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### LEBOR GABÁLA ÉRENN

#### THE BOOK OF THE TAKING OF IRELAND

#### PART II

EDITED AND TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES, ETC.

BV

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## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO VOL. 1.

Some errata have been detected by myself and others and, so far as they are of importance, may be mentioned here. Such typographical trifles as the wrong-fount D (p. vi, line 13) and the misprint "Eisenmerger" (for "-menger"), top of p. 265, may be disregarded. The following should however be emended:—

p. 19, ¶ 6, l. 2: for "sinned" read "quarrelled."

p. 43, for "no wickedness is spoken here" read "no location is postulated here." This does not necessarily modify the references to the passage on pp. 15, 224: the gloss still makes the impression of a man seeking to reassure himself along the lines there indicated.

p. 87, line 5, for "there" read "here."

p. 226. I am indebted to Dr. Max Forster for calling my attention to two studies of his own which I have since referred to, and which should certainly be added to the bibliographical references in ¶ 27. "Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung, ein lateinisches Fragment des sudslawischen Henoch!" (Archiv für Keligionswissenschaft, xi [1908], 477. "Die mittelirische Version von Adams Erschaffung!" (ZCP xiii, p. 47 ff.).

p. 246. A courteous reviewer has objected to the diagram-restoration on account of the implied treatment of the word gid. The disagreement is a matter of instinct rather than of argument: the passage makes an impression of progressive interpolation; and the examples of cid used emphatically, to which he refers me, do not seem to me to be parallel. Moreover my interpretation gains an effective antithesis (indicated in the note) which is lost otherwise.

Another reviewer, equally courteous, has made some suggestions which I had already considered, but rejected because they went too much against the Ms. evidence. But I must demur to being chidden for ignoring ninsa in the translation (as on p. 153). This is a mere punctuation-mark, and to pepper an English version with "not difficult," where "?" would suffice is slightly absurd.

G. G. Coulton, Medieval Panorama, p. 272, should be referred to on p. 139 of this volume. The book did not come into my hands till after the sheet was printed off,

#### SECTION II.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL.

#### Introduction.

We have already seen (Vol. I, p. xxvii) that this section is based, not on genuine traditional matter (we may perhaps except a few personal names, though even this is uncertain), but on an artificial adaptation of the early history of the Israelites. It has suffered modification in translation from the original Latin and in subsequent transmission-a proof that the historians were not hampered by tradition-and in consequence two versions, R1 and R2, differing widely, have come into being. Even in matter common to both there is nothing traditional: the most striking is also the most obviously borrowed. The tale of the Sirens, outwitted by waxing the ears of the ships' crews, can be nothing more than an adaptation of the familiar Homeric tale of Odysseus: the druid Caicher, who invents this precautionary expedient, is merely a compound of the seer Calchas of Troy and the sorceress Circe, to whose suggestion it is ascribed by Homer.1

Both versions start with Nel in Egypt, whither he has gone to teach Pharaoh his languages and where he has married Pharaoh's daughter, Scota I: but the genealogical antecedents of Nel differ in the two texts. In R² he is brought into association with Moses, who has encamped with his followers at "Capacirunt"—the Pi-Hahiroth of Exodus xiv. 2—where Nel has his estate: Nel gives them supplies, thereby angering Pharaoh, though the fate of the latter in the Red Sea averts

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B

¹ Odyssey, xii, 47. A similar device appears in the story of the Yew of the Sons of Angcess (Book of Leinster, facs. 27 a, 35 ff.). A biographer of St. Brendan has borrowed it: the saint, having had a revelation of the music of Heaven, ever afterwards found earthly music disagreeable, and plugged his ears so as not to hear it. (Martyrology of Donegal, 16 May.)

for a time the royal vengeance. R¹ knows nothing of this, but seems to suggest that the Gaedil left Egypt under Sru, Nel's great grandson, because the death of Pharaoh had deprived them of royal patronage. In R² an outburst of Egyptian hostility in a later generation is the cause of their exodus.

Both versions, again, bring Sru to Scythia, where the descendant of Nel's brother Nenual is king. There is a cross-fighting between the Scythian kings and the Gaedelic leaders, involving the usual royal vendetta, which continues through several generations.

At last Refloir son of Rifill, the Scythian king, is killed: R1 says by Agno[mai]n, fifth in descent from Sru; R2 says by Mil, the father of the "Milesian" leaders. From what source this "Refloir son of Rifill" reached the Irish historians is a question that has not yet been answered. In both stories this particular killing is regarded by the Scythians as especially heinous, though why Refloir was more sacrosanct than his ill-fated predecessors does not appear. In expiation for the crime, the Gaedil are exiled from Seythia. R1 takes them north to the Rhipaean Mountain, where they find a well with the taste of wine, and where Caicher prophesies their future journeys and the postponement of their arrival in the Promised Land: they then proceed to the Maeotic Marshes, where they remain for nine generations, after which they set out for Spain, their last halt on the trek to Ireland. R2, however, conducts them back to Egypt, marries their then leader Mil to Scota II. daughter of Nectanebus, then King of Egypt; and keeps him there till his extensive family of sons is born. He then leaves, because Nectanebus is too weak, in the face of the conquering Alexander the Great, to be of any service to him as a patron; and he sets forth on the long voyage by the Rhipaean Mountain (where he hears the prophecy of Caicher) and so on to Spain. protracted sojourn at the Maeotic Marshes is unknown to this version.2 The doubled personality of Scota is enough to show that the two Egypt episodes in R<sup>2</sup> are doublets, which have developed independently, the second being a later interpolation in the text, made when the versions had become so different that the historians supposed them to be different stories. The original tale may have introduced Moses, who dropped out of R<sup>1</sup> and was much developed in R<sup>2</sup>: but the reason which it alleged for the departure of the Gaedil from Egypt was at first not so much fear of Egyptian vengeance as the death of the royal patron.

We may provisionally restore the original version in outline thus: Nel goes to Egypt: marries Scota (to account for the name "Scots"): meets Moses, but his extended dealings with him in R2 are a later adaptation from the Biblical narrative: Pharaoh is drowned: Nel leaves Egypt with his wife and family: they wander far, hear the prophecy as to the duration of their voyage, set forth again and ultimately reach Spain. We have seen (Vol. I, p. xxvii) that in the story as criginally devised, on the basis of the history of the Israelites. Nel corresponded to Terah (to some extent also to Moses) and Mil to Jacob. But as the tale passed from redactor to redactor it had parted company with its original form, and had indeed become distorted beyond recognition. functions of Nel and of Mil became assimilated, so that the two heroes as they are presented in the text before us are virtually doublets of one another.

I take it that the Scythian episode is an etymological invention (Scots = Scythians), at first quite independent of the LG canon; it went through several modifications during its separate existence, and at last was incorporated, in two different versions, by the two traditions which culminated in R<sup>1</sup> and R<sup>2</sup>. The pointless delay at the Maeotic Marshes in R<sup>1</sup> is also an interpolation. Though this story had lost its original etymological purpose, it was still useful to square up a chronological discrepancy which some redactor had discovered.

The version in Min need not detain us: it does not differ essentially from R<sup>1</sup>. We turn now to R<sup>3</sup>, which in this section is a very clumsy and awkward patchwork, based upon the two earlier versions, with the addition of some extraneous matter.

The compiler has endeavoured to produce a composite

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>It is conceivable that this place is emphasized in the sequel because some wiseacre saw in *Gaethlaige* an etymology for *Gaedil*; and though the eponym Gaedel Glas prevented  $\infty$  LG or his glossators and successors from perpetuating this notion, the "historical" influence remained.

text; preserving as many details as possible, but abandoning the hopeless task of reconciling discrepancies. The close relationship of his Ms. of R<sup>1</sup> (\*Q), to F, observed in the preceding section, is here maintained.

The following table continues the analysis of R<sup>3</sup>, begun on Vol. I, p. 5, above. Paragraphs marked \* are from R<sup>1</sup>, those marked † from R<sup>2</sup>, those unmarked from some independent source.

Paragraph.	Source.				
*134	R' ¶ 103 (reading Magog for Gomer).				
135	Interpolated prefatory matter.				
136 M version	Independent version.				
t " H version	From R <sup>2</sup> ¶ 16, 17, in § I.				
*†137	$\mathbb{R}^1 $ ¶ 104 + $\mathbb{R}^2$ ¶ 18 (the latter in H only).				
*138	R <sup>1</sup> ¶ 105.				
†139	Chronological interpolation from R <sup>2</sup> ¶ 17 in § I.				
*140	R <sup>1</sup> ¶ 106, with some preliminary matter apparently lost from extant MSS. of R <sup>1</sup> .				
141	Interpolation about Feinius and his study of History.				
*142	$\mathbb{R}^1$ ¶ 107 + an interpolation on the divisions of Gaelic.				
+143-150	R° ¶ 118-123 (the Egyptian episode).				
* † 151–154	$R^{1}$ ¶ 109, 110 + $R^{2}$ ¶ 127 and some extraneous matter.				
155-156	Matter from an independent source.				
*157-162	R¹ ¶ 110-115, given frankly as an alternate version of this part of the story.				

There is on the whole a proportionally larger number of interpolated passages inserted into the text of these paragraphs than in § I; and some few passages have been dropped (or possibly did not exist in \*Q). But it would be a mere matter of scissors and paste to divide this section of R³ into its component parts, and to restore almost all of the text of the Mss. of R¹ and R² which lay before the compiler.

We have now to consider the relations between R<sup>1</sup>R<sup>2</sup>R<sup>3</sup> and the later attempts at historical synthesis—O'Clery's

redaction (K) and Keating's *History* (Kg). The following details are apparent immediately:—

Nel is descended from Gomer R<sup>1</sup>, from Magog R<sup>2</sup>R<sup>3</sup>—also KKg. Rifaith Scot brings "Scotie" from the Tower R<sup>2</sup>R<sup>3</sup>—rejected by KKg.

Gaelic is fashioned by Gaedel Glas R<sup>1</sup>, by Feinius R<sup>2</sup>R<sup>3</sup>. Not in K. Kg ascribes it to a different Gaedel, s. Ethor, unknown to LG.

The Nel-Moses episode, not in R¹ and certain Mss. of R². In KKg, but with some differences of detail. Thus, in K, Nel reports to his own people his intention to succour the Israelites; the serpent does not bite, but winds itself around Gaedel, and the green mark is made by the coils, not by the bite; the numbers of the drowned Egyptians are substantially increased. In Kg the serpent attacked Gaedel when swimming (a detail borrowed from Poem no. XVIII); and a chronological disquisition assumes that Gaedel was not a young boy, but was eighty years of age; the numbers of the drowned Egyptians are reduced.

Sru, not Nel, is the contemporary of the Rea Sea disaster, and leaves Egypt immediately in R¹. In R²R³ Sru is the fourth descendant from Nel, who is the contemporary of the disaster—also KKg.

In R'R'R' Tuir follows Cineris immediately as King of Egypt. K agrees. Kg (who calls Tuir ''Intuir'') interpolates five kings.

Sru had 4 ships R<sup>3</sup>R<sup>2</sup>R<sup>3</sup>: K says 50. Kg merely quotes a poetical extract specifying 4.

Scota accompanied her descendants to Scythia in their flight and died immediately after landing, R<sup>2</sup> only: K follows, not Kg.

The simultaneous deaths of Sru and Nerual are attributed to a plague in K only. K is unique in supplying the Scythian king with a brother, Baath, who aids him in the fight against the followers of Sru.

Agromain kills Refloir R<sup>1</sup>. Mil kills him, R<sup>2</sup>R<sup>3</sup>; the latter gives the Agnomain story as an alternative. In KKg the slayer is Agnomain.

The remaining incidents of the section are shuffled like the cards of a pack by the different authorities. We may tabulate them thus—

- Aa Agnomain banished from Scythia after slaying Refloir.
- Am Mil banished from Scythia after slaying Refloir.
- Bs Assault of the Sirens.
- Ba Assault of the Amazons.
- Cm Journey via Sliab Riffe (and Caicher's prophecy) to the Macotic Marshes.
- Ce Journey to Egypt.
- De Birth of Eber Glunfind.
- Dm Birth of Mil.
- Eb Brath leads the Gaedil to Spain.
- Em Mil leads the Gaedil to Spain.
- Gta Mil marries Scota.
- Gng Mil marries Seng.

-and on analysis we shall find that

R¹ has AªB<sup>s</sup>C<sup>m</sup>D<sup>e</sup>E<sup>b</sup>. In this text Mil is never mentioned in the present section.

R<sup>2</sup> has A<sup>m</sup>C<sup>e</sup>G<sup>ta</sup>B<sup>s</sup>E<sup>m</sup>.

R<sup>3</sup> has G<sup>ng</sup>A<sup>m</sup>C<sup>e</sup>G<sup>ta</sup>B<sup>s</sup>B<sup>a</sup>E<sup>m</sup> followed by the R<sup>1</sup> sequence as an alternative story.

In K we find A<sup>a</sup>B<sup>s</sup>C<sup>m</sup>D<sup>e</sup>E<sup>b</sup> as in R<sup>1</sup>: then D<sup>m</sup> in Spain, whence Mil returns to Scythia, and G<sup>ng</sup>. He then slays what must be supposed to be a later Refloir, followed by the first version of R<sup>3</sup> with numerous interpolations, such as an interview with the Cruithne; and with the omission of B<sup>s</sup>B<sup>a</sup>.

Kg follows the same lines as K, but he introduces B<sup>8</sup>B<sup>a</sup> after A<sup>a</sup>, and substitutes Gothia<sup>3</sup> for the Maeotic Marshes. In Spain he is puzzled by the double leadership of Brath and of Bregon, and thus duplicates the city founded in Spain—Braganza is founded by Brath and Brigansia by Bregon.

Both these late writers have been misled by the alternative versions of the Scythian vendetta in R³. They have mistaken them for successive events, but knowing that Agnomain preceded Mil genealogically they have transposed them, inventing the clumsy device of "a visit to his kinsfolk" to bring Mil back to Scythia in order to have the second version fitted in. This is more than a mere literary curiosity: it is a most instructive illustration of the evolution of this kind of historical tradition. The story has developed on two lines. A compiler, finding the two versions, combined them as alternatives: later compilers fused the two versions into one story. Many duplicates, both of personality and of incident, are to be found in the text before us, and they are all to be explained in the same way.

For example, most of the eight sons of Mil form duplicate pairs. Colptha and Donn are eponymous intrusions, designed to explain certain place-names: but for the rest, Eber and Eremon, Amair-gen and Ir, (F)ebrua and Erannan pair off together, and the pairs are all variants of a single pair.

In another respect the later writers are instructive. They wrote when writing-materials were becoming cheap, and they could afford to spread themselves in a way which would be

impossibly extravagant to their predecessors. They set down on paper discussions which in the days of waxed tablets and expensive parchment would be left to the spoken word. Keating was not the only historical student who spent an infinity of futile energy in seeking to reconcile the obvious chronological and topographical discrepancies in the matters with which he dealt; they are so obvious that they must have constantly provoked discussion and controversy. Both Keating and O'Clery fill in outlines which are merely sketched in the earlier texts, and which must have been filled in viva voce. For example, the earlier texts merely say that the Sirens caused the mariners to sleep; that they subsequently devoured them is left to be understood, but is set forth in black and white by K and Kg.

O'Clery had opinions of his own about some of the matter which he copied, and we know from his own pen that only the command of his ecclesiastical superiors prevented him from altering whatever seemed to him incorrect or disagreeable. This admission throws a shadow of doubtfulness over all his work. In the text before us he regularly changes "Milid" back to "Golamh," and makes a number of other minor verbal alterations. Thus, he compares Lamfhind's hands, not to candles, but to the more dignified "lamps" (lochranna). He suppresses the Amazon episode, probably because he considered it inconsistent with the dignity and provess of Mil. On the whole his favourite text seems to belong to R<sup>2</sup>, but he had R<sup>3</sup> in constant use, and occasionally, perhaps, referred to L or to some closely related text. Kg seems to depend chiefly on R<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Clearly by a confusion of Gothia with Gaethlaige.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Plummer, Colophons and Marginalia of Irish Scribes (Proceedings, British Academy, xii (1926), p. 31).

#### SECTION II.

Min. and First Redaction.

Min.

 $\mathbb{R}^1$ .

 $(\mu \land 26 \ a \ 5 : \mu R \ 91 \ \beta \ 24.)$ 

(L 1 γ 8: F 1 δ 22.)

103. Atberait araile com-

Baath, ‡ in dara mac bad Baadh mac Ibaid meic Ibath, " || smeic Gomer meic \*Gomer meic \*Iafēdh. 7 is \*Iafēth, is ūad Gāedil 7 fir nad Gaidil z fir na Scithia: na 10 Scithia. Mac do, 11 in 7 macc do 'Fenius Farrsaid. fer amra airegda" diar bo ainm 12 Faenius Farsaid. <sup>13</sup>Issē-side in <sup>14</sup>dara tõesech sechtmogat chōid14 do dēnam in Tuir <sup>15</sup>Nebrōith, dīa <sup>16</sup>ro scāiltea na bērlai. ||

> <sup>17</sup>Nebroth imorro feisin, mac Chaus meic Chaim meic Noe. Is e in Faenius remrate tuc Berla Fēne on Tur: 7 is aice bui in scol mor oc foglaim na n-il-berla.17

103. Others say that of his.

Baath, [one of the two Baath was son of Ibath s. sons of Ibath s. Gomer Gomer s. Iafeth, and from s. Iafeth, of him are the him are the Gaedil and the Gaedil and the people of people of Scythia: and Scythia. He had a son, Feinius Farsaid was a son the noble eminent man whose name was Feinus Farsaid. [It is he who was one of the seventy-two chieftains who went for the building of Nemrod's Tower, whence the languages were dispersed.

> Howbeit, Nemrod himself was son of Cush s. Ham s. Noe. This is that Feinius aforesaid who brought the People's Speech from the Tower: and it is he who had the great school, learning the multiplicity of languages.

<sup>103.</sup> The text of Min. in this § follows  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ , variants from  $\mu R$  unless \* Goimeir 1 -berat 2 Baad otherwise stated; missing in µV - Variants in R1 Feinius Fars ins. mc [Noe om.] 7-7 om. \* mac Goimer 9 Iafet from F unless otherwise stated.

<sup>11-11</sup> in taissech amra airigda 12 Feinius Farrsaid 1) Sgeithia 14-14 darna taissech .lxx. dochuaid 15 Nemhruaid sgailta na berlla (sic, the sprs. vowels appear to be inserted in a different 17-17 om. ink)

104. Dā mac la 'Fenius <sup>4</sup>bēlra ūad. <sup>7</sup>Tānic imorro \*Foenius ond Assia dochum na Scithīa as a luid do cend cethrachat bliadan, 7 de 12 Noenal.

Dā mae imorro 13 batar i. 2 Noeniul, foracaib for oc Foenius: 14.i. Noenual, flaithius na Scithia dia ēis; ‡ in 15 dala mac. | 16 foracail) 7 Nēl, <sup>3</sup>in mac aile, 7 hicon i <sup>17</sup>flathius na <sup>18</sup>Scithīa dia Tur rucad-side. Ocus ba ēis: Nēl, in mac aile, 19 icon snī-side na n-il-4bēlra, Tur 20 rucad-side, 21 Ocus ba <sup>5</sup>conad hē rofucad <sup>6</sup>ind <sup>22</sup>suī-side na n-uile mbērla, Eigipt, do foglaim na n-il- conid aire tancas ‡ ar a chend | ō Foraind d'foglaim na n-il-bērla22 ūad. Tānic imorro 23 Faenius denom in Tuirs; conerbailt assind Assia dochum na <sup>9</sup>hi flaithius Seithīa, <sup>10</sup>hi <sup>24</sup>Seithīa, assa l-luid do dēnam in 25Tuir26; conerdorat "tāisidecht dia mac, hailt 27i flathius na Scithīa, i cind cethrachat bliadan, 7 28co tarat tõesigecht dia mac, do 29 Noenual.

105 Hi cind da bliadain <sup>2</sup>ar cethrachait īar scor <sup>3</sup>in Tuir, rogab Nin mac 'Peil rīgi 3in domain.

<sup>5</sup>Hi cind dā bliadan cethrachat trā īar ndēnam<sup>5</sup> in Tuir, rogab Nīn mac Bēil <sup>6</sup>rīge in <sup>7</sup>domuin.

8 Ar nī ro thriall nech aile smachtugud8 na tūath no na

104. Feinius had two ship to his son, Nenual.

Now Feinius had two sons: Nenual, whom he sons: Nenual, [one of the left over the princedom of twol, whom he left in the Scythia behind him: and princedom of Scythia be-Nel, the other son, and at hind him; Nel, the other the Tower was he born, son, at the Tower was he Now he was a master of born. Now he was a the multiplicity of lan- master of all the languages; guages, so that it is he who wherefore one came [to was taken into Egypt, to summon him] from Pharao, learn from him the multi- in order to learn the multiplicity of languages. But plicity of languages from Feinius came from Asia him. But Feinius came to Scythia, whence he had out of Asia to Scythia, gone for the building of whence he had gone for the Tower; so he died in the building of the Tower; the princedom of Scythia, so that he died in the at the end of forty years, princedom of Scythia, at and passed on the chieftain- the end of forty years, and passed on the chieftainship to his son, Nenual.

105. At the end of forty took the kingship of the the world. world.

At the end of forty two and two years after the years after the building of cessation of [work on] the the Tower, Ninus son of Tower, Ninus son of Belus Belus took the kingship of

> For no other attempted to exercise authority over the

<sup>104. 1</sup> Feinius Farsaid 2 obscured in  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  by grease; looks like Noennl: Fienual (sic, the capital N being miswritten) forfacaib i flaithius na an mac ele 7 icon 4 berla (bis) 5 conide Sceithia µR 7 tainie 6 foglaim Egipt, a small g written above the ip on Aisia dochum na Scithia asa luid dochum na Scithi (sic) an tuir (sic) 12 Nenual -10 i cinn 11 toisigect 9 i flaith na Scith-15 dara 16 fodroacaib 14 om. .i.: Nenual 13 badar ic Feinius

<sup>17</sup> flaitus 18 Sgeithia 20 rucad e 21 om. 7 19 ic ann esiden is na hili berla conad ar a cenn sin tangas o Forand flaith (lenitionmark of t very faint) Egibt do oghloim na mberlad 23 Feinius asin Aissia 24 Sciathia ass do luid (a stroke over the second s sec. man.) (dittography caused by change of line). 26 ins. Nemruaid .i. Nemruad m. Cuis m. Caim m. Nae 27 a flaitus (sic) Scithia a cind da fichid bliadan 29 Ninual. 25 dorad taisigecht 5-5 a cin da om. ar an (bis) \* Beil -105, 1 i cinn

9n-il-chenel do thabairt fo 100en māin, 7 fo chīs10 7 fo chāin, acht. 11seisium a ōenar. 12Tōesig imorro batar 13 and reme, .i. in fer ba 14hūasle 7 ba mō rāth <sup>15</sup>issin tūaith, <sup>16</sup>issē ba cend comairle do chāch : no 17 choisced cech n-ēcoir, no gressed cech<sup>17</sup> cōir. <sup>18</sup>Ni thriallad insaigid no smacht cenēl aile.

106. Is ī sin ¹trā aimsir Glass-

Is hī sein trā amser hi <sup>2</sup>hi r-ro genair <sup>3</sup>Gāidel ro genair Gāedel Glass ‡ ōtat 'Gāedil II. ō 'Scotta ingen Foraind. Is Guadi ainmnigtir "Scuitt" de Gāedelaib, ut dictum est<sup>6</sup>

Fēne ō Feinius asbertar . .

107. — ro chum in Is ē Gāedel Glass ro mbērla tōbaide as na dib chum in nGāedilg¹ as na bērlaib sechtmogat: 2hit ē dā bērla 2sechtmogat: 3it innso a n-anmann-side — ē inso a n-anmand-side,4 Betin, Scitin, etc. (a) 5Unde poeta cecinit

Bērla in domain, dēchaid lib . . . .

#### SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL. 13

peoples or to bring the multitude of nations under one hand, and under tax and tribute, but he alone. Aforetime there had been chieftains: he who was noblest and most in favour in the community, he it was who was chief counsellor for every man: who should avert all injustice and further all justice. No attempt was made to invade or to dominate other nations.

106. That is the time when Gaedel Glas was when Gaedel Glas, [from born-

Now that is the time whom are the Gaedill was born, of Scota d. Pharao. From her are the Scots named, ut dictum est

Poem no. X.

107. — who formed the seventy-two languages: these are their names -

It is Gaedel Glas who Elect Language out of the fashioned the Gaelic language out of the seventytwo languages: these are their names, Bithynian, Scythian, (b) etc. Unde poeta cecinit

Poem no. XI.

bad hand. 5 Scota ingen Forain 6-6 uad ainmnigter Sguit do Gaedilaib amail isbert in fili.

<sup>6</sup> rigi 1 domain ficid bliadan 7 da deich tra ar nenam 9 hil-chenela L: n-ill-chenal do tabair nir triall neach aili smachtugadh 10-10 aen smacht .i. fo chiss 11 aesiun a aenur (a final t yo sprs.) F 14 wasla wrongly in 18 ann (the stroke over the n yc) reime O'Curry's transcript of L: huaisli F 15 isan 16 is e ba cenn comairli 18 om. ni: do triallad insaigid 17-17 chosnad cach ecoir no gresad cach cenal 7 smachtugad ar cenalaibh aili.

<sup>3</sup> Goidil Glas ---2 om, hiraimser i rogenir Gadil Glas otait: to this is is prefixed (sprs.) in a late and

<sup>107.</sup> ¹ an berla <sup>2</sup>7 it e innso a n-anmann (om, side). — 1-1 Gaedil (om. Glass) do chum in Gaedelg \* sectmogat L: a lenitionmark over the c in O'Curry's transcript, but I cannot trace it in the MS. 4-4 om. F; apparently also om. sL, and yc L chumnigad sin adbert in fili na briathra.

<sup>(</sup>a) See p. 78.

<sup>(</sup>b) See the note on this f, and below, p. 148.

107A. [At this point Min. interpolates a version of the passage, beginning Ceithre randa (below, ¶ 142). Its readings are there recorded. The passage is not found in R1.]

108. Srū trā mac Esrū meic 2Gāidil, is ē 3tāisech do Gāidelaib luid a 'Hēigipt Sechtmoga 7 6ceitre cet bliadan ō 'dīlind conaice sin.

Srū mac Esrū \*trā meic Gāedil, <sup>9</sup>issē tõesech do <sup>10</sup>Gāedelaib luid a <sup>11</sup>Hēgipt co ro baigead Foronn. ō ro baded Broraind 14cona slūag i m-Muir <sup>15</sup>Rūaid, <sup>16</sup>in degaid mac nIsrahel ||. Sechtmoga 7 secht cet bliadain o dilind 17co sin.

> 18Ceathracha 7 ceithre cet bliadan o n-amsir sin inār 19 baidid Forann 7 o thainie Sru mac Esru a Heigept cosand n-amsir tāncatar Meic Milidh in Erinn .i. Eber 7 Eremon: dia n-ebart<sup>18</sup>

Cethracha 7 ceithri cét . . .

109. Lucht ceitre long luid Srū a ¹Hēigipt, ⁊ ceitre Srū a ¹³Hēgipt ¹⁴┐ ¹⁵cethri <sup>2</sup>lānomna fichit, 7 trīar ³amus gach lunga.³ Srū ⁴7 a mac <sup>5</sup>.i. Eber <sup>6</sup>Scott, batar cacha <sup>16</sup>lunga. <sup>17</sup> Srū 7 a eat tōisich na loingsi 7sin. mac .i. Eber 19Scott, batar

Lucht 12 cethri long luid lānamna fichet cacha <sup>16</sup>lunga, <sup>17</sup>7 triar <sup>18</sup>amus

108. Now Sru s. Esru s. from the Flood till then.

Now Sru s. Esru s. Gaedel, he it is who was Gaedel, he it is who was chieftain of the Gaedil who chieftain for the Gaedil who went from Egypt until (sic) went out of Egypt after Pharao was drowned. Four Pharao was drowned [with hundred and seventy years his host in the Red Sea in the wake of the sons of Israell: Seven hundred and seventy years from the Flood till then.

> Four hundred and forty years from that time in which Pharao was drowned, and after Sru s. Esru came out of Egypt, till the time when the sons of Mil came into Ireland, to wit Eber and Eremon: whereanent [one] said—

> > Poem no. XII.

109. Four ships' comship.

Four ships' companies panies strong went Sru out strong went Sru out of of Egypt, with twenty- Egypt. There were twentyfour wedded couples and four wedded couples and three hirelings for every three hirelings for every Sru and his son ship. Sru and his son

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> toisech: a full stop after Gaidelaib μR 2 Goidil 108, 1 om. 6 .uii. 7 dilinn conici -5 baided Forainn 4 Hegipt 12 baid 10 Gaedilib 11 Haeigift 9 is e toissach s om. 14 om, cona sluag and m- 15 Romuir for Ruaid L eagaid mac nIssarthel 17 conuici 18-18 this passage and the appended verse in F only: marks of contraction and lenition in ceathracha touched 10 lenition-marks added to the d's sec. man. up sec. man.

<sup>109.</sup> Hegipt 2-amna 2-3 amas cecha lungai 4 om. 7 8-8 búi Noenal ua Feiniusa i flaithius (a) om. sin 11 richtain na ----12 ceitri 13 Eghept (what looks like an aspiration-mark, now very faint, inserted before the E in a later bad 14 .i. for 7 15 ceitri F: triar L, erased and cethri substituted 17-17 dittographed and erased L 18 amas 10-19 Scot, ba

<sup>(</sup>a) atbath has evidently dropped out of the Min. tradition; uR has doctored the text, but un has been imperfectly successful in doing so.

Scithīa.

† Is ī sin aimsir <sup>8</sup>Noenail iat tōesig na l-longse. <sup>19</sup> ua (sic) Feniusa, flatha<sup>8</sup> na ‡ Is <sup>20</sup>in tan sin atbath <sup>21</sup>Noenual mac Baath meic <sup>11</sup>riachtain Noenuail meic Foeniusa Farsaid 21.i. flaith na <sup>22</sup>Scithīa, <sup>23</sup>7 || <sup>24</sup>marb Srū <sup>25</sup>dana <sup>26</sup>fōchētōir 27 Tar rochtain na Scithīa.

110. Gabais Eber 'Scott rīgi na Scithīa ‡ 2er ēcin Il ōs clainn Noenuail, co torchair la 'Noenius mac <sup>5</sup>Noenuail. Bāi cosnam etir Noenius 67 Boamain Boamain rīgi co storchair Do rochair 16 Taitt īarom 35 Taitt īarom do 15 Rephill.

Gabais Eber 22Scott ‡ ar <sup>23</sup>ēcin || rīge na Scithīa ōs chlaind Noenuail,23 24co torchair la Noemius mac Noenuail.24 25Bōi cosnam <sup>26</sup>etir <sup>27</sup>Noimius 7 <sup>28</sup>Boamain mac Ebir Scuitt. Gabais mac Ebir Scuitt. Gabais 28 Boomain <sup>29</sup>rīge la 10 Noenius. Rogab 11 trā torchair la Noenus. Gabais <sup>12</sup>Noenius <sup>13</sup>flaitheas, co Noinus flaitus co torchair torchair la 14 Hogomain mac la Hogaman mac mBoman Boamain an dīgail a athar. i ndigail a 31athar. Gabais Rogah Ogamain rīgi coner- Ogaman rigi30 conerbailt. bailt. Gabais 15 Rephill mac Gabais 32 Rifill mac 33 Noemi Nemi rīgi co torchair la rīge co torchair la 34 Taitt <sup>16</sup>Taitt <sup>17</sup>mace <sup>18</sup>Ogamain. mac Ogomain. Do rochair do 19lāimh Refloir meic 36Refloir meic Rifill. 25Bōi <sup>20</sup>Bōi cosnam cosnam <sup>37</sup>flathiusa <sup>38</sup>īarom

21-21 Nenuail uha (sic) (a) hiat taissig na loingsi sin 20 ann amsir Feiniusa rogab Noennel mac Baait meic Nenuail meic Fenus (written Feu;) 22 Sgeithia 23 om. 7 24 barb 25 dono 26 fochethoir L Farrsaid 27 ar tiachtain Scethia. fo.c.oir F

Feinius, prince of Scythia.] Sru died immediately after reaching Scythia.

110. Eber Scot took the kingship of Seythia [by force] the kingship of forcel from the progeny of Nenual, till he fell at the hands of Noemius s. Nenual. There was a conkingship till he fell at the hands of Refloir s. Refill. hands of Refloir s. Rifill.

Eber Scot, they were the Eber Scot, they were the chieftains of that expedi-chieftains of the expedition. tion. [That was the time [It is then that Nenual s. of Nenual grandson of Baath s. Nenual s. Feinius Farsaid, prince of Scythia, died: and | Sru also died immediately after reaching Scythia.

Eber Scot took [by Scythia from the progeny of Nenual, till he fell at the hands of Noemius s. Nenual. There was a contention beween Noemius tention between Noemius and Boamain s. Eber Scot. and Boamain s. Eber Scot. Boamain took the kingship Boamain took the kingship till he fell at the hands of till he fell at the hands of Noemius. Noemius took Noemius. Noemius took the princedom till he fell at the princedom till he fell at the hands of Ogamain s. the hands of Ogamain s. Boamain in vengeance for Boamain in vengeance for his father. Ogamain took his father. Ogamain took the kingship till he died. the kingship till he died. Refill s. Noemius took the Refill s. Noemius took the kingship till he fell at the hands of Tat s. Ogamain. hands of Tat s. Ogamain. Thereafter Tat fell at the Thereafter Tat fell at the

<sup>2</sup> ar eicin 3 Nennail 4 Nacinius 5 Nenuail 110. 1 Scot 10 Noinius 7 Boamin (bis) 8 Scuit \* torchoir 6 ins. mac Nenuail 11 om. 12 Naoinius 13 rigi 14 Hogamain m. Boamin 15 Refill (bis) 16 Tait (bis) 17 mac 18 om. μΛ (sic) 19 laim 20 bai 25 Aghnon m. Tait -22 Scot 23-23 eigin rigi na Sgeithia os claind Nenuail

<sup>26</sup> itir (bis) 27 Noinus (written Noiu; hic et 25 bi (bis) 29 rigi 28 Boaman (bis) ubique, except Noenu3 once) 34 Tait m. Ogaman 32 Reiffill 33 Nemin rigi at athair 38 om. iarom: O'Curry's transcript 27 flaithusa 36 Reffloir meic Refill of L inserts here Rifill meic, but I cannot trace or find room for these

<sup>(</sup>a) The Ms. has the appearance as though the scribe first wrote ula, and he or another afterwards changed the 1 to an h in ink of a slightly different colour. L.G .- VOL. IL.

co torchair Refloir la torchair 21 Hadnon mac Taitt.

īarom etir Refloir mac 26 etir Refloir mac 39 Noemi Refill 7 Agnon mac Tait, 7 40 Agnon mac Taitt, co Refloir Hagnon.41

111. Conid aire sin ro muir 5timceall in domain 21timchiull <sup>6</sup>atūaidh. Is lia tuirim acco īar n-ēc Adhnoin14 forsin 15 muincind mõir-7 17 Alldoit 7 Caicher drui.

atuaid

21-21 aturru na dechsad cach o cheili

s timchell an

16 Lamfinn

<sup>18</sup>Conid aire sin ro ¹hindarbtha sīl ²nGāidil innarbat¹8 sīl ¹9Gāedil for for muir, .i. 3Adnon 7 muir, .i. 20Agnomain 7 'Lāmhfind a mac, com- Lāmfind a mac, co mbatar batar secht mbliadna for secht mbliadna for muir in domain <sup>22</sup>atūaid. Is lia <sup>23</sup>tuirim an aisnēis in ro chēsatar do ro chēsatar d'ulc. † Is ulce. ‡ Is aire tucadh aire thucad Lāmfind for \*Lāimhfind fair, ar nī \*mō mac 25 Agnomain, ar nī ba badis soillsi 10 coinnle 11 in- mo soillsi chaindell andate 25 daat 12a lämha hicon imrum. a läma 26 ocond imram. Il Teora longa doib, 7 Trī longa dīb, 7 cengal <sup>13</sup>cengul eturro [. . .] fri <sup>27</sup>eturru, na digsed cāch dib 35 Alldoit 7 36 Caicher drui.

araile.13 Trī 14tōisig batar ōraile.27 Trī 28toisig batar <sup>29</sup>accu īar n-ēc <sup>30</sup>Agnon 33 forsin muinciund mormara Caisp .i. 16Lāmhfind mara Caisp .i. 34Lāmfind 7 words in the original MS. They are not in F. 39 Noime 40 Ogaman 41-41 om. m. Tait now lost from L: restored from O'Curry's transcript 111. ¹-ta μΛ, innarbtha μR 2 om. n-3 Agnon 4 Lamfind 7 chesastar 8 Lamfinn ba mor 10 written oile μ<sub>Λ</sub>: cainnle μR 11 indat 12 a lama ocun 13-13 cach dib a cengal fri araile 14-14 toisich doib iar néc Agnon 15 muincinn môr-17 Elloit — 18-18 con aire sin ro hindarbad 19 nGaedil 20 Agnon 7 Lamfind (the latter hic et semper) 21 timcell 22 atuaidh 22 turim: then follows si which has been erased and annsin do substituted 25-25 nAgnoin ar na ba soillsi caennell anait 26 ocon n-

30 Agnoin

28 taissaig

23 isin muincid (sio) mara. The sin of forsin not traceable in L, restored

Thereafter there was a Thereafter there was a s. Refill and Agnomain s. dom

contention between Refloir contention for the princebetween Tat. till Refloir fell at the [grand] son of Noemius and hands of Agnomain s. Tat. Agnomain s. Tat, until Refloir fell at the hands of Agnomain.

111. For that reason was

For that reason was the the seed of Gaedel driven seed of Gaedil driven forth forth upon the sea, to wit upon the sea, to wit Agnomain and Lamfhind Agnomain and Lamfhind his son, so that they were his son, so that they were seven years upon the sea, seven years on the sea, skirting the world on the skirting the world on the north side. More than can north side. More than can be reckoned or related are be reckoned are the hardthe hardships which they ships which they suffered. suffered. [The reason why The reason why the he was called Lamfhind name Lamfhind was given was, because not greater to the son of Agnomain used to be the radiance of was, because not greater a candle than his hands at was the radiance of candles the rowing. They had than his hands, at the three ships with a coupling rowing.] They had three between them <that they ships with a coupling should not separate from between them, that none of one another. They had them should move away three chieftains after the from the rest. They had death of Agnomain on the three chieftains after the surface of the great death of Agnomain on the Caspian Sea, Lamfhind and surface of the great Allot and Caicher the druid. Caspian Sea, Lamfind and Allot and Caicher the druid.

from O'Curry's transcript 34 The f in Lamfind and similar names never dotted in F: - Find 7 Alldoit . . . drui now lost from L, restored from 35 Alloth 36 Caicer drai. O'Curry's transcript

112. Is ē Caicher dorat 3leghadh Riphi chenn, acht ar clann, hi cind trī cēt mbliadan.22

Is ē in <sup>23</sup>Cacher <sup>24</sup>drui dōib 1leges 2 for medradh na 25 dorat 26 in leges dōib, 27 dia murdūchunn.<sup>2</sup> .i. cēir do mboī in murdūchand oca na clūasaib. medrad, 27 .i. 28 bōi in cotlud <sup>4</sup>Conus rucc in gōeth isin oca forrach <sup>28</sup>frisin ceōl. Is <sup>5</sup>occian mor, co ro <sup>6</sup>cēsaiset ē <sup>29</sup>in <sup>30</sup>leges fuair Cacher mõr <sup>7</sup>ngorta 7 n-ītadh; co dõib, .i. cēir do legad na torachtatar i \*cind secht- 31 clūasaib. Is ē Cacher 32 ro maine in rind mor ōtā rāid friu, dia 33 ruc in gāeth fotūaidh.8 34mor iat 35issin n-ocian, conid sisin rind sin fuaratar 36co ro chēsaiset mor re 10 topur co mblas fina, co ro gortai 7 re hittaid and : co <sup>11</sup>loingsit ann, <sup>12</sup>7 batar trī torachtatar i cind<sup>36</sup> secht-<sup>13</sup>läithe 7 teora haidche ann maine <sup>37</sup>in rind mör atā a i n-a codlad: 14conerbairt Slīab Rifi fo thūaid: 38conid Caicher friu: 15 Eirgidh, nī isin rind sin 39 fuaratar 16 anfum de co 17 risem co topor co mblas 40 fina, co ro Hērinn. Cia 18 airm atā longset and, co mbatar trī Ēriu? ar <sup>19</sup>Lāmfinn. <sup>20</sup>Is laa 7 teora aidche<sup>40</sup> na sia ūait indā in Scithīa, 7 41 cotlud andsin. Conerbairt nī <sup>21</sup>sinni fēin <sup>22</sup>rosficcfa ar Cacher drui, <sup>41</sup> Ērgid, ar sē, <sup>42</sup>nī anfam <sup>43</sup>co r-risam Hērind. 44Cia hairm atā 45 ind Hēriu? ar Lāmfind mac 46 Agnõin. Is 47 fate, ar <sup>48</sup>Cacher, andās in Scithīa, nī sind fēin ric, ar Cacher,

112. It is Caicher who gave them a remedy against who gave the remedy to the melody of the Sirens, them, when the Siren was namely to melt wax in their making melody to them: ears. So the wind took sleep was overcoming them them into the great Ocean, at the music. This is the and they suffered much of remedy which Caicher hunger and thirst; till at found for them, to melt the end of a week they wax in their ears. It is reached the great pro- Caicher who spake to them. from the three hundred years.

It is Caicher the druid montory out northward when the great wind drave Rhipaean them into the Ocean, so Mountain, and in that that they suffered much promontory they found a with hunger and thirst spring with the taste of there: till at the end of a wine, and they feasted week they reached the great there, and were asleep promontory which is norththere three days and three ward from the Rhipaean nights. But Caicher said Mountain, and in that to them: Rise, we shall not promontory they found a rest therefrom till we reach spring with the taste of Ireland. What place is wine, and they feasted 'Ireland'? said Lamfhind. there, and were three days It is further from thee than and three nights asleep Scythia, and not we our- there. But Caicher the selves shall reach it, but druid said: Rise, said he, our children, at the end of we shall not rest until we reach Ireland. What place

<sup>112. 1</sup> om. 2-2 ar medrad na murduchonn 3 legad ina 5 ocian mór siar 6 -sed 7 ngortaid 7 itaid ann 8-8 cinn tsechtmaine i rinn mór otha Sliab Rife fotuaid 9 om. isin: rinn-sin 10 tobar 11 -set 12 om. 7 13 la 7 .iii, aidche 14 condebairt 17 risam Erinn 18 hairm ita lan Er-, the la 16 anfam, the f ve uR 19 Laimfinn (an erroneous anticipation of Lamfind) partly erased 22-22 rie acht ar clann hi einn .ccc. 20 isia and om. nait. 21 sinne bliadan - 23 Caicer hic et semper 24 om. 25 dorind F: this word defaced in L by grease: O'Curry's transcript gives dorigni leges, but his i should be i (= in) and the letter before it is certainly v. The preceding & is not quite so clear, but the letter can hardly be anything else: and the p before that, though faint, is beyond doubt. Dorigni is

<sup>27-27</sup> diambai however a preferable reading, and appears in \*Q 26 om. in in murduchann aca mbregad 28-28 bi in collad ca forarrach 34 om. mor iat 33 rosfuc 81 om, and ye L 32 adubairt 36-36 cor cessadar mor do gorta 7 ditaid and co torchrat a 35 isin aecan 37 i rind moir o tsleib Rifi fo tuaid 38 conad 39 fuaradar tobair 40-40 fina cor loingsid ann combadar tri la 7 tri haidchi (an accidental blot, 41-41 codlad annsin not a lenition-mark, above and to the right of the d) 43 co raisim Er 44 Ca 45 om. 42 ins. 7 conerbailt (sic) Caicer drai 48-48 Caicer drai inan Sgethia 7 ni ind: Er 46 Agnomaid 47 fata

113. Gabsat 'imorro is na Nuadho.8

<sup>17</sup>Gabsat īarsin Gaethlaigib <sup>2</sup>Medontacda, Gaethlaige Meotecda, <sup>19</sup>acus 7 is 3 and sin rucad mac do is 20 and sin rucad mac do 'Lāmfind, .i. Eber Glün- Lāmind, .i. Eber Glünfind find<sup>4</sup> ‡ .i. <sup>5</sup>comarthai gela ‡ <sup>21</sup>.i. <sup>22</sup>comartha gela batar for a <sup>6</sup>glūinibh ||. Is <sup>23</sup>robatar for a <sup>24</sup>glūinib ||. ē ba tōisech 'dar ēis a Is 25 hē ba tōesech dar ēis athar. 8Hua döside Febri 25a athar. Ua 26döside, Glass ||, hua doside Febri † 27Glunfind ||, ua <sup>26</sup>dōside, <sup>28</sup>Nuado.

9His aire 10dono ro 11hindarbtha Gāidil asin Scithīa, i 12cinaidh 13marbtha Refloir meic 14Rephill meic, 15Noemi meic Noenuail meic Baaith meic Ibaith meic 16 Foeniusa Farrsaid

114. Brath mac Deatha meic<sup>(a)</sup> Ercada meic Alldoit <sup>51</sup>Ercada meic meic Nuadat meic 2Noenu- meic aill meic Febri Glaiss meic 54 Noennail meic

Brath<sup>(b)</sup> mac Deatha meic 53 Nuadat meic 55 Febri

#### SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL. 23

is that 'Ireland'? said Lamfhind s. Agnomain. Further than Scythia is it, said Caicher. It is not ourselves who shall reach it, but our children, at the end of three hundred vears from today.

113. Then they settled in his father. His grandson grandson was Nuadu.

Thereafter they settled the Maeotic Marshes, and in the Maeotic Marshes, there a son was born to and there a son was born Lamfhind, Eber Glunfhind: to Lamfhind, Eber Glun-[white marks which were fhind: [white marks which on his knees]. It is he were on his knees]. He it who was chieftain after is who was chieftain after his father. His grandson was Febri [Glas], his was Febri [Glunfhind (sic)], his grandson was Nuadu.

This is why the Gaedil were driven forth from Scythia, for the crime of slaving Refloir s. Refill s. Noemius s. Nenuail s. Baath s. Ibath s. Foenius Farrsaid.

Agni s. Eber Glunfhind s. s. Eber Glunfhind s.

114. Brath s. Death s. Brath s. Death s. Ercha Ercha s. Allot s. Nuadu s. s. Allot s. Nuadu s. Nenual Nenual s. Febri Glas s. s. Febri Glas s. Agni Find

sin fen reichfis acht ar cland a cind tri. .c.c.c. bliadan oniu (bliadan sprs. 49 chéd in O'Curry's transcript, wrongly.

<sup>113. 1</sup> om. 2 Medote 7 is annsin 3 the -sin sprs. ye μΛ 4-4 Laimfinn . . . Glunfinn 5 comarda 6 gluinib <sup>7</sup> tar <sup>8-8</sup> ua dosin Febria Glas ua do-saide Nuada 10 dana 11 innarbtha Goidil

<sup>(</sup>a) Written mcc uA.

<sup>(</sup>b) This genealogy in a marginal column in L.

<sup>16</sup> Feniusa -14 Refill 15 Noemil m. Nenuail 19 om. 7 21 om. .i. 20 annsin 18 is na Gaethlaigib Meobacda 22 comartada 23 badar 24 glunib L 28-25 e ba taissach deis 2600pi (bis) which might be either dosin or doside F. It is bore in L 27 sic L, Gl- F: it should be Glas 28 Nuada.

meic meic Ebir 57Glünfind meic <sup>5</sup>Agnoin meic Thaitt meic Lāmfind meic <sup>58</sup>Agnomain meic 59 Thait meic 60 Ogamain 61 meic Boomain meic Ebir Scuitt meic Srū meic Esrü<sup>61</sup> meic <sup>62</sup>Gāidil <sup>63</sup>Glais meic Niūil meic Feiniusa Farsaig.63

Occe 7 6Ucce da mac 7Alldoit meic <sup>8</sup>Noenail meic Nemid meic 7Alldoit meic 9Ogomain meic Thotachta [meic] Thethrigh9 meic Ebir Duib meic <sup>7</sup>Alldoit meic Agnoin. Mantan mac Caichir meic 10 Ercadha 11 Coemhechta meic Soethachta<sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup>meic Mantan<sup>12</sup> meic Caicher 13drūad.

Is ē Brath mac <sup>14</sup>Deatha tānic assin nAlbain air- as na 66 Gaethlaigib teraig14

do erīch Narboscorda, dar iar fut Mara Torrian do sruth nEoxanda, dar Slebi 67Chrēit, 7 do 68Shicil. Rōisit <sup>15</sup>Riphi, do na <sup>16</sup>Goethlaigi co Hespāin īarsain. Meotachdai, co Muir 17 Torren, dar cumgaib 18fotaib Mara Torrian do 19 Eilispoint, dar in 20n-ucht Maicidonda 21don ucht <sup>22</sup>Pamphilecda, dar inis Tir do inis Crēit, do inis 28 Caissiop, dar inis 24 Cephail, do inis Crēit, do Murrusc na Pelorda, do inis Sicil. dar 25cenn Slēbe

Is 64hē in Brath 65tānic

Lamfhind s. Agnomain s. Lamfhind s. Agnomain s. s. Eber Scot.

Tat s. Ogamain s. Boamain Tat s. Ogamain s. Boamain s. Eber Scot s. Sru s. Esru s. Gaedel Glas s. Nel s. Feinius Farsaid:

Occe and Ucce, two sons of Allot s. Nenual s. Nemed s. Allot s. Ogamain s. Toithecht [s.] Tetrech s. Eber Dub s. Allot s. Agnomain. Mantan s. Caicher s. Ercha s. Coemthecht s. Soethecht s. Mantan s. Caicher the druid.

This is that Brath s. Death who came out of came out of the Marshes Eastern Albania

to the land of Narboscorda, (a) along the Torrian Sea to Crete the Rhipaean Mountain, to the Spain thereafter. Maeotic Marshes, to the Torrian Sea, by the long straits of the Torrian Sea to the Hellespont, by the Macedonian Gulf to the Pamphylian Gulf, by the island of Tyre to the island of Crete, to the island of Coreyra, by the island of Cephallenia, to the island of Crete, to the shore of the Pelorians, to the island

it is that Brath who

over the Euxine River, (b) across and to Sicily. They reached

#### 26 SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL.

Hetna, dar leth an Mara <sup>26</sup>Torren, do Sardain, do <sup>27</sup>Chorsie, do inis Sardi, darsin <sup>28</sup>Ler mBreeda, do <sup>29</sup>munciund <sup>30</sup>Gaidiain, do innsib Sab, do <sup>31</sup>Cholomnaib Ercoil .i. Talpes <sup>32</sup>Habenna a n-anmann, don Gaeth <sup>33</sup>dianid ainm Coir, dond <sup>34</sup>Abhys <sup>35</sup>immectraigh <sup>36</sup>nemforenedhaigh, do <sup>37</sup>Espāin, do <sup>38</sup>fidhdruimnibh <sup>39</sup>Pyrinetaib.

<sup>40</sup>corgabsat <sup>37</sup>Espāin ar Gabsat Hespāin ar ecin. <sup>68</sup> ēcin:

<sup>41</sup>γ fichset ceithre catha cōicat <sup>42</sup>forro ō thūs co <sup>43</sup>deireadh: γ <sup>44</sup>co ro cumtacht <sup>45</sup>cathraich <sup>46</sup>and la <sup>47</sup>Bregunn mac Bratha. Ocus <sup>48</sup>turgaib tor ann ar a hinchaib, conid <sup>49</sup>ass atchess Ēriu īarom, <sup>50</sup>hi fescor gaimhrigh. <sup>50</sup>

114. Death m. Erchada m. Alloit <sup>2</sup> Nenuaill m. Eb. Glais 4-4 om. un 5-5 Tait m. Tait (sic) m. Ogamain Uicce 7 Alloit (ter) \* the e sprs. ye μΛ: Noinel μR 9-9 Ogamain m. Totachta Tetrig 10 Erchada 11-11 Coemtechta m. Soeta 12-12 om. µR 13 druadh and 14-14 Death tainic asin Albain airtheraig 15 Rife ins. m. Eber Scuit 17 Toirr-19 Elispoint 16 Gaethlaigib Medotc 18 fota Mara Toirren 22 -pilecdai 24 Cepail 21 donducht 23 Caisioib 20 om, n-25 ceann Sleibe Ethna 26 Toirren 27 Coirsic 28 Leribrecda 29 -cind 30 -diani ai col-32 Abennai 23 a faint dot over the d un: 34 aibys 35 -chtraich dianad µR 36 dot of lenition over g very 37 Hesp- (bis) 28 fiddruimnib 29 Pymetaib µA faint un -nedaigh 41 om. µR 42 ins. caechat (a) ficsed: forru tús o congabsat

#### SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL. 27

of Sicily, across the top of Mount Etna, by the side of the Torrian Sea, to Sardinia, to Corsica, to the island of Sardis, over the Balearic Sea to the surface of the Strait of Gibraltar, to the Strong islands, (c) to the Columns of Hercules, (Calpe [and] Abyla are their names) to the swamp called Coir, to the outmost bottomless abyss [the Atlantic Ocean], to Spain, to the Pyrenaean wood-ridges

till they took Spain by They force.

They took Spain by force.

And they fought fifty and four battles there first and last, and a city was built there by Bregon s. Brath. And he erected a tower there to protect it, and thence was Ireland seen thereafter, on a winter evening.

47 Bregainn m. 44 conrotacht 45 co traig µA 46 ann both MSS. 50-50 om. -- 51 Erchadha 49 ann atces Bratha 48 turcaib 56 Agnoin Find 54 Nenuail 55 Febrig 53 Nuadhad 52 Alloit 61-61 om. and ins. 59 Tait 60 Ogaman 57 Gluinfind 58 Agnamaid sec. man. in upper marg. of column: m. Beomain m. Ebir Scuit .i. (sic) 63-63 om, and ins. o tait Gaedil Sru m. Esru 62 Gaedil 68-68 Sicir 7 do 67 Creit 65 ins. sin (b) 66 Gaethlaighibh ar fud riachtatar co Esbain iar sin: gabsad Esbain ar eicin.

<sup>(</sup>a) Although .liiii. catha is written just before.

<sup>(</sup>b) Brath sin in F looks as though it had been inserted in a different ink (prima manu). There is no trace of an erasure.

<sup>(</sup>c) See the note on this paragraph.

115. Agnon dana mac tānic asin² Scithīa. mac Mantan meic Caicher. mac Mantain meic 25 Cachir.

<sup>12</sup>Agnon trā mac Taitt. Tait, is ē 2Gāedel-tōisech isse tōesech tānic de <sup>3</sup>Dā Gāelaib assin Scithīa. Dā mac leis, Lāmfind 7 Elldoit, mac lais i. Lāmfind 7 Aen mace Lāmfind,3 .i. Elloth.12 13 Ōen mac ic Eber Glunfind. Mac dono Lamfind 14.i. Eber 15Glunac<sup>5</sup> Elloit .i. Eber Dub, hi ind. Mac <sup>16</sup>don Elloth <sup>14</sup>.i. comainsir is na Gaethlaigib <sup>17</sup>Eber Dub, i <sup>18</sup>comamsir is ro fucait. Dā 6hua occe (a) na Gaethlaigib. Dā 19hua Thi comflaitius i. \*Toithecht occo i comlaith i. Toecht mac Tetrig<sup>8</sup> meic Ēbir mac Tetrig<sup>19</sup> meic Ēber Duib, 7 Noenual mac Duib acus 20 Noenel mac <sup>10</sup>Febrigh meic Aigne<sup>10</sup> meic <sup>21</sup>Febri meic <sup>22</sup>Agni meic Ebir Glünfind; 7 11Sothett Eber 23Glünind: 7 24Soecht

> <sup>26</sup>Ucca 7 Occa, dā mac Aldoith 27 meic Noenil meic Nemid meic Alloid<sup>27</sup> meic <sup>28</sup>Ogamain meic Thoechta meic Teitrig meic Eber Duib meic Elloit.26

116. Lucht cetheora long <sup>2</sup>Hespāin. omna decc, 7 se hamais <sup>7</sup>Brath, lucht lunga.<sup>7</sup> Occe · Ucce, ‡ dā mac Alloit ||, lucht dā long : ‡ dā brāthair

Lucht 20 cethri long trā trā tāncatar 'Gāidil co tāncatar Gāedil co '1Hes-Ceithre <sup>3</sup>lān- pāin. <sup>22</sup>Cethri lānamna dēc cech lunga,22 7 23 secht ncen mnā cecha lunga. amois cen mnaa.23 24Brath, lucht lunga. Ucce 7 Occe,24

#### SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL. 29

115. As for Agnomain s. s. Mantan s. Caicher.

As for Agnomain s. Tat. Tat he is the Gaidil-leader he is the leader of the who came forth from Gaedil who came out of Scythia. He had two sons, Scythia. He had two Lamfhind and Allot. One sons, Lamfhind and Allot. son had Lamfhind, Eber Lamfhind had one son, Glunfhind. Allot had a Eber Glunfhind. Allot had son, Eber Dub: at the same a son, Eber Dub, at the time as <the sojourn> in same time as <the sojourn the Marshes was he born. in> the Marshes. They had They had two grandsons in two grandsons in joint joint rule, Toithecht s. rule, Toithecht s. Tetrech Tetrech s. Eber Dub s. Eber Dub, and Nenual and Nenual s. Febri s. s. Febri s. Agni s. Eber Agni s. Eber Glunfhind: Glunfhind: there was also there was also Soithecht Soithecht s. Mantan s. Caicher.

