, LG III 74.

**Snámh Eugnachair** *go Snámh Eugnachair*, I 114. Snámh/Cuan Snámha Eighneach/Aighneach, Carlingford Lough, between Cos Louth and Down. *co Cuan Snama* (v.l. *co Snam*) *Aighneach* (?), AH I 3; cf. *co Snám Aignech*, LL I. 39351.

**Teilge** *do marbhadh easpog Teilge dar bh'ainm Exnich*, III 170. Ceall Deilge, Kildalkey, Co. Meath. *Egnech Cille Deilge, epscop ... do mharbhadh*, AFM s.a. 837 (I 456).

**Tiobraid Naoi** *Ciarán Tiobraide Naoi*, III 108. Tiobraid (mac Néanna), Tubbrid, near Cahir, Co. Tipperary (site of Keating's memorial inscription, A.D. 1644). *Ciarán Tiprat m. Nénnae* (v.l. *Ennae*), CGSH 707. 346; *Ciarán, epscop Tiprat*, *MartD* 302; *Kyranus ... Tybrada*, VSH II 54.

**Tóchar Cairbre** *as sin go Tóchar Cairbre, ó Thóchar Cairbre go Crannaigh Ghéisille*, I 114. Corr-Chairbre, a boundary of Midhe in

Co. Offaly. *assin co tóchar Corr-Chairbre 7 o Chorr-Chairpre co Crannaig Moighe Geisille, AH I 3.*

(B) SOME MINOR ERRORS

[Only Keating's placenames are cited here, with part and page number, followed by more reliable versions taken from earlier sources. Some of the discrepancies may be due to Keating's modernising efforts, others perhaps to errors of transcription.]

**Abha Lorcaighe** III 68. *for abaind Lorgaid, LL I. 1612; ZCP 7, 306.*

**Brugh mic an Óig** II 290. *a Bruig meic ind Óc, LU I. 2927-8.*

**Ceall Ealchruidhe** III 68. *acallich Cilli Elgraiqe, LL I. 1612.*

**Cinéal Lodhairn** II 382. *genus Loairnn, AU s.a. 678; ATig. s.a. 677.*

**Cluain Connrach** I 114. *Cluain Conaire, AH I 3 (= III 302; also AU s.a. 783).*

**Cluain Créamhuidh** III 150. *Mors ... espuic Cluana Crema, ATig. s.a. 751.*

**Comhnuidhe** II 120 *Cath Codhnaighe (v.l. Congne, Congnaige), LG V, 204.*

**Críoch Chonail** III 190. *i crích Conaille, AU / CS s.a. 879.*

**Dainfhir** III 154. *Na Danair, AU s.a. 986; ó dhanaraibh, CGG 3.*

**Dún Cliach** III 262. *Dún Cliath, CGG 140.*

**Dún Deargmhuighe** III 156. *Dún Dermaigi, LL I. 39349; Dún Dermuighe, CGG 6.*

**Dún Iasc** III 262. *Dún Iasgaigh, as in I 120. ó dhún iasccaigh, AFM s.a. 1581 (V 1758).*

**Dún Inn** II 98. *rogab Dún nInni, LG V 128. cumtach Dúin Fine (v.l. Finne), LG V 154.*

**Dún Leogh(dh)a** III 310, 366. *Dun Leoda, ATig. s.a. 1120; Dun Leodha, AU s.a. 1114.*

**Dún na mBreathnach** II 68. Cf. *PND 137: \*Dún na mBreatan.*

**Gallach** II 126. *Cath Gatlaigh (v.l. Gathlaidh, Cathlaig), LG V 218.*

**Inis Teimhin** III 156. *Inis Temli, LL II. 39337-8. Inis Temni, CGG 4.*

**Inse an Ghail Duibh** III 262. *inis in Gaill Duib, CGG 140; Inis Gaill Duib, AI s.a. 1012.*

**Lithfe** II 284. *ós lind Life, MD IV, 266.*

**Loch nGasáin** II 128. *Loch na nGasán, LG V 222; Loch na ngasan, AFM I 48.*

**Magh an Chosnamhaigh** I 114. *Magh in Chosnama, AH I 3.*

**Magh Luinge** II 116. *Magh Lugna, LG V 188, 192 (= LL II. 1868, 1898).*

**Ráith Cheannait** III 94. *Ráith Chennaig, MD III 440; co Raith Cennaigh, AU s.a. 1114.*

**Ros na Ríogh** III 262. *Rosach (v.l. Rosach na ríogh), CGG 140.*

**Seiridmheadh** III 148. *i cath Seredmaige, LG V 390; Bellum Serethmaighe, AU s.a. 743.*

**Tuath Eibhe** II 120. *i Túaith Eba, LG V 206; i nEabha, AFM s.a. 1051 (II 860).*

#### (C) MISPLACED LOCATIONS

[Here the name and text as given in *FFÉ* are followed by what I believe to be the correct location with other relevant texts or details.]

**Áth Fuaid** *ris an bhfuad nó ris an gcróchar, gonadh de sin atá Áth Fuaid ar Bóinn, II 348.* There was an Áth Fuaid (also called Áth Fraoich) near Sliabh Fuaid in Co. Armagh (*HDGP* 134). Keating placed another on the Boyne, named, as he asserts, from Cormac's bier. He may have confounded it with Áth (n)Iomhfuaid (see *HDGP* 157).

**Áth Troistean** *ag Áth Troistean ré ráidhtear Áth Í ag Bearbha, II 308.* Prob. ford on r. Greese, Co. Kildare; not equiv. to Áth Í (Athy) (see *HDGP* 157).

**Bealach Conglais** *ó Bhoinn go Bealach Chonglais láimh re Corcaigh, I 106.* Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow. Keating followed *LG* which posited a second place of the name in west Munster, but he moved it to near Cork (see Ó Murchadha 2002).

**Beanncha(i)r** *Ceannafoaidh mac Bláithmhic ... is n-a fhlaitheas do loisceadh Beannchair, III 138* (where Keating assumes it to be Bangor, Co. Down (see Magh Beannchair)). Bangor, Wales. *Cenn Faeladh m. Blathmaic regnare incipit / combustio Bennchair Brittonum, AU 672.5/6.*

**Buas** *Buas, idir Dhál nÁruidhe agus Dál Riada, eadhon an Rúta, I 164.* R. Bush in N. Co. Antrim (in Dál Riada). This error is attributable to *LG* III 16. It was the r. Fregabhail (Ravel) which divided Dál nAraide from Dál Riada (as Keating correctly states at II 116).

**Ceall Bhéacáin** *go rángadar Cill Bhéacáin don leith thuaidh do Shliabh gCrot, III 68.* St Béacán's church near the Galtee Mts was named Cluain Aird Mobhéagóg (as in III 156), now Peakaun church



in tl. Toureen, par. Killardry, Co. Tipperary. Ceall Bhéacáin (Kilpeacon par.) is in Co. Limerick. Cf. *Beccan Cluana Aird*, *CGSH* 199. (The site is not named in the original story; see *LL* I. 1612.)

**Ceann Beara** *Feircheirtne ... ar rochtain in Ulltaibh dó, fuair Conchubhar is Cú Chulainn is Blánaid go gcomhdháil umpa ag rinn Chinn Bheara*, II 226. Kerry Head in north Co. Kerry. Cf. *Al(l)traighe* (Cinn Bheara), *HDGP* 54-5. In this story (*Aided Chonrói*) the Ulstermen travelled to Sliabh Mis in Co. Kerry to kill Cúrói and abduct Bláthnaid, but it is not evident that they had returned to Ulster before Feircheirtne cast Bláthnaid and himself over the cliff. (See *YBL* 125a12-19; *MD* III 254; Best 1905.)

**Cluain Muirisc** *Cath Cluana Muirisc i dtuaisceart Bréithfne*, II 120. Prob. tl. Cloonmorris in par. Mohill, Co. Leitrim (in S., not N. Bréifne). *cath Cluana Muirisce déis Breifne*, *LG* V 204/206.

**Críoch na bhFuineadhach** *An dara hainm, Críoch na bhfuineadhach, ó bheith i bhfuineadh*, I 98. Signifies 'land of the westerners', said by Keating to be an old name for Ireland. Cf. *na Saxain funedcha*, *Anecd.* III 68.6. *ó oirrther an domhain co Críchaib na Fhuinedhach*, *CF* II. 491-2.

**Dionn Ríogh** *i nDinn Riogh ar bruach na Bearbha*, II 160. This site, near Leighlinbridge in Co. Carlow, was named by Keating as the place where Cobhthach Caol mBreagh slew Laoghaire. An earlier source puts the slaying at Carman: *co torchair la Cobthach Cóel Breg hi cath Charmuín*, *CGH* 133b40 (see *Éigse* 33 (2002) 63).

**Druim Abhradh** *a earradh is a each ag Druim Abhrad .i. Ard Fhionáin*, III 198. Prob. at Kilfinnane, Co. Limerick, rather than at Ardfinnan, Co. Tipperary (see *Éigse* 29 (1996) 155 n.).

**Dún Cearmna** *Dún Cearmna, ris a ráidhtear Dún mic Pádraic, i gcrích Cúirseach i ndiu*, I 110 (also II 124). Prob. at Dunmore East, Co. Waterford, rather than at the Old Head of Kinsale, Co. Cork (see Ó Murchadha 2004).

**Fiadh mic (mac) nAonghusa** *An chéadchomhdháil i bhFiadh mic nAonghusa ... comhdháil oile ... go Ráith Breasail*, III 356. Site of 1111 synod, also known as Ráith Breasail. Keating thought both

places were separate, unaware that the synod had been held in his native county of Tipperary, prob. in par. Drom, near Borrisoleigh (see *THJ* 1999, 151-61).

**Fir na Craoibhe** *Eochaidh Feidhlioch ... Tug do Fhidheac Fir na Craoibhe ó Fhidheac go Luimneach*, II 184; *Tug d'Fhidheac mac Féig, d'fhearaibh na craoibhe*, I 118. Normally 'Fir na Craoibhe' denotes part of Ua Catháin's terr. in what is now north-east Co. Derry (see *GUH* 48-9). Cf. *Eachmarcach hUa Catha[i]n, ri Cianacht 7 Fer-na-Craibhe*, *AU* (1) s.a. 1247. Perhaps Keating confused them with 'Fir Ól nÉcmacht', an early name for the Connachta; we are told that Meadhbh, daughter of Eochaidh Feidhleach, brought Fir Ól nÉcmacht with her to carry off Ailill from the Laighin (*CGH*, 118b10-11).

**Inbhear Domhnann** *i nInbhear Domhnann (i n-iarthuidh re cúig-eadh Chonnacht) ... gurab uathu gairthear Inbhear Domhnann*, I 194. An east-coast estuary so named in the Tripartite Life of Patrick (*BP* 23) was identified by O'Curry (*MM* 485) with Malahide Bay (estuary of the Broadmeadow Water), Co. Dublin. Keating (who sometimes took *inbhear* to denote a river – cf. II 88, 92, 126) confused it with Iorrus Domhnann (bar. Erris, Co. Mayo), as pointed out by Comyn, who changed *Inbhear* to 'Iorrus' in his translation, I 195 n.

**Life** Plain of r. Liffey, used correctly in III 164: *dá fhichid long ar abhainn Lithfe, gur airgsiod an loingeas soin Magh Lithfe*, but more often incorrectly as a river name: *Cairbre Lithfeachair ... láimh ré Lithfe i Laighnibh do hoileadh é*, II 354; *ó Chumar go Life*, I 114. (In original: *cusin muir ocus assin co habainn Life*, *AH* I 3.)

**Loch Dá Chaoch** *Niall Glúndubh ... do thabhairt chatha do Lochlonnaibh Locha dá Chaoch i nUlltaibh*, III 214. Waterford harbour. Both Hogan (*OnomG*) and Dinneen (index) repeated Keating's error here by putting it in Ulster. Cf. *Slogadh Locha Dá Cáech la Niall*, *LG* V 398. This is prob. the battle in Magh Fheimhin referred to in *AU* s.a. 917.

**Loch Muinreamhair** *Loch Muinreamhair ar Magh Sola i Laighnibh*, I 176. L. Ramor, in S. of Co. Cavan, near Co. Meath. *Loch Munremair hi Luignib Sléibi Gúairi*, *LG* III 130. (Slieve Gorey is also in Co. Cavan; Luighne gave name to bar. Lune, Co. Meath.)

**Lochmhagh** (? Recte **Lóchmhagh**) *Lochmhagh i gConnachtaibh*, II 118. In Conaille, a district in N. Co. Louth. *Lochmag la Conailliu*, LG V 184 (= LL II. 1915-16).

**Magh Beannchair** *go ráinig Magh Beannchair d'ainm ar an áit ... do thógaibh an t-abb naomhtha Comhghall mainistear san áit chéadna*, III 138. This plain was near Banagher, Co. Offaly; cf. 'Greate warr stirred in Delbhna Eathra ... and went they both parties to Magh Beannchoir', *MIAS* 20. Keating wrongly connected it with Comhghall's Bangor, Co. Down (see Beanncha(i)r above).

**Magh gCéidne** *go Magh gCéidne idir Drobhaois agus Éirne*, I 180. Plain in bar. Carbury, Co. Sligo; that between r. Drowes and r. Erne was Magh Eine (see *Éigse* 27 (1993) 35-46).

**Móin Doire** *tugadh Cath Móna Doire in Albain*, III 56. Battle site in Ulster. *Bellum Mona Daire Lothair for Cruithniu re nUib Neill in Tuaisceirt*, AU s.a. 563. Keating was perhaps misled by Adamnán's reference to the battle 'in Scotia' (i.e. in Ireland) as opposed to 'Brittannia' (VC (2) 224).

**Ráith Breasail** See *Fiadh mac nAonghusa*'.

**Ráith Naoi** *go Ráith Naoi ré ráidhtear Cnoc Rathfonn ... [quat.] Go Rathfonn réil go Ráith Naoi*, II 320. A rath near Morett, Co. Laois. The first name in the verse should read 'Faffann' (see Rathfonn above); cf. *Nuí o fail Ráith Nuí i mMaig Reichet*, LL I. 21174; *Nue. a quo Rath Nuí i Llaigis*, *ibid.* II. 39643-4.

**Toirinis/Tor Conaing** *ag Fomhórchaibh ... Tor Conaing i n-imeal Éireann thuaidh ... i dTor Conaing, d'á ngairthear Toirinis*, I 180. A rock off the coast of Co. Mayo, correctly located by Keating in *go Toirinis i dtuaisceart Chonnacht*, I 106, but later confused with Tory Is. (*Torach / Toraigh*) Co. Donegal (see *Éigse* 27 (1993) 43).

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- AcS 'Acallamh na Senórach', ed. Whitley Stokes, *Irische Texte* IV/I (1900) 14-438.  
 AFM *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*. Ed. John O'Donovan. 7 vols. Dublin 1856; repr. Dublin 1990.  
 AH *Archivium Hibernicum*. 1912-21; 1941-.

- ATig.* *The Annals of Tigernach.* Ed. Whitley Stokes, 2 vols. Felinifach 1993; repr. from *RC* 16-18 (1895-97).
- AU* *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131).* Ed. Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill. Dublin 1983.
- AU* (1) *Annála Uladh: Annals of Ulster.* Ed. W. M. Hennessy and Bartholomew Mac Carthy. 4 vols. Dublin 1887-1901; repr. 1998.
- BAR* *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill.* Ed. Paul Walsh. 2 vols. London 1948-57.
- BCC* *Beatha Colaim Chille: Life of Columcille compiled by Manus O'Donnell in 1532.* Ed. A. O'Kelleher and G. Schoepperle. Illinois 1918; repr. Dublin 1994.
- BP* *Bethu Phátraic: The tripartite Life of Patrick.* Ed. Kathleen Mulchrone. Dublin & London 1939.
- CF* *Cath Finntrágha.* Ed. Cecile O'Rahilly. Dublin 1975.
- CGG* *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: The war of the Gaedhil with the Gaill.* Ed. J. H. Todd. London 1867.
- CGH* *Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. I. Ed. M. A. O'Brien. Dublin 1962.
- CGSH* *Corpus genealogiarum sanctorum Hiberniae.* Ed. Pádraig Ó Riain. Dublin 1985.
- CPNS* W. J. Watson, *The history of the Celtic placenames of Scotland.* Edinburgh & London 1926; repr. Shannon 1973.
- CS* *Chronicum Scotorum.* Ed. W. M. Hennessy. London 1866.
- DIL* *Dictionary of the Irish Language.* Dublin 1913-76.
- DTUH* *The death-tales of the Ulster heroes.* Ed. Kuno Meyer. Dublin & London 1906; repr. Dublin, 1937, 1993.
- EH* *Expugnatio Hibernica: The conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis.* Ed. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin. Dublin 1978.
- FAI* *Fragmentary annals of Ireland.* Ed. J. N. Radner. Dublin 1978.
- FFÉ* *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Séathrún Céitinn D.D. The history of Ireland, by Geoffrey Keating, D.D.* Ed. David Comyn and P. S. Dinneen. 4 vols. ITS. London 1902-14.
- GT* *Genealogical tracts I.* Ed. Toirdhealbhach Ó Raithbheartaigh. Dublin 1932.
- GUH* Séamus Ó Ceallaigh, *Gleanings from Ulster history: Punann ó Chois Banna.* Cork 1951.
- HDGP* *Historical dictionary of Gaelic placenames. Fascicle I.* Ed. Pádraig Ó Riain, Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, Kevin Murray. London 2003.
- IUN* G. H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans* 3 vols. Oxford 1911-20.
- JIS* *Journal of the Ivernian Society.* 1908-15.
- Lec.* The Book of Lecan: Leabhar Mór Mhic Fhir Bhisigh Leacáin. Facsimile. Introduction by Kathleen Mulchrone. Dublin 1937.
- LG* *Lebor gabála Éireann: The book of the taking of Ireland.* Ed. R. A. S. Macalister. 5 vols. London 1938-56.

- LGen.* *Leabhar mór na ngenealach: The great book of Irish genealogies, compiled 1645-66 by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh.* Ed. Nollaig Ó Muraíle. 5 vols. Dublin 2003.
- LH* *The Irish Liber Hymnorum.* Ed. J. H. Bernard and Robert Atkinson. 2 vols. London 1898.
- LL* *The Book of Leinster, formerly Leabar na Núachongbála.* Ed. R. I. Best, Osborn Bergin, M. A. O'Brien, Anne O'Sullivan. 6 vols. Dublin 1954-83.
- LU* *Lebor na hUidhre: Book of the Dun Cow.* Ed. R. I. Best and Osborn Bergin Dublin 1929; repr. 1992.
- MartG* *Féilire hUí Gormáin: The martyrology of Gorman.* Ed. Whitley Stokes. London 1895.
- MartO* *Féilire Oengusso Céili Dé: The martyrology of Oengus the Culdee.* Ed. Whitley Stokes. London 1905.
- MD* *The metrical Dindsenchas.* Ed. E. J. Gwynn. 5 vols. Dublin 1903-35; repr. 1941, 1991.
- MIA* *Miscellaneous Irish annals A.D. 1114-1437.* Ed. Séamus Ó hInnse. Dublin 1947.
- MIAS* *Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society, vol. I.* 1846.
- MM* Eugene O'Curry, *Lectures on the manuscript materials of ancient Irish history.* Dublin 1861; repr. 1995.
- OnomG* Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum.* Dublin & London 1910.
- PND* *The placenames of the Decies.* Patrick Power. Cork 1952.
- PNNI* *Place-names of Northern Ireland.* 8 vols. Belfast 1992-2004.
- PNW* *The placenames of Westmeath.* Paul Walsh. Dublin 1957.
- RC* *Revue Celtique* 1870-.
- RD* 'The prose tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas', ed. Whitley Stokes, *RC* 15-16 (1894-95).
- SDE* *The song of Dermot and the earl.* Ed. G. H. Orpen. Oxford 1892; repr. Felinfach 1994.
- THJ* *Tipperary Historical Journal.* 1988-.
- VC 1.* *The Life of St. Columba, founder of Hy, written by Adamnán.* Ed. William Reeves. Dublin & Edinburgh 1857.
- VC 2.* *Adomnán's Life of Columba.* Ed. A. O. and M. O. Anderson. Revised ed., Oxford 1991.
- VSH* Carolus Plummer, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae.* 2 vols. Oxford 1910; repr. 1968.
- YBL* The Yellow Book of Lecan. Facsimile. Introduction by Robert Atkinson. Dublin 1896.
- ZCP* *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 1897-.

## REFERENCES

- Best, R. I., 1905: 'The tragic death of Cúrói mac Dári' *Ériu* 2, 18-35.
- Cronin, Anne, 1944: 'The sources of Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*: 1. The printed sources' *Éigse* 4, 235-279.
- Cunningham, Bernadette, 2000: *The world of Geoffrey Keating: history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland*. Dublin.
- 2002: 'Geoffrey Keating's family connections' *THJ* 59-67.
- Nicholls, K. W., 2004: 'The protean placename' in *Cín Chille Cúile*, ed. John Carey, Máire Herbert and Kevin Murray. Aberystwyth 2004.
- Ó Corráin, Donnchadh, 1971: 'Mag Fémín, Femen, and some early annals' *Ériu* 22, 97-9.
- Ó Cuív, Brian, 1965: 'A seventeenth-century criticism of Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*' *Éigse* 11, 119-40.
- Ó Murchadha, Diarmuid, 1993: 'Mag Cetne and Mag Ene' *Éigse* 27, 35-46.
- 2002: 'Belach Conglais: one or two?' *Peritia* 16, 435-43.
- 2004: 'Dún Cermna: a reconsideration' *Éigse* 34, 73-89.
- O'Rahilly, T. F., 1933: 'Notes on Irish place-names' *Hermathena* 47, 196-220.
- Walsh, Paul, 1912: 'A fragment used by Keating' *AH I* 1-9

DIARMUID Ó MURCHADHA

*Bun an Tábhairne, Co. Chorcaí*

## CANÚINTÍ AGUS COILÍNEACHTAÍ: FIANAISE Ó ALBAIN NUA

1. Ní rómhinic a thagtar ar thuairim á nochtadh i ngnáthlitríocht na teanga ag cainteoirí Gaeilge ná Gàidhlig faoi chanúint nach leo féin í.<sup>1</sup> Tá a leithéid ar fáil i bhficsean na Gaeilge sa ghearrscéal le Máirtín Ó Cadhain, *Aisling agus aisling eile* (1970: 65-100). Sa chás sin is foircinn neamhaithnidiúla iolra san ainmfhocal a aithnítear ina sainchomhartha ar chanúint choimhthíoch. Le cois na tagartha sin tá tuairisc fhíorshuimiúil ar taifead sa Ghàidhlig ag fear as Inse Gall a chaith seal ama ag obair i measc lucht labhartha canúna de chuid oirthear na Gàidhealtachd, canúint a bhí scartha amach ó shaghsanna eile cainte an réigiúin (cf. Gillies 1993, 146-7). Tá an cur síos atá i gceist le fáil i ndírbeathaiséis a cuireadh síos ó aithris bhéil an údair a chuir de dhua air féin an chanúint strainséartha úd a fhoghlaim agus a sholáthraíonn ina chuntas samplaí de théarmaí nárbh ionann iad sa dá chanúint. Dar leis féin gur éirigh leis a chur ina lú ar an dream a mbíodh sé ag plé leo gurbh fhearr mar chaint a chanúint féin ná an ceann s'acusan agus, go fiú, gur mhúin sé dóibh conas í sin a thuiscint:

Mun do dh'fhàg mise, thuigeadh iad a h-uile facal a chanainn, agus bha iad gu math deònach air a h-ionnsachadh [a' Ghàidhlig agam], cuideachd. Bha iad ag radha gura h-i a b'fheàrr na a' Ghàidhlig a bh'acasan, cus (Mac 'Ill-Fhialain 1972, 47-8).

Tugtar faoi deara, lena chois sin, mar a chuireann an t-údar an sliocht atá i gceist inár láthair lena bhreith dhannaitheach féin ar chaint na háite sin: 'Bha a' Ghàidhlig a bh'ann, gu dearbh cha robh i math.'

2. De bharr m'uibre sa ghort ar chanúint eile in oirthear na Gàidhealtachd .i. Machair Rois, tá cleachtadh agam ar dhearcadh

<sup>1</sup> I dtaca le heolas atá bunaithe ar thaighde sochtheangeolaíochta, cf. Dorian 1981, 90-1, ina dtugtar tuairimí cainteoirí dúchais as ceantar eile in oirthear na Gàidhealtachd faoi shaghsanna eile Gàidhlig. Tugtar cuntas ann fosta (86-9) faoi iomaíocht sa réigiún céanna idir iad seo agus canúint na háite.

Cuireadh leagan den pháipéar seo i láthair na Comhdhála a tionóladh in onóir an Ollaimh Tomás Ó Con Cheadhain sa Choláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Cliath (Nollaig 2003). Táim buíoch d'Eagarthóir *Éigse* agus don léitheoir comhairleach as a geuid moltaí a cuireadh i bhfeidhm ar an leagan seo. Mise féin, cibé sin, is ciontach le lochtanna ar bith dá bhfuil ann.

chainteoirí an iarthair ar a leithéidí de chanúintí oirthearacha atá aisteach, dar leo. Cuireann an lear mór buntréithe a thuigtear a bheith i gcoitinne idir canúintí an iarthair mar ghrúpa tacaíocht ar fáil don dearcadh ar a dtráchtar anseo, tréithe a bhí mar bhonn ag an teanga liteartha sa tréimhse iarchlásaiceach agus a aithnítear i gcónaí i gcineálacha na teanga labhartha atá faoi mheas lenár linn féin (cf. Thomson 1983, 91-5). Is eol do mhuintir Mhachair Rois, cuir i gcás, conas a bhí ag ministir iomráiteach de chuid na hEaglaise Saoire – an sainchreideamh is láidre san áit – ar a raibh cúram an pharóiste sa chéad leath den fhichiú haois. B’as Machair Rois féin an phearsa eaglaise chéanna, a raibh cáil mhór air mar sheanmóirí ann, agus bhí de nós aige a chanúint dhúchais féin a sheachaint ní amháin nuair a bhíodh aitheasc á thabhairt aige do phobal ceantair eile ach ar fhód a dhúchais féin chomh maith (Phillips 1986, 119). Bheadh dearcadh dá mhacasamhail ag teacht le barúil comhfhreagraí urramaigh eile a sholáthraigh sa 19ú céad iontráil an pharóiste a bhí i gceist don *New Statistical Account*. Dhearbhaigh sé seo canúint an phobail áitiúil a bheith ‘... not classical, though it cannot be said to be bad’ (cf. Withers 1984, 321). Bealach amháin dá ndearnadh feidhm i gcaitheamh na haoise sin le feabhas canúna a bhí faoi scrúdú a mheas a mhinice a thugtaí faoi deara focail iasachta Bhéarla a bheith á n-úsáid inti. Ach, faoi mar a thuigtear ó iontrálacha éagsúla san fhoinsé a luadh anois beag, ní annamh a théitear amú de thairbhe a leithéid de chur chuige (Withers 1984, 313).

**3.** Tarlaíonn uaireanta, lena chois sin, go gcáineann pobal Mhachair Rois canúint nach bhfuil mórán cur amach ag cainteoirí an limistéir féin uirthi mar ‘Ghàidhlig nan Ceàrdan’ (Gàidhlig an Lucht Siúil). Bhí an chanúint sin mar an gcéanna, dar le bean de m’fhaisnéiseoirí san áit, le ‘Gàidhlig Loch Abair’. Bíodh sin mar atá, is é a thabharfadh taighde atá déanta agam féin le hionadaí de chuid an Lucht Siúil san oirthear<sup>2</sup> le fios gur suntasaí ina chuidsean Gàidhlig tréithe atá ag teacht leis an taobh thoir ná le Loch Abair san iarthar. Go deimhin, dhearbhaigh an duine seo féin dom gurbh í canúint Mhachair Rois ab fhusa leis de chanúintí na Gàidhlig go léir. Tá an téarma díspeagtha ceannann céanna a bhí ag an bhean thuasluaite i leith canúna aistí ar m’eolas fosta i gcás pobail Ghàidhlig in Oirthear Cheanada, áit eile a bhfuil obair sa ghort déanta agam. Sa chás seo, cibé ar bith, níor

<sup>2</sup> Lindsay Williamson, deartháir nach maireann d’Alec John, ar a bhfuil cur síos in Neat 2000, 187-230.



dhóiche é ná a athrach roinnt de na tréithe incháinte céanna a bheith le haithint ina gcanúintí féin ag an dream a bhíonn i mbun an cháinte seo. Is minic a ghlaoitear ‘Abraich’ ar lucht labhartha na gcanúintí ar a n-aithnítear a leithéidí de thréithe ‘achrannacha’, rud a thagraíonn do Loch Abair in iarthar na Gàidhealtachd mar áit dhúchais shinsearach na ndaoine céanna. Tá mé barúlach, de bharr mo thaithíse in oirthear na Gàidhealtachd go dtiocfadh dó gurb é rud a bhí an droch-cháil a thug muintir an iarthair ar Ghàidhlig Loch Abair mar chanúint ‘neamhréidh’ i ndiaidh leathnú aniar chuig cainteoirí Gàidhlig an oirthir chomh maith. Tá canúintí eile i gceist fosta, ar ndóigh, as a n-eascaíonn deacrachtaí do chainteoirí Gàidhlig limistéir eile agus, ar feadh m’eolais féin, ní annamh i gcás dá leithéid a luaitear canúint Leòdhais i dtuaisceart Inse Gall.<sup>3</sup> Rud annamh é, cé bith sin, go ndéantar lochtú den sórt a luadh thuas ar an chanúint áirithe sin: ní amháin mar gur cóngaraí í do shaghsanna eile an iarthair, m.sh. sa deilbhíocht, ach, chomh maith leis sin, b’fhéidir, mar go bhfuil dlúthbhaint ag Oileán Leòdhais le ministreacht na hEaglaise Saoire. Maireann pobail de chainteoirí Gàidhlig an oileáin sin mar choilíneachtaí in Oirthear Cheanada le taobh sliocht coilínithe as réigiúin eile agus tá fúm plé a dhéanamh sa staidéar seo ar ghnéithe áirithe de chanúintí dhá cheantar acu sin.

**4.** Sa dara leath den 18ú céad a cuireadh tús le himirce ón Ghàidhealtachd go dtí an limistéar a aithnítear sa lá inniu mar phroibhins na hAlban Nua i gCeanada. Lean an imirce chéanna faoi lán seoil i gcaitheamh an dara leath den aois ina dhiaidh sin mar thoradh ar an tréimhse uafáis úd ‘Fuadach nan Daoine’ (Hornsby 1990, 50-69). Bhí tarraingt ar leith ag na Gàidheil ar oirthear phroibhins na hAlban Nua le linn an ama sin agus, go háirithe, ar Oileán Cheap Breatainn níos faide ó thuaidh, sa dóigh gur bunaíodh coilíneachtaí leo ar fud an oileáin seo go léir. Coinnítear cuimhne ar áiteanna dúchais mórán de na chéad choilínithe i logainmneacha an lae inniu: *Gleann Bharraidh*, *Gleann nan Sgitheanach*, *Abhainn Mhuile*, *Baghasdail*, *Inbhir Nis*, *Gleann Comhann*, *Gleann Garadh*, *Creignis*, etc. Ina dhá bpobal a aithnítear Gàidheil na hAlban Nua ó thaobh dílseachta creidimh ar theacht isteach san fhichiú haois dúinn (Donovan 1990, 1-29). Ar lámh amháin tá mórphobal acu, an mórphobal Caitliceach

<sup>3</sup> Tuairiscíonn faisnéiseoir de chuid Dorian (1981, 91) Gàidhlig Steòrnabhaigh a bheith ina canúint a bhí deacair thar an choitiantacht dar le muintir Mhachair Chataibh.

Rómhánach a lonnigh den chuid ba mhó i gCo. Inbhir Nis – a bhfuil coilíneacht bheag thábhachtach breise aige timpeall ar Iona sa chontae atá buailte leis, Co. Victoria. Ar an lámh eile tá na dreamanna ann ar shíolraigh a sinsir ó phobail Phrotastúnacha sa Ghàidhealtachd ar sna contaetha eile de Cheap Breatainn, a bheag nó a mhór, a thagtar orthu. Ó thaobh saoil chultúrtha is saol an chreidimh de ba é an leagan amach a bhí ar chúrsaí go mbíodh freastal á dhéanamh ar an phobal Caitliceach ag an institiúid a ndearnadh ollscoil Íosánach di le himeacht aimsire in Antigonish. Is í seo príomhionad na deoise ar tír mór in aice láimhe agus mar thoradh ar oidhreacht Ghaelach an limistéir múintear an Ghàidhlig i gcónaí i Roinn na Ceiltise san ollscoil anseo. Ábhar suntais, lena chois sin, gurb ann d'iansmalann tuaithe de dhéanamh baile bhig (*An Clachan Gàidhealach*), i gceantar úd Iona a luadh ar na mallaibh. Bhí páirt lárnach ag muintir an cheantair seo i mbunú an fhorais chéanna a bhfuil cur chun cinn na teanga agus an chultúir Ghaelaigh ina chuid thábhachtach dá aidhmeanna. Os a choinne sin, tá an pobal Protastúnach i ndiaidh a n-iarrachtaí cultúrtha a dhíriú ar an Chladach-a-Tuath i gCo. Victoria, áit ar bunaíodh coláiste ina múintear idir Ghàidhlig agus cheirdeanna agus ealaíona dúchasacha (Dunn 1953, 146, 147). Tá comhoibriú leanúnach á léiriú ó thosach idir an dá phobal creidimh agus is gnách leo i gcónaí sárthacaíocht a thabhairt do thionscnaimh chultúrtha a chéile san oileán.

5. Bíodh nár tugadh faoi staidéar cuimsitheach a chur i gcrích riamh ar Ghàidhlig Oileán Cheap Breatainn,<sup>4</sup> is léir gurb iomaí sin ábhar spéise a gheofaí ina leithéid agus nach beag an méid a chuirfeadh sé lenár gcuid eolais ar chanúintí na teanga trí chéile. Ar an chéad dul síos suíomh ilteangach a bhí san oileán ón ochtú haois déag anall agus pobail de chainteoirí Mi'q-mak, Francise, Béarla agus Ghàidhlig ann. Bíodh gur beag fianaise atá ann go raibh tionchar ag an chéad teanga ar an cheann deireanach, caomhnaítear inti seo i gcónaí leaganacha bunaidh Francise de roinnt logainmneacha, cuir i gcás: *Ceap Nòr* 'Cap du nord (Cape North)', *Seastago* 'Chestico (Port Hood)' (leagan truaillithe den téarma *juste au corps* 'ionar'), *Loch Bhradòir* 'Bras d'Or (Bradore Lake)' *Seadagong* 'Chéticamp'. Is léir, cé bith sin de, go raibh baint nach beag ag an Ghàidhlig le cineálacha Béarla Mheiriceá Thuaidh. Réimse taighde é seo nach

<sup>4</sup> Gheofar cuntais ghinearálta sna saothair seo a leanas: Jackson 1949; MacGill-Phinnein 1974, Nilsen 1996, Watson 1999.

bhfuil saor ó dheacrachtaí, ar ndóigh, mar a thuigfear. Gidh gur téarmaí iad seo a leanas a thaistil thar an Atlantach anall: *clever* ‘tapa’, *curs* ‘garbh’, *dresste* ‘(éadach) cóirithe’, *feansa* ‘cláí’, *pòn* ‘murlach’, *lòd* ‘lasta’ agus an focal ilúsaide úd, *poidhle* ‘mórán’, níl sé chomh furasta céanna a rá le cinnteacht cá huair a tugadh leithéidí *rough*, *tough*, *busy*, *slow*, *start*, *town*, nó *pàstar* ‘talamh féaraigh’ isteach sa teanga. Ní féidir a shéanadh go bhfuil blas de chuid Mheiriceá Thuaidh ar fhocail iasachta mar *slick* sa chiall ‘deas’, mar atá ag *pull* san abairt *a’ faighinn pull* arb é is ciall di ‘dua a fháil’. Díol suime fosta é riar de théarmaí traidisiúnta na Gàidhlig á gcur in oiriúint i gcás córas airgeadaíocht dheachúil Cheanada mar, le taobh *cairteal* a bhfuil an bhunbhrí ‘ceathramh’ aige, .i. 25 ceint, baintear úsaid as *còig sgilling deug* ‘15 ceint’, *tastan* ‘20 ceint’ (a raibh an chiall ‘scilling’, .i. an fichiú cuid de phunt Shasana, aige roimhe sin) agus *leth thastan* ‘10 gceint’, .i. leath na suime deiridh, ar téarmaí traidisiúnta iad araon sa Ghaeilge, cf. *toistiún*.