> Ucce and Occe, two sons of Allot s. Nenual s. Nemed s. Allot s. Ogamain s. Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Eber Dub s. Allot.

116. Four ships' com- Four ships' companies panies strong came the strong came the Gaedil to Gaedil to Spain: in every Spain: in every ship ship fourteen wedded fourteen wedded couples couples and six unwived and seven unwived hirehirelings. Brath, a ship's lings. Brath, a ship's company. Occe and Ucce, company. Ucce and Occe,

<sup>115, 1</sup> om. 2-2 Goidel-toisech tainic assin e ua 7 i comflaith 8-8 Toitech m. Tethrig 9 Nenbual 5-5 dana ic 10-10 -brig m. Agni 11 Sohett m. Mantain -- 12-13 Agnoman . . . Tait, ise Gaedil-toissach tainic asin Scethia. Da mac leis .i. Lamfind 7 Alloth 15 Glunfind 14 om, i. (bis) 16 ic Alloth F: O'Curry's transcript has don ic Elloth, which I cannot find in L 17 the b umder-

<sup>18</sup> comaimsir 19-19 ua aco i comlaitus .i. Toitechta m. Teitrig dotted L 21 Febrig 22 Aigne 23 Glunfind 24 Sothechta 20 Nenuail 21-21 added sec. man. in marg. L 26-26 om. 28 the m in Ogamain and the ec in Thoechta underdotted L [such underdotting, which has no obvious meaning, is a frequent feature of L].

<sup>(</sup>a) This form has probably arisen by confusion with the proper name Occe.

<sup>11</sup>Bacra, cath for <sup>12</sup>Long- drūad meic dōib, conapthatar<sup>13</sup> ceithre <sup>30</sup>lunga. 19n Ucce.

lucht dā long. Mantan, 25 iat .i. dā 26 mac 27 Elloid lucht \*lunge. Trī catha meic 28 Noema meic Nemid imorro ro brisetar: 9cath meic Alloit meic Ogamain.27 for 10 Toseno, cath for || Mantan26 ‡ 29 mac Cachir Erchada bardu. Co 13tānic tāmh meic Oitechta,29 | lucht 31Trī catha ar fichit dīb 14 dē. 15 Nocho imorro 32 ro brissiset īar terno as na da luing acht ndul in Espain, 32 i. cath for dā 16chōicfuir, 17im En mac 33Tosceno, cath for Long-<sup>18</sup>nOicce 7 <sup>17</sup>im Un mac bardu, cath for <sup>34</sup>Barchu. Co 35 tānic tām 36 forru. conapdatar36 ceithre ar fichit dīb, im 37Occe 7 im Ucce. Noco terna ass na dā luing acht dā cũiger,37 im En mac 38Occe 7 39 Un mac 38 Ucce.

117. 'Macc maith 'hic Bāi mac maith ic Brath. Brath, Breogond a ainm.3 .i. Bregon, candernad9 10 in Is 'laiss ro cumdaigedh' Tor 117 in 12chathir .i.

116. Goidil Hespaine 3 -amn- 4 déc 8 amais ech longa 7-7 Brat dana lucht a lunga 8 luinge o ins. .i. 10 Toisenu 11 Bachra 18-13 tainic tam doib conaptatar 12 Longbarda 14 om. 15 nocha 16 coicer 17 um (bis) 18 nUce 19 nUice ---22-22 om. F. O'Curry's transcript has ceitri, 20 ceitri 21 Espain but the mark of lenition is there, though very faint 23-28 morfeisir 24-24 Brat lucht luingi Oco 7 Uca amu; can a mna 26 mac underdotted L (bis) 27-27 Alloith meic Nenuaill m. Nemid m. Alloith m. Ogaman m. Toitechta m. Teitrig m. Ebir Duib m. Alloith m. Oghaman 28 O'Curry and Facs, read this name Noenill: the MS. is not quite clear. The following name, Nemid, is torn from L

#### SECTION IL—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL, 31

one against the Langobardi. But there came a four and twenty of their of the two ships none and Un s. Ucce.

[the two sons of Allot], two ships' companies: [two two ships' companies, brethren were they, the Mantan, a ship's company, sons of Allot s. Nenual s. They broke three battles— Nemed s. Allot s. Ogaone against the Tuscans, main]. Mantan [s. Caicher one against the Bacra, the druid s. Ercha s. (Coemthecht(b))] a ship's company. So they broke plague upon them, and three battles after going into Spain: a battle number died thereof. Out against the Tuscans, a battle against the Langoescaped, save twice five bardi, and a battle against men, including En s. Occe the Barchu. But there came a plague upon them. and four and twenty of their number died, including Occe and Ucce. Out of the two ships none escaped. save twice five men, including En s. Occe and Un s. Ucce.

son, Breogan by name. By named Breogan, by whom him was Braganza founded, was built the Tower and

117. Brath had a good Brath had a good son

and here restored from O'Curry's transcript 29-29 om, F. The lenitionmark in Erchada is worn away, and omitted by O'Curry 30 luigi (sic) 31 ins. mac Caicir meic Erchada m. Caemthecht m. Toithechta m. Mantan m. Caicir Druad fee[it profe]sim 7 (yc F sprs.) mac Ebir Echruaid m. Ogaman. (a) The letters in square brackets have been scraped away 32-32 do brisid iar nul an Esbain 33 might be Toiscend L: Toisincha 7 34 Barcu cath for Long barda F 36-36 fora conaptatar 35 tainic 37-37 Oici 7 Uici conna terno as na da luing acht da .u. (da .u. also in L) 39 ins. im. 38 Uici (bis)

<sup>(</sup>a) Written Ogaan.

<sup>(</sup>b) This is the right name: the Ms. reading is incorrect.

<sup>7</sup>Coeman imorro Unde Gilla cecinit-

Brigantia, 7 5rognīth in 13Brigantia ainm na 14cath-Tor. 5 ut supra diximus. rach. A Tur 15 Bregoin atchess Hēriu: fescur lāthi gemreta atoscondaire15 Tth mac <sup>16</sup>Bregoin, <sup>17</sup>unde Gilla Coemain cecinit.17

Gāedel Glas ōtat Gāedil . . . .

Second Redaction

(V 2 β 6; E 2 α 9; P 2 β 30; D 3 δ 23.)

118. Ro ¹aitreb trā ²Nēll mac ³Foeniusa Farrsaid 4thes in 5nEigipt.

<sup>6</sup>Issē ferand rogab, ar <sup>7</sup>imlib Mara <sup>8</sup>Rūaidhi, 7 im Capacirunt; (a) 7 bāi andsin 9co rossēlasad Meic Israhel ō Forand 7 ō 10 slūagh Egipti. Ocus is ed dolotar Meic 11 Israel. for 12 ind ēlod sain, cosin ferand a mbāi Nēl 7 a mac .i. 13 Gāidel Glass. Ro gabsat trā Meic Israhel longport 14ic Capacirith, (a) for brū Mara 15 Rūaidi. Is 16 andsin do riacht Nēl mac Fēniusa da 17n-acallaim; 7 is 16andsin dorala 18Aron ‡ brāthair Aprāim li do Nēl: 7 ro 19 indis Aron do scēla Mac nIsrahel, 7 ferta 7 mirbuile 20 Maisi, 7 amail tucait na decc 21 plaga ‡ foillsi <sup>23</sup>fīadnuise || for lucht na <sup>23</sup>Hēgipti trē na ndāerad-som. Ocus do 24 snāidmsid caradrad annsin, 7 dober Nēl fīn 7 cruithnecht

and the Tower made, ut the city — Braganza was supra diximus. Unde Gilla the city's name. From Coemain cecinit —

Breogan's Tower it was that Ireland was seen; an evening of a day of winter Ith s. Breogan saw it. Unde Gilla Coemain cecinit -

Poem no. XIII.

118. So Nel son of Feinius Farsaid dwelt southward in Egypt.

This is the estate which he received, upon the shores of the Red Sea, and around Phi-Hahiroth: and he was there till the Sons of Israel escaped from Pharao and from the host of Egypt. Now it fell out that the Sons of Israel, in that flight, came to the estate where Nel was, and his son, Gaedel Glas. The Sons of Israel took camp at Phi-Hahiroth, on the border of the Red Sea. Then Nel son of Feinius came to converse with them: and there Aaron [brother of Abraham (sic)] met Nel; and Aaron told him tidings of the Sons of Israel, and the miracles and marvels of Moses, and how the ten plagues-[a clearness of testimony! |-- were brought upon the people of Egypt by

<sup>117. 1</sup> Mac ² la 3-3 Brath brath (b) Bregainn ainm 5-5 úrognith (sic) an tor cumdaiged Coemain and om, cecinit ---9-9 Brat .i. Brogan icanernnad 11 ins. mBrogain 10 om. in 12 chathair 13 Brigansia " catrach 15-15 tur Brogain imoro atches 17-17 amail ro Er-, fesgor gemrid (om. lathi) ideonaire 16 Brogaind chan G. Caemhain.

<sup>118. 1</sup> aittreabh trath E aitreph P aithreb D 2 Nel ED 3 Feiniusa E Feniusa P 'tes an E theas P tes in D 5 Eibipt (no g sprs. to b) E ise P. From here to ¶ 126 (1), om, ED and substitute: conerbailt 7 co ro baided Forand Cingeris [Forainn Cincris D]

i [im D] Muir Ruaidh. Do comhlaiset [cumlaiseit D] iarsin clanna Niuil 7 Scota ingine Foraind [-nn D] .i. [ins. hi D] ceithri longaib 7 ceithri [ceithri D, bis; an i, now very faint, sbs. the first time], etc. 10 sluag Egip, with t sprs. P P coruselasit mic P 8 Ruaidh P 12 inn elodh sin gusan bferann i mbai P 11 Tsral- V Isrl- P 18 Aaron P 14 jor P 15 Ruaidh P 16 ann P (bis) 17 nagallam P <sup>19</sup> innis Arón dó secela P <sup>20</sup> Maisi sprs. ye V: Maoissi P 21 plagha P <sup>22</sup> fiadnacha V fiadnusecha P <sup>22</sup> Heigipti tre na ndaorad-somh P <sup>24</sup>-sit P

<sup>(</sup>a) In VP this is written as though two words; Capa cirunt, Capa cirith.
(b) Dittography due to change of line: a meaningless flourish added in Ms. to the top of the a. D L.G.-VOL. II.

do tūathaib Dē do lõn. Ocus dochuaidh Aron îarsin co hairm a mbāi 25 Maisse, 7 ro 26 indis do ind 27 fāilte fuair 28 ic Nēl, 7 in maith ro 29gell re 30Macaib Israhel. Ocus ba buidech 25Maissi do Nel de sin.

119. Imtussa Niuil imorro,(a) issi ind aidche sin ro benastair anathair neme <sup>4</sup>rissin mac mbic <sup>5</sup>rucad (b) do Níul, .i. Găideal Glas, 7 ro bo comfocus bass dó. ‡ Co rop uaithe fuair-sin ainmniudugh .i. Gāidel Glass. || Ocus rucad in mac ar amus Maissi, 7 dogni Maissi urnaichi ndiera fri Dia, 7 dorat in fleise n-urdaire frissin inud in ro ben in nathair fris, cor bo slan 'in mac. Ocus ro ráid Maissi īar sin: Cet lem-sa, ar se, do chet Dia, na ro ircoitigi nathair don mac so, na duine día sil co brath; 7 na ro aitreba nathair tir bunaig a clainde. Ocus bed, ol se, rīga 7 ruirigh, naim 7 fireóin, do sil in meic so; 7 bidh an indsi tuaiscert in domain bias aitreb a chinigh. Conid edh sin fodera cen 'nathraaigh an Erinn, 7 cen urcoit do \*denam do nathair fria duine do sil Gaidil Glais.

120. Is andsin ro ráidh Nēl: Doria Forann cucaind, ol se, 7 no dáerfa sinn, ar in failtí doratsom daibsi, 7 i cinaidh cen bar nasstod. Tair-1siu lindi, ol Maissi, con t'uilib muindteraib isin sligid ambairech, ocus madh ail duit, fogeba comroind forba issin tir ro tairngir Dia do Macaib Israhel. No mad ferr lat, doberam-ne liberna Foraind ar do commus, 7 eirgigh indtib for muir, 7 fuirgid co fesar cindass scerum-ne 7 Forand, 7 dena do chomairle assa haithle.

121. Docomlai in lín bāi is na longaib, 7 ro fuirig co féicedh gnímrada in lāi iar na mārach: .i. dluigi Mara Rúaid in diaig in popuil, 7 badug Foraind cona slūagaib inti .i. sē fichit mili coisighi 7 cōica mile marcach, is e lín luid i n-dail bāis, do muindtir Foraind, i Muir Rūaid.

reason of their enslavement. And they ratified a friendship there, and Nel gives wine and wheat to the peoples of God for provision. So Aaron went thereafter to the place where Moses was, and told him of the welcome which he had received at the hands of Nel, and the good which he promised to the Sons of Israel. Moses was grateful to Nel for that.

119. Now as for Nel, in that very night a serpent stung the little son that had been born to him, to wit Gaedel Glas, and death was near to him. [From that circumstance he received his name, Gaedel Glas,] And the lad was carried to Moses, and Moses made fervent prayer before God, and put the noble rod upon the place where the serpent had stung him, so that the lad was cured. And thereafter Moses said: I command, by the permission of God, that no serpent harm this lad, or any of his seed for ever; and that no serpent dwell in the homeland of his progeny, There shall be, he said, kings and lords, saints and righteous, of the seed of this lad; and in the northern island of the world shall be the dwelling of his race. This, then, is the reason why there are no serpents in Ireland, and why no serpent does harm to any of the seed of Gaedel Glas.

120. Then it is that Nel said: Pharao shall come to us, said he, and shall enslave us, for the welcome that we have given you, and for the guilt of failing to hinder you. Come thou with us, said Moses, with all thy people, upon tomorrow's route, and if thou wilt, thou shalt receive an equal share of heritage in the land which God hath promised to the Sons of Israel. Or, if thou dost prefer, we shall put the pinnaces of Pharao at thy disposal: embark ye therein upon the sea, and stand ye by, to know by what means we shall separate us from Pharao, and thereafter do thy good pleasure.

121. The company that was in the ships set forth and they stood by to see the transactions of the following day: the division of the Red Sea in the wake of (sic) the people, and the drowning of Pharao with his hosts therein-six score thousand footmen and fifty thousand horsemen, that is the tally which went to meet death, of the people of Pharao, in the Red Sea.

120. 1 siu yc V.

<sup>25</sup> Maisi P (bis) 26 innis P 27 failti P 29 geal! P macuiph P.

<sup>119. 1-</sup>thusa P ² aidhqi P 3 an atair P 4 risin P 5 rug- P dittography of a due to a change of line 6 in vc V (bis) B written denom, the o changed to a.

<sup>(</sup>a) A sentence lost here from the R2 text, but preserved in R3: see § 144. (b) Here P breaks off. Till 1 126 V is our only authority.

a cland 7 a sil in nĒigipt iarsin, corsat milidh mor-chalma a eland. Marb Nel ïarsin iar cein mair, isin nEigipt. Gabais Goedel Glass 7 a mathair in ferand, 7 ro genair mac do Gaidel iar sin, i. Esru mac Gāidil: 7 ro genair mac dō-saiden is tīr cetna, i.

Sru mac Esru meic Gāidil Glais.

123. Dala sluaigh Eigipte imorro jarsin, gabais Forand Tuir in flaithus tar eis Foraind Cingeris. Ocus ba Forand tuilled anma cech rígh rogab Eigipt, otá Forand Cingeris co Faró Nectenibus. Ocus ba heside ‡ in cōicedh ri trichat no || in cōiced ri déc jar Forand Cingeris ro baidedh i Muir Ruaidh. Ocus ba ar cūis onóraigthe adbertha riú-son sin-sen.

124. Imtusa Foraind Tuir īarsin 7 sluaigh Eigipti, ō ro batar co tren, ro cuimhnigset an anbfolaid mbunaid do clandaib Niúil 7 d'fine 'Gáidhil, .i. a caratrad re macaib Israhel, 7 longa Foraind do breith do Niul leiss, in tan do eladar Meic Israhel. Ro moradh cocad 7 anbfolta for clandaib Niũil ĩarsin, co ro hindarbud a Hegipt iat.

125. Sru ‡ 7 a mac, .i. Eber Scot ||, iss iat ba taisich do Gaidelaib ic an indarba. Sechtmoga 7 secht cet bliadan o dilind conice sin: cethracha. 7 ceithre cet bliadan on aimsir sin inar báidedh Forand 7 o hanic Sru mac Esru a Hegipt cosin aimser i tancatar Meic Miled i Erenn. Dia nebrad,

Cethracha 1 cethri cet . . . .

126. Docomlaiset iarsain clanda Niu(i)l 7 Scota ingen Foraind i. i cetri longaib, 7

¹ceitri lānamna ²fichet in ³cech luing, for Muir ⁴Rūaidh, do Inis Deprofane, timchull Slēibe Riphi atūaidh, co rancatar Scithia: 101 consnisit im 11 flaithus Scithia 10

#### SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL. 37

122. Now when Nel saw Pharao with his hosts drowned, he remained upon the same estate, for he had no fear there; and his progeny and seed increased in Egypt thereafter, so that his progeny were warriors of great valour. Thereafter Nel died, after a long space, in Egypt. Gaedel Glas and his mother took the estate. Thereafter a son was born to Gaedel, Esru s. Gaedel: and to him was a son born in the same land. Sru s. Esru s. Gaedel Glas.

123. But as for the host of Egypt thereafter, Pharao Tuir took the princedom after Pharao Cincris. Now "Pharao" was an additional name of every king who took Egypt, from Pharao Cincris to Pharao Nectanebus: and he was the [thirty-fifth-or] the fifteenth-king after Pharao Cincris who was drowned in the Red Sea. It was for the sake of honouring them that this (name) was bestowed upon them.

124. As for Pharao Tuir thereafter and the host of Egypt, when they attained strength, they called to mind their hereditary hostility against the progeny of Nel and the family of Gaedel: the friendship which these had shown to the Sons of Israel, and Nel's taking of the ships of Pharao with him, when the Sons of Israel escaped. War and hostilities were increased upon the progeny of Nel thereafter, till they were expelled from Egypt.

125. Sru [and his son Eber Scot], they were the chieftains for the Gaedil at the expulsion. Seven hundred and seventy years from the Flood till then: four hundred and forty years from that time when Pharao was drowned, and from when Sru son of Esru came out of Egypt, to the time when the Sons of Mil came into Ireland. Whereanent this was said-

Poem no. XII.

126. Thereafter the progeny of Nel, and Scota daughter of Pharao, collected in four ships,

with twenty-four wedded couples in each ship, upon the Red Sea, to Taprobane Island, around the Rhipaean Mountain northward, till they reached Scythia: and

<sup>124.</sup> Gaidhil ye V.

<sup>126.</sup> Here ED resume. .uii. (reinked as .iiii.) V, ceitri ED

<sup>6 -</sup>ceall E -choll D 4 Ruad D 5 -faine E 3 gach E cach D granghadar E -gatar D 10-10 om, in Sleibi Ribhthi E 8 atuaid D text and ins. in upper marg. E: consnisid E -set D 11 flaithius D

<sup>12</sup>clanda Niūil 7 <sup>13</sup>Noenuail, dā mac Feiniusa Farsaid. 14 ond aimsir sin co haimsir 15 Refelair meic Nema 7 Miled meic 16Bile, ‡ .i. 17Galum a ainm. (a) Mor do 18cathaib 7 do 19 chongalaib 7 do 20 choicthib 7 do 21 fingalaib ro <sup>22</sup>imirset <sup>23</sup>etorru frissin rē sin, <sup>24</sup>co ro gon Mīled mac Bile Refelair mac Nema. Dā bliadain dēce ar 25 nōe <sup>26</sup>cētaib ro <sup>27</sup>būi in <sup>28</sup>cosnum sin.

127. Doluid Miled for longais <sup>2</sup>Tarsain: <sup>3</sup>ceithre longa dōib, 7 cōic lānumna dēc, 7 amus, in cach luing 8dīb. Lotar 9timchell na 10 Hassia 11 sairdess co 12 Hinis <sup>13</sup>Deprofāne. <sup>14</sup>Ansat trī <sup>15</sup>mīss intī. Trī <sup>15</sup>mīss <sup>16</sup>aile 15 doib for muir, co 18 rancatar 19 Eigipt, 20 hi cind ceitre bliadan coicat ar trī cet ar 21 mīle īar cet-gabāil 22 Erenn do Parthalon sin. Hi 23 cind imorro ceithre bliadan decc ar noi cetaib īar 24mbādudh 25Foraind 26i m-Muir 27Rūaidh <sup>28</sup>rāncatar <sup>29</sup>Eigipt in tan sin.

128. Forond Nechtenibus ba rī 2 ind Eigipt ind inbaid sin. 3Hiss ē sin in 4coiced rī dēc ar fichit 5īarsin Forand vo baiged i m-Muir Rūaidh: 7 ba sī ind aimsir sin doluid Alaxandir Mor mac Pilip isin anAsia, co riacht 10 Eigipit, 7 dobreth 11 ind Eigipt dia reir, 7 12 ro dichuir in Egipt, 7 do chart a rīg Nectenipus a Hēighipt 13 ind

12 clannda D 13 Neanbail E Noenbail D 14 on ED 15 Relair E 16 Bili E 17 Galam D 18 chathuib D 19 con- E -uib D 20 choctaib E 22 -sed E -seit D 21 fingaib corrected to -gal- VE -uib D 23 final n written in error and corrected to u V: etorra frisin ED 24 cor E 28 cosnam D. 25 nai E noi D 26 ced- E 27 baoi E boi D 127. 1 -dh E 2 iarsin ED 3.uiii. written in V and corrected by 1 longai doibh E dotting the minims of the u: ceitri E 5 lainamhna. (written lai2namna) E lanamna D 6 amhus E gach E cech D 10 Haisia E " sairrdes E sairdes D 8 dibh ED 9 timceall E 14 ansad E 15 mis ED (bis) 16 oile D 12 Hiniss D 13 -aine E 17 doibh E 18 rangadar E, rangatar D 19 Eighipt E Egipt D <sup>20</sup> i cinn ceitri mbl. E <sup>21</sup> mhile iar gced ghab. E <sup>22</sup> Eir. do Partalon E

the progeny of Nel and of Nenual, the two sons of Feinius Farsaid, contended in the matter of the princedom of Scythia, from that time till the time of Refloir son of Noemius and of Mil son of Bile [whose name was Galam]. Many battles and conflicts and wars and kin-murders did they wage between them during that time, till Mil son of Bile inflicted a mortal wound upon Refloir son of Noemius. Nine hundred and twelve years did that contention last.

127. Thereafter Mil came into exile. They had four ships, with fifteen wedded couples, and a hireling, in every ship. They went south-east around Asia to Taprobane Island. They stayed three months therein. Three other months had they on the sea, till they reached Egypt: that was at the end of one thousand three hundred fifty and four years after the first Taking of Ireland by Partholon. They reached Egypt at the end of nine hundred and fourteen years after the drowning of Pharao in the Red Sea.

128. Pharao Nectanebus was king of Egypt at that time. He is the thirty-fifth king after the Pharao who was drowned in the Red Sea. Now it was in that time that Alexander the Great, son of Philip, came into Asia and arrived in Egypt, and brought Egypt into obedience to himself, laid Egypt waste, and drove out her king

Herenn do Phartalon D 23 cinn im, ceitri E 24 mbad- E mbadhud D <sup>25</sup> Forainn ED <sup>26</sup> a E <sup>27</sup> Ruaid E Ruad D <sup>28</sup> rangatar ED <sup>29</sup> Egipt D. 128. 1 Forann Neictinibus E Forann Nechtinibus D 2 om. ind E: ind Egipt D 3 his ED 4 coig- E 5 iarsind Foraind D 8 bai sin aimsir doluid Alsgandair E aimser and baidhed D 7 i E om. sin; Alaxandir D Aisia E Aissia D (both om. n-) spelling of this word varies at random between Eigipt (the commonest form), Eighipt, and Egipt ED 11 an Eighipt E in Egipt dia rer D 12 do diochair na Heigeptagda 7 do chard a righ Neicteinibus a Heigeipt E: 7 dicuir . . . arrig Nechtinibus a Hegipt D 13 in n-Eiteoip E in

<sup>(</sup>a) Written, by a scribal freak AinM, E.

Eitheŏip; 7 ro ¹⁴chumtacht prīmchathair laiss ind Ēigipt, i. Alaxandria a hainm. ¹⁵Anaiss trā Mīled mac Bile ⁴⁵ocht mbliadna ¹⁶in ¹⁵Ēigipt, 7 ro ¹⁵foglaindseat a ¹⁵muinnter ²⁰prīmdāna ²¹indti: i. ²²Sētga 7 ²³Sobairchi 7 ²⁴Suirge fri ²⁵sāirse, ²⁶Mantan 7 Caicher 7 Fulman fri ²⁺druidheacht. Batar ²⁵buadlaind 7 ²⁵batar ³⁰brethemnaigh in triar ³¹aile, i. Goiscen 7 ³²Amargen 7 ³³Donn: batar ²⁴cathbūadhaig in triar ³⁵aile, i. Mīlid 7 ³⁶Occe 7 Ucce.

129. Ō ro airig Mīlidh fainne ¬ ¹aimnerte do ²thiachtain ³do ⁴Forand, ⁵celebrais dō: ‡ ¬ nī ⁶hūamun ⁻eitir, ˚acht ro ⁰tairngirsid a ¹⁰druīdhe rīgi ¬ ¹¹ferand do gabāil ¹²dō. ∥ Doļuid trā Mīled īarsin, ‡ in ¹³līn cētna, ∥ ¬ ¹⁴Scota ¹⁵ingen ¹⁶Foraind Nechtenibus ¹⁻laiss do ¹⁶mnaī, comad aire ¹⁶adbertha Scota ²⁰fria, ar ba Scot ainm a ²¹fir, īar mbunadus ²²dana in ²³ceneōil dianid ainm Scuit; ¬ ²⁴is īar ²⁵cenēl a fir ²⁶sloinnter ²⁻cech ben ²⁶is tīr sin.

130. Dolotar īarsin for Muir ¹Rūaidh. ²Rōisit co Hinis ³Deprofāne, ⁊ ⁴ansat ⁵mīss innte. Ocus(a) lotar ⁶timchell, sech India ȝ ¬Aissia ȝ ⁵timchell na Scithīa ⁶Clochaigi ¹⁰ammuich, for in Muir ¹¹nIndecda ¹²fothūaidh, co ¹³rāncatar ind ¹⁴acian ¹⁵tūaiscertach ‡ for ¹⁶in Muir Immechtrach ‖, do ¹¬inbiur Mara Caisp. ¹⁵Ocus gabsat tast trī nōmadha, for Muir Caisp,¹⁵ fri dord na

Nectanebus from Egypt into Ethiopia; and a capital city, called Alexandria, was founded by him in Egypt. Now Mil son of Bile tarried eight years in Egypt, and his people learned the principal arts there—Setga, Sobairce, and Suirge learned craftsmanship, Mantan, Caicher, and Fulman learned druidry. One remaining three, Goscen, Amorgen, and Donn were arbitrators and judges: the other three, Mil, Occe, and Ucce, were battle-conquerors.

129. When Mil perceived that weakness and loss of strength had come upon Pharao, he took leave of him: [by no means from fear, but because his druids had promised to obtain kingship and territory for him.] So Mil came thereafter, [the same tally] and Scota daughter of Pharao Nechtenibus along with him as wife. For this reason was she called Scota, because her husband was called Scot, that is to say according to the origin of the race called "Scots"; and every woman in that country was surnamed according to her husband's race.

130. Thereafter they came upon the Red Sea. They rowed to Taprobane Island, and tarried there a month. Then they went around, past India and Asia, and around Scythia Petraea outward, on the Indian Sea northward, till they reached the Northern Ocean [upon the Outer Sea], to the estuary of the Caspian Sea. They held their peace for three weeks, upon the Caspian Sea, by reason

Etheoibp D 4 cumdacht priomchathair lais an E, c, primhchathair lais in Egipt (the final t badly made, and improved sec. man.) D uii. D 16 an E 17 Egipt D 18 foghlaimsed E foglainnset D 19 muindter E 20 priomdana E 21 indi D <sup>22</sup> Sedga E Settga D 28 Sobairce E -chiu D 24 Suirgi E 25 sairsi E saeirsi D 26 Manntan E 27 draidecht E druidechtt D 28 buadhlainnd E -luind D 30 firbreathaig E firbrethaich D <sup>31</sup> naile E eli D: Goisgen E Goscen D 34 buag- changed to buad- E: -duigh D 32 Aimhirgin E 33 Dond E s naile E 36 Oiccoe 7 Uga E Oicce 7 Uicce D.

<sup>129.</sup> ¹aimhnertmhuire E ²tichtain D ³co E go D ⁴Forann E Foronn D °ceileabhrais E -bras D : de sprs. sec. man. in very faint ink V °huaman D ¹titr E etir D °7 ED °tairrngirsad E -rset D rodraithe righe E draoidhiu rige D rodraithe r

 <sup>14</sup> Scoto D
 15 -ghiun D
 16 Forainn Nectinibus E, F. Nechtin (sio) D

 17 lais ED
 18 mnaoi E mnoi D
 19 at- D
 20 frie D
 21 fir E

 22 dono D
 23 cin- E chen- D
 24 om. D
 25 cin- E ceneol D

 28 sloindter E sluinntir D
 27 cach E
 28 isin ED.

<sup>2</sup> roisid iar sin co E roiset go D 130. 1 Ruad D 7 Aisia E Assia D 6 timeheall sec E 5 mis ED: inti D 4 -sad E 11 -echdha E, n-Innecda D 10 amuigh E 9-ge E -ghe D 8 timceall E 14 aigian E 13 -gadar an E -gatar inn D 12 -aid D 18-18 om. and ins. in lower marg. 16 an muir Imech. E 17 inbhir E

<sup>(</sup>a) In the text of D written thus: lot-timchell sechin dia 7 Assia. The words are re-written with the correct spacing in marg. in a late and bad hand. In V a small o is inserted (prima manu) above and between the I, n, of India.

<sup>19</sup>murdūchand, co <sup>20</sup>rustesairg Caicher <sup>21</sup>druī. <sup>22</sup>Issē <sup>23</sup>leigis fuair dōib, .i. cēir do <sup>24</sup>legad na <sup>25</sup>clūassaib, <sup>26</sup>conna <sup>27</sup>clōistis in dord <sup>28</sup>sin. <sup>29</sup>Rāisit <sup>30</sup>īarsain ‡ seōlad sē 31 samlāithi | forsin 32 ocian sīar, co 33 rāncatar 34 Muir Liuis, do 35 Choronis: 7 for 36 muineind Mara 37 Poinnt; 387 39 rāisid sech 40 rind 41 Slēibe Riphi 42 atūaidh. Ocus is <sup>45</sup>andsain <sup>44</sup>asbert <sup>45</sup>Caicher friu, Inill <sup>46</sup>arō, ni <sup>47</sup>anfem de, (a) .i. ni 48 fuil 49 fass 50 duind 51 co roisim in 52 indsi 53n-ūassail, ‡ .i. 54Hēreo. ||

131. Rāiset īarsin co 'cend 'mbliadna forsin 'n-ocian siar, co rāncatar na 'Gaethlaigi 'Meotachta 'atūaidh: sech Germain, a lām fri Tracia, co rāncatar Dacia. Ocus \*ansat \*mīss i nDacia 10 atūaidh; din muir 11 Egeta, sech Gothiam, forsin Muir 12nElispoinntidhe, do inis <sup>13</sup>Tenedho for Muir <sup>14</sup>Toirrian sīar, do <sup>15</sup>Crēid 7 do <sup>16</sup>Sicil 7 do 17 Belguint (b) 7 Breguint, do 18 Cholomnaib Hercail, don 19 muincind 20 Gatian, hissin nEspāin trē-uillig.

132. ¹Ceithre cath ²cōicat |(c) ³ro rāinsit ⁴rempo for Fresseno 7 for Longbardaib 7 Bachraib, 7 7ro gabsat Espāin ar <sup>9</sup>ēigin: 7 ro <sup>10</sup>cumtaiged <sup>11</sup>cathir and la 12Breogund mac 13Bratha, ‡ .i. 14Brigancia ainm na eathrach, | 7 tor for a 15 inchaib. Ocus is on 16 tur sin

(with Caisb) E; nomada, Chaisp D 19 morduchann E -chonn D 20 ros- DE 21 draidh E 22 ise ED <sup>23</sup> leiges E leges D <sup>24</sup> legh- E 25 cluasaib E <sup>26</sup> cona ED. <sup>27</sup> -dis E clos- D <sup>28</sup> om. ED cluasuib D 31- the ED 30 iarsin ED 32 aic- E forsin nocian D (sic) E rangatar D <sup>34</sup> Muir (dittographed) Liphis E, Muir Libiss D 36 -cend E -ciunn D 35 Coroin, E -niss D 37 Pointie E Point D 38 om. 7 E 39 -ed E -et D 40 rinn D 41 -bi ED: Ribti E 42 atuath D 43 andsin E annsin D: written audsin V 44 aspert D 45 Cacher E 47 ainfem ED 48 fil E fail D 49 fos D 50 duin ED 52 innse E 53 n-uasail D 51 co roisimm E go roisem D 54 Ereo D. 131. 1 cenn D 2 om. m- ED 3 oician (om. n-) D 4 Gaetl- E -ge D <sup>6</sup> atuaid ED <sup>7</sup> Tratia E <sup>8</sup> ansatt D mis E mhiss D

of the crooning of the Sirens, until Caicher the druid delivered them. This is the remedy that he found for them, to melt wax in their ears, so that they should not hear that crooning. Thereafter they rowed, [a sailing of six summer days] upon the Western Ocean, till they reached the Libvan Sea and Cercina; and upon the surface of the Pontic Sea; and they rowed past the promontory of the Rhipaean Mountain northward. There it is that Caicher said to them Inill aro, ni anfem de, which means, We have no rest till we reach the noble island, [i.e. Ireland].

131. Thereafter they rowed to the end of a year upon the Western Ocean till they reached the Maeotic Marshes in the north: past Germania, alongside Thracia, till they reached Dacia. They tarried a month in Dacia northward; from the Aegean Sea, past Gothia, upon the Hellespontine Sea, to the island of Tenedos upon the Torrian Sea westward, to Crete, to Sicily, to Belgia and Burgundia (?), to the Columns of Hercules, to the surface of (the Strait of) Gibraltar, in three-cornered Spain.

132. Fifty-four battles did they win before them against the Frisians, and the Langobardi, and the Barchu, and they took Spain by force: and a city was founded there by Breogan son of Brath, [named Braganza],

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>-aid ED <sup>11</sup> Egreta E <sup>12</sup> nElispointide E nEilispointeide D <sup>13</sup>-edo ED M Torren D 15 Creid E Chreid D: Creid re-inked to Creit V 18 Col- Erc- E 19 -chiond E -ciunn D 17 Bealguint 7 Bregaint E 20 Gadian E Gaddiain D isin n- Esbain E: hisin and om. n- D.

<sup>3</sup> ro rainsit V ro raoinsed E 2 -ed E -et RD 132. 1 Ceitri E 4-pa ED 5 Fresena E Freseno D 6 Bachruib D ¹ do E 11 caithir D: ann RD 10 -daig- ER -tuig- D peicin E ecin R egin D 14 -ndchia E -ntia RD 13 mBratha R 12 Bregon R Breguin D 15 h- ERD -nib D 16 tor ER

<sup>(</sup>a) In upper margin of V, much faded: Hi aill aro .i. hi "inis" aill "uasal" aro "imrum"; .i. ni anfam diar n-imram co roisem Erinn.
(b) In V the u of Belguint is closed at the top by a prolongation of the horizontal stroke of the g; it might be meant for c: and the i is expuncted.

<sup>(</sup>c) Here R begins.

<sup>17</sup>atchess <sup>18</sup>Hēriu, hi <sup>19</sup>fescor <sup>20</sup>gaimridh. <sup>21</sup>Atasconnairce <sup>22</sup>Hith mac <sup>23</sup>Breguin.

133. Hitē annsin imtechta Gāidel on Scithīa co <sup>3</sup>Hespāin, conid dīa <sup>4</sup>n-imtechtaib sin asberar <sup>5</sup>andso sīss-

Doluid Mīlid as in Scithīa . . .

#### Third Redaction.

 $(\beta \ 35, \ 24 : \beta^1 \ 35, \ 42 : \beta^2 \ 12, \ 7 : M \ 268 \ a \ 48 : H \ 99 \ \beta \ 38 :$ after ¶ 138 B 10 a 1.)

134. Baath<sup>1</sup> mac <sup>2</sup>Magoc meic <sup>3</sup>Iathfed, is <sup>4</sup>ūada <sup>5</sup>Gāeidil 7 fir <sup>6</sup>na Sceithīa. <sup>7</sup>Ocus ro bo <sup>8</sup>mac dō. <sup>9</sup>in tāisech <sup>10</sup>amra <sup>11</sup>oireagda <sup>12</sup>diar bo <sup>13</sup>ainm Feinius <sup>14</sup>Farrsaich. <sup>15</sup>Is esiden in darna tāiseach<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup>sechtmogat do chuaid do <sup>17</sup>dēnam in Tūir <sup>18</sup>Nemrūaid, dīa ro <sup>19</sup>scāiltea na 20 bērlada.21

135. Tuirrthechta 7 2imthechta 3fine Gaeidil, ō 5Magoc mac Gathfet, 77 ō Srū mac \*Easrū: amail ro \*imthigsed a tīr 10 Eigept, 7 11 Scithīa, 7 <sup>12</sup>Easpāin, no <sup>18</sup>co torachtadar <sup>14</sup>co <sup>16</sup>Hērind: a <sup>16</sup>catha imorro, 7 <sup>17</sup>a 18congala, isin 19Sceithīa, 7 20fingal 21cloindi 22Nenuail 7 23Niŭil: 24amail ro 25 scindsed 26 im 27 flaithius na Sceithia, 28 i. fri 29 rē dā bliadain 30 dēc 7 nõi cēt: 31 dair is ead sin ro bas isin 32 chocad mor 33 sin. Is 34 hē seo 35 imorro 36mīniugad 377 rēideadad 37 a 38n-imthechta 39ontā Thor 40Neamrūad 41ille.

135. ¹ tuirthechta Η tuirrtheachta β tuirechtadh β¹² ² agas imtheachta

with a tower to protect it. From that tower was Ireland seen on a winter's evening. Ith son of Breogan saw it.

133. Now those are the adventures of the Gaedil from Scythia to Spain: so that the following is said anent those their adventures.

Poem no. XIV.

134. Baath s. Magog s. Iafeth, of him are the Gaedil and the people of Scythia. Now he had a son, the noble eminent chieftain whose name was Feinius Farsaid. It is he who was one of the seventy-two chieftains who went for the building of Nemrod's Tower, whence the languages were dispersed.

135. The narratives and adventures of the kindred of Gaedel from Magog son of Iapheth and from Sru son of Esru: how they departed out of the land of Egypt, and Scythia, and Spain, till they reached Ireland: their battles moreover, and their conflicts, in Scythia, and the kin-murder of the progeny of Nenual and of Nel: how these broke out in the matter of the princedom of Scythia, for a space of nine hundred and twelve years: for that is the (length) which that great war had. Here now is an exposition and a systematizing of their journey, from the Tower of Nemrod onward.

 $\beta$  imthechtadh  $\beta^{12}$  Tini H Gaodheal  $\beta$  Gaoidhil  $\beta^{12}$ <sup>6</sup> Iaf. H. Iafeth β Iaphet β<sup>12</sup> <sup>7-7</sup> mic Nai mic Osru mic Magog B12 9 imthigsead H 8 Esru alle H Easru β: om. β12: amhuil β2 11 Sceithia <sup>10</sup> Eigipt H β Eigipte β<sup>12</sup> imthighsead β imthedhaad β12 H β Scitia β<sup>12</sup> 12 Espain H Easpaign β<sup>12</sup> 18 go β 14 om, со H В 012 16 chatha & geatha B12 and om. imorro B012 15 Eirionn β Eirinn β2 20 finghala 19 Scithia hic et semper β12 17 om. a β 18 geongaladh β12 22 Neanuail H Nen úaill β fioghail β12 21 chloinni H & chloinne B12 25 rosníseadh B 24 om, amail β12 23 Nil B12 (sic) β Neanuaill β12 27 flaithius Η flaithios β 26 um H B12 snised  $\beta^1$  sinsed  $\beta^2$  $^{29}$ rae da bhliadhuin  $\beta^2$  dha bhliaghain deg  $\beta$ flaithes B12 28 7 M 31 oir is edh sin rob ∞ om. dec: following 7 .ix. c in rasura H deg β² 32 chogad H chogadh mhoir β cogadh mhoir β1 asin cogadh moir β12 as om. imorro B22 36 mineaghudh B 34 е H В 33 om. sin Η β012 38 -each- H: the last 37-37 om. H 7 regheadhugh  $\beta$ , 7 reidhiughadh  $\beta^{12}$ syllable -adh dittographed  $\beta$  animthechtadh  $\beta^{12}$ 39 otha H. 6 B012 " alle H B aille B12. <sup>40</sup> Nemru- Η Nemhruaidh β Nemhrodh β<sup>12</sup>

<sup>17</sup> adches E atcessa R <sup>18</sup> Eire E Eriu R <sup>19</sup> bfesgar E fescur R fesgar D 20 -rid R 21 aduscondaire E -condaire E-con- D 22 Ith ER 23 Breogain E Bregoin R.

<sup>4</sup> nimetaib 133. 1 Ite R Hithe D 2 Goidel D 3 Hesbain R sin E; om. sin R andso sis E indso sis R inso siss D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Iafeth mc Nae H <sup>2</sup> Magoth β Magog β<sup>12</sup> 134. 1 ins. imorro H 4 uad H uaith β uaidh β1 uath β2 5 Gaedhil B Iafeath β Iaphet β12 Gaoidhil B12 6 om. na β<sup>012</sup>: Scitia β<sup>2</sup> 7 om. 7 ro bo H β912 "an taisech suprs. sec. man. H 8 om, mac do and ins. i. B12: om, do B an taoiseach  $\beta$  .i. in taoisech  $\beta^{12}$  (-each  $\beta^2$ ) 10 amhra B amhradh B12 11 urrumunta Η oireadhgha β oirega β12 12 dar bho B dar (dair B2) 14 Farrsaid H. Farrsaigh & Fairr- Bo2 bhodh B12 13 ainim B2 <sup>15-15</sup> is eisidein an darna H in ard-thoiseach  $\beta$  om.  $\beta$ <sup>12</sup> 16 .lxx. B <sup>17</sup> denum an H dhenamh an  $\beta$  dhenamh  $\beta$ <sup>2</sup> sechtmodh B12 ruaidh  $\beta$  Neaimhruadh  $\beta^2$  19 scaoiltedh  $\beta^{12}$  20 bearladha  $\beta$  berlaibh  $\beta^{12}$ - n ins. .i. Neamhruad mac Cuis mic Caim mic Noe (with slight differences of spelling) Bo12.

Fenius Farrsaid, mac Baaith

Iafeth s. Noe:

136. Fenius Farrsaig

2imorro mac 3Baaith meic meic Magóc meic Iafeth meic Magoic meic 5Iathfeith meic Náe: 6Noi:

said sin in 10 sesed fear dec 11 fa 12 so-

theacoscu 13bāi con Tur Nemrūaid. 13

is(a) hē "imorro in "Feinius "Farrno Feinius Farrsaid mac Eogain

meic Gluinfind meic Laimfind meic Etheoir meic Tháe meic Baidb meic

Seim meic Mair meic Aurtacht meic Abuith meic Ara meic Iara meic Shru meic Esru meic Baaith meic

Riphaith Scuit otaid 14Scuit. Ocus isse Riphath Sot (sic) tuccustair Scoitic ón Túr. Arob é an t-ochtmad prim-thaisech ra bai a cumdach an Tuir Nemruaid.

Failleacc 15 mac Ebir meic Saili meic Airifaxat meic Sheim meic Nae, ‡ no Failleacc mac Ragúa meic Airifaxat ||, a quo India: ocus(b) Eber mac(c) Saili meic Airifaxat a quo na Hebraidi: ocus Grecus mac Goimeir meic Iafet meic Nae, a quo an Greg Sceitheagda: ocus Laidin mac Puin meic Eadailis .i. Alainius mac Ibaith meic Magóg meic Iafet meic Náe a quo(d) Eadáil. Riphath Scot .i. Feinius Farrsaid mac Baaith meic Magóc meic Iaféth meic Náe, a quo Scuit: ocus(e) Cai Cainbrethach mac Ebir meic Saíli meic Airifaxat: ocus Gáedel mac Eitheoir meic Bai meic Tai meic Barachain meic Magóc meic Iafeth meic Náe: ocus Neamrúad mac Cuiss meic Caim meic Náe. Is amlaid tra bái Nemroth, i, coraid calma cumachtach, 7 fer diumsach doilig dur-craideach, 7 selcairi suaithnig so-anach an iathaib Aissia airtheraigi: coma focal slechta seinberla lá cách uili co coitchend, Calmacht 7 sealgaireacht an fir sin in agaid an Ch6imded. Is les in fer sin dono ra cumdaiged ar tus riam an Babiloin, ar lár Muigi Senair, 7 Sruth nEofrait trí na lár. Cur cumtaigid hí iartain la Nin mac Péil, an tan dogab rigi an domain 7 na nAssarda. Is inand doni Babilon 7 confucio, iar n-eidircert, 7 cumase, iarsani ra cumaisced 7 ra buaidred is an inad sin denta 7 inandus in n-áen-berla, comdar berlada ilarda exsamla o sin amach tria bithu.

Is follus de sin nach raibi Feinius hi cumdach an Tuir, mar adberad na senchaidi, cen choimsinead comaimseraid. Is airi seo on, air issé Feinius Farrsaid an seisead fer deg bá so-theguscu t 7 bá so-gradaigi | do sil Riphaith Scuit, tue Scoitic on Tur.

that Feinius Farrsaid was one of the sixteen men best in learning who were at the Tower of Nemrod.

or Feinius Farsaid s. Eogan s. Glunfhind s. Lamfhind s. Etheor s. Thoe s. Bodb s. Sem s. Mar s. Aurthacht s. Aboth s. Ara s. Iarra s. Sru s. Esru s. Baath s. Rifaith Scot from whom are the Scots.

(e) 7 yc H.

Now it is Rifaith Scot who brought the Scotic language from the Tower. For he was one of the eight chief leaders who were at the building of the Tower of Nemrod.

SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL. 47

[These were] Faleg s. Eber s. Saile s. Arfaxad s. Sem s. Noe, [or Faleg s. Ragua s. Arfaxad], a quo India: and Eber s. Saile s. Arfaxad, a quo the Hebrews: and Grecus s. Gomer s. Iafeth s. Noe, a quo Scythian Greece: and Latinus s. Faunus s. Italus, that is Alainus, s. Ibath s. Magog s. Iafeth s. Noe, a quo Italy. Riphath Scot, that is Feinius Farrsaid, s. Baath s. Magog s. Iafeth s. Noe, a quo the Scots: and Cai Cainbrethach s. Eber s. Saile s. Arfaxad: and Gaedel s. Etheor s. Bai s. Tai s. Barachan s. Magog s. Iafeth s. Noe: and Nemrod s. Cus s. Ham s. Noe. Thus was Nemrod, a valorous powerful champion, a haughty oppressive hard-hearted man, a well-known hunter of high renown in the eastern lands of Asia: so that everyone had a proverb extracted from the Old Language. which was universally known-The valour and hunting-prowess of that man is against the Lord. By that man was Babylon founded at the very first, in the middle of the plain of Senar, with the river Euphrates flowing through its middle. It was afterwards fortified by Ninus son of Belus, when he took the kingship of the world and of the Assyrians. "Babylon" is the same as confusio, by interpretation, and "mixing"; for in that place were mixed and troubled the construction and identity of the single language, so that there were many and various languages from that onwards for

From that it is clear that Feinius was not at the building of the Tower, as historians say who do not harmonize the synchronisms. But this is how it was, that it is Feinius Farsaid who was one of the sixteen men most learned [and of highest degree] of the seed of Riphath Scot. who brought the Scotic language from the Tower.

<sup>136.</sup> Feinnius β Feinios β<sup>1</sup> Foinios Farsaig β<sup>2</sup> Fairrsaigh β 2 om. β<sup>12</sup> Baath B2 <sup>4</sup> Magoith β Magog β<sup>12</sup> <sup>5</sup> Iafeth β Iapheth β<sup>12</sup> (-et β<sup>2</sup>) <sup>o</sup> Nai β: om. meic Noi β<sup>12</sup> 7 om. β12 8 Feineas β12 ins. -sa β14 10 seseimh B12 9 om. Farrsaid sin Bois <sup>14</sup> neoch ba  $\beta$  noch ba  $\beta$ <sup>12</sup> 13-K3 om. B012 <sup>12</sup> soitheethasca  $\beta$  soitheethasa  $\beta$ <sup>12</sup> 14 Scuit sprs. e H

<sup>15</sup> sprs.: .i. diuicio .i. fogail iarsani ro fodlad in talam a mberlaib examla ina aimsir diarrobai ac on Tor Nemruad.

<sup>(</sup>a) Punctuated in M so as to begin a new paragraph at this word. (c) mac partly erased H.

<sup>(</sup>d) This word apparently in a different ink.

137. Dā mac badar coc Feinius, i. Nenual t no <sup>6</sup>Neanneal || <sup>5</sup> <sup>7</sup>in dala mac, <sup>8</sup>forfacaib ‡ <sup>9</sup>ēisidi || <sup>10</sup>i <sup>11</sup>flaithius <sup>12</sup>na Sceithīa <sup>13</sup>dia ēsi † fēn || : <sup>14</sup>Nēl <sup>15</sup>in mac <sup>16</sup>aile <sup>17</sup>‡ do Fhenius, || <sup>18</sup>oe in Tur <sup>19</sup>rucad hē. Ocus <sup>20</sup>fa saī-21 side is na hilbērlaib.

 $M \beta^{012}$ 

<sup>22</sup>conad ‡ ar a <sup>23</sup>chend sin 1 24tancus ō Forann 25t Fhostoiges | t' ō flaith Eigepht ||' do foglaim na mberlad ūad.24

H

Is ē a[n] Nél sin mac Feniusa Farrsaid asrubartamar, ro forchongart Forand Cingeris rí Eigipti ar imad a fesa, 7 a eoluis, 7 a foglama; 7 dobeir Forand ferand dó, 7 do breth a ingen, i. Scota a hainm, t Ocus adberaid araile comad airi adbertha Scota fria, (a) ar ba Scott ainm a fir, 7 is(a) Scuit ainm na tuaithi dia raibi an fer, unde dicitur Scotus 7 Scota t' iad a ndis ||' ||. Cethracha bliadan o scailead 26in Tuir co tanig Feinius Farrsaid atuaid, asin Sceithia, cona scoil, do iaraid na mberla: ar do runmenadar fosgebtais and, ar bith is as ra scailit. Da bliadain iar tiachtain do Fheinius atuaid corice Nin ‡ mae Peil ||.

137. Feinius had two sons, Nenual [or Neannel], one of the two, whom he left in the princedom of Scythia after him[self]: Nel, the other son [of Feinius], at the Tower was he born. Now he was a master in the multiplicity of languages.

So that [to summon him] one came from Pharao [Fostoiges from the prince of Egypt], in order to learn the languages from him.

This is that Nel, son of Feinius Farsaid whom we have mentioned, whom Pharac Cincris king of Egypt invited for the greatness of his skill, his knowledge, and his learning: and Pharao granted him an estate, and his daughter. whose name was Scota was bestowed. [Some say that the reason why she was called Scota was, that Scot was her husband's name, and "Scots" the name of the people from whom he came; unde dicitur ['of the two]', Scotus, and Scota. | Forty years from the dispersal of the Tower till Feinius Farsaid came from the north, out of Scythia, with his school, to seek for the languages; for they thought they would find them there, inasmuch as it was thence they were dispersed. Two years after the coming of Feinius from the North until Ninus [son of Belus].

<sup>137.</sup> bhadar  $\beta$  om.  $\beta^{12}$  mhac  $\beta^2$  ag H  $\beta^{01}$ aig  $\beta^2$  Feinnius  $\beta$ 5-5 om. B012 4 Noinell Bons 6 Nenneal with a sbs. in Feines B12 faint ink M: Naennel (the first e obscured by a blob of colour penetrating through from the other side of the page) H and ara mac H B om. B12  $^8$  for acaib H ro fhagaibh  $\beta$  ro fagaidh (f $\beta^{\scriptscriptstyle 1})$  $\beta^{\scriptscriptstyle 12}$   $^9$  sidhe  $\beta^{\scriptscriptstyle 012}$   $^{\scriptscriptstyle 10}$  a H  $\beta^{\scriptscriptstyle 012}$ "flaithus H bhflaithius  $\beta$  bflaithes (bhf  $\beta$ )  $\beta$ 12 12 om, na H eisi fein H dia eissi fein  $\beta$  dia eis  $\beta^{12}$  14 Néil H Néil  $\beta$ 17 om. Fenius H β<sup>012</sup>: dó H β<sup>01</sup>, dhó β<sup>2</sup> <sup>16</sup> aili H oile  $\beta^{01}$  eile  $\beta^2$ <sup>18</sup> ocan H: ó einter a bheith na saoi (saoith  $\beta^2$ ) is na hilbherlaibh (om.

<sup>22</sup> gonadh B2 hil- β2) β12 19 rugad eisidhi H 20 ba H 21 sein H 24-24 thangus o Forund o righflaith na Heigipte . . . 23 chenn son B<sup>012</sup> mbearla uaidh  $\beta$  do mhían riogh flaith (f  $\beta$ ) na Heigipte na hilbherladh d'foghlúim (-aim B1) uaidh B12 25 om. B 26 in Tuir sprs. c H

<sup>(</sup>a) The f in fria and the i in is we H.

<sup>27</sup>Tānic imorro Fēnius <sup>28</sup>isin nAisia dochum na Sceithīa <sup>29</sup>doridisi, ōir is <sup>30</sup>aisdi <sup>31</sup>doluid do dēnam <sup>32</sup>in Tuir † Nemrūaid || ±32 (.i. Neamrūad mac Cuis meic Caim meic Nāe) 33 || 34 conerbailt 35 i 36 flaithis na Sceithīa 37 i cind dā <sup>28</sup>fiehit bliadan ‡ īar tiachtain dō ōn Tur, || ocus dorad 59 tāisicheacht dia mac, 40 do Nenual.

138. I cind dā fichit bliadan 7 dā dēce trā 2ar ndēnam in Tuir, ro 3gob1 4Nin mac 5Pel rīgi 6in 7domain: <sup>8</sup>Ūair nīr triall <sup>9</sup>neach <sup>10</sup>aili smachtugad na <sup>11</sup>tūath, na na <sup>12</sup>n-il-chenēl <sup>13</sup>da tabairt | (a) <sup>14</sup>fō <sup>15</sup>aen smacht, <sup>16</sup>.i. fō chīs 7 fō 17chānaigh, acht 18ēisium na 19āenur. imorro 21 badar and 22 roime, i. 23 in 24 fear 25 ba 26 hūaisle 7 <sup>25</sup>ba mō rāth isin tūalth, is ē <sup>27</sup>fa <sup>28</sup>cenn <sup>29</sup>comairle do <sup>30</sup>chāch; no choisgeadh gach <sup>31</sup>n-ēcōir <sup>32</sup>7 <sup>33</sup>no gresadh 34gach 35coir, 36no triallagh indsaighi ceinel; 36 7 smachtugud ar 37chenēlaib 38ele.

139. Ceatra bliadna dég 7 tri fichit 7 ocht cet o thús flaithiusa Nín co deired flaithiusa Tútaneis, ri an domain. Is ria lind-sidi ro tóglad Tráe din togail deidenaig. Secht mbliadna iarsan togail eo tug Aeniass mac Anicis Lauina ingen Laidin meic Puin; conad tri bliadna cethrachad ar nói cetaib o scailead an Tuir co tug Aenias ingen Laidín 7 Ladín doroine a cuir fris. Is follus assin conach cert-thiagait lucht ind Auraiccepta comad hé Laidín an t-ochtmad prim-thuiseach an Tuir ‡ Nemruaid 11, 7 a fod anúass eturru.

<sup>27</sup> tanig H tainic  $\beta^2$ : om. imorro H  $\beta^{12}$ : Feines  $\beta^2$  <sup>28</sup> assan  $\beta$  asan  $\beta^{12}$ : nAissia docum H Aissia β Asia β<sup>12</sup> <sup>29</sup> dorighisi β -ghese β¹ dorighse óir is óir innte doluidh β2 30 aisti H β innte β12 31 dochuaid H doluigh β 33-33 om, H B12 34 condearbhailt β gonderbhailt β12. The o in this word as written in H looks at first sight like a 35 a H B" <sup>36</sup> flaith H flaithios  $\beta$  flaithes  $\beta^1$  bflaithes  $\beta^2$ : om. na  $\beta^{012}$ da fithchid bliadhuin β<sup>2</sup> ins. iartain: a cind H 38 fithchiod bliaghain B 30 taisigecht H: taisiccht da mac .i. do Neanuall & taoisecht da mhac Neanuaill B12 40 ins. i. B: Neanual H.