6. Mar a luadh cheana, ba é an nós a bhí ag coilínithe as réigiún ar leith de chuid na Gàidhealtachd go lonnaíodh siad le taobh dream eile as an cheantar céanna a bhí bunaithe i gCeap Breatainn cheana féin (Dunn 1953, 26-7). Coinníodh cuimhne ar áit dhúchais shinsir na gcoilínithe sin. *Hearagaich*, cuirim i gcás, a thugtaí as a n-áit dhúchais orthu siúd arbh as na Hearadh dá sinsir; *Glaisich* ar an dream ar bhain a muintir le Srath Ghlais; *Muiceanaich* ar phobal arbh as Oileán Mhuice dóibh ó dhúchas; agus *Aillsich* a ghlaoití orthu sin a shíolraigh ó inimircigh ó Loch Aillse. I gcás na *nUibhisteach*, daoine ar bhain a muintir leis na hUibhistean, bhí ar chumas ag faisnéiseoir de chuid an oileáin a casadh orm sna 1980í idirdhealú a dhéanamh idir í féin mar bhean de na *Deasaich* ‘lucht na taoibhe ó dheas’, arbh as Uibhist-a-Deas dá muintir, agus dream eile ar *Thuathaich*, ‘lucht na taoibhe ó thuaidh’, iad agus ar bhain a sinsir le hUibhist-a-Tuath. Ní amháin sin ach chuir sí ar fáil samplaí de thréithe lena bhféadfadh sí an dá chanúint a aithint thar a chéile. Ba láidir an choilíneacht a d’éirigh le sliocht na Hearadh a bhunú in Oirdheisceart Cheap Breatainn, timpeall ar Ghabarus, le taobh an ionaid ní ba lú a chuir inimircigh ó Leòdhas ar bun ag an Chaolas Beag i lár an oileáin. B’inimircigh ón dá ‘oileán’ sin araon a lonnaigh ag taobh a chéile in áit eile agus bhí sé i ndán dóibhsean an pobal Gaelach Protastúnach ab inaitheanta, mharthanaí dá raibh in Albain Nua a bhunú ansin sa cheantar ar a dtugtar an Cladach-a-Tuath (Cladach ó Thuaidh).

7. Is é an taithí atá agam ar chainteoirí Gàidhlig ár linne a shíolraigh ó na ceannródaithe sin, cibé pobal a maireann siad ann ar fud an oileáin go léir, gur as na ceantair dhúchais úd in Albain a éilfonn siad aitheantas dóibh féin. Ní annamh ach oiread a bhronnann na pobail máguairt a leithéid d'aitheantas orthu. Cuireadh ar na súile dom go soiléir, is mé ag dul do thaighde i gceantar Ghabarus i 1983, gurb amhlaidh a bhí an scéal. Ag iarraidh teacht suas leis an mhuintir a shíolraigh ó choilínithe de chuid Loch Aillse a bhí mé agus, gan aon ró-dhua, chuir daoine ar an eolas mé conas iad siúd a bhaint amach. Ba chúis suntais dom é gur bhain na daoine a threoraigh mé leis na Hearadh ó thaobh sinsireachta de – an dream ba líonmhaire ar fad san áit. Mar sin, má tá an t-oileán uile ina limistéar thar a bheith speisiúil do chanúineolaithe na Gàidhlig eascraíonn deacrachtaí éagsúla dóibh seo chomh maith. Tá an scéal amhlaidh thar aon chúis eile mar go bhfuil sé furasta go leor le roinnt glúinte anuas taisteal ó pháirteanna d'Oileán Cheap Breatainn chun a chéile agus dul a chónaí iontu. Tháinig uaidh seo gur bheag bac a bhí ar na canúintí meascadh le chéile. Léiriú an-mhaith é ar an phróiseas céanna mar a leathnaigh tréithe canúna de chuid chanúintí Cho. Inbhir Nis anall isteach i gcaint cheantar Iona, m. sh. [ʔ] → [w], [ɲ] → [m]. Luaim iad sin go speisialta mar gur tréithe iad a aithnítear go minic mar chomharthaí ar chaint Loch Abair.<sup>5</sup> Ní gan fáth a chuireann cainteoirí an lae inniu i gcás in amanna dá mbeadh canúint ardréimeach faoi leith le teacht chun cinn in Albain Nua a mbeadh glacadh forleathan ag an phobal léi gur canúint de chuid Cho. Inbhir Nis a bheadh ann.

8. Ó tharla go raibh ábhar bailithe agam cheana sa taobh thoirtheas i gceantar Ghabarus ó chainteoirí a bhí ionadaíoch do phobal na Hearadh chuir mé romham samplaí a chruinniú ar an Chladach-a-Tuath a bheadh ionadaíoch, mar a mheas mé, do chaint shliocht choilínithe Leòdhais. Ní raibh sé chomh héasca agus a shíl mé a leithéid d'aidhm a chur i gcrích i ndeireadh na dála, mar ba limistéar é a ndearna inimircigh ó Leòdhas agus ó na Hearadh araon lonnú ann.<sup>6</sup> Leis na deacrachtaí a tháinig chun cinn a léiriú pléifidh mé

<sup>5</sup> De réir faisnéis *SGDS*, ní bhaineann an chéad tréith ach le pointe amháin (76) de chuid Pointí Loch Abair (74-7) agus is tréith ionadaíoch í do cheantair eile chomh maith, go speisialta Hiort. Maidir leis an dara tréith ní léir dom ón fhoinse chéanna gur saintréith í de chuid pointe ar bith sa suirbhé, gan trácht ar Loch Abair.

<sup>6</sup> Patterson 1978, 80: '... the great bulk of the [North Shore] inhabitants came the following year [1829] from the Isle of Harris'.

anseo ábhar a fuarthas ag dhá phointe ar an Chladach-a-Tuath. Drochaid na h-Aibhne-a-Tuath (Droichead na hAbhna ó Thuaidh),<sup>7</sup> arbh as faisnéiseoir T dó, ab ainm do phointe sa cheann theas den réigiún; agus b'as an dara pointe, Còbh na Raice (Camas na Raice), faisnéiseoir W, c. 30 Cm níos faide ó thuaidh. Is léir cén tábhacht a bhí ag tionchar na Hearadh i gcomharsanacht an phointe ó dheas nuair a chuirtear san áireamh logainmneacha mar Tarbotvale agus, go háirithe, Tarbot a roghnaíodh in aonghnó as an phort aithnidiúil sna Hearadh, de réir faisnéiseora san áit, mar ainm le haghaidh oifig an phoist. Ar ábhar a bhailigh mé ó chainteoir amháin ag gach ceann den dá phointe faoi seach atá an staidéar comparáideach a dhéanaim anseo bunaithe. (Cuireadh faisnéis bhreise ar fáil ón dara cainteoir ag an dá phointe, .i. T1 agus W1, agus tagrófar don mhéid sin fosta ó am go chéile.) I bhfianaise a bhfuil ráite aige faoin scéal tá roinnt heitreaglas san áireamh anseo atá aitheanta mar thréithe idir-dhealaithe idir Leòdhas agus na Hearadh ag Carl Hj. Borgstrøm (1940, 167):

The system of preaspiration and the various treatments of the groups *R* + dental consonants are the chief sources of differences between Lewis and the other dialects as regards groups of consonants.

9. Bhí mé faoi chomaoín ar leith, is mé ag dearadh ceistneora do m'obair sa ghort, ag liosta na heitreaglas a d'fhoilsigh Borgstrøm (1940, 236-43) chomh fada sin ó shin ina shuirbhé ar chanúintí Inse Gall (féach **Tábla 1**). Ba staidéar é sin nach raibh ag brath ach ar dhá phointe i Leòdhas. Cibé sin de, is leithne an t-eolas atá anois againn ar chanúintí Leòdhais, agus ar an chuid eile chomh maith, de bharr na faisnéise atá le fáil in *Survey of the Gaelic dialects of Scotland* vols 1-5 (1994-97) [SGDS]. Ag naoi bpointe ar fud Leòdhais a fuarthas ábhar don saothar seo, mar aon le ceithre cinn sna Hearadh, cé gur thart faoi fhiche bliain i ndiaidh obair Borgstrøm a rinneadh é sin a bhailiú. Is fíor le rá i gcás Ghàidhlig Cheap Breatainn go bhfuiltear ag plé le caint sliocht coilínithe a d'fhág tír a ndúchais roinnt glúinte sular tugadh faoi na suirbhéanna ar a dtráchtar anseo, ar le linn an 20ú haois a rinneadh iad. Ar an lámh eile, caithfear a chur san áireamh gur sochaí choimeádach go maith a bhí i gceist sa dá thír. Léiríonn scéilín a d'inis W1 dom faoi dhifriocht a d'aithin sí féin a

<sup>7</sup> Patterson 1978, 80: '... the great bulk of the inhabitants [of North River Bridge] are, however, from the Island (*sic*) of Lewis and Harris'.

bheith idir a canúint féin agus caint mhuintir **T** an pointe seo go héifeachtach, dar liom. Mar bhean nuaphósta a tháinig sí seo ó cheantar Chòbh na Raice chun cónaí i nDrochaid na h-Aibhne-a-Tuath agus thosaigh sí an uair sin, de réir a cuntais féin, ag baint úsáide as malairt téarmaí i gcás focal áirithe. *Uachdar* ('uachtar bainne') an téarma a bhí aici féin ó dhúchas ach is é rud a chuireadh sí focal mhuintir a fir chéile, *bàrr*, ina áit. Is féidir a dheimhniú go bhfuil an tréith atá i gceist ansiúd le haithint mar phointe idir-dhealaithe canúna idir na Hearadh agus Leòdhas i saothar scoláirí eile, cf. Borgstrøm (1940, 71, 164); agus san aguisín atá ag *LASID* IV (1969, 249). San fhoinsé seo luaitear *bàrr* mar aistriúchán ar 'cream' ag Pointe (*e*) (Leòdhas) agus ag cósta thiar mhórthír na hAlban, Pointí (*f,g*), san áit a dtugtar *uachdar* mar théarma ag na pointí ab fhaide ó dheas (*b,c*). (Ní áirítear pointí an fhíordheiscirt sa chás mar a luaitear téarma eile ar fad sa fhreagra.)

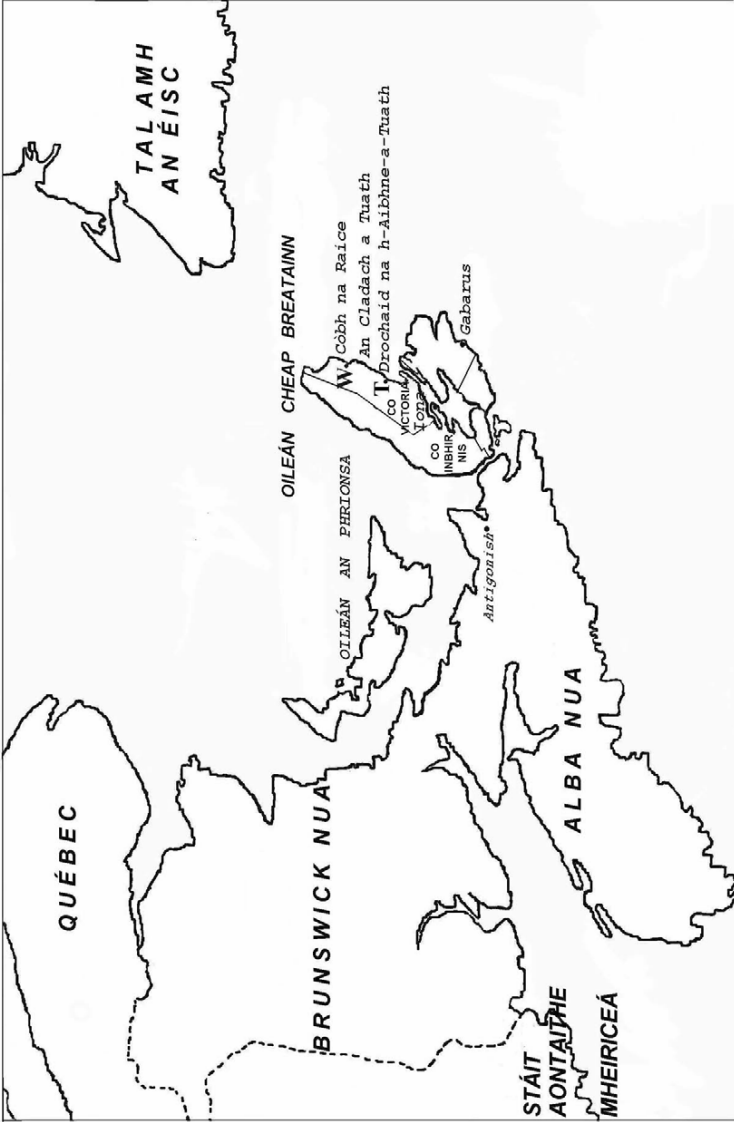
TÁBLA 1: Foirmeacha ó liosta focal Borgstrøm (1940) a léiríonn pointí atá faoi chaibidil<sup>8</sup>

	<i>triùir</i> 'triúr'	<i>mac</i> 'mac'	<i>faicinn</i> 'feiceáil'	<i>peacadh</i> 'peaca'
<i>LEÒDHAS Pt1</i>	t <sup>h</sup> ry:ð	ma <sup>h</sup> k	fěk'ən	p <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>h</sup> kəy
<i>LEÒDHAS Pt2</i>	t <sup>h</sup> ry:ð	ma <sup>h</sup> k	fěk'ən	p <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>h</sup> kəy
<i>NA HEARADH</i>	trju:r	maxk	fěčk'əl	p <sup>h</sup> əxkəy
	<i>cra(i)c(e)ann</i> 'croiceann'	<i>olc</i> 'olc'	<i>cearc</i> 'cearc'	<i>corca/coirce</i> 'coirce'
<i>LEÒDHAS Pt1</i>	----	ɔjk	k <sup>h</sup> ærk	k <sup>h</sup> ɔrk(ə)
<i>LEÒDHAS Pt2</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ra <sup>h</sup> kən	ɔjk	k <sup>h</sup> ærk	k <sup>h</sup> ɔrk(ə)
<i>NA HEARADH</i>	k <sup>h</sup> raxkən	ɔjk	k <sup>h</sup> ærk	k <sup>h</sup> ɔrkə
	<i>ceart</i> 'ceart'	<i>goirt</i> 'tinn'	<i>bùird</i> 'boird'	
<i>LEÒDHAS Pt1</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ast	----	(ka:ɔɪf cairdeil 'cairdiúil)	
<i>LEÒDHAS Pt2</i>	k <sup>h</sup> ast	ğɔst	bɪ:ɔ	
<i>NA HEARADH</i>	k <sup>h</sup> æst	ğɔst	bɪ:st	
	<i>dùirn</i> 'doirme'	<i>eòin</i> 'éin'		
<i>LEÒDHAS Pt1</i>	----	jo:ɲ		
<i>LEÒDHAS Pt2</i>	ɔy:ɲ	io:ɲ		
<i>NA HEARADH</i>	ɔy:'ɲ	eo:ɲ		

<sup>8</sup> Tras-scríobh leasaithe atá ar fáil anseo ach gur coinníodh comharthaíocht thraidis-iúnta na gconsan caol viz. **d'**, **t'**, etc – diomaite de **ɲ**.



LÉARSCÁIL 1: A L B A



LÉARSCÁIL 2: OIRTHEAR CHEANADA



**10.** [ü] Diomaite den tonaíocht aithnidiúil a luaitear a bheith le fáil iontu (Oftedal 1956, 25-31) tá móthréith eile a dtugtar suntas di mar chomhartha ar chanúintí Leòdhais. Tráchtar ar ghuta ard, cruinn a bheith le cluinstitn ansiúd mar phríomhalafón ar /u/. Guta é seo atá mórán níos faide chun tosaigh ná a mhacasamhail fhóinéimeach sna canúintí máguaird agus b'fhéidir, go deimhin, sa chuid eile de chanúintí na Gàidhlig. Ina chuntas ar chanúint in oirthear Leòdhais is é an cur síos atá ag Oftedal (1956, 75) ar phríomhalafón /u/:

a high central rounded vowel ... more retracted than French *u* [y] in *nu* ... very similar to the highest varieties of Norwegian and Swedish *u*.

Cuirtear ar fáil samplaí den ghuta, idir fhada agus ghearr, i bhfocail mar *dubh* agus *cù* 'madra'. Tugtar comharthaíocht dó sna foinsí atá i gceist mar seo a leanas:

[ü] (*SGDS*)    [ʊ] (Borgstrøm)    [û], [ü], [λ] (*LASID*)

In ainneoin go léiríonn *SGDS* go soiléir go bhfuil an guta seo le fáil ag gach ceann de naoi bpointe Leòdhais níor aimsigh mé féin mar mhóralafón é i measc ábhair a bhailigh mé ó fhaisnéiseoirí ar an Chladach-a-Tuath ná, go deimhin, in áit ar bith eile i gCeap Breatainn.

**11. eó** Le córas na ngutaí fosta a bhaineann an tréith a phléifear anois .i. forás an défhoghair stairiúil *eó*. I gcanúintí Gaeilge ár linne tá an chéad mhír den défhoghar stairiúil seo imithe ar lár ach tá léirithe ag suirbhé Borgstrøm cruthanna faoina bhfuil an mhír chéanna caomhnaithe in Inse Gall. De réir na fianaise sin maireann sí i gcónaí i riocht mar an chéad eilimint de dhéfhoghar sna Hearadh, ach i Leòdhas tá dhá rogha i gceist: (i) caomhnaítear í ina leathghuta i dtosach focal nó ar lorg consain liopaigh; nó (ii) imíonn sí ar lorg consain chaoil (cf. *eòin*, Tábla 1 thuas). Is féidir scéal Borgstrøm sna Hearadh a dhearbhuí de réir fianaise ó *SGDS*, s.v. *beò*, *ceòl*, *eòin* 'éin', gurb é an défhoghar amháin atá le fáil. I gcás an dá fhaisnéiseoir atá agam ón Chladach-a-Tuath i gCeap Breatainn ní bhfuair mé fianaise ar bith den fhorás atá i gceist sna Hearadh; is é an ceann eile atá le fáil, cf. [i], cf. *eòin* [i:0:N'].

12. [ð] Fuaim chonsanach ar minic a ndearctar uirthi mar shain-tréith de chuid Ghàidhlig Leòdhais, ach a dtagtar uirthi i gcanúintí níos faide ó dheas fosta, is ea réalú *r* caol stairiúil mar chuimilteach déadach. Mar [ð'] a scríobhann Borgstrøm í, á comharthú neamhghlórach de réir mar a oireann. Is é [ð] an comhartha atá in úsáid ag *SGDS*, ar féidir é a mharcáil caol chomh maith agus, sa chás ina dteastaíonn, neamhghlórach. Mar [b] a dhéantar an fhuaim neamhghlórach a thras-scríobh in *LASID*, dá bhfreagraíonn a comhfhuaime ghlórach [r''], nó in amanna [ð]. Tá an comhartha [ð] in úsáid ag Oftedal (1956, 129) fosta sa chuntas atá aige faoi chanúint oirthear Leòdhais ar fhuaim a gcuireann sé síos uirthi mar seo a leanas:

... an interdental fricative, normally voiced ... often but not always slightly palatalized ... very like English *ð* in *these*.

Ag a chuid pointí in Oileán Leòdhais amháin atá an cineál cuimiltigh atá i gceist anseo le fáil i suirbhé Borgstrøm ach is é an taithí atá agam féin gurb ann dó i gcanúintí níos faide ó dheas in Inse Gall chomh maith. Deimhníonn faisnéis *SGDS* an méid sin, áit a luaitear é sna hUibhistean, cuirim i gcás, i bhfoirmeacha de chineál *idir* (513-14, Ptí 18, 22-4) 'ar chor ar bith', nó *stiùir* (805, Ptí 18, 22-4). I dtaca le Ceap Breatainn de, gidh go bhfuil an déadach cuimilteach seo le cluinstitín, gan amhras, i bhfocal mar *tioram* 'dry', cuir i gcás, a bhfuil sampla ar taifead agam ó **W**, is é a chítheas dom, cibé sin de, nach bhfuil i gceist léi ar an Chladach-a-Tuath, ach oiread le háiteanna eile ar fud an oileáin, ach alafón annamh de *r* caol.

13. **Réamhanálú roimh -(r/l)c(-)** Tá fúm anois plé a dhéanamh ar an chéad phointe dá bhfuil luaite i liosta Borgstrøm. Heitreaglas fóineolaíochta eile é seo lena ndéantar idirdhealú idir Leòdhas agus canúintí eile is faide ó dheas in Inse Gall. Baineann sé le réalú pléascach neamhghlórach stairiúil i dtimpeallacht aiceanta ar lorg guta. Fuaim chuimilteach mar eilimint neamhspleách (Patrún 2) atá i ndiaidh teacht chun cinn sna canúintí úd ó dheas atá i gceist, san áit a léiríonn canúintí Leòdhais réamhanálú<sup>9</sup> mar thréith dhílis den phléascach (Patrún 1). Tá an timpeallacht roimh phléascach coguasach roghnaithe agam anseo leis an idirdhealú a léiriú. Sa chás sin tagann chun cinn cuimilteach coguasach nó carballach taobh amuigh de Leòdhas, cf. *SGDS* 592 (*mac:*) *a mhic*, Leòdhas: [ə v̥ɪhk'] (Patrún 1) vs na Hearadh: [ə v̥ɪx'k'] (Patrún 2). Chomh fada agus a

<sup>9</sup> Thomson 1983, 104-05.

bhaineann le Ceap Breatainn, is é Patrún 2 is nós le faisnéiseoir **W**, mar a léirítear sna focail *fiacail*, *mucan* ‘muca’, *smoc* ‘toit’, *aca* ‘acu’, *picil*. Má léiríonn **W1** Patrún 2 chomh maith i gcás focal áirithe, macsamhail *mac*, *craiceann* ‘croiceann’, *aca* ‘acu’, *aice* ‘aici’, *tumbaca* ‘tobac’, tá teacht ina cuidse cainte ar Phatrún 1 fosta, i bhfocail áirithe eile mar *acair* ‘ancaire’, *faicinn* ‘feiceáil’, *peacadh* ‘peaca’.<sup>10</sup> Is é Patrún 1 a thugtar faoi deara i gcaint faisnéiseoir **T** níos faide ó dheas, ceantar ar chaith an bhean thuasluaite mórchuid dá saol mar bhean fhásta ina cónaí ann. Ar shamplaí d’fhocail a léiríonn Patrún 1 i gcaint **T** atá le lua agam tá *mac*, *craiceann* agus *peacadh*. Timpeallacht eile ina bhfaightear heitreaglas gaolmhar is ea na cairn chonsonacha *-rc(-)*, *-lc(-)*. Mar an gcéanna leis an chás atáthar díreach i ndiaidh a phlé, tá cuimilteach coguasach nó carballach i ndiaidh teacht chun cinn roimh an phléascach anseo sna canúintí ó dheas in Inse Gall. Is é a chuireann suirbhé Borgstrøm in úil dúinn nach ann dá leithéid de chuimilteach i nGàidhlig na Hearadh sna focail *olc*, *cearc*, *coirce*. Ina áit sin is é rud a dhéantar an *-r-*, nó *-l-* roimh an phléascach a dhíghlórú, faoi mar a tharlaíonn i gcanúintí Leòdhais. Tacaíonn faisnéis *SGDS* leis an mhéid sin ag bunús phointí na Hearadh mar, san fhoinsé seo, ní bhíonn samplaí de chuimilteach le fáil ach ag Pointe 12 agus i gcás *-rc-* amháin. Ábhar suntais é go ndéanann **W** feidhm de Phatrún 2 i gcás an fhocail *adhairc* ‘adharc’ [ø:rçk’] (mar atá le fáil níos faide ó dheas in Inse Gall), áit a bhfuiltear ag plé le carn a bhí le fáil i siolla neamhaiceanta stairiúil. Is fiú scéal an duine a thogh mé mar fhaisnéiseoir ionadaíoch do phobal traidisiúnta na Hearadh in oirdheisceart Cheap Breatainn (Gabus) a lua sa chás seo. Déanann sí seo úsáid de chuimilteach coguasach/carballach sna trí fhocal tástála úd atá ag Borgstrøm. Ní miste a lua, cé bith, go bhfuil an pobal lena mbaineann sí suite taobh le sliocht coilínithe as na hUibhistean agus gur gnáth-thréith Uibhisteach é an coguasach/carballach céanna sna cairn atá i gceist (cf. Borgstrøm 1940, 236-43).

**14.** Maidir leis an dara pointe a luann Borgstrøm ar ar féidir idir-dhealú a bhunú idir canúintí éagsúla de chuid Inse Gall, baineann sé sin leis an fhorás a tháinig ar chairn chaola ina dtagann *-r* roimh chonsan déadach i siollaí aiceanta, viz. *-rd*, *-rl*, *-rn*, *-rt*. De réir shuirbhé an scoláire chéanna tá de dhifríocht idir Leòdhas agus na

<sup>10</sup> Féach Ó Maolalaigh 1999, 211: mar a dtugtar sampla d’idirchanúint (*interdialect*) agus d’fhoirmeacha idirchanúna i gcanúineolaíocht na Gàidhlig. Pléann an scoláire seo san alt céanna torthaí eagsúla a thagann ó *hyperdialectalism*.

Hearadh i gcás an chairn *-rn* nach gcaolaítear i Leòdhas é. Bíodh sin mar atá, is léir, ach faisnéis *SGDS* a chur san áireamh, go bhfuil eis-ceachtaí ag pointí faoi leith i limistéar Leòdhais. Ar an ábhar sin ní chuirim an tréith áirithe seo san áireamh ar mhaithe leis an chomparáid atá á déanamh agam. Ní haon dochar a lua, mar sin féin, go léiríonn a bhfuil d'fhianaise agam ó Cheap Breatainn nach mbaineann caolú don charn áirithe seo i gcás faisnéiseoirí **T** agus **T1**. Ar an lámh eile, cé bith, tá fianaise san ábhar a fuarthas ó **W** ar chaolú a bheith i gceist ansiúd. Chomh fada agus a bhaineann leis an charn caol *-rl*, is é an focal *òirleach* 'orlach' atá i dtreis ag Borgstrøm, nach bhfuil ar chláir foirmeacha *SGDS*. I gcás an tsampla seo tá leachtach caol le lua aige ní amháin sna Hearadh ach ag pointe amháin i Leòdhas fosta .i. Beàrnaraigh. In ainneoin nach é a leithéid ach leachtach cuartha ['retroflex'] a thugann *LASID IV* (Pointe (e) Ceist 360) agus Oftedal (1956, 126) i gcás áiteanna in iarthar agus in oirthear Leòdhais faoi seach, is léir ó thorthaí *SGDS* gurb ann do leachtach caol sa charn i gcás canúintí áirithe i Leòdhas fosta. Níl aon chaolú i gceist ag faisnéiseoir **W** de chuid Cheap Breatainn sa sampla a léiríonn forbairt an chairn *-rl*, mar atá *mèirleach* 'gadaí'.

**15.** Ar deireadh thiar ní beag an t-údar suime é cás na gcarn pléascach déadach. Is é atá taispeánta ag Borgstrøm ina staidéar ar *-rt* san fhocal *goirt* 'tinn' go bhfuil teorainn idir Leòdhas, limistéar nár nocht pléascach caol ann, agus an chuid eile d'Inse Gall mar a mbíonn pléascach caol le fáil. Roghnaíodh *cuairt* 'cúrsa' (267), agus *fea[i]rt* 'aire' (411) mar fhocail samplacha in *SDGS*, agus feictear sa chás seo dáileadh tíreolaíochtuil a bheag nó a mhór atá mar an gcéanna lena bhfacthas i gcás *-r-* caol stairiúil á réalú mar chuimilteach déadach caol, [ð] (féach thuas, §12). Sa charn atá faoi chaibidil anseo fosta tá forás faoi leith le sonrú .i. an caolú a imeacht den charn. Níor tharla sé sin sna Hearadh ach is saintréith de chuid Leòdhais í agus tréith a mbuailtear léi ó uair go chéile níos faide ó dheas. I dtaca le forás an chairn chaoil *-rd* de, is é atá ar an taifead i bhfoirmeacha na Hearadh ag Borgstrøm *-s-* sáiteach (nach ann dó i gcanúintí Leòdhais) ní amháin sa charn caol ach ina chomhcharn leathan. Deimhníonn *SGDS* go bhfuil an scéal mar seo i gcás an chairn seo ar fhianaise na foirme *càirdean* 'cairde' (152). Tugtar faoi deara an athuair go bhfuil an leagan amach 'Leòdhasach' i gceist ag dornán beag pointí níos faide ó dheas chomh maith mar ní fhaightear cairn-*s* acu seo. Is é a thugann an fhianaise atá agam ó Cheap Breatainn le fios ar an chéad dul síos nach ann don *-s-* sáiteach i

gcairn *-rt*, *-rd* i gcás **T** ná i gcás **W** – ná, go deimhin, i gcás m'fhaisnéisora eile ón phointe céanna .i. **W1**. (Ní miste a lua nach bhfuil samplaí den chanúint atá agam ó ionadaí an phobail Hearagaigh in oirdheisceart an oileáin ag teacht leis sin.) Lena chois sin, ní bhaineann caolú leis an phléascach sa charn atá in *goirt*, ach oiread leis an cheann sa charn in *bùird* i gcás fhaisnéisoirí uile an Chladaich-a-Tuath a luadh thuas. Ní mar sin atá an scéal, cibé sin de, nuair a scrúdaítear foirmeacha ilsiollacha. I dtimpeallacht dá leithéid nochtann **W** caolú i bpléascaigh dhéadacha na bhfocal *beartach* ‘saibhir’ agus (*nas*) *àirde* ‘níos airde’ agus ag an pointe ó dheas sa limistéar sin cuireann **T1** fianaise ar fáil go bhfuil a leithéid de chaolú sa charn pléascach in *goirteas* ‘frithireacht’. Níl d’fhairsingeacht agam anseo a cheadódh scrúdú ar fhorbairt an phléascaigh i siollaí neamhaiceanta stairiúla ach tá fianaise ann, mar sin féin, dar liom, a thabharfadh le fios nach nochtann ceachtar de phointí seo an Chladaich-a-Tuath caolú i bhfoirmeacha mar *tabhairt* nó *thubhairt* ‘dúirt’ (cf.1, Ptí 10-13), timpeallacht ina dtagann caolú ar an phléascach déadach sna Hearadh.

TÁBLA 2: Comparáid idir **T**, **W** agus canúintí Leòdhais & na Hearadh

	<i>eò</i>	[ð]
<b>T</b>	= Leòdhas	≠ Leòdhas (annamh)
<b>W</b>	= Leòdhas	≠ Leòdhas (annamh)
	<i>mic</i>	<i>adhairc</i>
<b>T</b>	= Leòdhas	—
<b>W</b>	= Na Hearadh	≠ Leòdhas, Na Hearadh = Uidhist
<b>W1</b>	± Leòdhas	—
	<i>-irn</i>	<i>-irl</i>
<b>T, T1</b>	= Leòdhas (Borgstrøm)	—
<b>W</b>	≠ Leòdhas (Borgstrøm)	½ ≠ Leòdhas
	<i>-rt</i>	<i>-rd</i>
<b>T</b>	= Leòdhas	= Leòdhas
<b>W, W1</b>	= Leòdhas	= Leòdhas
	<i>-irt</i>	<i>-ird</i>
<b>T</b>	= Leòdhas	= Leòdhas
<b>W</b>	= Leòdhas	= Leòdhas
	<i>-irt+GUTA</i>	<i>-ird+GUTA</i>
<b>T1</b>	= Na Hearadh	= Na Hearadh
<b>W</b>	= Na Hearadh	= Na Hearadh

**16.** Tugann an cuntas thuas (ar a bhfuil suimiú i d**Tábla 2**), dá achoimre é, le fios sa chéad chás de go bhfuil tréithe canúna an fhaisnéiseora **T** ag teacht go maith lena bhfuil ar eolas againn faoi chanúintí Leòdhais. Léiríonn an t-eolas céanna an tionchar mór a bhí ag coilínithe ón oileán sin i gcruthú an phobail teanga lenar bhain an duine áirithe sin. I gcás an limistéir eile atá níos faide ó thuaidh ar an Chladach-a-Tuath (**W**), gídh go dtuairiscítear tréithe Leòdhasacha áirithe a bheith ag an fhaisnéiseoir ann, ar ndóigh, mar sin féin tugtar faoi deara go bhfuil go leor tréithe i gceist aige nach bhfuil ag réiteach le Gàidhlig Leòdhais. Tá fianaise eile agam (nach bhfuil de spás agam lena plé anseo) i gcatagóirí na fóineolaíochta, an fhoclóra, etc, a léiríonn mar a bhí canúintí á meascadh ag an dá phointe atá i gceist, ach nach mbainfeadh den tuairim a thagann chun cinn sa staidéar seo, .i. a láidre atá tionchar chanúintí na Hearadh agus canúintí eile seachas Leòdhas i gcaint an fhaisnéiseora **W**. Caithfear a admháil i gcás an duine áirithe seo nárbh eol dó féin cén ceantar dúchasach sa Ghàidhealtachd arbh as dá shinsir. I gcás **T**, cibé ar bith, mhaígh sé seo ceangal sinsireach le muintir Tarbot (Tairbeart na Hearadh) a bheith aige, ceangal arb ar éigean a réitíonn fianaise a chanúna leis. Is é rud atá an leagan amach a léirítear anseo ag teacht go maith leis an taithí atá agam féin in áiteanna éagsúla ar fud oileán Cheap Breatainn, mar atá, gur nós coitianta é duine a bheith ag maíomh gur bh as ceantar ar leith sa Ghàidhealtachd dá shinsir ach, san am céanna, tréithe áirithe dá chanúint a bheith ag bréagnú an cheangail leis an limistéar atá i gceist.

## TAGAIRTÍ

- Black, Ronald *et al.* (eag.), 1999: *Celtic connections: proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Celtic Studies*. Vol. 1. East Linton, Scotland.
- Borgstrøm, Carl, 1940: *Survey of the Gaelic dialects of Scotland*. Vol. 1: *The dialects of the Outer Hebrides*. Oslo.
- Dorian, N. C., 1981: *Language death*. Philadelphia.
- Dunn, C. W., 1953: *Highland settler a portrait of the Scottish Gael in Nova Scotia*. Toronto.
- Gillies, William, 1993: 'Scottish Gaelic' in *The Celtic languages*, ed. M. J. Ball. London, 145-227.
- Hornsby, Stephen, 1990: 'Scottish emigration and settlement in early nineteenth-century Cape Breton' in *The Island – new perspectives on Cape Breton history 1713-1990*, ed. Kenneth Donovan. Sydney. N.S. Canada, 49-69.

- Jackson, K. H., 1949: 'Notes on the Gaelic of Port Hood' *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 6, 89-109.
- LASID: Wagner, Heinrich, 1958-69: *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects*. Vols. I-IV. Dublin.
- Mac'Il Fhialain, Aonghas, 1972: *Saoghal an treobhaiche*. Inbhir Nis.
- MacGill-Fhinnein, Gordon, 1974: 'Canúint Ghàidhlig de chuid Chontae Inbhir Nis, Ceap Breatainn, Albainn Nua, Ceanada'. Tráchtas PhD atá gan foilsiú, Ollscoil na hÉireann (An Coláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Cliath).
- Neat, Timothy, 2000: *When I was young – voices from lost communities in Scotland: the Highlands and the East Coast*. Edinburgh.
- Nilsen, Kenneth, 1996: 'Some notes on the Gaelic of eastern Nova Scotia' *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 17, 292-4.
- Ó Cadhain, Máirtín, 1970: *An tsraith dhá tógáil*. Baile Átha Cliath.
- Oftedal, Magne, 1956: *The Gaelic of Leurbost, Isle of Lewis*. Oslo.
- Ó Maolalaigh, Roibeard, 1999: 'Transition zones, hyperdialectalisms and historical change: the case of final unstressed *-igh/-ich* and *-idh* in Scottish Gaelic' *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19, 195-233.
- Patterson, G. W., 1978: *History of Victoria County*. Sydney, N.S. Canada.
- Phillips, Alasdair, 1986: *My Uncle George*. (Athchló) London.
- SGDS: Cathaoir ó Dochartaigh, *Survey of the Gaelic dialects of Scotland*. Vols. I-V, 1994-97. Dublin.
- Thomson, D. S., 1983: *The companion to Gaelic Scotland*. Oxford.
- Wagner, Heinrich, Ó Baoill, Colm, 1969: *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects*. Vol. I. Dublin.
- Watson, Seosamh, 1994: 'Gaeilge na hAlban' in *Stair na Gaeilge*, eag. Kim McCone *et al.*, 661-702. Maigh Nuad.
- 1999: 'Aspects of some Nova Scotian Gaelic dialects' in Black, 1999, pp. 347-59.
- Withers, C. W. J., 1984: *Gaelic in Scotland*. Edinburgh.

SEOSAMH WATSON

*An Coláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Cliath*

## TWO NOTES ON NAMES

### 1. *Crimthann Nia Náir*

THE epithet of Crimthann Nia Náir, one of the legendary forebears of the Dál Cuinn kings, is usually explained in medieval sources as meaning ‘champion of Nár’: the reference is to the fairy woman (*bansídaige*) Nár Thuathchaech (‘N. Blind-in-the-left-eye’), his wife or lover, who is said to have taken him with her on an adventure or *echtrae* from which he returned laden with treasures.<sup>1</sup> Statements to this effect are to be found in *Airne Fíngein*,<sup>2</sup> in *Lebor Gabála*,<sup>3</sup> in the prose *Dindsenchas*,<sup>4</sup> in *Senchas na Relec*,<sup>5</sup> and in *Cóir Anmann*.<sup>6</sup> In his poem *Ádam oenathair na ndoíne* (A.D. 1147), Gilla Mo Dutu ua Casaide proposed that Nár *Thuathech* was in fact Crimthann’s mother, whom he assigned to ‘the tribes of the Cruithni’: he then went on, however, to note the standard doctrine that Crimthann’s mother was named Clothru.<sup>7</sup>

A conspicuous difficulty with this traditional etymology is that *Náir* appears to be the masculine rather than the feminine genitive singular of the adjective *nár*.<sup>8</sup> In fact, a male figure named Nár Tuathchaech figures in the saga *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*:

<sup>1</sup> For a thorough discussion of the references to Crimthann’s *echtrae*, and also of the various figures named Nár T(h)uathchaech, see now Jacqueline Borsje, ‘Über die Identität von Nár Tuathchaech aus der verlorengegangenen Erzählung *Echtrae Chrimthainn Nia Náir*’ in *Keltologie heute: Themen und Fragestellungen*, ed. Erich Poppe (Münster 2004) 169-93. The issues considered in this note are dealt with most directly on pp. 185-9.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. by Joseph Vendryes (Dublin 1953) 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> *LL* II. 2898-902; *LG* V 302-5.

<sup>4</sup> Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), ‘The prose tales in the Rennes *Dindsenchas*’ *RC* 15 (1894) 272-336, 418-84; 16 (1895) 31-83, 135-67, 269-312; 15 (1894) 332-3.

<sup>5</sup> *LU* II. 4108-10.

<sup>6</sup> Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), ‘*Cóir Anmann* (Fitness of Names)’ *Irische Texte* III/2 (1897) 285-444: 332 §106.

<sup>7</sup> *LL* II. 16817-22.

<sup>8</sup> Occasional instances of the epithet in the form *Nia Náire* (e.g. *CGH* 130; Stokes, ‘Rennes *Dindsenchas*’ *RC* 16,73) are evidently secondary. Otherwise, *Nár* appears to be attested exclusively as a man’s name: besides the figures discussed below, note Nár mac Airmora (*CGH* 97, 264), Nár mac Augein Aurgnaid (ibid. 20), Nár mac Bregoin (*LL* I. 1502), Nár mac Daighí (*CGH* 97), Nar mac Edlicon (*MD* II 54), Nár



At-chonnarc fer and, túathchoech co súil milledaig. Cend mucci lais for tenid ossí oc sáréigem ... Nár Thúathchaech sain. Muccaid Boidb a Síd ar Fémin. Nach fled oca roibi dod-ortad fuil oce.<sup>9</sup>

I saw a man there, blind in the left eye, with a destructive eye. He had a pig's head upon the fire, and it was shrieking continuously ... That is Nár Tuathchaech, the swineherd of Bodb from Síd ar Fémin. Blood has been shed at every feast which he has attended.

As Edward Gwynn pointed out, *Airne Fíngein* associates the female Nár Thuathchaech with the same 'síde of Bodb' where her male counterpart is said to have been a swineherd: he suggested accordingly that she was in fact simply a secondary version of the figure in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*. This conjecture formed part of an involved argument in which Gwynn maintained that the epithet *Nia Náir* was devised as part of an attempt to suppress the tradition that Crimthann had been incestuously begotten by Lugaid Riab nDerg upon Clothru, his own mother.

In order to cloak the incestuous birth of Crimthann ... he is feigned to be the son of a fairy mother (unnamed), sister to Nár of Sid Fémin (also called Sid Buidb): *Nia Náir* = Nár's nephew. Next the name Nár is transferred to his fairy mother [as in *Gilla Mo Dutu's* poem] ... The next step is that the connection with the *aes síde* gives rise to the *Echtra Crimthainn*, the voyage of adventure over sea from which he brings back wonderful treasures. To suit the romantic story Nár becomes his wife ....<sup>10</sup>

There are useful insights here, but Gwynn's scenario is not without its weaknesses. For one thing, there is no evidence that any effort was ever made to obscure Crimthann's irregular parentage: even Keating, with his polemical aim of defending the Irish past against

---

mac Féic (ibid. III 178, IV 350; cf. 'Rennes Dindsenchas' 16, 56), Nár mac Fothaid (CGH 40), Nár mac Oengusa Umail (Vendryes, *Airne Fíngein* 10; cf. MD III 284.93, 'Rennes Dindsenchas' RC 15, 455), and Nár mac Ugaini Máir (LL 2713). The genitive appears in such placenames as Dún Náir, Druim Náir, Mag Náir, Móin Tíre Náir, Ros (Tíre) Náir, and Tír (in) Náir: *Onom.* s. nn.

<sup>9</sup> Eleanor Knott (ed.), *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (Dublin 1936) 42.

<sup>10</sup> MD III 500.

foreign criticism, is entirely candid on the point.<sup>11</sup> And even if such a whitewashing campaign be postulated, why should it have been an unnamed sister of the uncanny Nár who was made to replace Clothru as Crimthann's mother?<sup>12</sup> And why should the immediately subsequent development according to Gwynn's scheme, whereby Crimthann's mother was herself named Nár, be attested only in a source as late as Gilla Mo Dutu's poem, and even then only as one of two alternative doctrines?<sup>13</sup> Crimthann's overseas adventure, which comes as the final link in Gwynn's chain of mutations, is already alluded to (with no mention of a female companion) in the poem *Reicne Fothaid Chanainne*, dated by Meyer to the eighth century.<sup>14</sup>

I agree with Gwynn, however, that the tradition of Crimthann's incestuous birth is crucial to the interpretation of his epithet. The story is a tangled one, involving even more than Lugaid Riab nDerg's relations with his own mother. In the words of *Lebor Gabála*:

Is é in Lugaid Ríab nDerg dorónsat tri meic Echach Feidlig ra  
sfair .i. re Clothraind. & dano doróne in Lugaid-sin mac ria  
mathair fein .i. Crimthand mac Lugdech rí Herend.<sup>15</sup>

It is Lugaid Riab nDerg whom the three sons of Echu Feidlech begot upon their sister, i.e., upon Clothru. And then that Lugaid begot a son upon his own mother, i.e. Crimthann son of Lugaid, king of Ireland.

Some of the complexity of the resulting interrelationships is reflected in a quatrain of *dian midseng* cited by Keating:

Lughaidh Riabh nDearg do Chriomhthann chain  
fá athair is fa bráthair;  
is Clothra an chrotha ghnáthaigh  
da mac ro ba seanmháthair.

<sup>11</sup> Keating, *FFÉ* II 232-5.

<sup>12</sup> It should be borne in mind that there is no direct evidence for this crucial stage in Gwynn's reconstructed sequence.

<sup>13</sup> It is also worth noting that Nár appears here not as a fairy woman at all, but as one of the Cruithni. The same idea is mentioned in the Book of Ballymote's copy of *Cóir Anmann* (Stokes, 'Cóir Anmann', loc. cit.).

<sup>14</sup> Kuno Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Fianaigeacht: Irish poems and tales relating to Finn and his Fianna, with an English translation* (Dublin 1910) 14, q. 26.

<sup>15</sup> *LL* II. 2895-8; cf. Macalister, *LG* V 304.

Lugaid Riab nDerg to fair Crimthann was father and was brother; and Clothru of the pleasant shape was grandmother to her son.<sup>16</sup>

The three sons of Echu Feidlech are named in other sources as Bres, Nár, and Lothar,<sup>17</sup> and I suggest that it was Nár son of Echu rather than Nár the swineherd of Bodb who inspired Crimthann's epithet. The word *nia* means not only 'champion' but also 'nephew, sister's son', and Crimthann is the son of Clothru sister of Nár.<sup>18</sup> That Crimthann was named with reference to Nár rather than to one of the other brothers can perhaps be explained in terms of alliteration with *nia*; that a certain primacy attached to him, despite his being regularly mentioned second when the brothers are listed, may be reflected in the statement of *Cóir Anmann* that Lugaid's head resembled Nár's, the middle and lower parts of his body Bres and Lothar respectively.<sup>19</sup> It may also be relevant that the adjective *nár* 'noble' came to be used in the sense 'shameful'.<sup>20</sup>

While I agree with Gwynn that use of the name *Nár* for Crimthann's wife or lover is a secondary development, I see the path of derivation as having taken a trajectory different from that which he proposed. The story concerning Crimthann's overseas adventure seems to have been the most prominent feature in his legendary profile.<sup>21</sup> The supernatural woman who lured him away from Ireland was probably originally nameless, like the fairy mistresses in

<sup>16</sup> Keating, *FFÉ* II 232.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. Joseph O'Neill (ed. and trans.), 'Cath Boinde' *Ériu* 2 (1905) 173-85 (at p. 174).

<sup>18</sup> In this connection, it is interesting to note Thomas Charles-Edwards's argument that *nia*'s Common Celtic ancestor *\*neüss* 'meant "grandson", "descendant" like Skt. *nápā*' ('Some Celtic kinship terms' *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 24 (1971) 105-22 (at p. 111)). Crimthann, as Lugaid's son, is of course Nár's grandson as well as his nephew.

<sup>19</sup> Stokes, '*Cóir Anmann*' *loc. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Keating, *FFÉ* II 234: *Is as tugadh Nár air do bhrígh gur bha nár leis a gheineamhain idir a dhearbhráthair is a mháthair*. But it may be that no more than coincidence is involved here. The semantic development in question is not clearly attested before the later Middle Irish period, and the epithet *Nia Náir* appears already in *Reicne Fothaid Chanainne* (cf. n. 15 above). For a possible instance of *nár* in this sense in the Old Irish version of *Mesca Ulad*, however, see the discussion below.

<sup>21</sup> To the references in nn. 3-7 and 15 above may be added the poem *Madochód i n-echtra n-áin* (*MD* III 120-7) and the Middle Irish tale-lists (Proinsias Mac Cana, *The learned tales of medieval Ireland* (Dublin 1980) 45, 53).

*Echtrae Chondlai*, *Immram Brain*, and *Echtrae Nerai*;<sup>22</sup> when a name was sought for her, that of Nár Tuathchaech must have seemed suitable because it both echoed Crimthann's epithet and had associations with the Otherworld.

If the explanation advanced here is the correct one, then other instances of the epithet, or of closely similar formulations, must be seen as secondary. I am aware of two examples. When in *Táin Bó Cuailnge* Fer Diad is made to say *Ní hobair níad náire*, rendered by Cecile O'Rahilly as 'Diffidence is not the business of a warrior',<sup>23</sup> an almost identical collocation is produced by entirely different syntax. I take this to be a merely verbal reminiscence of our phrase. More puzzling is the mention of a *Crumthand Niath Nair*, said to belong to the Érainn, in the Old Irish version of *Mesca Ulad*.<sup>24</sup> The epithet is only applied to this individual once in the episode in which he figures, and it could be supposed that it is an interpolation inspired by familiarity with the better-known Crimthann son of Lugaid.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, it is striking that this Crimthann seeks to attack Cú Chulainn when the latter has hidden his face from a woman who is exposing herself to him. A warrior who takes advantage of such a situation could indeed be called, in what I take to be an *ad hoc* pun, a 'champion of bashfulness'.<sup>26</sup>

## 2. *Dercc Corra*

In his translation of the curious little story to which he gave the title 'Finn and the Man in the Tree', Kuno Meyer rendered the name of the mysterious exiled servant who stands at the centre of the narra-

<sup>22</sup> Thus the poem cited in the preceding note says only that Crimthann undertook his *echtrae* 'on account of the falsehood and temptation of women' (*tre bréic ocus aslach mban*; *MD* III 120.6). This misogynistic note is not found in other references to this adventure; it may conceivably be such a version of the tale which is alluded to in the gnomic couplet 'Crimthann Nia Náir said: / "You should not give your secret to women"' (*Asbert Cremthann Nia Náir: / Ni tardda do rúin do mnáib*), in Rudolf Thurneysen (ed.), *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó* (Dublin 1935) 3 1.10.

<sup>23</sup> *TBC* I, 1. 2852; cf. *LL TBC*, 1. 2822.

<sup>24</sup> *LU* II. 1527-43.

<sup>25</sup> For a very different interpretation see the views of T. F. O'Rahilly as cited by J. Carmichael Watson in his edition *Mesca Ulad* (Dublin 1941) pp. xxxvi-ix. The Crimthann Nia Náir of *Mesca Ulad* is taken to be the same as the one who fetched treasures back from his *echtrae* in the *dindsenchas* of Luibnech (*MD* IV 220; Stokes, 'Rennes Dindsenchas' *RC* 16, 73).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *LL TBC* 1. 1192, where Cú Chulainn is constrained to hide his face lest he see *nochta nó náre na mban* 'the nakedness or shame of the women'.

tive as 'Derg Corra son of Ua Daigre'.<sup>27</sup> All interpretations of the name known to me have followed Meyer in taking the first element to be *derg* 'red'. Thus Gerard Murphy translates it as 'Red one of Corr (?) of the race of Flame', and finds in it evidence of another manifestation of the 'Magic Burner' whom he took to be Finn's mythical enemy.<sup>28</sup> Anne Ross, who proposes rendering it 'Peaked Red One', associates it with the Otherworldly connotations of the colour red and with 'such cult heads as that found in Killavilla ... with its strange pointed head which may represent a hood, or a supposed distortion of the skull.'<sup>29</sup> And Joseph Nagy, who cites Ross's translation, suggests symbolic connections with fire and also, more tentatively, with the phallus.<sup>30</sup>

In its five attestations in the unique manuscript, however, the name is given as *Dercc* (four times) or *Derc* (once).<sup>31</sup> While the sound [rg] can be spelled *rc* in early Irish,<sup>32</sup> this does not seem to have been the practice of the scribe of our tale: in a quick look at the text of the story as a whole, together with the pages immediately preceding and following it in the manuscript, I have found no instances of such a spelling, but a generous supply of counterexamples.<sup>33</sup> I can see no

<sup>27</sup> *RC* 25 (1904) 344-9: 347. *Mac hui*, here translated by Meyer 'son of Ua', is as he subsequently realised a reinterpretation of the old gentile term *moccu* (thus *Fian-aigecht*, p. xviii). *Dercc* Corra accordingly belonged to a group which traced its descent from an ancestor Daiger. Given the associations of this story, and of others closely related to it, with locations in Co. Tipperary (see further below), it seems possible that these were the Uí Daigre whose territory included Lettracha Odráin, now Latteragh, in the northern part of the county (Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus genealogiarum sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin 1985) 34 §200).

<sup>28</sup> Eoin Mac Neill and Gerard Murphy (ed. and trans.), *Duanaire Finn* 3 vols. (London and Dublin 1908, 1933, 1953) III pp. lvi, lxiii-iv. Cf. Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, *Fionn mac Cumhaill* (Dublin 1988) 47-8.

<sup>29</sup> Anne Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (London 1967) 337.

<sup>30</sup> Joseph F. Nagy, *Wisdom of the outlaw* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1985) 133, 278-9.

<sup>31</sup> *CIH*, 879.34, 37, 39; 880.12, 13. The spelling *Dercc* is given by Ross, who does not comment on its implications for the translation which she suggests. Other scholars have preserved the manuscript spelling without attempting a translation (Gwynn, 'Varia: 3. "Finn and the Man in the Tree"' *Ériu* 11 (1932) 152-3; Vernam Hull, 'A rhetoric in *Finn and the Man in the Tree*' *ZCP* 30 (1962) 17-20).

<sup>32</sup> E.g. *derc* glossing *rufus*, *Sg* 37 a 5.

<sup>33</sup> *argut* (*CIH* 881.6, 7), *Birgge* (ibid. 879.24), *con-airged* (ibid. 876.1), *derg* (ibid. 881.15), *do-erghus* (ibid. 876.3), *eirgg* (ibid. 879.38), *etargna* (ibid. 876.38; cf. *etargnaithi* 876.39), *laarg* (ibid. 880.21), *luirgnib* (ibid. 879.40), *oderg* (ibid. 881.8), *timairged* (ibid. 881.19). The treatment of [lg] is similar; *bolg* (ibid. 881.14, 15), *con-delg* (ibid. 881.17), *Gaidilge* (ibid. 876.28; cf. *Gaidhülge* 876.33).

good reason not to accept the evidence as it stands, and read *Dercc*: this would seem to be the noun *dercc* ‘eye; hollow, cavity, pool; berry’.<sup>34</sup>

Murphy is probably correct in taking *Corra* to be a dependent genitive: genitive *Corra* appears in the collective *Uí Chorra*;<sup>35</sup> and the pedigrees of the Eóganacht give *Corra* (v. ll. *Corr(a)e*, *Corrai*, *Cuirre*, *Corne*) as genitive of *Corr*.<sup>36</sup> *Corra* is also genitive in such place-names as *Achad na Corra*, *Baile na Corra Móire*, *Carrac na Corra*, *Cethrama na Corra Drisighi*, *Cúl Corra(e)*, and *Loch Corra*.<sup>37</sup> *Corra(e)* in all of these instances is evidently a by-form of *cuirre*, the normal genitive singular of various *ā*-stem nouns *corr* with the meanings ‘peak’, ‘heron, crane’, and ‘pool’.<sup>38</sup>

Where does this leave us in our efforts to interpret the name? The possibilities are as diverse as ‘eye of a crane’,<sup>39</sup> ‘cave of a peak’, or ‘hollow of a pool’. In favour of taking *Dercc Corra* to have been originally a toponym of some kind is the circumstance that *dercc* and *corra* are respectively attested as the first and second elements in several place-names.<sup>40</sup>

It may also be significant that the story of *Dercc Corra* forms part of a small group of early Finn tales which are concerned with the geography of a restricted region in east Munster. The text to which Meyer gave the title ‘Finn and the Man in the Tree’ in fact comprises two anecdotes: the account of *Dercc Corra* is preceded by a tale of

<sup>34</sup> *DIL* s.v.; that ‘eye’ was the primary sense emerges from the discussion in Joseph Vendryes *et al.*, *Lexique étymologique de l’irlandais ancien* (Paris and Dublin 1959-), fasc. D 55-6.

<sup>35</sup> *LL* I. 52283 (‘Litany of Irish Saints’); Mac Cana, *Learned tales* 43; A. G. van Hamel, *Immrana* (Dublin 1941) 96 ff.; Book of Lecan, fo. 62 vb 42; W. M. Hennessy and D. H. Kelly (ed. and trans.), *The Book of Fenagh* (Dublin 1875) 384.

<sup>36</sup> *CGH* 213, 215.

<sup>37</sup> *Onom.* s. nn. Some further instances of *Corra* as a placename element are given by M. J. Canon Connellan, ‘Miscellanea: 3. The placenames Cagála, Carna, Creaga, Corra’ *Éigse* 10 (1961-3) 317-18.

<sup>38</sup> *DIL*, s.vv. For the occasional use of *ā*-stems as masculine personal names see Rudolf Thurneysen, *A grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin 1946) §288.

<sup>39</sup> For the image of a crane plucking out an eye see *TBC* I ll. 2256-8; Myles Dillon (ed.), *Serglige Con Culainn* (Dublin 1953) l. 45; A. O’Kelleher and G. Schoepperle (ed. and trans.), *Betha Coluimb Chille* (repr. Dublin 1994) 176-8. Alternatively, there could be some connection with the destructive ritual of *corr-guinecht*, perhaps originally ‘crane-wounding’, which involved the closing of one eye: discussion and references in Liam Breatnach (ed. and trans.), *Uraicecht na Ríar* (Dublin 1987) 140.

<sup>40</sup> For *dercc* in this connection see *Onom.* 342; examples of *corra* are given in the preceding paragraph.

how Finn gained his prophetic powers in the course of slaying the thief Cúldub, from the *síd* of Slievenamon.<sup>41</sup> Another version of the story of Cúldub appears separately in two manuscripts, juxtaposed in both instances with a third Finn tale with the title *Bruiden Átha Í*.<sup>42</sup> All three of these narratives deal with the same area, and with some of the same places. The river Suir, Cenn Cuirrig (now Kincurry, Co. Waterford), and a place named Badamair are all mentioned both in the story of Cúldub and in *Bruiden Átha Í*; and Dún Iascaig (now Cahir, Co. Tipperary) appears both in *Bruiden Átha Í* and in the story of Dercc Corra. It seems likely, moreover, that the unnamed woman captured at Dún Iascaig in the story of Dercc Corra is the same as the woman who becomes the eponym of Badamair, encountered by Finn at Dún Iascaig, in *Bruiden Átha Í*. Interest in local toponymy is further reflected in the independent version of the story of Cúldub, which enumerates the places traversed by the warriors pursuing the thief, and seeks to account for the origin of the names Mag Tarra and Toeb Muicce.<sup>43</sup> Might Dercc Corra have also been the name of a place in the same general vicinity – perhaps some natural feature of which the story, in its concluding tableau, gives a fanciful description?<sup>44</sup>

This can obviously be no more than speculation, and the name's real meaning may no longer be recoverable. I hope, however, that the preceding paragraphs have indicated the directions in which it can most profitably be sought.<sup>45</sup>

#### ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

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

<sup>41</sup> The stories of Cúldub and Dercc Corra form a narrative digression, in the course of a discussion of the qualifications of *fili*, in the legal manuscript TCD MS 1337 (H. 3. 18) (*CIH* 879.23-880.14; cf. n. 27 above).

<sup>42</sup> These tales were edited by Kuno Meyer from RIA MS 1223 (D iv 2) as 'Two tales about Finn' *RC* 14 (1893) 241-9; Vernam Hull edited them from the Yellow Book of Lecan as 'Two tales about Finn' *Speculum* 16 (1941) 322-33.

<sup>43</sup> Meyer, 'Two tales' 245-6; Hull, 'Two tales' 329.

<sup>44</sup> For humans or immortals transformed into pools of water cf. the fates of Étaín (Osborn Bergin and R I. Best (ed. and trans.), 'Tochmarc Étaíne' *Ériu* 12 (1938) 137-96: 152), Odras (*MD* IV 200), and Aige (Stokes, 'Rennes Dindšenchas' *RC* 15, 306).

<sup>45</sup> I am indebted to my colleagues Kevin Murray and Pádraig Ó Riain for many helpful references, and for the identification of several place-names. The toponymic resources of the Locus Project (University College Cork) have also been very useful.

- CIH* *Corpus iuris Hibernici*, ed. D. A. Binchy, 6 vols (Dublin 1978).
- DIL* *Dictionary of the Irish Language and Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin 1913-75).
- FFÉ* Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún Céitinn), *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn. The history of Ireland*, ed. David Comyn and P. S. Dinneen, 4 vols (London 1902-14).
- LG* *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, ed. R. A. S. Macalister, 5 vols (London 1938-56).
- LL* *The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebor na Núachongbála*, ed. R. I. Best, Osborn Bergin, M. A. O'Brien and Anne O'Sullivan, 6 vols (Dublin 1954-83).
- LL TBC* *Táin Bó Cuailnge from the Book of Leinster*, ed. Cecile O'Rahilly (Dublin 1970).
- LU* *Lebor na hUidre*, ed. R. I. Best and Osborn Bergin (Dublin 1929).
- MD* *The metrical Dindshenchas*, ed. Edward Gwynn, 5 vols (Dublin 1903-35, repr. Dublin 1991).
- Onom.* Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin 1910).
- TBC I* *Táin Bó Cuailnge. Recension I*, ed. Cecile O'Rahilly (Dublin 1976).

JOHN CAREY

*University College Cork*



## LÉIRMHEAS

*Catalogue of Irish language manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford college libraries.* Compiled by Brian Ó Cuív. Part 1: Descriptions. Part 2: Plates and Indexes. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 2001, 2003. 323 + 161 pp.

IRISH manuscripts in Oxford libraries were acquired through donation and purchase over four centuries. The collection thus is unplanned and random in content. Nevertheless, it incorporates works representative of the full spectrum of surviving vernacular manuscripts. If no other collection but that of Oxford survived, a history of Irish manuscript production between the eleventh and twentieth centuries could still be traced. Moreover, the range of material included in the present catalogue by the late Brian Ó Cuív allows us to view Irish-language scribal activity within a broad context. Thus we are reminded that in the period of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, contemporaneous with the great vernacular compendium that is Rawlinson B. 502, a Latin manuscript tradition also flourished. Latin and vernacular still share common ground in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as witnessed in the Oxford hagiographical manuscripts. From the seventeenth century onward the co-existing manuscript languages are Irish and English. The Oxford collection not only holds a copy of the seventeenth-century history *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, it also holds its eighteenth-century English translation. Moreover, another kind of historical glimpse is provided by a seventeenth-century vernacular letter (with contemporary English translation) from Inghean Dubh, wife of Ó Domhnaill, to the Bishop of Derry. Manuscripts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, moreover, reflect the use of English to mediate Irish-language scholarship.

As Professor Ó Cuív's helpful bibliographical data indicate, the focus of scholarship hitherto has largely been on the manuscripts' incorporated texts. However, these texts must also be viewed within their codicological contexts. Many manuscripts in the collection may be classed as miscellanies. Is the diverse content of a manuscript such as Rawl. B. 502 the result of chance or of choice? Is it possible to ascertain what governed the scope of thematically diverse codices,

or why certain content, such as medical material, is rarely combined with any other? In a Middle English context it has been suggested that when the supply of texts was uncertain, material was copied as it came to hand, rather than in a planned fashion. Such a scenario could be envisaged in Ireland in the era when learning interrupted by Viking-age warfare was being revived. Did a codex such as Rawl. B. 502 therefore function as a kind of library, open to the reception of whatever texts became available? Did this kind of circumstantially determined miscellany nevertheless set a pattern for Irish miscellanies of the era between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries such as Rawl. B. 512? Renewed scrutiny of such matters is now facilitated by Professor Ó Cuív's catalogue.

The catalogue not only opens up manuscript production to new examination, it also stimulates questions relating to manuscript use and study. The sixteenth-century collection of poetic material associated with St Colum Cille in the manuscript Laud Misc. 615 was probably assembled as part of the research for the compilation of the saint's Life, a copy of which is also in the Oxford collection (Rawl. B. 514). Marginal additions on a sixteenth-century medical manuscript (Corpus Christi College MS 129) may reflect use by either student or practitioner. Perhaps the most poignant example of a manuscript for personal use is a sixteenth-century collection of Latin theology (MS e Mus. 156) which belonged to Fr. O Hely, a Franciscan who was hanged in Kilmallock by the Elizabethan authorities in 1579. Brian Ó Cuív's careful noting of colophons and marginalia provides the data whereby we can trace, not only original manuscript purpose, but also changes in ownership and interest in the manuscripts over the centuries.

Another valuable aspect of the Oxford collection is that it offers insights into the work of scholars and antiquaries from the seventeenth century onward. Information in the hands of An Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh and of Míchéal Ó Cléirigh is mediated in assemblages of material made by Sir James Ware. Notes by James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, are found in MS Add. A. 91. Equally significant is the fact that an Irish scholar was in Oxford in the latter part of the seventeenth century, examining Irish manuscripts already acquired by the Bodleian. This was Tuileagna Ó Maolchonaire (who also styled himself Tully Conry), who left notes on Laud Misc. 610, Laud Misc. 615, and Fairfax 29 A. Indeed, he initiated a cataloguing process, continued by Plummer and Fraser, which reaches full fruition in the present publication.

The Ó Cuív catalogue has considerable added value in its companion volume of plates. Hitherto emphasis on textual content has been at the expense of the visual aspect of vernacular manuscripts. Now, however, we can see eye-catching illustrations and decorated capitals, observing in the case of the latter the affinities between Latin and vernacular twelfth-century examples, as well as the manner in which twelfth-century features are echoed in the later Middle Ages, such as in the fifteenth-century manuscript Laud Misc. 610. We can observe the manner in which illustration may characterise a book designed for a patron (as with the copy of *Betha Coluim Chille* in Rawl. B. 514). Page lay-out tends to vary according to textual genre, as the presentation of annals and law texts indicates. However, the appearance of the page may also reflect scribal engagement with the text. A particularly striking example is the cruciform arrangement of the writing in the opening page of a homily on Christ's passion in the fifteenth-century Rawl. B. 513.

All in all, this final work of the late Professor Ó Cuív performs a signal service for Celtic Studies. It not only constitutes an invaluable research tool, it also opens a gateway to future studies of Irish manuscript culture. All who were involved in the production of these volumes deserve our best thanks, especially the publishers, the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

MÁIRE HERBERT

*University College Cork*

Tomás Ó Criomhthain. *An tOileánach*. Eagarthóir Seán Ó Coileáin. Cló Talbóid, Baile Átha Cliath. 2002. xlvii + 346 lgh.

Is é seo an tríú heagrán de na cuimhní cinn a scríobh Tomás Crithin ón mBlascaod Mór idir na blianta 1923 agus 1928 fén ainm 'Tomás Ó Criomhthain', agus is é an chéad cheann é ina bhfuil téacs iomlán an údair le fáil. Ghiorraigh an chéad eagarthóir (Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha [An Seabhac] 1929) an saothar go mór agus dhein sé cuid mhaith athscríofa ina theannta san (Ó Coileáin 1979, 260-62). Chuir an dara eagarthóir (Pádraig Ua Maoileoin 1973) níos mó den bhuntéacs ar fáil, ach leasaigh sé canúint an údair i dtreo an chaighdeáin ar shlite éagsúla (Ó Coileáin 1974).

Roinnt sleachta ón lámhscríbhinn a chuir Breandán Ó Conaire (1970) in eagar a tharraing aird i gcló den chéad uair ar na difríochtaí idir eagrán an tSeabhaic agus an rud a scríobh Tomás Crithin. Ina dhiaidh sin, dhein Seán Ó Coileáin scagadh luachmhar ar scríobh an téacsa agus ar an stair eagarthóireachta a bhaineann leis (Ó Coileáin 1974, 1979, 1989). In iarfhocal a chuir sé le cuntas ar an bplé a bhí ag Tomás le Brian Ó Ceallaigh agus an Seabhaic dúirt Seán Ó Coileáin (1979, 183) go raibh ‘dóthain fianaise ar fáil cheana ar an laitiméireacht atá déanta ag na heagarthóirí go dtí seo’; agus dúradh linn i nóta beathaisnéise i ndeireadh an imleabhair sin (ar lch 294) go raibh an Coileánach ‘beartaithe ar eagrán deifnídeach de *An tOileánach* a chóiriú’. Sin é atá déanta anso aige, agus réamhrá fada scríofa aige leis, ina míníonn sé stair an téacsa agus a mhodh eagarthóireachta féin.

Eagrán dioplamáideach é seo, sa mhéid is nár dhein an t-eagarthóir ach litriú an lae inniu a chur i bhfeidhm, botúin bheaga de chuid an údair a chur ina gceart, agus codanna áirithe den lámhscríbhinn a thabhairt mar aguisíní in ionad iad a bheith i gcorp an leabhair. Níor cheart a mheas, áfach, gurbh aon chúram saoráideach é sin, mar is mó fadhb teangan agus téacsa a bhí le réiteach. Maidir leis an litriú, tá a chúram déanta go slachtmhar ag an eagarthóir, ach tá socruithe áirithe anso aige go mbeidh an dá thuairim ina dtaobh. Mar shampla, ní dóigh liom go sásaíonn an litriú *tagthaithe* an tsúil, cé go bhfuil sé dílis don bhfuaimniú agus do stair na foirme; ba dheise dar liom *tacaithe*, agus é sin cóngarach go maith don litriú *tacaighthe* a bhí ag Tomás féin (lch 52, n. 5). Rud eile, ní léir dom canathaobh gur coimeádadh an litriú *age* ar an réamhfhocal úd ó eagrán an tSeabhaic. Deir an t-eagarthóir: ‘An réamhfhocal *ag* is mar *age* (neamhaiceanta) a bhíonn sé le clos roimh chonsan’ (lch xl). Ach ní heol dom aon tréith fuaimnithe a bheith ag baint leis nach bhféadfá a bhaint as an litriú *aige* chomh fuirist céanna, agus bheadh *aige* ag teacht le nósanna litrithe na teangan agus le stair na foirme araon.