138. 1-1 da bliadain .lxx, o scáileadh an tuir dogab H Agcionn da Tithcit bliadhuin 7 da deich tra iar ndenamh an Tuir roghabh B2 2 iar nd. 3 ghabh B12 4 Nion β012 5 Peil H β 02 6 an H 801 <sup>7</sup> domuin Η β domhuin β<sup>2</sup> 8 ar H oir β012 nech H 10 eile B01

But Feinius came again into [sic, read "out of"] Asia to Scythia, for thence he had come for the building of the Tower [of Nemrod; Nemrod s. Cus s. Ham s. Noe]. So that he died in the princedom of Scythia, at the end of forty years [after he had come from the Tower], and passed on the chieftainship to his son, Nenual.

138. Now at the end of two score and twelve years after the building of the Tower, Ninus son of Belus took the kingship of the world: for no other attempted to exercise authority over the peoples, or to bring the multitude of nations under one authority, that is under tax and tribute, but he alone. Aforetime there had been chieftains; he who was noblest and most in favour in the community, he it was who was chief counsellor for every man, who should avert all injustice and further all justice which should be attempted against a nation: and authority over other nations. (b)

139. Eight hundred three score and fourteen years from the beginning of the princedom of Ninus to the end of the princedom of Tautanes, King of the World. Toward his time Troy was captured for the last time. There were seven years after that capture till Aeneas son of Anchises took Lavinia daughter of Latinus son of Faunus: so that there are nine hundred forty and three years from the dispersal of the Tower till Aeneas took the daughter of Latinus, and Latinus made his treaties with him. It is clear therefrom, that the authors of the Auraicept do not reach a correct conclusion when they say that Latinus was one of the eight chief leaders of the Tower [of Nemrod], considering the length of time that passed down between them.

<sup>&</sup>quot; ttuath B12 13 do thabairt H 12 neilceineil B2 14 from this 16 7 M point text printed as in B: fa M fó H 15 oen M én H 17 chain MH 18 sesem M seisim H 19 oenur M 20 taisicheacht M 24 fer MH 25 fa MH (bis, second 21 ins. ro M 22 remi sin M 23 an H 27 bá H 28 cend MH 29 -li MH time fá H) <sup>26</sup> fuaisliu M huaisle H 30 chach no (na H) chosnad cach MH 31 neogair (the o expuncted) B 32 om. 7 H negoir M cóir H 33 no greasad M na greised H 36-36 ins. 7 ad init. B: do triall indsaigid 35 negőir H 21 cach MH cheneoil M, da triallad indsaigid lé chinelaib féin H 37 ceinelaibh B chenelaib M cenelaib H 38 aile MH. 139. This ¶ in H only.

<sup>(</sup>a) Here B resumes.

<sup>(</sup>b) This passage, here corrupt, should be corrected as in R1 105.

140. ¹Imthusa ²in mac ³eile do ⁴Feinius, .i. Nēl⁵: do ⁶aitreab 7teas 8in Eigipt, 7 9tug Scota ingen 10 Foraind 11 Cingciris do mnaī. Ocus 12 is andsin12 rugastair 13 Scota sin Gāedeal Glas, ō 14tāid 15Gāedhil, do Nēl mac 16Fheiniassa 17Farrsaig. Conadh ēn Scota sin 18 adearar Scuit re 19 Gāedealaibh ‡ 7 20 Fēine do ragha fria ō Feinius, 7 21 Gāedil 22 ō 23 Gāedhel Glas II. 24 amail asbeart in t-eolach24-

#### Fēne ō Fheinius asbertar . . . .

141. No comad Scota ainm na tuaithi as a tancadar chum in Tuir Nemruaid ille, ota in Sceithia Clochaig anair. Is he fath fa ndeachaid Fenius Farrsaig re filigecht, con torseach 'cach n-oen da roibi do thaisechaib aici, in tuath dia roibi, .i. Scotitsianos do chuaid a senchus a ndibad ac na farrsaigib Greeda. Corob do fagbail senchuis na Scot dia roibi dochuaid do foglaim na filigechta: conad de ainmnigthear Fenius Farrsaid, .i. "fis na n-arsanda aici" a Hebra, 7 a Greg, 7 a Laidin, 7 is na huili berla oilchena; oir fas aiseom intib dogres.

#### BM

142. Is 'e Gāedel do 'chum in <sup>3</sup>Gāedelg as na <sup>4</sup>dā bērla <sup>5</sup>sechtmogat: <sup>6</sup>is iad so <sup>7</sup>a n-anmanda-

#### H

Ar scailead do chách ón Tur, 7 ar na mesc-buaidred do Dia tre na n-aindligead, 7 ar scailead na mberlad sechnó[n] an domain, da an Fenius ag an Tor, 7 da aitreb and: 7 do faid fer uad each aird don domun, do teglomad na mberlad dia tabairt co haen inad. Ocus ar timsachad na scoili 7 ar teglomad na mberla, do teibustair Fenius Farsaid berla. na nGaeidel as na dib berlaib

140. <sup>1</sup> Imtusa B imthussa H <sup>2</sup> an H <sup>3</sup> aile M aili H 5 ins. mac Feiniusa M 6 aitreb MH om. M theass H Fhenius M 10 Fhoruind H 11 om. MH s an MH: Egipt M 9 tuc M 12-12 om. and ins. do M: rucustair M 13 ins. in M an H (bis): Gaeidel MH 17 -aid, conad M 14 tait M 15 Gaeidil MH 16 Feiniusa MH

140. As for Nel, the other son of Feinius, he lived southward in Egypt, and took Scota daughter of Pharao Cincris to wife: and there that Scota bore Gaedel Glas, from whom are the Gaedil, to Nel son of Feinius Farsaid. So from that Scota the Gaedil are called Scots, [and the name Feni is given to them from Feinius, and Gaedil from Gaidel Glas], as the learned said

#### Poem no X

141. Or perhaps "Scota" is the name of the community from which they came over to the Tower of Nemrod, from Scythia Petraea, from the east. This is the reason why Feinius Farrsaid acquired bardism, for that every one who was of the chieftains with him was distressed that the community of which they were, the Scoitiziani-its history had gone to loss in the hands of the elders of the Greeks. So that it was to find the history of the Scots, from which he was sprung, that he came to learn bardism: and thence is he named Fenius Farsaid, i.e., "one who has knowledge of ancient things," in Hebrew, in Greek, in Latin, and in all the languages in general; for he continually made progress in them.

142. It is Gaedel who formed the Gaedelic [languagel out of the seventytwo languages. These are their names-

After the dispersal of everyone from the Tower, and after they were mixed and confused by God by reason of their lawlessness, and after the dispersal of the languages throughout the world, Fenius remained at the Tower, and he dwelt there: and he sent forth a man into every quarter of the world, to collect the languages and to bring them to one place. And after he

<sup>19</sup> Gaeidealaib M 18 ins. ingen Foraind Istoges M: adberar MH 21 Gaeidil MH 20 Fene MH: dorad riu MH: Fenius M Gaedealaib H 24-24 ut dicitur H. 23 Gaeidel M Gaedel H 22 ins. darad riu H

<sup>1</sup> cach sprs. yc M. 141. This ¶ in M only.

anGaeidelg M 2 cum B 4 sprs. sec. man. M 142. 1 he M anmanda na mberla sin M 8-8 conad 5 seachtmogad M 6 ins. 7 M

uad ainmnigter. Ite annso na

Beithin, Sceithin, Scill, Scairthin, etc.

berlada -

<sup>8</sup>Is dia chuimneagudh sin adubairt in fili na brīathra so,<sup>8</sup> Bērla in domain, dēchaid lib . . . .

<sup>9</sup>Ceitri randa <sup>10</sup>don <sup>11</sup>forsan <sup>12</sup>nGāedheilg acon lucht eōlais, 7 ceitri hanmanda forraibh:14 13Seanchus Mor 7 Breatha 14Neimidh, 15 Ai 16Carmna 7 17 Āi 18 Canon 18 in 20 ceathramad. Ocus canōin ainm na 21 randa sin, ar mēd a fis 7 a 22 roscadh. Trī 23 cōicad 24 a ogum 7 na 25 rēimenna, .i. 26 rēim 27 neana 7 na' 28 duili 29 feadha, 7 30 inas dīr 31 dõibh. 32 In dara rand dono, .i. 33Gramadach a hainm, ar 34imad a 35so-fis, 36air is i is [s]tuir don labra cirt: na 37feasa dono 7 na 38foirfessa 7 na togla, 7 39in 40trichad scel, 7 41sesca fo-scēl 7 42as dīr 43doibh 44as indaib. 45In treas 46rand 477 48Stair a 49hainm-sidhe, 50air is 51indti 52luaigtear scēla 7 53caingni. 54Breatha Cai imorro cona 55n-imtheagur 56in 57ceatramadh, 587 59Rimh a hainm. 60amail asbert in fili

Ceithri randa räiter de . . .

do chuimneadug na n-anmand sin do chan in t-eolach in duan-sa, 7 do reidiugud a n-airmi M: 7 is da rediugud sin 7 da cuimniugad adubrand 10 dono MH 11-11 acon (ag an H) lucht andso H <sup>9</sup> ceithri MH eolais forsin (-an H) nGaeidelg (nGaed- H) seo rotheb Gaeidel (om. these words H) 7 ceithri (-tri H) hanmanda (-unda H) foraib MH 13 seanchos M 14 Nemead M Nemid H 15 aei M eilg B 16 Chearmna M Chermna H 17 Aei M 18 Chana M Chana H: a small dot over the C in B, hardly large enough for a lenition mark 20 ceathrumad M cethramad H 21 renna and om. sin M 22 roscad MH 25 remenda M reimenda H 23 chaecad M 24 om. a M: ogam MH <sup>26</sup> rem M <sup>27</sup> nena MH <sup>28</sup> duile M <sup>29</sup> feada M feda H 31 doib MH 32 in rann aile M an rand tanaisi H anussdir H 36 uair is i 33 -midach M -mutach (a) H 34 imud H 35 -fiss H

#### SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL. 55

had assembled the school and collected the languages, Feinius Farsaid cut the language of the Gaedil out of the seventytwo languages, at the end of ten years after the dispersal of the Tower. And he imparted it to his son Nel: and Nel imparted it to his son Gaedil Glas and to his seed for ever: and from him (Gaedel) is it named. These are the languages.

(See below, p. 150.)

To memorize those the poet said these words—

Poem no. XI.

Now the learned count four divisions in the Gaelic language, with four names: The Great Story, the Judgements of Nemed, The Science of Cermna, and The Science of Cano, the fourth. "Canons" is the name of that division, for the greatness of its knowledge and its precedents. Thrice fifty are its secret scripts and the courses, the course of nin, the leaves of a forest, and whatever is related to them. The second division, further, Grammar is its name, for the greatness of its excellent knowledge. for this it is which is the rudder for correct speech: the Sciences moreover, and the additional sciences, and the captures, and the thirty stories, and the sixty subordinate stories, and whatever is related to them, are therein. The third division, History is its name, for therein are spoken stories and matters of dispute. The Judgements of Cai, with which the fourth is included, Prosody is its name, as the poet says-

Poem no. XV.

is tur eolais in labartha cirt M: ar issi sdiuir eolais an labartha H 38 foireasa M foirfesa H 39 an H 37 fessa H 42 ins. in M an H 43 doib MH 44 om. as indaib MH 41 ins. in MH 45 in tres M isin tres H 46 rann M 47 imorro for 7 M 48 sdair MH 49 -side M -sidi H 50 uair M 51 inti MH 52 luaiter MH 53 coimgnida M coimgneda H 54 bretha M breath H 55 him- MH -theacur M himthegar H 56 an H 57 ceathrumad M cethramad H 58 ins. rann M rand H 60 amail asbert in fellsom is na rundaib-sea M ut dicitur H 59 rim MH

<sup>(</sup>a) Might be mudach, but looks more like mut. In this Ms., owing to the way in which the letters are run together, a o is often partly covered by the following letter so as to be almost indistinguishable from c. There is no doubt of the c in the corresponding word in the accompanying verse 1; see poem XV, line 609.

#### BM

H

61 Ceitri hanmanda 62 lono for in 63nGācidhilg ‡ fo 61comhcumus a randa, 65 no comad ainm cuma primbërla do na 66tri bërladhaibh

Ceitri randa don 7 ceitri hanmunda forsan nGaeidilg agan lucht colais fo chomnumir 68na rand do raidsimm (a) . . .

67.i. Eabra 7 Greg 7 Laidean, 7 a bainm dileas o 69Gaedheal, .i. 70Gaedhealg. "Tigcolath a hainm "Eabra, Moloth a hainm Gregda. "Legholus a hainm 14 Laidne: 15 Tinoilteach a hainm la 16 Gaedhel 17 rodostoba, amail asbert in file

#### In bērla tebidi tric . . .

Ocus ger 18hod il na tengtha sin on Tur 19Nemrūadh, ni 1917 roibh acht 181aen berla sag foghnum do chach no cor sacumdaigheagh. Gortigearnn ainm in bērla sin, 7 is saris adearer in bērla sEbraidhe saniu, amail asbert, sa

Goirtigernn ainm in bērla . . .

<sup>61</sup> Variants from here onward from M, unless otherwise stated: ceithri 62 ita for sin 63 nGaeidilg 64 chomnumair 65 no sprs. sec. man. 66 om, tri berladaib 67 .i. Ebra 7 Greig 7 Laiten 68 the n of na ye H 69 Gaeidel 70 Gaeidelg 71 Ticoloth 12 Ebra 12 Legulus

The following version of the foregoing paragraph is given in Min after ¶ 107, as noted above. Variants from  $\mu R$ : the section is missing in uV.

Ceithri ranna dana 'acon lucht eolais forsin 'nGaideilg-si ro 'teib Gaidel, η ceithri hanmanna foraib: Sencus Mór η Bretha Nemid, Ai Chermna η Nachan in cet rann, 7 Canóin 10a hainm na rinde sin, ar imat a fis 7 a roscadh.10 Tri 11choecat ogam 7 na remenna 7 12na 13duile feda 7 14anas dir doib. In rann 15tanaste, 7 Gramatach a 16hainm, ar imat a 17so-fis, ar 18as i as [s]tiuir eolais18 in labartha 19ceirt. Na 20hessa dana 7 na forfessa20 7 na togla, 7 23 in trichat scel 7 in 22 sesca roger 7 anas dir22 doib is i in 23 tress rann, 7 stair a 24hainm: ar is 25inti luaidter scela 7 coimgneda. Bretha 26 Cai imorro cona 27 n-imtecor in 28 cetramadh rand, 7 rim a hainm: de quibus dicitur 29hoc carmen

#### Ceithri ranna räiter de . . .

Moreover the Gaedelic language has four names [corresponding to its division: or that it should have a name, in the way that the three languages are called "chief language",']-

Men of learning consider that Gaedelic has four divisions and four names, being a like number with the divisions which we have enumerated . . .

to wit, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as well as its own name Gaedelic, from Gaedel. Ticcoloth is its Hebrew name, Moloth its Greek name, Legulus its Latin name; Tinoiltech was the name which Gaedel had for it, he who cut it out, as the poet said-

#### Poem no. XVI.

Now though many were those tongues from the Tower of Nemrod, there was not more than one language serving everyone until it was built. Gorthigern was the name of that language, and it is called the Hebrew language today, as one said-

Poem no. XVII.

78 botile 77 .i. Gaeidelg rotathoba 75 Tinoiltech 76 Gaeidel 83 cumaisced na berla .i. 81 oen 82 ic fognum 79 -ad 80 roibi 85 Ebraide 86 aniug 57 ins. in teolach. 84 fris adearar Goirthigern

(a) Here H breaks off.

comad ainm 33cach primberla dona 34tri primberlaib .i. Ebra 7 35Greg 7 Laidin, 7 a hainm diles o Gaidil. 36 Ticcoloth a ainm Ebra, Maloth 37 a hainm Greeda, 38 Legulus a hainm Laitin, 39 Tinoltach a hainm la Gaidel 40 rodostoba: de quibus hoc carmen 41

In berla tebidi tric . . .

1 ac lucht a heolusa 2 nGoidilc-se 3 teip Goidil 4 anmann s nacane 10-10 an 6 Nemed 7 Cermna 9 cetrumad 5 Senchus rann sin 7 a (yc sbs. R) ainm ar imat a fir (sic) 7 a roscad " coecait 12 ins. rein nena 7 14 inas 15 tanaisi 16 ainm 17 Sois 13 duili 20-20 fesa didiu 7 na foirbesa 21 na tricha 18-18 is i sdiuir eolusa 19 cirt 22-22 xl- roger 7 inasdir 23 tres 24 ainm 25 innte luaiter 26 Ca.e 29 om. hoc carmen 30 ceithire 27 n-imtegar 28 cethramad rann 34 trib 32 arrainne 33 cech anmann dana 31 an Goidile 36 Ticcolath 31 om. a and the prefixed h 38 Legulus a Laitin 39 Tinoiltech a Gaidile and om, a hainm 40 rostoba 41 ins. dicitur.

<sup>30</sup> Ceithri hanmanna dono for 31 in nGaidilg fo com-nuimir 32 a rainne, no

143. Ō ¹ro aitreabh trā ²in Nēl sain mac Feiniasa in Eigipt, is <sup>3</sup>ē ferand roghab, ar <sup>4</sup>imlibh Mara Rūaid, 7 im <sup>5</sup>Capacirunt: 7 <sup>6</sup>bāi annsin <sup>7</sup>no gor ēlodar Meic <sup>8</sup>Israhel ō <sup>9</sup>Fhoraind ¬ ō <sup>10</sup>slūagh Eigiphte. Ocus is 11ed dolodar Meic Israhel 12for a n-ēlog sin <sup>18</sup>cosin <sup>14</sup>ferand a <sup>15</sup>mba Nēl 7 a mac, i. <sup>16</sup>Gāedhel Glas. Ro <sup>15</sup>ghabhsat trā <sup>18</sup>Meic Israhel ‡ <sup>19</sup>sosudh 7 || <sup>20</sup>longphurt <sup>21</sup>a Capaciroth for brū Mara Rūaidh. Is andsin do ruacht chucu Nël <sup>22</sup>Fëinasa da <sup>23</sup>n-agallaim, ‡ 7 <sup>24</sup>da fis cia <sup>25</sup>ann ||, 7 is andsin dorala 26 Aaron do ‡ do 27 leathtaebh in 28 tsluaigh ||, 7 ro indis 29 Aron scela Mac 30 nIsrathel 31 do, 32 i. fearta 7 33 mirbailedh Maise, 7 amail 34tugud na decc 35plagha (foillsi fiadhnacha) for lucht na <sup>36</sup>Hēighipti <sup>37</sup>trē na ndāeradhsom. Ocus ro 38 snāidmsead comond 7 caradradh, 7 ro 39 fiarfaigh Nēl <sup>40</sup>do Arōn in robhadar biadha <sup>41</sup>na lōingtighe acco. Ocus <sup>42</sup>ro rāidh fōs42 a 43fuil do 44chruithneacht 7 do maithius annso, ar sē, 45doberar for bhar cumus uili sin.45 ‡ 46Ocus tāinig in adhaig dōibh fai sin ||,46 7 dochuaidh 47 docum a tighe fēin:47 7 dochuaidh Aron isin 48longphort, 49gu hairm a mbi49 Maisi, 7 ro indis do in 50 failte fuair 51 og Nēl, 7 in maith ro 52 gheall re Macaib Israhel. Ba 53 buidheach Maisi ‡ 7 Arōn | do Nēl mana scēlaibh sin.

144. Imtusa Niūil imorro, 2ō rānig docum a muindteri, 3do indis doibh longphort do bheith ag Macaibh Israhel 'a Capaciroth 7 5ag Socath, 6Ro indis scēla Maisi 7 Aron 7gu lëir 8a fiadhnaissi in 9tslöigh, 10Isan aidche sin 10 dono, ro beanastair 11 nathair neimhneach nime 11 risin mac 12 mbeg ro bāi ag <sup>13</sup>Niūl, i. Gāedhel<sup>12</sup> Glas, 7 ro bo <sup>14</sup>comfaghus bās do: corob ūaithi fuair-15 sium in forthormach 16 anma sin. Ocus ro 17 rāigsead a muindtear 18 fria Nel in mac sin do breith ar amus

143. Now when that Nel son of Feinius dwelt in Egypt, this is the estate which he received, upon the shores of the Red Sea, and around Phi-Hahiroth: and he was there till the Sons of Israel escaped from Pharao and from the host of Egypt. Now it fell out that the Sons of Israel, in that flight, came to the estate where Nel was, and his son, Gaedel Glas. The Sons of Israel [alighted and] took camp at Phi-Hahiroth, on the border of the Red Sea. Then Nel son of Feinius came to converse with them, and to find out who was there]; and there Aaron met with him [aside from the host], and Aaron told him tidings of the Sons of Israel, to wit, the marvels and miracles of Moses, and how the ten plagues-a clearness of testimony—were brought upon the people of Egypt, by reason of their [the Israelites'] enslavement. And they ratified a treaty and friendship, and Nel asked Aaron if they had provision or food-stores. He said further, that what is here of wheat and of good things—said he—shall all be put at your disposal. [Thereat the night fell upon them], and <Nel> went to his own house; and Aaron went into the camp, to the place where Moses was, and told him the welcome which he had received at the hands of Nel, and the good which he promised to the Sons of Israel. Grateful were Moses [and Aaron] to Nel, at those tidings.

144. But as for Nel, when he came to his own folk, he told them how the Sons of Israel had a camp at Phi-Hahiroth and at Succoth. He related the tidings of Moses and Aaron in full before the company. Now in that night a venomous poisonous serpent stung the little son whom Nel had, Gaedel Glas, and death was near to him. From that he received the addition to his name. His people said to Nel that he should carry the lad to Moses. The lad was brought to Moses, and Nel came with

<sup>143. 1</sup> ra aitreab thra 2 om. in and sain 3 he fearand rogob 4 imlib 5 Chapaciron 6 bui T co ro 8 Hisrabel hic et ubique 11 ead 12 forsan elod 9 Fhorann 10 sluag Eigept 13 coson B cus 15 mbai (sin sprs. sec. man.) M 14 ferand 16 Gaeidel hic et ubique 18 mec 19 sosad 20 lonphurt B longport M 21 im Chapaciron 11 gobsad 22 Feiniusa 28 the g dotted sec. man. 24 dia 25 ro bai and and om, 7 29 Arón 30 nIsrl-27 leataib 28 tluaig 26 Arón 31 om. do 33 -leada Maisi meic Amra 34 tucad 35 plada foillseacha 32 7 for .i. 36 Heigepti · 37 ins. 7 38 snadmadar comand fiadnacha 42-42 ro raid Nel fris 40 dé Árón irobadar 41 naid lointigi 43 fuil ar se

<sup>44</sup> maithes 7 do chruithnecht 7 do mil acaindi 45-45 doberthar ar bar 47-47 Nel dochum a 46-46 om. comus 7 ar bar mbreitheamnus sin uili 48 longport 49-49 i rabadar me Hisrl-50 failti mor thigi jarsin 53 -deach Maise. 52 gell 51 OC

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> o rainic a mt. (om. docum) <sup>3</sup> ro 5 ac Socot 144. 1 dala 10-10 is andsin 8 i fiadnaisi 9 tloig moir sin T CO 6 ins. 7 12-12 mbec robui oc Niul .i. Gaeidil 11-11 in nathair nemneach nemi 14 chomfocus 15 -seom 16 om. B 17 raidsead 13 Niuil B

<sup>19</sup>Maisi. Rugadh in mac sin eo Maisi, γ doluid Nēl <sup>20</sup>leis. Ocus <sup>21</sup>rognī Maisi urnaighthi dīchra <sup>22</sup>fri<sup>21</sup> Dīa, γ dorad in <sup>23</sup>fleisig n-uirrdraie fris in inadh ar<sup>23</sup> bean in <sup>24</sup>nathair risin mac, cor bo slān in mac. Ocus ro rāidh<sup>25</sup>: Is <sup>26</sup>ceat liumsa γ le Dīa <sup>27</sup>nar urchoidea nathair don mac so, na dho dhuine <sup>28</sup>dia šīl <sup>29</sup>gu brāth, γ <sup>30</sup>nar aitreaba nathair tria bithu <sup>31</sup>sīr a aitreibi bunaidh a cloinde. Ocus <sup>32</sup>beidit, ol se, <sup>33</sup>rīgha γ <sup>34</sup>ruirigh, nāim γ fīrēoin, do sīl<sup>(a)</sup> in meic <sup>35</sup>sin, ocus bid an <sup>36</sup>inis tūaiscertaigh in domain bias <sup>37</sup>a <sup>38</sup>aitreabh a chineadh. <sup>38</sup> Conadh eadh sin <sup>39</sup>fodera gen nathair an Ērinn, γ gan irchōid do dēnum<sup>39</sup> do <sup>46</sup>nathair <sup>41</sup>na dho pēist conneim<sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup>fria duine <sup>43</sup>dho sīl Gāeidhil. <sup>42</sup>Ocus ro fagaibh fagbhāla don mac cona sīl, amail asbert in file, <sup>44</sup>

Gāidhel Glas, fōghnaidh a rādh . . .

145. Is andsin ro rāid Nēl: Doria Forann ¹eugaind, ol sē, ¬ no dāerfa sind ar in fāilti ²dorad-sum dībh-si,² ¬ i cinaidh ³gan, bhar fastogh. ⁴Tarr linde sa sligdhe amārach,⁴ ar Arōn, ¬ an ⁵againd dogrēs, madh āil ʿduit: fogebha comroind ¹forba ¬ fearoind isin tīr ro thairrngir Dīa ³da Macaib Israhel dia ¹fogbom fēin. No madh fearr leat, doberamni libearna Foraind, co ¹ombead ar do cumas, ¬ ¹¹ēirig indteibh for muir, ¬ ¹²fuirigsiu co ¹³feassar-sa cindass sgerom-ni ¬ Forand: ¬ ¹⁴dēna ¹⁵do ¹⁵chomairle as a ¹¬ħaile.

Is ī <sup>18</sup>sin <sup>19</sup>comairle is <sup>20</sup>cōir and, ol Nēl.<sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup>No <sup>23</sup>cuirid andsin trā trī <sup>24</sup>mīli fear n-armach <sup>25</sup>n-incomloinn maille re Nēl <sup>26</sup>gu hairm a mbadar na longa, 7 do radadh do <sup>27</sup>Niūl, combadar ar a <sup>28</sup>comas. ‡ <Cid> ar na <sup>29</sup>bertais Meic Israhel <sup>30</sup>fēin leo <sup>31</sup>cena na longa sin <sup>27</sup> || ‡ Ar dāigh <sup>32</sup>na fadbadh Forann <sup>33</sup>trealma na(b) ndiaidh. ||

19 Mov(s)i 7 rucad 21-21 dogni Mov(s)i hirnaithi ndichra re 22 fria ria Dia, the second word expuncted B 23-23 fleise n-uirrdrie ris 24 athair 25 ins. iar sin 26 cet liumsa olchena 7 is in inad in ro 27 na ra airchoitigi in nathair cet le Dia 28 da sil B 29 co brach na ro aitreba 31 sir a tir an aitreba bunad a c[h yc M]loindi 33 rigda 34 -ich 7 35 ins. ol se and om, sin 36 indsi thuaiscert 37 om. a 38-38 aitreb a cloindi 7 a chinich co brath 39-39 fodeara can nathraich do beith in Erinn 7 can irchoid do denam 40 nathraich 41-41 om. 42 do 43 do sil Gaeidil Glais 41-11 om, this sentence and appended poem.

him. Moses made fervent prayer before God, and put the famous rod upon the place where the serpent stung the lad, so that he was cured. And he said: I command, and God commandeth, that no serpent harm this lad or any of his seed for ever: and that no serpent shall ever dwell in the homeland of his progeny. And, he said, there shall be kings and lords, saints and righteous, of the seed of that lad: and in a northern island of the world it is that the dwelling of his race shall be. This is the reason why there is no serpent in Ireland, and why no serpent or venomous reptile can do harm to any of the seed of Gaedel. And he left bequests to the lad and to his seed, as the poet said —

### Poem no. XVIII.

145. Then it is that Nel said: Pharao shall come to us, said he, and shall enslave us, for the welcome that we have given you, and for the crime of failing to hinder you. Come with us on tomorrow's route, said Aaron, and stay with us continually, if so thou wilt: thou shalt obtain an equal share of heritage and of territory in the land which God hath promised to the Sons of Israel for their own service. Or if thou dost prefer, we shall put the pinnaces of Pharao at thy disposal: embark in them upon the sea, and stand by till thou knowest by what means we shall separate from Pharao: and thereafter do thy good pleasure.

That is the advice which is right, said Nel. Then they sent with Nel three thousand men armed and fit for combat, to the place where the ships were, and they were given to Nel, so that they were at his disposal. [(Why) did not the Sons of Israel themselves take the ships? in order that Pharao should not find means of pursuing them].

<sup>2-2 -</sup>som daibsi, a maccu Hisrla can for busdo 145. chucaind 5 acaind 4-4 tairr lindi con tuilib muinteri(c) isin sligig imbaireach 10 mbed 8 do duid 7 fogeba Torba 7 fearaind 9 fadbam fein 13 feasar-sa cindus sceram-ni 12 fuig-siu B 11 do erich inti for muir 18 om. sin 16 comairli 17 haithli sin 14 denaid 15 om. do 21 ins. 20 a very small dot over the c, of no importance B 19 comairli 23 apparently dul ar cend long Foraind 22 ro cuiread tra andsin 28 chomus 25 om. cuiridh B 24 mile fer 33 trelma. 32 nar fagbad 29 berdais B 30 fen 31 om. cena

<sup>(</sup>a) The words sil in meic clumsily re-inked M.

<sup>(</sup>b) Written nadhiaidh B, and a stroke (= n) yc B over adh. (c) Written to

- 146. Dochomlai ‡ Nel || in līn bāi indtibh sin, 7 ro fuirich co <sup>2</sup>fēiceadh gnīmradha in lāi īar na <sup>3</sup>mārach, .i. <sup>4</sup>dluighi Mara Rūaidh in 5ndiaidh in 6fobail, 7 7bādhad Foraind cona slūaghaibh \*indte, .i. 9sē mīle coisighe 7 10cōica mīli marcach. Is eadh 11sin līn luidh 12a ndāil bāis do muindtir 13Foraind a Muir Rūaidh.
- 147. ¹Ōtconnaire imorro Nel Forand cona sluaghaibh do ²bādhadh ‡ ³im Muir Rūaidh ||, ro an ¹isin ferand cētna, ūair nī bāi 5eagla fair na 6omon. Ocus ro 7foirbir a 8clann ¬ a 9sīl andsin in nĒigipt, gorsat mīligh morchalma. Marb Nēl īarsin īar 10cēin māir 11sin nĒighipt, 7 gabais 12Gāedhel Glas 7 a mathair in 13 ferand, 7 ro 14 geinair mac 15 dosidhein isin tir cētna, 15 .i. 16 Esrū mac 12 Gāedheil: 7 ro 17 geiner mac 18 dōsidein <sup>19</sup>isin tīr <sup>20</sup>cētna, .i. Srū mac Easrū meic Gāeidhil.
- 148. Dāla slūaigh 'Ēigipte īarsin, gabhais Forand Tuir in <sup>2</sup>flaithus tar ēis <sup>3</sup>Foraind Cingceris. Ocus ba <sup>4</sup>Forann <sup>5</sup>tuilleadh anma <sup>6</sup>gach rīgh <sup>7</sup>[rogab] Ēighipht ōdā Forand Cingceiris gu Forand Nedtenbhus: 7 7 ba 8hēsidhe 9in cūiced rīgh trichad no9 in cũiced rīgh 10 dēg īar 11 Forann Cinceiris ro bāidheadh 12 im Ocus 13ba har cūis onorach 14atberthea riu-son Muir Rūaidh. sin.
- 149. Imtūsa Fhoraind Tuir īarsin 7 2tslūaigh Eigibte, ō ro badar 3gu trēn, ro 4cuimnighsead a n-anfolaidh mbunaidh do <sup>5</sup>clannaibh Niūil 7 <sup>6</sup>d'fine Gāedheal, .i. a caradradh re Macaibh <sup>7</sup>Israhel, <sup>7</sup> longa Foraind <sup>8</sup>Cingceiris do breith do Niūl <sup>9</sup>leis, in tan ro 10 ëlodar Meic 11 Israhel. Ro moradh 12 cogadh leo -<sup>18</sup>anfolta na <sup>14</sup>cean īarsin, 7 ro hindarbadh <sup>15</sup>‡ gu haimdeōnach || a 16 Hēigipht.

146. [Nel] The company that was in them set forth, and stood by to see the transactions of the following day—the division of the Red Sea in the wake of the people, and the drowning of Pharao with his hosts therein-six <score> thousand footmen and fifty thousand horsemen. That is the tally that went to meet death of the people of Pharao in the Red Sea.

SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL.

- 147. Now when Nel saw Pharao with his hosts drowned [in the Red Seal, he remained upon the same estate; for he had no fear nor terror. His progeny and his seed increased there in Egypt, till they were warriors of great valour. Thereafter Nel died, after a long space, in Egypt, and Gaedel Glas and his mother took the estate. A son was born to him in the same land, Esru s. Gaedel. To him was a son born in the same land. Sru s. Esru s. Gaedel.
- 148. As for the host of Egypt after that, Pharao Tuir took the princedom after Pharao Cincris. Now 'Pharao' was an additional name for every king <who took> Egypt, from Pharao Cincris to Pharao Nectanebus: he was the thirty-fifth—or the fifteenth-King after Pharao Cincris who was drowned in the Red Sea. It was for the sake of honour that this name was bestowed upon them.
- 149. As for Pharao Tuir thereafter and the host of Egypt, when they attained strength, they called to mind their hereditary hostility against the progeny of Nel and the family of Gaedel-the friendship which he had shown to the Sons of Israel, and Nel's taking of the ships of Pharao Cincris with him, when the Sons of Israel escaped. War and hostilities against them were increased thereafter upon them, and they were expelled, [against their will], out of Egypt.

<sup>146. 1</sup> fuigh B 2 faiced 3 maireach + dluidi 5 diaid e pobail 9 se fichit mili 10 caeca M. erased B 11 om, sin lin 8 inti 7 badud 12 in 13 Fhoraind.

annsa nferand chetna 5 eacla 147. 1 -chond-2 bathad 10 cen 7 oirbir 8 cland 9sil annsin a nEgept corsad 6 oman 13 fearann 15-15 do Gaedel 12 Gaeidel (bis) 14 genair 11 isin Egept 18 dosen 20 chedna. iarsin 16 Easru 17 genair

<sup>3</sup> Fhoraind Chingiris 148. 1 Eigept imorro 2 flaitheas 1-1 rogob Eigept ota Fhorand Cingiris co 5 fuillead 6 cach 9-9 om. 11 Forand Cingeris 8 hesiden F. Nechdenebus 14 adb. riu-san. 13 fa ar

<sup>4</sup> chuimnigsed a n-anf. 149. 1 imthusa 2 tluaig Eigept 8 Cingeris 10 eladar 5 clandaib do fine Gaeidil THisrl-13 anfoltana 12 cocad 14 om. 11 Hisrl- asin dairi Eigeptagda 15 CO 16 Hegept.

150. Srū ‡ mac Easrū meic ¹Gāidhil ||, ²is ē ba tāiseach do ¹Gāedelaibh ³agan indarba ‡ a ⁴Hēigipt ⁵ō ra bāitheadh Forand ³im Muir Rūaidh an dheagaidh Mac nIsrahel ||. Sechtmoga ¬ secht cēt bliadan ō dīlind ¹conuigi sin: ³cethracha ¬ ceithre cēt bliadan ōn aimsir sin ³nar bāidhead ¹ºForand ¬ ¹¹ō tānig Sru ¹²mac Esrū a Hēigipt, ¹³gus an aimsir ¹⁴thāngadar Meic Mileadh ¹⁵an Ērinn, ‡ .i. Ēber ¬ ¹⁶Ērimōn ||: ¹¹dia n-ebairt—

### Cethracha 1 cethri cēt . . . .

151. Lucht ¹ceitri long luidh Srū ²a ³Hēigipt, ¬²ceitri lānmhona fichet gacha luinge,⁴ ¬ triar ⁵amhos gacha luinge.⁵ Srū ¬ a mac .i. Ēber Scot, ⁶ba hiad taisig na loingsi sin.

Is i slīgi dolodar, for Muir Rūaid <sup>7</sup>d'Inis Tibrad <sup>8</sup>Fāine, <sup>9</sup>timcheall Slēibhi Rifi botūaidh co <sup>10</sup>rāngadar in Sceithīa, <sup>7</sup>con-<sup>13</sup>snighsead im <sup>12</sup>flaithus na <sup>13</sup>Seithīa .i. <sup>14</sup>clanna Niūil <sup>7</sup>l<sup>15</sup>Neanuail, dā mac <sup>16</sup>Feiniassa Farrsaigh. <sup>17</sup>Ōn aimsir sin go haimsir Reifloir meic Nemain <sup>7</sup>Mīlidh meic<sup>17</sup> Bile, mōr <sup>18</sup>do <sup>19</sup>cathaibh <sup>7</sup>do chonghalaibh <sup>7</sup>do <sup>20</sup>choctaibh <sup>7</sup>do fingalaibh ro imirsead eatorru <sup>21</sup>frisin rē sin, <sup>22</sup>gur goin <sup>23</sup>Mīli mac Bile <sup>24</sup>Reifloir mac <sup>25</sup>Nema.

<sup>56</sup>Imtūsa Srū, ō rānic in Sceithīa, <sup>27</sup>fōcētōir marb Noeneal hua <sup>28</sup>Feiniusa.
 <sup>29</sup>Rogabh <sup>30</sup>Naenel mac Baaith meic <sup>31</sup>Naenual meic <sup>32</sup>Feiniusa Farrsaigh <sup>33</sup>flaitus na Sceithīa.
 Marb Srū dono <sup>34</sup>fōcētōir tarēis <sup>35</sup>Naenuail.

# SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL.

150. Sru [s. Esru s. Gaedel], he it is who was chieftain for the Gaedil at that expulsion [from Egypt, after Pharao was drowned in the Red Sea, in the wake of the Sons of Israel]. Seven hundred and seventy years from the Flood till then: four hundred and forty years from that time when Pharao was drowned, and when Sru s. Esru came out of Egypt, to the time when the sons of Mil came into Ireland, [to wit, Eber and Eremon]: whereanent one said—

### Poem no. XII.

151. Four ships' companies strong went Sru out of Egypt. There were twenty-four wedded couples and three hirelings for every ship. Sru and his son Eber Scot, they were the leaders of that voyage.

The route which they followed was on the Red Sea to the island of Taprobane, around the Rhipaean Mountain northward till they reached Scythia, and contested in the matter of the princedom of Scythia—that is, the progeny of Nel and Nenual, the two sons of Feinius Farsaid. From that time till the time of Refloir son of Noemius and of Mil son of Bile, many battles and combats and wars and kin-murders were transacted between them during that space, till Mil son of Bile inflicted a mortal wound upon Refloir son of Noemius.

As for Sru, when he reached Scythia, immediately Nenual grandson of Feinius died. Nenual son of Baath son of Nenual son of Fenius Farrsaid took the princedom of Scythia. Now Sru died immediately after Nenual.

<sup>2</sup> is he fa 3 ocan 4 Hegept 150. Gaeidil, Gaeidelaib 9 inar 10 -ann 11 a tainic 8 ceath-7 cornici o ro baided 14 i tancadar 10 Eremon 13 CHS 15 in Erind 12 om mac Esru 17 dia ndebairt in teolach.

<sup>151.</sup> ¹ ceathra ² ins. mac, but no more ² Heigept ⁴-⁴ ceithri lanamna fichead cacha luingi ⁵-⁵ amus forcraid cacha luingi ˚ fa hiad toisich ¹ ¬ dindsib ˚ Fane ˚ ins. ¬ timchell Slebe R. fothuaid

<sup>&</sup>quot; clanda 10 rancadar 11 -srigsed 12 flaithius 13 Sceithia 15 Nenuail 16 Feniusa Farrsaich 17-17 o aimsir Raffoir meic Nemain cosin 7 asin co Milid mac 18 ins. tra 18 chathaib 20 chocthaib 24 Refloir 21 foden fris in 22 cor 23 Milig 25 Owing to a blot, 21 fochedair ro looks like Neman B; Nema na sliasait M 26 imthusa 28 Fheniusa 29 rogoh 30 Noennel 81 Noennil be marb Noenel 34 fochedoir 35 Noennil. 32 Feni; a Farrsaich 33 flaithius

152. ¹Gabas Ēber Scot ‡ mac Srū || ²air ēigin rīghi na ²Scithīa õs cloind ⁴Neanuail ‡ meic Feiniasa ||, ⁵condorchair la ⁶Nainias mac Neanuail. ‡ Ar marbadh Ēbir trā ||, ⁵bāi ⁵cosnam mōr ‡ ⁵im flaithus || itir ¹⁰Neinius ‡ mac ¹¹Nainil || ¬ ¹²Beoamoin mac Ēbir ¹³Sguit.

<sup>14</sup>Gabas Beoaman rīghi a nirt <sup>15</sup>cosnamha aton Sceithia <sup>16</sup>Thūaiscertaig gu tracht Mara Caisp, 17gundorchair i 18ceilg catha la 19Ninias mac 20 Neanuail. 21 Gabas 22 Nenias in 23 flaitus īarsin, 24 condorchair la <sup>25</sup>Hogamman mac <sup>26</sup>mBeoamain a ndigail a athar. <sup>27</sup>Gabas Ogamman ïarsin in 28 righe 29 conerbailt indte, ‡ .i. isin 30 rige ∥. Bāi cosnom imon 31flaithus 32fri a re, 33cethra mbliadna iar sin, 34idir 35Refleoir mac 36Refill 7 37Mīlidh mac 38mBile. 39Ocus is andsin 36bāi ingean gnāitheach ag Refleoir diar bho 41comainm 42Seang ingean 43Refleoir, 7 ro "Furāil Refleoir air Mīlidh mac mBile in "ingen soin, 7 "dosfuigh 47 Mīlid mac Bile, 7 bāi 48 aige go grādhach, 49 go rug dīas chloindi dhō, i. Aireach 50 Fabhruadh 7 Donn a 51n-anmanda. Is andsin ro 52 cograd Refulair a cliamain do marbad, 53 air ba 54 heagail lais a thiachtain fris 55 fa rīghi: 7 56 rāinig a fis sin do mac Bile, ‡ .i. a 57 chogar da cliamain ||. Ocus dochuaidh 58féin i cenn cogaidh iar sin, 7 ro 59comraig 7 @Rofeallair, 7 ro gonsun 61Refallair @gu garb 7 62gu hamnas tria na 63 sliasaid, 7 64 ba guin digla 7 bhais. 65 Ro theasbaigh mòr 60 ag slūaghaibh na Sceithīa 67im lot 7 im guin a tigerna do mac 68mBile, 7 ro 69hindarbadh asin Sceithia hē, 7 dochuaidh 70Milidh īarsin 7 71rug a claind leis. Ceithre barca a mor-12 coblach, cõic 13 lanomna deg <sup>14</sup>gacha bairce 7 amos <sup>15</sup>forcaidh gan mnaí. Ansad trí <sup>16</sup>mísa an <sup>17</sup>inis Tibrad Faine: trī 18 mīsa ele dōib for 19 fairge gur rāngadar Eigipt, .i. a cind 80cethra mbliadan 81cōicat ar trī 82cēt ar mīle īar ngabhāil Ērenn do 83Parthalon, 7 a cind 84cethra ar dec ar noi cetaibh iar mbadhadh 85 Forann Cingceris i 86 Muir Rüaid.

152. Eber Scot [son of Sru] took the kingship of Scythia by force from the progeny of Nenual [son of Feinius], till he fell at the hands of Noemius son of Nenual. [Now after the slaying of Eber], there was great contention [in the matter of the princedom], between Noemius [son of Nenual] and Boamain son of Eber Scot.

SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL

Boamain took the kingship by force of combat from Northern Scythia to the shore of the Caspian Sea, till he fell in a battle-ambush at the hands of Noemius son of Nenual. Noemius took the princedom thereafter, till he fell at the hands of Ogamain son of Beoamain in vengeance for his father. Ogamain took the kingship thereafter till he died in it-[that is, in the kingship]. There was contention in the matter of the princedom during his time, four years after that, between Refloir s. Refill and Mil s. Bile. Now Refloir had a comely daughter there, whose name was Seng d. Refloir: and Refloir offered that maiden to Mil s. Bile. Mil s. Bile took her, and she was with him in loving wise, till she bore him two children; Airech Februad and Donn were their names. Then it was that Refloir plotted to slav his kinsman, for he feared that he would come against him for the kingship. Tidings thereof came to the son of Bile, [that is to say, of his kinsman's plotting]. Thereafter he himself went to battle, and he and Refloir fought, and he wounded Refloir severely and painfully through his thigh-a wound of vindictiveness and of death. The hosts of Scythia felt it a great loss that their lord should be hurt and mortally wounded by the son of Bile, and he was expelled out of Scythia: so Mil went thereafter, and took his children with him. Four ships were their sea-fleet, fifteen wedded couples in each ship, and an additional unwived hireling. They remained three months in the island of Taprobane. Other three months had they on the sea till they reached Egypt, at the end of one thousand three hundred fifty and four years after Partholon took Ireland, and at the end of nine hundred and fourteen years after the drowning of Pharao Cincris in the Red Sea.

<sup>152. 1</sup> ais 2 ar eicin 3 Sceithia 4 Nenuail m. Fheniusa 5 co torchair 8 cosnam main flaithus 9 imon flaithius 7 bui 6 Nacnius m. Nenuail 12 Boamain 13 Scuit 14 -ais Boamain in rigi " Nenuail 10 Noenius 17 co torchair 18 celg chatha 19 Nenius 16 -taich co 16 chosnama 22 Noenius 23 flaithius 24 co torchair 25 -amain 21 gobais 20 Nenuail 29 conderbailt inti 30 rigi 27 gabais Ogamain 28 rigi 26 om. m-32 fri re 33 cheathra 34 itir 35 Rafloir 37 Milig 31 flaithius <sup>38</sup> Bili <sup>39</sup> om. 7 <sup>40</sup> ro bai ingen gnaieach ac Refloir <sup>41</sup> chomainm 42 Seng 43 Refloir 44 furail Refloir ar Milig 45 n-ingen sin 46 dusfuc 47 om. Milid

<sup>48</sup> aici co gradach 49 7 rue dis do chloind 50 Februad 51 n-anmann 52 chocair Refloir 58 ar 54 haigmeil leis 58 ima rigi 56 ranic in fisin da 57 chocur 58 fen a cend in chocaid 59 chomraic ® Refloir 7 ro 64 fa con-son 61 ins. 7 B: Rafloir M 62 co (bis) 63 -ait easbaid 66 ac 67 um 68 om. m- 69 hinnarbad 70 Milig 71 ruc leis a cland <sup>12</sup> choblach <sup>13</sup>-amna dec <sup>14</sup> cacha bairei <sup>15</sup> sic B forcraid cen M <sup>16</sup> mis 78 mis aile 17 indsi Thibrad Fane 79 fairrgi co rancadar crich Eigepti \* cheathra 1 ins. ar 2 chedaib ar mili 8 Parr- 4 .iiii. mbl- dec ar cet ar nae (c sprs. cM) mbl. 85 Foraind Cingeris 86 a.

 $153.\ ^{1}\mathrm{Forann}$  Nechtenibus ba rīgh Eigipti in innbhaig sin, amail rocan in t-eōlach in rann  $\mathrm{so,^{1}}$ 

Ro gon Milig, fa maith clann . . . .

Ocus 'robāi ingen 'ig Forand i. Scota a hainm-sidēin, \( \gamma \) ro 'ehuindig Mīlidh in ingen sin, \( \gamma \) tug Forand dō hī: \( \gamma \) ruc in Scota sin dā mac dhō, i. \( ^6\)Aimirgein Glūngeal \( \gamma \) timir a 'sh-anmanda. Is 'andsin ro indarb 'shAlaxandair rīgh in domain in 'iForand sin, 'iōr nīr bo rīarach dō hē, \( \gamma \) ro 'idīchair san Eithiōip 'shdeisceartaig budeas he: \( \gamma \) ro 'iscumdaiged cathair la Halaxandar 'sin Ēigipt īar ndīchar Foraind dhō, 'so. i. Alaxandria a hainm. 'I Anais trā 's Mīlidh mac 's Bile ocht mbliadna 'soin Ēigipt, \( \gamma \) ro foglaimsead dā 'lfear dēc 's dia muindtir prīmdāna: 'sīn Sēghdha, in Sobairce, \( \gamma \) in Suirghe fria 's sāirsi, 's Mandtam \( \gamma \) "Scaithear \( \gamma \) Fulman 's fria draidheacht; badar 's bualaind \( \gamma \) badair 's firbreathaigh in triar 's oile, i. 's Goisdean \( \gamma \) "Amairgein \( \gamma \) Dond: badar 's cathbūaghaigh in triar 's ele, i. 's Mīlidh \( \gamma \) "Oige \( \gamma \) "Ocus ro ailsead a 's n-il-gnīmha \( \gamma \) a n-ill-dānacht isin 's Eigipt.

154. O ¹ro fairigh trā ²Mīlidh ³fainde ७ ⁴aimneart do thiaehtain ⁵d'Forand, ‡ ¬ Alaxanndair ⁶aga indarba ||, ¹ceileabraidh dō: ¬ nr̄ ⁶hair a ŭamhoin itir, acht ro ⁶tairrngeiridh ō druīdhib ¹oʻferann ¬ rīghe do ghabhāil dō. ¹¹Doluigh Mīlidh īarsin ‡ for Muir Rūaidh ||, in līn cētna ¹²robāi, ¬ Scota ingen Foraind leis.

155. ¹Dosfāinegh gāeth mōr, ²bertais sair isin ³n-aigen, ⁴seach Indniam, seach Cirord, ⁵seach Golgardaina, seach Indber nGaind, d'inis ⁶Tibra Faine, ¬‡ ¬ anaid mī innti ||, ⁶congabhsad tīr ⁶indti. ¹⁰Imrēid īar sin seach ¹¹Indnia, seach Slīabh ¹²Coguaist anīar, ¹³seach Ithiam, seach sruth ¹⁴Boriam, ¹⁵seach Sceithiam ¹⁶īartharaigh sīar, ¹³do inbhear Mara Caisp. Gabhsad ¹⁶tost trī nōmaide for Muir ¹⁶Caisp fria dord na ²⁶murdhūchond. ‡ Is ē fäilti doniad, canaid ceōl ²¹im n-a curc[h]aibh ¬ im na barcaibh,

153. Pharao Nechtenibus was King of Egypt at that time, as the learned sang this quatrain

#### Poem no. XIX.

Now Pharao had a daughter named Scota, and Mil asked for that maiden, and Pharao gave her to him: and that Scota bore two sons to him, Amorgen Glungel and Eber their names. It is then that Alexander, king of the world, drave out that Pharao, for he was not submissive to him, and expelled him southward, into southern Ethiopia: and a city was built by Alexander in Egypt after he had expelled Pharao, Alexandria its name. Mil son of Bile tarried eight years in Egypt, and twelve men of his followers learnt the principal arts: Segda, Sobairce, and Suirge learnt craftsmanship, Mantan, Caicher, and Fulman learnt druidry: another three, Gosten, Amorgen, and Donm, were arbitrators and judges: the other three, Mil, Oici, and Uici, were warriors. They nurtured their multiplicity of actions and of accomplishments in Egypt.

154. Now when Mil perceived that weakness and loss of strength had come upon Pharao, [and that Alexander was driving him out], he took leave of him: by no means from fear, but it had been promised him by druids that he would get an estate and a kingdom. Thereafter Mil went [upon the Red Sea]—there was the same tally as before—and Scota daughter of Pharao with him.

155. A great wind came upon them, which carried them eastward in the ocean, past India, past Cirord, past Golgardoma, past the estuary of the Ganges, to the island of Taprobane, and they landed therein. [They remain within it a month]. Thereafter they voyaged past India, past Mount Caucasus from the west, past Ithia, past the river Boria, past western Seythia westward, to the estuary of the Caspian Sea. They were in silence for three weeks upon the Caspian Sea, by

<sup>153. 1-1</sup> Forand Fornechtenibus fa rig Egept an inbaid sin, 7 fuair Milig morfailti aici: 7 is do sin ro chan in t-eolach in rand-sa (om. ro) 3 oc 4-dich Milig 5 tuc 6 Aimirgin Gluingel 7 Emer 8 -nna 9 annsin 10 Alxandair rig 11 Foranm 12 uair ni ba 12 dichuir isan Eitheoib 14 -aich fodeas 15 cumdaigh B chuindich M 10-16 om. 11 ins. na cathrach sin 7 iar ndichur Foraind ro cumdaiged in cathair sin 18 Milig 10 Bili 20 an Egept 21 fer 22 da 22-22 i. Segda 7 Sobairce 7 Suirei fri 12 Mantan 25 Caither 26 fri draigecht 17 buadlaind 28 -aich 29 aile 20 Goisten 31 Aimirgin 22 ins. i B: cathbuadaig M 20 aile 24 Milig 20 Oici 26 Uicci 27 ailsead 28 -gnima 7 a n-il-danacht 29 nEgept.

<sup>154.</sup> ¹ra airig ²Milig ²faindi ⁴-nerti ⁵ar ⁰aca n-indarba ¹celebraid ⁵hara oman ⁰-giread ¹ºForann righe B: ferann ¬ rigi do gobail M ¹¹doluid ¹²om. robai.

<sup>\*</sup> sech Innia sech <sup>2</sup> 7 beris soir n-aicen 155. 1 -fanic in gaeth 8 ins. 7 9 innti <sup>5</sup> sech Golgordoma <sup>6</sup> Tibraid Fane 7.i. Matumiti B <sup>12</sup> Cucais <sup>13</sup> seach (Iriam expuncted) Ithiam B sech 11 Innia 17 d'indber 14 Boiriam 15 sech Sceithia 16 -aich siar n-Ithiam M 20 -duchand 18 tost .i. ix maide B, tost ind .iii. ix maidi M 19 Chaisp fri 21 in in a B in a curchaib 7 in a mbarcaib 22 cuimgid 23 can chodlad

Dolodar a tīr na \*\*Cichloisgthe:

fearoid-sidein cath amail firu friu. Is aire do loisedis a ciche deassa, ar na tairmiscdis a congeindtleacht. conad anflaith gebeas f[l]athus in tīre sin. Dā ceinēl trichad a l-līn. Do Fagsat-

7 fearaid catha co hilarda amail firu friu. Is aire ro loisedis a cichi deasa, ar na tairmisced a n-dibraici umpu. Ocus is ē līn geibeas flaithius in tīri sin .i. dā chenel trichad a lin. Ocus do facsad-

meic 31Milidh lucht 32fichit long dia 33muinteir annsin, 7 34ceithre 35ceinela cethrachad 36gu Sceithia.

156. Dolodar 'seach Albaniam sīar, 'seach 'Slēibh Rifi a 'tūaigh, sech Alania, conngabhsat in nAissia. Ansad mi indte. Asbert Caithear drai <sup>8</sup>riu: Nī anfaidis <sup>9</sup>gu roistis Ērinn. <sup>10</sup>Rēisead īarom seach <sup>11</sup>Ghothiam do German: ceithre ceinel coicat a lin, in tan dono 12thainig loingis Mac 19Miled, gur gabsad in 14Gearmain ina hoirrter. 15Dolodar da n-ocht 16deg <sup>17</sup>mīlidh do mīleadaibh <sup>18</sup>Traicia for loingeas, <sup>19</sup>gu macu Mīled, .i. fo clū <sup>20</sup>uirdercu(i)s na loingsi;<sup>21</sup> combadar <sup>22</sup>in n-āentaidh Mac <sup>23</sup>Miled: 7 do <sup>24</sup>rarngairsead arsaidhe dõibhsium soighe thīre leo dia ngabhdais <sup>25</sup>tīr feisin. 26Desin trā rothšealgadar Gāidhil ar ēigin in tīr a 27filead Cruithneachu. In 28 mileidh sin trā 29 dolodar a 30 Traicia i Cruitheantuaith. (b) <sup>31</sup>Rēisseadh īar sin tar sruth <sup>32</sup>Rēin, seach <sup>35</sup>Gailliam do <sup>34</sup>Belgicham i bail 35ocht ceandadacha deg 367 i bail cuig caithreacha deg ar cet: 35 seach 37lind Lughdhanensis, 38 sech Gailliam Equituniam in Easpäin 38 deiscertaigh: dar

# SECTION II.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL.

reason of the crooning of the Sirens. [This is the welcome they would make: they would chant music around their canoes and their ships, and the people could not choose but fall asleep thereat. He who was most cunning among them would place molten pitch in their ears, so that they should hear naught of the music. Thereafter they sang music to the followers (of Mil), I till Caicher the druid rescued them.

They came into the land of the Amazons,

who fought a battle like men with them. This is why they were wont to burn their right breasts, that they should not hinder (their warrior-eraft, so that no tyrant)(a) should take dominion of that country. Thirty-two tribes were their tally.

who fought battles in multitudes like unto men with them. This is why they were wont to burn their right breasts that their archery should not be interfered with thereby. This is the tally of them that took dominion of that land, thirty-two tribes. And

The sons of Mil left the crews of twenty ships of their people there, and forty-four companies [from that back] to Scythia.

156. They came past Albania westward, past the Rhipaean Mountain in the north, past Alania, till they settled in Asia. They stayed a month there. Caicher the druid said unto them: Ye shall not rest till ye reach Ireland. Thereafter they journeyed past Gothia to Germania: fifty-four tribes was their tally when the expedition of the sons of Mil came, and they settled in Germania in the East. Twice eighteen of the soldiers of Thrace came on an expedition to the sons of Mil, that is, inspired by the fame of the glory of the expedition: so that they came into a league with the sons of Mil: and elders had promised them that they should attain to a territory along with them, if they should themselves take land. For that reason the Gaedil attacked by force the land where the Cruithne are. Now these soldiers came from Thrace into Pict-land. They sailed thereafter across the river Rhine, past Gallia to Belgia, where there are eighteen

Milead 20 7 airrdercus 21 ins. sin 22 an aentaich 23 -ead 24 rairngirsead faidi doibseam saigid thiri 25 fesin tir 26 Is desin tra ro selgadar Gaeidil 28 Milig 29 dolodar dittographed 27 fuilead Cruithnig aniu 31 rearsad 32 Ren 33 Gailliaine 34 Belgichaine i fail i fuil (sic) 35-35 .uii. 36 7 ins. sec. man. B cennacha dec ca fuilead .u. cathracha deg ar chet 38-38 seach Gailliam seach Earituniam siar co 37 lind dittographed B

<sup>25</sup> cluasaib 26 nach eluintis 27 chechladar 28 ins. Milid: co ro 30 -loisci. In mg. in a 17th cent. 29 ins. iad: do lotar i tir hand, Amazonam regio, M 31 Milead 32 om. fichit B 33 T M 34 ceithri M, im, changed to the numeral by dotting the minims B se co.

<sup>156.</sup> sech Albania ins. 3 Sliab Rife tuaid seach congabad inaicia emis inti adbert friu co roithdis Erind iarum 11 Goithiam 12 tanic loinges 13 -ead cor 14 Germain isin n-airther 15 dolotar 16 om. 17 milead 18 ins. na: Traigia for loinges 19 co macaib

<sup>(</sup>a) See the note, pp. 146-7.

<sup>(</sup>b) An erasure of three letters here, B.

Druim Sailt in <sup>39</sup>Easpāin <sup>40</sup>tūaisceartaigh, tar <sup>41</sup>Farus, combadar <sup>42</sup>a cathair Breogaind, γ <sup>43</sup>ba folam-sidhe ar a <sup>44</sup>chind, γ ansad <sup>45</sup>andsidhe tricha an <sup>46</sup>aittreabh; γ <sup>47</sup>feacdair ceithre catha <sup>48</sup>air cōicat <sup>49</sup>fria Heaspanchu γ Longbardu γ Baccru, γ ro <sup>50</sup>moighsead uile re <sup>51</sup>Milidh mac <sup>52</sup>mBile im <sup>53</sup>ceart nEaspāine, <sup>54</sup> γ ro <sup>55</sup>fertha na catha <sup>56</sup>soin uile <sup>53</sup>gur ghabh flaithus nEaspāine ar ēigin. Ocus is dē sin ro <sup>58</sup>hainmnigead .i. <sup>50</sup>Milid Easpāine, <sup>50</sup>ūair Golamh a <sup>51</sup>cēt ainm: γ isin <sup>52</sup>Easpāin ro geinidar dā mac <sup>63</sup>Mīled .i. <sup>54</sup>Ēirimōn γ Arondan, in <sup>55</sup>dā ṡsosar. In dā <sup>56</sup>sindsear imorro .i. Dond γ Åireach <sup>51</sup>Fabruadh, isin Sceithīa <sup>58</sup>rugtha, γ Seang ingean Rafallair meic <sup>56</sup>Nema a māthair: Colptha <sup>70</sup>oc na Gaethlaigib: <sup>71</sup>rugadh Hir for Muir <sup>72</sup>Traigia: ro <sup>73</sup>geinir <sup>74</sup>Eber Find γ <sup>75</sup>Amairgein in Eigipt. Rugtha sē meic cg mac Mīled re Scota, γ dā mac ris in <sup>76</sup>nEaspanāigh. Is dē <sup>71</sup>sin asbert in <sup>75</sup>flidh,

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#### Ocht meic Golaim na n-gāire . . .

<sup>19</sup>Ocus gu roibi slīghe Mīlidh cona muindteir sin, ātō in Sceithia. <sup>50</sup>Airrtheraig gu Heighipht γ ātō Eigipt gu Heaspāin. <sup>81</sup>Dosfāinigh tamh, <sup>52</sup> coneipil dā lānomain dēg dē,(a) im na <sup>83</sup>trī <sup>81</sup>rīgha Easpāine, .i. Mīlidh γ <sup>85</sup>Oigi γ Uige: amail <sup>80</sup>asbert <sup>81</sup>Cend Faeladh <sup>88</sup>is a slicht<sup>88</sup> so —

#### Doluid Mīlid as in Scithīa.

157. 'No go maidh i so gnāth-slīghi na nGhāedheal: ōir it ag(4) Oguman' ro 'Fagsamar, ¬ gē ro leanamar do Mīlig cona muindtir is lind 'impōgh gu Hogaman dorighisi.

<sup>4</sup>Gabas Refill mac Nemin <sup>6</sup>rīghi, co dorchair la <sup>7</sup>Taid mac Ogamain. Do rochair Tait īarom do lāim <sup>8</sup>Refloir meic Refill. Bāi <sup>9</sup>cosnam flaithusa itir <sup>10</sup>Rafloir mac Refill <sup>11</sup>Agnomain mac <sup>12</sup>Taid, condorchair <sup>13</sup>Refleoir.

Heasbain ndeascertaich 39 inasp an e ins. above the a sec. man. M 40 -taich 41 forus 43 fa falam-siden 44 cind 45 andsiden 46 aitreib 50 moidsead uili 51 Milig 49 fri Bacru 47 fidthis(b) ceithri 52 om. m- 53 cheart 51 ins. ar eigin 55 feartha 56 sin 57 corgob flaithius 58 -ged-som 59 Milig 60 ins. dorad fris ar a militacht 61 ched 62 nEaspain 65 dana sosar 64 Eremon 7 Earannan re geneadar 63 -ead 69 ins. sec. man. B: 68 rucad iad 7 Sreng ingen Refloir 67 Feabruad Nemain M 70 o Gnathlaidhgib B 71 rucad imorro 72 Thraigia 73 genair <sup>75</sup> Aimirgin san Egept rucad. Se meic ag Milig 76 nEaspain <sup>78</sup> t-eolach <sup>79</sup> acus is i sin sligi cloindi Milead Easpaine cona muintir ota 80 airthearach co Hegept 7 ota Eigept co Hespain 81 dosfanic

provinces and a hundred and fifteen cities: past the Gulf of Lyons, past Gallia Aquitanica, into southern Spain: over Druim Sailt into Northern Spain, over the Pyrenees (†), till they were in the city of Breogan. It was empty before them, and there remained within it thirty of their homesteads. They fought fifty-four battles with the Hispani and the Langobardi and the Bacru, and they were all subdued by Mil s. Bile in the matter of the title to Spain: all those battles were fought, till he (Mil) obtained the princedom of Spain by force. Thence was he called Mil of Spain: for 'Golam' was his first name. In Spain were two sons of Mil born, Eremon and Arandan, the two youngest. The two eldest, Donn and Airech Februa, in Scythia were they born, and Seng daughter of Refloir s. Nema was their mother. Colptha, at the Marshes was he born; Ir was born on the Thracian Sea; Eber Find and Amorgen in Egypt. Six of the sons of Mil were born of Scota, two of them in Spain: thereanent spake the poet —

#### Poem no. XX.

And in that wise was the route of Mil with his people, from Eastern Seythia to Egypt, and from Egypt to Spain. There came a plague, so that twelve wedded couples of his people died thereof, including the three kings of Spain, Mil and Occe and Ucce; as Cend Faelad saith in the following version

Poem no. XIV.

157. Or it may be that this is the beaten track of the Gaedil: we have left it at Ogamain; and though we have followed on to Mil with his people, it is time to return to Ogamain again.

Refill s. Noemius took the kingdom, till he fell at the hands of Tat s. Ogamain. Thereafter Tat fell at the hand of Refloir s. Rifill. There was a contention for the princedom between Refloir s. Refill and Agnomain s. Tat, until Refloir fell.

<sup>59</sup> ins. enlaithi an Espain conebil da lanamain dheg <sup>83</sup> tur B <sup>84</sup> rigaib <sup>85</sup> Uici 7 Oici <sup>86</sup> adfed <sup>87</sup> Cenn <sup>88-88</sup> om.

157. <sup>1-1</sup> Atbearait araile do eolchaib is i seo gnath-sligid na nGaeideal uair is ac Ogamain <sup>2</sup> facsamar <sup>3</sup> impod co Hogamain dorisi <sup>4</sup> uair dogob <sup>6</sup> in rigi condorchair <sup>7</sup> Tait <sup>8</sup> Refleir meic Rifill <sup>9</sup> imchosnom flaithiusa <sup>16</sup> Refloir m. Rifill <sup>11</sup> Ogamain <sup>12</sup> Tait <sup>13</sup> Rafloir do laim (Ogamain meic ye M in marg.) Thait.

<sup>(</sup>a) One letter, with a stroke above it, erased here, M.
(b) Not clearly written: might also be -ir.

<sup>(</sup>c) Written αδόδυαn B, the mark over the o partly erased.

158. Conad aire sin ro hindarbadh sīl 2nGāedil for muir, i. 3 Agnomain 7 4 Lāmfind a mac, co mbadar secht bliadna for muir <sup>5</sup>a timeoll in domain a tūaidh. <sup>6</sup>As lia a thuiream na mar indistear: 7 is andsin ro chēsadar mor d'ulc. 9Is 10 aire tugadh Lamfind 11 ar mac <sup>12</sup>nAghnomoin, <sup>13</sup>ar na ba soillsi <sup>14</sup>caindell inaid a lāmha <sup>16</sup>Trī longa dōibh, 7 ceangal <sup>17</sup>etorru na con 15 imrom. deachsad cāch 18dībh ō chēle. Trī 19tōisig badar 20 oga, īar 21n-ēg Agnomain isin 22muinchind Mara Caisp, i. <sup>23</sup>Lāmfind 7 Alloth 7 Caithear drai.

159. Is <sup>1</sup>ē in Caithear sin <sup>2</sup>dorighne <sup>3</sup>leigheas dōibh dia mbāi in 'murdūchaind aga mbrēgadh, .i. bāi in 'collud aga forrach<sup>5</sup> frisin <sup>6</sup>ceōl. Is <sup>7</sup>ē leigheas fuair <sup>8</sup>Caither dōib, .i. 9cēir do leaghadh 10na clūasaibh. Is 11ē 12Caithear adubairt dia <sup>13</sup>rosfug in gāeth isin n-aigen. <sup>14</sup>gur cēsadar mor do gorta 7 15d'itaid and, co 16ruachtadar a cind seachtmaine 17i rind mor 18o Slebh Rifi bho tūaid, conadh isin rind sin 19fuaradar tobar 20go mblas 21fina, 22go ro <sup>23</sup>loingsi (sic) and combadar trī <sup>24</sup>lā 7 trī <sup>25</sup>haidhche in a cotludh andsin: 26 condebairt 27 Caithear draī: 28 Ērigh, ar sē, 7 nī anfam 29go roisium Ēriu. Ca hairm 30atā Ēiriu? ar 31 Lāmfind mac Agnōin. Is 32 faidi, ar 33 Cathar drai, 34 nā 'n Sceithīa, 7 nī sind fēin 35 roichfeas acht ar cland, 36a cind trī cēt bliadan 37ondiu.

159. he 2 dorindi. 3 leiges doib 4-chand oga mbregad written cooil and the i expuncted B he leiges oca mellad

158. For that reason was the seed of Gaedel driven forth upon the sea, to wit Agnomain and Lamfind his son, so that they were seven years on the sea skirting the world on the northern side. More than can be reckoned or related <is their adventure>, and there they suffered much of hardship. The reason why the name Lamfhind was given to the son of Agnomain was, that not (greater) in radiance was a candle than his hands, on the voyage. They had three ships with a coupling between them, that none of them should move away from the rest. They had three chieftains after the death of Agnomain on the surface of the Caspian Sea, namely Lamfhind and Allot and Caicher the druid.

159. This is that Caicher who made a remedy for them, when the sirens were playing them false: sleep was overcoming them at the music. This is a remedy which Caicher the druid found for them, to melt wax in their ears. It is Caicher who spake when the wind drave them into the ocean, so that they suffered much with hunger and thirst there; till at the end of a week they reached a great promontory northward from the Rhipaean Mountain, and in that promontory they found a spring with the taste of wine, and they feasted there, and were three days and three nights asleep there. But Caicher the druid said: Rise, said he, we shall not rest until we reach Ireland. What place is 'Ireland'? said Lamfhind son of Agnomain. Further than Scythia is it, said Caicher the druid; it is not ourselves who shall reach it, but our children, at the end of three hundred years from today.

<sup>158. 1</sup> conadh uime B 2 nGaeidil tar 3 Agnon 4 Laimind 5 timchell (om. a) <sup>6</sup> uair is lia a tuir. <sup>7</sup> om. is andsin <sup>8</sup> chesidar <sup>9</sup> ins. <sup>7</sup> thucad Lamfind 11 om, ar mae B 12 Agnon 18 uair nir bo anait 15 imram 16 ceathra 17 eturru 18 o chele dib 19 taisich 20 acco 21 nec Agnon 22 -cind M 22 Lamfind 7 Elloth.

<sup>13 -</sup>fuc 14 om. gur: ceseadar 9 cer 10 ins. na leagad 11 he 12 -ther 17 a 18 om. o: Slebe Rife fo thuaid 16 ro riachtadar 15 ditaī B <sup>19</sup> fuaridar <sup>20</sup> co <sup>21</sup> fina <sup>22</sup> co <sup>23</sup> loingsead <sup>24</sup> laithi <sup>25</sup> haidchi na codlad 28 conearbailt B 27 -ther 28 eirgid 29 co roisem Erind 30 ita an 34 ina in 35 roithfeas 31 Laimfind 32 fada 32 Caithear at oniug.

161. Brath mac <sup>1</sup>Deaatha meic <sup>2</sup>Earchadha meic <sup>3</sup>Alloid meic 'Nuagad meic 'Nenuail meic 'Fheibric Glais meic Aighne Find meic Ebir Glüinfind meic Lämfind meic <sup>9</sup>Aghnomain meic <sup>10</sup>Thaid meic Ogamain meic <sup>11</sup>Beoamoin meic 12 Eimir Sguit meic Srū meic Easrū meic 13 Gāidil 19 otāid Gāidil.14 Is 15 ē sein tāinig is na 16 Gaethloighibh, <sup>17</sup>ar ut Mara <sup>18</sup>Toirriam, do <sup>19</sup>Crēid, 7 do <sup>20</sup>Shigir, 7 do riachtadar 21gu Heaspāin 22īar sin. Gabhsat 23 Easpāin air ēigin.

162. Adnomain trā mac Tait, is ē Gāidheal-tōisinach <sup>3</sup>thānig asin Sceithīa. Dā mac lais, i. Lāimfind 7 <sup>4</sup>Alloth. Āen mac <sup>5</sup>aig Lāimfind i. Ēber Gluinfind. Āen mac 'ag Alloth, i. Eber Dub, i 'comhaimsir is na <sup>8</sup>Gaethloighibh. Dā <sup>9</sup>hua acco i <sup>10</sup>comflaithus .i. <sup>11</sup>Toitheachta mac 12 Teitrigh meic Ebir 13 Duinn 7 Nenual mac <sup>14</sup>Feibrigh meic <sup>15</sup>Adhgnoin meic Ebir Glünfind, 7 <sup>16</sup>Soitheachta mac <sup>17</sup>Mandtain meic Caithir. <sup>18</sup>

163. Lucht 'ceithre long tra 'tāngadar Gāidhil gu Heaspāin, 7 3morseisiur amhus gan mhnā. Brath, lucht luingi. Oige 7 Uige, lucht da long—da bhrathair iad. i. dā mac Alloith meic Ogamain meic Thoithechta meic <sup>6</sup>Teitrig meic Ebir <sup>7</sup>Duinn meic <sup>8</sup>Alloith meic Ogamoin. Mandtan, lucht 10 luinge, mac 11 Caicher meic Earchodha

160. Thereafter they settled in the Maeotic Marshes. There a son was born to Lamfhind, Eber Glunfhind: that is, white marks were on his knees. He it is who was chieftain after his father. His grandson was Febri: his grandson was Nuadu.

161. Brath s. Death s. Ercha s. Allot s. Nuadu s. Nenual s. Febri Glas s. Agni Find s. Eber Glunfhind s. Lamfhind s. Agnomain s. Tat s. Ogamain s. Boamain s. Eber Scot s. Sru s. Esru s. Gaidel from whom are the Gaidil. He it is who came in [sic, read "out of"] the Marshes, along the Torrian Sea, to Crete and to Sicily, and thereafter they reached Spain. They took Spain by force.

162. As for Agnomain s. Tat, he was the Gaedilchieftain who came out of Scythia. He had two sons, Lamfhind and Alloth. Lamfhind had one son, Eber Glunfhind. Alloth had one son, Eber Dub, at the same time as [the sojourn in] the Marshes. They had two grandsons in joint rule, Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Eber Donn, and Nenual s. Febri s. Agnomain s. Eber Glunfhind: there was also Sothecht s. Mantan s. Caicher.

163. Four ships' companies strong came the Gaedil to Spain, with seven unwived hirelings. Brath, a ship's company. Occe and Ucce, two ships' companies: two brethren were they, the sons of Allot s. Ogamain s. Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Eber Donn (read Dub) s. Allot s. Ogamain. Mantan, a ship's company—s. Caicher s.

<sup>160. 1</sup> gabsad 2 sic M; iar nGaethloighibh Meadh eobacdhai B 5 Emer Glunfind 6 comarthada gela Tins. 7 10 tar 11 fa dosiden fa fua Feibrig, ua dosiden .i. Nuada.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ercha <sup>3</sup> Alloit <sup>4</sup> Nuadad <sup>5</sup> Neanuail 161. Deatha 10 Thait 11 -ain 7 Agnoin Fhind 8 Laimfind 9 Agnoimoin 13 Gaeidil 14-14 om. 15 he sin tanic as 16 -laigib 17 om. ar ut B 20 Thicil 21 co Hisp. 22 om. iar sin, ins. 7: gabsad 19 Chreid 18 -ian 23 Er.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gaeidel-toisech <sup>3</sup> tanic 162. Aignoimen 4 Alloith 5 ac Lamfind ua aco 7 comaimsir 8 Gaethlaidib 10 -theas " Toithechta. 15 Agnoin 14 Febrig 16 Seothechta 17 Mantan 13 Duib 13 Teitrig 18 ins. druad.

<sup>163. 1</sup> cheathra 2 thancadar Gaeidil co 3 moirfeser amus cen mnai <sup>5</sup> Nenuaill m. Nemain m. Alloit m. Agnoimen 6 Seitrig 4 Oici 7 Uici 8 Alloit m. Ogamain m. Beoamain 9 Mantan 10 luingi .i. 7 Duib 11 Caithir m. Erchada

meic <sup>12</sup>Caemtheachta meic <sup>13</sup>Toitheachta meic <sup>14</sup>Mandtain meic Caichir drūadh <sup>15</sup>qui <sup>16</sup>fecit profetiam, meic <sup>17</sup>Ēbir Eachrūaidh <sup>18</sup>meic Thait meic <sup>19</sup>Ogamoin.

164. Trī catha imorro ro ¹brisidar īar ndul ²an Easpāin, ³.i. cath for ⁴Toiseacha ⁊ cath for ⁵Longbarda ȝ cath for ⁶Bacco. ⁶Tāinig tām forro, ⁶con eibleidar ceathrar ar ⁶fichit dībh im ¹⁰Oige ȝ im ¹¹Uige, ¹²cona tērno ass na dā luing acht dā cuigear im En mac Uige¹² ȝ im Un mac ¹³Uige.

165. Bāi mac maith ¹ag Brath i. ²Breogan, ³ag a ndernadh Tōr ⁴mBreogan ⁊ in chathair i. ⁵Brigandsia ⁰a hainm. A Tūr ʿBreogain imorro adceas ⁵Ēriu ⁰i feascur ¹⁰geimrigh, ‡ i. ¹¹oidhche śamhna ∥ adcondairc Ith mac Breogain, amail ro chan Gilla Caeman in duan,¹²

Gāedel Glas ōtat Gāedil . . . .

# APPENDIX.

#### THE LIST OF LANGUAGES.

1 L .	$\mathbf{F}$	В
Betin	Betin	Beithin
Scitin	Scetin	Scethin
Scill	Seill	Seill
Scartin	Scartin	Scairthin
Guit	Guth	Guth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>-thechta <sup>13</sup>-thechta <sup>14</sup> Mantain m. Cathair <sup>15</sup> om. qui <sup>16</sup> fesit prophetsiam <sup>17</sup> Emir Echruaid <sup>18</sup> om. m. Tait <sup>13</sup>-main. **164**. <sup>1</sup> brisedar <sup>2</sup> in <sup>3</sup> om. i. <sup>4</sup> Bacru <sup>5</sup> Toisechu <sup>6</sup> Longbardu <sup>7</sup> co tanic <sup>8</sup> conebladar <sup>9</sup> fichit <sup>10</sup> Oici <sup>11</sup> Uici <sup>12-12</sup> om. <sup>12</sup> Uici.

Ercha s. Coemthecht s. Soithecht (sic lege) s. Mantan s. Caicher the druid qui fecit prophetiam s. Eber Echruad s. Tat s. Ogamain.

164. They broke three battles after going into Spain: a battle against the Tuscans, a battle against the Langobardi, and a battle against the Barchu. There came a plague upon them, so that four and twenty of their number died, including Occe and Ucce. Out of the two ships none escaped, save twice five men, including En s. Occe (sic lege) and Un s. Ucce.

165. Brath had a good son named Breogan, by whom was built the Tower of Breogan and the city which is called Braganza. From Breogan's Tower was Ireland seen on a winter evening, to wit, on Samain evening. Ith s. Breogan saw it, as Gilla Coeman sang the song,

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$\mathbf{M}$	H	
Beithin	Beithin	Bithynian <sup>2</sup>
Sceithin	Sgeithin	Scythian
Scill	Sgill	Cilician
Scartain	Sgarthain	Hyrcanian
Guth	Guth	Gothic

165. ¹ oc ² Breogu ³ oc a ndearnad ⁴ mBreogaind ⁵ g ins. sec.

man. B: Briaindsia M ⁴ ainm na cathrach ¹ Breogaind ⁵ Erind

om. i ¹ gemrid ¹¹ aidehi Samna adchonnairc ¹² ins. -sa, ca derbad.

Words and letters in this column contained in brackets are now lost from the MS., but restored from O'Curry's transcript.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On the translations suggested in this column, see the notes (below, p. 148 ff.).

$\mathbf{L}$	$\mathbf{F}$	В
G(r)éic	Greig	Greig
G(ermain)	German	Gearmain
G(aill)	Gaill	Gaill
(Poimp)	Poimp	Poimp
(Frigia)	Frigia	Frigia
(Caispia)	Caspa	Caispia
Dardain	Dardan	Dardain <sup>3</sup>
Pampil	Pampil	Poimpil
Morind	Morand	Morand4
Liguirn	Ligirnn	Ligearnd <sup>5</sup>
Oatri	Daithri	Daithri
Creit	Cret <sup>6</sup>	Creid
Corsic	Coirsic	Coirsicc
(S)icil	Sicil	Siccill
(Reid)	Reit	Reit
(Sardain)	Sardan	Sardan
(Magidon)	Macindon	Maighidonia
Tesail	Teasail	Teascul
Armein	Armein	Airmeint <sup>7</sup>
Dalmait	Dalmait	Dalmain*
Romain	Romain	Romain
Rugind	Rungind	Ruiceind
Moisig	Mosic	Moissice
Arboi	Arboin	Arbboin
(Hisbain)	Hispan	Hispain
(Gairit)	Gairit	Gairitt
(Huin[us] ind)	Huinusind	Huinusind

<sup>Might possibly (but not probably) be Dardamh.
A large dot (accidental) over the d.
A small dot, also accidental, over the g.</sup> 

M	H	
Greig	Greig	Greek
Germain	Germain	Germanic
Gaill	Gaill	Gaulish
Poimp	Poimp	Pentapolitan
Frigia	Frigia	Phrygian
Caispia	Caispia	Cappadocian
Dardain	Dardain	Dardanian
Poimpil	Poimpil	Pamphylian
Morand	Morund	Mauretanian
Ligern	Ligern	Lycaonian
Daithri	Daithri	?
Creit	Creid	Cretan
Coirsic	Coirsig	Corsican
Sicil	Sicil	Sicilian
Reid	Reid	Raetian
Sardain	Sardain	Sardinian
Magidon	Maigidoin	Macedonian
Teasal	Tesail	Thessalian
Mairmen	Mairmein	- Armenian
Dalmain	Dalmain	Dalmatian
Romain	Romain	Roman(?)
Ruicend	Ruicend	Rheginian
Moisiuc	Maisinc	?
Arboin	Arbain	Narbonian
Hisbain	Espain	Hispanic
Gairit	Gairit	Galatian
Huinusind	Huinusind	Phoenician

<sup>6</sup> Written Cert.

Or perhaps Airineint.
 Changed from Dalmuin.

L	$\mathbf{F}$	В	
(Saraic)	Saraic	Saraicc	
11	Broes	Broess	
	Brit	Britt	
Oric	Horcri <sup>9</sup>	Horcri	
Burgan	Burgan	Burgan	
Belgaig	Belgal	Bealgal	
Mugaig	Mucaig	Muccaigh	
Boét	Boet	Boet	
India	India	Indnia	
Pardae	Partia	Partia10	
Callie	Callia	Caillia	
Siria	Siriat	Siriat	
(Aidin)			
	Galliat		
	Acait		
Atheni	Atini	Aitini	
Albain	Albain	Albain	
Saxus	Saxus	Saxus	
Ebre	Ebreus	Ebrus	
Ardain	Ardan	Ardan	
Moysi	Moisi	Moysi	
Traciae	Tracia	Traigia	
Edis	Edis	Edis	
Uesogiam	Uesogum	Ulsogum	
Tripolita	Tripolita	Tripolita	
Zeugis	Reuigis	Remighis	
Numa	Munausa <sup>14</sup>	Munausa	

M	H	
Saraic	Saraicc	Saracenic
Breois	Breós	Rhodian
Brit	Brit	British
Horcid	Horchind	Illyrican(?)
Brugan	Brugán	Burgundian
Belgal	Belgal	Belgian
Mucaid	Muccaid	Mygdonian(?)
Beot	Beót	Boeotian
India	India	Indian
Partia	Pairtia	Parthian
Caillia	Caillia	Carian(?)
Siriath	Siriath	Syrian
	W   (W)   (W)	Alanian
		Galatian
		Achaean
Aitim	Aitine	Athenian
Albain	Albain	Albanian
Saxus	Saxus	Saxon
Ebreus	Ebreus	Hebrew
Ardan	Ardan	Arcadian
Moisice		Moesian
Tragia	Tragia	Thracian
Eidis	Eidist	Hellenic(?)15
Ulsogum	Ulsogum	Pelasgian
Tripolitia	Tripolia	Tripolitan
Remigis	Remigis	Zeugian
Munchusa	Munchusu	Numidian

<sup>11</sup> These dots represent omissions, not lacunae due to injury of the MS.
14 Written Muna;a.
15 Or perhaps Edessian.

Written Horei.
Or perhaps Pardia.

$\mathbf{L}$	$\mathbf{F}$	В
Murit	Muirid	
Hicail	Hicail <sup>12</sup>	Iccaill
Gaedilg	Gaedelg	Gaedhealg
Media	Meidia	Meidia
Foirni	Foirnne	Foirni
Grinni	Grinde	Grinni
Franc	Franc	Frange
Fresin	Freise	Freissi
Longbard	Longbhaird	Longbaird
Lacedemo[in]	Bacidhoin	Baicidoni
Troiana	Tronna	Toronda
Colchia	Colacha	Colacha
Caspia	Caspia	Caspia
Aegipt16	Eigipt	Eigeipt
Aethioip16	Ethob	Ethiop
	* * *	

$\mathbf{M}$	H	
		Mauretanian
Iaail <sup>13</sup>	Iaail <sup>13</sup>	Italian
Gaeidelg	Gaedelg	Gaelic
	Moisice	Moesian
Meidia	Media	Median
Forne	Foirne	Persian
Graidni	Grandi	Cyrenean(?)
Frange	Frainge	Frankish
Fresi	Freisi	Frisian
Longbard	Longbaird	Lombardic
Baicidoin	Baicidoin	Lacedemonian
Tronna	Tronda	Trojan
Colacha	Colacha	Cycladic
Caispia	Caispia	Caspian
Eigeift	Eigipt	Egyptian
Eitheoip	Eitheóip	Aethiopian
Asdia17	Aissdia 17	
Cuimniu	Cuimniu	
Gudsain	Gudsain	8

<sup>12</sup> Written Hicail.

 $<sup>^{13}</sup>$  The first a of this version has obviously arisen from a cc in the exemplar which was not clear to the scribe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> To make the tables uniform these two names are printed in the order followed by L, but in all the other MSS. the second name comes first.

<sup>17</sup> The names must have been in a columnar arrangement in  $\sqrt{HMB}$ , and the words as dia cuimniugud-sain "to memorize that" must have been divided into three more or less equal parts to fill up three blank lines in the last column. It was natural for the unintelligent scribe of  $\infty H$  to fall into the trap and to take these uoces nihili for the last three names in the list: but that  $\infty M$  did so likewise suggests that the mistake already existed in  $\vee HMB$ . It is possible that for once the narrow columns of  $\sqrt[3]{B}$ , compelling a redistribution of the names, enabled sB to restore the correct reading.

# THE VERSE TEXTS OF SECTION II.

# X.

R<sup>1</sup> ¶ 106 (L 1  $\gamma$  37 : F 2  $\alpha$  22). R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 140 (B 10  $\alpha$  12 : M 268  $\beta$  47 : H 100  $\beta$  5).

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<sup>1</sup>Fēne ō <sup>2</sup>Fheinius <sup>3</sup>asbertar — <sup>4</sup>brīg <sup>5</sup>can <sup>6</sup>dochta: <sup>7</sup>Gāedil ō <sup>8</sup>Gāediul Glas <sup>9</sup>garta, <sup>10</sup>Scuit ō <sup>11</sup>Scota.

<sup>1</sup> Féni LFM Feine B <sup>2</sup> Fenius L Hinius F Fheinias B Fhenius MH <sup>3</sup> asberta F adbertha B adberta MH <sup>4</sup> brigh B <sup>5</sup> cen L gan B <sup>3</sup> docta L (dochta in O'Curry's transcript, but though there appears to be a mark over the c in the original, it does not resemble the usual lenition-mark; not in facsimile): lochta H <sup>7</sup> Gaedil (or perhaps Gao-with o

#### XI.

R¹ and Min ¶ 107 (L 1 & 8: F 2  $\beta$  13:  $\mu \land$  26  $\alpha$  18:  $\mu$ R 91  $\gamma$  5). R³ ¶ 142 (B 10  $\alpha$  37: M 268 & 1: H 100  $\beta$  22).

- 1. <sup>1</sup>Bērla <sup>2</sup>in <sup>3</sup>domain, <sup>4</sup>dēchaid <sup>5</sup>lib, <sup>6</sup>Bethin, <sup>7</sup>Seithin, Seill, <sup>8</sup>Seartain, <sup>9</sup>Guth, <sup>10</sup>Grēc, <sup>11</sup>Germāin, Gaill co ngrāin, <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup>Paimp, <sup>13</sup>Frigia, <sup>14</sup>Dalmait, <sup>15</sup>Dardāin.
- 2. <sup>1</sup>Poimpil, <sup>2</sup>Morind, <sup>3</sup>Ligairn lir, <sup>4</sup>Oatre, <sup>5</sup>Creit, <sup>6</sup>Corsic, <sup>7</sup>Cipir, <sup>8</sup>Tessail, <sup>9</sup>Caspia, <sup>10</sup>Armēin <sup>11</sup>āin, <sup>12</sup>Reit, <sup>13</sup>Sicil, <sup>14</sup>Saraic, <sup>15</sup>Sardāin.

1. ¹berlai B ² an H ³ domun B domun H ⁴ decid L dechaidh  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  B dechthar MH 5 libh  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  B ° Beitin F Beithin R³ ² Sceithin FMH Scethin  $\mu$ RB 8 Scartin F Scarthain  $\mu$ RMH Scartin (a very small dot, not a lenition-mark, over the t)  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  9 Guith L Goith  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ R om. L ¹⁰ Greice  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Greig B Greg MH ¹¹-¹¹ Gall (Goill  $\mu$ R) Germain co ngrain  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ R: om. B ¹² Poimp LFMH om. B ¹³ Prigia H ¹⁴ Dalmaith FB Dalmaid MH ¹³ Dardan FH.

#### THE VERSE TEXTS OF SECTION II.

#### X.

Feni are named from Feinius — a meaning without secretiveness: Gaedil from comely Gaedel Glas, Sects from Scota.

inserted above the line: lenition-mark over d sec. man.: two dots side by side beneath d, and an i beneath them F Gaedheil B Gaeid- MH) \*Gaedil F Gaedhel B Gaeidel M \*gartha B \*Gaedit L Sguit B \*Scota changed to Scoto by re-inker L.

#### XI.

- 1. The languages of the world, see for yourselves—Bithynia, Scythia, Cilicia, Hyrcania, Gothia, Graecia, Germania, Gallia with horror, Pentapolis, Phrygia, Dalmatia, Dardania.
- 2. Pamphylia, Mauretania, populous Lycaonia, Bactria, Creta, Corsica, Cyprus, Thessalia, Cappadocia, noble Armenia, Raetia, Sicilia, Saracen-land, Sardinia.

3. <sup>1</sup>Belgaig, <sup>2</sup>Boet, <sup>3</sup>Bretnais, <sup>4</sup>Brões <sup>5</sup>bind, <sup>6</sup>Hispānia, <sup>7</sup>Romāin, <sup>8</sup>Rugind, <sup>9</sup>Humind, <sup>10</sup>India, <sup>11</sup>Araib ōir, <sup>12</sup>Mucaig, <sup>13</sup>Maisic, <sup>14</sup>Maicidōin.

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- 4. <sup>1</sup>Parthia, <sup>2</sup>Callia, Siria, <sup>3</sup>Sax, <sup>4</sup>Athin, <sup>5</sup>Achait, <sup>6</sup>Albancas, <sup>7</sup>Ebra, Ardain, <sup>8</sup>Galait <sup>9</sup>glain, <sup>10</sup>Troia, <sup>11</sup>Tesalia, <sup>12</sup>Colaig.
- 5. <sup>1</sup>Maisi, <sup>2</sup>Media, <sup>3</sup>Foirni, <sup>4</sup>Franc, 325 <sup>5</sup> Grinni, <sup>6</sup>Lacdemōin, <sup>7</sup>Longbard, <sup>8</sup>Tracia, <sup>9</sup>Numeid, Edis — <sup>10</sup>ēist! <sup>11</sup>Ecail ard, <sup>9</sup> <sup>12</sup>Ethioip, Ēgipt. <sup>12</sup>
- 6. <sup>1</sup>Ae sin līn <sup>2</sup>mbērla <sup>3</sup>cen <sup>4</sup>meirg
  <sup>5</sup>as ro <sup>6</sup>theip <sup>7</sup>Gaedel <sup>8</sup>Gaedeilg: 330
  <sup>9</sup>aichnid <sup>10</sup>dam <sup>11</sup>a rēim ērgna,
  <sup>12</sup>na <sup>13</sup>haicmi, na <sup>14</sup>hil-bērla.

3. <sup>1</sup>Bergaig L Belgait μ<sub>Λ</sub>μR Belgail BM Bealgail H <sup>2</sup> Baeth FR<sup>3</sup> <sup>3</sup> Britain FunuR om. B Breatnais M Bretnus H Bras FM om. HAHR Brass B Bres H 5 binn uR ono Umania ins. above line in bad hand F: Asbain F, Espania μ<sub>Λ</sub> Baraes, Hespain μR Easpain BM Espain H Ro in text, and ain ins. above line in same hand as previous insertion F <sup>5</sup> ins. is R<sup>3</sup>: Ruigind F Ruicind BM Rucind H <sup>9</sup> Huminn μR Um B Umain M Uamain H 10 India L Innia uR 11 Araig, with no b written above the g in the same bad hand F Araip un Aragh B Aroic H 12 Magoich MA Magoic µR Muccaidh B Muccaid H 18 Masic L Moisic FB Moesic µA Maisic µR Maisich M Maissich H 14 Magdoin O'Curry's transcript, wrongly, Macidain L Macedoin unuR Nagidoin B Maigidoin MH.

5. ¹ Moysi L Moissia  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Moessia  $\mu_{R}$  ³ Meidia F Meidi M Maidia H ¹ Farni L Forne F Fairne  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu_{R}$  Forni H ⁴ Graing L Frainc  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu_{R}$ 

 Belgia, Boeotia, Brittania, tuneful Rhodos, Hispania, Roma, (a) Rhegini, Phoenicia, India, golden Arabia (b), Mygdonia, Mazaca, Macedonia.

 Parthia, Caria, Syria, Saxones, Athenae, Achaia, Albania, Hebraei, Arcadia, clear Galatia, Troas, Thessalia, Cyclades.

Moesia, Media, Persida, Franci,
 Cyrene, Lacedaemonia, Langobardi,
 Thracia, Numidia, Hellas (?) — hear it!
 Lofty Italia, Ethiopia, Egypt.

6. That is the tally of languages without tarnish out of which Gaedel cut Gaedelic: known to me is their roll of understanding, the groups, the manifold languages.

Frainge R<sup>3</sup> <sup>6</sup> Grindi FBH Grinne  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ R Graindi H <sup>6</sup> glossed no Dinsicon (†) in late sec. man. hardly legible L; Laicidon glossed no dimhon in the same bad hand as before F; Laicdemoin  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ R Laicdimon B Laicidoin M Laigidoin H <sup>7</sup> Longbardd L Longbard F $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ RBH <sup>8</sup> Traicia F Tragia B Traigia MH Irchain ard  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Anum Achaid Eisil Eire Hircain aird  $\mu$ R Nuimmiath Eidist Esc Eacail Ard B Numia Eigest (-ist H) Est Ecail ard MH <sup>10</sup> om. L <sup>11</sup> Escail aird L <sup>12-12</sup> Etheoib Egeft F Etheop Eigipt  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Ethoip Egipt  $\mu$ R Ethoip Eigibht B ocus Eigept (-eipt H) MH.

6. 'a se in L (the dot om. O'Curry's transcript but clear in MS.) ac <sup>2</sup> berla L berlad F mberladh B sain F<sub>μΛ</sub> ahain μR ag sin BH 5 as ar FR3 asso µA 6 teib F teip µR 4 merg #AM FMH gan B  $^{7}$  Gaedil F Goedel  $\mu_{\wedge}\mu$ R Gaedhel B Gaeidel M theib BM Gaedelg F Gaidilg  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Gaidile  $\mu R$  nGaedeilg B Gaeidelg M Gaeidelg H 10 do L µAµR damh B dan M <sup>μ</sup> aichnidh μ<sub>Λ</sub>μR aithni BH aithnid M " ar a érgna L (second a om. O'Curry, wrongly) a rem ergna FM ar a 13 haicme L n-aicmi F nergna μ<sub>Λ</sub>μR a reim argna B 12 an μR om. H 14 nil-berla FµRMH haime  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  aicme  $\mu R$  na naicmed BM aicmedha H n-in berla B.

<sup>(</sup>a) Or Pannonia: see p. 151, no. 26.

#### XII.

 $R^1$  ¶ 107 (L om. : F 2  $\gamma$  8).  $R^2$  ¶ 125 (V 2  $\gamma$  18).  $R^3$  ¶ 150 (B 10  $\delta$  13 : M 269  $\gamma$  31).

<sup>1</sup>Cethracha 7 <sup>2</sup>cethri <sup>3</sup>cēt <sup>4</sup>do bliadnaib—nī <sup>5</sup>himarbrēce ō <sup>6</sup>doluid <sup>7</sup>tūath Dē, <sup>8</sup>derb <sup>9</sup>lib 335 tar <sup>10</sup>muincind Mara <sup>11</sup>Romair, <sup>12</sup>co ngabsat <sup>18</sup>Scēin don muir <sup>14</sup>menn Meic <sup>15</sup>Mīlidh <sup>16</sup>i tīr <sup>17</sup>Ērenn.

 $^{\circ}$ cetracha FV ceatracha B<br/> ceathracha M $^{\circ}$ ceitri F<br/> ceathra M $^{\circ}$ chet M $^{\circ}$ do bli<br/>ā F da VM $^{\circ}$ himarbreg FB himurbreg V himirbreg M $^{\circ}$ daluid M $^{\circ}$ Tuatha B $^{\circ}$ de<br/>arb BH $^{\circ}$ dub (sic) V libh B $^{\circ}$ muinc<br/>in F muinceand M

#### XIII.

R¹ and Min ¶ 117 (L 2  $\beta$  10 : F 3  $\beta$  14 :  $\mu$ V [V³] 1  $\alpha$  1<sup>(b)</sup> :  $\mu \land$  26  $\delta$  24 :  $\mu$ R 92  $\delta$  3, first quatrain only). R³ ¶ 165 (B 11  $\delta$  15 : M 271  $\alpha$  30).

- 1. <sup>1</sup>Gāedel <sup>2</sup>Glas <sup>3</sup>ōtat <sup>4</sup>Gāedil, mac-<sup>5</sup>side <sup>6</sup>Niūil <sup>7</sup>nert-māinig: 340 <sup>8</sup>ro bo <sup>9</sup>thrēn <sup>10</sup>tīar 7 <sup>11</sup>tair, Nēl mac <sup>12</sup>Feiniusa <sup>13</sup>Farrsaid.
- Dā mac ¹ac ²Fēinius, fīr ³dam,
   ⁴Nēl ār n-athair ⁵is ⁶Noenal,
   ²rucad ⁶Nēl ⁶ocon Tūr ¹otair,
   ³Noenal ¹²con ¹³Scithīa scīath-¹⁴glain.
- 3. <sup>1</sup>Tar ēis <sup>2</sup>Feiniusa in lāich lir <sup>3</sup>imtnūth <sup>4</sup>itir na <sup>6</sup>brāithrib: <sup>6</sup>do marb Nēl <sup>3</sup>Nenual nar mīn; <sup>8</sup>do <sup>9</sup>hindarbad in <sup>16</sup>t-ard-rīg. 350

1. ¹Gaedil F Goedel  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Gaidel  $\mu$ R Gaeideal M ²Glass LF  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  ° otait  $F\mu_{\Lambda}M$  otaid B ⁴Goidil  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Gaidil  $\mu$ R Gaeidhil B Gaeidil M ⁵siden  $F\mu_{\Lambda}$  sidhein B sidein M °Niul F ¹-maenaig F -maidmig  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  -mainigh  $\mu$ R neart-main(i)g B -mainich M ° do and om. bo F ro ba  $\mu$ R ° tren  $F\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ RB ¹⁰ tiair F tśiar B siar M ¹¹ tśair B soir M ¹² Fóeniusa L Fēu; F Feniusa  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ RM Feinása B ³³ Farsaid L $\mu$ R Farsaig  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Farrsaigh B Farrsaich M.

2. 'ic LF ag B 'Fēinus L $\mu_{\Lambda}$ M Fenu; F Feinias B '-mark of ''m''  $yc\mu_{\Lambda}$ : damh B 'Nell ar natair F: Nell also B '7 L 'sic L $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Naennel F Naineal B Noendel M 'ruccad  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  rugadh B ructha M 'Nell F

# XII.

Forty and four hundred of years—it is no falsehood—from when the people of God<sup>(a)</sup> came, be ye certain over the surface of *Mare Rubrum*, till they landed in Scene from the clear sea, they, the Sons of Mil, in the land of Ireland.

 $^{11}$ romuir VB  $^{12}$  this couplet om. M: corgabsat FV gur gabsat B  $^{13}$  Scen V  $^{14}$  mend V meand B  $^{15}$  Milidh F Mileadh B  $^{16}$  hi V a B  $^{17}$  nErenn VB

#### XIII.

- 1. Gaedel Glas, of whom are the Gaedil, son was he of Nel, with store of wealth: he was mighty west and east, Nel, son of Feinius Farsaid.
- Feinius had two sons—I speak truth— Nel our father and Nenual.
   Nel was born at the Tower in the east, Nenual in Scythia, bright as a shield.
- 3. After Feinius, the hero of ocean, there was great envy between the brethren:
  Nel slew Nenual, who was not gentle;
  the High King was expelled.

° ic a F hieon  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  agon B acon M
Nenual FM Neanual B

12 sa BM

3. ¹ om. this and the next three quatrains L; they have apparently been written in, sec. man., in the lower marg., but the writing is now nearly all torn away, and what is left is hopelessly illegible: dare sF taireis B

² Fenu; a F Fheniusa  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ M

Fheniasa B

² teir  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ ° brathrib F braitribh B: braithrib  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ ° do mbarb F cor marb  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ M gur marbh B

² Nenuail F Ninual  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ ° cor  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  gur B ro M

n indarb B

² taird- $\mu_{\Lambda}$ M tarrd-righ B.

<sup>(</sup>a) The Israelites, not the Tuatha Dë Danann.
(b) Beginning at quatrain 14.

- 4. Do-'chuaid 2'san 'Eigipt 'trē gail 'co riacht 'Forand fortamail; 'co tuc 'Scota, 'cen 'scēim ''ngaind, ''ingen ''sfial gasta ''Foraind.
- 5. <sup>¹</sup>Ruc Scota mac do <sup>²</sup>Nēl nār, 355 ōr <sup>³</sup>gein mōr-<sup>4</sup>cined <sup>5</sup>comlān: <sup>®</sup>Gāedel Glas <sup>²</sup>ainm in <sup>§</sup>fir— <sup>®</sup>fa <sup>10</sup>glas a <sup>11</sup>airm <sup>²</sup>sa <sup>12</sup>ēidig.
- 6. Dō 'ba mac 'Esrū 'angbaid,

  'ro bo trīath 'co 'trom-'armaib: 360
  mac d''sEsrū, Srū na 'slūag ''sen,
  dar dūal '1cach clū '2dar cuired.
- 7. Srū mac <sup>1</sup>Esrū meie <sup>2</sup>Gāedil ār <sup>2</sup>sen-athair <sup>4</sup>slūag-fāelid, is ē <sup>5</sup>luid <sup>6</sup>bo <sup>7</sup>thūaid <sup>8</sup>dia thaig, 365 <sup>9</sup>dar ucht Mara <sup>10</sup>rūaid Romair.
- 8. Lucht ¹cethri long ²līn a slūaig
  ³for fut Mara ⁴Romair ⁵rūaid:
  ⁶i n-a ˀclār-adba, ՞sis cet,
  ˀcethri lānamna ¹ºfichet.
- 9. Flaith na <sup>1</sup>Seithīa, <sup>2</sup>ba <sup>3</sup>gnīm <sup>4</sup>glan, in gilla <sup>5</sup>darb ainm <sup>6</sup>Nenual, is <sup>7</sup>and <sup>8</sup>atbath <sup>9</sup>tall <sup>10</sup>'na <sup>11</sup>thig—

  <sup>12</sup>in tan <sup>13</sup>rāncadar <sup>14</sup>Gāedil.
- 4. ¹ chuaidh  $_{\wedge}\mu$  cuaidh B ² an  $_{\mu}$  ^ ³ Eigift F Eigept M ⁴ tre ail F tria goil  $_{\mu}$  ₁ iarsin M ⁵ gur rucht B ˚ ° Foram FM Forond  $_{\mu}$  ^ ¹ go tug B  $^{8}$  Scotta  $_{\mu}$  ^ ° can F gan BM ¹ ¹ cheib F scem  $_{\mu}$  M ¹ ¹ ngenn F ¹ ingin F ingean B ¹ ¹ fial F $_{\mu}$  ¹ ⁴ Forain F Fhoraind M.
- 5.  $^1$ rug B  $^2$  Nell F  $^3$  gen F chin M  $^4$  cinid F cineadh B cinead M  $^5$  comslan B  $^6$  Gaedil F Gaidil  $\mu_{\wedge}$  Gaedel M  $^7$  ins. a F $\mu_{\wedge}$   $^6$  fir BM  $^9$  ba  $\mu_{\wedge}$   $^{10}$  glass  $\mu_{\wedge}$   $^{11}$  arm F  $^{12}$  edid F eitig  $\mu_{\wedge}$  eidigh B eidich M.
- 6.  $^1$ fa  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  M  $^2$ Easru BM  $^8$ -baidh  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ B  $^4$ do FB  $^5$ cu B  $^6$ tren M  $^7$ armarbaibh B  $^8$ Easru BM  $^9$ sluagh  $\mu_{\Lambda}$   $^{10}$  sel  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  nglan B  $^{11}$ gach B  $^{12}$ dar cuirid F re cuired  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  nar coilleadh B rer curead M.
- 7. ¹Easru BM ²Gaidil  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Gaedhil B Gaeidil M ³sean- $\mu_{\Lambda}$ M ⁴sluagh-failig  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  -failigh B -faelaig M: failid in O'Curry's transcript of L, wrongly ⁵luidh  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ B luig B °fo L $\mu_{\Lambda}$ M bho B ¹thuaidh  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  thuigh BM

- 4. He went into Egypt through valour till he reached powerful Pharao: till he bestowed Scota, of no scanty beauty, the modest, nimble daughter of Pharao.
- 5. Scota bore a son to noble Nel, from whom was born a perfect great race: Gaedel Glas was the name of the man green were his arms and his vesture.
- 6. Fierce Esru was son to him,
  who was a lord with heavy arms:
  the son of Esru, Sru of the ancient hosts,
  to whom was meet all the fame attributed to him.
- 7. Sru son of Esru son of Gaedel, our ancestor, rejoicing in troops, he it is who went northward to his house, over the surface of the red *Mare Rubrum*.
- 8. The crews of four ships were the tale of his host along the red *Mare Rubrum*: in his house of planks, we may say, twenty-four wedded couples.
- 9. The prince of Scythia, it was a clear fact, the youth whose name was Nenual, it is then he died yonder in his house—when the Gaedil arrived.

 $^{\circ}$  the words dia thaig ar fud written in rasura in a late bad hand F: dia taig  $\mu_{\wedge}$  da thoigh B dia tig M  $^{\circ}$  ar ut  $\mu_{\wedge}$ M ar fud FB  $^{10}$  Ruad F Ruaidh BM romur F romoir B.

- 8. ¹ ceitri FB ceathra M ² lin badly written in a blank space which has contained two erased words F ³ for fut L ar fud F arut  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  arud B ar fut M ⁴ romuir B ⁵ Ruaidh B ° ins. tall L: batar gach claradba  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ : in cach FM in gach B ¹ clair L cllar, the first 1 stroked through F ³ fa cert F ba ceart B fa cet M ° ceit (om. -ri) F .iiii. apparently miswritten im B ceithri M ¹ of fichead B fiched M.
- 9. 'Sceithia FBM ' bo F fa BM ' sgairm  $F\mu_{\Lambda}BM$  ' sluaig F sluagh B sluag M ' diarbo L ' Noenal  $L\mu_{\Lambda}$  Nenuail F Neanual B ' e F ann  $\mu_{\Lambda}M$  ' adbath FBM ' thall  $\mu_{\Lambda}BM$  ' ca L ga  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  ' thaig L  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  tig F thigh B ' om. in L ' tancatar  $F\mu_{\Lambda}M$  tangadar B ' ins. na B: Gaidil  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Gaedhil B Gaeidil M.

- 10. <sup>1</sup>Gabais Ēber <sup>2</sup>Scot na scāl 375 ōs <sup>3</sup>chlaind <sup>4</sup>Nenuail <sup>5</sup>co <sup>6</sup>nef-nār, <sup>7</sup>co torchair, <sup>8</sup>can <sup>9</sup>cāinius <sup>10</sup>cain, <sup>11</sup>la Noemīus mac <sup>12</sup>Nenuail.
- 11. <sup>1</sup>Nertmar mac Ēbir <sup>2</sup>īartain, <sup>3</sup>diarbo ainm <sup>4</sup>becht-glan <sup>5</sup>Boamain, <sup>6</sup>co trāig Mara Caisp <sup>7</sup>ba <sup>8</sup>rī, <sup>9</sup>co torchair do lāim <sup>10</sup>Noemī.
- 12. <sup>1</sup>Noimius <sup>2</sup>mac <sup>3</sup>Noenil <sup>4</sup>ind <sup>5</sup>nirt <sup>6</sup>rogab in <sup>7</sup>Seithīa seīath-<sup>8</sup>brice; do-<sup>9</sup>cher in flaith comlān cain 385 la <sup>10</sup>Hogman mac <sup>11</sup>mBoamain.
- 13. ¹Ogamain ²īarsain ³ba flaith ⁴dar ⁵ēis ⁶Noemiusa ²nert-maith: ³conerbailt na ⁰chrīch, ¹ocen ¹¹chill: ¹²dar a ¹³ēis ¹⁴ba rī ¹⁵Refill.

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14. Dorochair<sup>(a)</sup> <sup>1</sup>Refill īartain

<sup>2</sup>do lāim <sup>3</sup>Thait <sup>4</sup>meic <sup>5</sup>Ogamain:

<sup>6</sup>dorochair <sup>7</sup>Tait <sup>8</sup>cen cor <sup>9</sup>thim

do <sup>10</sup>lāim <sup>11</sup>Refloir meic <sup>12</sup>Refill.

10. ¹gabhais B ²Scott  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  ³cl-  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  chloind B cloind M ⁴Noenil L $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Neanuill B Nenuaill M ˚go B ˚nert-blad F nemnar  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  neartmar B nertmar M ¹gundorchair B ³cen  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  gach B °chænius L chainu; F chainius  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  cainias B chaineas M ¹º cruaid FM cruaidh B ¹¹ la lann Ain; F lasionoenius  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  la laind ainias B la Noenes la mac M ¹² Noenil L Nainil  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Neanuaill B.

11. ¹-mar om. and ins. in a bad sec. man. F: neartmar BM ² iarsin F ³ darb FM diarb  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  B ⁴ brechtgal L beachtglan B breathglan M ⁵ Beomain L Boamin F Beoamain  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  M Beoamoin B ⁵ gu traigh B ¹ fa FM ⁵ righ B ° condorcair B ¹ Nemin (with Neinē written in bad hand in marg.) F Noemii  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Neimni B Nemi M.

12. ¹ Nemu; F Noenius  $\mu_{\wedge}$  Nenius B Neimius M  $^2$  mcc  $\mu_{\wedge}$  ³ Nenuail F Ninuail  $\mu_{\wedge}$  Nenuall B Nenuaill M  $^4$  in F $\mu_{\wedge}$ B i M  $^5$  nert M  $^6$  dogab F roghabh B rogob M  $^7$  Sciathia F Sceithia BM  $^8$  -bric F $\mu_{\wedge}$ B breic M

- 10. Eber Scot of the heroes assumed [the kingdom] over the progeny of Nenual unashamed, till he fell, with no gentle kindness, at the hands of Noemius son of Nenual.
- 11. The strong son of Eber thereafter, who had the name Boamain, of perfect purity, to the shore of the Caspian Sea was he king, till he fell by the hand of Noemius.
- 12. Noemius son of Nenual of the strength settled in Scythia, chequered like a shield: the perfect fair prince fell by the hand of Ogamain son of Boamain.
- 13. Thereafter Ogamain was prince after Noemius of good strength: till he died in his territory, unchurched: after him Refill was king.
- 14. Thereafter Refill fell
  by the hand of Tait son of Ogamain:
  Tait fell, though he was not feeble,
  by the hand of Refloir son of Refill.

° cheir L cer F chear BM
 1º Ogmán L Hogaman the first a sprs. yc B
 1¹ Beomain L mBeoamain μ<sub>Λ</sub> Beoamain M mBeomain B.

- 13.  $^1$  Ogmán LM (a small a apparently inserted above in L) Ogaman FB  $^2$  iarsin F $\mu_{\Lambda}$ BM  $^3$  ro bo laith M  $^4$  tar FM  $^6$  eisi L es  $\mu_{\Lambda}$   $^6$  Noemi L (Noenil in O'Curry's transcript, wrongly) Nemu; a F Noeniusa  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Neiniassa B Naeniasa M  $^7$  neart-BM  $^8$  conemailt F connerb- $\mu_{\Lambda}$  chrine L crich other MSS.  $^{10}$  can F $\mu_{\Lambda}$  gan B  $^{11}$  cill FB  $^{12}$  tar F $\mu_{\Lambda}$ BM  $^{13}$  es  $\mu_{\Lambda}$   $^{14}$  ba rig F bairi B fa rig M  $^{15}$  Rifill L $\mu_{\Lambda}$ M Rafill R Reffill B.
- 14. ¹Raifill F Repill  $_{\wedge}\mu$  Reifill B Rifill M ² om. do laim  $_{\wedge}\mu$  ³ Tait F Thaid B ⁴ mcc  $_{\mu}$  ⁵ Ogamain  $_{\mu}$ V ⁵ dorocair B ¹ Taid B ⁵ gen gur B ⁰ tim F ¹ laimh L ¹¹ Rafloir F Reffleoir B Rafroil M ¹² Rafill F Reffll  $_{\mu}$  Reifill B Rifll, an i after the f sbs. yc M

(a) Here μV begins.