Cuireadh athrá ar ceal i roinnt áiteanna. Mar shampla, bhí *insa deireadh* sa lámhscríbhinn i ndiaidh *Do chuir sí Seán chun feirge insa deireadh, gurbh éigeant don gcomharsain teacht fé dhéin a gcosanta* (81). Mar an gcéanna, fágadh ar lár *do chroitheas suas me féin* na lámhscríbhinne i ndiaidh *Ach do chroitheas suas me fhéin, ós rud é go raibh orm é a dhéanamh* (237). B’éigean roinnt foirmeacha a athrú thall is abhus, ós dócha gur trí bhotún a scríobhadh iad, m. sh. *aon rud go raibh aon ghnó leis, nó do thaitn leo féin*, mar a raibh *ná* in ionad *nó* sa lámhscríbhinn. Ba dheacair na breithiúnachais sin

a cheistiú. Ach táim in amhras i dtaobh an tabharthaigh *slait* a bheith curtha in ionad *slat* na lámhscríbhinne in *stráiméad don slait* (7). Cé go raibh Tomás ana-dhílis don tabharthach uatha, ní fheicim aon chúis nach bhféadfadh *don slat* a bheith aige mar mhalairt ar *don slait*, agus bheadh foirm na lámhscríbhinne le n-aithint mar shampla luath den mheath atá tagtha ar an tabharthach uatha ó shin. Ach tugann an t-eagarthóir leagan na lámhscríbhinne i mbun an leathanaigh aon uair a dheineann sé a leithéid d’athrú, sa tslí gur féidir leis an léitheoir a aigne féin a dhéanamh suas. B’fhearr liom féin na míniúcháin a thugann Tomás ar fhocail anseo is ansiúd (ar mhaithe le Brian Ó Ceallaigh) a bheith curtha go bun an leathanaigh chomh maith, m.sh. *gulaí* (*faoileann óg*) ar lch 14 agus *piardóg* (*craw fish*) ar lch 227.

Tá chúig aguisín leis an eagrán so. An tríú caibideal a bhí sa chéad eagrán (‘Na tighthe bhí againn’) is abhar breise é a d’iarr an Seabhac chun an cuntas ar shaol na ndaoine san Oileán a shaibhriú – mar ‘antraipeolaí seandúine’ atá an t-údar ag caint anso agus é ag féachaint siar ar a óige, fé mar a deirtear sa réamhrá (lch xx). Ní mhaireann an leagan lámhscríbhinne den chuid seo agus is ar eagrán an tSeabhaic atáimid ag brath don téacs. Díbríodh go deireadh an eagraín seo é (Aguisín 1) (331-37), an áit is oiriúnaí dó, mar bhí sé ina bhac ar rithim an scéil sa dá eagrán eile. Tá an cúigiú aguisín (‘Cuntas lae: an bhean mhoch’ (345-46)) níos cosúla leis na cuntais laethúla a bhíodh á mbreacadh ag Tomás sarar thosnaigh sé ar scéal a bheatha a scríobh agus a foilsíodh i bhfoirm an-ghiorraithe fén teideal *Allagar na hInise* sa bhliain 1928.

Is fadhb eagarthóireachta fé leith í gur scríobh an t-údar dhá chaibideal deiridh. Bhí an Seabhac míshásta leis an gcéad chlabhsúr a chuir Tomás lena shaothar agus loirg sé leagan níos fearr; aontaíonn Seán Ó Coileáin lena bhreithiúnachas agus deir gurb é an seancheann ‘an caibideal is laige sa leabhar ar fad’ (lch xxi). Dob fhéidir a áiteamh gur cheart aguisín eile a dhéanamh de, ag glacadh leis gur tharraing an t-údar siar é nuair a chuir sé leagan eile ar fáil. Mar sin féin, tá an dá cheann i gcló anso, mar Chaibidlí 23 agus 24 fé seach, agus a *envoi* féin le gach ceann acu. Ag deireadh Caibidil 23 (323) cuireann Tomás críoch obann lena scéal agus iarrann beannacht Dé ar na léitheoirí agus air féin. Casaimid an leathanach agus tá an leagan nua romhainn mar Chaibideal 24. Dá gcuirfí a bhfuil ar lch 323 go bun an leathanaigh i gcló beag, nó go deireadh an leabhair, ní bheadh an sárú céanna ar leanúnachas an téacs. Agus níor mhiste an rud céanna a dhéanamh leis an *envoi* atá le Caibideal

24: ‘B’fhéidir ná fuil eireaball gearra anois air! Má tá abairt ann nach ansa leat féin, fág amuigh é’ (329). Is geall le cogar i leataoibh don Seabhac é sin, nó sonc más le seanbhlas a dúradh é, agus maolaíonn sé draíocht na bhfocal sna leathanaigh roimis, mar a bhfuil cuid de na habairtí is cáiliúla sa leabhar. Ós eagrán deifnídeach é seo tá saol fada i ndán dó, agus beidh athchló le cur air ó am go ham. B’fhiú athmhachnamh a dhéanamh ar ionad na sleachta san nuair a bheidh caoi chuige.

Léiríonn an dílseacht so do *ipsissima verba* Thomáis Dhónaill nach cúrsaí aestéitice is mó a bhí ag dó na geirbe ag an eagarthóir nua. Is léir ón réamhrá, agus óna bhfuil foilsithe cheana aige ar an abhar so, go n-aithníonn sé go maith an teannas idir dhá rogha: téacs ‘glanta’ a sholáthar a chuirfeadh le gradam an leabhair agus leis an moladh atá tuillte ag an údar as feabhas a stíle agus a fhriotail, nó an bunrud a chur os ár gcomhair amach, é amh, ffrinneach, agus uair-eanta tútach. Téacs glanta ba rogha leis an Seabhac. Bhí Seán Ó Coileáin dian go maith ar chur chuige an tSeabhaic sna blianta tosaigh go raibh sé féin ag obair ar an téacs seo. Thagair sé (Ó Coileáin 1979, 183) don ‘laitiméireacht’ a dhein an bheirt eagarthóir eile, agus dúirt mar gheall ar eagrán an tSeabhaic gur ‘geall le héitheach buan é’ (184). Deich mbliana ina dhiaidh sin bhí sé níos fábharaí d’iarrachtaí an tSeabhaic agus d’aithin nach é amháin go raibh cead ón údar aige, ach go raibh ‘teacht aige ar shaol, ar eolas agus ar dhaoine ná fuil againne. Thar éinne eile bhí teacht aige ar an Oileánach féin, fear ná fuair aon locht ar an gcóiriú a dhein sé ar an saothar...’ (Ó Coileáin 1989, 201). Is é toradh an athmhachnaimh seo ná ‘muna mbeadh i gceist ach an saothar liteartha, neamhspleách ar an té a cheap agus ar an údarás a bhí aige len é a cheapadh, ba dheacair a áiteamh gurbh fhearr de leabhar é seo ná an chéad cheann úd 1929’ (lch xx). Tá Seán Ó Coileáin le moladh go mór as an ngéarchúis agus an t-ionracas atá i dteannta a chéile sa bhreithiúnachas atá tugtha aige ar na ceisteanna so sa réamhrá.

Is féidir a aithint go raibh cúiseanna liteartha ag an Seabhac le go leor de na hathruithe a dhein sé. Tógaimis an blúire seo ón leathanach deiridh: ... *agus go mbeidh ’fhios in dhiaidh conas mar ’bhí an saol lem linn, agus na comharsain do bhí suas lem linn, agus an méid atá fós beo acu, gan focal searbh ideir me agus iad riamh* (328). D’fhág an Seabhac ar lár *agus an méid atá fós beo acu, gan focal searbh ideir me agus iad riamh*, leasú a threisigh an parailéalachas deas idir an dá chlásal dar críoch *lem linn*. Tabhair fé ndeara go bhfuil *agus an méid atá fós beo acu* iomarcach ar shlí, ós

dócha go bhfuilid sin cuimsithe in *na comharsain do bhí suas lem linn*, agus tá an píosa féinchosanta i ndeireadh na habairte fada san iomarcach ar shlí eile. Tá mórán den athscríobh san déanta ag an Seabhac tríd síos ina eagrán, agus is léir gur ghlac sé go fonnmhar leis an gcead a bhí aige ón údar giorrú a dhéanamh do réir mar ba mhaith leis. Ach is deacair aon bhun a fheiscint le cuid mhaith dár dhein sé. Mar shampla, ag tús an chaibidil dheiridh tá *Níl curtha síos agam ach an fhírinne* ag an Seabhac (263), cé go léiríonn an t-eagrán nua so gurb é a scríobh Tomás ná *Níl ann ach an fhírinne* (325); cúpla clásal ina dhiaidh sin d'athraigh an Seabhac *mar bhí an aimsir fada* go dtí *mar bhí san aimsir fada agam*. Is ag deisiú rudaí ná raibh briste a bhí an Seabhac i gcásanna mar sin, agus rithfeadh an focal 'laitiméireacht' leat tapaidh go leor. Thug an Seabhac éachtaint ar an bplé a bhí aige leis an údar i dtaobh chóiriú an téacs in aiste iarbháis a scríobh sé mar gheall ar Thomás Críthin (athchló ag Ó Conaire 1992, 198-205). Deir sé go raibh 'a lán bearnacha san obair, mion agus mór. B'éigean dom a iarraidh ar an údar iad a líonadh. Do líon – cuid acu – le freagraí ar cheisteanna i dtaobh iomad mionrudaí, agus le haistí ar leith de shaghas caibidil a III ...' (ibid. Ich 203). B'fhéidir gur mar sin a tháinig ann don chéad abairt sa chéad eagrán (*Lá San Tomás, sa mbliain 1856, 'seadh rugadh me*), abairt ná fuil sa lámhscríbhinn (Ó Coileáin 1989, 195) agus atá ar ceal anso. Cé go raibh cumarsáid eatarthu le linn na hoibre bhí gaol an-mhíchothrom idir iascaire an Bhlascaoid agus fear liteartha na hardchathrach. Géilleadh iomlán a bhí i gceist anso, ba dhóigh leat, in ionad údar agus eagarthóir a bheith ag obair as lámha a chéile ar bhonn comh-ionannais. Dá bhrí sin, ní féidir a rá gur shásaigh an chéad eagrán an tslat tomhais 'final authorial intention', ach oiread agus a d'fhéadfadh aon eagrán ó shin é a shásamh, agus níl feidhm leis an gcoincheap anso fé mar a bhíonn sa phlé ar théacs *Ulysses* (Joyce), mar shampla.

Anuas ar an athscríobh ní mór a chur san áireamh an chinsireacht a deineadh sa chéad eagrán ar an gcur síos ar Shiobhán Rua (70-2), ar eachtra na n-iascairí leis an triúr ban i gCathair Saidhbhín (202-4), agus ar nithe eile atá le fáil anso. Níl an agóid chéanna le déanamh, b'fhéidir, mar gheall ar an gcealú a dhein an chéad eagrán ar eachtraí eile, go háirithe turais farraige, marú coiníní agus boltaí práis. Dob fhéidir a áiteamh, mar a dhein an Seabhac, go raibh an iomarca den sórt san abhair sa lámhscríbhinn. Ach ní mór a aithint go raibh modhanna oibre an tSeabhaic ana-shuibhiachtúil ar fad. Ní haon iontas é gur bheartaigh Seán Ó Coileáin ar dhul ina mhalairt de threo agus eagrán iomlán fírinneach dílis a sholáthar, d'ainneoin na

mbuanna liteartha a admhaíonn sé a bheith ag baint le leagan giorraíthe, leasaithe an tSeabhaic. Ní miste a rá go bhfuil an t-eagrán nua so ag freastal go cruinn ar mhianta an léitheora agus an scoláire sa lá atá inniu ann, ach gur fiú fós agus san am atá romhainn an chéad eagrán a bheith ar fáil mar cháipéis stairiúil. Ar deireadh thiar is mór an sásamh é an téacs breá so a léamh san eagrán nua so, fiú amháin má spreagann an t-athréimniú atá déanta ar fhocail an údair an smaoineamh ó am go ham ná fuil *An tOileánach* chomh snasta mar shaothar agus a cheapamair tráth.

Ní miste tagairt a dhéanamh anso do chomparáid eile a dheineann Seán Ó Coileáin idir a eagrán féin agus eagrán an tSeabhaic: ‘Agus, gan an éifeacht liteartha a bheadh leis an dá cheann a bhac, ní hí an bhrí chéanna atá leis an saothar go dtugaimid *An tOileánach* air agus atá le scríobh Thomáis. Cuid mhór thábhachtach de stair na Gaeilge agus de stair an Stáit, agus dá raibh de dhóchas as a chéile acu, is ea *An tOileánach*. Is as a fáisceadh sinn; is ann a chuireamair aithne orainn féin ar chuma ná déanfaimid go deo mar go bhfuil an ré sin na húire i leataoibh agus nách féidir an saol ná an aisling a chur ar bun arís an athuair’ (lch xx). Tá abhar machnaimh ansan, agus ní dócha gur suaimhneas a thoradh. Tá smaoineamh eile a rith liomsa mar gheall ar sheachadadh an téacsa, is é sin go bhfuil an t-ádh orainn go bhfuil an mórshaothar so againn le léamh in aon chor. Faid a bhí an lámhscríbhinn i seilbh Bhriain Uí Cheallaigh bhí sí á cartadh timpeall na háite aige ar bháid agus ar thraenacha, go Páras, go Londain, thar n-ais go hÉirinn, féachaint an aimseodh sé aon dream a d’fhoilseodh í (Ó Coileáin 1979, 253). Ní hannamh a théann cáis taistil nó málaí amú i stáisiúin nó i gcalafoirt, agus imeacht gan teacht is ea é go minic. Pé fórsa a bhí ag tabhairt aire do scríbhinn Thomáis Dhónaill ar na camachuarda san agus a thug slán í, bímis baoch dó, agus bímis baoch leis do Sheán Ó Coileáin as eagrán chomh scrupallach, críochnúil, maisiúil, taitneamhach a sholáthar agus as a oiread san a bheith déanta aige chun stair an téacsa a shoiléiriú.

## TAGAIRTÍ

- Ó Coileáin, Seán, 1974: Léirmheas ar *An tOileánach* (eag. Ua Maoileoin, 1973), in *Éigse* 15 (1974) 328-31.
- 1979: ‘Tomás Ó Criomhthain, Brian Ó Ceallaigh agus an Seabhaic’ in *Scríobh* 4, 159-87.
- 1989: ‘An tOileánach’ in *Oidhreacht an Bhlascaoid*, eag. Aogán Ó Muircheartaigh, 192-207. Baile Átha Cliath.



- Ó Conaire, Breandán, 1970: ‘Scéalta Thomáis Uí Chriomhthain’ *Nua-aois*, 5-22.
- Ó Siochrú, Pádraig (An Seabhac): *An tOileánach*. Baile Átha Cliath 1929.
- 1992 [1932]: ‘Tomás Ó Crithin, iascaire agus údar’ in *Tomás an Bhlascaoid*, eag. Breandán Ó Conaire, 198-205. Baile Átha Cliath.
- Ua Maoileoin, Pádraig (eag.), 1973: *An tOileánach*. Baile Átha Cliath.

DIARMUID Ó SÉ

*An Coláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Cliath*

*Apocrypha Hiberniae I: evangelia infantiae*. Edited by Martin McNamara, Caoimhín Breatnach, John Carey, Máire Herbert, Jean-Daniel Kaestli, †Brian Ó Cuív, Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, †Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire. Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum 13 and 14. Turnhout, 2001. xvi + 1203 pp.

THIS set of two volumes marks the first in a proposed series that aims to cover all the surviving New Testament apocrypha from medieval Ireland. The plan for this project was first laid out by Martin McNamara, the co-ordinator of the present series, in his book, *The apocrypha in the Irish church* (Dublin 1975). There he identified eight major topics among the surviving Irish apocrypha that deal with the principal events and figures of the New Testament: narratives about the infancy of Christ, his public life and his passion; texts relating to St John the Baptist, St Stephen, the Apostles, and the Virgin Mary; and eschatological texts about the otherworld.

Remarkably, most of this material has been preserved, not, as one might expect, in Hiberno-Latin but in Irish; not in Old or Middle Irish, but in Late Middle Irish and Early Modern Irish. No doubt, the fact that these apocryphal texts fall within a relatively neglected area of the Irish language helps to explain why they have remained unpublished for so long. Commendably, at least from the perspective of Irish literature, the editorial committee of the present series has adopted a flexible policy with regard to defining an apocryphon. This approach, while ensuring publication of a generous supply of Irish texts – by allowing for the inclusion of works that blend historical and apocryphal material – also does justice to the eclecticism of the original Irish authors, who did not labour under the strict modern dichotomy of apocryphal and canonical works.

Volume I contains the following three works in Irish: two prose

narratives of the infancy of Christ from the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* and from the *Leabhar Breac*, respectively, both originally composed in late Middle Irish; and a verse narrative in Old Irish of the childhood deeds of Christ based on the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*. Vol. II has the following works in Irish: a thirteenth-century poem containing elements from the infancy narratives; a medley of short texts in prose and verse relating to the nativity of Christ, notably a narrative of the Caesarian tax; an account (dated to the twelfth century) of the seventeen wonders of the night of Christ's birth (dated to the twelfth century), and a homily on the marvels of the birth of Christ. Also included in Vol. II are excerpts from five Hiberno-Latin works, consisting of passages judged to contain apocryphal matter on the nativity of Christ. Finally, the remainder of Vol. II, an appendix of 340 pages, is given over to editions of two Latin works, a Latin Infancy Gospel which is a composite of two well-known apocrypha, the *Protoevangelium of James* and the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*; and an independent Latin translation (from Greek) of the *Protoevangelium of James*. Both of these works are supplied because of their close relationship to the Irish infancy narratives. Following these texts is a formidable array of indices (manuscripts, themes, authors persons and places, sources), including an index of Irish words which claims to 'contain all words appearing in the Irish texts ... with the exception of the conjunction *ocus*' (II 1006). However, as bad luck would have it, the first word that I searched for, *ceólmaine* (I 169, §21, line 8), was not to be found in the index; while variant forms such as *codlad/collad* and *coidilteach* were not expressly acknowledged in the index but silently incorporated under *coilud* and *cotultech*, respectively. Presumably such minor lapses and difficulties will be rectified when the comprehensive concordance is published in the *CCSA Instrumenta* series (in microfiche).

Not surprisingly, such an ambitious project was conceived as a collaborative endeavour. The editorial team thus assembled is an impressive one, offering a collective expertise in the ancient 'biblical' languages and literatures of Hebrew, Coptic and Greek; in medieval Latin; and in all three linguistic stages of medieval Irish. This combination of scholars also ensures the broadest possible search for parallels to and sources for Irish apocryphal works among the huge corpus of early and medieval Christian literature. At the same time it promises that the editing of the Irish texts will be conducted according to the highest linguistic standards. However, this eclectic approach brings its own problems. For example, the reader

of an individual text may find that the introduction is written by those editors with expertise in the broad Christian apocryphal tradition, the actual edition by a scholar (or scholars) of the Irish language, the translation by several (not necessarily the same) scholars, and the notes by a blend of the two. At first glance such collaboration seems auspicious, but it produces a peculiar and unbalanced blend of commentary in which, for example, one note provides a lengthy excursus on the Palestinian placename Cornian (I 302-4), while the note following (by a different contributor) offers a brief comment on the manuscript reading *dun* as dative of *don* (p. 304). Reading through the notes (conveniently located at the bottom of the page) one sometimes wishes – perhaps unrealistically – for the guiding hand of a single editor weighing up and synthesizing the various issues (linguistic, stylistic, lexical, interpretative) in a unified commentary.

A more significant issue is that the Irish matter has been subordinated to the broader goal of apocryphal scholarship. To put it more concretely: were these Irish apocryphal texts to be published independently and individually, one would expect fuller treatments of such issues as language (including loanwords); date and place of composition; style (including similarities to contemporary secular Irish works such as the Book of Leinster *Táin*); and the accommodation of the original Latin sources to native Irish culture (for example, by means of such Irish terms as *cumal*, *dísert*, *fíngal*, *macgním*). In fairness, however, one must admit that the excellence of the present editions has ensured such studies that are now possible for the first time.

The editions and their facing translations are of the highest quality. Especially noticeable in the translations is the skilful blend of accuracy and idiom which will satisfy both readers knowledgeable in the Irish language and those lacking that expertise who have an interest in Irish apocrypha. With dates of composition for individual works ranging from the eighth to the thirteenth century, and with manuscript witnesses varying from a single copy to multiple copies, it is not surprising that the editors have adopted correspondingly different editorial policies. Broadly speaking, editors of works from the later end of this chronological spectrum have adopted the policy of presenting their texts according to the linguistic standards of Early Modern Irish. This policy has much to commend it, though one would like to see some discussion of the late Middle Irish forms that have been subsumed under this standard.

Of special interest to students of Old Irish is Máire Herbert's edition of the poem *I mbu macán cóic bliadnae*, which was first edited by James Carney in *The poems of Blathmac son of Cú Brettan* (Dublin 1964). Herbert's edition is an improvement on Carney's, not only because she is able to refer to a broader background of Latin apocryphal sources but also because she makes a number of plausible textual emendations while providing a smoother translation. Oddly, she does not question Carney's provisional date of *c.* 700 for the poem, though the claim for such an early date (with its implications for Irish knowledge of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas) surely requires reappraisal.

This series has set high standards for the editing of medieval Irish apocrypha. More importantly, by providing accurate texts, idiomatic translations and explanatory background, it will make possible a comprehensive study of Irish apocrypha and their fundamental role in so many aspects of medieval Irish life.

PÁDRAIG P. Ó NÉILL

*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

*The world of Geoffrey Keating: history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland.* Bernadette Cunningham. Four Courts Press. Dublin 2000. xv + 263 pp.

THIS is a welcome addition to the literature which discusses the prose works of Geoffrey Keating and the writing of Irish history in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ireland. The major part of the book, parts 1 and 2 (chapters 1-9), deals with the world of Geoffrey Keating, the Ireland in which he grew up and lived and the Europe in which he was educated, and his expression in his three major prose works of his understanding of that world. Part 3 of the book (chapters 10-11) moves beyond Keating's world to discuss the reception of his *History of Ireland, Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, by networks of scribes and translators in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As the author points out, biographical information on Keating is very sparse indeed: the date and place of his birth are not known with certainty; neither is it known when he went as a student to study in France, how long he spent there, when he returned to Ireland or in what parish(es) he served as a priest after his return. The author makes a plausible case, based on new evidence, for her belief that

Geoffrey was the third son of James fitz Edmund Keating of Moorestown, and inherited a parcel of his father's land (19-20), but provides no evidence that would establish his date of birth, traditionally taken to be c. 1580. The statement that in 'Keating's youth, the baron of Cahir was Theobald Butler' (18) does little to clarify when it was that Geoffrey was young, since Theobald was 'lord of Cahir from 1566 to 1596' (20). It is known that he studied at Rheims, where it seems he was awarded the doctorate in theology, and at Bordeaux (27-8). The Irish College of Bordeaux was founded in 1603, so that his documented association (28-9) with it must be later than that date. There is evidence that, having returned to Ireland after his studies, he was involved in the ministry in Tipperary by 1613 and specifically in the diocese of Lismore by 1615 (41). A silver chalice which Keating had made (as expressed in the standard formula '*me fieri fecit*') bears the date '1634': the author offers no evidence in support of her statement that it 'must have been paid for by a benefactor' (44). Keating was dead by the year 1644, as evidenced by a plaque erected in his memory over the west doorway of 'Cillín Chiaráin' in Tubrid. The author is careful not to accept uncritically any of the account of Keating's life given in 1722 by Thomas O'Sullivan in his dissertation prefixed to the *Memoirs of the Marquis of Clanricarde* and is also judicious in using the evidence of verse attributed to Keating, being aware that the attribution to him is in a number of cases 'highly dubious' (23, n. 38). The paucity of hard evidence relating to his life all too frequently drives the author to speculation throughout the book: e.g. 'A long-standing association with the Mac Craith family may explain Geoffrey Keating's access to an early education ...' (21); 'Contact with either the Meic Craith [*sic*] or their patrons, the Butlers of Cahir, might have enabled Keating to socialise with other learned families such as Mac Bruaideadha, Ó Dálaigh, Mac Aodhagáin and Mac Eochagáin' (23); 'A link with the Butlers of Dunboyne could have brought Keating into contact with Michael Kearney of Ballylusky ... The two men moved in similar social circles and were very probably personally acquainted' (23-4); 'These literary connections, if valid [*sic*], suggest that the Butlers of Dunboyne and also the Butlers of Cahir may have acted as patrons of the scholar priest. Keating may well have been a visitor at both houses on occasion' (24); 'It is possible that Keating originally wrote [*Eochairsgiath an Aifrinn*] in Latin as a university thesis and subsequently translated it into the vernacular for use in an Irish pastoral context' (32); 'It is probable ... that some material

inserted by Keating may have been drawn from memory ... Keating probably had access to the full text of the Suarez treatise ...' (33); 'The Latin source Keating was evidently translating here might possibly have been his own work' (34, n. 85); '... if he encountered [Francis Toletus's *Summa Casuum* ...] he probably used a Latin version' (34); 'In this instance Keating may have been working from lecture notes drawn from a full printed text' (34); 'A case can also be made for a probably [*sic*] collaboration between Keating and Conall Mac Eochagáin' (60); 'Geoffrey Keating's awareness of [the] ... special reputation [of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Laud Misc. 610] ... is probably best explained by his links with the Meic Craith [*sic*] and the Butlers. Another possible link also existed ... Keating might have had access to any such manuscript that was available to [David] Rothe [Catholic bishop of Ossory], though no direct evidence of contact between the two men survives' (61);<sup>1</sup> '... Keating's likely use of another manuscript supports the idea of a scholarly association between him and Mac Eochagáin ... BL Add. MS 30512, which was in the possession of Conall Mac Eochagáin from 1627 until after 1640 might possibly be the manuscript in question' (77). Suasory arguments are advanced in some instances in support of this speculation. In others no such arguments are forthcoming, and in any case the repeated use of this register engenders an uncomfortable feeling that what one is reading is too speculative to be history. Furthermore, there is a tendency for some of this speculation to be transformed into fact: for example, the opinion quoted above from p. 23 is re-stated as fact on p. 181: 'These [*viz.* Clann Chraith, Meic Eochagáin and Clann Bhruaideadha]<sup>2</sup> were the same families through whom Keating achieved and maintained links with the traditional world of Irish historical scholarship.'

The real witnesses to the mind of Geoffrey Keating and to his view of the world in which he lived are, of course, his writings, and in particular the three major prose works which he produced, *Eochairsgiath an Aifrinn* (ESA), *Trí Biorghaoithe an Bháis* (TBB) and *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (FFE). The author uses these to impose a tripartite structure on her account of Keating's life. In order to place the writing of ESA in the context of his early education at home and later abroad in chapter 2, however, the author felt constrained to

<sup>1</sup> This particular set of opinions is particularly illogical, for the author has offered no evidence that Keating was aware of the manuscript's special reputation.

<sup>2</sup> For correct usage in naming these families the author might have taken guidance from authoritative sources such as that printed in *Celtica* 1 (1946) 91-2.

argue that ESA was composed during his time in France: as mentioned already, she suggests that it was originally written in Latin as a university thesis, and she points out that ‘while a range of medieval continental preaching handbooks were used by Keating, the *Flores* of Thomas Hibernicus was not’, and argues that this ‘reinforces the view that the text was probably originally put together while he lived abroad’ (39). It must be said that these arguments are weak. The first may be an echo of the belief that ESA was Keating’s doctoral thesis, but Pádraig Ó Fiannachta pointed out several years ago ‘[nach] trí mhóthrachtas a ghnóthaíodh diagaire an dochtúireacht an uair úd, ach trí dhíospóireacht agus *defensio*.’<sup>3</sup> The second, an *argumentum ex silentio*, is not a proof; indeed, if it were, it could equally well have been used to prove that Keating was still abroad when he wrote TBB (see p. 50).

In her introduction the author points out the importance of ‘the links between the central themes of Keating’s writings, whether historical or religious, and the reality of the workings of society in seventeenth-century Ireland’ and complains that ‘[c]onfining the study of Keating’s writings to a mere paper-chase in search of the sources used, or discussing these texts simply as linguistic models or examples of baroque literary art, ignores their real significance’ (3). It is ironic, then, that the author draws quite heavily on the unpublished MA thesis of Diarmaid Ó Laoghaire, *Príomh-fhoínseacha ‘Eochair-Sgiath an Aifrinn’* (University College Dublin, 1939) in her own quite extensive discussion of the sources of ESA (32-9, 56-7). So too she lays the published and unpublished researches of Anne Cronin under heavy contribution in her analysis, in chapters 4 and 5 and elsewhere, of references to manuscript and printed material used in FFÉ. Would she prefer that those scholars had not provided such a firm foundation on which to construct her own arguments? It must be admitted, however, that the author stresses the fact that Keating’s use of his sources in ESA is a function on the one hand of his work being ‘a continuation of a medieval preaching tradition’ in its reliance on the handbooks of moral tales, and on the other hand of its being an example of the kind of work in which ‘the core values of Counter-Reformation Catholicism’ were presented (37, 40).

On the basis that it ‘is believed to have been in circulation by

<sup>3</sup> Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, “‘Eochair-sgiath an Aifrinn’” in *Dúchas* (Coiscéim [Baile Átha Cliath] 1986) 36.

1631' (3),<sup>4</sup> TBB is placed by the author (chapter 3) in the context of Keating's experience of the pastoral ministry which she discusses at some length (41-8). In addition to providing a synopsis of the content of TBB (48-9), the author also discusses the biblical, medieval and contemporary sources of the work (50-57). However, she does not advert to Keating's citation of some thirty-four stanzas from Irish syllabic poems in support of various points of teaching in his text. By adding this further layer to the typical panoply of biblical, patristic and medieval reference of European catechetical literature, Keating heightened the Irish flavour of his text and, furthermore, demonstrated his respect for the authority of the native literary tradition and provided evidence of his having received some significant education in a bardic school.

Such an education would have provided the foundation for Keating's interest in history, but by the time he set to work on FFÉ (perhaps in the late 1620s or early 1630s, see p. 59) he also had the advantage of having been in contact with the mind of contemporary Europe and of having experience of life in contemporary Ireland. In chapter 4 of this book the author discusses in detail the native sources on which Keating drew in writing his history of Ireland and the scholarly networks through which he would have gained access to those sources. In doing so she illustrates how Keating handled his sources, expressing the view that his method 'involved a sophisticated approach to a range of primary sources' (80). That, and her judgement on FFÉ that it is 'a professionally constructed history, executed according to the normal standards of scholarship in his own day ...' (76), would seem to be exceptionally generous praise in terms of modern historiography. In chapter 5, where non-Irish sources of FFÉ are discussed, she offers a somewhat more nuanced opinion of the work of Hector Boetius, whose *Scotorum Historiae* (1526), she argues, was Keating's model (84): 'Boece, no less than Keating, was inclined to give a new lease of life to old fables, knitting them into the narrative in a manner that gave them respectability as quasi-history' (85). On the other hand she notes that Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* 'retained the respect of later generations because of its careful attention to primary sources and its conscious effort to distinguish historical fact from fiction' (93); and

<sup>4</sup> Though the author does not discuss the evidence on which this belief is based, it is presumably the assignment by Seán mac Torna Uí Mhaolchonaire (in his copy of TBB in TCD MS 1403 which he made in 1645) of 2 December, 1631, as the date of completion by Keating of TBB.



that John Mair, author of *Historia Majoris Britanniae* (1521), ‘was wary of the mythological stories of Scotland’s past’ (85). The notion that FFÉ was ‘a professionally constructed history’ does not sit easily with other comments by the author, e.g. that Keating ‘tended to be rather uncritical in his use of those source materials, being reluctant to doubt the written word’ (117); that his use of fictional material left him ‘open to accusations of credulity’ (125); and that his version of some of the material that he presented ‘was at least partly his own fabrication’ (135). Indeed, the analysis of FFÉ offered in Part 2 assumes that Keating was not writing history, but was constructing a myth or an ideology in terms of which his readers could understand their country and themselves.

The following sentence is a useful synopsis of the thrust of the commentary on FFÉ, and indeed on TBB, in Part 2:

The kind of history required by Catholics in Ireland, whatever their ethnic origin, in the reign of Charles I, was one which affirmed that theirs was the true faith, that Ireland was their homeland and they its rightful inhabitants, that Charles was their true king, and that God’s providence would favour them in the future, as it evidently had done in the distant past. (108)

The history of Ireland, then, as presented in FFÉ is constructed around the central notion of the abiding importance of the political institution of kingship, which is seen as ‘the element that gave a sense of continuity and coherence to Keating’s story of Ireland through the upheavals associated with successive waves of settlement in pre-Christian Ireland’ (147). Kingship, however, was not just a political institution: it was also the case that the moral order of the Irish past, an order based on Christian religious and moral values, ‘was rooted in kingship and in law’ (159). These values sustained the awareness of the Irish people of themselves as a Catholic people. But it was not just the *Gaeil* who were Irish (*Éireannaigh*): though ethnically separate from the *Gaeil*, the descendants of the Normans in Ireland were for Keating also Irish, and this was so because their ancestors had come to Ireland, not as conquerors but ‘to establish themselves in Ireland under the protection of Henry II’, who had been welcomed to Ireland ‘by clergy and nobility as a monarch whose obligation it was to protect those over whom he had been legitimately assigned sovereignty by the pope’ (151). The legitimate kingship over Ireland of Henry II and his successors provided the fundamental basis for

recognising those of Norman descent as Irish; furthermore, in Keating's time they were, like the *Gaeil*, Catholic and Irish-speaking.

While the parallel treatments of Keating's writings, particularly FFÉ and TBB, in Parts 1 and 2, have the merit of separating description of the texts from analysis of them, they also have the disadvantage that they entail a certain amount of repetition. So, for example, the author's view that Boece's *Scotorum Historiae* provided the model for Keating's choice of the succession of the kings of Ireland 'as the framework around which the *Foras Feasa* was constructed' is expressed on pp. 84, 108 and is referred to again on p. 112; the extract quoted on p. 88, in which Keating explains the inadequacies of Spenser's historical data as being due to poetic licence, is repeated on p. 115; Polydore Virgil's advice on the correct approach to the writing of history is mentioned both on p. 98 and p. 117 n. 53; and the reason for Keating's conscious decision to limit the size of FFÉ is discussed on pp. 101 and 119. Occasionally such repetitions result in the author contradicting herself. For instance, on p. 79 it is stated that the Seán mac Torna Uí Mhaolchonaire, to whom Keating attributed two quatrains which he quoted, 'was probably the father of the principal scribe of Egerton MS 1782', which was written c. 1516-18. This Seán Ó Maolchonaire became *ollamh* of Síol Mhuireadhaigh in 1495 and died in 1517 (Robin Flower, *Cat. of Irish manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1926) II 262, 261). On p. 140, however, it is stated that this same man was a Munster poet of Keating's own day.<sup>5</sup> Since the two quatrains occur in Egerton 1782 (f. 56) they cannot have been composed by a contemporary of Keating.

Repetition occurs within Part 2 also, e.g. the references to the biblical division into Old and New Testaments as the basis for Keating's structuring of Irish history (112, 144); but the most bizarre example here is in the five instances in which the legend of Cairbre Chinn

<sup>5</sup> The listing of references to three persons named Seán Ó Maolchonaire in the index is unsatisfactory. No distinction is made between the two men called Seán mac Torna, viz. the man who died in 1517, and the seventeenth-century scribe; and the latter is confused with another Seán Ó Maolchonaire, *alias* John Conry of Rathmore, who according to *Cat. of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* (p. 1672) was 'possibly' the scribe of MS C iv 1. Of the three, the first is referred to on pp. 78, 79, 140; the second on pp. 10, 174, 176, 199; the third on p. 176. Furthermore under Conry, John, references are listed which suggest that John Conry of Rathmore (176) and John Conry, author of a history of Ireland (222-3), are the same person, though no evidence for this is provided in the text.