- 15. <sup>1</sup>Refloir <sup>2</sup>is <sup>3</sup>Agnon <sup>4</sup>cen ōn, 395 <sup>5</sup>secht <sup>6</sup>mbliadna <sup>7</sup>bāi <sup>8</sup>i n-imchosnom, <sup>9</sup>co torchair <sup>10</sup>Refloir <sup>11</sup>co n-glōr <sup>12</sup>do <sup>13</sup>lāim <sup>14</sup>āitisig <sup>15</sup>Agnoin.
- 16. <sup>1</sup>Noinel is <sup>2</sup>Refill <sup>3</sup>co rind, dā mac <sup>4</sup>Kefloir meic <sup>5</sup>Refill, 400 <sup>6</sup>innarbsat <sup>7</sup>Agnomain <sup>8</sup>ass <sup>9</sup>dar <sup>10</sup>in muir <sup>11</sup>merda <sup>12</sup>mōr-glass.
- 17. <sup>1</sup>Maithi na <sup>2</sup>toisig, <sup>3</sup>ba dia, <sup>4</sup>taneadar <sup>5</sup>asin <sup>6</sup>Seithia; <sup>7</sup>Agnomain, Ēber <sup>8</sup>cen <sup>9</sup>ail, dā mac <sup>10</sup>Tait meic <sup>11</sup>Ogamain.

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- 18. <sup>1</sup>Elloth, <sup>2</sup>Lāmfind <sup>3</sup>lām-glas, lēir, <sup>4</sup>dā mac <sup>5</sup>Agnomain <sup>6</sup>imrēil, <sup>7</sup>Caicher is Cing, clū <sup>8</sup>co <sup>9</sup>mbūaid, dā <sup>10</sup>deg-mac Ēbir <sup>11</sup>ech-rūaid.
- 19. <sup>1</sup>Āirem a <sup>2</sup>long, trī longa, <sup>3</sup>ac <sup>4</sup>tiachtain <sup>5</sup>dar trom-<sup>6</sup>thonna; trī fichit <sup>7</sup>cach <sup>8</sup>luing, <sup>9</sup>lūad nglē, ocus mnā <sup>10</sup>cach <sup>11</sup>tres fiche.

15. ¹Reifloir F Reffloir  $\mu$ V Reifleoir B Refleir M ² om. is  $L\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$  ³ Agnō (read Agnomain) L Agnom  $\mu$ V Adnomain  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Aghnon B Adnon M ⁴ can F gan B ⁵ ins. re L: iiii incorrectly (though mistake pardonable) in Facs. and in O'Curry's transcript for secht, also in  $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$  ⁶ m- in F only ³ om.  $L\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$  ba F ³ i cosnam L nimcosnam F an im-chossnom  $\mu$ V an imcossnam  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  -nomh B an imchosnom M ° co torcair  $\mu$ V gundorchair B do rochair M ¹⁰ Reifloir F Reffloir  $\mu$ V Refleoir B Rafloir M ¹¹ ra gel L conglor F na reb  $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$  gu ngloir B ¹² la mac Tait la Agnomain  $L\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$  (Hag-  $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$ ) ¹³ laimh B ¹⁴ atheasaigh B aitheasaig M ¹⁵ Aghnoin B Agnon M.

16. ¹ Nenuail F Noenual  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  Neanuall BM ² Rafili F Refloir  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  Reifill B Rifill M ² gu B ⁴ Rafloir F Refloir  $\mu V$  Reafloir B ⁶ Reifill F Repill  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Rifill M ⁶ ind. do FB ro M: hindarbsad F indarbat  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  indarbsad BM ¹ Agnom  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  Agnon FM Aghnon BM ⁶ as FM ⁰ tar FBM ¹⁰ an F ¹¹ medrach  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  meadrach B mearda M ¹² mor mas F morglas  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$ M morchass B.

17. <sup>1</sup> mathi L maithe  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  <sup>2</sup> taissig F toissi  $\mu V$  taisigh B taisich M <sup>3</sup> bo F dar  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  bu B fa M <sup>4</sup> tancatar LF $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  tangadar B <sup>5</sup> assin

- 15. Refloir and Agnomain without blemish, seven years were they in contention, till Refloir fell with tumult by the victorious hand of Agnomain.
- 16. Noinel and Refill with a [spear-]point two sons of Refloir son of Refill, they drove Agnomain out over the raging sea, great and green.
- 17. Good were the chieftains, it was sufficient, who came out of Scythia;
  Agnomain, Eber without blemish, the two sons of Tait son of Ogamain.
- 18. Allot, Lamfhind of the green hand, conspicuous, the two sons of very bright Agnomain, Caicher and Cing, fame with victory, the two good sons of Eber of the red steed.
- 19. The number of their ships, three ships, coming over heavy waves:
  three score [the crew] of every ship, a clear saying, and women every third score.

L $\mu$ V asan F isa M <sup>6</sup> Sceithia F $\mu$ VBM <sup>7</sup> Agnon is FM Aghnoin mas (a yc in marg.) is Eimir gan oil B <sup>8</sup> can F $\mu$ VM gan B <sup>9</sup> oil M <sup>10</sup> Thaitt L Thaid B Thait M <sup>11</sup> Ogomain  $\mu$ V $\mu$  $_{\Lambda}$  Agamoin (the initial A changed sec. man. to O) B.

<sup>2</sup> Lamfind hic et semper F 18. Helloth μVμΛ Ealloth B Alloth M <sup>2</sup> lam glass L lainglas B: laechda in Lamfind also  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  Laimfind B <sup>4</sup> sic μVμ<sub>Λ</sub>: trī meic other MSS. 5 ins. d' μVμΛ: drem  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$ "imrel M imthenn µV Agnoin in fir eil F Agnoin in fir feil B <sup>7</sup> Cacher L Caicer F Caichear B Caithear M: Cenclu is imtheann µA Caither μVμ<sub>Λ</sub> (looks like Oenclu μV: Caicher μ<sub>Λ</sub>) <sup>8</sup> gu B <sup>9</sup> mbuaidh F n eachruaid F echluaith uVun each buaidh µVµA 10 deag- BM luaith (in marg. sec. man. no ruaidh) B.

19.  $^1$ arim LF a rim  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  airim F $\mu$ V airimh B  $^2$  llong L  $^3$  ie L hie  $^{\mu}V\mu_{\Lambda}$  ag B  $^4$  tidecht F  $^5$  sic L, tar other MSS.  $^6$  tonna F thonda  $^{\mu}V$ B thona  $^{\mu}V$  gach B  $^8$  luingi FM luinge B alle B ille M: luadh ngle  $^{\mu}V\mu_{\Lambda}$   $^{10}$  in  $^{\mu}V\mu_{\Lambda}$  gach B  $^{10}$  it ress  $^{\mu}V$  treas B threas M.

- 20. <sup>1</sup>Atbath <sup>2</sup>Agnon, nīr bo aise, <sup>3</sup>i n-insib Mara mōr-<sup>4</sup>Chaisp: <sup>5</sup>baile <sup>6</sup>i mbatar <sup>7</sup>re bliadain <sup>8</sup>fuaradar <sup>9</sup>ro-<sup>10</sup>diamair.
- 21. <sup>1</sup>Rāncadar Muir <sup>2</sup>Libis <sup>3</sup>lān <sup>4</sup>seolad sē <sup>5</sup>sām-lāithe slān, 42 <sup>6</sup>Glas mac <sup>7</sup>Agnōin, nīr bo <sup>8</sup>dis <sup>9</sup>ann <sup>10</sup>atbath i <sup>11</sup>Coronis.
- <sup>1</sup>Cain inis fuaradar <sup>2</sup>and

  <sup>3</sup>For Muir Libis na lāech-<sup>4</sup>land:

  <sup>5</sup>rāithi for bliadain, <sup>6</sup>co <sup>7</sup>mbloid,

  a n-<sup>8</sup>aittreb <sup>9</sup>sin <sup>10</sup>indsi <sup>11</sup>soin.

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- 23. <sup>1</sup>Seolaid for <sup>2</sup>muir, <sup>3</sup>monar nglē, <sup>4</sup>etir <sup>5</sup>lāthi <sup>7</sup> <sup>6</sup>aidche: <sup>7</sup>taitnem <sup>8</sup>lām <sup>9</sup>Lāmfind <sup>10</sup>laindrig <sup>11</sup>ba <sup>12</sup>cosmail <sup>13</sup>re <sup>14</sup>cāem-chaindlib. 430
- 24. ¹Ceithre ²tōisig ³dōib nīr ⁴dis, ⁵īar tiachtain ⁴dar Muir ¬Lībis; <sup>8</sup>Elloth, <sup>9</sup>Lāmfind lūath ¹⁰dar ¹¹ler, ¹²Cing is a ¹³brāthair ¹⁴Caicher.

20. ¹athbath F ² Agnomain cen aisc  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  ³ an insib F in innsib  $\mu V$  ind n-innsib  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  an indsib BM ⁴ Caisp  $F \mu V B M$  ⁵ bale L baili F ⁴ amamar F imbadar B a mbadar M † re bliadain om. F ri  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  ins. i F ⁵ hi  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  a M: fuaratar  $L \mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  fuaridar M ⁵ ins. and B ¹ dimar F chiamair B.

21. ¹ rancatar LF $\mu$ V $\mu$  $_{\Lambda}$  rangadar B ² Liuis L $\mu$ V $\mu$  $_{\Lambda}$  ³ lain F seoladh B ⁵ samlaithi FM samhlaithi (the dotted  $\sim$  for mh yc) B. O'Curry has taken this quatrain, which is much rubbed in L, from another MS.; his lines do not correspond with the lines from L, as they should in a line for line transcript, and he reads laithi, whereas laithe is the clearest word in L ⁶ Glass  $\mu$  $_{\Lambda}$  ¬ Aghnoin F Agnon M ˚ dhis B ˚ om. ann LBM: and  $\mu$ V ¹⁰ adbath LBM ¹¹ Caroinis L Caronais F Acaraonis B a Caraoinis M.

22. ¹ fuaratar  $L\mu V\mu_{\wedge}$  fuaramar F fuaridar M ² ann F ° ar F ¹-lann  $F\mu VM$  om.  $\mu_{\wedge}$  ⁵ rathi L raithe  $\mu V\mu_{\wedge}$  raite B ° gu B ¹ mblaid LF

- 20. Agnomain died, it was no reproach in the islands of the great Caspian Sea. The place where they were for a year they found very secret.
- 21. They reached the full Libyan Sea, a sailing of six complete summer days: Glas son of Agnomain, who was not despicable, died there in Cercina.
- 22. A fair island found they there on the Libyan Sea of warrior-blades: a season over a year, with fame, their sojourn in that island.
- 23. They sail on the sea, a brilliant fact both by day and by night:
  the sheen of the hands of lustrous Lamfhind was like to fair candles.
- 24. Four chieftains had they who were not despicable, after coming over the Libyan Sea;
  Allot, Lamfhind swift over the ocean,
  Cing and his brother Caicher.

mblaidh  $\mu V \mu_{\wedge}$  mbloidh B <sup>8</sup> aitrib F anaitrebh  $\mu_{\wedge}$  aitreab B aitreb M <sup>9</sup> san FBM, sind  $\mu V$  <sup>10</sup> n-indsi LM innsi  $\mu V$  <sup>21</sup> sin LF $\mu V \mu_{\wedge} M$ .

23.  $^1$  sic sec. man.: seolat prim. man.: L seolait  $\mu V \mu_{\wedge}$  seolaigh B  $^2$  mar M  $^3$  monor L monur  $\mu V$  comhall B ur (om. mon-) M  $^4$  idir F itir M  $^5$  laith F laithe  $\mu V \mu_{\wedge}$ B laithi M  $^6$  oidhche B  $^7$  taitnim F taitnemh  $\mu_{\wedge}$  taitneamh B  $^8$  lamh  $\mu_{\wedge}$ B  $^9$  Lamind L Lamfind F $\mu_{\wedge}$  Laimfind  $\mu V$ B  $^{10}$  laenrig F laindrigh  $\mu V$  laindraig  $\mu_{\wedge}$  londraigh B lonnraid M  $^{11}$  fa FM  $^{12}$  casmail BM  $^{13}$  fri L  $^{14}$  coemcl- sprs. ye  $\mu_{\wedge}$ : coem- also  $\mu V$ ; chaennlib F choindlib  $\mu V$ M caindlibh B.

24.  $^1$  This and the next quatrain written by  $s^2M$ : cethri L ceitri  $F\mu_{\Lambda}BM$  ceithri  $\mu V$   $^2$  taisig FM toisich  $\mu V$  toisich  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  taisigh B  $^3$  doibh  $\mu_{\Lambda}B$   $^4$  diss  $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$  dhis B  $^5$  ac riachtain F arrochtain B ac tiachtain M  $^6$  ar FB do  $\mu V\mu_{\Lambda}$   $^7$  Libhis B  $^8$  Eloit  $\mu V$  Ellot  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Alloth BM  $^9$  Lámind L Lamfind  $\mu V$  Laimfind BM  $^{10}$  tar FBM da  $\mu_{\Lambda}$   $^{11}$  lear BM  $^{12}$  Cingis L  $^{12}$  bratair  $F\mu V$   $^{13}$  Cacher L Caicer hic et semper F Caichear B Caithear M.

- 25. <sup>1</sup>Caicher fuair <sup>2</sup>leiges <sup>3</sup>dōib <sup>4</sup>thall 435 ar <sup>5</sup>medrad <sup>6</sup>na <sup>7</sup>murdūchand: <sup>8</sup>is ē <sup>9</sup>leiges <sup>10</sup>fuair <sup>11</sup>Caicher <sup>12</sup>cain, cēir <sup>13</sup>do <sup>14</sup>legad na <sup>15</sup>clūasaib.
- 26. <sup>¹</sup>Fuaradar ²tobar is tīr <sup>³</sup>ac rind <sup>⁴</sup>Rifi <sup>⁵</sup>co ro-brīg 440 <sup>§</sup>co mblas fina air īar <sup>§</sup>soin trēn <sup>²</sup>rosfarraig <sup>¹</sup>oiad a n-¹¹itoid.
- 27. Do 'cholladar 'co trēn, trēn,
  co 'cenn trī 'lāithe 'cen lēn,
  'cor dūisig 'Caicher, draī dil 445
  'co 'denm(n)edach na 'odeig-fir.
- 28. <sup>1</sup>Is ē <sup>2</sup>Caicher, <sup>3</sup>comol <sup>4</sup>nglē, <sup>5</sup>dorigne dōib <sup>6</sup>fāistine, <sup>7</sup>ic <sup>8</sup>Slēibtib <sup>9</sup>Rife <sup>10</sup>co rind: <sup>(11</sup>Nī fuil <sup>12</sup>foss <sup>13</sup>dūind <sup>14</sup>co <sup>15</sup>Hērind.'' 450
- 29. "'¹Cia hairm ²fil ³ind ⁴Hēriu ard?''
  ar °Lāimfind, in lāech lān-⁴garg.
  "'¹Is ³fata'' ³asbert ¹°Caicher ¹¹and,
  "'ni ¹²sinn ¹³ric, acht ār ¹⁴cōem-chland.''

25. ¹Cacher L -ear B ²leges L leg; F leghis  $\mu$ V leigis  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  leighis B leigeas M ³doibh B ⁴ann F tall  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  and B ⁵ins. na L: medradh  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  meadradh B meadhrad M ⁶don L ¹-chann  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  M -cann B ⁶dob e FB rob e M is is ed ro raidh Caicher  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  °leges L leig; F leighis B leigis M ¹⁰om. fuair FBM ¹¹ Cacher L Caichir B Caitir M ¹² choin B ¹³ da M ¹⁴ a small dot without meaning over the g F: legadh  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  leagadh B leaghadh M ¹⁵ gluasaib B cluassaib M.

26.  $^1This$  and the next quatrain om. LF $\mu$ V $\mu$ A. They have been added in F, lower marg., but are now with difficulty legible.  $^2$  tobur B  $^3$  ag B  $^4$  Rife F  $^5$  gu roibrigh B co roibrig M  $^6$  gum blas B fina M  $^8$  sin B  $^9$  do foir iad ar itaid F d'foir iad ar itoigh B  $^{10}$  om. iad M  $^{11}$  itaig M.

27. ¹-dur B ² gu B ³ ceand M ⁴ laa F laithi M ⁵ gan B ° gor duisigh B dusaich M † Caichir B Caithear M ⁵ gu B ° deinmidach B denmnedech M † deagfir F dheighfir B deigfir M.

- 25. Caicher found a remedy for them yonder for the melody of the Sirens: this is the remedy that fair Caicher found, to melt wax in their ears.
- 26. They found a spring and a land at the Rhipaean headland with great might, having the taste of wine thereafter: their thirst overcame them mightily.
- 27. Soundly, soundly they slept
  to the end of three days without sorrow,
  till Caicher the faithful druid wakened
  the noble men impatiently.
- 28. It is Caicher, (a brilliant fulfilment!)
  who made a prophecy to them,
  at the Rhipaean Mountains with a headland—
  "We have no rest until Ireland."
- 29. "In what place is lofty Ireland?" said Lamfhind the violent warrior. "Very far" said Caicher then, "it is not we who reach it, but our fair children."

28. 'There is an appearance as though this quatrain had been inserted prima manu in a gap left for it, L: isse  $\mu V$  <sup>2</sup> Cacher L Caithear M <sup>3</sup> comall FB comul  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  co scem M <sup>4</sup>gle L <sup>5</sup> doringne L dorindi F dorinde B doroindi M <sup>6</sup> fastine LB faisstine  $\mu V$  <sup>7</sup> hic  $\mu V$  ag B ac M <sup>8</sup> sleibte L slebib  $\mu V$  slebtib  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  sleibhtibh B <sup>9</sup> Rifi LFM Riphi  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  <sup>10</sup> con rind L gu rind B <sup>11</sup> ni fil L ni fuil B himeolus doib  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  <sup>12</sup> fos BM <sup>13</sup> dún L fuind B <sup>14</sup> gu B co F <sup>15</sup> Er- F Heirinn  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  Hern B.

29. ¹cait i fuil (fuil B) FB cia hairm fuil in n-Eriu ard μVμλB cait a 3 in F in n- B an M <sup>4</sup> Er- F Eriu B Eri M 2 ins. i L Lamfind L Lamfind µV Lamfind µA Laimhfind B 6 gharg B gar M is and adbert (the last word dittographed) M <sup>8</sup> fota μVμ<sub>Λ</sub> fada FB 10 same variants as before, Caichear B <sup>9</sup> adbert F atbert  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  B 13 raich F roich B 12 sind LuABM sib F Caither M 11 ann FuaM 14 mór-chland L caemchlann F caem-clann μΛ caem-cland μVB ricfa M caem chland M.

- 30. <sup>1</sup>Cingset <sup>2</sup>inna <sup>3</sup>cath <sup>4</sup>co fī, 455 <sup>5</sup>fodess <sup>6</sup>sech rendaib <sup>7</sup>Riphi; <sup>8</sup>clanda <sup>9</sup>Gāedil, <sup>10</sup>co nglaine, <sup>11</sup>ro gabsat na <sup>12</sup>Gaethlaige.
- 31. <sup>1</sup>Genair <sup>2</sup>mae <sup>3</sup>irdaire <sup>4</sup>andsain <sup>5</sup>do <sup>6</sup>Lāimfind <sup>7</sup>mae Agnomain: 460 <sup>8</sup>Eber <sup>9</sup>Glūnfind, glan <sup>10</sup>in grib, <sup>11</sup>sen-athair <sup>12</sup>foltchas <sup>13</sup>Febrig.
- 32. <sup>1</sup>Fine <sup>2</sup>Gāedil <sup>3</sup>gasta <sup>4</sup>gil trī <sup>5</sup>chēt bliadan <sup>6</sup>is tīr sin; <sup>7</sup>trebsat <sup>8</sup>and ō <sup>9</sup>sin <sup>10</sup>amach 465 <sup>11</sup>no <sup>12</sup>co <sup>13</sup>tāinic <sup>14</sup>Brāth <sup>15</sup>būadach.
- 33. Brāth ¹deg-mac ²Dēätha dil ³tāinie do ⁴Crēit, ⁵do ⁶Shieil, Lucht ⁻cethri long ⁵seolta ⁵slāin, ¹ôdesel n-Eorpa ¹¹co ¹²Hespāin. 470
- 34. ¹Occe ocus ²Ucce ³cen ⁴ail, dā mac ⁵Elloith meic ⁶Noenil; ¬Mantān ⁶mac ⁶Cachir, ¹ºBrāth dil, ¹¹ba ¹²siat ¹³na ¹⁴cethri tōesig.

30. 'cinsid F cindsit  $\mu$ V cinnsit  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  cindsead BM 

and a FBM in a  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  catha FBM ign B 
bodes F bodheas B fodeas M 
sech rinne L seoch rannaib F seach B co slebib  $\mu$ V co slebibh  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  seach reandaibh B seach reandaib M 

and Biffi (the fi yo) F: Rifii also LBM Riphii  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  claima F $\mu$ V clā  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  
Gaidil  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Gaeidil M 
and Gabsat B rogobsat B ro

31. ¹genir FM geinir B ²gein F gen  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  ³irdraic F aurdair  $\mu V$  n-irdairc  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  orrdraic B oirrdric M ⁴ andsin  $\mu VM$  annsin  $F \mu_{\Lambda} B$  ⁵ic F ac M ˚ Lámind L Lamfind F  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Laimfind  $\mu VB$  Lamfind M ¹ in laech laidir FM (-der M) ˚ Ebir  $\mu V$  ˚ Gluinfind B Glunfind M ¹ a brig  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  in gribh B ¹¹ seanathair B ¹² -chass  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  folthcas B ¹² Feibhrig B Feibrig M.

32. <sup>1</sup> fini L badar fine Gaeidil gil (the last word sprs. prima manu) M

<sup>2</sup> Gadil F Gaidil  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  Gaedhil B

<sup>2</sup> garta  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$ <sup>4</sup> glain L ghil B

<sup>5</sup> cet M

<sup>6</sup> forsin L as  $\mu V$ <sup>7</sup> ins. ro L: threbsat L trebsad F treabsad B

- 30. They advanced in their battalion with venom, southward past the Rhipaean headlands; the progeny of Gaedel, with purity, they landed at the Marshes.
- 31. A glorious son was born there to Lamfhind son of Agnomain;
  Eber Glunfhind, pure the gryphon, the curl-haired grandfather of Febri.
- 32. The family of Gaedel, the brisk and white, were three hundred years in that land; they dwelt there thenceforward, until Brath the victorious came.
- 33. Brath, the noble son of faithful Death came to Crete, to Sicily, the crew of four ships of a safe sailing, right-hand to Europe, on to Spain.
- 34. Occe and Ucce without blemish, the two sons of Allot son of Nenual; Mantan son of Caicher, faithful Brath, they were the four leaders.

trebrsad M  $^{8}$  in tir  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  ann FM hin F  $^{9}$  sein L sain  $\mu_{\Lambda}$   $^{10}$  immach I. mā  $\mu V$   $^{11}$  no changed sec. man. to na L  $^{12}$  go B  $^{13}$  ricad F tanic L $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  tainig B torain M  $^{14}$  Brat F  $^{15}$  bidnach F buidhneach B brethach M.

33. ¹ ba mac  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$ : deag-B² Deaatha B³ tanic  $L \mu V \mu_{\Lambda} M$  tainig B ⁴ Creid FM Chreit  $\mu V$  Chreid BM ⁵ ins. is F 's B ⁴ Thigir F Sicil  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  Shigir B ² ceitri F cheathra B cethre M ⁵ sain dar sail  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  ° slán R¹R³ ¹ desil Erpa F laim (-mh  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ ) Heoroip  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  deisil Eorpa B desil Eorpa M ¹¹ gu B ¹² Espā F hEasp. BM.

34. ¹Oige B Oici M ² Uicci F Uige B Uici M ª ean FM gan B ¹oil M º Elloth F Alldoit  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  Alloith B Alloit M º Naennel F Noenbail  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  Nainil B Noindil M ¹ Mantán L Mandtan B ® is FM º Cacher L Caicer F Caicher  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  Caichir B Caither M ¹ blaith bil FM Brath bil  $\mu V$ B blath bil  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  ¹¹ fa M ¹² hiad FBM hiat  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  ¹³ a F $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  BM ¹³ ceitri taisig F ceith (sio) toisich  $\mu V$  ceitri toisigh  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  ceithri taisich M taisigh B.

- 35. <sup>1</sup>Cethri fir <sup>2</sup>dēc <sup>3</sup>cona <sup>4</sup>mnāib 475 <sup>5</sup>ba lucht <sup>6</sup>do <sup>7</sup>cach luing <sup>8</sup>lāech-lāin, ocus <sup>9</sup>seiseor <sup>10</sup>amos <sup>11</sup>ān; <sup>12</sup>srōinset trī <sup>13</sup>catha <sup>14</sup>in <sup>15</sup>Hespāin.
- 36. <sup>1</sup>Ard in cēt-<sup>2</sup>chath—<sup>3</sup>nocho <sup>4</sup>chēl—
  <sup>5</sup>ro srōinset <sup>6</sup>for <sup>7</sup>slūaig <sup>8</sup>Toisēn; 480
  cath <sup>9</sup>for <sup>10</sup>Bachro <sup>11</sup>co n-garga,
  <sup>12</sup>oeus cath <sup>13</sup>for <sup>14</sup>Longbarda.
- 37. <sup>1</sup>Ba dar ēis in <sup>2</sup>chatha <sup>3</sup>clē <sup>4</sup>tāinic <sup>5</sup>dōib tām <sup>6</sup>ōen-lāithe: lucht long mac <sup>7</sup>nElloith <sup>8</sup>cen <sup>9</sup>chron 485 <sup>10</sup>marba <sup>11</sup>uile acht <sup>12</sup>dechenbor.
- 38. ¹Doriachtatar ²ass Ūn is Ēn,
  dā ³deg-mac na ⁴tōesech trēn:

  ⁵īarsin ⁶ro ¬genir ஃBregon,
  athair ³Bili in ¹obailc-dremon.

  490
- 39. <sup>1</sup>Ro briss mör <sup>2</sup>comlond is <sup>3</sup>cath <sup>4</sup>for <sup>5</sup>slüag <sup>6</sup>nEspäin <sup>7</sup>il-dathach: <sup>8</sup>Bregon na <sup>9</sup>nglör gal, na nglia <sup>10</sup>leis <sup>11</sup>dorönad <sup>12</sup>Brigantia.

35. ¹ ceitri  $F_{\mu}V_{\mu_{\Lambda}}B$  ceithri M ² deg FB ² cono F ⁴ mnaibh B ⁵ fa M ⁵ in F da B ² gach  $_{\mu}VB$  ⁵ laech bain B laech nair M ⁵ seisir F saeramus ba saim  $_{\mu}V_{\mu_{\Lambda}}$  (saimh  $_{\mu_{\Lambda}}$ ) seisiur B seser M ¹⁰ ama; F amhos B amus M ¹¹ ain M ¹² roinset (but srainset in O'Curry's transcript) L srainsit F raensat  $_{\mu}V_{\mu_{\Lambda}}$  srainsid B srainsead M ¹³ cata F ¹⁴ an FB ind  $_{\mu}V_{\mu_{\Lambda}}$  ¹⁵ Esp·  $F_{\mu}V_{\mu_{\Lambda}}M$  Easp. B.

36. ¹ard-chath in cet cath ni cel (chel  $\mu$ V)  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  ² cath FB ³ noco LF ¹ cel F cél B ⁵ ro roinset L do srainsit F om. ro; soiset  $\mu$ V soisit  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  dosrainsid B doradsad M ° ar FBM ¹ sluag LFB sluagu  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  ³ Toessén L Saisel F Tosén  $\mu$ V Tósen  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Tossen B ° ar F ¹ Barco L Barco F Bachru  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Bacco B Bacro M ¹ ba gor gó L ba garg gail  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  gu narga B fa garga M ¹² 7 dittographed B ¹³ ar F ¹ Longbardo L Longbardaib  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Longbarda B.

37. ¹ badar deis FBM batar deis  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  ² catha  $F \mu_{\Lambda}$  8 chle  $\mu V$  om. B ⁴ tanic  $L \mu V \mu_{\Lambda} M$  taing B (but dots inserted sec. man. above the first and third minims in an attempt to make it tainig) 5 doibh B 6 aenlaithie (sio) F enlaithe  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda} B$  tamh enlaithe B 7 om. n-B: Alloth F nAlloit  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  Alloith B Alloid M 8 can FM gan B 9 on  $F \mu V \mu_{\Lambda} BM$  20 ba marb

- 35. Fourteen men with their wives made the crew for every ship full of warriors, and six noble hirelings; they won three battles in Spain.
- 36. Lofty the first battle—I shall not conceal it—
  which they won against the host of the Tuscans;
  a battle against the Bachra with violence,
  and a battle against the Langebardi.
- 37. It was after the sinister battle that there came to them a plague of one day: the people of the ships of the sons of Allot without fault were all dead except ten persons.
- 38. Un and En came out of it,
  two noble sons of the strong chieftains:
  thereafter was Bregon born,
  father of Bile the strong and raging.
- 39. He broke a great number of fights and battles against the many-coloured host of Spain:
  Bregon of the shouts of valorous deeds, of the combats, by him was built Brigantia.

F batar mairb  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  ba marbh B fa marb M <sup>11</sup> uili F om.  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  dechinmbor F .x. neb-  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  deichneabhar B oen ochtar M.

38. ¹tancatar FM tangadar B tancadar M ²as FM om.  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  ³dag- mc  $\mu V$  dagagm the sprs. d (not the c) sec. man.  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  dheaghmac B deagmac M ³taisac F toisech  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  taiseach B toiseach M ³iarsain L

39. ¹do bris FB ro bris  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda} M$  ² comland F comlond  $\mu V$  comlonn  $\mu_{\Lambda} B$  comlann M ³ chath L ⁴ ar M ⁵ sluagh  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda} B$  ⁵ om. n- L nEsb. F nEasp. (the a sbsc. sec. man.) B ¹ illadach LM n-illathach FB n-ildathach  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  ⁵ Brogan F Brogoin  $\mu V$  Brogain  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Breoghon B Breogo M ⁵ ngleo is na nglia F nglorgal ba gnia  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  nglor is na nglia B ngnim is na ngliad M ¹⁰ les  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda}$  ¹¹ do rondadh B dorinded M ¹² Brigaindsia F Briancia Brigan²  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Brigandsia, the g sprs. sec. man. B Briaindsia M.

- 40. <sup>1</sup>Bregon mac <sup>2</sup>Brātha, <sup>3</sup>blāith bil 495 is dō <sup>4</sup>ro bo mac <sup>5</sup>Mīlid: <sup>6</sup>secht meic <sup>7</sup>Mīlid, maith <sup>8</sup>a slōg <sup>9</sup>im <sup>10</sup>Ēber, im <sup>11</sup>Ēremōn.
- 41. <sup>1</sup>Fa <sup>2</sup>Dond, fa <sup>3</sup>Ailiach <sup>4</sup>eo n-āg
  <sup>5</sup>im <sup>6</sup>Ir, is <sup>7</sup>fa <sup>8</sup>Arannān,
  <sup>9</sup>im <sup>10</sup>Amairgin <sup>11</sup>eo ngnē ngil,
  oeus fa <sup>12</sup>Colbta in <sup>13</sup>claidim.

  500
- 42. Deich mac <sup>1</sup>Bregoin <sup>2</sup>cen <sup>3</sup>meirbe <sup>4</sup>Brego, <sup>5</sup>Fuat, is <sup>6</sup>Murthemne, <sup>7</sup>Cūailgne, Cualo <sup>8</sup>blad <sup>9</sup>ciabe, <sup>10</sup>Ēbleo, <sup>11</sup>Nar Ith, is Bile.
- 43. <sup>1</sup>Ith mae <sup>2</sup>Bregoin <sup>3</sup>co <sup>4</sup>mblaid <sup>5</sup>mbind <sup>6</sup>tāinie ar <sup>7</sup>tūs <sup>8</sup>in <sup>9</sup>Hērind: <sup>10</sup>is ē <sup>11</sup>fer <sup>12</sup>toesech <sup>13</sup>rostreb, do <sup>14</sup>sil <sup>15</sup>noesech nert-<sup>16</sup>Gāedel.

510

40. Bregoin L Bili FM Bile μVμΛ Bil B Brogain F Bregoind μV Brogaind #A Breoghon B Breogain M \* blad FM 4 do F rob mace uV 5 Milidh B Milig M 6 ocht  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda} R^3$  (mee  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ ) Miled L. Miledh μVμ<sub>Λ</sub> Milidh B Milead M. <sup>8</sup> in FBM (slogh B) o fa F <sup>11</sup> Herimon L Erimon F Erimon μVμ<sub>Λ</sub> Eirmon B Ereamon M. 41.  $^1$  This quatrain om. L $_{\mu}V_{\mu}_{\Lambda}$   $^2$  Dhond B  $^3$  Oilleach B Aireach M onnadh B cen chrad M  $^5$  fa BM  $^6$  Hir BMH  $^7$  am F 4 connadh B cen chrad M 6 Hir BMH <sup>8</sup> Arannan F Arandan B: andan fa and ngne ngil ins. in rasura B 
<sup>9</sup> fa BM <sup>10</sup> Amargin F Aimeirgein B Aimirgin M 11 on B 12 Colbtha B 13 chloidimh B. Cholpa M

42. ¹Brogain F Breogain  $\mu$ VBM Breogoin  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  ² can F gan B ³ meirbi F merbe  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  meirbhi B merbi M ⁴ Broga F Eibliu  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$ 

#### XIV.

R<sup>2</sup> ¶ 133 (V 2  $\delta$  37 : E 2  $\beta$  13 R 76 B  $\alpha$  10 [first quatrain only] : D 4  $\gamma$  8). R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 156 (B 11  $\beta$  19 : M 270  $\gamma$  1).

¹Doluid ²Mīlid ³as in ⁴Seithīa,
 ⁵seēl for a ⁶facbat bāird ⁻blas,
 īar nguin ⁵Refeloir meic ⁶Nēmāin,
 ¹⁰eona foga, nīr glē-bān ¹¹glas.

1. ¹-dh E ²-dh EB Milig M ³assin V isin RB asa M ⁴Sceithia BM ³sceil B ⁴bfagbaid E facbat (a curved stroke over the f) D fagbait B fagaid M ¹blass V ³Refelair V Reuelair DE Refloir RB Reflair M

- 40. Bregon son of Brath, gentle and good, he had a son, Mil: the seven sons of Mil—good their host—including Eber and Eremon.
- 41. Along with Dond, and Airech with battle, including Ir, along with Arannan, including Amorgen with bright countenance, and along with Colptha of the sword.
- 42. The ten sons of Bregon without falsehood, Brega, Fuat, and Murthemne, Cualnge, Cuala, fame though it were, Ebleo, Nar, Ith, and Bile.
- 43. Ith son of Bregon with tuneful fame came at the first into Ireland:
  he is the first of men who inhabited it,
  of the noble seed of the powerful Gaedil.

Breogo B Breogu M <sup>5</sup> Fuad F Fuai, corrected sec.. man. to Fuad B <sup>6</sup> Murtemn  $\mu$ V Murtemni  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Muirteinne B <sup>7</sup> Cuala Cuailngie (sic) F Cualnge Cualu  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Cuala Cuailnge R<sup>2</sup> <sup>8</sup> bladh  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$  <sup>9</sup> cebe FR<sup>2</sup> <sup>10</sup> Ebla F Ebleó L $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Eibleo M <sup>11</sup> iar F Ith Nár  $\mu$ V $\mu_{\Lambda}$ .

43.  $^1$ Hith  $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda} M$   $^2$ Brogan F Breogain  $\mu V B M$  Breogoin  $\mu_{\Lambda}$   $^2$  om. F gu B  $^4$ blad F mblaidh  $\mu_{\Lambda} B$  mbloid M  $^5$  om. m- LF  $^6$ tanic L $\mu V \mu_{\Lambda} M$  thainig B  $^7$  dus B  $^8$  an  $\mu V B$   $^9$  Erind

 $F_{\mu}V_{\mu_{\Lambda}}$  M Erinn B  $^{10}$  isse  $\mu_{\Lambda}$   $^{11}$  f F fear R<sup>3</sup>  $^{12}$  toisach F toisech  $\mu V_{\mu_{\Lambda}}$  toiseach R<sup>3</sup>  $^{13}$  do treb F re treabh B nar threab M  $^{14}$  til F sil  $\mu V_{\mu_{\Lambda}}$   $^{15}$  noiseach F noiseach  $\mu V$  M noiseach  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  noisiach B  $^{16}$  Gaedil F Goedhel  $\mu V$  Gaidel  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  neart-Gaidheal B Gaedhil M.

#### XIV.

1. Mil came out of Scythia, a tale upon which bards leave a savour, after the death-wound of Refloir son of Noemius with his javelin, it was no bright white fetter.

- 2. <sup>1</sup>Ceithri barca <sup>2</sup>līn a <sup>3</sup>theglaig; 515 <sup>4</sup>lotar <sup>5</sup>tar <sup>6</sup>muir co <sup>7</sup>mēd <sup>8</sup>clann, <sup>9</sup>cōic <sup>10</sup>lānamna <sup>11</sup>dēcc <sup>12</sup>is amus <sup>13</sup>in gach baire <sup>14</sup>ro tagas <sup>15</sup>tall.
- 3. <sup>1</sup>Tarrastair trī <sup>2</sup>mīs <sup>3</sup>sin <sup>4</sup>indsi <sup>5</sup>ic <sup>6</sup>Deprofāine na port: 520 trī <sup>7</sup>mīs <sup>8</sup>aile, <sup>9</sup>ed <sup>10</sup>cen <sup>11</sup>gairdi, <sup>12</sup>ac imrum <sup>13</sup>tar <sup>14</sup>fairrge <sup>15</sup>folt.
- 4. <sup>1</sup>Īar sin <sup>2</sup>rāncadar tīr <sup>3</sup>nĒgipt, co <sup>4</sup>hairecht <sup>5</sup>Foraind na <sup>6</sup>fīan: <sup>7</sup>atnagar <sup>8</sup>Scota do <sup>9</sup>Mīlig 525 <sup>10</sup>ic an abaind tīrig <sup>11</sup>thīar.
- 5. <sup>1</sup>Gabsat dā <sup>2</sup>fer dēc <sup>3</sup>din <sup>4</sup>dreim-sin dāna <sup>5</sup>d'foglaim for a <sup>6</sup>cuairt: <sup>7</sup>Sedga, <sup>8</sup>Sobairci, <sup>9</sup>is <sup>10</sup>Suirgi <sup>11</sup>re <sup>12</sup>sāirsi, <sup>13</sup>cen <sup>14</sup>duilgi nduairc. 530
- 6. Druidecht <sup>1</sup>la <sup>2</sup>Mantan, la Caicher, la Fulman <sup>3</sup>n-indtliuchtach n-oll; <sup>4</sup>bretemnus las in <sup>5</sup>ngen <sup>6</sup>nglüngel, <sup>7</sup>la <sup>8</sup>Goscen <sup>9</sup>ndüir-mer, <sup>10</sup>la Donn.

3 teglaig VEM theaglaigh B 2. 1 ceitri VEB cetri D 2 lion E in muir and om. co VED 7 met V \*lodar BM dar VE ar M 8 cland E o coig E 10 lanomna VB 11 dec V mbeid B 14 do taghas B ro thagas M 13 is é lin M 12 is in rasura: amhos B 18 thall VM.

3. ¹tarrasair D ansad BM ² miss V misa B ³ san DB is an M ¹ innsi DE ⁵ hic VE ag B ac M ° Deprofane VD: here and in line 541 below sV wrote Depfane, and the cross-curve changing p to pro was added sec. man. Deprofaine E Tibrad Faine B Tibraid Fane M ¹ miss V ¹ eli D ele B ° ead VM eadh EB ed D ¹ can E con B ¹ sic V ghairgi E chairde D gairbi BM ¹ hic imrum V ic imr. D ic iomram E imreid B lodar for M ¹ for B ¹ fairgi V fairrgi DBM ¹ ins. na BM.

- 2. Four ships were the tally of his household; they came over sea with a multitude of progeny; fifteen wedded couples and a hireling in every ship which pressed forward yonder.
- 3. They stayed three months in the island at Taprobane of the harbours: three other months, a season without joyfulness voyaging over the sea of foam-crests.
- 4. After that they reached the land of Egypt, to the court of Pharao of the warriors:

  Scota is given to Mil

  at the land-river in the west.
- 5. Twelve men of that company undertook to learn arts during their sojourn: Setga, Sobairche, and Suirge, in craftsmanship, without sad difficulty.
- 6. Druidry by Mantan, by Caicher, by Fulman sagacious and great, law-craft by the white-kneed one, by Goscen hard and active, by Dond.

4. ¹ar M ²rangadar EB -tar DV ³nEigept V nEghept E nEighipt B nEgept M ⁴hoireacht BM (-recht B) ⁵Foruinn D Forainn B ⁶bfian E fiann B ¹adnaghar VE atadhgor B atnadar M ⁵Scoto D ⁶Milidh B ¹o ic ond abaind tirigh V hic on abuinn tirig D ic in abainn tirig E do chosnam in tiri B do chosnom in tiri M ¹¹ síar B

5. ¹ gabsad E ² om. fer VD ² don E ⁴ drem D ⁵ dfogluim D ⁰ gcuairt E ¹ Sedgha V ⁵ -ce V -chi D ⁵ ¬ for is VD ¹ o -ge VD ¹¹ ra E ¹² suirsi E -se V ¹³ gan ED ¹⁴ duilge V.

6. ¹ri E le D ² Manntan E ³ nintlichtach V ninntlechtach E ¹ breithemnus E brithemnus D ⁵ ngein ED ⁰ nglungeal E ngluingeal D ¹ ro V re E le D ⁵ Goisgen E Goiscen D ° ndurmer V duirmher E ¹ o ri V sre E le D.

The following is the version of the two foregoing quatrains in  $\mathbb{R}^3$ :—

- 5A. Gabhsat da 'fear deg da foghlaim 527A in gach ceird suthain,' ba suairc,

  Sedgha, Sobhairce 7 'Suirghe
  re 'sairse, gan duilge' nduairc. 530A
- 6A. Draidheacht la "Mandtan 's la Caithear"
  la Fulman, lasin "ngeal ngart,

  "rīgdacht sead "ba duthaigh do Dhond,"
  slicht oll, 7 "breithumhnacht.

  534A
- 7. <sup>1</sup>Trī rīg na <sup>2</sup>lāechraide <sup>3</sup>lūaidim 535 ro <sup>4</sup>leth a <sup>5</sup>ngnai <sup>6</sup>sund <sup>7</sup>co sāl, <sup>8</sup>fri <sup>9</sup>fogluim, <sup>10</sup>gaiscid <sup>11</sup>ro-druiti <sup>12</sup>Mīlid. <sup>13</sup>Oici, Uici <sup>14</sup>ān.
- 8. Lotar <sup>2</sup>ass <sup>3</sup>i <sup>4</sup>cinn <sup>5</sup>ocht mbliadan; <sup>6</sup>ar a <sup>7</sup>cūlu in <sup>8</sup>conair <sup>9</sup>chōir: 540 <sup>10</sup>ansat <sup>11</sup>mīss <sup>12</sup>ic <sup>13</sup>Deprofāine, <sup>14</sup>cid ed <sup>15</sup>nīr bo <sup>16</sup>bāire <sup>17</sup>brōin.
- 9. <sup>1</sup>Rāiset <sup>2</sup>sech <sup>3</sup>rind <sup>4</sup>Slēibe <sup>5</sup>Rifi: <sup>6</sup>ro rēcsat <sup>7</sup>a <sup>8</sup>dtīr ar <sup>9</sup>thuind; bliadain <sup>10</sup>dōib-sa <sup>11</sup>lām <sup>12</sup>re <sup>13</sup>Tracia, 545 <sup>14</sup>congabsat <sup>15</sup>i nDacia <sup>16</sup>duind.

5A. Variants from M. <sup>1</sup>gabsad <sup>2-2</sup> Fer dec dib foglaim an cach cerd suthain <sup>3</sup> Segda Sobairci <sup>4</sup> Surgi <sup>5-5</sup> sairsi cen dulgi.

6A. <sup>1</sup> druideacht <sup>2-2</sup> Mantan la Caither <sup>2</sup> ngel <sup>4</sup> om. rigdacht B <sup>5-5</sup> fa duthaid do Dond <sup>6</sup> breitheamnocht.

7. <sup>1</sup> tri ri E tuiream BM <sup>2</sup> laochraide E laechroidhi B laechraidi M <sup>3</sup> luaidhim E <sup>4</sup> leath BM <sup>5</sup> ngnaoi E ngnoi D ngnae M <sup>6</sup> sunn DM <sup>4</sup> ar E gu B tar M <sup>8</sup> fria B <sup>9</sup> foglaim VEBM <sup>10</sup> gaisgid ED gaiscidh B <sup>11</sup> rodruide E rodruitti (*spelt* dvruitti) D fri gnimrad R<sup>3</sup> (-adh B) <sup>12</sup> Milig M <sup>13</sup> Occe Ucce VE Oicci Uicci D Oige Uige B <sup>44</sup> ain E.

8. 1 dolodar B lodar M 2 as EDM om, B 2 a EB hi D 4 gcinn E

- 5A. Twelve men undertook to learn in every enduring craft, it was pleasant, Setga, Sobairche and Suirge, in craftsmanship, without sad difficulty.
- 6A. Druidry by Mantan and by Caicher by Fulman with the white hospitality:
  Kingship it is that was native to Dond, the lineage of great ones, and law-craft.
- 7. I mention three kings of the hero-band, their faces were familiar there to the sea: great druids in learning and valour, Mil, Occe, noble Ucce.
- 8. They went out in the end of eight years; backward was the true path; they spent a month in Taprobane, although it was no goal of sorrow.
- 9. They steered past the headland of the Rhipaean Mountain;
  they fared to land upon the wave;
  they had a year close by Thracia,
  till they landed in brown Dacia.

cind DR³  $^5$  ocht ye in rasura E: .uii. D  $^9$  car do chuala ba (fa M) hi in choir R³  $^7$  gcul E  $^8$  chon- V  $^9$  coir E  $^{10}$  ansad ER³  $^{11}$  mis EDR³  $^{12}$  hic R² ag B a M  $^{13}$  Deprofane VD (see note to line 520 above) Dibraidh Faine B Tibraid Fane M  $^{14}$  cidh edh V cidh eadh E gidheadh B gerbead M  $^{15}$  nirbo ye E: on nir R³  $^{16}$  bairi M  $^{17}$  mbroin E.

9. ¹ raisit V rased E -eit D reithsid B risead M ² seach R³ ³ rinn E ¹ Slebi D tSlebi E Sleibhi B Slebe M ⁵ Riphe E Rife R³ ⁵ ro recsat E do reatsad B do rersad M ¹ o B ⁵ tir VDM thir B ⁵ tuinn DE (one minim omitted E, making tvii) tuind R³ ¹ o doibh-sa B doibseon M ¹¹ lamh E laim R² ¹² ra E ri DB ¹³ Tvia E Traigia R³ ¹ congabsad E congabsautt D imreid B imridis M ¹⁵ an Dacia ED isin naigia B anaicia M ¹ duinn ED nduind R³.

¹Ansat ²mīs ³an Dacia ⁴dathaig,
 ⁵lotar ⁶ass i ¬nGothiam ngluair,
 ³i mBelgont, ⁰i mBregaint ¹⁰bruinig,
 ¹¹isin Espāin ¹²n-uillig n-uair.

550

555

11. ¹Ceithri ²catha ³dēc ⁴'s dā ⁵fichit ro °fersat 'ind °lāechrad lōr, im °chert ¹°nEspāine ¹¹dārīrib—¹²mebdatar ¹³rīa ¹⁴Mīlig mōr.

12. Dē ¹atā ²Mīlig ³Espāine ⁴airseom—
do na ⁵cathaib ⁶sin ro ⁻bris;

⁵Golam a ainm, ⁶data ¹⁰dīles,

¹¹mo ¹²phopa, ¹³cen ¹⁴dīmes ndiss.

13. ¹Dosfāinic ²tām ³i n-a ⁴theglach,

⁵cōic lānamna dēc ⁶dē ¹atbath,

⁵im na trī ³rīgaib ¹oro rāidius,

¹¹i dāil nar ¹²chāinius ¹³i cath.

14. <sup>1</sup>Tāngadar meic <sup>2</sup>Mīled <sup>3</sup>molaim <sup>4</sup>co Hērind a <sup>5</sup>Hespāin <sup>6</sup>uill, <sup>7</sup>'na longaib <sup>8</sup>dar lār <sup>9</sup>il-lacha, 565 <sup>10</sup>ina <sup>11</sup>congaib <sup>12</sup>catha <sup>13</sup>cruim.

10. ¹ansad EBM ² miss V ³ in Dacia VD in naigia B an Aicia M ⁴ndathaig E dathaidh B ndathaich M ⁵ lodar R³ ° as EDM isin B an EM ¹ Gothim E Goithiam D nGoithiam B: gluair V ³ in delghainn E indelgaind VD in Bealdund B im Belgond M ³ im Breogainn E in Breagdunn B im Breogann M ¹ io mbruinid E mbruinigh DB ndruinich M ¹¹¹ issin V isan M Easpain R³ ¹² nduillig nduair B: nuillich M.

11. ¹ceitri VB cethri D ² cath E ³ deg B ⁴ is VR³ om. DE ⁵ fichet D ficheat B ⁶ fersad E fersat VD fearsad B ¬ in V an E ind D im BM ѕ laechraid V laochraidh E laichrad D leacon R³ ҫ cert E ceart B cheart M ¹⁰ nEsbaine E Espaini B Espaine M ¹ doririb VE -ibh B ¹² mebdhatar V: da (ga B) cosnom (-am B) R³ ¹² re E do R³ ¹⁴ Mile B.

12. ¹tá B ita B ² Milidh B ³ Espane V Easpain B ° airsium V airsem D airsin B airseon M ° -aibh B ° sen V ° briss B

- 10. They stayed a month in coloured Dacia, they went out of it into bright Gothia, into Belgaint, into Bregaint of large companies, into cold Spain of the headlands.
- 11. Fourteen battles and two score the ample hero-band waged, in truth, about the right to Spain—
  They broke before Mil the great.
- 12. Thence has he the name "Mil of Spain"—
  from those battles which he broke;
  Golam was his name, a faithful foster-father,
  my master, without despicable contempt.
- 13. There came plague into his household, fifteen wedded couples died of it, including the three kings whom I have mentioned, in an assembly which made no lament in battle.
- 14. The sons of Mil whom I praise came to Ireland from great Spain: in their ships over a plain of many sea-birds, in which they maintained crooked battle.

<sup>8</sup> Galam R<sup>2</sup> Golumh B 

<sup>9</sup> dada E 

<sup>10</sup> dilis VE dileas BM 

<sup>12</sup> popa V pupa E phapa D poba B foba M 

<sup>13</sup> gan EB gen D 

<sup>14</sup> dimes ndis VE dimeas ris B dimes dis M.

13. ¹-fanic VM -fanuig D -fainig B ² tamh E tamain a theaglach B ³ inna D ⁴ teglach VDM ⁵ coic lanomna V coig E da lanomain (-amain M) R³ ⁵ om. de M ¹ adbath EM ⁵ um B ⁰ riguib D riogaib E ¹⁰ ro raidhus V ro raides E do raidheadh B ro raided M ¹¹ hi dhail V riam nochor cáinead B uair ni ro cained M ¹² cain E ¹³ hi D a B.

14. ¹-catar V -gatar D ² Miledh V Milead M ³ moluim D ¹ ind Erinn VD an Eirinn E an Er-B ˚ Hesbain E Heaspain BM ⁶ huill D ¹ hi longaib VE na hillongaib D a longa B ˚ tar E gu B co M ˚ ind lacha V longaib E in D longaib B ² tar E gu B co M ˚ ind lacha V longaib E in D longaib B ² tar E gu B co M ˚ ind lacha V longaib E in D longaib B ² tar E longaib B cruind B cruind M.

- 15. ¹Cōic ²lānamna ³cethair ⁴deg-dēich

  ⁵tucsat ⁶leo, ²do muintir mōir:

  ⁵cethrar ⁰amus ¹⁰mar dom māidit

  ¹¹dōib for scāil a ¹²Hespāin ¹³ōig. 570
- 16. Īar sin ¹gabsat ²Inber ³Scēne
  Dīa Māirt, for ⁴cert-⁵challainn ⁶Mai:

  <sup>7</sup>Ō sin ⁵amach, ⁶fa ¹⁰derb ¹¹linne,

  ¹²ro ¹³dergsat ¹⁴rindi ar gach ¹⁵rai.
- 17. <sup>1</sup>Rē eind bliadna <sup>2</sup>randsat <sup>3</sup>Ērind 575 <sup>4</sup>in dib <sup>5</sup>randaib dēc, <sup>6</sup>derb <sup>7</sup>lem, im <sup>8</sup>Ēremōn is <sup>9</sup>im <sup>10</sup>Ēber im <sup>11</sup>deichnebar <sup>12</sup>trēnfer <sup>13</sup>tend.
- 18. <sup>1</sup>Cōicer <sup>2</sup>gabsadar im <sup>3</sup>Ēber <sup>4</sup>i l-leith <sup>5</sup>ndescertach <sup>6</sup>hi tind, 580 <sup>7</sup>da <sup>8</sup>Etan, <sup>9</sup>is <sup>10</sup>Mantan <sup>11</sup>mōr-glan, <sup>12</sup>Caicher ocus Fulman <sup>13</sup>find.
- 19. <sup>1</sup>Cōicer im <sup>2</sup>Ēremōn <sup>3</sup>n-ūasal <sup>4</sup>gabsat <sup>5</sup>im <sup>6</sup>tūaiscert <sup>7</sup>atbēr, <sup>8</sup>Aimirgen, <sup>9</sup>Sobairci, <sup>10</sup>Segda, 585 <sup>11</sup>Gosten, <sup>12</sup>Suirgi, <sup>13</sup>tetra <sup>14</sup>trēn.

15. ¹coig EB ²lanomhna B ³ins. a M: .iiii. V ceitri E ceathair BM ¹deghdeich E dec (om. deich: deg B) BM ⁵tugsad E tugsat DB °lóe V ¹don muindtir mhoir B ˚cetrar V ceatrar B ceathrar M °amhus EB ¹⁰ ba sid fri sgail VD ba fidh friscail E mardommaidh doib B marda maidit M ¹¹ind Erinn V an Eir- E in Herinn D ro scailit M (doib transferred to preceding line B om. M) ¹²Hesbain E ¹³oigh EB.

3 Sceine E <sup>2</sup> inbiur D indber M inbhear B 16. 1 gabsad ER3 ⁴ CC VD ceirt E ceart B 5 -nd M 6 Maoi E Maii D Sceini B 9 ba R2 co B 10 dearbh B 8 immach V o sain V o soin D 13 dergsad EB dercsat M 14 rinne ED 12 do R3 11 linde E demin R3 15 raoi E, ro changed sec. man. to rai D. rind Femin (Feimin B) fai R3

17, ¹ria VD a B i M ²rannsat VD rannsad E roindsid B randsad M
³Eirinn E, H- D ⁴a ndibh EB ⁵rannaib VB randaibh deg E
rannuib D rendaib M ⁴dearb B ³leam VB ⁵Erimon VB
Eoiremon E ⁰um B am M ¹Eimher E ¹¹ dechniubur V

- 15. Four good tens and five of wedded couples they brought with them, of the great company: four hirelings, as they assert to me, they had, in parting from virgin Spain.
- 16. After that they landed in Inber Scene a Tuesday, on the exact Kalends of May: from that out, we may be certain they reddened points on every plain.
- 17. Before the end of a year they partitioned Ireland into twelve parts, I hold it for certain, between Eremon, Eber and ten strong champions.
- 18. Five men including Eber landed in the southern half in strife: two Etans, and Mantan great and pure, Caicher and white Fulman.
- 19. Five men including noble Eremon landed around the north, I shall say it, Amorgen, Sobairche, Setga, Goscen, Suirge, the strong raven.

deichneabhar E deichniubur D deithneabhar B <sup>12</sup>-fer VM treinfer E -fear B <sup>13</sup> tenn D teand B.

18. ¹coicir V coiger E coigear B ²gabsadar E gabsatar D rogabsat B rogobsad M ²Eimer with no b written above the m E Emer M ¹alleth V hi leith E allet D in leath R³ ⁵deiscertach B om. n- M ⁵hi tinn V a dind E nar thim B ad chind M ¹sic R² En is R³ §Eadan EM Adan B °om. R² ¹o Mandtan EB ¹¹ murglan VEDM ¹² Caithear B Caither M ¹² finn VE.

19. ¹coiciur E coigear B ²Erimon VB Eiremon E ³om. n- ER³
¹-sad EM ⁵an E i B ¹tuascert VD ¹adber EM ⁵Amargen V
Aimirgin EM Amairgein D Aimeirgein B ºSobarche V Sobhairci E
Sobairchi D Sogairce B Sobairci M ¹ºSetga VD Sedghai E Sedga B
¹¹Goscen R² Goistin B Goisten M ¹²Suirge DB Surge EM ¹³Detla B
Dedla M ¹⁴ deir B der M.

20. Rāith <sup>1</sup>Bethaig <sup>2</sup>ac Eōir na <sup>3</sup>n-aīged clas la <sup>4</sup>Hēremōn <sup>5</sup>īar n-ōl, Rāith <sup>6</sup>Aindind <sup>7</sup>re Hēber <sup>8</sup>mōrthar, la <sup>9</sup>Haimirgin <sup>10</sup>Tōchar Mōr.

590

- 21. Dūn ¹Sobairci ²sund ³īar sāime
  ⁴la ⁵Sobairci ⁰tāeb-geal ²tend;
  \*Delginis ³la ¹⁰Setga ¹¹īar ¹²suilgi;
  ¹³Dun ¹⁴Ētair ¹⁵la ¹⁰Suirgi ¹⁻seng.
- 22. <sup>1</sup>Rāith <sup>2</sup>Arda Sūird <sup>3</sup>clas <sup>4</sup>la Fulman, 595 Dūn <sup>5</sup>mBindi <sup>6</sup>la <sup>7</sup>Caicher <sup>8</sup>crōn, Rāith <sup>9</sup>Rīgbaird <sup>10</sup>la <sup>11</sup>Hetan <sup>12</sup>n-ecal, <sup>13</sup>Dūn <sup>14</sup>Cairich <sup>15</sup>la <sup>16</sup>Hetan <sup>17</sup>n-ōg.
- 23. <sup>1</sup>Cumtach <sup>2</sup>Nair <sup>3</sup>īar <sup>4</sup>Slēib <sup>5</sup>Mis <sup>6</sup>molaim, <sup>7</sup>la <sup>8</sup>Goisten, <sup>9</sup>nīr <sup>10</sup>dodaing dō; 600 <sup>11</sup>at īat <sup>12</sup>sin <sup>13</sup>a rātha <sup>14</sup>rēlaim <sup>15</sup>is a raind for <sup>16</sup>Ērind so.
- 24. <sup>1</sup>Mīlid <sup>2</sup>assin <sup>3</sup>Scithia <sup>4</sup>seīathaig <sup>5</sup>Hisin <sup>6</sup>Dardāin, nī <sup>7</sup>delm <sup>8</sup>ngō, <sup>9</sup>Gabais <sup>10</sup>Espāin <sup>11</sup>i l-leith <sup>12</sup>lāithi ro <sup>13</sup>bo <sup>14</sup>sed <sup>15</sup>co ndaithi do.

20. ¹Rath D Bethaich D Bedthaigh B Beothaid M ²ic VDB ag E ³noighed V naighed E noidedh D naidheadh B ⁴Herimon VB Heiremon E Hereamon M ⁵ar B °Oind VD Cind E Aindinn B ¹f¹ he·b· na nogthor (the dot before b inserted by re-inker) V: fri also ED: Heiber E Heimhear B ⁵na nogthor E na nogthor also in D °Hamargen V Haimirgen E Hamairin B °tochur E tochor DB.

21. <sup>1</sup>Sobairce V -rgi D Sobhairche B 2 sunn D 3 iar saine VE 5 -airgi V -airchi D -airche B 4 le R3 iar sealad B re selad M <sup>1</sup> tenn VD teand B <sup>6</sup>taebgel V taobgheal E toebgel D taebhgheal B 8 Deilginis V Delcinis (the c sprs.) E Deilinis B Delinis M 9 le B re M 13 Duin M 12 suirge E suilge BM 11 om. E 10 Setgha B Sedga M 16 Suirge EDB Surge M 17 seang B. 15 re M 14 Edair BM

22. ¹rath EDB ² Airde E ³slas ED ⁴fri R² le B ⁵ Findi V Binne E Binni D Minde B °le B ¹ Caithir E Cacher D Cathear B Caither M ⁵ mor R³ ° Rigbair E -ghbh- B ¹⁰ fri R² re B

- 20. Raith Bethaig at the Eoir of the Guests, dug by Eremon after drinking;Raith Ainninn by Eber, be it magnified!by Amorgen the Great Causeway.
- 21. Dun Sobairche there after repose, by Sobairche the white-sided and strong; Delginis by Setga after ease; Dun Etair by slender Suirge.
- Raith Arda Suird dug by Fulman,
  Dun Bindi by swarthy Caicher,
  Raith Rigbaird by formidable Etan,
  Dun Cairich by pure Etan.
- 23. The building of Nar west of Sliab Mis I celebrate by Goscen, it was not difficult for him:

  Those are their forts which I set forth, and this is their divisions over Ireland.
- 24. Mil out of shield-like Scythia upon Thursday, it is no sound of falsehoods, took Spain in half a day—it was a way with nimbleness for him.

 $^{11}$  Headan R³  $^{12}$  neccal E negal D neagal B neacal M  $^{13}$  ins. is R²  $^{12}$  Croich R² Goirig B  $^{15}$  re VD ro E le B  $^{16}$  Etan VE Headan B Hedan M  $^{17}$  om. n- R² ogh VE oc D nogh B.

23.  $^1$  Cumtach all MSS. but cumhdach B  $^2$  nar yc E in rasura nard D  $^3$  ar VD a E  $^4$  Sleibh EB Sliab M  $^5$  Miss V  $^6$  moluim D  $^7$  le B  $^8$  Goiscen VD Goisgen E Goisdin B  $^9$  nir bo nair do (dho B) R $^3$   $^{19}$  dodhaing VEB doduing D  $^{11}$  is iat V is iad E hisiat D  $^{12}$  sain EDB  $^{13}$  na ratha V arratha ED  $^{14}$  relim VDB relimm E relaim M  $^{15}$  sa roind fa (ar B) Erind andso R $^3$   $^{16}$  Herind ED.

3 Sceithia R3 <sup>2</sup> asin D sin B isa M 24. 1 Milidh VB Milig M 6 Dardan B <sup>5</sup> hisi D isa B isin M 4 sciathaigh EB sciamda M 10 Easp. B 11 hilleth D 8 dho B 9 gabuis ED 7 deilm EB 13 po ED robsad M 12 lathi E laithe B 14 sét alleith B aleith M 15 condathi ED conaidthe B conaithi M. VEDM (set D) theist B

#### XV.

Min ¶ 107 A ( $\mu$ /\ 26 \alpha 43:  $\mu$ R 91 \delta 3). R³ ¶ 142 (B 10  $\beta$  2: M 268 \delta 31: H 100  $\beta$  46).

1. ¹Ceithri ²randa ³rāiter ⁴dē for ⁵suidi na ⁶Gāedilge : Canōin, ³Gramadach, ⁵is Stair, ocus Rīm co n-a ³ro-bail.

610

- 2. Is <sup>1</sup>ī <sup>2</sup>in <sup>3</sup>Chanōin, <sup>4</sup>nī cheleb, <sup>5</sup>Senchus Mōr, <sup>6</sup>Bretha Nemed— <sup>7</sup>Nochosdērna <sup>8</sup>duine dō— <sup>9</sup>Āi <sup>10</sup>Chermna <sup>7</sup> <sup>11</sup>Āi <sup>12</sup>Chano.
- 3. Is <sup>1</sup>I <sup>2</sup>in <sup>3</sup>Gramadach <sup>4</sup>na nglond<sup>4</sup> 615 na trī <sup>5</sup>chāicait <sup>6</sup>crāeb-<sup>7</sup>ogom, na <sup>8</sup>rēmenna, <sup>9</sup>rēim <sup>10</sup>nena, <sup>11</sup>is na <sup>12</sup>duili <sup>13</sup>deig-feda.
- 4. Is ī ¹in ²Stair, ³fa ⁴stiuir ⁵fessa,
  na °fessa, na ²foirfessa,

  \*tāna, °togla, ¹otricha scēl,
  ocus tri ¹¹fichit ¹²foiscēl.

  620
- 5. Is ī 'in Rim 'nocho rādom,

  Bretha 'Cai 'can imarchor:

  'is esbach a 'sechna 'so,

  enesta na 'locthri rando.

  625

1. ¹ Ceitri BH Cethri  $\mu$ R ² ranna  $\mu_{\wedge}\mu$ R renda M ³ raither B raitear M rater H ⁴ dhe B ⁵ suithe  $\mu_{\wedge}$  suidiu  $\mu$ R snoidhe B saidhe M ⁶ Gaidhel-  $\mu_{\wedge}$  Gaidilce  $\mu$ R Gaedheilge B Gaeidilge MH † gramat-  $\mu_{\wedge}\mu$ R gramidach M gramutach H ⁵ istair  $\mu_{\wedge}$  ↑ Stair  $\mu$ R isdair BH is sdair M ⁶ rogail  $\mu$ R.

2.  $^1$  hi  $\mu_{\Lambda}$   $^2$  an  $\mu$ R  $^3$  Canoin  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ R  $^4$  nir ceiledh  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  ni celeb  $\mu$ R ni cheiliub BM ni cheilib H  $^6$  Senchas B  $^6$  breata B breatha M: Nemeadh  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Neimiudh B Nemidh H  $^7$  nochonasdernai  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  nochasderna  $\mu$ R nochodearna B nochosdearna M  $^8$  duide and om. do  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ R duini H  $^6$  Aei M  $^{10}$  Cane  $\mu$ R Cearmna B Chearmna M  $^{11}$  na Cermna  $\mu$ R: Oei M  $^{12}$  Chanae  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Chana H.

3.  $^1$ hi  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ M  $^2$ an  $\mu$ RH  $^3$ Gramatach  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ R(a)MH  $^{4-4}$ om.  $\mu$ R, na nglonn  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  H  $^5$ choecat  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  chaeicaid B chaicaid H  $^6$ Craob  $\mu$ R craebh B  $^7$ ogam  $\mu_{\Lambda}$ M  $^8$ rend  $\mu$ R reimenda BH remeanna M

### XV.

- 1. It is said that it has four divisions among scholars of Gaedelic:
  Canons, Grammar, and History,
  and Prosody with its great prosperity.
- 2. This is Canons, I shall not conceal it, the Great Story, the Judgements of Nemed no (mere) man made it for him the Science of Cermna and the Science of Cano.
- 3. This is Grammar of the achievements, the thrice fifty branching Oghams, the declensions, the row of the letter, and the books of a good wood.
- 4. This is History, it was a rudder of knowledge, the sciences, the extra sciences, forays, captures, thirty sagas, and three-score subordinate sagas.
- 5. This is Rhyme, of which we shall not speak,
  The Judgements of Cai without error;
  it is idle to shun these matters,
  seemly are the four parts.

 $^9$ rem  $\mu_{\Lambda} M$   $^{10}$ neana B  $^{11}$   $_{\rm I}$   $\mu R$   $^{12}$  duile  $\mu_{\Lambda}$   $^{13}$  degfeda  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  dagfeda  $\mu_{R}$  deighfeadha B deighfeada M.

4.  $^1$  an  $\mu$ RH  $^2$  sdair  $\mu$ RMH  $^3$  fo  $\mu_{\wedge}\mu$ R  $^4$  sdiuir  $\mu$ RH  $^5$  messa  $\mu_{\wedge}$  mesa  $\mu$ R meassa B feasa M fesa H  $^6$  feassa B feasa M fesa H  $^7$  forbfesa  $\mu_{\wedge}$  forbessa  $\mu$ R foirfeasa (the first a sbs. sec. man.) B foireasa M forfesa H  $^8$  togla tana  $\mu$ R  $^9$  tola B  $^{10}$  trichaid H  $^{11}$  fichid B fiched H  $^{12}$  roger  $\mu_{\wedge}\mu$ R foscél BH.

5.  $^1$ an  $\mu$ R  $^2$ nocho recob  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  nochasrecab  $\mu$ R nochoradh omh (sic) B nocha rádomh H  $^3$ breatha BM  $^4$ Cói H  $^5$ conimthecor  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  conimthecar  $\mu$ R conimtheagor B conimthegur H  $^6$  is espa  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  his easha  $\mu$ R is easbach BM is espach H  $^7$ seach MB  $^8$ sona  $\mu$ R  $^9$ cnesda  $\mu$ R cneasta BM  $^{10}$  cethra ranno  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  cethra ranno  $\mu$ R ceatra B ceithri M ceitri H.

<sup>(</sup>a) In uR the g dotted.

#### XVI.

Min ¶ 107 A ( $\mu$ /\ 26 β 14 :  $\mu$ R 91 δ 23). R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 142 (B 10 β 18 : M 269  $\alpha$  1).

- 1. In bērla ¹tebidi ²tric, ro ³lesaig ⁴Gāedel ⁵glan-glic, fūathad do ³šīl °Gāedil ⁵gairb duine ¹oca mbeith a ¹¹fir-ainm.
- "Gāidelg" aderaid sin fris alucht aineōlais is ainbfis:
   "To alucht aineōlais is ainbfis:
- 3. ¹Mad āil dam ²a ³rād fri cāch 635 ²co roib co ⁵follus in fāth, 6at iat—re ¬ngarmann can ¬sgai—ceithri ¬shanmann in ¬obērlai—
- 4. "'Ticcoladh'' a Heabra ard,
  is "Moloth'' a Grēig glē-garg,
  "Legulus'' a <sup>2</sup>Laidin le,
  "<sup>3</sup>Tinōiltech'' <sup>4</sup>ara fēine.
- Gebe ¹bess for a n-iarair,
   etir dāescair is diamair,
   ²is iat sin can time tra
   ³anmann ⁴binde ⁵in bērla.

2. ¹Gaidile  $\mu$ R Gaidel get beratsam friss  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Gaedhelg B Gaeidile M ²atberassom  $\mu$ R aderaidsium B adearaidsin M ³in lucht aineolach ainbfis  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ R (om. is ainbf.  $\mu$ R) ⁴in eolais san ainfis B ⁵ni nesso do Gaidelge glice  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  ⁴neassa B neasa M † Gaidil  $\mu$ R Ghaedhelg B ³inda dogach ni is airdirec  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  indas da cech ní as airdirec  $\mu$ R ana da cach M inas do gach ealg urrdraic B.

# XVI.

- 1. The select vivacious language which Gaedel the pure and cunning improved, few of the seed of rough Gaedel are the men who may know its real name.
- 2. "Gaedelg"—they call it so, people who are ignorant and have no knowledge: no nearer to cunning Gaedel than to any conspicuous notable.
- 3. Were I to desire to say to everyone that the matter was evident, here are—with which they name it without false-hood—
  the four names of the language.
- 4. "Ticcolath" in lofty Hebrew,
  "Moloth" in Greek bright and rough,
  "Legulus" therewith in Latin,
  "Tinoiltech" among its people.
- 5. Whoever he be who should be seeking them, whether lowly or obscure, those, indeed, without fear are the tuneful names of the language.

3.  $^{1}$  madh B  $^{2}$  a raga fria each B  $^{3}$  rádh  $\mu$ R  $^{4}$  co rab  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  co raib  $\mu$ R gurabh gu B  $^{5}$  fallus  $\mu$ R  $^{6}$  atat sunn cer (cen  $\mu$ R) gnimradh ngle (ngae  $\mu$ R) ceathra hanmanna (ceithri anmae  $\mu$ R)  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ R ati iad B  $^{7}$  ngarmand gan B  $^{8}$  gae M  $^{9}$  hanmand B  $^{10}$  berlae  $\mu$ R.

4. Ticcoloth (Ticolad  $\mu$ R) a Ebra aird (ard  $\mu$ R), Maloth isin Grece (a Gree  $\mu$ R) gle gairg (gare  $\mu$ R)  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ R Ticcoladh B Laitin  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ R Tinoltach  $\mu_{\Lambda}$  Tinoltach B are fene  $\mu_{\Lambda}\mu$ R.

5.  $^1$ bes  $\mu$ R  $^2$ is eol dam cen time tra  $\mu \wedge \mu$ R is eol dam gan time tra B  $^2$ anmanna  $\mu$ R anmonda B  $^4$ binne  $\mu \wedge \mu$ R binde B  $^5$ an  $\mu$ R.

#### XVII.

# R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 142 (B 10 β 31 : M 269 α 12).

1. ¹Goirtigernn ainm in bērla do bi ²ac ³Mac Dē ⁴deg-ērgna, ocus ⁵ac sīl nAdaim ūair, rē cumdach in Tuir ⁶Nemrūaid.

650

2. Ge ro <sup>1</sup>lean <sup>2</sup>dē <sup>3</sup>bēarla <sup>4</sup>Eabra, <sup>5</sup>ac lucht in domain <sup>6</sup>dealbda, <sup>7</sup>ead bus ainm <sup>8</sup>īar mbrāth na mbenn, <sup>9</sup>don bērla, <sup>10</sup>gnāth-Goirtigern.

1. ¹sic M, Goirtigearnd B ²ag B ³a gloss in M .i. ac Adam ⁴deigerna M ⁵ag sil Adhaimh (om. n-) B ⁴-aidh B.

#### XVIII.

# R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 144 (B 10 y 16).

- 1. Gaidhel Glas, foghnaidh a radh risi(n) fear crithir comlan, indi diata Gaedhel Glas, uathadh ga fuil a eolas.
- 2. Dar fotraicead sa tuind trein,

  'deadh-mac Niuil, mac gu mor-mein,
  gur iadh in athair fa chneas,
  o nar 'b'urus a leigheas.

  660
- 3. An ti glas ni dheachaidh dhe,
  no gur foir co maith Maise:
  d'fagsadar file ro-feas 665
  gurob de ata Gaedel Glas.
- 4. Do fagaibh do ocus da cloind Maisi—fa maith in acmoing gan peist gan nathair gu neim a tir da ngebdais Gaideil.

670

Fagbais fagbhala ele
 Maisi, mac gu mor-gloine,
 gan diultagh fri daim n-Ain-fir
 ag sil gasta glan-Gaeidil.

2. 1 the a sbs. yc B

<sup>2</sup> burusa a B.

# XVII.

- 1. Goirtigern was the name of the language which the Son of God (= Adam) of good wisdom had, as well as the seed of Adam once on a time, before the building of Nemrod's Tower.
- 2. Although it was called the Hebrew language among the folk of the shapely world, This is what the name shall be according to the judgement of the summits [= sages] for the language, current Goirtigern.

2. ¹len B ²om. de M ³berla M ⁴Eabhra B ⁵ag B ³delbha B ²eadh B ³re mbhrath mbend B ³in M ²o gnaith M Garthigearnd B.

# XVIII.

- 1. Gaedel Glas—it is convenient to give the name to the sparkling (?) perfect man: the reason why he was called Gaedel Glas, few there be who know thereof.
- 2. As he laved him in the strong wave, the good son of Nel, a youth with great mind, the serpent wound about his skin, so that his healing was not easy.
- 3. The green spot would not depart from him till Moses gave him good assistance:

  Poets have left the important fact of knowledge
  That "Gaedel Glas" comes therefrom.
- 4. He left to him and to his progeny did Moses—good was the instrument—that no reptile or venomous serpent should be in the land where the Gaedil should settle.
- 5. He left other bequests, did Moses, a youth of great renown, that the valorous seed of pure Gaedel should never oppose the company of the Most High.

#### XIX.

# R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 153 (B 10 δ 58: M 270 α 4).

675

Ro gon <sup>1</sup>Mīlig <sup>2</sup>fa maith eland <sup>3</sup>Rafloir nīr bo ro-anband Ro <sup>4</sup>scuch co crūaid on tīr <sup>5</sup>trell Co sruth Nil, co fuair Forand.

 $^{1}$  Milidh B  $^{2}$  ba B  $^{3}$  Refalair nar bo (ro ins. sec. man.) gand B  $^{4}$  sguch gu cruaidh B  $^{5}$  treall B.

#### XX.

# $\mathbb{R}^2$ ¶ 432 (V 11 γ 25: $\wedge$ 13 β 8: **E** 8 β 7: D 20 γ 26). $\mathbb{R}^3$ ¶ 156 (B 11 β 7: M 270 β 37).

- 1. Ocht meic ¹Golaim na ngāire
  ²darb ainm ³Mīlid ⁴Easpāine,
  ⁵ro ⁴sleachtadar ²mīli ⁵mag:
  9ea tīr as a ¹⁰tāncadar?
  680
- 2. <sup>1</sup>Aireach <sup>2</sup>Februad, <sup>3</sup>Dond, dar Dïa <sup>4</sup>do genair sa Sceithīa; <sup>5</sup>rucad <sup>6</sup>in <sup>7</sup>Ēigept <sup>8</sup>aibnig 685 <sup>9</sup>Ēber ocus <sup>10</sup>Aimirgin.
- 3. Hir, <sup>1</sup>nī robe lāech <sup>2</sup>bu lia <sup>3</sup>ro genair <sup>4</sup>a thaebh <sup>5</sup>Traigia. Ro <sup>6</sup>genair <sup>7</sup>Colptha in <sup>8</sup>cloidim <sup>9</sup>a <sup>10</sup>nglind <sup>11</sup>Colpa a <sup>12</sup>nGaethlaidib. 690
- 4. <sup>1</sup>Ructha ic tur Breogain <sup>2</sup>can brön <sup>3</sup>Erennān is <sup>4</sup>Ēremön : dā <sup>5</sup>šösar na <sup>6</sup>lāech <sup>7</sup>can locht : Mac Dē do <sup>8</sup>trāeth a <sup>9</sup>tothocht.

1.  $^{1}$  Galaim  $V_{\Lambda}ED$   $^{2}$  diarb  $V_{\Lambda}ED$   $^{3}$  Milidh  $^{4}$  UB Milig M  $^{4}$  Esp.  $V_{\Lambda}ED$   $^{5}$  do B  $^{6}$  sleachtatar  $V_{\Lambda}$  slechtsatar ED  $^{7}$  mile B  $^{8}$  magh  $^{4}$  UB  $^{9}$  citne tire ingeinitar (-gen-  $^{4}$  V)  $V_{\Lambda}$  cittne tire hingenatar  $^{4}$  citne tiri in genatar  $^{4}$  C in  $^{4}$  citne tire hingenatar  $^{4}$  C in  $^{4}$  C i

2.  $^1$ Herech Febra is Donn, dar (is Don is dar  $_{\Lambda}$ )  $V_{\Lambda}ED$   $^2$  Fabruadh B  $^3$  ins. is B  $^4$  ro geinitar (gen- V) isin (sin V) Scithia  $V_{\Lambda}$  ro genatar sin Scithia E rogenair hi taeb Tracia D ro geinedair sin Sceithia B do genair i taeb Traigia, with no sa Sceithia sprs. M  $^5$  rucait VE ruccait  $_{\Lambda}$  rugad D rugadh B  $^6$  an  $V_{\Lambda}B$  ind E  $^7$  Eigipt  $_{\Lambda}E$  Egipt D Eighipt B  $^8$  aibnigh  $V_{\Lambda}$  aibhnigh B  $^6$  Eber Find (Finn D) is Amargen (Amh-  $_{\Lambda}$  Amargin E Aimirgin D)  $V_{\Lambda}ED$   $^{10}$  Ameirgein B.

#### XIX.

Mil of good progeny inflicted a death-wound on Refloir, who was not weak:
he departed under duress from the land once on a time
to the river Nile, till he found Pharao.

#### XX.

- 1. The eight sons of Golam of the laughings, whose name was Mil of Spain, they cleared a thousand plains: what was the land from which they came?
- 2. Airech Februa, Dond, before God! they were born in Scythia.

  Born in streamy Egypt were Eber and Amorgen.
- 3. Ir, no warrior was greater was born on the side of Thracia—
  Colptha of the sword was born in the valley of Colpa (Gampa, R<sup>2</sup>) in the Marshes.
- 4. Born at the tower of Breogan without sorrow were Erennan and Eremon, the two youngest of the warriors without blemish: the Son of God subdued their wealth.

3. 1 nir becen laech VA nir becen laoch E nir becin laech D ni roibe laech B ni roibi laech M 2 bud VAD bad EM 3 ro geiner B 'i taeb VD i ttaeb A do taob E i tracht M 5 Tracia VE Traicia 6 geinir B <sup>7</sup> Colpta D Colpa B Tragia D \* claidim V claidhim <sup>9</sup>hi nglinn Gampa i nGaethlaigib (-tlag- ∧) V∧ in glinn cloidheim B Gampa in Gaetlaigib D 10 nglend B " Gampan Gaotl-ib E Cholpa M 13 -ibh B.

4.  $^1$  ruchta E rugtha ag B  $^2$  cen  $V_{\wedge}E$  cin D gan B  $^3$  Herannan VD Herennan  $_{\wedge}$  Herandan E Arandan B  $^4$  Herimon  $V_{\wedge}$  Eiremon E Eirimon B  $^5$  sossar  $_{\wedge}$  sosar D  $^6$  laoch E  $^7$  gan  $V_{\wedge}B$  cen E cin D  $^8$  traoth E  $^9$  totocht E.

### NOTES ON SECTION II.

PROSE TEXTS.

# First Redaction.

103. (= R³ ¶ 134). The genealogical relationship of Feinius to Noah is in confusion. R¹ gives us Feinius s. Baath s. Gomer s. Iaphet; R² makes Baath s. Magog, and its influence has affected R³, which here deserts the F\*Q tradition.

The short Min version of this paragraph brings us as near as we can get to the original form, except for the interpolated Ibath, who is elsewhere a brother of Baath. He is unknown to  $F^*Q$  in this place. In taissech amra airigda was probably an interlined gloss in  $\sqrt{R^1}$ , taissech being written in a not very intelligible contracted form; it was therefore misread fer by  $\sqrt{L}$ . Issē-side . . . bērlai was evidently a marginal note in  $\sqrt[q]{R^1}$ , and the genealogy of Nimrod the same in  $\sqrt{R^1}$ ; the first note was taken into the text before the second, for the latter has no fixed "habitat": it is here in L, but in  $F^*Q$  it has entered the following paragraph (=  $R^3$  ¶ 137).

The latter interpolation emphasises a contrast, not consistently maintained, between  $B\bar{e}rla$   $F\bar{e}ne$ , attributed to Feinius, and  $G\bar{a}edelg$ , constructed by Gaedel Glas (¶ 107). Such contrasts of a current and a learned language are common: we find them in Auraicept na n- $\bar{e}ces$ , in Maro, in Hisperica Famina (where "Hisperic" and "Ausonic," i.e. normal Latin, are contrasted, to the disadvantage of the latter). There are numerous conflicting stories of the ancestry of Feinius and of the nature of his exploit: see Auraicept ed. Calder, pp. 14, 16. The whole episode of the artificial synthesis of the Gaelic language is one of the most obvious indications of the spuriousness of this part of the story.

104. (= R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 137). The differences between R<sup>1</sup> and R<sup>3</sup> (M version) are scribal only: but M has one bad error (isin

nAisia for assind Assia, corrected in the derivatives of B) and also some interpolations, on which see the notes on  $\P$  137.

105. (= R³ ¶ 138). The interpolation in this ¶ is adapted from Augustine (Civ. Dei iv. 6) by whom it has been borrowed from Trogus Pompeius or his summarizer Justin. See also Isidore, Etym. xviii. 1, Orosius i. 1, ii. 2. The lastnamed author stresses the contrast between the peaceful pastoral life of earlier times and the military turmoil which resulted from the ambitions of Ninus.

Min is free from the intrusion: its peculiar reading scor for  $d\bar{e}nam$  is interesting.

In  $\mathbb{R}^1$  the reading of  $\mathbb{F}$  is much better than  $\mathbb{L}$ , and is very close to  ${}^*\mathbb{Q}$ .  $F\bar{o}$  oen  $m\bar{a}in$  in  $\mathbb{L}$  may possibly betray a Latin original, but it is more probably a misreading of smacht written in  $\sqrt{\mathbb{L}}$  in an abbreviated form ( $\mathbb{I}^m \cap \mathbb{I}^m$ ) and slightly injured. Another lapse of  $\mathbb{L}$  is the omission of  $\mathbb{I}$  da decc at the beginning of the  $\mathbb{I}$ . The chronology presupposed as between the Babylonian and Egyptian monarchs mentioned in the narratives is of course ridiculous.

At the end of the  $\P$ , by turning ni to no (\*Q in R³), or do (F), the F\*Q tradition has badly perverted the real sense of the passage.

106. (=  $\mathbb{R}^3$  ¶ 140). Gaedel Glas is suddenly introduced, and his relationship to Nel is left unstated. Perhaps a sentence has been lost from the beginning of this ¶, describing the settlement of Nel in Egypt and his marriage to Scota.  $\mathbb{R}^3$  shows us what it was like, but the ¶ is there re-written and expanded under the influence of the poem no. X ( $F\bar{e}ne$   $\bar{o}$  Fheinius). It must be noticed, however, that Scota is unknown to Min, so that she may be a comparatively late intrusion into the  $\mathbb{R}^1$  tradition.

107. (= R³ ¶ 142, first part). The list of languages in the different MSS. varies in spelling and other respects to such an extent that the only satisfactory way of setting it forth is to collect all the versions into parallel columns. This will be found as an appendix to the present Section, and any comments that it may suggest are given at the end of this group of notes. As R² does not possess the list of languages

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in any form, it is unlikely that the prose tabular list would have been omitted from Min, when it was tacked on to R<sup>2</sup>, if Min had contained it; we infer, therefore, that the metrical list was the only catalogue of the languages in Min.

108. (=  $\mathbb{R}^2$  ¶ 125,  $\mathbb{R}^3$  ¶ 150). Though the practical identity of this ¶ in  $\mathbb{R}^1$  and  $\mathbb{R}^3$  would suggest that the latter is, as usual, dependent on the former, the context shows that this is not the case. It reaches  $\mathbb{R}^3$  from  $\mathbb{R}^2$ , or, rather, from the long interpolation in certain Mss. of  $\mathbb{R}^2$ , on which see below, note on ¶ 118. It must, however, have been originally borrowed by  $\mathbb{R}^2$  from  $\mathbb{R}^1$ , for in  $\mathbb{R}^2$  it interrupts the sense, which runs continuously from ¶ 124 to ¶ 126: evidently it was scribbled, as a marginal note of time, having been borrowed for the purpose from some Ms. of  $\mathbb{R}^1$ . A slight modification has been made at the beginning to adapt it to its new context.

109. (=  $\mathbb{R}^3$  ¶ 151).  $\mathbb{R}^3$  gives us a composite text, with matter from  $\mathbb{R}^2$  ¶ 127 (the description of the voyage). The divergent texts in Min and  $\mathbb{R}^1$  relating to Noenel indicate that this sentence is, as we have marked it, glossarial.

110. (=  $\mathbb{R}^3$  ¶ 152). Here again  $\mathbb{R}^3$  gives a composite text, taking the vendetta story from some other, fragmentary, source. This can be shown by setting forth the succession of kings in tabular form.

	$\mathbb{R}^{1}$		$\mathbb{R}^3$
Scythians	Gaedil	Scythians	Gaedil
	Eber Scot		Eber Scot
	Boamain		Boamain
Noemius		Noemius	
	Ogamain		Ogamain
Refill			
	Tat		
Refloir		Refloir	
	Agnomain		Mil

Both versions agree that Ogamain died a natural death, but after that point they diverge. R<sup>2</sup> (¶ 126) gives a mere abstract, but agrees with R<sup>3</sup> in ending with Mil, not with

Agnomain. In ¶ 157, however,  $R^3$  returns to this point of divergence, and gives us a copy of the  $R^1$  text: the close correspondence with F shows that  $\infty$   $R^3$  has gone back for this part of his text to \*Q. The assonantal names of Nēl and Nenuail indicate that their legend is in essence dioseuric: the mutual hostility of their descendants would be quite in keeping with this.

The words *ar ecin*, near the beginning of this ¶, must be glossarial, as they have no fixed abode in the sentence. We have already laid down this principle.

We can hardly doubt that the name "Tat" has been borrowed from Eusebius. Tat filius Hermetis Trismegisti is recorded in the version of Hieronymus as flourishing in the nineteenth year of Amintes, king of Assyria. We need not here discuss the connexion of this name with that of the Egyptian god Thoth, nor the mass of nebulous philosophy put forth under these pseudonyms: it is unlikely that the Irish historians knew or cared anything about such matters. We may however suggest that a section of genealogy has been provided by this entry. Our compilers and scribes make extraordinary muddles of the Oriental names which they copy from Eusebius or his editor; and it would, for them, be a very trivial blunder to turn Tat mac Herme (ti)s Trismegist into Tat mac Her m Estris m Egist, and this, when the influence of analogical formation got to work upon it, would slip with very little difficulty into Tat mac Sera mic Sru mic Esru. Reference to ¶ 99 (vol. i, p. 162) shows that

and Sera in the texts before us, are interpolations.

In both texts *Noemius* becomes *Nemi* in the genitive case, once more indicating translation from a Latin original. In printing these names I have omitted quantity-marks, even over vowels which might reasonably be presumed to be long, to avoid all appearance of arbitrarily meddling with the text.

"Ogamain m. Beoamain m. Ebir Scuit," which separate Tat

Serious criticism of this naïve example of manufactured history would be an impertinence, but it may be worth passing notice that the historians have made the invading combatants two generations later than the Scythian defenders. Boamain is in the sixth generation after Feinius: his Scythian successor Noemius in the fourth.

**111.** (= R³ ¶ 158). Here \*Q seems to preserve the proper form of the sentence *is lia tuirim*, which has been mutilated by the loss of some words both in L and in F.

The sentence about the hands of Lamfhind reads like a glossarial interpolation, and I feel no doubt that it is so. It must however be very old, for it appears in all the MSS., and also in the poems.

The sentence about the coupling between the ships is mutilated in both MSS, of Min.

112. (= R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 159). Here \*Q gives by far the best copy of the paragraph. F comes next, but is spoilt by the careless conerbailt for condebairt.

The geographical notions in this and similar itineraries are obviously valueless artificial inventions; it may be said in general that their inventors borrowed the place-names which they used more or less at random, chiefly if not entirely from the geographical prolegomena to the *History* of Orosius. In my book *Ancient Ireland* (p. 84) I have shown that the *fact* of a long voyage may be based upon general historical reminiscence, though no importance can be allowed to the details of the narrative.

The soporific fountain is certainly borrowed from an incident in the legend of the *Voyage of Brendan*: see Schröder, *Sanct Brandan*, p. 18; Waters, *Anglo-Norman Voyage of St. Brendan*, p. 42.

113. (= R³ ¶ 160). \*Q shows that Glas (miswritten Glunfind in L) is glossarial. The mistake of L is not very serious, as all the Ebers, Februi, Febri are doubtless multiples of one personality. The appended explanatory matter in Min is a quite unnecessary interpolation, as all the facts which it contains have already been set forth: the glossator has forgotten this. The excerpt must come from another source, in which Ibath was substituted for Nenual as the name of the son of Baath.

The explanation of Eber's nickname, like that of Lamfind's, appears to be a very early gloss.

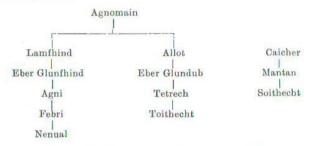
114. (=  $\mathbb{R}^3$  ¶ 161). The long genealogy with which this ¶ begins runs down the margin of L, but within the edge of

the column of writing: an intermediate stage between the glossarial form, outside the column of writing, and the complete incorporation in the text which we find in F and R<sup>3</sup>. The text of \*Q is once more the best.

The geographical interpolation in Min, which has ousted the very modest itinerary in LF\*Q, is of unusual length for an addition to that normally succinct version. The jumble of names is identified so far as possible in the translation. and with one exception needs no further comment: namely. the difficult Narboscorda, if this is to be treated as a geographical proper name, like the other stages in the route. As it apparently lies between Albania and the Bosporus, it is presumably (though not necessarily!) somewhere in the Balkan peninsula. The Scardus Mountains naturally suggest themselves, but there is nothing about them to account for "Narbo." The city called Sarmizegethusa in Dacia, afterwards more manageably named Colonia Ulpia, could also conceivably lie behind the word under discussion. A further clue might be offered by Narbo (= Narbonne), forty miles south of which town were people called Sordones or Sordi: but to call in the aid of these names would make the geography of the passage more unintelligible than ever. Naturally I have considered the possibility of treating the word as predicative. nar bo scorda "that was not ..." cut, or enclosed, or delimited, or ploughed, or something of the kind; but this expedient is not satisfactory. There I leave the question: there may be some, perhaps quite simple, explanation which does not happen to have occurred to me. I retain the name Torrian. recognising its ambiguity ("Tyrrhene" or "Mediterranean") which the context is powerless to resolve. Crete is repeated by some oversight. The Sab ("strong") Islands are the Fortunate Islands (= Canaries); the name has arisen from a confusion between fortis and fortunatus, encountered in some Latin text. I have failed to hit upon an identification for "the swamp called Coir."

115. (=  $\mathbb{R}^3$  ¶ 162). The compound Gāedel-tōisech in F\*QMin, artificially emended in L, has probably arisen from a gloss. Some one noted  $G\bar{a}edel$  (gen. pl.) above the word  $t\bar{o}isech$  in his copy of the Ms. There is a further corruption toward the end of the paragraph. We are told of "two

grandsons" in joint rule: but actually three persons are mentioned. If we set out the names, as we find them, in genealogical form,



we see, first, that Nenual is a *great*-grandson of the ancestor from whom he is derived; and, secondly, that the assonantal names, Toithecht and Soithecht (compare Occe and Ucce) were almost certainly intended to be in close association.

The genealogy has become so disjointed that it cannot be restored with certainty, though it is tempting to suggest the following as the original form—



excluding Nenual altogether. Presumably the name of Tetrech, which in a measure rhymes with the corresponding Febri, is borrowed from that of the usurper Tetricus (267–274 A.D.).

116. (= R³ ¶ 163-4). Only for a few slight differences, chiefly orthographical, we might have supposed that R³ based his text on F, so closely does his version approximate to that Ms. But they are enough to make it clear that we must still continue to postulate \*Q as the source of these two paragraphs in R³. The genealogical matter is evidently intrusive in all Mss. The Tuscans and the Lombards we know, though it is surprising to find them in Spain. The Barchu, who appear in a variety of spellings, are less easy to identify. Barcino (= Barcelona) suggests itself; it is also not impossible that

the word is an old error for Baschu, and that the people intended were the Vascones, in the western end of the Pyrenees. But on the whole it is most probable that the corruption is more deeply seated than appears at first sight, and that in the Barchu, Langobardi, and Toiseno of LG we are to see the Vaccaei, Celtiberi, and Oretani, the three peoples of Spain mentioned by Orosius (I, ii. 74).

117. (=  $\mathbb{R}^3$  ¶ 165). It is a quaint fact that Breogan's Tower has evolved into "Tor mae Breoghuin, king of Spain" in the late romance called *Cath Finntrāgha*.

### Second Redaction.

118-125. (= R<sup>3</sup> 143-150). This long pericope is no part of the original text of R2, and it confuses the narrative. It is a scholastic invention, designed to glorify the Gaelic ancestry by bringing them more closely into connexion with Moses. It is not found in ED; it probably was not in R, but it certainly was in  $\wedge$ , as stichometry shows that the text of A was as closely identical with V in its lost leaves as it is in the extant portion. It was also contained in  $\sqrt{P}$ , but sP never got very far in copying it. V therefore is now our only authority for the text in R2; but it was also taken into R<sup>3</sup>, where it occupies ¶ 143–150; from which we infer that the interpolation was contained in ∞ R3's Ms. of R2 (\*W). This had on the whole a slightly better text than the version which we find in V. Thus, in ¶ 118, V has admitted an absurd gloss making Aaron brother of Abraham. necessary sentence (ō rānig dochum . . . fiadnuise in tslōig) has been lost from V in the beginning of ¶ 119, but is preserved in R3, in ¶ 144. But in general the differences are trivial.

Capacirunt, Capaciroth: also written in two words, Capa Cirunt. The two forms are used in this paragraph in both redactions, the one at the beginning, the other in the middle. The second form is preferable, the first being a corruption. Clearly the place intended is the (unidentified) Pi-Hahiroth of Exodus xiv. 2. This our historians have divided into Piha Hiroth, the h's have become gutturals, and in some way the syllables of the first member of the word have become

reversed. There is a possible touch of perverted scholarship in the identification of Pi-Hahiroth with an "estate." The writer of the story seems to have looked up the Septuagint text, where the name of the place is rendered, not as a proper name, but by the words  $\hat{a}\pi\hat{\epsilon}\nu a\nu\tau\iota$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\hat{\epsilon}\pi a\delta\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , "in front of the farm-stead." There is an abstract of this story in Liber Flavus Fergusiorum (43  $a\beta$ ) in which the place appears as Capaciroth.

Foillsi fiadnuise is a glossarial ejaculation, which early entered the text, for its confusion.

119. The explanation of the name of Gaedel Glas, like all such explanations, is glossarial,

Cēt lem-sa and similar expressions are almost invariably jussive, not permissive, in sense, and should be so translated.

The immunity of the descendants of Gaedel Glas from serpent-bites is undoubtedly totemistic in origin: for parallels see Ridgeway, Early Age of Greece, vol. ii, p. 456.

120. This I makes it clear that the preceding I, with the story of the serpent, is an interpolation: it is therefore so indicated in the printed text. The present paragraph follows on naturally with the end of 1 118, where Nel has put provisions at the disposal of the Israelites. Moreover in the R<sup>3</sup> version the interlocutor continues to be Aaron. In R<sup>2</sup> he has been changed to Moses, owing to the influence of the preceding story. This is a natural change to take place, but the contrary is not; we therefore infer that Aaron was the original speaker. There is a further interpolation at the end of the ¶ in the MSS. of R<sup>3</sup>, which is an attempt to explain how the ships came to be at the disposal of the Israelites at all: a problem solved otherwise by K, from whom we learn unambiguously that they stole them! This insertion has been further complicated by the taking into the text of a marginal query: "[cid] ar na bertais Meic Israhel fein leo cena na longa sin?"—a reader's natural question "Why did not the Israelites use these ships themselves?": along with a later reader's not very illuminating reply.

121. There is no Biblical authority for the numbers of

Pharaoh's army that was drowned. These statistics are most probably glossarial: they vary in different versions. That the sea was divided i ndiaid "in the wake of" the people has arisen from a confusion of ideas—a mixture of the sea opening before the Israelites and the Egyptian host pursuing and coming to grief behind them. Compare ¶ 150, which contains a gloss showing a more intelligent grasp of the situation.

122. The theory that Nel's descendants remained for three generations in Egypt after the catastrophe to Pharaoh contradicts the story of R<sup>1</sup>, and indeed contradicts that of the versions of R<sup>2</sup> which are not contaminated by this interpolation. According to these, the exodus from Egypt took place immediately after the catastrophe.

123. A list of Egyptian kings will be found in Section VIII. This enumerates five kings between "Cincris" and Tures or "Tuir." in order Cerres, Armades, Rameses, Amenoses, Amenomes. These names are borrowed (and mutilated) from Eusebius. Cerres = Akherres and his successor Kherres, who may be Tutankhamun and his successor Kheper-kheperuari-maat-ra. Armadis = Armais, that is Hor-em-heb, the king with whom the eighteenth dynasty came to an end, c. 1321 B.C. Rameses (the Eusebian Remesses) may be either the first or the second of the numerous kings who bore that name. Amenoses (= Menophes) is most likely Merneptah, and Amenomes (= Amenophes, but here out of his proper place in the Eusebian canon) is presumably Amenmeses. Tures or Tuir, whom our present narrator apparently supposes to have been the immediate successor of Cincris, was actually the ninth in succession after Smenkhka-ra, and was not a king at all, but a queen, the Thuores of Eusebius and the Ta-wosret of the Egyptian records, whose floruit was in the last quarter of the thirteenth century B.C.

"Nectenibus," that is Nectanebus II (Nekht-neb-ef in the Egyptian records) was the last native king of Egypt.

Probably Ocus ba Forand . . . . Nectenibus and ocus ba ar cūis . . . . riu-son sin-sen are the two halves of a marginal gloss which has been intruded, suffering dismemberment in the process. One of the two alternative enumerations of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The actual meaning of the Hebrew word is quite uncertain.

intervening kings is certainly a reader's correction in some ancestral Ms.; the text of R<sup>3</sup> gives reason to believe that in this case it is the first of the alternatives which is to be so rejected: see the note on ¶ 148.

**124.**  $\bar{o}$  ro batar co  $tr\bar{e}n$ , i.e., after they had recovered from the catastrophe in the Red Sea.

125. On this  $\P$ , and its relation to its present context, see the note on  $\P$  108 above.

126. This brief summary of the contest in Scythia appears in R³ at ¶ 152. See above, notes to ¶ 110. Note that in this version Refloir is not son of Rifill, but of "Nema" or Noemius, who is his grandfather in the other texts. Taprobane (≡ Ceylon) is the only geographical term introduced into the itinerary with which we have not yet met.

127. We evidently have here a story parallel to that of Nel and his descendants. The two voyages follow much the same route: both introduce an Egyptian king as patron, and an Egyptian princess called Scota. The marriage of Mil to the Seythian princess Seng is unknown to  $\infty$  R<sup>2</sup> or to any of his interpolators.

128. Nekht-neb-ef, the personage called Nectanebus II, was the last native king of Egypt, as has been mentioned above. It is true that he was driven from his kingdom and fled to Ethiopia: his conqueror was not, however, Alexander the Great, but Artaxerxes Ochus, B.C. 350. Alexandria was founded by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. It is needless to say that Scota II, daughter of Nectanebus, is as mythical—or rather as fictitious, for "mythical" implies at least the existence of a tradition—as her namesake and doublet, Scota I daughter of Cincris. The word is merely the feminine of Scotus, and is one more grain of evidence that this artificial history in its earliest form wore a Latin dress.

129. It is safe to remove  $\gamma$  ni huamun . . . . gabāil do from the text as glossarial: it refers to nothing else in the history, and indeed contradicts the antecedent story, in the present form of the document, that this promise had been made by Moses. Evidently it is the jotting of some patriot, jealous for the honour of his mythical ancestor. Keating

refers it to the prophecy of Caicher at the Rhipaean mountain: this, however, cannot be justified, as that event does not appear in the antecedents of the story in the present version—another interesting illustration of the critical worthlessness of a composite eelectic text. The  $\gamma$  at the beginning of this interpolation should probably, as so frequently, be corrected to i. The words in  $l\bar{l}n$   $c\bar{c}tna$  have no grammatical connexion with the context, and are also glossarial.

The end of this ¶ is redactional and harmonistic. Originally the two Scotas were one, set in different stories, but both contrived to give a name for the origin of the Scots. When they were blended into one composite story, Scota I, wife of Nel, had the chronological pre-eminence (to say nothing of Riphath Scot and Eber Scot); so that Scota II, wife of Mil, could no longer claim any eponymous significance. The redactor therefore ingeniously "turns the tables" upon her, and tells us that so far from her descendants deriving their name from her, she took her own name from her husband's people. A blundering glossator of H borrows this comment, but applies it to Scota I, thus dethroning her from her eponymy: see below, ¶ 137.

130. We remove for in Muir immechtrach and seolad se samlāithi, as their intrusion disturbs the text.

Inill aro ni anfem de is not necessarily mere learned nonsense, like the gibberish sentences peppered through the apocryphon called Tenga Bithnūa, though naturally the explanation given of it is futile. It helps to keep up Caicher's character as a druid to put enigmatical utterances into his mouth, and the compiler may quite possibly have adapted some traditional "word of power" for the purpose. The difference between the formula as presented in the text of V and in the associated gloss indicates that the words, such as they are, are corrupt. They are not found in R³, but reappear in K, one of many indications that K, while borrowing from R¹ and R³, based most of his work on R². The phrase is given in Auraicept na n-Eces as an example of Bérla Fortchidi ("obscure language"): see Calder's edition, lines 1323, 4640.

The itinerary in this and the following ¶, which greatly

elaborates the simpler route set forth in R1 ¶ 111, seems to show an attempt to lay down a route in the shape of a vast spiral. It starts from Egypt, passes through the Red Sea, round Asia, south, east, and north, into and out of the Caspian Sea, on through the straits of Gibraltar, past the north coast of Africa, through the Black Sea, on to the North Cape, and thence, 300 years thereafter, to Ireland: in a further random wandering, through Southern Europe and the Mediterranean Islands (¶ 131). There may be some idea of "luck" underlying this roundabout course, but the lefthand-wise direction is not favourable to any such esoteric explanation. The source and extent of the knowledge of the outer world among the native historians of Ireland would offer matter for a separate monograph: we must here confine ourselves to a few points. It is not clear whether Clochaigi is meant to denote a special part of Scythia (compare Arabia Fetraea) or is a mere reference to the general inopia of the country (emphasized by Orosius III, xiii, 7). The author believes with Strabo (VII, ii. 4, etc.) that the Caspian was an inlet of the Northern Ocean, not a closed inland lake. The transference of the Sirens to that sea is a bold stroke of originality! The Libyan Sea is between Crete and Cyrenaica: Coronis is the Cyraunis of Herodotus, identified with the little island of Cercina off the Libyan Coast: the Pontic Sea is the Euxine. Trē-uillech, the stock epithet for Spain, comes from the Hispania trigona of Orosius (I. ii. 69).

If Bregunt in ¶ 131 is here correctly identified with Burgundia, the authority followed by our historian for the name will scarcely be older than the sixth century. Before that time it is the people (Burgundiones), rather than the territory, which appears in literature.

**132.** Compare R¹ ¶ 116, from which it will be seen that the number of battles has increased from 3 to 54, and that the Tuscans have turned into Frisians!

# Third Redaction.

134. On this ¶ see the note to ¶ 103.

135.  $\infty$  R<sup>s</sup> has evidently considered the preceding ¶ as belonging to § I: this present paragraph is his "chapter-

heading" of § II. It maintains the Magog version of the genealogy.

136. This entire ¶ is glossarial. Its nucleus is evidently a marginal genealogy of Feinius Farsaid, in some early Ms. of R<sup>3</sup>. This being taken into the text received the further gloss is he imorro . . . Tur Neamrūaid, which was probably still glossarial in \(\sqrt{BMH}\). It was taken into the text in \(\infty\) B and  $\infty$  M, but in  $\infty$  H it remained glossarial, to be combined later with the text at the end of the long insertion in that tradition. This insertion consists primarily of R<sup>2</sup> ¶ 16, taken practically as we find it in V, with but one difference (ochtmad for sesed, doubtless the result of a misreading of a numeral sign: and if the matter is of any importance at all, the R<sup>3</sup> version has a greater claim to correctness). The glossarial interpolation Is follus . . . tuc Scotic on Tur in ¶ 16 was also taken over, and with it was incorporated the R<sup>3</sup> gloss about the learning of Feinius (with a further interpolation, 7 ba so-gradaigi). But it became separated from its original context when another hand inserted a list of the eight leaders of the Tower-builders. This differs from the more extensive lists in Auraicept and has some additional particulars, such as the statement that Peleg was the ancestor of the Indians, a "fact" which the compilers apparently ascertained from Sex Aetates Mundi. There is an interesting suggestion of a reminiscence of the lost Irish Genesis which we have been endeavouring to reconstruct, in the description of Nimrod as a hunter "opposed to" the Lord. This arises ultimately from the familiar Hebrew idiom which says "a mighty hunter before the Lord," meaning no more than "a very mighty hunter indeed." The Irish perversion can hardly have arisen from the Vulgate version of this phrase (coram Domino), but might very well have been induced by a pardonable misunderstanding of the LXX (évarrior Kupiou). The hand of the conscientious Translator whom we have isolated seems here, for the last time, to be recognisable.

The ancestry given for Latinus is a desperate piece of harmonistic redacting. Faunus was actually son of Pieus, and Italus had nothing to do with his ancestry, any more than "Alainus" with whom he is identified. The identification of

Rifath Scot with Fenius Farsaid in one place, and the latter being reckoned as sixteenth in descent from Rifath in another, and, at the end, his specification as one of the sixteen of Rifath's progeny at the Tower, are collectively further interesting attempts at reconciling irreconcilables.

137. The MB version is practically identical with R<sup>1</sup> ¶ 104 except for a few interpolations, duly marked in the printed text. We have already noted the taking in of the Nimrod genealogy into the wrong place out of the margin: see above, notes to ¶ 103. Except for this, the only important interpolation is Fhostoiges in M (not in B) after the name of Pharaoh. This same name appears later in an interpolation in the same Ms. (see below, ¶ 140, critical note (18)) in the form Pharao Istoiges, and evidently represents a peculiar idea of VM as to the personality of the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Nothing that can reasonably be identified with this name can be found among the perversions of Pharaonic names recorded by Manetho and Eusebius; it must be a vague recollection of Pastores, the "Shepherd Kings," to whom Eusebius assigns 103 years (30th year of Jacob to 12th year of Joseph), ending 212 years before the Red Sea catastrophe.

H substitutes a fuller version of Pharaoh's message, derived from  $R^2 \ \ 18$ , plus the interpolation on Scota already commented upon under  $\ \ 129$ , and a chronological extract from the glossarial matter in  $R^2 \ \ \ 17$ .

138. This is  $R^1 \parallel 105$ , copied with some mistakes, on which see the notes on  $\parallel 105$ . The principal variant is the chronological discrepancy at the beginning (40 or 42 years in  $R^1$ , 52 in  $R^3$ ).

139. A chronological interpolation in H derived from  $R^2 \parallel 17$ . The conclusion of this  $\parallel$  has entered the text of H in the previous  $\parallel$ , showing that it was a marginal comment in  $\parallel$  H, copied from a Ms. of  $R^2$ , and accidentally or otherwise bisected. We have already seen illustrations of this process of dispartition. The only critical contribution which the text makes is that mac Anaciss and Lauinia, which as  $E \parallel 17$  shows us were glossarial, have now become established in the text. Once again "six" is corrected to "eight" as the number of the leaders at the Tower.

140. Here  $\infty$  R³ has for the moment abandoned his scissors and pastepot, and taken up his pen to write a composite paragraph, not found in the two preceding redactions. The first sentence (as is shown by the word teas) he takes from R² ¶ 118. He then goes back to R¹ ¶ 106 for the particulars about Nel's marriage to Scota and the birth of Gaedel Glas, though without slavishly following the words of his authority. Then he gives the quatrain  $F\bar{e}ne\ \bar{o}\ Fheinius$ ; either he himself, or a later hand, has inserted the prose paraphrase which precedes it in the present text.

141. This is one of the peculiar interpolations which are frequent in M. The "Scythian" origin of the name of the Scots is favoured by the author of this paragraph. I have not discovered its source.

142. To the list of languages as given by Min, the redactor appended this grammatical paragraph (see above, note headed  $\P$  107 A). It was an unusual proceeding on his part: he is more accustomed to prune Min than to farce it; and he must have attached special importance to it. \*W must have included Min, as well as the long Nel-Moses pericope at the beginning of this section: and from this  $\infty$  R³ took over the paragraph and inserted it where we find it.

To discuss the contents of the paragraph itself at length would be outside our present scope; and in any case it is of no importance, for it was clearly brought to its present form by arbitrary philomaths, before it became included in the LG text. It originally began by being an enumeration of the four parts of grammar (orthography, accidence, syntax, and prosody): reasonable enough, if elementary. This was overlaid by some glossator, who (impressed by the number "four") quoted, evidently without knowing anything of the nature of their contents, four important but quite irrelevant law tracts. Orthography then suggested a reference to various forms of secret writing, enumerated (but without any illuminating explanations) in Auraicept na n-Eces.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>This document would have to be in constant reference if we had any excuse for introducing an exhaustive discussion of the matter before us.

Of grammar ('accidence') we are given puerilities about its being "a rudder of correct speech" and its "excellent knowledge." Syntax, or composition, suggests a mention of the standard stories which the professional historians were supposed to know; and for prosody another old and apparently lost law-tract is quoted, again with no knowledge of its origin, or of the nature of its contents. The statements of these scribblers call for no more serious consideration than that of a schoolboy who told an acquaintance of mine, in answering a "general knowledge" paper, that "the Book of Kells contains thousands of poems relating the secret history of the Irish people."

The number "four" reappears in the four principal languages, and in the four names of Gaelic. These names, along with the incomprehensible "Goirthigern," applied to antediluvian Hebrew, and, indeed, the whole paragraph which contains them, are admirable examples of the artificial pedantry with which these ancient charlatans, unequipped with any real learning, contrived to maintain their prestige.

The four names of Gaelic are not so mysterious as they appear to be: they have evidently been adapted unintelligently from some old glossary. Gaelic was, we are told, gleaned or collected from the other languages. Tionol is Irish for "a gathering" or "an assembly," and tionoltach is a factitious adjective derived from this word. Legulus is a late Latin word meaning "a gatherer" of fruit, applied especially to one who gleans fallen olives, בקט , l-q-t, are the radical letters of the Hebrew words which bear the sense of "gleaning." בלקט t-l-qq-t (omitting the vowel-points) occurs three times in Ruth, chap. ii, meaning "she gleaned." From the backward spelling of the Tetragrammaton in poem V. 1. 96, we learn to read any Hebrew words, that may appear in our texts, from left to right-i.e., backward from the Hebrew point of view: and evidently this word, culled from a glossary, read backwards, and fitted arbitrarily with vowels. has produced the word Ticcoloth. As for Moloth, the "Greek" name for Gaelic, if we write συλλογή, the word which naturally suggests itself in this connexion, in capital letters: thus, YYAAOFH: we see without difficulty how this could evolve into MOLOTH (the first lambda being read as A. and the resultant UA reduced to O).

Goirthigern, which doubtless has nothing to do with the personal name more familiar in the form Vortigern, must be left in its obscurity. It suggests vaguely some such meaning as "the call" or "the voice" "of Lords" or "of the Lord"—a name not inappropriate for the speech of Paradise, celestial and terrestrial, in the days of innocence. The name might conceivably have been suggested by the hymn to "The Voice of the Lord" (= thunder), Psalm xxix (Vulgate xxviii).