Chait is referred to and/or discussed: on pp. 134, 141-2, 143,<sup>6</sup> 153 and 159. None of the references does complete justice to Keating's version of the legend, which consists of two narratives differing from one another in some details. The account on p. 143 is the most seriously flawed in that Cairbre is represented as being the king of Ireland who was apparently killed in a revolt against him and whose three sons were subsequently requested to assume 'their father's inheritance as kings'. In Keating's first narrative (*FFÉ* II 236-40) Cairbre was the leader of the vassal tribes who revolted against Fiachaidh Fionnoladh, king of Ireland, and the kings of Munster and Ulster. The three sons, one of whom is Tuathal Teachtmhar, son of Fiachaidh, are the unborn sons of the three kings killed in the revolt, and they became kings, accepting 'oighreacht a n-athrach'. Cairbre died of the plague. In Keating's second narrative (*FFÉ* II 242-4) it is the assumption by Tuathal of the kingship of Ireland which is the focus of attention.

It is not clear how the version of the story given on p. 143 was generated. However, a further problem which arises in all five references seems attributable to over-reliance on the English translation of Keating's text by the editor of *FFÉ* II (P. S. Dinneen). Keating, having described those who revolted and killed Fiachaidh as *athachthuatha Éireann* (*FFÉ* II 236), soon, with a typical stylistic flourish, referred to them as *daorchlanna nó athachthuatha Éireann uile* (ibid. 238) and later made it perfectly clear that he intended the two terms to be synonyms, writing about *moghsaine na ndaorchlann .i. na nAthachthuath* (ibid. 244). These three references were translated rather loosely by Dinneen, as 'the rustic tribes of Ireland', 'The serfs or rustic tribes of all Ireland' and 'the slavery of the serfs and the Athachthuath'. Having twice used the plural form *athachthuatha* (ibid. 236-8), Keating began to use *athachthuaith* (ibid. 238, 242-4), singular in form but in the context clearly plural in sense, and then later reverted to the plural form (ibid. 244). Dinneen clearly understood the reference to be plural throughout, translating *an athachthuaith* twice as 'the rustic tribes' (ibid. 239); later, however, he used the Irish word *Athachthuaith* in his translation, and continued to do so even when (ibid. 244) the plural form reappeared in the Irish text. Given that it faced the Irish text, the vagaries of Dinneen's

<sup>6</sup> The passage in question reads in part as follows: 'Thus when the story was told of the serfs and rustic tribes who plotted against Cairbre ... the usual prosperity of Ireland did not return ....' The phrase 'the story was told of' and the relative pronoun 'who' are redundant.

translation presumably had no particular significance. However, a modern commentator might have been expected to interpret Keating more precisely, using a plural form and a historically more accurate term, such as ‘subject/unfree/vassal peoples/tribes’ throughout, rather than giving references to the singular form only in Irish (134, 141, 159) and in English using singular forms such as ‘a lower order of people with an ignoble pedigree’ (134); ‘a legendary unfree tribe’ (141);<sup>7</sup> ‘the unfree tribe’ (159); and inaccurate terms such as ‘rustic tribes’ (143) and ‘a peasant revolt’ (153). Another example of uncritical reliance on the translation of the editor is the author’s use on p. 136 of ‘song or story’ to translate Keating’s *laoi nó leitir* in referring to the reliable sources for statements made in his history. Dinneen may have been seeking to echo the alliteration of the original, but he surely failed to convey the sense of this stock phrase which means ‘oral and written evidence’, and he later turned to a literal translation ‘lay or letter’ (*FFÉ* III, 293), no doubt seeking to avoid the inappropriate resonances of the words ‘song’ and ‘story’.<sup>8</sup>

Further evidence of undue reliance on the translation of *FFÉ* is provided by occasional use without demur of unsatisfactory translations taken from the version provided by the editor of *FFÉ* vol. I (David Comyn) such as, ‘If only indeed they had given their proper estimate to the Irish, I know not why they should not put them in comparison with any nation in Europe in three things ...’ (5), ‘And I think that [it] is why Scot[s] is more especially called to the posterity of Gaedheal ...’ (137). One would have thought that the author might herself have improved on Comyn’s English; that she did not do so would suggest that she lacked confidence in her ability to deal independently with the Irish text. Unfortunately there is ample evidence in this book that her lack of confidence was justified, for virtually every attempt on her part independently to provide a translation is flawed to a greater or lesser degree. A salient example is the passage from *TBB* on p. 56, the translation of which should read:

<sup>7</sup> Though the leader of the revolt, Cairbre Chinn Chait, was a mythological figure, the existence of the unfree tribes is a fact of history.

<sup>8</sup> There is a reference to another version of the same phrase, viz. ‘laoidh nó leabhar’ at p. 63, where again the translation provided by the editor, Lambert McKenna, ‘song or book’ is given. Like Dinneen, McKenna recognised that this translation was unsatisfactory and later proffered ‘gach saghas fiadhnaise’ (*Láimhbheartach Mac Cionnaith, Dioghluim Dána* (Baile Átha Cliath 1936) 472, 597), ‘any evidence’ (Lambert McKenna, *Aithdioghluim Dána*, 2 vols (ITS 37, 40) (Dublin 1937-40) II 238), as an interpretation.

[Aquinas says] that [the state of original justice] was a virtue which was bestowed on Adam as a result of which reason would be made subject to God, will to reason [and] the feeling of the senses to will, and [from which would flow] the submission of the brute animals to man, and that the union of body and soul would be indissoluble.’ The third line of the second stanza on p. 128 should read in translation: ‘We did not find taken from them ...’; and the first line of the passage from Aodh Mac Aingil on p. 129 should read: ‘If it were said that it was brazen of me to write something in Irish when I have not studied it ....’<sup>9</sup> So too on p. 197 the translation of the second stanza should read: ‘You are like an innkeeper / who cherishes a traveller; / as [the traveller] leaves, he says, seizing him: / “Pay for what you have consumed,”’ while the second line of the stanza on p. 198 means ‘he is an example for ignorant experts.’

It is hardly surprising then that the author has misread some passages in texts for which a translation was not available. So, for example, on p. 162 the second half of the sentence to which n. 25 refers is a misinterpretation of what Keating wrote in *TBB* on prayers for the souls in purgatory, and should read: ‘... there was also the promise that when the soul of the person for whom others prayed finally reached heaven, the favour could be returned’ (cf. *TBB* ll. 4952-60); and the phrase ‘having unconfessed sins’ on p. 163 should read ‘having sins which they forget to confess’ (*na peacaidh do-bheirid i ndearmad san bhfaoisidín*, *ibid.* ll. 4864-5). Also, taking the word *cliar* to mean ‘a clergyman’ rather than ‘clergy, clerics’, the author misinterprets the lines *Caidhe an chliar gan chiach gan chlaoine, /*

<sup>9</sup> In writing that Mac Aingil and others like him ‘were less than comfortable with the way they themselves were using the Irish language as a mere functional tool ... as though writing the living language for pedagogical purposes was a betrayal of the scholarly values of a bardic training’ (p. 129), the author has probably misinterpreted Mac Aingil’s *apologia* in two ways. It was not for his use of Irish as a functional tool that he wished to apologize, but for the fact that he did not have a command of the literary standard of the bardic schools (‘ceart na Gaoidhilgi’): he was seeking to deflect the criticism of a trained poet (the ‘saor ré h-ealadhain’ to whom the Scot Seón Carsuel referred in a parallel statement in his *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh* (1567; edited by R. L. Thomson (Edinburgh 1970) 12, ll. 370-1). Secondly, such a statement is found, not only in Mac Aingil’s book, but also before him in Carsuel’s, as mentioned, and in Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire’s *Desiderius: Scáthán an Chrábhaidh* (1616, ed. T. F. O’Rahilly (Dublin 1955) 1-2, ll. 25-48), and after him in Froinsias Ó Maolmhuaidh’s *Lucerna Fidelium* (1676, ed. Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin (Dublin 1962) 11-12, ll. 186-205), where Ó Maolchonaire’s statement is plagiarised: the authors were making the expected gesture and in all likelihood did not expect to be taken too seriously.

*Do-chínn 'san dúin ag scrúdadh an Bhíobla?* from the lament for Thomas Butler, baron of Cahir, who died in 1627, as follows: 'Among those mentioned as having suffered from this loss are [*sic*] a clergyman who used to spend time in the castle studying the Bible'; she goes on to speculate that 'this presumably refers to a chaplain to the Butlers; there is a distinct possibility that it may even refer to Keating himself' (23). And just as that misunderstanding of the word *cliar* forms the basis for a piece of misinformation, so too the misinterpretation placed on a line in another poem attributed to Keating causes the referential context of the poem to be unduly narrowed. In the verse from *Óm sceol ar ardmhagh Fáil ní chodlaim oíche* quoted on p. 156 *na hóig ón mBántsrath* ('the youths from Strabane'), are not O'Briens (who are included in *Tálfhuil* of the previous line), but O'Neills, so that the poem refers not just to 'the major Munster families', as suggested on p. 156, but to a great Ulster family also (and indeed in the following verse of the poem to the Fitzgeralds of Leinster).

Part 3 ('Scribes, translators and other readers') on the one hand extends the perspective of the book by taking us forward from the 'world of Geoffrey Keating' of its title, and indeed past the seventeenth century of its sub-title, and on the other restricts its focus to FFÉ, with not much more than passing references to ESA and TBB. The overview provided of the reception of FFÉ by later generations down to the middle of the eighteenth century is valuable. In chapter 10 the author concentrates on manuscript copies of the various versions of the text and on manuscript copies of translations into English and Latin, all of which were made before the end of the seventeenth century, together with other later seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century texts which provide evidence for interest in, and/or influence by, FFÉ.<sup>10</sup> In chapter 11 she discusses works published in print in the first half of the eighteenth century which owe a debt to FFÉ: Anthony Raymond's schemes for the publication of a translation and Dermod O'Connor's translation published in 1723.

<sup>10</sup> A text not mentioned here but which seems to have been strongly influenced by FFÉ is Tadhg Ó Neachtain's poem of 2112 ll., *Chum glóire Dé gan bhréag im' fhuighle*, which was composed in 1726 and a holograph copy of which occurs in TCD MS H. 4. 20 (1361) pp. 127-211. The cataloguers of the TCD Irish manuscripts, T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, did not attribute the poem to Ó Neachtain, having failed perhaps to understand verse 527 where Tadhg gives his own name and those of his father and mother in cryptic form: 'Gidh file m'ainm is fada ón ngaois mé / más teann is neach i n-easbaidh críonnacht'; / m'athair ba aisce, aicme an chíocráis; / mo mháthair ó Bhranach, ba dalta caorach.' Tadhg had transcribed a copy of FFÉ in 1704: see *FFÉ* I p. xiv.

All the texts considered in chapter 10 offer a ‘Catholic’ (or perhaps a native) perspective on FFÉ; some of those reviewed in chapter 11 also offer a ‘Catholic’ perspective, while others constitute a ‘Protestant’ (or perhaps a ‘New English’) response to FFÉ.

Some of the account given in chapter 11 is rather too general: for instance, one would wish that some evidence had been supplied to support the undoubtedly true statement that ‘O’Connor’s printed translation consciously tailored the text [of FFÉ] to non-Catholic audiences’ (225). On the other hand, some of the detail provided in these last two chapters is not entirely satisfactory.

- The statement that ‘one mid-eighteenth-century Tipperary manuscript does claim to be based on a copy derived in direct line from [Keating’s autograph text]’ (173) is inaccurate: as is clear from a footnote on the same page, the claim was made in 1865, more than one hundred years after the manuscript in question, BL Add. MS 31872, was written.
- The suggestion (176) that RIA MS C iv 1 [(a)] was ‘probably the work of Seán Ó Maolchonaire’ seems to be undermined by the statement in n. 17 that ‘it was probably the work of a scribe associated with the Ó Maolchonaire school.’
- The statement on p. 176 that TCD MS 1403 contains a copy of ESA is false, and the references given in footnotes 18 and 19 are incorrect: n. 18 should read ‘Manuscript “H” in Bergin’s analysis, TBB p. ix’, while n. 19 should read ‘FFÉ, ii, pp. xxvii-xxix. Manuscript “M<sub>2</sub>”’.
- The discussion on p. 177 of Michéal Ó Cléirigh’s transcription of FFÉ is confusing: whereas in her main text the author states that ‘[s]ince *Foras feasa* was not used by the Four Masters in their annals, completed in August 1636, it may be that the transcription of *Foras feasa* was undertaken after their own *magnum opus* was completed’, in n. 25 she suggests that ‘it is possible that Sept 1635 saw Ó Cléirigh commencing the work on copying *Foras feasa*’.
- It would have been helpful to point out that Fr Th. Sirinus, referred to at p. 187, n. 77, was Thomas O’Sheerin O.F.M. who saw Hugh Ward’s *Sancti Rumoldi Acta* through the press in 1662 and did further editorial work on the lives of the Irish saints.
- It is not made clear (on p. 189) why John Lynch, author of a Latin translation of FFÉ, thought that British writers who ‘being ignorant of Irish ... could only read Latin writings on Ireland’ could not read



- ‘the fragments of the Latin history of Cormac mac Cuileannáin’ in the Psalter of Cashel – if indeed such a Latin history existed.
- The discussion of which English translation of FFÉ was available to the Earl of Anglesey seems to involve a circular argument. In nn. 105, p. 191, and 5, p. 202, the author states that ‘the translation of *Foras Feasa* available to the Earl of Anglesea [*sic*] in the 1670s was probably the “A defence” version’. No evidence is given in support of this probability in either note, but reference is made in both to n. 12, p. 204. In the latter note passages from Peter Walsh’s *A Prospect of the State of Ireland ...* (1682), which are quoted in the text at pp. 202-3, 203-4, are taken to provide evidence that Walsh had had access in the 1670s to an English translation of FFÉ, and that that translation was the ‘A defence’ version. Walsh’s further statement that it was the Earl of Anglesey who had shown him that translation naturally provides evidence for the belief that the translation available to the Earl of Anglesey was the ‘A defence’ version and that he had it in the 1670s; no other evidence in support of this belief is supplied by the author, and therefore her deduction from Walsh’s evidence is not at all ‘reinforced by the fact that the Earl of Anglesea also had access to a translation of *Foras feasa* (probably the “A defence” text) in the 1670s’.
  - The lines composed by Seán Ó Murchadha [na Ráithíneach] to celebrate having transcribed FFÉ were not ‘a poem’, as stated at p. 224, but a single verse. It might have been pointed out that, according to the editor of Ó Murchadha’s work, he composed that verse in or about 1750 and that he composed another similar verse in 1753 when he had made a further copy of FFÉ (see ‘Torna’, *Seán na Ráithíneach* (1954) pp. xxiv-xxv).

*The world of Geoffrey Keating* is an elegantly produced volume. Unfortunately the text shows no sign of having been given the benefit of editorial intervention by the publisher nor of having been carefully proof-read. Throughout the book there are many examples of inelegant and confused writing, such as that referred to in footnote 6 above. Some further instances are: ‘The interest in Keating’s theological tracts seems frequently to have been ancillary to his status as a historian ...’ (11); ‘These literary connections, if valid, suggest ...’ (24); ‘Students worked to support themselves with stipends for saying Masses, and a variety of pastoral duties in the locality’ (30); ‘The significance of the reality of their receiving their training in



theology and philosophy in a non-Irish environment should not be underestimated' (31); 'Keating reaffirmed that only a priest had authority to say Mass' (33); 'Keating distinguished between three different types of sacrifice: the figurative sacrifice of the death of Abel in the Old Testament, the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, and the sacramental sacrifice of the Mass. He asserted that the Mass was a sacrifice under this last sacramental form and not, as he claimed the heretic stated, under the second form' (33-34); 'it was the work of the Franciscans ... who led the way' (39); 'Each was a substantive point rather than simply quotations selected at random' (56); 'he specifically rejected his fellow Old English-man, Richard Stanihurst, who sought to disregard the significance of the Gaelic heritage in early modern Ireland' (109); 'the only other mention of an assembly at Uisneach is in an entry that confuses the event with Tara' (135); 'The emphasis is on physical pain ... rather than mental torture suffered by the absence of the love of God' (165); 'the later seventeenth-century English translation of *Foras feasa* ... retained the distinction between "the Old English and Irish gentry", and "as well the Old English as the inhabitants of Ireland" "as for the Old Irish before the English conquest"' (188). Furthermore, there are frequent misprints throughout the book, not only in Latin and Irish but in English too, and this is true not only of the text, but of the titles of works referred to and of quotations.<sup>11</sup> Page 38 illustrates some of the kinds of errors that occur in the English text: 'prophecied' for 'prophe-sied', 'an major issue' for 'a major issue', 'appear to derived' for 'appear to be derived', 'attitute' for 'attitude'. While it would be unfair to suggest that such errors occur on every page of the book, misspellings and misprints occur all too regularly throughout the book and detract from its quality as a work of scholarship. The publisher has done a serious disservice to the author.

## REFERENCES

- FFÉ Geoffrey Keating (Séathrún Céitinn), *The History of Ireland. Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*. Ed. David Comyn and P. S. Dinneen. 4 vols. London 1902-13.
- TBB Séathrún Céitinn (Geoffrey Keating), *Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis. The Three Shafts of Death*. Ed. Osborn Bergin. Dublin 1931.

CATHAL Ó HÁINLE

*Trinity College, Dublin.*

<sup>11</sup> Since some misspellings occur more than once (e.g. 'sparce', 'sparcer' (35, 67), 'tranquility' (143, 165), it is clear that they are not misprints.

*Caint Ros Muc*. Eagarthóir Arndt Wigger. Institiúid Ardléinn Bhaile Átha Cliath 2004. Imleabhar I. Téacs. xxix + 406 lgh. Imleabhar II, Foclóir. 566 lgh.

SA bhliain 1963 bheartaigh Hans Hartmann, nach maireann, a bhí an tráth sin ina Ollamh le Teangeolaíocht Chomparáideach in Ollscoil Hamburg, corpas mór den Ghaeilge labhartha a bhailiú. Rinneadh taifeadadh ar ghnáth-chomhrá cainteoirí maithe in áiteanna éagsúla in iarthar na Gaillimhe sa bhliain 1964: Carna, Loch Con Aortha, Ros Muc, An Cheathrú Rua, Leitir Móir, Ros an Mhíl, Na Mine, An Teach Mór, An Spidéal agus na Forbacha. Dhá uair an chloig déag go leith a taifeadadh i gCarna, rinneadh an t-ábhar sin a thrascríobh agus foilsíodh é faoi stiúir Hans Hartmann, Ruairí Uí Uiginn agus Thomáis de Bhaldraithe (nach maireann) in Tübingen sa bhliain 1996 (féach *Éigse* 31 (1999) 135-58).

Deich n-uair an chloig go leith a taifeadadh i Ros Muc agus is é an t-ábhar sin atá in eagar sa dá imleabhar seo. Réamhrá agus an téacs trascríofa go gnáthlitriú na Gaeilge atá le fáil sa chéad imleabhar. Is éard a fhaightear sa dara himleabhar liosta de na focail uile atá sa téacs; liosta de na daoine agus de na logainmneacha a luaitear agus liosta d'ainmneacha eile; liostaí de na focail Bhéarla a fhaightear sa téacs; agus liosta de mhinicfocht na bhfocal Gaeilge.

Is faoina saol féin a labhraíonn na cainteoirí a taifeadadh, agus faoi ábhar béaloidis, scéalta faoin bhfarraige, faoi iascach, faoi cheirdeanna, faoi dhéanamh an bhréidín, faoin osnádúr, faoin stair áitiúil. Insítear síscéal ina iomláine freisin ann. Beidh spéis ag lucht béaloidis san ábhar agus ag na daoine sin ar suim leo stair shóisialta agus cultúrtha. Tomás Ó Conaire, múinteoir, a stiúraigh an comhrá agus ba iad Mícheál Ó Conaire, bádóir (68 bliain d'aois), Seán Ó Meá, feirmeoir (54 bliain), Mícheál Breathnach, oibrí (50 bliain), Máirtín Ó Nia, feirmeoir (52 bliain), Seán Ó Mainnín, feirmeoir (52 bliain) agus Tomás Ó Mainnín, leictreoir (27 bliain), na faisnéiseoirí.

Cé gur sa ghnáthscríobh atá na téacsanna, tá iarracht déanta ag an eagarthóir an chanúint a thaispeáint. Seo roinnt samplaí de chanúnachas a chuid litrithe: *báitheann, báitheadh* in áit *bánn, bádh; achuile, 'chuile* in áit *gach uile; d'úirt, níor úirt* etc. in áit *dúirt, ní dúirt* etc.; *dhá* in áit *dá; dhom, dhuit* etc. in áit *dom, duit*. Dealáíonn sé modh coinníollach spleách an bhriathair *faigh* ón aimsir ghnáthchaite trí éagsúlacht an ghuta: m.sh. *go bhfuigheadh* ach *go bhfaigheadh*.

Is de réir an leathanaigh in *Caint Ros Muc* (CRM feasta) a chuirim síos mo chuid nótaí anseo ach luaim córas tagartha an eagarthóra (Wigger = W. feasta) idir lúbíní.

*Éiginteacht i gcóras litrithe CRM*

Tá nithe i gcóras litrithe W., áfach, a bhfuil aistíl ag baint leo. *Óh* a scríobhann sé *passim* mar intriacht, ach is é *ó* an leagan Gaeilge (féach FGB *ó*<sup>6</sup>, lch 918a). Ar an gcaoi chéanna *ah* a scríobhann sé *passim* mar intriacht, leagan nach bhfuil le fáil sa Ghaeilge; is mar *á* is ceart é a scríobh (féach *á*<sup>2</sup>, FGB 1b). Is mar thrí fhocal a scríobhann sé *pé ar bith* (*passim*) cé gur dócha gur mar *pébí* nó *pébrí* a deirtear an leagan ina fhoinsé. Tugann FGB aitheantas do *pébí* agus *pébrí* araon (féach FGB 945b). Ar an taobh eile *cés moite* a scríobhann sé, nuair is *cé is moite* an leagan caighdeánach (féach FGB 199a). Scríobhann sé *ar éigean*, an leagan caighdeánach, in áiteanna agus *ar éigin*, an leagan canúnach, in áiteanna eile, cé gur léir óna fhoclóir (II, 208) gur mar *ar éigin* a deirtear an dá rud ina fhoinsé. Ní léir an bhfuil fáth ar bith aige leis an éiginnteacht sa litriú.

Tá éiginnteacht le feiceáil sna téacsanna sa chaoi a scríobhtar *-a*, *-e* an iolra ag deireadh focail. Faightear *clocha* agus *clochaí*, cuir i gcás, *cosa* agus *cosaí*, *lámha* agus *lámhaí*, *scéalta* agus *scéaltaí* agus *daoine* agus *daoiní*. San fhoclóir in iml. II, áfach, ní thugtar aitheantas sa trasríobh foghrúil don dá fhoirm i ngach cás. Ní thugtar ach [kosə] mar leagan foghrúil de *cosa*, *cosaí*. Ar an taobh eile faoi *daoiní*, *daoine*, *dhaoine* ní thugtar ach [di:n'i:]. Ní thugtar ach [s'k'e:Ltə] cé go bhfuil idir *scéaltaí* agus *scéalta* le fáil in iml. I. Ní thugann an t-eagarthóir aon mhíniú ar an dá leagan den iolra, ná ní mhíníonn sé cén fáth nach luann sé ach aon fhoghrú amháin san fhoclóir. Is laige an dá easpa sin ar an gcuntas ar an gcanúint. Is dócha go bhfuil claonadh éigin sa chanúint iolraí dar críoch *-a*, *-e* a úsáid roimh chonsain agus iolraí ar *-aí*, *-í* roimh ghutaí agus in pausa. Tá samplaí den dáileadh comhlántach sin le feiceáil trí na téacsanna, m. sh. *go leor géabha freisin ~ bhíodh géabhaí agus lachain* 344 (1-16-07). Uaireanta, áfach, oibríonn an difríocht an bealach eile: agus *daoiní dhá cheannacht ~ daoine a bhíodh i bhfad* 315 (6-05-30). Sa dara sampla ansin is dócha gur mar *daoin'* a deirtear an focal roimh an nguta ina dhiaidh. Is trua nach bpléitear a leithéidí sin de mhalairtí sa leabhar.

Is cás faoi leith an iolra *caoirigh*. San fhoclóir in iml. II deirtear linn gur mar *caoirigh* a litrítear an uimhir iolra. Faightear *caoirigh* mar shampla ag 58 (1-09-09 M), 229 (4-09-03 To), 304 (6-04-02

Ma), ach ansin faighimid *caoirí* 304 x 2 (6-04-01 T, 6-04-04 T) freisin. Ní léir go bhfuil bunús ar bith leis an éagsúlacht litrithe.

Tá aistíl i litriú roinnt de na foirmeacha briathartha freisin. Tá an leagan *mar a déarfá* coitianta sna téacsanna. Ach is mar chuid den bhriathar féin a litrítear an mhír *a* sa láithreach den bhriathar céanna, mar shampla, *adeirimse* 12 x 4 (1-02-05 M), *adeir sé* 24 (1-02-31 M). Bheadh sé ní ba leanúnaí *a deirimse*, *a deir sé* a litriú i bhfianaise *mar a déarfá*, etc. Is mar *dhul* a litrítear ainm briathartha *téigh* tríd síos ach tugtar le fios in iml. II 470 gur mar [gol'] a deirtear an leagan. I bhfianaise *bhoil* [wel'] agus *scoil* [skel'] atá in CRM, bheadh sé níos ciallmhaire *dhul* a litriú \**goil*.

Nós eile atá ag W., a bhraithimse aisteach, an chaoi a scríobhann sé an aimsir chaite den bhriathar *fágaim* .i. *d'fhágaigh*, m.sh., *d'fhágaigh muid* 31 (1-02-50 M), 35 (1-03-04 M), 34 (1-03-04 M), *d'fhágaigh siad* (x 2) 40 (1-05-07 M), *gur fhágaigh* (x 2) 46 (1-05-21). Is mar *d'fhága* a deirtear an leagan sa chaint, agus tá an chuma ar an scéal go gceapann an t-eagarthóir gur leis an dara réimniú a bhaineann sé. Is ó *do fhágaibh* a thagann *d'fhága* (<*fo-ad-gab*) agus ba nós, mar sin, é a litriú *d'fhágaibh* (féach, mar shampla, GCFD 75 fonóta, 104, 152, etc.). B'fhearr liom féin é a litriú *d'fhága* anseo.

### *Úsáid an fhleiscín*

Tá an fleiscíní aisteach in áiteanna. Tá sé le tuiscint ón fhoclóir gur *mí-ádh* a scríobhtar tríd síos, agus tá samplaí den litriú sin sna téacsanna, m.sh. 212 (4-03-11 S), 268 (5-12-01 T), 282 (5-16-07 Mi) agus 303 (6-03-01 T). Ach tá an litriú gan fleiscín (*mhíádh*) chomh coitianta céanna: 14 (1-02-10 M), 23 (1-02-29 M), etc. Is nós le W. freisin fleiscín a chur idir an dá eilimint deiridh d'arda an chompáis: *aniar-aduaidh* 18 x 2 (1-02-20 M), *aniar-aneas* 4 x 2 (1-01-10 M), *aneas anoir-aneas* 23 (1-02-23 M), *anoir-aneas* 21 (1-02-25 M) etc. Níl bunús ar bith leis an litriú sin sa Ghaeilge chomhaimseartha; *aniar aduaidh*, *aniar aneas*, *aneas anoir aneas* agus *anoir aneas* na gnáthleaganacha inniu (féach, m.sh. GGBC 221-22).

Is mar *dó-dhéag* a litrítear an uimhir go minic anseo, m. sh. 36 x 2 (1-04-01 M, 1-04-01 T), 166 (3-10-19 M). Ach tá *dó dhéag* scríofa gan fleiscín freisin, m. sh. 222 (4-06-07 S), 223 (4-06-09 S); cf. freisin *dó dhéag is trí dhéag is ceathair déag is cúig dhéag* 272 (5-14-03 Mi). Ós rud é gurb é *dó dhéag* gan fleiscín an leagan caighdeánach (FGB 423b), ba chóir an leagan a litriú mar sin tríd síos.

*Focail Bhéarla*

Deirtear linn ar lch xxvi den chéad iml. gur coinníodh litriú an Bhéarla in iasachtaí Béarla ‘go minic, cé gur léir nach nglacann cuid mhór de na cainteoirí leo mar iasachtaí níos mó.’ Is léir ina dhiaidh sin féin nach rabhthas leanúnach le hiasachtaí Béarla, mar is i riocht Gaeilge a litrítear cuid acu, m. sh. *blac* ‘bloc’, *citil*, *druij* ‘dredge’, *druijáil*, *robar*, *sáirjint*, *smeartáilte*. Ar an taobh eile is mar fhocail Bhéarla a litrítear cuid eile díobh, cé go bhfuil litriú Gaeilge in úsáid lena n-aghaidh le fada an lá, m. sh. *melodeon* (mileoidean) 178 (3-12-09 M), *doubt* (dabht) 376 (7-02-05 Se), *sulphur* (sulfar) 292-93 (5-17-15 Mi x 2) agus *swede* (svaeid) 275 (5-13-13 Mi).

*Córas litrithe LFRM*

Ní thuigim go díreach cén fáth nár bhain W. feidhm as córas litrithe ab fharr a thaispeánfadh tréithe na canúna, arae bhí eiseamláir aige i litriú LFRM. Tugann Ó Máille cuntas ar na difríochtaí idir a litriú féin agus an Caighdeán Oifigiúil ar lgh x-xii dá réamhrá. Seo roinnt de na difríochtaí céanna:

**LFRM**

*hugam, hugad*  
*go, g’*  
*tiúra*  
*tiuca*  
*molha*  
*fánn*  
*coinneo*  
*díona*  
*cluífe*  
*beithiach*  
*rúm, rút*  
*acab*  
*leothab*  
*scatha*  
*Gaille*

**Caighdeán/CRM**

*chugam, chugat*  
*do, de, d’*  
*tabharfaidh*  
*tiocfaidh*  
*molfaidh*  
*faigheann*  
*coinneoidh*  
*déanamh*  
*cluiche*  
*beithíoch*  
*romham, romhat*  
*acu*  
*leo*  
*scaitheamh*  
*Gaillimh*

Is mar *bacáí* agus *Sasanaí* a litríonn Ó Máille *bacai* agus *Sasanaigh* faoi seach. Mar a tharlaíonn is nós le W. iolraí den chineál sin a litriú ar an gcaoi chéanna le *-aí*, bíodh nach bhfuil sé leanúnach. Tá *fathaí* aige, m. sh. 195 (2-02-14 To) ach *fathaigh* freisin, m. sh. 193 (4-02-09 To).

Tréith shuntasach de chuid CRM na nótaí ag bun na leathanach a mhíníonn céard go díreach a chuala sé ar an téip, nuair nach mar a chéile é sin agus an rud a thugtar sa téacs. Dá mbainfí feidhm as córas litrithe LFRM, ní bheadh gá go minic lena leithéidí d'fhonótaí.

*Nótaí ar an téacs*

Ní obair éasca í trascriobh beacht a dhéanamh ar chaint bheo agus admhaíonn W. nár éirigh leis an bhrí a thabhairt leis go cruinn i ngach cás. Ba mhaith liom anois aird a dhíriú ar roinnt áiteanna a raibh mé amhrasach faoina bhfuil le fáil sa téacs. Ní raibh teacht agam ar an taifeadadh bunaidh; nílim mar sin ach ag nochtadh buille faoi thuairim i roinnt mhaith cásanna. Ní mór a chur in úil freisin nach bhfuil sna nótaí seo a leanas ach blaiseadh beag de na pointí a bhuaíl liom agus téacsanna CRM á léamh agam.

- 13 (1-02-06 M) *Bhoil dheamhan fág dhá raibh ag tíocht fúinn, saoir faoi Cheann Gainimh, nach shílfeá go bhfágfadh sí thoir i mullach na Gaillimhe muid.* Is faoin mbriathar *fág, fágaím* a liostaítear an leagan *fág* anseo san fhoclóir (II, 213) ach is léir nach cuid den bhriathar *fág* atá anseo ach ainmfhocal. Cf. '*fág ... Gleann idir dhá dhroim toinne (idir barr dhá mhaím)*' LFRM 83b. Ba chóir iontráil dá chuid féin a bheith ag an bhfocal san fhoclóir. Táim amhrasach faoi *nach shílfeá* freisin. Is léir go ndeachaigh *ch* ag deireadh *nach* i bhfeidhm ar thúschonsan *sílfeá*, ach tá cuma mhícheart ar *nach shílfeá*.
- 14 (1-02-10 M) *cheannaigh sé an lucht an bhfuil a fhios agat, ar fhéaráilte.* Ní léir dom céard is brí le *ar fhéaráilte*. D'fhéadfadh sé go bhfuil rud éigin ar lár anseo.
- 16 (1-02-15 M) *Gura ndeachaigh sí amach an bhfuil a fhios agat, cheangail sí trí cinn de chúrsaí inti.* Tá cuma neamhghramadúil ar *gura ndeachaigh* Ní foláir nó bhí na cúrsaí á gceangal sula ndeachaigh an bád amach, agus is dócha, mar sin gur míthuiscint é *gura* ar leagan éigin de *sula*, le [h] nó [x] mar thúschonsan aige (féach II, 452).
- 20 (1-02-22 T) *cúpla ceann.* Anseo agus sa téacs tríd síos is mar *cúpla* a litrítear an focal seo. Ach is léir ón bhfoclóir (II, 161) gur le *guta* gairid a deirtear é. I gConnachta go hiondúil is mar *cupla* a deirtear an focal nuair is 'roinnt, beagán' is brí leis agus mar *cúpla* le *guta* fada nuair is péire rataí nó beirt a bheirtear le chéile ('twins') atá i gceist. Ní léir, mar sin, cén fáth nár litrigh W. le *guta* gairid anseo é agus in áiteanna eile arbh ionann an bhrí agus 'roinnt'. Tugann Ó Dónaill aitheantas don litriú *cupla* ar 'two, a few' (FGB 357b).
- 34 (1-02-56 M) *Bhí sé, ndéana Dia trócaire air.* Ba chóir *Bhí sé, 'ndéana Dia trócaire air* a léamh anseo. Tá an litriú céanna arís ag 53 (1-08-03 M) agus 90 (2-10-05 M); cf. freisin *ansin bhfóire Dia orainn* in áit *ansin 'bhfóire Dia orainn* 56 (1-09-06 M).
- 39 (1-05-06 M) *fear de chloinne Conaola.* Is ó *\*de chlainn Uí Conaola* (an leg. Chonaola?) a thagann sé sin, is dócha. Cf. freisin *de Chlainne Con Rí* é 65 (2-02-07 M) agus *ba Chloinne Con Rí* é 66 (2-02-08 M). Ag caint dó faoi *chloinne* in abairtí den chineál seo deir Brian Ó Curnáin: 'This old dative singular of *clann*, occurring in phrases such as *de chlainn 'ic an Iomaire* has in fact been re-analysed as *c(h)lainne* (with facultatively lexicalised lenition)' (*Éigse* 31 (1999) 142). Is trua nach mínítear an leagan anseo. Ní mhíníonn W. cén fáth a bhfuil

*chlainne* aige chomh maith le *chloinne*, ná cad chuige a litríonn sé an leagan le litir mhór uaireanta agus le litir bheag uaireanta eile.