The version of the story of the formation of Gaelic, substituted by H for the early part of this paragraph, makes Feinius the inventor of Gaelic, not Gaedil, as the rest of the paragraph maintains.

143. Here begins the extract which R³ has made from the V version of R². The chief differences in R³ are orthographical and insignificant; but the report of the interview between Nel and Aaron is slightly fuller in R³. Comparison of the two versions reveals a few glossarial intrusions in both texts, duly marked in the proper place.

144.  $= R^2$  119.  $R^3$  here preserves an unmutilated text. The opening sentence, missing in  $R^2$ , and (less certainly) the statement that the injured boy was carried to Moses at the suggestion of Nel's household, appear to be original, not intrusive. But "Succoth" is perhaps intrusive: this was a camping place before the Israelites moved to Pi-Hahiroth (Ex. xiv. 2), and there is no reason why, it should be mentioned here.

145.  $= R^2$  120. On the appended gloss to this paragraph see note to ¶ 120. This apart, the two versions run parallel except for slight verbal changes.

146. = R<sup>2</sup> 121. We need notice only that a too-hasty glossator has thrown the first sentence into confusion by inserting Nel; and that \*W must have had the same curious mistake as the extant Ms., in making the division of the Red Sea behind the Israelites.

147. =  $R^2$  122. We remove im muir Rūaidh, which is unknown to  $R^2$ , as an unnecessary gloss.

148. =  $R^2$  123. The omission in M of the words in cuiced rī trichat no is an indication that (contrary to what we

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should a priori have expected) the first, not the second, of these alternatives is the glossarial interpolation. It has therefore been so marked in the printed text of  $\mathbb{R}^2$ .

 $149. = R^2$  124, with no difference but an insignificant interpolation.

150.  $= \mathbb{R}^2$  125. Comparison between the two texts enables us to remove from  $\mathbb{R}^2$   $\mathfrak{g}$  a mac .i. Eber Scot as glossarial, (borrowed from  $\mathbb{R}^1$   $\mathfrak{g}$  109) the plurals following being harmonistic changes. On the other hand, in  $\mathbb{R}^3$ , mac Easrū meic Gāedhil must be an interpolation. So, perhaps, is  $\bar{o}$  ra bāithead . . . . Israhel, which contradicts the assumption of the pericope before us, that the family remained in Egypt for at least three generations after the catastrophe in the Red Sca. The mention of the names of the sons of Mil at the end of the  $\mathfrak{g}$  is also glossarial.

151.  $\infty$  R<sup>3</sup> now returns to R<sup>1</sup>, to take over the account of the departure from Egypt, and then returns to R2, whence he extracts the itinerary of the voyage and the fighting for the crown of Scythia (including the slaving of Refloir by Mil) as it appears in  $\mathbb{R}^2$  ¶ 126, omitting the chronological note at the end. The end of the paragraph from  $Imt\bar{u}sa\ Sr\bar{u}$ is a return to R1: but it has fallen into a certain amount of confusion, as comparison between the two texts will show. The clumsy Imtūsa Srū, meaningless in its present context, is redactional. It indicates that the account of the voyage was borrowed from R2 by the original compiler, and was not an introduced gloss which had produced subsequent dispartition of the extract from R1: they are the words of an editor, who having turned aside from authority A for a moment to cut something out of authority B, goes back to A with words equivalent to, "To return to what we were saying . . . ." There would have been no such link if the paragraph had merely been cut in two by an intrusive glossator.

The redactor has not taken the trouble to correct R<sup>2</sup>'s parentage of Refloir ("Nema" or Noemius instead of Refill): and he has introduced a mistake of his own in the Scythian genealogy. Nenual I was son, and Nenual II great-grandson of Feinius: the grandson of that patriarch was Baath.

152. R<sup>3</sup> takes the beginning of this ¶ from R<sup>1</sup>. ¶ 110, but for the actual account of the fighting between the claimants for the Scythian crown he has gone to some independent source. This is not R2, though it has affinity with the brief description of the war in R<sup>2</sup> ¶ 126: especially in ascribing the slaying of Refloir to Mil, not to Agnomain as in R1. It is, however, fuller, and enlightens us as to the kinship existing between Mil and Refloir through the lady Seng, of whom we should not otherwise have heard in this place. There must have been a large number of such inventions hammered out by the ancient "historians." The amount of genuine traditional material underlying them was small: they smell of the lamp; perhaps they were never meant to be more than the equivalents of a modern "historical romance" which, however, later uncritical compilers found and took seriously. There does not seem to be the slightest indication of a source from which these successions of names could have been ebtained. Refill may be of Scandinavian origin: the name appears as that of a sword in Skáldskaparmál (Pros. Edda. ed. Wilken, p. 116) and Rafils hestr-"Ravil's steed"-is a kenning for "a ship" (Ræfil being the name of a sea-lord) in the Western Volsung-lay (Vigfusson and Powell, Corpus Poet, Boreale, i, p. 156). This may give some indication of whence the germ of these ideas of an eastern European dynasty came; but the story itself is mere invention. On the other hand some hints (indicated in the introduction to the following section of this compilation) may possibly point to a mythological germ at the heart of the narrative.

153. Apparently based on R<sup>2</sup> ¶ 128, but both are more probably taken and re-modelled from a common source. The differences are too great to allow us to regard it as one of R<sup>3</sup>'s ordinary borrowings. "Fornechtenibus" has evidently evolved at some stage of the tradition from an abbreviation For(and) Necht.; "Forand" has then been inserted by a later scribe.

154. R³ now returns unmistakably to R² and borrows ¶ 129, omitting the last sentence. The passage has acquired

some additional accretions. B has made a mistake which might have occurred more frequently, writing Forann for ferann.

155. This itinerary comes from another source: the geographical names are corrupt and obscure. Indniam (where we once more see a Latin accusative) is presumably India. but it might be the river Indus. In Cirord, remembering that c before i is pronounced soft in such names. I am inclined to identify the land of the Seres or Chinese. Golgardoma may be the city of Palibothra, which is situated on the Ganges (Gaind). Sliab Coquaist is usually identified with the Caucasus, but here it may conceivably mean the Hindukush mountains. I can give no reasonable identification for Ithia and the river Boria. Ocus anaid mi innte is marked as a gloss, as it clearly comes illogically before the following words. It is evident that after the itinerary, which has ousted the R2 version, the tale of the Sirens was borrowed from R2: but this has been upset by a too-eager glossator, who as usual wrote the story in his own words without waiting to see whether the document had it already.

The interpolator had a capricious memory, which played him false in three respects. He imagined that the device of stopping the ears was a usual custom; he forgot the name of the man who suggested it in the case under discussion (this is supplied by the context, but he overlooked it); and he made an odd mistake about the material used to shut out the music.

The new form of the story ousted the old. The tale of the Amazons is a fresh importation into the story. It probably existed as a Latin gloss in  $\sqrt{\text{MBH}}$ , as only independent translation from a common source would account for the essential similarity but verbal divergence between the versions of B and M.

The details as to the manners of the Amazons are a commonplace of Classical tradition, and may have reached the Irish compilers through Isidore (*Etym.*, IX, ii, 64). Amazons were said to have been established in many regions (see the particulars collected in Roscher, or any other dictionary of Classical Mythology): but I have not discovered the source of the statement that there were 32 class of them. There is a corruption in B, due probably to a rubbed line of writing in  $\sqrt{B}$ . The words -dis a congeindtleacht conad anflaith correspond to -ed a nd $\bar{\imath}$ braici umpu. Ocus is  $\bar{e}$  lin in M, and are of about the same length, but they make neither reasonable sense nor grammar with the context. The reading of M should be substituted.

156. This much-expanded story of the wanderings of Mil comes from a source other than the previous redactions. Most noteworthy is the episode of the Cruithne, told to account for the Gaedil and the Cruithne living together in the same country. It might be an adaptation of the story of Moses and Nel (or vice versa?). In both cases there are two sets of wanderers seeking a territory, and in both cases an invitation is given by the one company to the other to share the land which they expect to occupy. But recalling the parallel which we have already drawn between Liber Occupationis and the narrative of the Israelites, we can bardly regard it as doubtful that the story of Joshua and the Gibeonites (Jos. ix, 3 ff.) was at the back of the compiler's mind. It is left ambiguous whether it was by the Cruithne cr by Mil that the invitation was given: possibly the former was at first preferred and, indeed, constituted a sort of titledeed to the lands of the Cruithne in favour of the Gaedil. Later developments, as we shall see hereafter, favoured the second alternative. According to Isidore (Etym., XIV, iii, 3) Alania was the territory between the Maeotic Marshes and Dacia. "Druim Sailt" is Saltus Castulonensis, the eastern part of the Sierra Morena. The situation attributed to Farus (aliter Forus) suggests identification with the Pyrenees.

157. A few prefatory words introduce another extract from  $^*Q$ , with which this part of  $R^3$  closes. The version in  $R^1$  will be found at the end of ¶ 110.

158. = R<sup>1</sup> (\*Q) ¶ 111. The text has suffered slightly in transcription, as comparison will show. The variants are of no critical importance.

159. = \*Q ¶ 112. The same observation applies to this also.

160. = \*Q ¶ 113. Note the omission of Gl[as] after the name Febri, though this is found in F.

161. = \*Q ¶ 114, which closely resembles the F version, as usual.

162. = \*Q ¶ 115, which again corresponds to F in what it contains and omits. The genealogy is corrupted to the extent of making Febri son of Agno[mai]n, instead of the different person Agni; and as in the previous paragraphs there are one or two other minor deviations.

163. = \*Q ¶ 116. Once more the text is very close to F, even in the loss of the "fourteen wedded couples" who were in the ships along with the seven hirelings: this must have been missing in V\*QF. The genealogies have become badly mixed in this present version of the text.

**164**. = \*Q ¶ 116, latter half.

165. = Q¶ 117, with several corruptions. The dating of the discovery of Ireland to Samain eve is a new interpolation.

# The List of Languages.

It is obvious on the surface that this so-called list of languages is essentially a much-corrupted list of names of places, or rather of population-centres; and it is not necessary to seek far for its source. The names have all been extracted from the description of the world and its geography in Isidore (Etym., book XIV). The geographical order of Isidore, and any possible genealogical order (indicating the distribution of the names among the descendants of the three sons of Noah) have been abandoned in favour of a metrical order: for mnemonic purposes the list must have been put into verse form, in which considerations of alliteration and rhyme dominate all others, immediately after it had been drawn up. This cannot have taken place long after Isidore's compilation became available in Ireland; for we find the list, in an imperfect form, in two seventh-century poems published by Kuno Meyer, which in the present note we shall call Y and Z.3 It appears, again in an imperfect form, in

the set of quatrains here published as poem no. XI (in the present note called V, i.e., verse). The full list appears also in Auraicept na n-Ēces, in two texts (Ballymote, here called E, ed. Calder, pp. 16, 18, and Yellow Book of Lecan, here called A, ed. Calder, p. 179) which differ not inconsiderably between themselves and from the version in the prose LG (in the present note called P, i.e., prose).<sup>4</sup> All these six Irish versions of the list have to be collated in order to establish the identifications of the names.

In the following summary, variants of spelling within the LG texts, which can be ascertained from the tables in the proper place, are disregarded, except in so far as they indicate the most probable version of the respective names to be adopted. The order of the names is as in P; the small figures denote the numerical position of the names in the other lists. The names in italics are those in Isidore, references to chapter and section of book XIV (ed. Lindsay) being added. The omission of a name from any list is indicated by om.

There are 65 names in the list in Y, 56 in Z, 65 in V, 61 in A and 72 in E. They are much corrupted, and many of them defy certain identification. There also appear to be some doublets, in which the same name appears in different forms.

The original list appears to have been nothing more than a catalogue of the principal countries, for an aid in geographical study, and without any arrière pensée of attaching it to the Flood or to the Babel story. There was thus no motive for making the number 73 exactly; and it is therefore unnecessary to assume with Meyer that any of the strophes of the early verse lists are missing (op. cit., p. 27). It was only when the grammarians appropriated the lists that the number 73, to correspond with the number of the peoples descended from the diluvian patriarchs, and that of the languages dispersed at the Tower of Babel, became

<sup>&</sup>quot;''Über die älteste irische Dichtung'' (Abh. der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss. 1913). The poems begin £nna, Labraid (Y) at p. 27, and Cū cen māthair (Z) at p. 53, of Meyer's publication.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Another version of the list will be found in the document correctly described by Scaliger as Excerpta utilissima ex priore libro chronologico Eusebii etc. latine conversa ab homine barbaro, inepto, hellenismi et latinitatis imperitissimo (Scaliger's ed. of the Chronicle of Eusebius, 1606, part ii, p. 44 ff.).

indispensable; and it was attained by heroic interpolations. The most curious of these are the three "languages" appended to the lists in M and H, to which attention is called in a footnote. These three absurdities are necessary to the lists in question, as, owing to the loss of certain items, they could not otherwise have made up the required number.

- Beithin: Bethin Y<sup>1</sup> Bithin Z<sup>1</sup> Bethin V<sup>1</sup> Beithin A<sup>1</sup> Beithin E<sup>1</sup>: Bithynia (3, 41)
- Seitin: Seithin Y<sup>2</sup> Seithin Z<sup>2</sup> Seithin V<sup>2</sup> Sgeithin A<sup>2</sup> Seithi E<sup>2</sup>: Scythia (3, 31)
- 3. Seill: Seill Y<sup>4</sup> Scill Z<sup>4</sup> Seill V<sup>3</sup> Sgill A<sup>12</sup> Sieil E<sup>6</sup>: Cilicia (3, 45)
- Seartin: Searthaig Y<sup>5</sup> Searthin Z<sup>5</sup> Seartain V<sup>4</sup> Ircair A<sup>11</sup> Hireain E<sup>7</sup>: Hyrcania (3, 33)
- 5. Guit: Gothia Y<sup>7</sup> Guith Z<sup>7</sup> Guth V<sup>5</sup> Goith A<sup>45</sup> Guit E<sup>8</sup>:

  Gothia (3, 31)
- Greic: Grēic Y<sup>6</sup> Grēic Z<sup>6</sup> Grec V<sup>6</sup> om. A om. E: Graecia
   (4. 7)
- Germain: Germāin Y<sup>9</sup> Germain Z<sup>9</sup> Germain V<sup>7</sup> Germain A<sup>4</sup> Germain E<sup>4</sup>: Germania (4, 3)
- 8. Gaill: Gaill Y<sup>8</sup> Gaill Z<sup>8</sup> Gaill V<sup>8</sup> Gaill A<sup>5</sup> Gailli E<sup>13</sup>: Gallia (4, 25)
- 9. Poimp: Point Y<sup>10</sup> Poimp Z<sup>10</sup> Paimp V<sup>9</sup> Point A<sup>6</sup> Point E<sup>9</sup>: Pentapolis (3, 24)
- 10. Frigia: Frig $\hat{\mathbf{Y}}^{48}$  Frig $\mathbf{Z}^{47}$  Frigia  $\hat{\mathbf{V}}^{10}$  om. A om. E: Phrygia (3, 41)
- 11. Caispia: om. Y om. Z Caspia V<sup>21</sup> om. A om. E: Cappadocia<sup>(a)</sup> (3, 38)
- 12. Dardain : Dardāin Y<sup>57</sup> Dardāin Z<sup>54</sup> Dardain V<sup>12</sup> Dardain A<sup>55</sup> Dordain E<sup>66</sup> : *Dardania*<sup>(b)</sup> (3, 41)
- 13. Pampil: Pampil Y<sup>11</sup> Pampil Z<sup>11</sup> Poimpil V<sup>13</sup> Paimpil A<sup>7</sup> Paimpil E<sup>14</sup>: Pamphylia (3, 44)
- 14. Morind: Moraind Y<sup>12</sup> Moraind Z<sup>12</sup> Morind V<sup>14</sup> Morann A<sup>9</sup> Morain E<sup>10</sup>: Mauretania (5. 10)

15. Liguirn: Lugdōin Y<sup>13</sup> Lugdōin Z<sup>13</sup> Ligairn V<sup>15</sup> Luigdin<sup>(a)</sup>
A<sup>10</sup> Lugoil E<sup>11</sup>: Lycaonia (3, 42)

16. Oatri: om. Y Oatri Z<sup>14</sup> Oatre V<sup>16</sup> om. Λ om. E: A variant in P is Daithri; perhaps a corruption of Bactria (3, 30)

17. Creit: Creit Y<sup>17</sup> Creit Z<sup>17</sup> Creit V<sup>17</sup> Creit A<sup>16</sup> Creit E<sup>18</sup>:

Creta (6, 15)

18. Corsic: Corsic Y<sup>18</sup> Corsic Z<sup>18</sup> Corsic V<sup>18</sup> Coirsic A<sup>15</sup> Corsic E<sup>19</sup>: Corsica (6, 41)

19. Sicil: Sicil Y<sup>20</sup> Sicil Z<sup>20</sup> Sicil V<sup>24</sup> Sigil A<sup>18</sup> Sicil E<sup>21</sup>: Sicilia (6, 32)

**20**. Reit : Reit Y<sup>21</sup> Reit Z<sup>21</sup> Reit V<sup>23</sup> Reit A<sup>19</sup> Reit E<sup>22</sup> : *Raetia* (4, 27)

21. Sardain : Sardain Y<sup>19</sup> Sardain Z<sup>19</sup> Sardain Y<sup>26</sup> Sardain A<sup>17</sup> Sardain E<sup>20</sup> : Sardinia (6. 39)

**22.** Magidon: Macidōin  $Y^{27}$  Macidōin  $Z^{27}$  Maicidōin  $V^{39}$  Maicidoin  $A^{25}$  Maigidon  $E^{29}$ : Macedonia (4. 13)

23. Tesail : Tessail  $Y^{54}$  Tessail  $Z^{51}$  Tessail  $V^{20}$  (also Tesalia  $V^{51}$ ) Tesail  $A^{38}$  Tæasail  $E^{47}$ : Thessalia (4. 12)

24. Armein: Armein Y<sup>35</sup> Armein Z<sup>35</sup> Armein V<sup>22</sup> Armaint A<sup>33</sup> Armoin E<sup>41</sup>: Armenia (3, 17, 35)

25. Dalmait: Dalmait Y<sup>58</sup> Dalmait Z<sup>55</sup> Dalmait V<sup>11</sup> Dalmait A<sup>56</sup> Dalmait E<sup>67</sup>: Dalmait (3. 7)

26. Romain: Rōmāin Y<sup>24</sup> Rōmāin Z<sup>24</sup> Romain V<sup>32</sup> Romain A<sup>22</sup>
Romain E<sup>25</sup>: Possibly (Urbs) Romana, but most likely a corruption, induced by the influence of the name of Rome, for Pannonia (4. 16)

27 Rugind: Recin Y<sup>22</sup> Rigind Z<sup>22</sup> Rugind V<sup>33</sup> Reicir A<sup>20</sup> Reicil E<sup>23</sup>: apparently the *Rhegini* (Etym. IX ii 32)

28. Moisig: Masail Y<sup>25</sup> Mosin Z<sup>25</sup> Maisic V<sup>38</sup> Masgusa A<sup>23</sup>

Massail E<sup>27</sup>: perhaps (Urbs) Mazaca (Etym. IX ii 30); not Moesia (4. 9), for which see no. 53 below)

29. Arboin: Narbōin Y<sup>28</sup> Narbōin Z<sup>28</sup> om. V Narmaint A<sup>28</sup> Narboin E<sup>33</sup>: (Urbs) Narbona (Etym. XV i 64)

30 Hisbain : Hespāin Y<sup>43</sup> Espāin Z<sup>43</sup> Hespania V<sup>31</sup> Espain A<sup>43</sup> Esbain E<sup>53</sup> : *Hispania* (4. 28)

31. Gairit: Galait Y<sup>36</sup> Galait Z<sup>36</sup> Galait V<sup>49</sup> Galus A<sup>35</sup> Galaid E<sup>44</sup>: Galatia (3, 40)

<sup>(</sup>a) Corrupted by the influence of the name of the Caspian Sea.

<sup>(</sup>b) The compiler has overlooked the identity of Dardania and Phrygia, which is expressly stated by Isidore.

<sup>(</sup>a) A has Luigdin oic, the first of several names in this version of the list provided with otiose adjectives. This is a clear indication that the Auraicept version of the list has been taken from a verse composition.

32. Huinusind: om. Y om. Z Humind V<sup>34</sup> Amuis A<sup>34</sup> Amuis E<sup>42</sup>: Phoenicia (3. 17)

33. Saraic: Cicir Y<sup>15</sup> Cipri Z<sup>15</sup> Saraic V<sup>25</sup> (also Cipir V<sup>19</sup>)

Siecir A<sup>13</sup> Circir E<sup>12</sup> (also Sarain E<sup>57</sup>): Saraceni<sup>(a)</sup>

(3. 29)

34. Broes: Roid Y<sup>23</sup> Rudi Z<sup>23</sup> Broes V<sup>30</sup> Roait Λ<sup>21</sup> Roid E<sup>24</sup> (also Barais E<sup>36</sup>): Rhodos (6, 22)

35. Brit: Bretain  $Y^{32}$  Bretain  $Z^{31}$  Bretnais  $V^{29}$  Britain  $A^{20}$  Bretain  $E^{38}$ : Britania<sup>(b)</sup> (6. 2)

36. Orie: Hircāin Y<sup>14</sup> Hircain Z<sup>41</sup> om. V Ircair og A<sup>41</sup> Hircain E<sup>51</sup>: a corruption of Illyricum (47) with influence of Hyrcania (ante no. 4)

37. Burgan: Bragmain Y<sup>64</sup> om. Z om. V Braghmaint A<sup>61</sup> Bramain E<sup>71</sup>: Burgundiones<sup>(c)</sup> (Etym. IX ii 99)

38. Belgaig: Belgie Y<sup>33</sup> Belgaich Z<sup>32</sup> Belgaig V<sup>27</sup> om. A om. E: Belgia (4, 26)

39. Mugaig: Magoich Y<sup>34</sup> Magoich Z<sup>34</sup> Mucaig V<sup>37</sup> Magoig A<sup>32</sup> Maguich E<sup>40</sup>: the variant Mucaid, found in some Mss. of V, suggests that this is *Mygdonia* (3. 39)

40. Boet: Bethain Y<sup>31</sup> Boet Z<sup>33</sup> Boet V<sup>28</sup> Boit A<sup>31</sup> Boid E<sup>39</sup> (also Bethain E<sup>37</sup>): Boeotia (4, 11)

**41.** India: Innecdai  $Y^{65}$  om. Z India  $V^{35}$  Indecda  $A^{60}$  Innecdai  $E^{72}$ : India (3. 5)

42. Pardae: om. Y om. Z Parthia V<sup>40</sup> om. A om. E: Parthia

**43**. Callia: om. Y om. Z Callia V<sup>41</sup> om. A om. E: Caria (3, 38, 42)

44. Siria: om. Y om. Z Siria V42 om. A om. E: Syria (3. 16)

45. Aidin (in L only): Alain Y<sup>40</sup> Alain Z<sup>39</sup> om. V Allain A<sup>29</sup> Alain E<sup>49</sup>: Alania (4. 3)

46. Galbat (in F only): not in any other list. A doublet of no. 31, Galatia

47. Acait (in F only): Achuid Y<sup>37</sup> Acit Z<sup>37</sup> Achait V<sup>45</sup> Acain A<sup>37</sup> Achid A<sup>45</sup>: Achaia (4, 14)

48. Atheni: Athain Y<sup>38</sup> Athin Z<sup>38</sup> Athin V<sup>44</sup> Actain A<sup>36</sup> Athain E<sup>46</sup>: Athenae (4, 10)

(b) So spelt in Isidore, ed. Lindsay.

49. Albain: Albāin Y<sup>40</sup> Albāin Z<sup>40</sup> Albaneas<sup>(a)</sup> V<sup>46</sup> Alpain A<sup>40</sup> Albain E<sup>50</sup>: Albania (3, 34)

 Saxus: om. Y om. Z Sax V<sup>43</sup> om. A om. E: Saxones (IX ii 100)

51. Ebre: om. Y om. Z Ebra V<sup>47</sup> om. A om. E: Hebraei (IX i 9)

52. Ardain: om. Y om. Z Ardain V<sup>48</sup> om. A Ardair E<sup>48</sup>: Arcadia (4, 15)

 Moysi: om. Y Mussin Z<sup>26</sup> Maisi V<sup>53</sup> om. A om. E: Moesia (4, 9)

54. Tracia: Traic Y<sup>55</sup> Traic Z<sup>52</sup> Tracia V<sup>60</sup> Traig A<sup>54</sup> Tracdai E<sup>64</sup>: Thracia (4, 6)

55. Edis: om. Y om. Z Edis V<sup>62</sup>. Eisil A<sup>52</sup> Essill E<sup>63</sup>: unless this is meant for Hellas (4, 7) I cannot identify it. Edessa is possible, but it is not mentioned in the section of Isidore which has supplied the other names.

56. Vesogiam, aliter Ulsogum: om. Y om. Z om. V om. A om. E: apparently (P)elasgi (IX ii 74)

57. Tripolita: om. Y om. Z om. V om. A om. E: Tripolitana (5, 6)

58. Zeugis: om. Y om. Z om. V om. A om. E: Zeugis (5. 3)

59. Numa : Nombithi  $Y^{30}$  Numin  $Z^{30}$  Numeid  $V^{61}$  Nombith  $A^{29}$  Nobith  $E^{35}$  : Numidia (5, 9)

60. Murit (in R<sup>1</sup> only): Morcain Y<sup>26</sup> om. Z om. V Morcain A<sup>26</sup> (also Mair A<sup>24</sup>) Morcain E<sup>30</sup> (also Inair E<sup>26</sup> Mair E<sup>28</sup>). Cain is probably an adjective which has become attached to the name: apparently a doublet of no. 14, Mauretania.

**61.** Hicail: Etail Y<sup>42</sup> Etail Z<sup>42</sup> Ecail V<sup>63</sup> Etail A<sup>42</sup> Itail E<sup>52</sup>: *Italia* (4, 18)

62. Gaedilg: om. Y om. Z om. V om. A om. E: an absurd interpolation, into a list of languages from which "Gaedilg" was said to be fashioned!

[Here H has Moisice, which should have been with no. 53 above.]

63. Media : om. Y om. Z Media  $V^{54}$  Moiet  $A^8$  Meid (or Moid)  $E^5$  : Media (3. 11)

<sup>(</sup>a) Influenced by the names of Cyprus and of Sicilia.

<sup>(</sup>c) Possibly influenced by the name of the Brahmans, if we could assume that the Irish compilers had ever heard of them. The name comes next to "India" in Y, A, E.

<sup>(</sup>a) Another example of the fusion of an adjective with the place-name.

Foirne: om. Y om. Z Foirne V<sup>55</sup> om. A om. E: presumably Persida (3, 11)

65. Grinni: Grinne Y<sup>46</sup> Grinne Z<sup>45</sup> Grinni V<sup>57</sup> Grinne A<sup>46</sup> Gruind E<sup>56</sup>. Rendered by Meyer (op. cit.) "Gemeinschaft," but certainly understood by the compilers of these lists to be a name. Perhaps a corruption of Cyrene (5, 5)

66. Franc: Frainc Y<sup>47</sup> Frainc Z<sup>46</sup> Franc V<sup>56</sup> Affrainc A<sup>47</sup> Frainc E<sup>58</sup>: Franci (IX ii 101)

67. Fresin: Fresin Y<sup>49</sup> Fresin Z<sup>48</sup> om. V Freisin A<sup>48</sup> Freisin E<sup>59</sup>: Fresi (not mentioned by Isidore)

68. Longbard: Longbaird Y<sup>50</sup> Longbaird Z<sup>49</sup> Longbard V<sup>59</sup> Longbaird A<sup>49</sup> Longbaird E<sup>60</sup>: Langobardi (IX ii 95)

69. Lacedemoin : Lacdemõin Y<sup>53</sup> Lacdemonnai Z<sup>50</sup> Lacedemoin V<sup>58</sup> Laicdemoin A<sup>51</sup> Lacedemoin E<sup>61</sup> : Lacedaemonia  $(4. \ 16)$ 

70. Troiana: Troian Y<sup>56</sup> Troia Z<sup>53</sup> Troia V<sup>50</sup> Tragianda A<sup>53</sup> Troiannai E<sup>65</sup>: *Troas* (3, 41)

71. Colchia: Ciclaid Y<sup>16</sup> Ciclaid Z<sup>16</sup> Colaig V<sup>52</sup> Ciclait A<sup>14</sup> Ciclaid E<sup>17</sup>: Cyclades (6. 19), but influenced by the name of Colchis.

72. Caspia: a repetition of no. 11.

73. Aegipt: Egeipt Y<sup>63</sup> om. Z Egipt V<sup>65</sup> Egiptda A<sup>59</sup> Egept E<sup>70</sup>: Aegyptus (3. 27)

74. Aethioip: Etheoip Y<sup>61</sup> om. Z Ethioip V<sup>64</sup> Eithiop A<sup>58</sup> Ethioip E<sup>69</sup>: Aethiopia</sup> (5, 14)

The following names are found in the other lists but are omitted by P:

75. Scuit Y3 Scuit Z3 Sgouit A3 Scuit E3: Scoti (IX ii 103)

76. Nordi Y<sup>29</sup> Noric Z<sup>29</sup> Nāir A<sup>27</sup> Nairn E<sup>31</sup> (also Narmais E<sup>32</sup> Norith E<sup>34</sup>): Noricus ager (4. 5)

[At Y<sup>41</sup> Hircāin, a doublet of 36].

77. Guich Y<sup>44</sup> Guith Z<sup>44</sup> Guit A<sup>44</sup> Goiree E<sup>43</sup> (also Goith E<sup>54</sup> Guith E<sup>55</sup>). Not *Gothi*, *Gothia*, for which see no. 5: perhaps their synonym *Getae* (IX ii 89), made into a separate people (compare Phrygia—Dardania, nos. 10, 12)

78. Ladaich Y<sup>51</sup> Laidich A<sup>50</sup>: perhaps Lycia (3, 38)

79. Lid Y<sup>52</sup> Lodain E<sup>62</sup>: perhaps Lydia (3, 43)

80. Daic Y<sup>59</sup> Daic Z<sup>56</sup> Daic A<sup>57</sup> Dacia E<sup>68</sup>: Dacia (4. 3)

81. Dachi Y60. A doublet of the last.

82. Luireedai Y<sup>62</sup>: Unrecognizable; Liguria? (6, 41)

## VERSE TEXTS.

### X.

Metre: snēdbairdne.

306. K reads bri co dochta and glosses it briathar co ttegoscc no co munadh. All the old Mss. have brīg, which we must translate 'value,' 'sense,' 'meaning.'

### XI.

Metre: debide scäilte.

This poem is primarily a mnemonic list of places, extracted from Isidore, and put into verse form with especial attention to alliteration. It is independent of the prose list associated with it, which seems to come from some other source; the two lists do not completely correspond. For fuller particulars see the notes on the prose list, above, p. 148 ff. In both lists, most, though not all, of the names have to be rendered substantivally, not adjectivally—Bithynia, Scythia, Cilicia, etc.—to represent them literally. K ignores this poem, as well as its context, nor does it appear in Auraicept in connexion with the list of languages. Though Kg knows of the study of languages by Feinius and his family, he makes no attempt to enumerate them.

(2) 313. Lir "numerous" could be rendered "populous" and applied to the name of a country, but has hardly any meaning when applied to the name of a language. 315. Cipir: not in prose text. See p. 152, no. 33.

(3) 319. Humind in all Mss.: apparently a misreading for *Huinus* (written "Huin;"), i.e., Phoenicia. The last syllable is an iteration of the first syllable of *India* which follows: the form *Huinusind*, which appears in the prose texts, would not fit into the metre. *Araib* is not in the prose text.

(4) 322. Albancas must be retained in its present form for metrical purposes, but doubtless it was originally Alban chas,

"pleasant Albania." This leads to the inference that the composition before us is a metrical re-grouping of the names in another verse list, written in a different metre, like those published by Kuno Meyer and referred to in the foregoing notes on the prose text. 324. Tesalia must be a doublet of Tessail in line 315.

### XII.

Metre: debide scāilte fordalach.

337.  $Sc\bar{e}ne = Inber\ Sc\bar{e}ne$ , the Shannon estuary (see vol. i, p. xxxv). K omits this poem, but it is given by Kg (ed. I.T.S., ii, p. 28) reading *duib* for *lib* in 335. This reading (found misspelt in V) is metrically preferable.

#### XIII.

Metre: debide scāilte. Attributed to Gilla Coemain († 1072) but certainly not all the work of one hand. In the poem as originally written there is conachland between the successive quatrains, which is rigidly maintained throughout: and the rupture of this linkage, wherever it occurs, must indicate an interpolation. This reduces the composition to the following quatrains: 1, 9-18, 21-25, 28-39, 43. If these are read continuously, they will be found to give complete sense, and the incidents mentioned in the rejected quatrains (here partly in smaller type) can be omitted without loss or discontinuity. We can also reject quatrain 24, which merely repeats the matter of 18. Thus pruned, the poem is simply a versification of the story narrated in the R<sup>1</sup> version.<sup>5</sup> Like R<sup>1</sup>, it does not specifically state Gaedil's relationship to Nel. The course of the Scythian vendetta follows exactly the lines of R1. There is, however, a divergence in the matter of the leaders of the Gaedil after their banishment: they are specified as Agnomain with his sons Allot and Lamfhind, and Eber, with his sons Caicher and Cing: here the poem differs from all the prose texts. This Eber is a brother of Agnomain and son of Tat. On "the sea of Liuis" which is unknown to R1 (though R2 borrows it from this poem) another son of Agnomain called "Glas" is abruptly introduced to us: on this person see below, note to line 407.

In the quatrains rejected, 2–8 give us the history of the family of Feinius, with the singular episode of Nel's slaying Nenual—a Cain-and-Abel incident ignored by the prose texts. Nos. 26, 27 give us the tale of the well of wine, which in any case looks like a later addition to the story; and 40–42 enumerate the sons of Mil and of Bregon.

K has the poem, but omits quatrains 3-6 (substituting quatrain 58 of poem no. V) 26, 27, 40, 41, and has numerous variant readings. Kg presents no complete copy of the poem, but quotes several of its quatrains as occasion arises.

- (2). Kg quotes this quatrain (p. 10<sup>6</sup>), but gives as his version of the second line Neanúl is Niúl ba hághmhar, a form foreign to the LG tradition. In quoting from this poem, Kg usually mentions the first line and the author; he makes an exception here, as though he were conscious that the quatrain is spurious. K gives it as in the older texts.
- (3). The story told here may perhaps give us the germ of the Scythian vendetta story. Mil = Nel and slays his brother Nenual [= Refloir], and, being driven out, flees to Egypt and marries Scota. This fratricide looks like an adaptation of the Cain-Abel episode, but it is a common type of folk tale and may be original. In lāich lir: I take lir to be the genitive of ler, though there is no other hint of an association of Feinius with the sea. But the alternative "the multitudinous hero" is meaningless, unless it refers to his descendants.
- (4). This quatrain was not in K's copy of the poem, but it was in Kg's: he quotes it on p. 14 with M's reading iars(o)in for trē gail.
- (5). Quoted by Kg with some slight verbal differences, possibly due to lapses of memory. He does not refer to the title or author of the poem in this case, so the stanza may not have been in his copy. It is not in K's. . 358. The explanation of Gaedel's name ignores the story of the serpent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Or preferably, vice versa, the R<sup>1</sup> story is a paraphrase of the poem.

These references are to the I.T.S. edition of Keating's History, vol. ii.

NOTES ON SECTION II.

- (7). Here K resumes. K quotes this quatrain and the next (p. 26) with some slight differences, the only important one being ó a thoigh for dia thaig (365). 366. Mara Romair is the name of the sea, an adaptation of the Latin Mare Rubrum; rūaid is merely an Irish adjective, and should not be translated as a proper name.
- (8) 367. For *lucht* .iiii. *long* K has the unauthorized reading *cãoga lõideng*.
- (9) 372. Nenual is to be pronounced as a dissyllable, as in 378; where Noemius must be trisyllable, although in 383 it is a dissyllable.
- (12) 384. Brecc is a stock epithet for shields; see Fled Bricrend 45. Thus a shield becomes a standard of comparison for the quality expressed by the word.
- (13) 389. For na chrīch cen chill K has i ccrine cind. Chrīne also appears in L.
- (14) 393. For cen cor thim K has tenn-coir nar tim, a corruption that cannot be based on any extant Ms.
- (15). Kg quotes this quatrain (Vol. II, p. 32) with trifling orthographical deviations. K has several corruptions: ceitri for secht (396), as in Min; roglan (397) for co n-glor; in 398 following L Min.
- (16) 399. The older prose texts have no cognizance of Noinel and Refill, the sons of Refloir who drove the Gaedil out from Seythia. In 402 K again follows Min (medrach for merda).
- (17) 403. Dia is apparently the word glossed  $l\bar{o}r$  in an obscure poem in artificial jargon edited by Meyer (ZCP v. 484). The scribes seem to have taken it for  $D\bar{a} = God$ , and Min has tried to make the passage intelligible by changing ba to dar. We have seen above that the verse contradicts the prose in the matter of the names of the chieftains.
- (18) 407. K reads Elloit, Laimhfionn, Glass lonn leir tri meic . . . It may be that the couplet originally ran thus

Allot, Lāmfind, Lāmglas lēir, trī meic Agnomain imrēil . . .

preserving a tradition of three sons of Agnomain, named in accordance with the usual custom in naming triplicities,

A + B + B'—one of the three names being independent, the others forming a "dioscuric" assonance. We shall meet with numerous cases of this type of name-group as we proceed. Lamglas, however, disappeared, his name being taken to be an epithet of Lamfhind, and his personality being sunk in Febri [= Ēber] Glas, who is elsewhere represented as a son of "Agni" [= Agnomain = Mil]. As the variae lectiones show, there is good evidence for the reading trī meic (408), and it is, on the whole, the preferable reading. But the historical theory underlying the text here adopted, without Lamglas, must have taken shape before the prose text was compiled.

- (19) 411. K has a reading which gives 30, not 3, as the number of the ships.
- (20) 417. There is nothing in the prose to correspond to this couplet. The whole quatrain is spurious.
- (21) 419. The Libyan Sea, according to Orosius (I, ii, 97), is an alternative name for the Adriatic; but he extends the meaning of the term so far as to make the sea so designated wash the southern coast of Crete. For Coronis (422) see note on the Prose Text ¶ 130. The visit to the Libyan Sea, and Coronis, is borrowed by R<sup>2</sup> (¶ 130), but the death of [Lam]glas is not mentioned.
- (22) 423. Unless "the fair island" be Coronis, proleptically mentioned in the preceding quatrain, we have no record of it anywhere in the prose texts.
- (23) 429. The story of Lamfhind's shining hands is, as we have seen, an old interpolation (probably, however, later than the incipient disappearance of his [twin]-brother Lamglas).
- (24) 434. Cing is unknown to the prose text. Agnomain has now disappeared; from the prose text we learn that he died on the Caspian Sea. K has turned *lūath dar ler* into *luaiter libh*: one of several misreadings which look more like arbitrary attempts at emendation than copies of variant texts.
- (25) 437. K's reading conerbairt riū Caicher cain seems to be another arbitrary alteration.
- (26). This quatrain and the next are certainly spurious. Not only do they break the *conachland*, but they are absent

from the earlier redactions and also from K, so that they were not even established in the text with the security of some of the other spurious quatrains. The monosyllable rhyme trēn-lēn in lines 443-4 is contrary to the metrical rule.

(27) 446. Denmedach is in all the Mss. except M, which has -mnedach, correctly.

(29). In this quatrain also K has introduced several verbal changes.

(30) 455. Co fi glossed co neimh, K.

(32) 463. K again follows Min in reading garta for gasta, but Kg, who quotes this quatrain (p. 34), has gasta. On the other hand, K agrees with the trī chēt bliadan of 464, whereas Kg has tríochad bliadhan. Kg has an altogether peculiar version of 465-6, Anaid lucht díobh ann o sain, Go dtí deireadh an domhain. The text, as before, agrees with R¹ in the long sojourn at the Maeotic Marshes.

(33) 467. Kg (p. 38) reads Brātha mac Deaghátha dil. The scansion shows that De-ath is dissyllabic: the spelling in B, Deaath, is intended to indicate this (cf. Deaghátha, just quoted).

(34) 472. Allot is s. Nuadu s. Nenual in the prose texts.

(35) 475. K has a completely different version of the first three lines of this quatrain.

(36) 480. On these names, see the notes to the prose text ¶ 116.

(38) 487. For *Doriachtatar* K reads do ernaidhset, apparently without authority.

(39) 492. For nEspāin il-dathach K gives us nEspaine nughrach and Kg Easpáinne uallach.

(40) 495 ff. The names enumerated in these three spurious stanzas can best be discussed when we come to them in the prose text of a later part of the book. They have no relevance in the present section.

## XIV.

Metre: sētrad fota. The assonantal scheme is elaborate. In the four lines of a quatrain, ABCD, B-D have monosyllabic rhymes, AC end in dissyllables. In each couplet

there is alliteration, preferably between the last words of B and D. The last word of A generally alliterates with the preceding word, or with the first prominent word of B; when this does not happen, by compensation there is alliteration in the body of A, and/or two pairs of words in alliteration or three words in alliteration in B. The last word of C rhymes with the penultimate word of D. Licence to break these fetters is permitted in a quatrain containing many proper names, and the poet allows himself an occasional liberty in other cases, though it is quite possible that such lapses are due to corruption in the text. Author, Cenn Faelad († 679).

(1) 511. Here and elsewhere K reads Golamh for Mīlid. 513. Refloir was son of Refill s. Noemīus according to the prose texts. Through the influence of Latin, Noemīus becomes Noemi in the genitive (with a variety of spellings). This presently becomes nominative, and here develops a new genitive, Nēmān, which must be so pronounced to rhyme with glē-bān. 514. Glas is glossed by K gleo uais, which is further glossed in a quotation in O'Reilly's Dictionary, s.v., "i.e., gleo doiligh, difficult combat." Possibly this interpretation improves the sense of the cheville slightly, but hardly sufficiently to justify departure from the simple meaning of the words.

(2) 515. Ceithri: K reads cethracha. 517. K completely re-writes this couplet.

(3) 522. Folt, "a head of hair," used here in gen. pl. of the feam-crestings of the individual waves. A poetical idea, into which the author has been betrayed by the necessity of finding a rhyme for port.

(4) 524. Airecht, glossed curia R.C. i 59. 526. Aba thīrech, apparently a kenning for the Nile, which makes the existence of Egypt possible. K, presumably in disapproval of Egypt and the Nile being put into the west, to rhyme with fīan, has re-written the line. 527. For dā fer dēc K reads diorna, and glosses it nuimir no tomhus.

(5) (6A) 533A. This couplet has become badly corrupted. L.G.—VOL. II.

Amorgen and Goscen have disappeared, and "do Dhond" is a bad line-ending.

- (7) 536. Ro leth a ngnai sund co sāl, literally "their countenances spread there to the sea."
- (9) 544. Rēcsat for rētsat, s-pret. of rīadaim. "They fared in the land on the wave," i.e., over the sea.
- (10) 547. This poem tells the story of the wanderings of Mil much as it has reached R<sup>2</sup>, and the geography is similar. The sirens are, however, absent, as is also the prophecy of Caicher. But we need not necessarily assume that the poem represents a stage of development before these had entered into the story: they may have been quietly dropped because even Cenn Faelad found that he could not fit them into his claborate metre.
- (11) 551. "Forty-four" battles: the prose text says fifty-four. We have evidently two divergent tales of the fighting in Spain, the one a story of three battles, one with each of the Spanish tribes, the other a story of a large number of battles against the whole population. It is the latter which is followed here.
  - (12) 558. nDiss, glossed by K imderoile.
- (14). K omits from here to the penultimate stanza inclusive possibly because this part of the poem records matter which he had not yet touched upon in his history at the point where he introduced it. But some of the omitted stanzas are not free from suspicion of spuriousness. 565. Lār il-lacha, apparently "floor of many ducks"—a kenning for a sea or a lake.
- (15). This is one of the stanzas which is doubtful. The regular rhyme between the ultimate of 569 and the penultimate of 570 is missing. In any case there is much uncertainty about the text of these two lines. Scāil (570) must be regarded as the verbal noun of scāilim, though the normal form is scāiled.
- (16) 573. The reading *demin* in R<sup>3</sup> would be preferable to *linne*, as it would give a missing alliteration: but we should lose the assonance with *rindi*. In any case this assonance

is in the wrong place, and the quatrain also is probably spurious.

- (17) 576. Division into twelve parts—another Israelite reminiscence!
- (18) 581. Mörglan and Fulman do not make a good assonance; at least it is below Cenn Faelad's usual standard.
- (19) 586. *Detla*, "bold," the reading in R<sup>3</sup> gives better sense, but *tetra* gives a better alliteration, which is the more important consideration.
- (20) 587. Rāith Bethaig ac Eōir = Rathbeagh on the Nore, Kilkenny, O.S. sheets 9, 10. The convivial statements about it are merely for metrical reasons. 589. Rāith Aindind was apparently in the Cualu territory, but its site is not certainly identified. 590. Tōchar Mōr, or in full Tōchar Inbhir Mhōir, the Causeway of the Avoca Estuary at Arklow; identified with Togher, Wicklow, O.S. sheet 36.
- (21) 591.  $D\bar{u}n$  Sobairci, Dunseverick, Antrim, O.S. sheet 3. 593. Delginis, etc. Hogan, Onom. s.v. "Delinis," translates iar suilgi as "West of Suilge," but makes no attempt to identify this supposed place. But in fact suilig means "easy, gentle" (see Tecosca Cormaic ed. Meyer s.v. in vocabulary) and iar suilgi is a mere cheville, parallel to iar n-ōl in the previous quatrain. Delginis is Dalkey, near Dublin, O.S. sheet 23. 594.  $D\bar{u}n$  Etair was somewhere in the promontory of Howth, Dublin, O.S. sheet 15, 16, 19.
- (22) 595. Rāith Arda Sūird, identified by Hogan with Rathurd, Limerick, O.S. sheet 14. 596. Dūn mBindi: not identified. 597. Rāith Rīgbaird, vaguely identified by Hogan with a large fort east of Easky, townland of Carrow Mably, Sligo, O.S. sheet 12. 598. Dūn Cairich, not identified.
  - (23) 599. Nar: identification doubtful.

### XV.

Metre: debide scāilte.

This poem calls for no special notice: it is merely a paraphrase of the prose passage with which it is associated,

NOTES ON SECTION II.

composed for mnemonic purposes after the prose had evolved into the form in which we have it.

### XVI.

Metre: debide scāilte, with concessions to  $\bar{o}glachas$  in the end rhymes of quatrains 3, 5. Also in Auraicept (ed. Calder, pp. 171–2), but in a very different version, with the quatrains in this order—4123, 5 being omitted. The first couplet of this quatrain is preserved in  $\mu \wedge \mu R$  only: B ends the poem with a six-line stanza made up of quatrain 4 and the last couplet of 5. In M quatrains 4 and 5 were omitted from the text and were added in the top margin of the page, whence they have been cut off by a bookbinder, leaving only the word diamair and the last couplet of quatrain 5. The first couplet of 5 is preserved by Min only.

### XVII.

Metre: a rather free debide scāilte.

### XVIII.

This poem is not in K, but it is quoted with a different text by Kg (vol. ii, p. 18). The last two quatrains are omitted by Kg.

(1) 655. G.G. cionnus do rádh Kg. 656. Crithir: the ordinary meaning "fearful, trembling" does not seem to be applicable here. The word also means "a spark," and might here be treated as gen. pl. "the man of sparks," "sparkling man." But this hardly seems satisfactory. Dinneen translates the word "brilliant" in Keating, but does not acknowledge the existence of such a meaning in his dictionary. 657. An ní ó bhfuil G.G. Is tearc ga bhuil a seanchas Kg.

(2) 659. This quatrain reappears in Kg with slight changes only. The story of the serpent is obviously quite different from that in the prose texts of LG. Kg takes it into his history as an alternative version.

(3) 665. Is eadh thuigid eolaigh as Gonadh de atá G.G., Kg.

### XIX.

Metre: debide imrind, obscured by a corruption in the LG texts. Kg (Vol. ii, p. 42) reads thall for trell at the end of the third line, which mends the metre and gives better sense. K has the same reading.

### XX.

Metre: debide scāilte. Author "Conaing" according to Kg. Quoted by Kg, p. 46, with only one important variant (go ngliadh for dar Dīa in line 683): also by K, with close kinship to the text in the R² group of Mss. In this text it does not appear in the present section, but is postponed to § VIII. The poem calls for no special comments, being merely a list of names alternating with rhyming chevilles.

### SECTION III.

### CESSAIR.

### Introduction.

With this section begins the interpolation which breaks into the "history" of the development of the Milesians and of their Taking of Ireland—as described in the introduction, vol. i, p. xxxv ff. We have seen that it formed no part of the original text, but that it was an independent document, and was known as such to Nennius.

It falls primarily into two parts, easily separated from one another: primarily, for each component can be further analysed. The first relates to certain legendary invasions before the Flood: the second to a number of stories—or, rather, of variants of one story—of invasions after the Flood. Nennius does not seem to have known of the first of these, so that we may infer that his copy of the book did not contain it: and it is important to note that it is entirely ignored by Min. This points to the further inference, which is also indicated by the loose connexion between the component parts, that they were originally independent documents.

As names are required for these two documents, we shall call the first Pericope Antediluvianorum, an expression whose convenience may condone its incompatibility with classical propriety. The second we shall call Liber Praecursorum. For reference we shall abbreviate these names to PA and LP respectively. The composite book, which consists of these two elements, we shall call Liber Originum, abbreviated to LO.

LO is by far the most valuable portion of LG. The first part, PA, is a cosmogony: the second, LP, is a series of successive variations of a theogony, with ritual elements interspersed. Though badly messed by uncomprehending redactors, it gives us one of the most extensive collections of European pre-Christian theology, ritual, and mythology that any non-classical literature can afford.

PA itself, even in its oldest available form, is obviously composite, consisting of different elements very loosely flung together. The limits of the separate documents are shown by the following analysis.

### First Redaction.

¶ 166. As will appear in the notes, this ¶ is no part of PA: it is undoubtedly part of the original LG, and formed the only acknowledgement which that document contained of the pre-Milesian invaders. The original author of LG was writing a "history" specifically of the Milesians, and their predecessors interested him only in so far as they accounted for the opposition offered, to the Milesian landing, by the aborigines. For probable interpolations see the notes.

¶ 167. An excerpt from the "Quire of Druim Snechta" (Cīn Droma Snechta), giving an independent account of the story of the Antediluvians. In F\*Q, but not in L, and certainly no original part of PA. The opening words (as is demonstrated in the notes) belong, not to this excerpt, but to PA.

¶ 168. An excerpt, professedly from a different source, also peculiar to F\*Q, telling the story of the Spanish fishermen.

¶ 169. Here we have (1) a fragment of the original PA, headed in L by the opening words of LO. This settles the otherwise unanswerable question whether PA had or had not been already combined with LP when the latter was inserted into LG. The simple form of PA is preserved in L (in a mutilated form, see the notes): "/F has here interpolated a long description of Cessair's voyage.

¶170. Continues the original PA, following on the tale of Noah's summary dismissal of Cessair and her followers which is common to the extant manuscripts of R¹. It narrates in the briefest form their landing at Dūn na mBare, and their subsequent fates.

¶ 171 has nothing original to PA. The sentence Nī rogab nech . . . . ndīlinn sin must belong to LO, and is meant to

confirm the compiler of that document in his judgement in excising the pre-Cessair "takings." The poem containing the names of the women is an interpolation, as is shown by the variant versions of the matter introducing it, and by the fact that no prose text based upon it is included in this Redaction.

Thus the redaction consists of the following elements:-

From LG: ¶ 166.

From PA: Heading of ¶ 167; one sentence in ¶ 169; ¶ 170.

From LO: Heading of ¶ 169 in L; end of ¶ 171.

From the Quire of Druim Snechta: ¶ 167.

From other, miscellaneous sources: ¶¶ 168, 169 (in F), 171.

### Second Redaction.

 $\P$  172. A modified form of  $\P$  166 from LG, harmonized with LO.

¶ 173. A parallel to ¶ 168, but in different words and from a different source.

¶ 174. A very composite paragraph, as the introduction shows. "Saball s. Manual" comes abruptly into view; it is evidently assumed that the reader knows all about him. The very pointlessness of the allusion suggests that he held some prominent position in the original version of the Cessair saga. In Keating, at least in the MSS, followed in the printed text, he appears, in a quatrain here quoted as poem XXVI, under the form "Saball s. Nionuall." It is conceivable that this is correct, and that we are to identify Nionuall, in spite of the double I (which, however, is not written uniformly) with the Nenual of whom we have heard in connexion with the tower of Babel. This would link Cessair's foster-father with the long chain of enigmatical warring kings in Scythia, for whom no terrestrial identification, either in history or in recorded mythology, can be suggested: and leads to the further inference that in their names we may have the skeleton of some unknown saga of a War in Heaven-one of the doubtless innumerable mythologies, once current among the welter of tribes in Neolithic and Bronze Age Northern Europe, but now passed irrecoverably into oblivion.

175. R<sup>2</sup> has re-written the story presumably under the influence of other sources. In both R1 and R2 the purpose of the voyage is to escape the Flood: but in R1 the suggestion comes from Noah, in R2 from druids; in R1 the destination is vague, in R2 Ireland is specifically mentioned; and in R2 the absence of serpents in Ireland, thus ensuring a continuation of Eden-purity, is given as a reason for expecting a sanctuary there. Is it possible that we have lost a story of the appearance of a piast which robbed the country of its state of grace? Has Keating's queer story of the visit of the "three daughters of Cain" got any bearing upon this possibility? A reader of VV has been studying the Quire of Druim Snechta or some derivative therefrom, and has inserted the marginal note which has been taken into the beginning of this paragraph. It does not appear elsewhere in the extant MSS, of  $\mathbb{R}^2$ , though it probably was in  $\wedge$ , in which this portion is now missing.

 $\P$  176. On this paragraph see the notes (at the end of the text) to  $\P$  169.

¶ 177. Comparison with ¶ 170 is instructive. Obviously the same document (PA) underlies both: but, in the form in which R<sup>2</sup> presents it, it has been almost doubled in length by interpolations, and very nearly promoted to the rank of an independent text. The additional "facts" are—

1. The date, 40 days before the Flood.

- 2. The important topographical augmentation (Irrus Desscirt Corco Duibne) commented upon in the notes to ¶ 170.
- 3. The additional date, A.M. 1656 (diverging from the annalistic calculation, A.M. 2242).
- The alternative versions of the cause of death of Ladra, ignored in R<sup>1</sup>.
- Fintān's genealogy, connecting him with Bith and Lamech; and the explanation of Bochra as his mother's name.

To these we may add

6. (Narrated in ¶ 178) the bare fact that the three men shared the 50 women, which does not appear to have been in the original PA, but has been imported

through the influence of Poem XXV. In R1 this poem is quoted for the names of the women: in R<sup>2</sup> their distribution among the men has become the centre of interest.

¶ 178. See preceding note, no. 6.

¶ 179. PA, as represented by R<sup>2</sup>, here ends; but a different version of the same story is now tacked on to it. This is certainly based on the PA story, but it has undergone so many transformations that it must be treated as an independent document. For purposes of reference we shall call the Cessair story in ¶ 174-178 CA, and that in ¶ 179-183 CB.

¶ 184, 185 are further interpolations; the first apparently from the original LG (see the notes), giving chronological details; the second containing the legend of the resurrection of Fintan.

R<sup>2</sup>, then, is composed of the following elements:

From LG-¶ 172 (modified), 184.

From PA-CA ¶ 174-178 (with numerous alterations and interpolations).

Based upon PA-CB ¶ 179-183, a version so much worked

over as to be a new document.

From other sources—fragmentary notes in ¶ 173, 184, 185, in addition to various odds and ends of interpolation here and there.

## Third Redaction.

As in the previous sections, the Third Redaction is a pasternot-and-scissors combination of R1 and R2, almost its only value being that it gives us independent texts of both the preceding versions. As before, we set forth its construction in tabular form, marking with \* paragraphs from R1, with † those from R2.

\*¶ 186 = ¶ 166. Closer to  $\mathbb{R}^1$  than to  $\mathbb{R}^2$  ¶ 172: differing from both in making the Gaileoin and the Fir Domnand contemporary.

\*¶ 187. The F\*Q excerpt from the Book of Druim Snechta, ¶ 167. An interpolation describing the Flood inserted in the middle.

\*¶ 188. The F\*Q excerpt, describing the three fishers. ¶ 168.

\*†¶ 189. The F\*Q heading of ¶ 169. Interpolation about Saball borrowed from R<sup>2</sup> ¶ 174.

 $\mathfrak{t}$ ¶ 190 = ¶ 179. Here  $\mathbb{R}^3$  jettisons all the versions but  $\mathbb{C}^8$ and follows it exclusively (with numerous corruptions and interpolations, especially in M).

\*¶ 191 = ¶ 180, 169. Continuation of C<sup>B</sup> for the first sentence, and then returning to R1 for the details of the voyage, omitted by R<sup>2</sup> from his text of C<sup>B</sup>. Noah's command to make the voyage is reproduced. though the lām-dīa had already given his orders!

\*¶ 192 = ¶ 169. Continuation of R1's account of the vovage.