- 42 (1-05-13 M) *is téalthaigh sé right away*. Léitear *is théalthaigh sé*.
- 44 (10-05-18 T) *Faitíos go mbéaradh ceann eile air*. Más fada an guta aiceanta sa bhriathar *go mbéaradh*, is dócha gurb é an modh coinníollach atá ann. Nár bhfearr mar sin é a litriú *go mbéarfadh*, bíodh nach gcloistear díghlórú an *r*?
- 47 (1-06-02 M) *Ach 'sé a raibh mé dhá iarraidh dhaot anois*. Más le *dhaot* a théann an briathar nach dócha gurb é *fiafraí* atá ann seachas *iarraidh*? B'fhearr liomsa *Ach is é a raibh mé dhá fhiafraí dhaot anois* a léamh. Is mar *fhiathraí* a deirtear *fhiafraí* sa chanúint agus ní i gcónaí a chloistear díghlórú an *r*.
- 51 (1-07-05) *gurb é féin a chuir a lámh suas agus d'fhiafraigh air*. Ó tharla gur le *air* a théann an briathar, is dócha gurb é *iarraim* seachas *fiafraim* atá i gceist. Is ar éigean a bheadh difríocht ar bith sa chaint idir *d'fhiafraigh* agus *d'iarr* roimh ghuta, arae is mar *d'iar* a déarfai an dá cheann.
- 62 (2-01-06 M). Taobh istigh den aon alt amháin léimid *a bhí sa gcuraigh* agus *an curach ar an trá*. Sa chéad sampla tá an focal *curach* baininsneach agus sa tuiséal tabharthach, sa dara sampla tá sé firinsneach. B'fhearr liomsa a cheapadh gur *sa gcurach* a bhí i gceist leis an gcéad sampla.
- 66 (2-02-10 M & T). Is spéisíúil go luaitear *Órán* 'Oranmore' trí huair anseo. *Órán* a thugadh Gaeilgeoirí na Gaillimhe ar an mbaile; cf. an rann traidisiúnta *Col ceathrair don chriathar an bodhrán/Shiúil mé a lán agus chonaic mé mórán/Is ní fhaca mé aon phíosca de bhóthar níos salaí/Ná atá ó Ghaillimh go hUarán* (N. Williams, *Cniogaide Cnagaide* 111).
- 67 (2-02-11 T) *Dtéadh sí an bealach go deo*. Léitear *'Dtéadh sí an bealach go deo?*
- 72 (2-04-4 M; 2-04-5 M). Is aisteach liom an dá leagan ag *abairt* agus ag *abairt faoistean* anseo. Léitear ag *agaírt?*
- 74 (2-04-07 M) *agus nach dtosaigh sé ag fiafrú an diabhal*. Is deacair glacadh leis go ndúradh an abairt sin. Nach dóichí gur *\*agus nach dtosaíonn sé ag fiafrú ghon diabhal* a dúradh? Bheadh brí stairiúil leis an aimsir láithreach, ar ndóigh.
- 75 (2-04-10 T) *Cé leis a bhí sí cosúil, Gaeilge Árainn an raibh?* Is gnách *cé leis* + leaganacha díreacha in iarthar na Gaillimhe, ach táim amhrasach faoin dara cuid den abairt. *Gaeilge Árainn, arb ea (an ea)* an rud a mbeifí ag súil leis.
- 75 (2-05-01 M) *d'fhágaigh sula d'fhágadh sí anois mar a déarfá*. Tá ráite tuas go mb'fhearr mar litriú *\*d'fhága*. Táim amhrasach faoi *sula d'fhágadh*. Leaganacha spleácha a leanann *sula* go hiondúil, ach amháin nuair is seachfhoir den chineál *sul má* atá ann. Léitear *sul má d'fhágadh?*
- 76 (2-05-02 M) *Bhí brigeantín a thugaidís ar chuid acu agus square rig ar chuid eile*. Tugtar faoi deara go bhfuil leathghaelú déanta ag W. ar an bhfocal Béarla *brigantine*, cé go bhfágann sé *square rig* i litriú an Bhéarla. Is aisteach liom leagan den bhriathar substainteach ag tús na habairte, nuair is leagan den chopail a mbeifí ag súil leis. An bhféadfadh sé gur chualathas *Badh* go mícheart anseo?
- 80 (2-06-01 T) Luaitear an breitheamh Muiris i gcomhthéacs an Spidéil anseo. Is trua nach bhfuil aon chur síos ag W. ar an duine céanna. Déanamis amach gurb é atá i gceist Michael Morris, an chéad bharún 'Chill Ainthinne' a raibh cónaí air sa Spidéal. Is breitheamh mór le rá a bhí ann agus tiarna achomhairc; rinneadh barún de sa bhliain 1889 agus cailleadh sa bhliain 1901 é. Garnia leis ab ea Michael Morris, an tríú Tiarna 'Chill Ainthinne', a bhí seal ina chathaoirleach ar an gCoiste Idirnáisiúnta Oilimpeach.
- 81 (2-06-04 M) *M'anam go bhfiafraigh Pádraig Shéimín de Mháirtín*. Nach dóichí gur go *bhfiagraíonn* le brí stairiúil a bhí ann dáiríre?



- 82 (2-07-03 M) *Chora na Ronna*. Cé gur mar *Ronna* a deirtear an dara heilimint anseo, is dócha gur leis an mbunainm *Rinn* a bhaineann sé; cf. *an Rinn* ach *Bóthar na Ronna* ar an gCeathrú Rua. Más é ginideach an fhocail *Rinn* atá anseo, b'fhearr é a litriú *Rinne*.
- 83 (2-07-04 M) *Bhí sí tairmithe suas condemnáil mar a déarfá*. Léigh \**condemnáilte*?
- 87 (2-09-07 M) *tháinig rosámh agus ceo*. Ós rud é gur ar an dara siolla atá an bhéim san fhocal *rosámh* 'summer haze', is fear é a litriú *ro sámh* .i. mar dhá fhocal. *Ró samh* an litriú a mholtar in FGB; féach s.v. *ró*<sup>2</sup> (FGB 1005a).
- 88 (2-10-01 M) *bhíodh sé ag cur a chapall soir i ngarraí an tsagairt, san oícheanta gealaí go maidin*. Murar chualathas an abairt seo go mícheart, nach dócha gurb éard a bhí ann: *bhíodh sé ag cur a chapall soir i ngarraí an tsagairt, san ... oícheanta gealaí go maidin*, .i. le sos sa chaint idir *san* agus *oícheanta*?
- 92 (2-10-11 M) *maidneachán* atá san alt seo faoi dhó; cf. *maidneachán* 21 x 2 (1-02-25 M), 107 (2-13-19 M). *Maidneachán* an litriú is coitianta sa téacs; *maidneachan* a scríobhtar in áiteanna (12 (1-02-06 M), 202 (4-02-28 To) etc.). Is dócha gurbh fhearr mar litriú *maidneachan* tríd síos, ós rud é nach dtugtar an litriú \**maidneachán* in áit ar bith in FGB.
- 98 (2-12-07) *bhí sé go dona nuair a dtiocfadh* [sic] *an t-uisce*. Ar chualathas é seo i gceart?
- 98 (2-12-07) *Níor mhór dhuit clúd a bheith agat ar an ngaíneamh agus clúd a bheith agat ar an salann chomh maith céanna*. Is focal é \**clúd* nach n-aithním agus nach bhfuil in FGB ach an oiread. An bhféadfadh sé gur seachleagan de *clúdach* atá ann .i. *clúdadh* (féach FCG s.v. *clúdach*)? Is mar *clúda* a déarfá sin sa chanúint agus, ar ndóigh, chaillfí an siolla neamhaiceanta roimh ghuta ina dhiaidh.
- 98 (2-12-09 M) *Níor dóadh aon mhaide uirthi. Níor dóadh tada ...* Cf. *a dóadh an teach* 224 (4-07-02 T), *ó dóadh* 293 (5-17-16 T). Níl a fhios agam cén fáth a scríobhann W. *dóadh* anseo .i. an saorbhriathar aimsir chaite de *dóigh* 'burn'. Má tá sé ag iarraidh déshiolla a thaispeáint, nárbh fhearr *dóigheadh* a scríobh .i. an fhoirm stairiúil? Cf. *báitheadh* a luann sé sa Réamhrá (xxvi). Más ag iarraidh cloí leis an gCaighdeán Oifigiúil atá sé, ba chóir dó *dódh* a scríobh. Is litriú gan bhunús *dóadh* sa Nua-Ghaeilge; is mar seo a litrítear saorbhriathra na mbriathra aonsiollacha san aimsir chaite: *bádh, brúdh, dódh* agus *glaoth*.
- 99 (2-12-09) *Dul chun dona, dul chun dona leis an uisce*. Is aidiacht *dona* ansin agus bheifí ag súil le hainmfhocal. Ní infhilltear focail dar críoch *-acht* sa ghinideach go hiondúil sa chaint. An bhféadfadh sé gur \**chun donacht* a a dúradh anseo? Tugtar faoi deara freisin gurbh fhearr *dul* a litriú *a' dul* nó '*dul* sa dá chás.
- 100 (2-13-03 T) *tá mé a cheapadh*. Tá an leagan céanna le fáil arís ar lch 101 (2-13-03 T) agus in áiteanna eile. Tá *tá mé cheapadh* coitianta sa chanúint agus is dócha gurb ionann sin go stairiúil agus *tá mé 'ceapadh* (.i. *tá mé ag ceapadh*) le séimhiú calctha ar thúschonsan *ceapadh*, a fuarthas ó leaganacha ar nós *tá mé á cheapadh*. B'fhearr mar sin an leagan a litriú *tá mé ag cheapadh* nó *tá mé a' ceapadh*. *Bhí mise ag ceapadh* a fhaightear níos faide anonn (lch 105, 2-12-14 M). Tá cuma neamhghramadúil ar *tá mé a cheapadh*.
- 106 (2-13-5 T) *M'anam nach bhfuilís* Sa 2 p. u. láith. atá an briathar anseo. Cheapfainne féin gur *nach bhfuilir* a dúradh.
- 106 (2-13-17 M) *Tá sé dúnta suas anois. Dúinte* an ghnáthfhoirm in iarthar na Gaillimhe.



- 110 (2-14-05 M) go *Crachmhaoil ... Muintir Chrachmhaoil*. ‘Craughwell’ in oirthear na Gaillimhe atá i gceist, is dócha. Is mar *Creachmhaoil* a litrítear é sin go hoifigiúil. Aisteach go leor is mar *Crach Mhaoil* a litrítear an logainm in innéacs na logainmneacha in iml. II, 521.
- 140 (3-05-19 M) ... nach *labharfá* aon *fhocal arís* go *brách air*, agus ná raibh tú supposeáilte a *labhairt air* go *labhrófá* in áiteacha eile air. Dá mbeadh W. ag iarraidh na foirmeacha éagsúla den mhodh coinníollach a thaispeáint, b’fhéidir gurbh fhearr dó an téacs a fhoilsiú i scríobh foghrúil. Anseo tá idir *labharfá* agus *labhrófá* aige ach ní léir cén luach foghrúil atá ag ceachtar den dá litriú. Is é is dóichí gur *labharhá* nó *labhará* atá i gceist leis an gcéad leagan thuas. Ní féidir a rá cad dó a seasann *labhrófá*, áfach: *labhróthá*, *labhróá*, *labhráthá*, *labhrathá*, nó *labharhá* féin? Feictear domsa gurbh fhearr *labhrófá* a scríobh.
- 142 (3-05-23 M) le *haghaidh iadsan* [sic]. Tá a leithéid na fáil i gceannúintí eile i gCo. na Gaillimhe; cf. *Ní raibh focal foghlaim i bpluic iadsan* (de Bhaldráithe, *Seanchas Thomáis Laighléis* (1977) 173).
- 143 (3-05-28 M) *ba bhreáichte*. Sa chanúint go hiondúil is leathan *ch* i mbeirshéim na haidiachta *breá* fad is atá an *t* caol. Is fearr mar litriú *breáchte* (pace FGB).
- 155 (3-08-07 M) (3-08-08 M) an *Cúilfhionn*. Tá fonóta ag W. leis an gcéad sampla: ‘Nó b’fhéidir *Coolin*’. *Cúileann* an gnáthlitríú ar *Cúilfhionn* agus tá an focal baininsneach.
- 161 (3-10-03 S) *Cén chaoi a dtosá anois*. Cf. a bhfuil ráite faoi *labhrófá* thuas. B’fhearr *dtosfá* a scríobh. Cf. Mar *d’iompá* 165 (3-10-16 S) in ionad *d’iompófá*.
- 162 (3-10-06 S) an *oirnis* ... *cén sórt oirnis*; agus cf. an *oirnis* 165 (3-10-18 M). Ach níos faide síos ar lch 162 (3-10-07 S) an *ornais* a léitear. Is dócha gur *ournis* a dúradh.
- 167 (3-10-24 M & T) an *burn beer* ... An *burn beer*. Is nós é seo a litriú *buraim-bíor*; féach LFRM 31b. Maíonn Ó Máille gur ó *burnt beer* a thagann an leagan. B’fhéidir mar sin gurbh fhearr litriú an Bhéarla anseo.
- 169 (3-10-29 S, 3-10-30 M). Tá an focal *lútáin* le fáil anseo faoi dhó. Deirtear san fhoclóir in iml. II gur le *t* an Bhéarla a deirtear an focal. Is mar *lúitín* a litríonn Ó Máille é (LFRM 135b). Maíonn sé gur ó *gluten* an Bhéarla a thagann agus gur *glútín* a deirtear i nGaeilge na Mumhan.
- 170 (3-10-33 M) *Ach cé bheadh istigh uisce ann le go mbeadh a fhios aige ...* Ní thuigim é sin. B’fhéidir gur chualathas go mícheart é?
- 184 (3-14-05 T & M) *An raibh tú féin in ann na seoltaí a dhéanamh di? Ní dhéanadh. Níl a mh’anam agus inniu*. Is éard atá i gceist sa dara habairt: ‘I am not able to repair her sails until this very day’. Ba chóir mar sin é a litriú: *Níl a mh’anam agus inniu*.
- 199 (4-02-21 To) *spáinfidh mise dhuit*. Tá *spánfainn* le *n* leathan ar lch 292 (5-17-15 Mi). De réir an fhoclóra in iml. II is le *n* leathan a deirtear an dá leagan.
- 209 (4-03-03 S) Tá *tógtha* faoi dhó anseo. Leis an gcéad sampla tá fonóta a deir gur mar *-áithe* a dúradh é, fad is a deirtear i bhfonóta leis an dara ceann gur *tóicí* atá i gceist. Má tá difríocht ann, agus má tá W. ag iarraidh an difríocht a thaispeáint, ní léir cén fáth nár scríobh sé *tógaithe* (nó *tóigiithe*) agus *tóicí* faoi seach. Níl aon rud aige in aghaidh an deireadh *-ithe*, arae tá idir *réitiithe* (*réitiithe*) agus *feistiithe* (*feistiithe*) san alt céanna.
- 217 (4-05-01 T) *Dhéanaidís an t-am sin é. Ní thabharaidís ...* Is léir gur modh coinníollach atá i gceist leis an dá leagan. Léitear *Dhéanfáidís ... ní thabharfáidís*.
- 227 (4-08-03 T) agus go *bhfiafra* di ... a mh’anam go *bhfiafrad* ... B’fhearr go *bhfiafrófá* (nó *bhfiathrófá*) agus go *bhfiafród* (*bhfiathród*) anseo.

- 250 (5-05-01 Mi) *ar oifigí is leathoifigí is quartermaster is 'chuile shórt*. Feictear anseo an fhadhb a bhaineann le hiolra ainmfhocaíl ar *-each* a litriú ar *-í*. Is é an bhrí a bhainfeadh an gnáthléitheoir as *oifigí* 'offices' níos túisce ná 'officers'. Ba chóir *oifigigh* a litriú anseo.
- 253 (5-06-02 Mi) *a gcuid capaille*. Is tréaniolra an leagan *capaille* anseo. Ní féidir a bheith cinnte go bhfuil *capaille* anseo le dealú ón bhfoirm a litrítear *caiple* in áiteanna eile, m. sh. lch 318 x 6. San fhoclóir in iml. II (lch 95) deirtear gur mar [kæ:p'L'ə] a fhuaimnítear *caiple*; deirtear freisin, áfach, gur mar [ka:p'L'ə] a deirtear *capaille*, rud a bhfuilim amhrasach faoi.
- 279 Locht ar chlóchur an leabhair é **XVIa Obair feamainne** a bheith ag bun leathanaigh anseo gan aon scríobh eile faoi.
- 286 (5-16-21 T & Mi) Tá *ba in* faoi dhó anseo agus fonóta leis an dá shampla á rá gur mar [bəvin'] agus [bəjin'] a deirtear iad faoi seach. Más mar sin atá an scéal, ba chóir iad a litriú *babh in* agus *badh in*.
- 290 (15-17-06 Mi) *Dhá ndóadh sí*. Más sa mhodh coinníollach atá an briathar sin, ba chóir é a litriú *ndóadh*. Más foshuiteach caite atá ann is mar *ndódh* a litreofaí é. Níl aon bhunús le *ndóadh*. Is dócha gur modh coinníollach atá i gceist, arae *dhá ndófá* a fhaightear níos faide síos (5-17-08 T).
- 290 (5-17-09 Mi) *aon tuairisc ar an luatha*, ach *in ann an luaithe a leá* ag barr lgh 291. *Luaithe* an leagan caighdeánach. Is mar *luatha* a litríonn Ó Máille an focal (LFRM 134). Ní dóigh liom go bhfuil bunús leis an litriú *luaithe*, go háirithe nuair a deir an foclóir in iml. II gur mar [Luə] a deirtear an focal.
- 295 (6-01-02 T & Ma) Tá idir *iomú píosa* agus *is iomaí muis*. *Is iomaí* anseo. An difríocht cainteora amháin atá i gceist anseo, nó difríocht timpeallachta?
- 307 (6-05-07 Ma) *an fearsaid ... leis an fearsaid* [sic]. In áiteanna eile, áfach, is mar *fearsad* a litrítear an focal, m. sh. 173 (3-11-09 S). San fhoclóir (II 229) tugtar le fios gur mar *fearsaid* a deirtear an focal gach uile áit. Cén bunús mar sin atá leis an difríocht sa litriú?
- 368 (6-21-12 T & Ma) faightear *romthu* (= *rompu*) x 2 anseo. Táim amhrasach faoin litriú, arae san fhoclóir (II 392) deirtear gur mar *rúthab* a deirtear an fhoirm. B'fhearr liom é a litriú *rúthab* anseo mar sin.

Is dócha go bhfuil go leor scríofa lena thaispeánta a anacraí is atá obair an traslitríthe i gcás téacsanna a taifeadadh ó bhéal na ndaoine. Ní mór don eagarthóir cinneadh a dhéanamh faoin mbrí féin, faoin gcóras litríthe agus faoi mhéad na héagsúlachta atá sé sásta a cheadú ina eagrán. Ní i gcónaí a aontaím leis an gcaoi ar réitigh an t-eagarthóir na fadhbanna sin sa saothar seo. Caithfear a admháil, ina dhiaidh sin féin, gur luachmhar an bailiúchán atá curtha ar fáil ag Wigger agus go bhfuilimid dá bharr sin go mór faoi chomaoin aige.

#### NÓDA

GGFD Tomás de Bhaldraithe, *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: an deilbhíocht*.  
Baile Átha Cliath 1977.

GGBC *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí*. Baile Átha Cliath 1999.

LFRM Tomás Ó Máille, *Liosta Focal as Ros Muc*. Baile Átha Cliath 1973.  
 FGB Niall Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*. Baile Átha Cliath 1977.

NICHOLAS WILLIAMS

*An Coláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Claithe*

*Historical dictionary of Gaelic placenames: Foclóir stairiúil áitainmneacha na Gaeilge. Fascicle 1 (Names in A-)*. Edited by Pádraig Ó Riain, Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, Kevin Murray. Irish Texts Society. London 2003. xxxiv + 172 pp.

THIS is one of the most significant publications of the Irish Texts Society for many a year. Being the first fascicle of the much-awaited historical dictionary of Gaelic placenames, comparisons with Fr Hogan's pioneering and inspirational work of nearly a hundred years ago are invited and expected; and due credit is given, and homage paid, to Hogan's *Onomasticon* in the editors' 'seoladh' (pp. x-xi). Hogan's approach differed from that of the editors of the *Historical dictionary* in that he did not confine himself to historical and literary sources, nor to sources terminating at 1800. His work will, therefore, retain its value to some degree into the future. In his list of river names, for instance, he included many items – such as 'a[bha] na sead' and 'a[bha] na gcaerach', in Counties Waterford and Cork respectively – where no sources are cited, and where one assumes that he was working from maps and local information.

The decision (p. x) to employ, where possible, Early Modern Irish as the standard for the lemmata, is a laudable one, and a marked improvement on Hogan (the post-classical form 'Athfhódhla' – not reflected in any of the entries – seems to have slipped in unnoticed). Insofar as the Grammatical Tracts form a useful touchstone in this regard, their authority may have been enforced somewhat too strictly in rendering the form Áth Caille as Áth Coille, when only examples with *ai* are cited (cf. also Ard Coille), with no cross-reference to assist the reader. Cross-referencing to other entries within this fascicle is generally successful, but I have sought in vain for Áth Fuinnseann, under which headword the reader is referred to Áth Uinnseann (*recte* Áth Uinseann), where the F- form is not cited. In the case of Ard Fionáin, that lemma should probably contain cross-references to Aill na Méaróg and Áth Arda Fhionáin. The level of cross-referencing to future fascicles is necessarily high, and whets the reader's appetite for the publication of those volumes.

Other departures from Hogan's presentation are the brave and welcome decision to attempt English translations of the placenames; and the multiplicity of instances of those names which, at least since Knott's time, have been categorised as 'bardic names for Ireland'. In the present volume, these encompass such harmless combinations as *Achadh Iúghoine*, *Achadh na bhFear*, *Adhbha Chuinn*, *Adhbha Éimhir*, and *Adhbha Ír*. It is presumably the principle of inclusiveness or exhaustiveness that lies behind the presence of these names in the book, but whether they should be considered as *bona fide* placenames, or whether, indeed, they add anything to our knowledge of Gaelic placenames, is debatable. Similar combinations involving *clár*, *fonn*, *iath*, etc. must now be included in later volumes. Matters such as this point up the absence here of an explanatory introduction, more comprehensive than that provided (pp. x-xi), wherein might be given the arguments for the inclusion of such a category.

This absence is perhaps most keenly felt in the area of Scottish placenames. Quite a number of such names are given here, the majority of them deriving from Irish sources; those from Scottish sources are mainly from the Book of Deer, with occasional entries coming from the Book of the Dean (*Ard an Eascair*) and from the Fernaig Manuscript (*Apuinn*). If Scottish names are to be included – and Hogan considered them worth including also – there is no shortage of Scottish sources that may be drawn on. A reasonably significant amount of Scottish placenames in A- is to be found, for example, in collections of poetry in Gàidhlig of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but these collections do not seem to have been consulted. Again, this must be deliberate editorial policy, and one that awaits exposition in some future fascicle of the dictionary. For the present, however, one cannot but feel that a Gaelic name such as *Ard Chatan* (Donnchadh Bàn, c. 1752) should be as welcome in this work as *Adhbha Ír*.

As in all works of this nature, the amount of labour is huge, and is largely concealed behind a format that necessarily precludes any kind of discussion or lengthy annotation, and allows of only the most abbreviated of references. In some cases, therefore, we are obliged to accept at face value corrections of previous readings and identifications. In the case of Ard Petun, for instance, Carrigan's reading of the Mac Murchadha charter was *Ardpetrann* (*History* IV, 281), and that of Bernard (*PRIA* 35 (1918-20) 5) was *Ardpetraim*. While, again in Co. Kilkenny, O'Donovan's identification of *Achadh Mic Earclaighe* with Agha in Gowran is silently, if tentatively, abandoned in favour

of Killahy in Knocktopher. The ground-breaking work of one of the editors, Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, is to be seen in the entry for Áth Coirthíne, which reflects his proposition in *Laois history and society* 40, that this is the correct origin for the name Aharney, as opposed to *Áth Charna* of *Liostaí logainmneacha*, and ‘aith Charna’ in a manuscript of 1606 (*RIA Cat.* p. 1194). Some names still resist identification, however, or present choices that are at best frustrating: e.g. *Áth Doire Dhuibh*, which may be located either in Laois or in Leitrim. Possible ghost-names are *Aileann Uí Theachtais* (cf. O’Brien, *Corp. Gen. Hib.* I (1976) 124b24), and *Ana* (2), which, in the source cited, should be spelt in the lower case and should be taken as the word meaning ‘wealth, abundance’. Typographical errors are few: for *The place-names of the Decies* (p. xxvi) read *The place-names of Decies*; for *orrdhuire* (s.v. *Áth Meadhóin* (1)) read *orrdhuirc*; C[atholic] B[ulletin] 8 (s.v. *Abha(nn) Life*) wants a page reference; for SHDR (s.v. *Alba* (1)) read SHD.

The final judgement on this important work will not be given until the last fascicle has been published. In the meantime this project should carry with it the good wishes of all scholars interested in onomastic studies, many of whom will, it is hoped, accept the editors’ invitation (p. xii) to supply them with information, identifications, corrections, etc. There is enough in this first volume to indicate that when the final volume is issued, it should mark the completion of a monument of Irish scholarship of the twenty-first century.

PÁDRAIG Ó MACHÁIN

*Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies*

*Unity in diversity: studies in Irish and Scottish Gaelic language, literature and history.* Edited by Cathal G. Ó Háinle and Donald E. Meek. Léann na Tríonóide / Trinity Irish Studies, I. Dublin 2004. iv + 193 pp.

THIS volume of nine essays is a co-operative undertaking between the universities of Strathclyde, Aberdeen and Trinity College Dublin – the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative – and the fruit of seminars held in these universities in 1997-98 (p. 7). The stated purpose of the collection is to illuminate the ‘underlying thread of unity’ (2) of the cultural and religious diversity of the sea-divided Gael.

One of the obvious points of connection between the cultures of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland is the shared tradition of *fianaíocht*. It is

fitting, then, that the volume begins with an essay by one of the editors, Donald E. Meek, that examines a prominent aspect of this shared tradition, the *laoithe fianáochta* preserved in the Book of the Dean of Lismore (BDL) and in Duanaire Finn (DF) ('The Scottish tradition of Fian ballads in the Middle Ages' (9-23). One distinction of interest observed by Professor Meek between BDL and DF is that the selection of *laoithe* in BDL is predominantly elegiac in emphasis, in contrast to what he sees as a martial emphasis in DF. Meek correlates these emphases with a hankering after the Lordship of the Isles in BDL, and the military proclivities of Somhairle Mac Domhnaill determining content in DF.

Professor Meek shows that 'only some four ballads or so' (14) are shared between these two manuscripts. His research indicates that DF generally preserves an earlier stratum of *laoithe* than BDL, the 'ballad sample' in which is 'more recent' (15). This is evidenced by the fact that BDL shares fourteen *laoithe* with the later Irish collections. In-depth analysis would be out of place in a survey-essay such as Meek's, but we can look forward to further elaboration by him of this interesting distinction. Apart from the obvious matter of availability of sources, the question of scribal intention might be worth considering in this regard. The evidence of the Book of the O'Conor Don suggests that Aodh Ó Dochartaigh went about his work for Somhairle Mac Domhnaill in a very deliberate way, selecting material thematically and organising the bardic poems according to family. Such deliberation may well be in evidence in the case of DF, and Ó Dochartaigh's intention or instructions the same: to present his patron with the choicest and most representative examples of a specialised variety of composition by the learned Gaelic poets.

Damian McManus, in a worthwhile and finely annotated essay ('The bardic poet as teacher, student and critic: a context for the Grammatical Tracts') (97-123) takes us through material from classical verse that provides evidence for the education and learning of the bardic poet, and for the dissemination of his work. In a paper so densely annotated, it is disappointing to note that of the aspects of the poet's qualifications emphasised here – 'reading, writing and a strong memory' (102) – that of writing receives no annotation. In the author's stirring theory concerning the three lives of a poem (110) it is argued that the chief mechanism for guaranteeing the perpetuation of a patron's – not a poet's – fame was that the poem should be studied in the bardic schools; the otherwise exhaustive annotation is again silent at this point.

This serves to emphasise that without the dissertation prefixed to the *Memoirs of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde* (first published in 1722 not 1772 as is stated here (97)) – our knowledge of the modalities of the bardic schools would be very thin. It is a point worth making that while the ‘golden era’ of bardic poetry may well have been the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, as Professor McManus claims, our only detailed account of a bardic school is an eighteenth-century source. We have to hope or assume that the information given there is accurate, and, with Bergin, that it ‘will probably hold good for several centuries earlier’. McManus’s study gives us hope that this may be the case.

This tenacious element in Irish tradition is highlighted sharply in Katharine Simms’s contribution (‘Gaelic military history and the later Brehon Law commentaries’) (51-67), where it is shown that the treatment of *meath slóighidh* in eleventh-century commentaries on the legal tracts is startlingly paralleled by the evidence of Irish and English sources of the sixteenth century. As one might expect, there is much in this essay on the subject of mercenary soldiers, from their earliest appearance in the sources in the tenth century, to the three tribes of Clann Suibhne in Tír Conaill in the later Middle Ages.

Among the terms dealt with by Dr Simms are *fuba ocus ruba* (62-63), the latter referring to duties concerning the guarding of passes and frontiers, and therefore intersecting with Liam Breatnach’s contribution. Dr Simms also connects with Meek’s essay on BDL in that she points out poems in that manuscript that are of great interest to Irish scholars but still remain imperfectly transcribed and transliterated. Surely a body styling itself the ‘Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative’ should see to it without delay – while the talents and skills to do so still exist – that such texts are made available as a matter of priority.

Another area of comparison and interaction within Gaelic Scotland and Ireland is the phenomenon of the visiting poet, for which there is much evidence from the Early Modern period. Liam Breatnach (‘On satire and the poet’s circuit’) (25-35) provides a valuable analysis of the position in early Irish law regarding the technical aspects of such visits, in particular the arrangements to be made and the formalities to be observed in the reception of a visiting poet, regardless of whether his visit was for the purposes of praise or of satire.

Legal texts stress the universal feature of the ‘regulation of honour’ enforceable by satire (26-7), and Breatnach shows that when a



subject proved unamenable to such enforcement, the satire could be directed at his kin or his lord. Parallels with procedures outside the specific area of visiting poets are pointed up: the legal steps inherent in the composition of *trefhocal* compare with procedure in cases of distraint (26), and the maintenance of poets while on a visit of satire compares to the obligations of a defendant in the maintenance of a plaintiff (30). The essay concludes with the presentation of a hitherto unpublished text from the Book of Ballymote, laying down the conventions to be observed on a poet's visit to a territory other than his own, highlighting the function of the *drisiuc* in receiving him (30-32) and in so doing adjusting Breatnach's own translation of a gloss in §19 of *Uraicecht na Ríar*. Again a parallel is adduced, not from the laws, but from the *Táin*, where the function of the border sentinel is seen to be similar to that of the *drisiuc*, all of which demonstrates the regulation to which the freedom of movement of the poet in early Irish society was subject.

Cathal G. Ó Háinle ('The novel frustrated: seventeenth- to nineteenth-century fiction in Irish') (125-51) revisits his well-known 'an t-úrscéal nár tháinig' study. The question of why the novel, as opposed, one supposes, to the romance, never developed in Irish literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when such development was taking place in English and European literature, comes down to the absence in the Irish situation of the interrelated factors of 'printing, literacy and a reading public' (140). Narrative literature is, of course, a valuable and long-established part of Irish tradition, and one wonders whether the criteria of verisimilitude and character development, on which, apparently, the development of the novel is to be gauged, are any more valid in the context of Irish prose than those of bombast and allegory. Professor Ó Háinle may well be right in commending *Stair Éamuinn Uí Chléire* for its realism, though for this reviewer the early section at least of that work (lines 1-583) remains the funniest pre-Mylesian piece of prose in Modern Irish, particularly the account of the protagonist's encounter with alcohol in Thomas Street (a parody of Bunyan?). Among other thought-provoking observations in this essay is that regarding Amhlaobh Ó Súilleabháin's 'tendency in all his writing ... to treat the common people with near contempt ...' (148), a judgement that may not be shared by all.

Two papers on linguistic matters are included. Richard A. V. Cox ('The Norse element in Scottish place names: syntax as a chronological marker') (37-49) approaches the question of the solution of



Scottish placenames with the structure *x (of) y*, where *x* is the generic element, and *y* the specific. James Grant ('The Gaelic of Islay, a North Channel dialect?') (69-95) analyses eleven distinctive features of the phonology and vocabulary of the Gaelic of Islay, and shows how these features are shared, not so much with other Scottish dialects, but with dialects of Irish, Ulster Irish particularly. He concludes that the traditional Scottish/Irish dichotomy must be set aside in discussing such dialects, and advances the case for 'a North Channel group of dialects' (94).

Two essays in this collection did not originate with the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative, but are nevertheless judiciously included by the editors. Terence P. McCaughey's revised O'Donnell Lecture of 1995 ('Andrew Sall (1624-82) textual editor and facilitator of the Irish translation of the Old Testament') (153-71) provides an interesting biographical essay on Andrew Sall, who was involved, in the last year of his life, in Robert Boyle's project to get Bedell's Old Testament into print. McCaughey treats of Sall's origins in Cashel, his years in Salamanca, his apostasy, his time at Oxford, and his return to Ireland. Neglected topics, such as Fr Peter Walsh's remonstrance (160-61), are touched upon, and the author sketches the controversy – with its attendant bibliography – occasioned by the conversion of so prominent a Jesuit as Sall to the Established Church. Donald E. Meek, in his second contribution ('Religion, riot and romance: Scottish Gaelic perceptions of Ireland in the nineteenth century') (173-93) advances his contention that the nineteenth century was 'perhaps the last century in which there was any strong natural awareness of Ireland on the part of Scottish Gaels' (173). The evidence of the poetry provided by Professor Meek shows how much that awareness had become attenuated and, in the case of religion, skewed, since the apparently heady days of the Book of the Dean.

This unassuming collection of essays is a valuable one. While there is no talk here of subsequent volumes, the volume and serial numbers encourage one to believe that such will be forthcoming. This would be very welcome, and perhaps the editors, in addition to resolving minor stylistic peculiarities in the reference system, might consider including matter in Gaelige and Gàidhlig on the next occasion.

PÁDRAIG Ó MACHÁIN

*Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies*

*Beatha Aodha Ruaidh: The life of Red Hugh O'Donnell. Historical and literary contexts.* Edited by Pádraig Ó Riain. Irish Texts Society. Subsidiary Series 12. London 2002. viii + 164 pp.

THESE are the proceedings of an Irish Texts Society seminar held at University College Cork in November 2001, and consist of a timely study of the text that has come to be known as *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*, which is preserved in a manuscript in the hand of Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh (RIA 23 P 24). There are six contributions, all in English: Hiram Morgan, 'The real Red Hugh' (1-35); Mícheál Mac Craith, 'The *Beatha* in the context of the literature of the Renaissance' (36-53); Damian McManus, 'The language of the *Beatha*' (54-73); Marc Caball, 'Politics and religion in the poetry of Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird and Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird' (74-97); Nollaig Ó Muraíle, 'Paul Walsh as editor and explicator of *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*' (98-123); and Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'Irish records of the Nine Years' War: a brief survey, with particular notice of the relationship between *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill* and the Annals of the Four Masters' (124-47). A bibliography and general index complete the book.

A measure of the productivity of this seminar is the dialectic that is generated, whereby points advanced by certain speakers are clarified or refuted by other contributors. Morgan's thesis, for instance, that one aspect of Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh's presentation of the 'unreal' Aodh Ruadh is his accentuation of Ó Domhnaill's part in the events of his day to the exclusion of Ó Neill's part, is answered by both McManus (72) and Breatnach (142-3), who point out that Lughaidh himself anticipated this criticism by explaining his function as historian to Ó Domhnaill. Morgan's paper, indeed, though contributing much to our knowledge of Aodh Ruadh, is affected by what appears to be a strange imbalance. His starting-point, as emphasised by the title of his paper, is that the *Beatha* 'at many points is a gross misrepresentation of the historical record' (2). By the end of his lecture, however, this starting-point has fizzled to the mere conclusion that the complementary sources (English and Spanish state papers) provide 'a more rounded picture of Red Hugh's life' (35). Could it really be otherwise? And how impartial is any historical source of this period?

Solutions to the vexed question of the use of language in *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh* are also proposed by various speakers. Mac Craith – on his way to reading the *Beatha* as a propaganda exercise dating to

1627 – does not help his case by stating that ‘the artificially inflated language of the *Beatha*, allied to the fact that it survives in only one authoritative manuscript, suggests that it was the intention of Ó Domhnaill’s supporters to have the text translated into Latin and published on the Continent as part of their propaganda’ (46). It is not clear how Dr Mac Craith could have put such a construction on the combination of language and textual history, yet it would seem that his is the only contribution to concentrate in any way on the important question of for whom the *Beatha* might have been written.

Breatnach appears on surer ground when he suggests that the ‘concentrated archaism’ of *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh* was cultivated by Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh ‘probably out of deference to the remembered tastes of its noble subject’ (146). McManus, summing up an able analysis of the language of the *Beatha*, comes closer still to the heart of the matter when he identifies the model used by Lughaidh, in which to celebrate his hero and patron, as that closest to hand ‘in which he found the heroes of early Irish literature celebrated, viz. Old and Middle Irish saga’ (73). We still, however, have to deal with the assumption that Lughaidh had some choice in the matter of language: it may well be that he had no more choice in the matter than a fully-fledged bardic poet would have had, and that he wrote in the only style appropriate to his subject.

Several contributors refer to the contrast between passages from *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh* and the form in which they occur in the Annals of the Four Masters. Ó Muraíle (112) goes so far as to propose the publication of ‘a parallel edition of *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh* and the corresponding portions of the Annals of the Four Masters’ and provides a useful (albeit ‘very general’) concordance of these passages (120). Breatnach’s paper presents the reader with a sample selection of six corresponding passages from both sources and these are analysed and contrasted from the point of view of language and style and of content (129–46). With so much common ground in the subject matter addressed by the speakers, one wonders why no one thought of speaking on Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh’s poetry in the *Iomarbhágh*. McManus, in a footnote (56), points to evidence in one of his poems for Lughaidh’s acquaintance with Irish texts and manuscripts of some antiquity. This reinforces Carney’s virtually throw-away remark (*The Irish bardic poet*, 10–11) concerning Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, that ‘he must have read a considerable amount of Old Irish.’

A study of Lughaidh's poetry is, then, an omission from the seminar, all the more so given that one of the speakers, Marc Caball, opted instead to discuss the poetry of Eóghan Ruadh and Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird. An encouraging aspect of this paper is the benefit that Dr Caball has derived from a dissertation on Fearghal Óg, to which I gave him access some years ago; that this has gone unacknowledged is a mere oversight. It is disappointing, however, that this contribution fails to connect with the subject of the seminar, thereby eschewing participation in the dialectic that is such a feature of this publication. Much of Caball's attention is directed to what he describes (83) as an interrogation of the work of these poets as he tries to discern in them any hint of Ó Néill's faith and fatherland ideology. When they come up short in this regard, the author is puzzled (95), and he proceeds to offer a lame explanation to a puzzle of his own creation.

Behind these papers (that of Caball excepted) lies the figure of the editor of *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, an tAthair Pól Breathnach, whose work was published posthumously, assembled by Colm Ó Lochlainn. An tAthair Breathnach was blessed in having so clean a manuscript as 23 P 24 from which to edit his text. Ó Muraíle's welcome article points out the important detail that, for the most part, the translation in that publication is not Breathnach's but rather Fr Denis Murphy's, from his flawed edition of 1895 (108).

Finally, one may make the small point that the question of the spelling of personal names in a publication such as this must present a huge headache for any editor. Where authors such as Morgan and Caball, uncomfortable with Early Modern Irish, may prefer to use hybrid or anglicised forms, or forms sanctioned by the usage of English state papers, such versions sit uneasily beside the correct forms used by scholars of Irish. Perhaps the solution might be to use the Irish form in all cases, thus avoiding the likes of 'Conn McCalvach' (4), and 'Tibbot ne Long Burke' (24). This is not altogether the same as Caball's 'Ruaidhrí O'Donnell', for here the author fails to recognise the correct forename, even when presented with it in a line of poetry (88).

PÁDRAIG Ó MACHÁIN

*Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies*

*Ireland and Europe in the early Middle Ages. Texts and transmission.*  
 Edited by Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter. Dublin,  
 Four Courts Press, 2002. 400 pp.

THE latest volume in the series *Ireland and Europe in the early Middle Ages*, devoted to ‘texts and transmission’, approaches this broad theme appropriately from a variety of angles and with recourse to a number of disciplines, including art history, linguistics, legal history and (in one instance) archaeology. The articles in this volume cover texts written in Irish, Latin and Welsh, a choice of languages that reflects the bilingual background of intellectual life in early medieval Ireland, and the sometimes multilingual environments in which Insular scholars operated. The present review will restrict itself to a selection of articles concerned primarily with Irish texts and Irish language.

Alexander Falileyev, ‘Beyond historical linguistics: a case for multilingualism in early Wales’ (6-15), considers the ‘multilingual character of the medieval Celtic or Insular scriptoria’, where texts in Old Welsh were written. Multilingualism is proposed as the explanation for peculiarities of orthography found in early vernacular texts which would otherwise be accounted for by ‘postulating new rules and exceptions’. The limitations of linguistic analysis are illustrated by an examination of two entries in Welsh texts – the tenth-century *De raris fabulis* and the late eighth- or ninth-century *Surexit Memorandum* – that are explicable only when their non-Welsh character is considered. A hapax legomenon in the second text, *nouidligi*, normally rendered as a Welsh adjective meaning ‘newly calved’, is postulated by Falileyev to have been a borrowing from Irish *nuidlech* ‘milch-cow’, inserted into the Old Welsh text by a bilingual scribe. Postulating multilingual scriptoria may have far-reaching implications for studying the transmission of texts in the early medieval period, since it challenges the prevalent notion that vernacular glosses testify to a manuscript’s origin or provenance.

Staying on the topic of multilingualism, Kevin Murray’s article, ‘Some observations upon the treatment of non-Irish placenames in medieval Irish manuscripts’ (37-44), lists various occurrences of such names that begin with the letter A alone, which he discusses under five categories (e.g. placenames with Irish adjectival suffixes, placenames in metrical works). The author justifies the inclusion of this article in the present volume by drawing attention to the potential that linguistic forms preserved in these placenames may have for

dating texts. But no systematic attempt is made to illustrate how this potential can be tapped. Hence, in spite of some interesting observations, one is left uninformed as to the full significance of the accumulative evidence. A follow-up study of placenames beginning with the remaining letters of the alphabet could yield a useful catalogue.

The opening article of a section entitled 'Texts' is by Francis John Byrne, '*Ut Beda boat: Cuanu's signature?*' (45-67). Byrne attempts to show that Cuanu, a chronicler to whom thirteen entries in the Annals of Ulster are attributed, was the source for several entries in the Annals of Tigernach and Inisfallen. He proposes to identify citations from Cuanu's work by means of a distinct mark: an alliterated clause of attribution combining the name of an authority with a verb (usually of speaking). The best example for such a clause is *ut Beda boat*, where the choice of the rare Latin verb *boare* 'to cry out' indicates deliberate alliteration with the name Beda. Some of the other examples adduced, such as *Eusebius ait* or *ut Orosius*, are less clear-cut since the pairing of *ait* and *ut* with the names of authorities is quite common, especially in canonical texts. The reason for crediting Cuanu with penning these passages is that 'none of the references to him contain the alliterative device ... in it we have as it were his signature'. The question mark in the article's title suggests that its author did not find this argument compelling.

The article by Martin McNamara, 'Apocryphal infancy narratives: European and Irish transmission' (123-47), is ideal for inclusion in this volume since it encompasses all the main themes and sub-themes addressed in its title. The author examines in great detail the transmission of non-canonical accounts of the birth and upbringing of the Virgin Mary and of Christ. An equal amount of attention is devoted to the Irish and continental transmission of these texts, but the author's ultimate goal is to establish which traditions were known in Ireland and when. He concludes that some infancy narratives reached Ireland as early as the seventh century, but others were not known there before the twelfth. This article could be said also to serve as a concise introduction to the Irish and Latin infancy narratives which McNamara and Jean-Daniel Kaestli and others have edited for volumes 13-14 of the *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum* (Turnhout 2001).

Damian Bracken, in a very well-researched and original article, 'The Fall and the law in early Ireland' (147-69), examines repeated references to the Fall in early Irish law. It emerges from this study that theological interpretations of the Fall (both Irish and Patristic)

contributed to the manner in which certain legal principles were perceived, and to the shaping of fundamental legal concepts such as free will, malevolent intent, and alertness to the consequences of one's actions. Bracken shows that despite the fact that Irish legal prescriptions developed independently of Christian reasoning, later clerical comments are important in their own right, since they can reveal a great deal about their writers and their use of Patristic literature.

Fergus Kelly, 'Texts and transmissions: the law-texts' (230-42), characterises his contribution as a 'brief account of the transmission of the Irish law texts'. Brevity notwithstanding, however, the topic is approached through a broad prism which anchors aspects of transmission alongside distinct historical issues such as the authorship of legal tracts, Christian influences, and the role of the legal families. Some important points are made concerning the complexities that arise from variant readings that law texts accumulated through the course of their transmission. Kelly argues that 'in general, it seems that there was a single fixed version of each Old Irish law-text,' and that in the case of the different versions of the *Heptads*, for example, the core text can be retrieved: '... copyists were thus at liberty to update spelling and to omit material, but custom evidently did not permit alteration of the text itself'. It is interesting to note that in this respect vernacular law may have differed from Irish canon law. The compilers of the *Hibernensis* (c. 700) openly declared that they added, omitted and altered material that was available to them, some of which was indigenous.

The legal-historical angle is pursued further by Robin Chapman Stacey, "'Speaking in riddles'" (243-48), an article which focuses on a specific legal tract, *Gúbretha Caratniad* 'False judgements of Caratnia'. This text is written in the form of a dialogue between Conn Cétchathach and Caratnia the judge who appears to make false judgements but is in fact making concessions to exceptional circumstances. Based on theories on Shamanism in early Ireland, Chapman Stacey argues that the tale with which the tract opens casts Caratnia in the role of the Shaman who is thrust across the boundaries between worlds by means of a violent removal from society. According to the author, his wisdom is portrayed as being of an otherworldly nature, manifested in his ability to embrace a judgement that can be simultaneously true and false. In support of this she notes a few cases in which Caratnia appears to be speaking in what are termed 'riddles' of the 'paradox riddles' variety. Chapman Stacey suggests that the tract may pertain to a genre centred around the

conceit of a false-judging judge, and that it might have represented a statement on behalf of the Irish judicial class concerned to uphold its traditional power in the wake of attempts by kings to consolidate judicial power under their own authority.

It remains to consider a further article touching on the topic of legal history which is that by Patricia Kelly, 'The Rule of Patrick: textual affinities' (284-95). This appears to be the only modern study (not an edition) to be devoted entirely to the eighth- or ninth-century *Riagail Pátraic* 'Rule of Patrick'. As such it is a pioneering work. Using mainly stylistic evidence, Kelly proposes to classify the text as a *cáin*, and proceeds to reinforce the theory put forward by J. G. O'Keefe and later upheld by D. A. Binchy, which identified the 'Rule of Patrick' with the *Cáin Phátraic*, promulgated for the first time in 738. The article also discusses the relationship between two short fragments in the Book of Lismore and in the Leabhar Breac which appear to have formed a part of the Rule. On the basis of linguistic evidence Kelly concludes that the Leabhar Breac fragment is later than that in the Book of Lismore and that it can be dated to the Middle Irish period. She argues against P. J. Corish in maintaining that the Leabhar Breac fragment 'may represent a Middle Irish reworking of an earlier version of the text, possibly its Latin original'. The notion that a Latin original underlies the Irish is based on a Latin penitential prescription found in the Leabhar Breac.

In the final article for mention in this review Peter Smith, 'Early Irish historical verse: the evolution of a genre' (326-41), traces the evolution of early Irish historical verse from the seventh to the twelfth century. Smith proposes that historical verse transformed gradually from versified pedigrees and similar accounts to a synthetically merged type that combined the Irish tradition of *scéla* with a Christian historiographical tradition. His approach to the classification of historical verse is noteworthy for the manner in which it minimises the risk of anachronism: the five categories of verse that he postulated to serve as the basis for his investigation are based on terminology derived from Middle Irish poetry.

ROY FLECHNER

*Wadham College, Oxford*



*Old Irish wisdom attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria: an edition of Bríathra Flainn Fhína maic Ossu.* Colin A. Ireland. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 205. Tempe, Arizona, 1999. xii + 244 pp. + 1 plate.

THE corpus of Irish gnomic literature, a considerable one, has been edited piecemeal by different scholars over the past century, but never systematically or thoroughly. The present work attempts to impose some order on this chaos by identifying and editing as a single collection a group of some two hundred and ninety maxims that share certain features of style, syntax and content. Prominent among these features are the compressing of the maxims into three words (e.g. *Ad-cota léigind libru* 'Latin learning gives rise to books'), the arranging into groups of maxims that begin with the same word (e.g. *Ad-cota, Dligid* etc.), and the frequent use of alliteration and even rhyme. While identifying such maxims as a single collection, the editor admits that it cannot be reconstructed in its original order and sequence. The problem, he argues, stems from the survival of at least three recensions, each of which derives independently from the hypothetical archetype. His solution to these difficulties is to choose one manuscript (Dublin, RIA MS 23 N 10) as a template for the order of sections and the sequence of maxims, while adopting an eclectic approach to culling the best readings from among thirty-three manuscript witnesses and normalising their spelling to accord with the usage of classical Old Irish. With such editorial burdens to carry, it hardly comes as a surprise that the edition's smallest section is the actual text (and facing translation), which is outweighed by a substantial introduction and an even lengthier set of notes, as well as five appendices giving editions of related texts.

A novel feature is the editor's declaration (in the foreword) that he has in mind an audience not only of Celticists but also general medievalist, notably Anglo-Saxonists. The reason for wishing to involve the latter group stems from the attribution – found in certain manuscripts – of these maxims to Flann Fína mac Ossu, whom Irish literary tradition venerated as a prolific scholar in both Irish and Latin and whom most modern scholars identify as King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685-715). To have an actual work composed in Irish by King Aldfrith would certainly vindicate the former and excite the latter. The editor, while clearly enthusiastic about this possibility, is too good a scholar to deny his own linguistic evidence which points

to a date well after Aldfrith's time, in the second half of the eighth century or even later. With one exception, the selection of linguistic features adduced to show 'age' (34) is consonant with classical Old Irish. Indeed, one such form, *dídin* ('protection') is dubiously interpreted as the acc. sg. of *díden* and the latter erroneously identified as a form which 'became obsolete early and was often replaced by *dítíu*, n.f.>'; in reality *dítíu* is the older form, and so it is unclear to which of the two paradigms *dídin* belongs.

The editor also addresses the questions of authorial intent and intended audience. His verdict on the first is that these maxims 'are not the immediate product of the Church, for they do not convey a theological or religious message' (13). However, that argument is hard to accept given the abundance of evidence that early Irish ecclesiastics did not confine their activities to theology or religion. Indeed, one whole section (§7) comprises in its first half an encomium on the temporal and spiritual benefits of learning, to which is juxtaposed in the second half a listing of the corresponding disadvantages of the military life (*láechdacht*). Such obvious characterisations likely reflect the prejudices of a committed ecclesiastic rather than simply 'an ecclesiastically educated redactor' (48). On the question of intended audience, the editor plausibly suggests one that was 'literate' and 'secular'.

Within the edition the main text, translation and notes are of high quality and readily accessible even to those unfamiliar with Irish. One might question a few translations, notably §5.9 *Tosach crábuid cosmailius* ('Imitation is the basis of devotion'), where *crábud* properly means 'Christian piety'; §1.48 where *léigind* is not merely 'learning' but 'Latin learning'; and §6.84 *Ferr fróech forbbu* ('Better the heather than fighting'), where the intended meaning may be that it is better to have poor land because one is less likely to incur disputes over it. At the same time the editor has addressed the needs of Celticists by providing a clear apparatus of manuscript variants at the bottom of each page, a glossarial index, and diplomatic editions (and collations) of manuscript witnesses representative of the three recensions. Overall the present work is a major improvement on earlier editions and a valuable contribution to the study of wisdom literature in medieval Ireland.

PÁDRAIG P. Ó NÉILL

*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

*Dr Bedell and Mr King: the making of the Irish Bible.* Terence McCaughey. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2001. viii + 63 pp.

THIS attractive publication, in which is expanded somewhat the content of the Dublin Institute's 1996 statutory lecture, is in itself a fine illustration of interdisciplinary research. In the case in question, happily, both branches of learning, Celtic and Divinity, reside within a single author. As the latter makes clear, his study is concerned not primarily with the process or principles behind the translation of Bedell's Bible, or even with the text itself, 'but rather with the confluence of persons and events which led to its being undertaken, with particular resources which were to hand and even more with the ideological perspectives and presuppositions which informed the minds both of the promoter of the translation and of those who obstructed him in the overall project of which this translation was a major component' (5-6). Nevertheless, the translation process is, in effect, discussed in the context of the Bishop's early training in that early seventeenth-century hothouse of biblical textual examination that was Emmanuel College, Cambridge, whose contribution as a newly-fledged Puritan, yet Conformist, institution to the completion of the Authorised Version McCaughey duly notes. According to the author, this was one of the things which ideally fitted Bedell to be Provost of Trinity College, an institution whose role in Ireland, like the progress of the Protestant cause there, is reported to have been a source of disappointment to the first Stuart monarch.

Bedell's Hebraic and biblical scholarship was born and nurtured at Emmanuel and he appears to have cultivated it thereafter during his years as an East Anglian clergyman. Another factor in favour of his appointment as Provost was the experience gained from having been chaplain to King James's ambassador in Venice during the turbulent years when that state embarked on a brief flirtation with Protestantism. The Venetian years, as the work demonstrates, had not only schooled Bedell in the 'wiles of Rome', but had offered him other rare opportunities through contacts he would never have made at home. He was able, for example, to hone his Hebraic skills through contacts with the charismatic Rabbi Leone da Modena, Talmudic scholar, 'musician, translator, poet, alchemist, and compulsive gambler', as well as bringing with him from that city a copy of Giovanni Diodati's annotated Italian translation of the Bible,

published in Geneva in 1603. This was to play a central role in the translation process at Kilmore and, McCaughey reminds us, as shown by N. J. A. Williams, had a demonstrable effect on the text finally approved by Bedell for translation into Irish. Another companion of the Italian period was the excommunicated Padre Paolo Sarpi. Together they undertook a number of linguistic projects: Bedell learned Italian from Sarpi, made him an English grammar and with his help published a translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Italian. Herein lay an excellent apprenticeship for the Irish translation projects which Bedell was later to pursue. It may also have been the case that the possibilities of wholesale conversion which seemed to lie open to Protestant interests in Venice during those years helped shape Bedell's pastoral approach – radically different from that of Archbishop Ussher, as we are shown here – to the Catholic natives of Ireland.

The contrasting approach of these two eminent churchmen is portrayed in the study as an outcome of their origins and family backgrounds, the Archbishop, like many of his class, being unwilling to see the native Irish gain acceptance and advancement in ecclesiastical and national governance. Both men, as well as others of the English and Anglo-Irish, made use of Gaelic men of letters for their own purposes, but it was this basic difference in the backgrounds of the two clerics which led, as McCaughey demonstrates, to a signal difference in the way in which they employed their Gaelic helpers. While Ussher's collaborators gleaned and translated materials deemed suitable for propagandist works such as the Archbishop's *Antiquitates*, it was with the sole intention of bringing the native Irish within the fold of Ussher's church that Bedell, in turn, set his Gaelic scholars to work producing Irish versions of scriptural and other religious material. In this way the Archbishop's work had much in common with that of the learned Franciscans of Ireland, for both groups, though working in opposition, were creating lasting monuments in the Irish language. Contrasts between the products of the two schools are instructively made in the course of the study: while the Franciscans produced a version of the Rule of St Clare for the Sisters at the Bethlehem Convent in a 'high register', Bedell's aim was, if working in the same register, towards a 'plain style'. The area of stylistics in relation to the various religious texts produced during the period, though beyond the scope of a brief treatment such as this, is one which will bear much further examination and, since Dr McCaughey has promised us a further paper exclusively on

the text (57), such an account could most conveniently find a place there.

What is attempted in the treatment under review has been the presentation of a 'picture of a complex of persons' engaged for various ideological reasons in the use of the Irish language, and, especially, of that beleaguered band of lettered men now bereft of their traditional patronage. McCaughey refers to the altered allegiance of various members of the learned families, Ó Cionga and others, in the Midlands and traces connections between these and Franciscans working in the area who, for their part, dedicated their learning and skills to the service of the Gaelic cause and the Catholic Church. Two branches of the Dillon family in this region (for whom a genealogical table is provided at the front of the booklet) constitute the main link between the two groups, with family members prominent on both sides of the religious divide, among them Mother Cisly together with her Poor Clares Convent, who figure prominently. (The only three photographs featured relate to the site of this convent and include the commemorative plaque – a rather forlorn-looking block inscribed in English only.) It is no doubt as a result of the cursory nature of the account provided in such a brief study that the picture fails to strike one as a coherent whole, but rather as the story of a Bible and its translators on the one hand, and various other supernumeraries engaged in separate tasks, similar or dissimilar, on the other. There is thankfully more to come, however. McCaughey is undertaking a study of the Irish text not only in its printed form but also of the neglected manuscript, and he has likewise signalled his intention of publishing results of further study of the significance of Diodati's work for Bedell's text, although perhaps the latter study merely constitutes an aspect of the former. However that may be, the Dr McCaughey is, of all scholars, eminently qualified to produce a definitive study on virtually every aspect both of Bedell's Bible and of its translation, and it is greatly to be hoped that he will give himself free rein in his research.

SEOSAMH WATSON

*University College Dublin*

*Studies in Irish hagiography: saints and scholars.* Edited by John Carey, Máire Herbert and Pádraig Ó Riain. Dublin 2001. xii + 418 pp.

THIS volume records proceedings of an international conference on hagiography held in April 1997 which was organised by the Department of Early and Medieval Irish, University College Cork, as part of the commemoration of the 1400th anniversary of the death of Colum Cille. The volume is divided into six sections: I. The Columban tradition (1-62); II. Traditions of other Irish saints (63-92); III. Irish saints and Brittany (93-171); IV. Irish saints' lives in continental Europe (172-236); V. Approaches to the study of Irish hagiography (237-88); VI. Hagiographical scholarship: from seventeenth-century beginnings to contemporary projects (289-355). The volume includes a bibliography of both primary and secondary sources (357-92) and an Index (393-418). The editors are to be congratulated for making these proceedings available to the wider scholarly community. The volume consists of some twenty-four contributions and the following are comments on a small selection of these.

Máire Herbert's contribution, 'The *Vita Columbae* and Irish hagiography: a study of *Vita Cainnechi*' (31-40), discusses the contents of the Codex Salmanticensis version of *Vita Cainnechi*. This version belongs to a group of Lives which, as Herbert points out (31-2), are assigned by Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish saints' Lives* (Oxford 1991) (see in particular pp. 297-339), to an exemplar written in the period 750-850. (It may be mentioned in passing that the orthographical evidence on which Sharpe's dating is based has been brought into question by the present writer in 'The significance of the orthography of Irish proper names in the *Codex Salmanticensis*' *Ériu* 55 (2005) 85-101.) Evidence for a *terminus a quo* of c. 700 and a *terminus ante quem* of the early ninth century for *Vita Cainnechi* is discussed on pp. 32-3 and 36. The saintly portrayal of Cainnech, it is argued, can be compared with the portrayal of Colum Cille in Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*, from which it emerges that Cainnech appears 'not as a second Columba, but rather as a superior alternative' (34). Herbert's study of this Life establishes that, as with many medieval texts, contemporary circumstances played an important role in its composition. Cainnech's hagiographical association with the Southern Uí Néill king Colmán Bec, it is suggested (37), may have had contemporary resonance for an author writing in the second

half of the eighth century. Herbert discusses the critical attitude of the Life toward the Columban community with regard to political events in Southern Uí Néill lands in this period, and other counter-Columban episodes (38-9). On the basis of the historical context outlined, a date of compilation between 766 and 780 is proposed (39). One reason why the Life is also of literary significance is that it 'not only testifies to the presence of V[ita] C[olumbae] in Ireland in the second half of the eighth century, it also testifies to the development of the genre of hagiography in Ireland about a century after the earliest works were compiled. It shows Irish hagiography drawing on exemplars from within its own tradition, and developing its own rhetorical strategies, while also retaining generic conventions adopted from external models during the seventh century' (40).

John Carey, 'Varieties of supernatural contact in the Life of Adamnán' (49-62), argues that the episodes in the Life of Adamnán pertaining to its hero's encounters with unearthly beings are closely interrelated, and that they convey a specific message. The episodes in question are discussed in detail, as are relevant comparanda from other texts. It is argued that Adamnán is explicitly or implicitly compared with his predecessor, Colum Cille, and that 'these stories about Adamnán bear witness to an intriguing body of lore regarding Colum Cille: the latter appears as a visionary open to contact with the angelic and diabolical realms, and with the more equivocal representatives of the native supernatural' (61). In contrast to Colum Cille, however, comparable exploits are denied to Adamnán in the latter's Life. Carey argues that traditions regarding Colum Cille's relations with several supernatural beings, who were neither angels nor devils, and to whom the saint's attitude is one of interest rather than antagonism, may have become something of an embarrassment to the Columban *familia* (61-2). In contrast, Adamnán's encounters with supernatural beings 'serve to distance him – and, by implication, the other heads of the Columban *familia* – from this *risqué* side of the patron saint ... Adamnán, when not dealing with God Himself, faces the beyond with the uncomplicated hostility of an exorcist' (62). A regrettable feature of this contribution is that the many items of text quoted are in translation only.

Edel Bhreathnach's contribution is entitled 'The genealogies of Leinster as a source for local cults' (250-67). The author states (251): 'A high concentration of information about the dynasties of a particular area, or the inclusion of information additional to the genealogical lists, reflect the interests of these dynasties and probably of the

churches or learned schools in which the material was collated and committed to writing. Allusions in the genealogies to particular saints' cults and to the dynastic and ecclesiastical interests of certain churches undoubtedly reflect claims which influenced the content of the secular genealogies.' The reader is presented in this paper with a thorough discussion and analysis of sources relevant to Leinster. Unfortunately the recording and translation of material from primary sources are not always accurate. In the translation of a section of text cited from M. A. O'Brien, *Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae* 43, we find (253) 'to Áth mBithlann' (cf. 'as far as Áth mBithlann', p. 254) and 'to Féith nEchaille'. *Áth* and *féith* are not neuter nouns and should not be followed by nasalisation. (The translations are based on *co Ath mBithlann* and *co Feith nEchaille* where nasalisation is present because the forms are in the accusative after *co*.) There are problems with other placenames also. For instance we find reference to *Sceith Chruaich* (253), purportedly taken from Rawlinson B. 502, f. 121a (= *CGH* 43). The reading *Sceith*, however, as indicated in the variants in *CGH*, is from the Book of Lecan (confusion between Rawlinson B. 502 and variant readings with regard to other matter can be found on p. 258, n. 36). Rawlinson B. 502 reads *Scoith*, which also happens to be in the dative (preceded by the preposition *ó*). The correct nominative form of this placename as found in the Rawlinson manuscript is given in the Index of Placenames to *CGH* (763) (*Scoth Cruaich*). The correct nominative form of the other names mentioned above can also be found in this Index. In the Index to the volume under review, however, erroneous nominative forms of the same placenames are given as headwords.

In 'The reproductions of Irish saints' (278-88), Joseph Falaky Nagy begins by discussing the relationship between St Brigid and various female and male devotees as depicted in stories from early Brigidine legend and the means by which the devotees are drawn closer to their saintly mentor. These stories are to be related, according to Nagy, to a fascination with the prospect of nonbiological reproduction which emerged in Christian thought 'in conjunction with the rise of the cult of the saint, a teacher and model by whose power the identity of both the community and the individual could be profoundly transformed and revalidated' (280-81). Examples of the relationship between saint and devotee and their significance in the case of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* and Patrician material are also discussed.

The title of D. J. Thornton's article is '*Vita Sancti Carthagi* in the seventeenth century' (317-36). Among the matters discussed in this



paper is the relationship of the copy of the Latin Life of St Carthage, or Mochuta, patron of Lismore, Co. Waterford, in the NUI Maynooth MS RB201 (17th cent.) with other Latin copies of the saint's Life. Arising from a detailed examination (324-29), Thornton points out that this relationship requires important revision. According to the author, the Lives of the saint can be divided into four groups, namely (1) a longer Latin Life (LLatin), (2) a shorter Latin or Office Life, (3) a late Middle Irish Life (LMI) and (4) an Early Modern Irish Life (EMI) (318). She states that all copies known to her of the Lives in groups 2-4 have been collated and that comparison of the four existing versions 'suggests that all descend from a LLatin original' (329). It is then stated that there is evidence which would suggest that the original LLatin was probably composed shortly before 1215 (329), but the reader is simply informed that 'detailed argument for this date will be presented elsewhere' (330, n. 46). It is a pity that this argument is only presented in brief summary form here, especially since one immediately wonders how a late Middle Irish Life could possibly descend from such a text. Questions as to what exactly is intended by Middle Irish in this contribution are also raised by the statement that 'LMI now survives only in two seventeenth-century copies, but is likely to reflect the fifteenth-century fashion for writing in Irish that produced the saints' Lives in the Book of Lismore, Laud 610, and the Book of Fermoy' (330). Does this reflect a long-outdated view of what constitutes Middle Irish (cf. Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge' in K. McCone *et al.*, *Stair na Gaeilge* (Maigh Nuad 1994) 221-333 (at p. 221))? One would also like to know how the author defines Early Modern Irish. Needless to say, these matters have serious implications for the author's analysis of the relationship between the different Latin and Irish versions of the saint's Life. We are advised that there are seven copies of EMI dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and a fragment dating from the seventeenth century (318). It may be added here that in his edition of the earlier Irish Life of Mochuta, Charles Plummer (*Bethada náem nÉirenn* I (Oxford 1922) 291-9) included a passage of text found in only one of the two extant manuscript versions, viz. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 2324-2340, ff. 151a-157b, written in the seventeenth century. This passage comprises §6 and (with the exception of the final sentence) §7 of his edition and, according to Plummer (p. 291, n. 18), 'is added in Br. on an inserted slip (f. 150 bis) in a smaller but probably identical hand, with a mark of reference to this place'. It may be pointed out that this passage belongs,

in fact, to the later Irish Life (cf. Patrick Power (ed.), *Life of St. Declan of Ardmore and Life of St Mochuda of Lismore* (London 1914) 76-8).

CAOIMHÍN BREATNACH

*University College Dublin*

*Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2000*. Air a dheasachadh le Colm Ó Baoill agus Nancy R. McGuire. Obar Dheathain. 2002. 312 pp.

THIS volume, containing papers read at the *Scottish Gaelic Studies 2000* conference which was held at the University of Aberdeen 2-4 August 2000, is divided into three sections: 1. *An Cànan* (1-99); 2. *An Litreachas* (101-81); and 3. *An Eachdraidh* (183-284). It ends with a bibliography (285-308), a list of abbreviations (308-9), and a list of the other papers read at the conference but not published here (311-12). Among articles in Section 1 is that by Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, “‘*Siubhadaibh a bhalachaibh! Tha an suirbhidh a-nis ullamh agaibh*’”: mar a dh’éirich do *-bh*, *-mh* gun chudrom ann an Gàidhlig Alba’ (61-74). The author discusses *-bh* and *-mh* preceded by *a* and *i* in unstressed syllables in Scottish Gaelic, focusing on the realisation of these features as /u/ and /i/ in such an environment. In the course of a detailed study it is pointed out *inter alia* that the situation is much more complex than one has been led to believe by previous scholars, most notably T. F. O’Rahilly. Included in Section 2 is a contribution by Maolcholaim Scott, ‘Politics and poetry in mid-eighteenth century Argyll: *Tuirseach andiugh críocha Gaoidhiol*’ (149-62), in which the elegy of the title, addressed to the second Duke of Argyll, is discussed. The author considers both the earlier and contemporary influences on the poem and argues, for instance, that the elegy reflects familiarity with metropolitan writers in English such as James Thomson. The poem is edited and translated (154-61).

Sharon J. Arbuthnot’s contribution to the volume is ‘A context for Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair’s *Moladh air deagh bhod*’ (163-70). The subject matter of the short poem in question here has offended the sensibilities of some, a fact which is also observable with matter of a similar nature in Irish. Arbuthnot discusses the poem’s affinities with the praise tradition. She discusses six other poems from Scotland, Ireland and Wales which deal in main or in part with the

sexual organs and which make some use of the conventions of established verse traditions. As to the general relevance of these poems, she observes that the composers' excursions into earthy matters served an entertainment purpose, but that this does not address their use of praise formulae (166). She suggests that 'by introducing the conventions of praise-poetry to high-impact "low" subject matter, the men responsible for these poems were rather deflating the tradition' (167). It is also observed that discussion of material of this kind can only be partial until all such material is properly edited (168). The present reviewer ('The transmission of *Ceasacht Inghine Guile*: some observations' *Éigse* 32 (2000) 138-45) has pointed to certain obstacles, both editorial and scribal, placed in the path of those seeking similar material in Irish tradition, and several others could be cited. A parallel between the subject matter discussed in the latter article and some poems discussed by Arbuthnot (165) is the use of euphemistic terminology in reference to sexual organs (on which see also Brian Ó Cuív, 'The romance of Mis and Dubh Ruis' *Celtica* 2 (1954) 325-33 (at p. 327, n. 5)).

Among the contributions in Section 3 is that by David Dumville entitled 'Ireland and North Britain in the earlier Middle Ages: contexts for *Míniugud Senchasa Fher nAlban*' (185-211), in which the reader is presented with a new edition and detailed analysis of this text. *Míniugud Senchasa Fer nAlban* was previously edited by John Bannerman in *Studies in the history of Dalriada* (Edinburgh 1974) 27-68. The principal manuscript witness used by Bannerman was TCD H. 2. 7 (1298). He also cited variants from the Book of Lecan and the Book of Ballymote and provided an edition of the text written by An Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh. Dumville states that his reason for providing the reader with a new text proceeds from his view that Bannerman's text 'serves nobody's interest' (200). The text presented here, however, 'is not yet a critical text' and 'is essentially derivative of Bannerman's edition in that it retains the form of an edited transcript of his principal witness, the copy in Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 1298' (200). Surprisingly, Dumville then states that although he has collated other copies, he has not re-collated the principal witness (200). It is even more surprising to find in the light of this that there are instances in which Bannerman's text is altered without any indication whatsoever. For example, at §13 of the present edition (201) we find *immorra* instead of Bannerman's *autem* (p. 41, l. 19). According to Bannerman's edition (p. 43), *autem* is simply omitted in the other two manuscript witnesses, thus indicating that there

is no manuscript authority for *immorra*. Consultation with the principal witness confirms Bannerman's reading. The manuscript contains the abbreviation for *autem* and not *immorra*. It may be pointed out here that although *autem* and *immorra* are synonymous, they are of course abbreviated in different ways (as indeed are *autem* and *vero*). It would appear, although acknowledgement is lacking, that *immorra* here and the readings *mater* (instead of *máthair*) and *Ceníuil* (instead of *ceníul*), at p. 202 (§§ 29, 33), derive from the review of Bannerman's work by Donnchadh Ó Corráin in *Celtica* 13 (1980) 168-82 (at pp. 169-70). On the other hand, Dumville follows Bannerman in a number of unnecessary editorial additions, e.g. lenition of the initial of *fer* in *míniugud senchasa f<h>er nAlban*, p. 201, §1, repeated in the title and throughout the contribution. The decision by Dumville to use angle-brackets instead of square brackets to denote editorial additions has also resulted in a number of cumbersome readings such as *dá s<h>ec<h>ts<h>ess* (at pp. 202, §44, 203, §§50, 52). Furthermore, comparison of Dumville's text with that of Bannerman indicates that Dumville also uses angle-brackets in instances where, without any indication as to why or on what manuscript authority (if any), he has altered Bannerman's text. For example, at p. 201 §19, Dumville's text has the reading *E<chd>ach* (cf. *eoachach*, Bannerman, p. 42, l. 29). Elsewhere also this contribution might have been improved by the provision of more precise information about the nature of editorial intervention in the case of sources cited. For example, Dumville cites text from commentary on *Amra Coluim Chille* based on Whitley Stokes's 'The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille' *Revue Celtique* 20 (1899) 423-6, 'into whose text I have drawn some readings from *An Leabhar Breac*' (188). There is no indication as to what the readings from the *Leabhar Breac* are, or where exactly in this manuscript the relevant text is to be found.

Among other interesting articles in this section is that by David Findlay, 'Divine right and early modern Gaelic society' (243-55), who examines the origins of the divine right of kings and the development of political and religious theory based upon it and then explores the ideas of kingship within a selection of Gaelic poetry of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. The exploitation of the ideology of divine-right kingship by Gaelic Jacobite poets is also discussed.

CAOIMHÍN BREATNACH

*University College Dublin*

*Cumann Buan-Choimeádta na Gaeilge: tús an athréimnithe. Máirtín Ó Murchú. Cois Life Teo. 2001. 420 lch.*

AR an 29 Nollaig 1876, tháinig grúpa beag daoine le chéile ag 4 Bachelor's Walk, Baile Átha Cliath, 'to take the necessary steps for the formation of a Society for the Preservation and Cultivation of the Irish Language and Literature', faoi mar a deir taifead an chruinnithe (lch 14 anseo). Bryan O'Looney (Brian Ó Luanaigh), Ollamh le Gaeilge san Ollscoil Chaitliceach agus cainteoir dúchais, a bhí sa chathaoir. Bhí scoláire eile Gaeilge, P. W. Joyce (Pádraig Seoigh-each), ar chainteoir dúchais é chomh maith, i measc an naonúir a bhí i láthair, mar aon leis an Athair J. E. Nolan agus David Comyn (a bhí déanach d'fhorhmór an ghnótha). Murab ionann agus an chéad bheirt atá luaite, ba dhíograiseoirí Gaeilge iad Nolan agus Comyn nach raibh labhairt na teanga ar a dtoil acu. Daoine gradamúla sa phobal ab ea an chuid eile dá raibh i láthair: abhcóide, eagarthóir an nuachtáin *The Nation*, agus Ard-Shirriam Luimnigh san áireamh. Chinneadar ar 'The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language' a thabhairt orthu féin, teideal nár cuireadh Gaeilge air go dtí 1899, nuair a socraíodh ar 'Cumann Buan-Choimeádta na Gaedhilge'. B'é nós na linne gach gnó a dhéanamh trí Bhéarla, dar ndóigh. Sa bhliain 1877 ceapadh Diarmuid Mac Suibhne (J. J. McSweeney), leabharlannaí in Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann, mar Rúnaí ar an gCumann agus d'fhan an post sin aige go dtí 1914. Tháinig an Cúnta Pluincéad isteach sa bhliain 1884, agus bhí sé chun tosaigh go mór sa Chumann ina dhiaidh sin. Ach b'é an t-athrú ba shuaithinsí a tháinig ar an ngrúpa lárnach sa Chumann ná gur fhás scoilt go luath idir Nolan agus Comyn, a bhíodh ag obair as lámha a chéile, agus na bunaitheoirí eile. D'imigh an bheirt sin leo sa bhliain 1879, chuireadar tús foirmeálta le heagras nua, The Gaelic Union/Aontacht na Gaeilge, i mí Eanáir na bliana 1882 agus thugadar *Irisleabhar na Gaeilge* ar an saol i mí na Samhna 1882. Faoin mbliain 1886, áfach, bhí an Aontacht ag titim as a chéile agus fiacha troma orthu, ach mhair an tIrisleabhar go neamhspleách (faoi chúram Sheáin Phléimeann).

D'fhan an Cumann Buan-Choimeádta féin i mbun gnótha go dtí an bhliain 1916, nuair a ghabh cor na tíre lastuas díobh, ach tháinig borradh faoi ar feadh tamaill arís timpeall na bliana 1927, agus níor scoireadh go dtí 1941 é. Cumann lárnaíthe gan craobhacha áitiúla ab ea é a dhíríodh ar dhul i bhfeidhm ar na húdaráis chun nithe a bhaint amach ar son na teanga, go háirithe san oideachas, agus ar an

bhfoilsitheoireacht. Ní mór dúinn a chuimhneamh nach raibh aon áit ag an nGaeilge sa chóras oideachais go dtí sin agus gur beag leabhar a bhí i gcló inti. Bhí folúis mhóra le líonadh agus b'iad seo an chéad dream a thug faoi sin a dhéanamh. Tá cur síos mion ag Máirtín Ó Murchú sa leabhar seo ar an éacht a dheineadar ar son na teanga. Maidir leis an oideachas de, chuireadar aighneacht faoi bhráid Choimisinéirí an Oideachais Náisiúnta sa bhliain 1878 ag lorg aitheantais don Ghaeilge mar ábhar breise ar chlár na bunscolaíochta, rud a géilleadh go luath. Is suimiúil an t-eolas é go raibh 'Gaeilge óna n-óige ag mórán de na múinteoirí bunscoile; ag dhá mhíle nó breis díobh a d'áirigh an Cumann' (160). Sa bhliain chéanna sin cuireadh an meánoideachas in Éirinn ar bhonn reachtúil don chéad uair leis an Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, a bhunaigh bord stáit chun bheith i bhfeighil an chúraim. D'ullmhaigh an Cumann aighneacht eile agus fuairadar síniúcháin ó bhreis is daichead feisire de chuid na hÉireann i bParlaimint Westminster. Ghlac an rialtas leis an nGaeilge mar ábhar meánscoile, faoin ainm 'Celtic'. Bhí an Cumann gníomhach chomh maith maidir le teastais ábalta-chta do mhúinteoirí, íocaíochtaí do mhúinteoirí, etc. Dar ndóigh, ní raibh aon ábhar teagaisc ná léitheoireachta ar fáil go dtí sin, agus thosnaigh an Cumann ar phriméir agus téacsáí a fhoilsiú, cúram a bhí orthu ar feadh i bhfad. Gníomh tábhachtach eile ab ea an chomhdháil a d'eagraíodar sa bhliain 1882 chun caomhnú agus cur chun cinn na teanga a phlé. (Tugann Ó Murchú sliocht leis an socheolaí teanga Joshua Fishman (134 n. 2) ina n-aithnítear comhdhálacha dá leithéid mar chéim thábhachtach i mbunú gluaiseachtaí teanga.)

D'ainneoin na hoibre sin go léir tá an tuairim forleathan gur eagrais ar bheagán éifeachta ab ea an Cumann agus nár cuireadh tús ceart le hathréimniú na Gaeilge go dtí gur bunaíodh Conradh na Gaeilge sa bhliain 1893. Dheimhnigh teideal leabhair le Máirín Ní Mhuiríosa (*Réamhchonraitheoirí* (1968)) gur mar 'Réamh-Chonraitheoirí' a d'fhéachfaí siar ar an gCumann lenár linn féin, cé gur dheim sí féin a dícheall chun a bheith cothrom leo (2). In alt leis mar gheall ar Dháithí Coimín agus Aontacht na Gaeilge dúirt Breandán Ó Conaire: 'Cé go raibh beagán oibríthe dúthrachtacha ina measc, ba chineál club chultúrtha/shóisialta d'aicmí deisiúla áirithe – agus do dhaoine ar mhian leo an aicme sin a thaithiú – a bhí sa Chumann' (4). Deir Breatnach agus Ní Mhurchú (*Beathaisnéis a dó* (1992) 59) an méid seo a leanas mar gheall ar Dhiarmuid Mac Suibhne in alt a bhaineann lena mhac Pádraig Mac Suibhne: 'Bhí daoine eile a chuirfeadh an locht air faoina mhí-éifeachtaí a bhí an Cumann.' Ní tógtha ar na

húdair sin é, ós léir ó chuntas Mháirtín Uí Mhurchú gur thosaigh lucht na hAontachta an cháinseoireacht agus an bholscaireacht i gcoinne an Chumainn in aimsir na scoilte. I measc na modhanna oibre a bhí acu siúd bhí litreacha cáinte gan ainm a sheoladh go dtí na nuachtáin (75). Is cuspóir bunúsach é de chuid an leabhair seo deireadh a chur leis na míthuiscintí mar gheall ar thábhacht an Chumainn, agus an bonn a bhaint de mhiotais éagsúla ar tugadh creidiúint dóibh. Tá slánú déanta anseo ar chlú Dhiarmuda Mhic Shuibhne go háirithe.

Seans gurbh é an miotas ba mhó a ghreamaigh do lucht an Chumainn ná go rabhadar ar bheagán Gaeilge trí chéile. Tá scéal ag Canice Mooney in alt leis mar gheall ar an Athair Peadar Ó Laoire ag scríobh ‘to the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language for some Irish books – but the letter could not be understood, because it was written in Irish’ (4). B’ é Muiris Ó Droighneáin (*Taighde i gcomhair stair na litridheachta na Nua-Ghaedhilge ó 1882 anuas* (1936) 22) a chuir cosa faoin bpíosa ráflaíochta sin. Míníonn Ó Murchú gurbh é a bhí laistiar de ná tagairt (chruinn) ag Dáithí Coimín ina chomhfhreagras do litir i nGaeilge a sheol an tAthair Peadar go dtí na foilsitheoirí, muintir Gill, le hairgead as leabhair a bhí faighte aige uathu, agus aitheasc fada inti, dírithe ar an gCumann, mar gheall ar mhúineadh na teanga. Ní haon iontas é mearbhall a bheith ar mhuintir Gill, agus ní gá gur de bharr easpa Gaeilge é. Dearbhaítear anseo go raibh ‘ardchumas Gaeilge ag príomhchinnirí Chumann Buan-Choimeáda na Gaeilge’ (5). Dar ndóigh, is trí Bhéarla a dheintí gnó na hAontachta chomh maith, an fhaid ab ann don eagra sin, toisc gan cumas oibre trí Ghaeilge a bheith ag an mbeirt bhunaitheoirí.

Is miotas eile é a mbaintear an bonn de anseo gurbh éigean bob a bhualadh ar Pharlaimint Westminster chun an Ghaeilge a chur ar chlár na meánscoileanna nuair a bhí Acht an Oideachais Idirmheánaigh á phlé sa bhliain 1878. De réir an chuntais atá tugtha ag údair éagsúla is amhlaidh a mhol Ó Conchúir Donn, feisire de chuid na hÉireann, ‘Celtic’ a chur le liosta na n-ábhar a bhí le ceadú agus ghlac an Príomh-Rúnaí leis sin de bharr aineolaís ar a raibh i gceist leis an téarma sin. Dúirt Dubhghlas de hÍde (201): ‘Focal deas séimh é ‘Ceiltis’, focal nach sganróchadh duine ar bith. Dá n-abradh sé Gaedhilg, ní dóigh go n-éireóchadh leis.’ Ach is léir ó Hansard gurb é a mhalairt a tharla. Bhí áit á lorg go hoscailte ag feisirí na hÉireann don Ghaeilge ach is é an t-ainm ‘Celtic’ ba rogha leis an bPríomh-Rúnaí, James Lowther, agus chuir sé a chos i bhfeac. Luann Ó Murchú (207 n. 2) as taifid an Chumainn gur mholadar sin



'that whenever reference was to be made to the Irish language or literature the word "Irish" and not Celtic should be used.' Deir sé go rabhadar 'ag teacht leis an aigne choiteann sa mhéid sin'. Toradh amháin a bhí ar an eachtra sin gur fágadh míshuaimhneas áirithe ar lucht na Gaeilge mar gheall ar úsáid an fhocail 'Ceilteach'.

Maidir le saothar an Chumainn i ngort an oideachais, tá scagadh déanta ag Ó Murchú ar stataisticí na linne agus tá mórán nithe inspéise tugtha chun solais aige. Thuigeamar riamh go raibh páirt mhór ag na Bráithre Críostaí i gcur chun cinn na Gaeilge sa scoláíocht (216-21), ach cuirtear an fhianaise os ár gcomhair go beacht anseo. Sa bhliain 1883 is ar scoileanna de chuid na mBráthar a bhí 50% de na daltaí a roghnaigh an Ghaeilge sna scrúduithe idirmheánacha agus mhéadaigh an scair sin le himeacht ama (218). Bhain 473 pas amach sa bhliain 1900 agus ba leis na Bráithre 319 díobh. Ní haon iontas é gur moladh iarrachtaí na mBráthar bliain i ndiaidh bliana i dtuarascálacha an Chumainn (220). Bhí 80 cailín istigh ar scrúdú na bliana sin 1900, agus bhain 54 díobh sin le Clochar San Lughaidh, Muineachán. Tugtar liosta anseo (219) de na clochair eile ar éirigh le hiarrthóirí uathu sa bhliain sin. Cúig bliana ina dhiaidh sin, i 1905, bhain 2,465 pas amach sa Ghaeilge. Bhí an fás céanna tagtha ar na figiúirí sna bunscoileanna idir an dá linn agus is dhá ghné iad sin den bhorradh obann a tháinig faoi chur chun cinn na Gaeilge i dtús an fhichiú céad, finiméan a dtagraíonn Ó Murchú dó in áiteanna eile sa leabhar seo. Maidir leis an ollscoláíocht, is ábhar spéise é an t-iontas a bhí ar lucht an Chumainn, de réir thuarascáil na bliana 1909, mar gheall ar an méid ollúnachtaí le Léann na Gaeilge agus an Léann Ceilteach a cuireadh ar bun in Ollscoil na hÉireann, a bunaíodh i 1908. Ní foláir gurb é a mbraistint ar thábhacht na n-ábhar sin mar chuid d'oidhreacht na tíre a thug ar údaráis na linne na poist sin a chur ar bun. Faoi Choróin Shasana a bhí na húdaráis sin ag obair, dar ndóigh, agus is íorónach an scéal é gur faoi rialtas dúchais atá poist den chineál sin á scor lenár linn féin.

Thosnaigh meath ag teacht ar an gCumann i dtús an fhichiú céad agus tháinig Conradh na Gaeilge chun cinn go tréan an uair sin. Clár oibre an chumainn a leanadar sin cuid mhaith, ach chuireadar gréasán craobhacha ar bun ar fud na tíre, a bhuíochas sin don £2000 a fuairadar sa bhliain 1898 ó uacht Ghael-Mheiriceánaigh a caill-eadh cúpla bliain roimhe sin (131 n. 1). Is é an foirtíún sin a chuir ar a gcumas na tírigh go léir a chur timpeall na tíre chun gnáthdhaoine a spreagadh ar son na cúise, agus eagrais náisiúnta don phobal a thógaint. Tá sé ráite ag daoine éagsúla gurbh é an fichiú céad 'ré an



ghnáthdhuine' agus bhí Conradh na Gaeilge ag freastal go cruinn ar riachtanais agus ar mhianta na ré nua sin. Tháinig ceadchumainn, cineálacha nua spóirt don choitiantacht agus siamsaíocht do ghnáthdhaoiné chun cinn i dtreo dheireadh an naoú céad déag agus ní mór fás an Chonartha, agus an rath a bhí orthu, a fheiscint sa chomhthéacs sin. Bhí an bhéim a chuir an Conradh ar an modh díreach i múineadh na teanga tráthúil chomh maith agus fágadh téacsais an Chumainn as dáta agus as úsáid cuíosach tapaidh. Níor éirigh leis an gCumann seifteanna nua a cheapadh a dheimhneodh buanmharthain dóibh i gcomhthéacs a bhí an-dhifriúil leis na cúinsí inar thosnaíodar. Theip orthu athrú mar ba ghá agus mheathadar. Mar sin féin thug an Cumann oscailtí do ghlúin nua Gaeilgeoirí i mblianta sin an mheatha, daoine ar nós Phádraig Uí Dhuinnín, a bhí ag obair as a stuaim féin mar scoláire Gaeilge ó d'fhág sé Cumann Íosa sa bhliain 1900; Tomás Ó Rathaile, a bhí gníomhach go maith sa Chumann ar feadh tréimhse go dtí gur éirigh sé as de bharr easaontais i dtaobh fhoilsiú irisleabhair (agus sheol *Gadelica* as a stuaim féin) (297); agus Seán Ó Ceallaigh ('Sceilg') a tháinig i gcomharbacht ar Dhiarmuid Mac Suibhne sa bhliain 1914 agus a scríobh sraith leabhar don Chumann a raibh an-éileamh orthu. Is ag a chlann sin a d'fhan na leabhair miontuairiscí tar éis scor an Chumainn agus is tríothu sin a tugadh an bhunfhianaise ar imeachtaí an Chumainn slán. Tá cur síos an-spéisiúil ar na claochluithe deiridh sin ag Máirtín Ó Murchú anseo (303 *et seq.*).

Is leabhar den chéad scoth é seo a dheineann athinsint riachtanach ar an slí inar tháinig gluaiseacht na Gaeilge ar an saol. Tá curtha go mór ag an údar lenár n-eolas ar thús na hathbheochana, ar thús na foilsitheoireachta i nGaeilge, ar phréamhú na Gaeilge sa chóras oideachais, agus ar phearsana tábhachtacha i saol na Gaeilge. Ba dhóigh leat gur dheacair é a shárú mar pháosa taighde ó fhoinsí príomha, ar a shoiléire atá an fhianaise leagtha amach ag gach céim den chuntas. Rud a chuireann go mór le tábhacht an leabhair is ea an cnuasach fada de cháipéisí na linne a bhfuil athchló orthu ina dheireadh (316-405). Tá doiciméid bhunaidh agus nós imeachta an Chumainn san áireamh, mar aon le haighneachtaí agus comhfhreagras a bhaineann le feachtais an Chumainn agus lena gcuid foilseachán. I measc na mioncháipéisí i gcúl an leabhair tá léirmheas Osborn Bergin ar *Filidheacht Ghaedhealach* le Dubhghlas de hÍde, as *Banba*, Meitheamh 1903 (399-401). Is léir óna líne thosaigh, 'Níl puinn maítheasa san leabhrán so,' go bhfuil a áit féin tuillte aige i dtraidisiún na léirmheasanna feannaideacha i Léann na Gaeilge.

Mar fhocal scoir, is é an an leabhar seo an túsphointe feasta don té a chuirfidh roimhe léitheoireacht a dhéanamh mar gheall ar stair shóisialta na Gaeilge le céad go leith bliain anuas.

DIARMUID Ó SÉ

*An Coláiste Ollscoile, Baile Átha Cliath*

*Scottish Gaelic Studies*. Vol. 18. In memory of Dr John Lorne Campbell of Canna. Edited by Donald E. Meek with the assistance of Colm Ó Baoill. University of Aberdeen 1998. 204 pp.

ELEVEN contributions and five reviews comprise the contents of this volume. Anna Bosch, 'The syllable in Scottish Gaelic dialect studies' (1-22), outlines methods used to determine syllabification in Scottish Gaelic. Beginning with Borgstrøm's study of the dialect of Barra (1937) – the first reference to a vowel-consonant structure in Scottish Gaelic 'and perhaps the first mention of such a structure for any language' (3) – Bosch compares definitions of syllable structure in twentieth-century descriptive work on the language. While syllables and syllable structure are generally addressed, it is argued that 'a clear definition is rarely if ever forthcoming' (18). Close descriptive work must incorporate 'a more principled approach to the reporting of data on syllables, syllable boundaries, and syllable structure' (19).

Linda Gowans, 'Sir Uallabh O Còrn: a Hebridean tale of Sir Gawain' (23-55), presents an edition of the Gaelic romantic tale, complete with textual notes and discussion. It will be of interest to Gaelic scholars and Arthurians alike. Both an oral recitation by Donald Cameron from Tiree (= B) and a translation thereof were first published in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (vol. 13 (1886-87) 69-83) by Rev. John Gregorson Campbell. Gowans's edition derives from item 425 of the Carmichael-Watson Collection in Edinburgh University Library, 'an unattributed manuscript [= A] of the story' (23), written in an unidentified hand. The author suggests that 'if not the original, our manuscript A is a copy made very soon after collection, before the text had received detailed editorial attention' (24). Many variant readings and the 'unpolished nature of A', which inserts 'etc.' (24), however, indicate that it is not identical with B. Further, a number of passages in the published English translation of B were omitted in the Gaelic original. These omissions,

which may have occurred while the text was being written out for the Gaelic Society of Inverness or during subsequent publication, may now be supplied from A.

Benjamin T. Hudson, 'The language of the Scottish Chronicle and its European contexts' (57-73), examines Gaelic words and phrases of this contemporary record of Scottish affairs from c. 840 to c. 973.

Anne Loughran considers Irish and Scottish versions of *Ceann dubh díleas / Cuir a chinn díleas* (75-88). According to Loughran, these renderings originated in the seventeenth century (79). While independent of the other, each has 'virtually the same metre' which, it is suggested, 'may have been the influence of an original tune, [but] which we now cannot identify for sure' (81). The 'tune and the performance' (81) fixed a pattern of rhyming words and ensured that both Irish and Scottish groups remained metrically together.

Colm Ó Baoill, '*Caismeachd Ailean nan Sop*: towards a definitive text' (89-110), examines a poem beginning '*S mithich dhùinne, mar bhun ùmhlachd* in praise of Ailean nan Sop, second son of Lachlann Catanach (d. 1523), tenth Maclean of Duart. Its only primary source is MG15G/2/2, formerly part of the eighteenth-century manuscript collection of Dr Hector Maclean, now in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax. According to its heading it was composed in 1537 by Eachann mac Iain Abraich (fl. 1536-79). Ó Baoill's metrical analysis accords with this dating. The poet is 'exceptional among vernacular poets (whose work is extant) in sharing the Classical fondness of alliteration', while writing in the Scottish vernacular language with 'a less than strict application of syllable-count and rhyme' (91). Interesting linguistic features include: (i) the occurrence of *bùrduin* (l. 2) which, if one accepts the date of the poem, may be the earliest attested example in Scottish Gaelic; (ii) '*s nitear sin a rèir a chèile* (l. 15), which may show the earliest attested use of the expression *de réir a chèile* in Irish or in Scottish Gaelic (98); (iii) *a liuthad sodar mhuir anfaidh* (l. 27), where Ó Baoill 'must take *mhuir anfaidh* as a fixed phrase for 'stormy sea' (so that the genitive *mhara* is not required)' (100). Two examples from bardic poetry are cited in support of the latter translation (*DIL* A, 344.34 and *L Branach* (ed. Mac Airt), l. 6786). To these may be added *muir anfaidh ag tochta i dtráigh* (*TDall* (ed. Knott) no. 8 l. 31).

Dorothee Tratnik, 'Three poems from County Cork in praise of Bobbing John' (167-74), edits and translates three contemporary poetic accounts of the Jacobite rising of 1715, led by John Erskine (*alias* Bobbing John) eleventh Earl of Mar. These poems are unusual

for praising a hero other than the Pretender. Moreover, their contemporary nature implies not only a close observation of political events in Scotland, but indicates the access, on the part of Irish poets, to information concerning the Jacobite rising of 1715.

Other articles in this volume include Robert A. Rankin, 'Place-names in the *Comhachag* and other similar poems' (111-30); Laura S. Sugg, 'Summary list of items 488 to 576 in the Carmichael-Watson Collection' (131-65), which incorporates legal land documents in Old English, Gaelic proverbs, English and Gaelic omens, placenames, and 'Laoidh Chlann Uisne', all hitherto uncatalogued; John Lorne Campbell, 'Notes on poems by Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair' (175-185); Andrew Breeze, 'Common Gaelic *Básaire* "Executioner": Middle Scots *Basare* "Executioner"' (186-187); Eric P. Hamp, 'Easter Ross *iad-sa*' (188).

MEIDHBHÍN NÍ ÚRDAIL

University College Dublin

*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*. Band 52. Herausgegeben von Karl Horst Schmidt, Rolf Ködderitzsch und Patrizia de Bernado Stempel unter Mitwirkung von Herbert Pilch. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen. 2001. 356 pp.

THIS volume of *ZCP* contains contributions on a variety of aspects of Celtic languages and literature. In *ZCP* 49/50 (1997) 287-309, the late Hans Hartmann contributed an article entitled 'Was ist Wahrheit?' That essay consisted of an analysis of the similarities and of the differences between the concept of truth as it is manifested in Irish and Indian society, both from a linguistic and from a cultural perspective. The current volume contains a further instalment on this topic and related ones from Professor Hartmann entitled 'Was ist Wahrheit (2)?' (1-101). The aim of this lengthy second contribution is stated by the author as being: 'um die Möglichkeiten zur Vergleichung von Fakten zu erweitern und den Grad der Sicherheit von Schlußfolgerungen zu erhöhen' (2). For scholars of Irish those portions of this article which deal with the relationship between truth and kingship in Ireland are of interest (19-38). Hartmann draws on a range of sources including Old Irish texts such as *Críth Gablach* and *Audacht Morainn*, and also Modern Irish material such as that gathered by himself in *Airneán: Eine Sammlung von texten aus Co. na*

*Gaillimhe*, a work edited with assistance from Ruairí Ó hUiginn and the late Tomás de Bhaldraithe (Tübingen 1996). Further material on this subject is promised for a future number of the *Zeitschrift* (100).

Kingship also is the main focus of the contribution by Miranda Aldhouse-Green, 'Pagan Celtic iconography and the concept of sacral kingship' (102-117). Here linkages are attempted 'between the presentation of certain Gallo-British imagery and specific aspects of the Irish tradition' (102). Irish texts are cited sometimes in Irish, sometimes in English. Specific references (paragraphs and/or line numbers) are not supplied at all, so we read, for example: 'the Morrígan is clearly a divinity and there is good evidence – particularly that of place-names in the mythic *History of Places* – to link her securely with the land etc.' (104). *History of Places*, we deduce, is a reference to *The metrical Dindshenchas*, edited by E. J. Gwynn (Dublin 1903-35), which is a work of five volumes, running to over fifteen hundred pages, and it is left to the reader of the article to locate the relevant references therein! Incidentally, these will be found in *MD V 173 s.v. Mórrígan*.

The editor of the *Zeitschrift*, K. H. Schmidt, in 'Die altirischen Glossen als sprachgeschichtliches Dokument' (137-153), analyses the importance of the Old Irish glosses as a historical linguistic source. The article is in four main sections: (i) definition of the OIr glosses (140); (ii) discussion of two OIr typological features (141-46); (iii) discussion of the place of the glosses in the history of the Irish language (146-50); (iv) discussion of the relationship between the Irish and Latin languages (150-51). Schmidt's contribution offers a concise and accurate introduction to this most important corpus of texts, which in short (as the author notes) amount to 'die Quellen für Thurneysens *Handbuch* bzw. *Grammar*' (138). The article consists (see p. 137, n. 1) of the text of a lecture delivered on the occasion of Gearóid S. Mac Eoin's seventieth birthday. Apart from the addition of footnotes, the text has not otherwise been altered for printing and ends with the courteous if unusual formula 'Ich danke Ihnen für Ihre Geduld' (153).

A number of articles deal with etymological and Indo-European topics. These topics by their nature can be complex and contain citations from a variety of Indo-European languages as well as special phonological notation to illustrate underlying forms or stages in the derivation of particular words. If the general reader (i.e. one who is not a specialist in Indo-European linguistics) is to gain an understanding of the material it is essential, that the line of argument

should be clear, logical and formulated in language which is grammatically correct. Regrettably, some of the linguistic contributions to the current volume of the *Zeitschrift* do not consistently fulfil these criteria. Nikolai N. Kazansky, ‘PIE *\*meǵh-*’ (118-20), argues that the Indo-European adverbial root *\*meǵh-* ‘up to, near’ underlies words such as Latin *mox* ‘soon’, Sanskrit *makṣū*, ‘soon’, Avestan *mošū* ‘as soon as, when’, and also the Old Irish adverbial prefix *mos-*. (For ‘Kymr. *moch*’ (119) read ‘Welsh *moch*’.) The English in which the argument is presented in this instance contains a number of odd renderings, as for example the following: ‘resulted into the division of *\*meǵhr-* into the beginning particle *me-* and the root *\*ǵher-* “hand”’ (119); ‘it seems to be ancient heritage going back to PIE’ (119); ‘The temporal semantics of the root *mox* does not prevent from the comparison with the Greek and Armenian adverbs’ (119).

Alexander Falileyev, ‘Cello-Slavica II’ (121-4), suggests possible Slavonic parallels to the word for ‘beard, bristles’ in a number of Celtic languages, viz. Old Irish *grend*, Welsh *grann*. There are several examples of erroneous terminology and misformulations in this article, e.g. ‘continuation’ (121, 123, *leg.* ‘derivation’?), ‘which go according to’ (122, *leg.* ‘which develop according to’?), ‘which is altogether not unparalleled’ (123, *leg.* ‘which is not without parallel’?). More seriously, however, some of the argument is presented in so confused a manner as to be almost impossible to appreciate. Thus, for example, the following: ‘Could it not be the case, therefore, that these Slavic words (as well as the Celtic words for ‘beard, bristles’) go back to this particular *\*gher-*, provided that we face a wide range of difficulties in dealing with the forms given in the entry for *\*g(u)rendh-* on the one side, and that there is already a precedent for considering (though a homonymous) IE *\*gher-* for the discussion of the pre-history of these Slavic words on the other’ (123).

There are two contributions from Václav Blažek. The first is entitled ‘Celtic-Anatolian isoglosses’ (125-8), in which the author argues that the rare Irish word *airne* ‘stone’ (hitherto without etymology) may be cognate with Anatolian *\*pam(o)* ‘house’ (125-6). He goes on to suggest a parallel between Irish *láth*, *láith* ‘warrior’ and Anatolian *\*latti-* ‘tribal troop(s)’ (126-7). Blažek’s second contribution, ‘*Balor* – “the blind-eyed”’ (129-33), attempts to provide an etymology for the name of the infamous Fomorian king. The reference at the start of this article to Balor and his evil eye (*biruderc súil milldach*, 129) should read [*Bolur*] *Biruderc*, *súil milldagach* (cf. *Cath Maige Tuired: the Second Battle of Mag Tuired*, ed. Eliza-

beth A. Gray, Dublin 1982, §133, ll. 619-620). The starting-point for the author's proposed solution is a hypothetical compound *\*bhol-H(o)kwlo-* 'blind-eyed' (129). This reviewer's efforts to follow the logic of the argument were severely hampered in places by the author's apparent refusal to utilise footnotes under any circumstances for the purpose of referencing other scholars' work. The following sentence may serve by way of an example:

If we accept the derivation of the divine name *Vellaunos* from IE *\*wel-* 'to see, sight' etc. (Pokorny 1959: 1136) following Jakobsen & Watkins (see Olmsted 1994: 329 with discussion and de Bernardo Stempel 1994: 289f. concerning the identification of the *\*mHIno-* participle; it is not important that she prefers the derivation of this theonym from *\*welH-* 'to rule'), it is quite natural to agree with Olmsted's interpretation of *Vellaunos*'/Mars' epithet *ocelos* = 'the seer' or 'of the eye' (130).

Joseph F. Eska's short note, 'Further to Vercelli *śo=*' (134-5), argues that the particle *śo-* which occurs in the verbal form *TośoKoTe* in the bilingual Latin-Gaulish inscription at Vercelli may be derived from the demonstrative stem *\*isto-* (134). Two contributions deal with Welsh material. Peter Busse, 'Die 3 Sg. Prät. im Mittelmymrischen – ein Wechsel im Paradigma' (154-99), traces the spread of the 3 sg. preterital ending *-awd* at the expense of the earlier *-wys* in Middle Welsh. The background to this paradigm-shift is described and the diachronic development illustrated with copious examples from the literature. This article concludes with a discussion on the consequences of this change for Modern Welsh. Gwyn Thomas, '*Gweledigaethu y Bardd Cwsg*: The Visions of the Sleeping Bard (1703)' (200-10), analyses aspects of this Welsh text compiled by one Ellis Wynne and published in 1703. The work contains descriptions of a number of visions of death and hell. Thomas compares the Welsh text with a variety of similar burlesque and satirical compositions from seventeenth-century England and continental Europe. He concludes that 'many seventeenth-century writers were much taken by descriptions of visits to the land of the dead and to hell, and that they used these excursions for their own purposes, mainly to castigate and satirize their enemies' (210).

Manfred Hainzmann, 'The F.E.R.C.A.N. Project: *Fontes epigraphici religionis Celticae antiquae*' (211-18), outlines the back-

ground to an ambitious project initiated in 1998 by the Iron Age Section of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The goal is to produce 'a fundamental work of compilation of and commentary on all the epigraphic evidence of ancient Celtic religion' (211). The project cycle described here consists of four stages: (1) the compilation of epigraphic records; (2) the evaluation and interpretation of these records; (3) the storing and processing of these records; and (4) the publication of editions of these records with appropriate commentaries (214-17).

The volume concludes with a lengthy section of reviews and notices of publications (219-356).

GERALD MANNING

*University College Dublin*

#### LEABHAIR A THÁINIG CHUGAINN

- Ingne Dearga Dheaideo*. Pádraic Breathnach. Cló Iar-Chonnachta, Indreabhán, Conamara. 2005.
- Ag greadadh bas sa reilig. Clapping in the cemetery*. Louis de Paor. Cló Iar-Chonnachta, Indreabhán, Conamara. 2005.
- Eaglais na gCatacómaí*. Pádraig Standún. Cló Iar-Chonnachta, Indreabhán, Conamara. 2004.
- Seal i Neipeal*. Cathal Ó Searcaigh. Cló Iar-Chonnachta, Indreabhán, Conamara. 2004.
- Fiacha fola*. Celia de Fréine. Cló Iar-Chonnachta, Indreabhán, Conamara. 2004.
- Súil saoir*. Diarmuid Johnson. Cló Iar-Chonnachta, Indreabhán, Conamara. 2004.
- Ólann mo mhiúil as an nGainsís*. Gabriel Rosenstock. Cló Iar-Chonnachta, Indreabhán, Conamara. 2004.