\*†¶ 193 = ¶ 170. Description of the landing at Dūn na mBarc. Goes back to ¶ 193, R2, for fuller details about Ladra's death. M inserts an isolated episode about Bath s. Bith, not found elsewhere.

†¶ 194 = ¶ 180 ad fin., 181. Returns to C<sup>B</sup> and copies it slavishly, including the abrupt termination with "7 rl".

 $\dagger \P$  195 =  $\P$  182. Continuation of  $\mathbb{C}^{B}$ .

†¶ 196 = ¶ 183. ditto.

> ¶ 197. A superfluous list of the women, compiled from poem XXV. The last sentence comes from R1 (¶ 171).

> ¶ 198. Synchronistic matter, derived from an early chronicle much used in the subsequent sections of LO.

It is obvious that the Cessair story stands on a different footing from the subsequent tales of invasion. tales of a history, or rather of a theogonia-no doubt misinterpreted, but to be accepted and criticised as historical legend. The Cessair tale, however, is essentially cosmogonic.

The significance of the heroine's name is obscure (it appears once again as that of Cessair Cruthach, daughter of a "king of France" and wife of King Ugoine): but those of her associates are clear enough. She is the daughter of Bith, that is of "life," "world," or "universe"; and her companion Fintan the deathless is son of Bochna or "ocean." They form a sort of Deucalion-and-Pyrrha couple, and, like their prototypes, they are associated with a great Flood. There is no room for doubt that the Cessair legend is a tattered fragment of a Flood myth, such as is told almost universally throughout the world. The story usually follows a uniform course: Deity determines to destroy mankind. but instructs a favoured mortal to make a ship for his own salvation: the Flood comes and departs, and the ship grounds on a hill: by certain devices, which differ with different stories, the world is re-peopled.

The LG editors knew of no great Flood but the Hebrew version, enshrined in the Book of Genesis; and they were obliged therefore to link the Irish "Deucalion and Pyrrha" with the family of Noah. This is, of course, a mere impertinence, and may be entirely ignored in reconstructing the original form of the tale. Here some Being-quite possibly Sabhall mac Manuail—through the medium of an gracular fetish, warns Cessair and Fintan, the cosmogonic pair, of the coming of a Flood. In one (or three) ships they escape, and ultimately come to ground on a mythical hill called (from the circumstance) Dūn na m-Barc, the Fortress of the Ships (in the plural) which corresponds to Noah's Ararat and to Deucalion's Parnassus. It is not necessarily a sea-coast eminence: "in Corco Duibne" may be dismissed as an early gloss of no authority; the original story-tellers most probably supposed that it was somewhere near the confluence of the three rivers, Nore, Barrow, and Suir. For unless these three rivers have some correspondence with the three couples who led the expedition, it is difficult to see why they are introduced into the story at all. It is not a fatal objection to this hypothesis that the grounding of Cessair's ark on her Ararat must in that case have been proleptic,

preceding the actual advent of the Flood: otherwise the ship could not have sailed to an inland Dūn na m-Barc. Unquestionably this anomaly is a result of editorial manipulation. In the original (pagan) legend Cessair must have survived her Flood: in fact, her voyage to Ireland is essentially her flood-voyage. But when it was ascertained on inspired authority that no one in the world had been saved from the Flood except Noah and his family, it became necessary to make Cessair and her exploits uncompromisingly antediluvian.

We now understand the significance of the fifty² women who were in her company. Originally they were the mothers of the various nations of the earth, the list being a LO counterpart of the list of languages in the preceding section: their names are badly corrupted, but some of them are suggestive of an eponymous significance. And undoubtedly Cessair is the Magna Mater of the Irish people. Although her name does not seem to be used eponymously, that of her doublet, Banba, is a well-known by-name of Ireland: Mac Firbis, in his preface to Chronicum Scotorum, calls her Heriu no Berba no Cesar: and a glossator of M has inserted the words ".i. Ere" above the name of Cessair, in almost every place where it occurs.

The identity of Cessair with Ēriu is underlined in the story of the Adventures of Tadg mac Cēin,<sup>3</sup> where that personage is represented as being greeted by Cessair (who here shares the immortality of Fintān) with precisely the same sentence—"it is long since thy coming was prophesied"—with which Ēriu greets the arriving Milesians in a later section of LG.

Naturally a story such as this cannot be torn from its context and forced into its present incongruous situation without leaving many loose ends no longer to be explained. Bath son of Bith, who appears in an interpolation in M, is one of these. *Dindsenchas* knows of two women, companions of Cessair, Fraechnat who is buried in Sliab Fraech,<sup>4</sup> and Eba, a she-leech, who rashly went to sleep on the shore called

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>A comparative study of this legend, with numerous references, will be found in Frazer, Folklore in the Old Testament, i, 104-361.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Or thrice fifty, according to the Druim Sneachta Banba story.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Silva Gadelica, i, 348, ii, 391.

Gwynn, Metrical Dinds, iv. 254.

Traig Eba, and was drowned in the rising tide<sup>5</sup>—doubtless, in the original story, one of the victims of the Flood. These persons do not appear in the LG list of Cessair's companions, unless we are to find them in Feochair and Abba respectively, who appear in the list of women. Undoubtedly Adna [= ancient] son of Bith, though he is transferred by historical compilers to a post-diluvian era, was originally of the company of the flood-heroes: conceivably he was a doublet of [L]adra.

Earnest believers in a universal Flood are faced with the difficulty of accounting for the perpetuation of ante-diluvian history across the catastrophe; and they dream of inscriptions on imperishable materials (as in Giraldus, *Top. Hib.*, iii, 1, Keating, I, v. 4, and see *ante*, vol. i, pp. 158, 254). Perhaps the Irish expedient of resurrecting Fintān and giving him a measure of immortality is as good as any, though Keating and the Annals of Clonmacnois recognise that it is contrary to the infallible testimony of Scripture.

The grotesque story of the flight of Fintān may possibly be included as a mockery of the unorthodox tales related of him: but it is also conceivable that there is a didactic purpose in the contrast between the long-lived Fintān, who avoids the women, and the short-lived Ladra, who is guilty of excess.

It is shown in the notes to ¶ 168 that the Capa story is primarily dioscuric. According to poem XXII one of these persons was a wright, and another a leech—two of the chief occupations of the Dioscuri.<sup>6</sup> But the p in the first name arouses suspicion that here at least we have artificial manipulation at work. And the statement that they took away "three handfuls of green grass" (Book of Fenagh, p. 50) does not help much; still less the note to the printed text of that document that "in some of the bardic accounts" [unspecified] "of the Colonizations of Ireland," they "are stated to have carried away with them a sod cut from the soil of Ireland as if in token of a right of possession." It is probably of importance, for a complete study of the crigin and mutual connexion of all these legends, that the same

action is attributed to "Adna" in a set of verses quoted by Keating (I, vi, 1).

A few words will be all that is necessary to summarize the later texts of K, and Kg.

Kg gives us the stories of the Three Daughters of Cain. of Banba (as in ¶ 167), and of the Three Fishers, which are ignored by K. In dealing with Cessair, both compilers follow C<sup>B</sup> (¶ 179) in the story of Noah's repulse of the suppliants and their recourse to the lām-dīa. For the details of the vovage, K goes back to C<sup>A</sup> (¶ 176); Kg does so also, but he leaves out the itinerary, adds up the stages, and says that the whole journey lasted 71 years. From the landing at Dun na mBare the two narratives run parallel: K looks back to C' for the manner of the death of Ladra (omitting the alternative story of the oar), while Kg follows CB in passing it over. Kg, while properly sceptical about the survival of Fintan, quotes an interesting verse naming four learned men in the four quarters of the world at the time of the Flood, to wit Finntan, Feron, Fors, Andoid son of Ethor, Ethor reappears as one of the triad which closes the dynastic line of the Tuatha De Danann: in Feron and Andoid we recognise with little difficulty two of the alleged sons of Nemed, called in the present compilation Fergus and Ainnind. We must expect, and we shall find throughout our study, a wide range of corruption in proper names, which have no generally known signification to keep them to a standard form, and which are peculiarly liable to arbitrary alteration.

<sup>5</sup> Gwynn, Metrical Dinds. iv, 292.

See J. R. Harris, The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends, p. 61.

## SECTION III.

## First Redaction.

## L 2 γ 47: F 4 β 3.

166. ¹Scuirem ‡ ²i fecht-sa² || do scēlaib na ³nGāedel ¹co ro aisnidem do na secht⁴ tūathaib ⁵ro gabsat Hērind rempo.⁵ Ro gab ⁶ēm Cessair ¹ingen Betha meic ⁶Nōe, cethracha ⁰lā rīa ndīlind. ¹⁰Partholōn mac Sera, ¹¹trī chēt bliadan ¹²īar ndīlind. ¹³Nemed mac ¹⁴Agnomain do Grēcaib ¹⁵Scithīa, i cind trichat ¹⁶mbliadan īar ¹⁻Partholōn. Fir Bolg ¹⁵īarsain. Fir Domnand ¹⁵īarsain. ²⁰Galiōin īarsain.²⁰ Tūatha Dē Danann ²¹īartain: ²²unde Fintān cecinit,

# Hēriu cīa fiarfaigther dim.

L

167.

F

Cia didida cia [sic] ragab Erinn iar tusmid talman?

Is ed isbert Lebar Droma Snechta<sup>(a)</sup> comad Banba ainm na ced ingine fogabad Erinn ria nilind, .i. comad uaithi nobet Banba for Erinn. Tri cóicait ogh do dechaid 7 triar fer. Ladra in tres fer, is e ced marb Erenn insin: is uad

of the Gaedil, that we may tell of the seven peoples who took Ireland before them. Cessair d. Bith s. Noe took it, forty days before the Flood. Partholon s. Sera three hundred years after the Flood. Nemed s. Agnomain of the Greeks of Scythia, at the end of thirty years after Partholon. The Fir Bolg thereafter. The Fir Domnann thereafter. The Gailioin thereafter [al., along with them]. The Tuatha De Danann thereafter. [The sons of Mil thereafter as Fintan said]. Unde Fintan cecinit,

Poem no. XXI.

167.

Now, who (was the first who) took Ireland after the creation of the world? This is what the Book of Druim Snechta says, that Banba was the name of the first woman who found Ireland before the Flood, and that from her Ireland is called "Banba." With thrice fifty maidens she came, and with

<sup>166. (</sup>variants from F) <sup>1</sup> scuirim <sup>2-2</sup> om. <sup>3</sup> ngil with aed sprs. yc F <sup>4-4</sup> itfetsam coraitsnedem don .uii. <sup>5-5</sup> rogabasad (second a expuncted) Erinn rompo <sup>6</sup> am <sup>7</sup> ingin Beatha <sup>8</sup> Nae <sup>9</sup> om. la <sup>10</sup> rubbed in L: might also be -alan. O'Curry's transcript has -alon, but the two vowels are certainly identical. <sup>11</sup> tri .ccc. <sup>12</sup> ria, the r afterwards erased <sup>13</sup> Nemid

Agnon L Agnamaid F
 Scithiedai (the h dot ye F)
 Parthalan
 is iartain
 is iarsin
 <l

<sup>(</sup>a) Written Dromas nechta.

ainmnigter Ard Ladrann. Cetracha bliadan badar is an indsi: dosainie iaram galar. conerbailtar uili an aen sechtmain. Da cet bliadan iarsin do bi Eriu can aen duine beo, con iaram tainic dili. Cethracha la 7 bliadain ro bi Ere fo dilind. I cinn tri cet mbliadan jarum rosgab Parthalon Erenn: trebastar sin cóica bliadan ar cóic cét, condaselgadar Concind, conna terna i uarthid || nech dia chlaind i mbethu. Tricha bliadan iaram can duine i mbethaid an Erinn.

168.

Mad iar n-araili slicht imorro, is iad so cetna ro la for Erinn ria ndilind, .i. Cappa 7 Luasad 7 Laigne; ‡ acht chena ni hairmid <Lebor> Gabala iad, ar nir aittrebsad iat[h] Erenn ||. Is ed so imorro dosfue a n-Erinn: a techt do iascach for muir, co ra seit in gaeth o Espain co Erinn. Soised fritasi co Espain for cenn a man, do tiachtain do aittrebad Erenn. O do riachtatar Erinm doris, dosfarraid in dili, corasbaidh oc Tuaig (a) Indber: conad dib do can in file.

Capa is Laigni is Luasad grind.

three men. Ladra, one of the three men, he is the first dead man of Ireland at that time: from him is named Ard Ladrann. Forty years were they in the island: thereafter a disease came upon them, so that they all died in one week. Afterward Ireland was for two hundred years without a living person and thereafter came the Flood. A year and forty days was Ireland under the Flood. At the end of three hundred vears thereafter. Partholon took Ireland: he dwelt there five hundred and fifty years. till the Cynocephali drave him out, and there escaped [survived] not one of his children alive. For thirty years after that there was not a man living in Ireland.

If we follow another version. however, these are the first who came over Ireland before the Flood, Capa, and Luasad, and Laigne; [howbeit, (the Book) of Taking does not reckon them, for they did not settle in the land of Ireland]. Now this is what brought them into Ireland; their coming upon the sea for fishing, so that the wind blew them from Spain to Ireland. They came back again to Spain to fetch their wives, to come and settle in Ireland. When they reached Ireland once more, the Flood overtook them and drowned them at Tuad Inbir: so that of them the poet sang

Poem no. XXII.

(a) Written ottuaig, and the first t scratched down into c.

168

L

169. Incipit de Gabalaib Herend. racha laa ria ndilind.

Cesair ingin Beatha meic Rosgab iarum Nae, is i <sup>9</sup>dog[ab] Erinn ar Cessair ingen Betha meic tus, cethracha laithi ria Noe, ut poeta dixit, ceth- ndilind, ‡ mad iarsin slicht doluid-sem sunn. II

Is ē 'fochond a 'tiachtana, ar 'teched na 'dīlend: ūair asbert Noe friu: Ergid, ar sē, co himmel īartharach in domain: bes moco ria in 8dīliu.

> Dia Mairt iaram, 7 .xu. fuirri. ro gluais o hindsi Morohen for sruth Nil in Egift. Bai deich bliadan in Eigift. Fiche tra[th] dhi ar muncind Mara Caisp. Da trath deg di for Muir Caisp co riacht in Muir Cimirda. Aen trath di in Aissia Bic. co Muir Torrian. Seolad fichet trath di co Sliabh nElpa. Fri re nae trath di asen co Espain. Seoladh nói trath di o Esbain co Erinn. Cóic uathad, for Satharnn, amail isbert in fili.

> > Cessair canas tāinic sī.

169. Incinit The Flood.

Cessair daughter of Bith Takings of Ireland. There- s. Noe, she it is who took after Cessair daughter of Ireland at first, forty days Bith s. Noe took it, ut poeta before the Flood, [if we dixit. forty days before the follow the version that has come here].

This is the reason for her coming, fleeing from the Flood: for Noe said unto them: Rise, said he, [and go] to the western edge of the world: perchance the Flood may not reach it.

> Thereafter, on Tuesday, dated the fifteenth, she set forth from the island of Meroe upon the river Nile in Egypt. She was ten years in Egypt. Twenty days had she upon the surface of the Caspian Sea. Twelve days had she on the Caspian Sea till she reached the Cimmerian Sea. One day had she in Asia Minor, to the Torrian Sea. A sailing of twenty days had she to the Alpine Mountain: for a space of nine days had she thence to Spain. A sailing of nine days had she from Spain to Ireland. A unitary five [=the fifth day of the month], on Saturday [she landed], as the poet said,

> > Poem no. XXIII.

<sup>\*</sup> tidecht \* teichid \* dilind 169. 1 fochaind Nae do raid friu eirgid ase (sic) \*himell iartarach. O'Curry's transcript of L omits the

ah om, in very conspicuous lenition-mark in iarthurach. T CO 8 dile MS.: in marg. b (sic) written faintly.

170. Lucht trī ¹mbarc dosrala do Dūn na mBarc ²hi crīch ³Corco Duibne. Ro ⁴bāttea dī bairc ⁵dīb. Tērna Cessair, lucht ⁶a †bairce, .i. cōica ingen ⁊ triar fer: ˚s.i. Bith mac ⁶Nōe, diatā slīab Betha—is ¹⁰and ro hadnacht, i ¹¹carn mōr ¹²Slēbe Betha; ¹³Ladru lūam, diatā Ard ²⁴Ladrand—is ē ¹⁵cētna marb ¹⁶dochōid fo ūir ¹¬Hērenn: Fintān mac ¹³Bochra, diatā ¹¬Fert Fintāin ōs ²⁰Tul Tuinne. Atbath Cessair i ²¹Cūil Chesra la Connachta, cona cōicait ingen.

171. Ité inso a n-anmandside, ut Fintan cecinit Amail i[s]bert in fili

Cethracha trāth don tūr tind.

Is iat so imorro anmanda in cóicat ingin do badar a fail Cessrach, ut Fintan cecinit

Cāin raind do raindsemar etrond.

<sup>1</sup>Nī rogab nech <sup>2</sup>trā do <sup>3</sup>śīl Adaim <sup>4</sup>Hērind rīa <sup>5</sup>ndīlind acht <sup>6</sup>sain.

Second Redaction.

V 3 a 32: E 2 y 3: R 76 B a 13: D 5 a 6.

172. ¹Scuirem do scēlaib na ²nGāidel ‡ ³fodessta || ⁴co ro ⁵aisnedem do na cōic ⁵tūathaib ¹ro gabsat ⁵Ērind rempu. ¹Ro gab Cessair ‡ ¹ºrempu, || .i. ¹¹ingen Betha meic Nōe ‡ meic ¹²Lamiach ||, cethracha ¹³lā rīa ¹⁴ndīlind. Rosgab

170. The crew of three ships arrived at Dun na mBarc in the territory of Corco Duibne. Two of the ships were wrecked. Cessair with the crew of her ship escaped, fifty women and three men: Bith s. Noe, of whom is Sliab Betha (named)—there was he buried, in the great stone-heap of Sliab Betha; Ladra the pilot, of whom is Ard Ladrand—he is the first dead man who went under the soil of Ireland; Fintan s. Bochra, of whom is "Fintan's Grave" over Tul Tuinde. Cessair died in Cul Cessrach in Connachta, with her fifty maidens.

171. These are their names, ut Fintan cecinit

As the poet said Poem no. XXIV.

Now these are the names of the fifty maidens that were in Cessair's company, ut Fintan cecinit

# Poem no. XXV.

None of the seed of Adam took Ireland before the Flood but those.

172. Let us cease [now] from the stories of the Gaedil, that we may tell of the five peoples who took Ireland before them. Cessair took [before them]—d. Bith s. Noe [s. Lamech], forty days before the Flood.

<sup>170.</sup> ¹ marc dorala ² a ³ Orca ⁴ baita da ⁵ dibh ⁰ this a om. O'Curry, wrongly. In F luchta bairci is written instead of the more usual lucht abairci ¹ -ci ² im, the - for m yc F ⁰ Nae F ¹⁰ an (sprs. yc F) do ¹¹ carnn ¹² Sleibi ¹³ Ladra luaim ¹⁴ -ann ¹⁵ .c. ¹⁶ dochuaid ¹¹ Er. ¹⁵ written b ca F ¹⁰ Firt ²⁰ Tuil Tuindi ²¹ Carnn Cuili Cessrach la Conachtaib a coicait ingin.

<sup>171.</sup> The words Ité . . . cecinit look like an insertion in L

om. achlaind a Erinn ondilin osin.

172. scuirium V onGoedheal EnGoidel RnGoedel D

fodesta ER ago E odim V faisnedem Raisneidem ED

dogab- D all- DE (rempo E) ongab em Cesair ingen R.

roscab E, but the word obscured by an injury to the MS.

rempa D in ingin E oloks like Lainiach V on injury E

<sup>15</sup>Partholōn i cind āen bliadna dece ar trī cētaib īarom. Nemed rosgab <sup>16</sup>īarom, <sup>17</sup>īar trichait bliadan. Fir Bole īarom, ‡ īar dā cēt bliadan. || Tūatha Dē <sup>18</sup>Danann īarom. ‡ <sup>19</sup>Gāidil <sup>20</sup>īarsin, usque ad finem mundi. ||

# <sup>21</sup>Hēriu cia fiarfaighther dim.

173. ¹Asberat ²araile ³combeth gabāil ⁴an ⁵Ērind rīa ⁶Cessair, ⁻.i. ⁶Cappa ⁰¬ ¹ºLaigne ¹¹¬ ¹²Luassat, triar ¹⁵īascaire do lucht na Hespāine ¹⁴dochomlaiset co Hērinn: co ¹⁵faccatar a suthaighe, co ro ¹⁶midraiset techt ar ¹⁻cūlu ar ¹⁶cala a trī mban. ¹⁰Ic tintud ²⁰dōib, ²¹dosfarraid ²²dīliu ²³corusbāidh ²⁴hic ²⁵Tuaid Inbir, ¬ ni ²⁶fargabsat ²¬clanda. De quibus hoc carmen ²⁶dicitur,

# Capa is Laigni is Luasad grind.

174. Do gabāil ¹Cessrach ²andso ³sīs, ⁴7 dia scēlaib ⁵rīa ndīlinn.⁴ Ceist: Cia ⁶cēta rogab Hērinn ar ⁻tūs,⁶ īar ⁶tustin talman? Nīnsa. ීCessair, ingen Betha meic Nōe meic ¹⁰Lāmiach, dalta-¹¹side ¹²Sabaill meic ¹³Manūail, nt ¹⁴dicitur

# Cessair ingen Betha būain.

175. <sup>1</sup>Asberat araile comad Banba ainm na hingine sin rogab Ērinn rīa ndīlind, 7 comad ūaithi nobeth Banba for Ērinn.<sup>1</sup>

Doluid <sup>2</sup>Cessair <sup>3</sup>īarom <sup>4</sup>a Hindsi <sup>5</sup>Meroēn ar <sup>6</sup>teched na <sup>7</sup>dīlend, ar ba <sup>8</sup>dōig <sup>9</sup>lese dū na <sup>10</sup>rāncatar <sup>11</sup>dōini rīam <sup>12</sup>cossin, <sup>7</sup> nach dērnad <sup>13</sup>olc na <sup>14</sup>himurbus, <sup>7</sup> ro

Partholon took it, at the end of three hundred and cleven years thereafter. Nemed took it thereafter, after thirty years. The Fir Bolg thereafter, [after two hundred years]. The Tuatha De Danann thereafter. [The Gaedil thereafter, usque ad finem mundi.]

## Poem no. XXI.

173. Others say that there was a taking in Ireland before Cessair, to wit Capa, Laigne, and Luasat, three fishermen of the folk of Spain, who came together to Ireland: they saw its fertility, and decided to come back for their three wives. When they returned, the Flood came upon them, and drowned them at Tuad Inber, and they left no progeny. De quibus hoc carmen dicitur,

## Poem no. XXII.

174. Of the Taking of Cessair here below, and of the tales told of her before the Flood. Who first took Ireland in the beginning, after the Creation of the World? Cessair, daughter of Bith s. Noe s. Lamech; fosterling was she of Saball s. Manual, ut dicitur,

# Poem no. XXVI.

175. Others say that Banba was the name of that woman who took Ireland before the Flood, and that from her Banba is a name that Ireland has.

Cessair came thereafter from the Island of Meroe, fleeing from the Flood: for she thought it probable that a place where men had never come till then, where no

<sup>15 -</sup>tol R: hi for i ERD 16 om. E 17 iarndib cetaib bl. E 18 Danond E Don- D 19 Goidhil E Goidil R 20 iarsain E 21 this poem in V only. 173. <sup>1</sup> assb- V asp- D <sup>2</sup> aroile ED araili R <sup>3</sup> gombeith E combeith R 4 ind ER in D 5 Herind D 6 Cesair VR om. .i. R Capa ER <sup>9</sup> 7 yo D <sup>10</sup> -gh- E <sup>11</sup> om. 7 R <sup>12</sup> Luassatt E Luasat R <sup>13</sup> iascaired V 14 -omh- E dochumlaisetar R 15 facatt- E facatar RD 15 midhraiset E -uis- D 17 cula R 18 cenn DR 19 ic tintudh V ic tinntiud 20 the b dotted, but probably without significance D E oc tinntud R 21 -uid D 22 ins. an R 23 -ros- DER -baid D 24 ic E oc R 25 Tuaidh V

tTuaid E Tuaig D 26 farce- E farc- R farcabsat D 27 clanna R 28 om. R.

<sup>174.</sup> ¹Cesrach VRD Chessarach E ² inso E annso R so D ³ siss V

4-4 om. EDR 5 iar n- V 6-6 cet gabail rogab Eri and om. ar tus R

† thus E 8 second t dotted without meaning V. tuistin ER thustin D

† Cesair R ¹ Laimiach R ¹¹ sidhe V ¹² -abh- E ¹² -uaill R ¹⁴ dx. D.

175. ¹-¹ in V only ² Cesair R ³ om. ED ⁴ a hind a hindsi (sic) V

a hinnsib R a hinnsi D 5 Meren with o yc sprs. E Marahén R 6 techedh R

† dilim ER dilenn D 8 doigh E 9 leisi ER lesi D 10 -ng- D

¹¹ doine ED daine R ¹² cosin EDR 12 olce V 14 himarbus E himmarbus D

SECTION III.—CESSAIR.

sāerad ar bīastaib 7 mīchuirthib in <sup>15</sup>domuin, <sup>16</sup>combad sāer <sup>17</sup>in dū <sup>18</sup>sin ar <sup>19</sup>dīlind. Ocus ro <sup>20</sup>indisetar dana a <sup>21</sup>druidhi di <sup>22</sup>Hēriu fon innas sain, 7 ara <sup>23</sup>tīset co Hērinn. <sup>24</sup>Conid aire sin <sup>25</sup>do riacht <sup>26</sup>Cessair for iarair <sup>27</sup>Hērenn.

176. Dīa Mairt a ¹hindse ²Meroēn, ³ar fut ⁴srotha Nīl. Secht mbliadna dī fri ⁵tāeb ⁶Eigipti. ¬Ocht trāth ⁶dēcc ⁰dī for ¹⁰munciunn Mara ¹¹Caisp. Fiche trāth ⁰dī ō Muir ¹²Caisp ¹³cosin Muir ¹⁴Cimerda. Trāth dī ¹⁵do Aissia ¹⁶Bicc, etir Siria ¹¬¬ Muir ¹вТоггіан. Fichi trāth ō ¹٩Aissia ²⁰Bicc, ²¹ic seōlad ²²co Helpa. ²³A hocht dēcc ō Elpa co Hespāin. Nōi trāth ²⁴dī ō Espāin co ²⁵Hērinn. Dīa ²¹Sathairn do riacht ²¬Hērinn, ¬ ²²всōic dēcc ²рforsin ²°Sathairn sin, amail ³¹asbert in ³²file,

# Cessair can as tāinic sī.

177. ¹Cethracha lā rīa ²ndīlind ³trā ⁴do ⁵ruachtatar; lucht teora mbare dosrala do Dūn na mBarc ⁶in Irrus ¹Desscirt ⁶Coreco ゥDuibne. Ro bāidit dā ¹obaircc ¹¹dīb, ¹²connach ¹³tērna dīb acht ¹⁴Cessair, lucht a ¹⁵baircce: sē bliadna ¹⁶caocat ar sē ¹⁻cētaib ar ¹⁵mīle ō ¹⁰thossuch ²odomain ²¹co sin. ²²Cōeca ingen ¬ triar fer ²³līn ²⁴battar ²⁵issin luing sin, .i. Bith mac ²⁶Nōe meic ²¬Laimiach, ōn

evil nor sin had been committed, and which was free from the reptiles and monsters of the world, that such a place should be exempt from a Flood. And her wizards, indeed, told her that Ireland was in that case, and that on that account she should come to Ireland. Wherefore Cessair arrived, in search of Ireland.

176. On Tuesday, from the island of Meroe, along the river Nile. Seven years had she alongside the territory of Egypt. Eighteen days had she upon the surface of the Caspian Sea. Twenty days had she from the Caspian to the Cimmerian Sea. A day had she to Asia Minor, between Syria and the Torrian Sea. Twenty days from Asia Minor, sailing to the Alps. Eighteen [days] from the Alps to Spain. Nine days had she from Spain to Ireland. On Saturday she reached Ireland, and that Saturday was dated the fifteenth, as the poet said,

## Poem no. XXIII.

177. Forty days before the Flood they arrived: the crew of three ships chanced upon Dun na mBarc in the Southern Promontory of Corco Duibne. Two of the ships were wrecked, so that there escaped none of them save Cessair, with the crew of her ship: a thousand six hundred fifty and six years from the beginning of the world until then. Fifty women and three men were the

imarbus R <sup>16</sup> domain R <sup>16</sup> comad V <sup>17</sup> an R <sup>18</sup> sain E <sup>19</sup> -inn RD <sup>20</sup> inn- RD -diss- E <sup>21</sup> druidhe E druide R -di D <sup>22</sup> Eri R: do riassin E fon innass sin E fon innas sin R foan inas sai the first a yc sbs D <sup>23</sup> -sad (a dot, not a lenition-mark, over the d) V -ssad E -sed R <sup>24</sup> conidh E: airisin R <sup>25</sup> do riass E <sup>26</sup> Cesair R <sup>27</sup> Erenn R.

<sup>176.</sup>  $^1$  hinsi E innsib R hindsiu D  $^2$  Maraoen R  $^3$  iar ED  $^4$  srothae E  $^5$  toeb RD  $^6$  Eigipt E Egipte R  $^7$  .ui. changed to .uiii. E; uii R  $^8$  dec VR  $^6$  om. R (bis)  $^{10}$  muin- ERD -cind E -cinn R  $^{11}$  Caisb R  $^{12}$  Chaisp D  $^{13}$  co R  $^{14}$  Cimerdhae E Cimreda R  $^{15}$  do Aissi V d'Aissia E do Assia RD  $^{16}$  bic VR  $^{17}$  is VD  $^{18}$  Torian V Toirrian R Torren D  $^{19}$  Assia R Aisia D

 $<sup>^{20}</sup>$  bie VRD  $^{21}$  ac R  $^{22}$  go D  $^{23}$  .xuiii. (om. a) MSS.: ins. trath sec. man. R  $^{24}$  om. R  $^{25}$  Heiir- E  $^{20}$  Sat- E -airnn V  $^{27}$  Erind ER  $^{29}$  coiced E  $^{29}$  forin V  $^{20}$  -tharn E tSatharnn R  $^{31}$  asp- D  $^{32}$  fili R

<sup>5 -</sup>dar EV 4a E 3 trath E 177. 1 the -a vc E 2 -linn ER 7 deisc- R desc- D 8 Corca ER Chorca D an Iorrus E in Hirrus R 10 bairc ERD 11 dibh E 12 conach ER 9 Dhuibni E 15 -ree ED -rei R 16 caecat V coecat RD 14 Cesair E 21 cus an 19 thosach ED tosach R 20 domh- E 18 mhili E mili R 23 ins. is e R 22 caoga E mbliadain sin RD co sin mbliadain sin E 27 Lamiach VD 25 isin ER isind D 26 Naoi E Nai R 24 hatar VED

<sup>28</sup>ainmnigter Slīab Betha, ar is <sup>29</sup>and ro <sup>30</sup>hadhnacht, <sup>31</sup>i <sup>32</sup>carnn mōr <sup>33</sup>Slēibe Betha: Ladra lūam, ōn <sup>34</sup>ainmnigther Ard <sup>35</sup>Ladrand, is <sup>36</sup>ēside <sup>37</sup>cētna marb <sup>38</sup>Ērenn rīa <sup>39</sup>ndīlind: <sup>40</sup>atbath do <sup>41</sup>furail banaich, nō <sup>42</sup>issē <sup>43</sup>lunta <sup>44</sup>in <sup>45</sup>rāma <sup>46</sup>dochuaid <sup>47</sup>i tarb a <sup>48</sup>sliasta: secip cruth trā, <sup>49</sup>issē in <sup>50</sup>Ladru sin <sup>51</sup>cētna marb <sup>52</sup>Hērenn. <sup>53</sup>Finntān mac Labrada meic <sup>54</sup>Bethaig meic <sup>55</sup>Lamiach qui dicitur Mac Bochra, ar <sup>56</sup>Bochra nomen matris eius: ba <sup>57</sup>hē-side <sup>58</sup>in <sup>59</sup>macāem <sup>60</sup>ōn ainmnigter Fert Fintāin <sup>60</sup>ōs <sup>61</sup>Taul <sup>62</sup>Tunide.

178. Ro ¹randsat ²in triar fer sin ²in ³cōecait ⁴ingen ⁵etorru, <sup>6</sup>ut ¹Fintān dixit

Cāin raind do raindsemar etrond.

179. Mad āil trā ¹a ²fiss ³tairthiud ⁴Cesra ⁵hi tīr ⁶nĒrend, i. ¬fāith Dē ¬ a ²thechtaire dia ⁰rād fri ¹⁰Nōe mac ¹¹Lamiach : ¹²Dēne ¹³airee duit do ¹⁴crannaib ¹⁵ētromaib, ar ¹⁶doraga dīliu ¬ ¹¹dīlegfaidh ¹⁶cach mbeo acht ¹⁰tussu ¬ do ben ¬ do meic ¬ mnā do mac. Ocus ²⁰missi, ar Bith, cid dogēn ? Nī ²¹lēcar ²²damsa, ar ²³Nōe, ar ²⁴mēt do ²⁵peccaid, do ²⁶lēcan ²¬sin ²⁶aire. Ocus ²⁰mesi, ar ³⁰Findtān hua ³¹Lāimiach, ³²cid dogēn ? Nī ³³lium a ³⁴chomas, ar ³⁵Nōe. ³⁶Missi, ar ³¬Ladru, ³⁶cid dogēn ?³³³Nīmtha a ⁴⁰chomas, ar ⁴¹Nōe, nī long ⁴²ladrand ⁴³in long-sa ¬ nī ⁴⁴hūaim ⁴⁵thadhat. ⁴⁶Īarsain ⁴¬doluid Bith ⁴⁶i ⁴⁰comairle ¬

tally that was in that ship: to wit Bith s. Noe s. Lamech, from whom is Sliab Betha named, for there was he buried, in the great stone-heap of Sliab Betha: Ladra the pilot, from whom is Ard Ladrann named—he is the first dead man of Ireland before the Flood. He died of excess of women, or it is the shaft of the oar that penetrated his buttock: whatever way it was, however, that Ladra is the first dead man of Ireland. Finntan s. Labraid s. Bethach s. Lamech, qui dicitur Son of Bochra, for Bochra is nomen matris eius: he was the youth after whom is named "Fintan's Grave" above Tul Tuinde.

178. Those three men divided the fifty women among them, ut Fintan dixit

### Poem no. XXV.

179. Wouldst thou know of the adventure of Cessair into the land of Ireland: A prophet of God and His messenger had said unto Noe s. Lamech: Make thee an ark of light timbers, for a Flood shall come, and shall submerge every living thing save only thee and thy wife and thy sons and the wives of thy sons. And I, said Bith, what shall I do? It is not permitted to me, said Noe, for the greatness of thy sinfulness, to suffer thee into the Ark. And I, said Fintan grandson of Lamech, what shall I do? I have no power, said Noe. I, said Ladra, what shall I do? I have no power, said Noe: this ship is no

Laimhiach E Laimiach R 28 -ther ED 29 ann RD 30 haghnacht E hadn- R adhnacht V 31 hi ED a R 32 carnd E carn D 33 Sl-i Bethad D 34 -ghter E 35 Ladhrann ERD (Ladr- DR) 36 eisidhe E esin R 37 cedna E 38 Eir- E H- D 40 adbath E 41 fur- D 39 ndilinn RD 43 lunna E 42 ase E ise RD 44 ina E na R 45 ramha E ramai D 46 -aidh V 47 a ER hi D 48 śliasta D -sda E 49 ise ERD: an R 51 cedna E 50 Ladra ERD 52 Eir- E Er- R 53 Findtan E Fintan D 54 Bethad R .55 Laimiach E 56 Bohera V 57 om. -side RD (written ba h'ē D, ba hē E) 58 an R 59 macaomh E -aem yc R ota Firt Findtain (Fintain D Finntain R) EDR 61 Tul E 62 Tuinde E

<sup>178.</sup>  $^1$ rann- RD -sad E  $^2$ an R (bis)  $^3$  caogad E  $^4$ n-ingen VD  $^5$  ins. hi (a R) trib rannaib RD (-uib D) hi tribh randaib E: etarra E etorra R  $^6$  amail asbert Finntan R  $^7$  Findtan VE.

<sup>179. 1</sup> erasure of about four letters here R 2 Tis E fis D 3 tairtiudh E tauirthiud R <sup>4</sup> Chesra E Cesrai R 5 i ER onErind V nEir- E faid E 8 tech- DR 10 Nae V Naoi E Nai R " radh E 12 dena ER 13 aire ER 11 Laimhiach ER (m R) 14 crandaibh E 18 -bh E -omm- D 16 doradha dili E 17 -legh- E -faid R 19 tusa ERD 20 misi ERD 21 legar D 22 damh- E 23 Naoi E 24 meit R 25 pec- ER phecuid D 26 leic- E lecen R leccon D 27 isin E 29 misi ERD (sind D) isind R 28 airce D 30 Finn- D 31 Laimhiach 32 ciodh E 33 liom E lim R limm D E Lamiach D 34 com- R 36 misi ER mise D 38-38 om. R, 35 Naoi E 37 Ladhra E Ladra RD 39 nimta R cidh dogen V cidh doghen E 40 chommas V com- R 42 latrann D 43 an R 44 huaimh E 45 thadhad E tadh- R 41 Naoi E thad- D 46 -sin ERD 47 -uidh VE 48 a R hi D 49 comharli E

<sup>50</sup>Findtān γ <sup>51</sup>Ladhru, γ <sup>52</sup>asbertatar: Cid <sup>53</sup>dogēnum <sup>54</sup>din <sup>55</sup>comairle sin, ar is <sup>56</sup>airchend <sup>57</sup>co <sup>58</sup>targa <sup>59</sup>dīliu, γ <sup>60</sup>cindas <sup>61</sup>nosfrithāilfium? Ninsa, ar <sup>62</sup>Cessair ingen <sup>63</sup>Betha. <sup>64</sup>Tabraid <sup>65</sup>aitidin damsa, γ dobersa <sup>66</sup>innus <sup>67</sup>comairle <sup>68</sup>duib. <sup>69</sup>Rotbia <sup>70</sup>an nī sin, ar <sup>71</sup>eat. <sup>72</sup>Tabar <sup>73</sup>didiu lāmdīa <sup>74</sup>chūcaib, <sup>75</sup>ar sī, γ <sup>76</sup>adraid <sup>77</sup>do, γ <sup>78</sup>dellaid <sup>79</sup>fri Dīa <sup>80</sup>Nōe. <sup>81</sup>Tucsat īarom <sup>82</sup>dīa <sup>83</sup>chūcu, γ <sup>84</sup>issī <sup>85</sup>comairle <sup>86</sup>tue an dīa <sup>87</sup>dōib: <sup>88</sup>Dēnigh <sup>89</sup>longaiss γ <sup>90</sup>ēirgidh <sup>91</sup>for muir. Acht ni <sup>92</sup>fetadarsom, γ ni <sup>93</sup>fitir a ndīa <sup>94</sup>cain do ragad <sup>95</sup>dīliu. Conid <sup>96</sup>ead <sup>97</sup>dorigensat, a n-airc <sup>98</sup>dognim γ <sup>99</sup>dula <sup>100</sup>innti, secht <sup>101</sup>mbliadna γ <sup>102</sup>rāithi <sup>103</sup>rīa <sup>104</sup>tiachtain <sup>105</sup>dīlend.

180. ¹Is ²hē ³līn lotar ⁴hissin ⁵aire ⁴sin: cōica ingen im ¹Chessair ⁵η im ¹Bairrinn γ im ¹¹Balba ¹¹η im ¹²Findtān γ im Bith γ im ¹³Ladra.¹¹ Ro ¹⁴sīrsitar trā ¹⁵Ēigipt γ rl., co ¹⁴rīachtatar ¹²co ¹³Hespāin. ¹¹Rostimart ²⁰doinend γ ²¹anfud ²²co Hērinn fri rē ²³nōi trāth,²⁴ congabsat ie Dūn na ²⁵mBarc īar ²⁶nĒrinn, ²γγ ²³dolotar cona mnāib co ²٩Miledach—γ Bun ³⁰Sūainme ³¹ind inbaid sin ba ³²hainm dō .i. ³³sūainium ³⁴Sūiri ³⁵γ ³³sūanem Eōire γ sūainem ³⁶Berba: γ ³γissē sin ³³Comur na Trī ³³nUsqi, do ⁴⁰chummuse na trī ⁴¹n-aband.

181. Ocus ¹rannsat ²in ³cōicait ⁴n-ingen ⁵hi trī, 7 ruc Fintān ⁶Cessair do ¬rogain, 7 ⁵secht ⁰mnā dēcc ¹ºmaille ¹¹fria: ruc Bith

51 Ladhra E Ladra RD 50 Finntain E Finntan RD ccomairle D 53 dodenan (sic) E dodénum R dogenam D 52 adb- E 56 aircend E airchenn RD 55 chomairle D: -leisi E and om. sin E 60 cinnas EDR 61 -alfam ERD 58 targha R 59 dili E 57 go E 64 -uid E 65 aididin E aititin D 63 Bethu R 62 Cesair ERD 68 duibh E 66 written innu; V: indas R inus D 67 comhairli E <sup>70</sup> ani E in ni RD <sup>71</sup> iad E <sup>12</sup> -air E <sup>13</sup> om. E dana R 69 rodbia E 15 om. ar si RD 76 -aidh V "ins. ar si RD: eugaib E eucaib R 78 deall- E 17 dho the dot of aspiration apparently ins. sec. man. D 88 chuca ED 81 tugsad E 80 Naoi E Noi R 79 fria E 86 tug ED 84 asi ER isi D 85 comhairli E comairli R cuca R 88 dengid longus VE denid D denaidh R 89 longais RD 87 doibh E on fo with r sprs. ye V: fur E 92 feadatar E o eirgid E ergid DR 94 cuin VER qi D 96 dili ER 96 eadh V 98 fit- E fetatar RD 98 gniomh E 99 dol E 100 nt E of doronnsad E ed ER hed D 103 re E 101 om, m- V 102 raiti E raithe R rathi D inti D 105 dilinn R. 104 tichtain RD

ship of robbers and no den of thieves. Thereafter Bith and Ladra and Fintan came to consult together, and they said: What shall we do for that counsel, for it is final that a Flood shall come, and how shall we make us ready for it? Easy! said Cessair, daughter of Bith. Give submission to me, and I shall give you a manner of counsel. Thou shalt have that, said they. Take then to yourselves an idol, said she: worship it, and sunder you from the God of Noe. So they took a god unto themselves, and this is the counsel that it gave them: Make ye a voyage, and embark upon the sea. But they knew not, nor did their god know, when the Flood should come. Accordingly what they did was to make their Ark, and to go into it, seven years and three months before the coming of the Flood.

SECTION III.—CESSAIR.

180. This is the tally of those who went in that ark: fifty women in the company of Cessair and Bairrind and Balba and Fintan and Bith and Ladra. They sought out Egypt (and so forth) till they reached Spain. Storm and tempest drave them to Ireland in a space of nine days, till they landed at Dun na mBarc, behind Ireland, and they came with their women to Miledach. At that time Bun Suainme was its name, from the confluence of the Suir, the Nore and the Barrow. That is the Meeting of the Three Waters, from the mingling of the three rivers.

181. They divided the fifty women into three shares. Fintan took Cessair for choice, and seventeen women with her: Bith

181. ¹randsat ER ² an R ³ coecat E .l.a R ⁴ om. n- ER
⁵ i E a R ⁶ Cesair R † rogu E roga D ⁵ ins. a R ⁰ mna
sprs. yc D ¹⁰ ins. dana R: immaille ER moalle D moaille R ¹¹ frie ERD

<sup>180. 1</sup> his D ² e RD <sup>3</sup> lion E isin ER hisin D 5 airce VD 6 om. sin ERD <sup>7</sup> Chesair E Cesair RD 8 om. 7 D 9 Bairinn ER Bairrind D 10 Balbu R 11-11 um Bith 7 um Finntan 7 um Ladrau R: im before Findtan uc V 12 Findtann E 13 Ladhra E 14 sirsidar E 15 Eighipt E Egipt RD sirsetar R sirset D 16 -dar E 17 om. co R 18 Espain R 19 rotimart R 20 -nenn D 21 anfad R 22 om. co Herinn R co Heir- E 23 nóe V naoi E 24 ins. o Espain co Herinn R: 25 mBarce V -sad E 26 nEir- E 27 om. 7 R 28 dollotar R 29 Milidach ERD 30 Suainmi ER 31 an R 32 om. h- E 33 Suainem ED (bis) Suainem . . . suainem R 34 Suire ERD 35 om. 7 R 36 Beruai D 40 commuse E comusee R chumusee D "n-abann ER n-abonn D.

<sup>12</sup>seeht <sup>13</sup>mnā dēce <sup>14</sup>im <sup>15</sup>Bairrind. Ruc <sup>16</sup>Ladru sē mnā dēcc <sup>17</sup>im Balba, 7 ba dīmdach de. Ocus <sup>18</sup>doluidh leo <sup>19</sup>in Ard <sup>20</sup>Ladrand, 7 rl.

182. ¹Ocus ²dolotar na sē mnā dēc ³sin co Cessair γ ⁴asbertsat : Cid ⁵dogēnum fodechtsa? ˚Fāitte ⁻techta ō ˚Chesair co Bith γ ⁰adchomairce ¹¹ocid ¹¹dogēntais na mnā. ¹²Doluid post Bith co ¹³hāit ¹⁴i mbāe ¹⁵Finntān, ¹⁶γ ¹⁻randsat ¹³in cōicait mban ar dō, γ ¹³rue Bith ²ocōic mnā fichet dīb co ²¹tūascert ²²nĒrenn. ²³Atbath Bith in a slēib.²³.

183. Is ¹iarom lotar ²in bandtrocht ar ³cūlu, co ⁴harm i ⁵fargabsat ⁶Cessair γ †Fintān. ⁶Ēlāid īarom ℉intān for ¹o¹teched ¹¹rīa na mnāib uile, dar Bun ¹²Sūainme .i. ¹³dar ¹⁴Siūr, ¹⁵γ dar Slēib Cūa, hi ¹⁶Cend ¹¹Febrat innsin, γ ¹⁵a lām ¹ゥclē fri ²oʻSinaind sāir co ²¹Tul ²²Tuini ōs Loch ²³Dergdherce. ²⁴Doluid post ²⁵Cessair co Cūil ²⁶Cesra i Conachta γ a ²¬bandtracht ²⁵lē, γ ²⁵muigis a ³₀crīdhi ³¹inti do ⁵²ingnais a fir γ do ēc a ³³hathar. ⁵⁴Ocus ro ³⁵forbadh ³⁶andsin ³¬in ³⁶aimser o ³⁶Ādam co dīlinn acht ⁴₀secht lāe tantum.

184. Acht is do aimsir ¹Adaim domuinter ²in gabāil ³so ⁴Chessrach. ⁵Ind ⁴aimsir ¹so imorro ō dīlinn co ⁵Habrām, γ °cosin ¹⁰nōmaid bliaḍain flaithiusa ¹¹Abrāim, ¹²nocho frith ¹³Hērin conasfuair Partholōn: ¹⁴γ bāc trī cēt bliadan for ¹⁵Hērinn co ¹⁴rus-dīlegh ¹¹in ¹⁵mortlaid. Isin ¹⁵cetramudh bliadain ar sē cētaib do aimsir Abraim tānic ²⁰Nemedh ²¹ochtar ²²an Hērinn: ²²¬ ro ²⁴fallna ceithre cēt bliadan ²⁵for ²⁴Hērinn. ²³Hēriu īarsin, dā cēt bliadan ²⁵fāss, γ ro ²ðforbad ³ðfaithius Abrāim ⁵¹andsin acht ²³ceithre ³ðbliadna. Gabsat post Fir ²⁴Bolc ²⁵hi ³⁵tossuch na ³¹ceithre bliadan do ³⁵deriud flatha ³ðAbrāim. Ar isin sē bliadan ar trichat īar ngabāil do

12 ins. a R 18 om. R 14 um R 15 Bairind ERD (-inn R) 16 Ladra ER 17 om, im Balba RD 18 doluid ED dolluid R 20 Ladrann R. <sup>2</sup> doluidset E dollotar R 182. 1 occus E, om. R 3 om. sin R: co sprs. vc E <sup>4</sup> isbertsat E asbertatar R asbert D 5 dodenam E dogenam DR 6 foitte E foite R foiti D 7 tecta V 8 Cesair R 10 om. cid V 11 -taiss V 9-aire ED itcomaire R 12 dolluid R 14 a mbae E a mbai RD 13 haitt V ait R 15 Fintan ED Findtan R 17 rannsat ED 16 om. 7 R 18 an R 19 ruce E 20 cuic R 22 om. n- ER: -end E 23-23 om. ERD. 21 tuaiscert ERD 2 banntracht ER banntrocht D 183. 1 iarum R an R 3 culae E

cula R 'airm E hairm DE 5 fargarbsad V 6 Cesair D Ces. om. and ve R <sup>1</sup> Finntan VD 8 elaidh V helaid ERD <sup>9</sup> Fintan iarom R <sup>12</sup> Ruainme V Suanmhi E -nmi D 10 teiched R " rias ER 13 tar R 14 Suir ER 15 om. 7 ERD 16 cenn ED 17 Febrad R 18 om. a R 19 chle D 20 -ainn RD 21 ins. rainic R: Taul E 22 Tuinni E

took seventeen women including Bairrind: Ladra took sixteen with Banba, and was dissatisfied thereat. And he came with them into Ard Ladrand (and so forth).

182. And those sixteen women came to Cessair and they said: What shall we do now? Messengers were sent from Cessair to Bith, and she asked what the women should do. Afterwards Bith came to the place where Fintan was, and they divided the fifty women into two shares, and Bith took twenty-five women of them to the north of Ireland. Bith died in his mountain.

183. Thereafter the women went back, to the place where they left Cessair and Fintan. Then Fintan escapes, a-fleeing before all the women, across Bun Suainme, that is, across the Suir, and over Sliab Cua, which is in Cenn Febrat: left-hand to the Shannon eastward, to Tul Tuindi over Loch Dergdeire. Post Cessair came to Cul Cessrach in Connachta, and her women with her; and her heart brake within her for the absence of her husband and for the death of her father. Then was completed the time from Adam to the Flood, save seven days tantum.

184. But it is to the epoch of Adam that this Taking of Cessair is reckoned. In this epoch, moreover, from the Flood to Abraham, and to the ninth year of the reign of Abraham, Ireland was not discovered till Partholon found it: and he was three hundred years over Ireland till the pestilence quenched him. In the six hundred and fourth year of the epoch of Abraham the Nemed-octad came into Ireland: and it had dominion four hundred years over Ireland. Thereafter Ireland was for two hundred years desert, and then the epoch of Abraham was completed, save four years. The Fir Bolg post took it, in the beginning of the four years of

Tuinne RD 23 Deirg- RD -derce E -derc RD 24 doluidh E dolluid R 25 Cesair RD <sup>26</sup> Cesair R; om. i Conachta ERD 27 bantrocht E banntrocht D banntracht R 28 om. le R 29 maidis ER madis D 30 cridi ER cride D 31 innti ER 32 ingnaiss V 33 om. h- R 34 om. 7 R 35 -bad ERD 36 ann- ERD an ind E an R 38 -sir ER 60 .iiii. ER: la R. 39 Adham E 184. Adhaim VE Aduim D 2 an R <sup>3</sup> seo R <sup>4</sup> Cesra R 5 in R 6 -ser ED om. so imorro, ins. tra R 8 Habraam R 9 cosind E

10 nomad V 11 Abraaim R 12 noco ED nochas R 13 Er- E Éri R 14 om. 7 R 15 Erind R 16 ros EDR -dileg ERD 17 i m- E an R <sup>18</sup>-aidh V: mortflaid E <sup>19</sup>-mad D cetrumad R <sup>20</sup>-med ER 21 .uiii. R 23 om. 7 R 24 Fallna E fallnastar R 22 ind E in DR 25 ind E 27 Héri R 26 Hereo E 28 fas RD 29 -badh VR 30 flaith R 31 annsin DE ann R 32 .uii, D 33 om. R H Bolg ED 36 tosach RD 37 .uii, mbl. R 28 deiriud E deirid R 39 Abraaim R L.G .- VOL. II. 0

\*\*Feraib \*\*Bolc co tăncatar \*\*Tuath Dē Danann, \*\*co rogabsad for \*\*Firu Bolc: tricha bliadan tantum ro \*\*Ieiced \*\*faithus dōib. Remis imorro gnīma \*\*Tempuil Solman do \*\*Bechatar Meic \*\*Mīled, la Lugaid mac \*\*onItha.

185. In gabāil-¹si trā ²Ceasra, ³nīss ⁴gabait ⁵aroile hison ⁶ngabālaib. Acht ʾissiat ⁶fofuair ⁶Hērinn ar ¹⁰tūs. ¹¹Acht ni ¹²tērna nech dīb-¹³seo ¹⁴uile, acht ¹⁵Findtān ¹⁶namā a ¹'āenur, ro ¹ፆbōi ¹⁰isind ūaim ōs ²⁰Tul ²¹Tuinni fo ²²dīlinn: ¬ ro ²³fuirig Dīa a ²⁴anmain ²⁵and, ²⁶conidh hē ro ²'innis ²ፆgabāla Ērenn, ²⁰¬ rl.

### Cethracha trāth don tūr tind.

<sup>30</sup>Is amlaid-<sup>31</sup>sain <sup>32</sup>dana ro forbad <sup>33</sup>gabāil <sup>34</sup>Cessra.

## Third Redaction.

# B 12 α 49; M 271 γ 21.

186. ¹Sguirim ‡ trā || do scēlaib na ²nGāedheal ‡ ³adfeadsam || ⁴go ro aisneidheam do ⁵na secht tūathaibh ⁶ro ghabsad Ērind ¹rompu. ⁶Ro ghabh āmh Ceassair (a) ingean Beathadh meic Nāi, ⁶cethracha lā ¹ºrē ndīlind. ¹¹Parrtholōn mac ¹²Seara, trī ¹³cēt bliadan ¹⁴īar ndīlind. ¹⁵Neimeadh mac ¹⁶Aghnomain do ¹¹Grēgaibh Sceithīa, ¹⁵a cind ¹⁰trichad bliadan īar ²⁰Partholōn. Fir ²¹Bolg īartain. Fir Domnand īarsin. Gaileōin marāen riu-²²sin. Tūatha Dē Danand ²³īarsoin. ‡ Meic ²⁴Mīlidh ²⁵īarsain || ²⁶ut dixit Findtān,

# Hēriu cia fiarfaigther dim.

\* Feruib E Fheraib D \* Bolg D \* Tuatha R \* corceabsat E co rogabsat "Fhiru E Fira D 45 leicceadar E legv D 46 flaithius ERD 47 Tempaill Sholman R 48 -dar E dollotar R 49 Milid R 50 om. n- E. 185. 1 seo D om. R <sup>2</sup> Cesra V Cess, R Chesra D 3 nis ER \* gabat ED gabsat R <sup>5</sup> araile VR (-li R) <sup>6</sup> ngabala R 7 is iat ERD 10 thus E, tuss D 8 fouair V fosfuair R <sup>9</sup> Erind R 11 om. R 12 therna D 13 so RD 14 uili R huile D 15 Finntan R Fintan D 17 oenar ERD 19 isin R sind D 16 namma E om. R 18 bo E bui R 20 Tuil R 21 Tuinne RD 22 dilind R 23 fuirigh VE fuirig D 24 anmuin D 25 ann RD 26 conide ER conidhe D 27 indis D the end of the reign of Abraham. A series of thirty-six years after the taking by the Fir Bolg, till the Tuatha De Danann came, who took it over the Fir Bolg: thirty years tantum was the princedom permitted to them. In the time of the building of Solomon's Temple the sons of Mil came, with Lugaid son of Ith.

185. Now this taking of Cessair, others do not accept it among the Takings: still, it is they who found Ireland at the first. Howbeit not one of all these escaped, save only Fintan, who was in the cave above Tul Tuinde under the Flood. God kept him waiting there alive, so that it was he who related the Takings of Ireland, etc.

## Poem no. XXIV.

In this wise, then, the Taking of Cessair came to an end.

186. Let us cease, then, from the stories of the Gaedil [which we have related], that we may tell of the seven peoples who took Ireland before them. Cessair d. Bith s. Noe took it, forty days before the Flood. Partholon s. Sera, three hundred years after the Flood. Nemed s. Agnomain of the Greeks of Scythia, at the end of thirty years after Partholon. The Fir Bolg thereafter. The Fir Domnann thereafter. The Gaileoin along with them. The Tuatha De Danann thereafter. [The sons of Mil thereafter], ut dixit Findtan

## Poem no. XXI.

<sup>28</sup> cach (gach R, cech D) gabail rogab (rogab- D) Herinn ERD
 <sup>29</sup> om. 7 rl:
 ins. amail asbert an fili R
 <sup>30</sup> om. this sentence R
 <sup>31</sup> -sin D
 <sup>32</sup> dono D
 <sup>33</sup> gabhail E
 <sup>34</sup> Cesra V Chesra E.

186. (variants from M) 1 scuiream thra 2 nGaeidel 3 adfeadam 4 co ra aisnedeam 5 na seacht tuathaib 6 rogobsad 1 rompo <sup>8</sup> rogob em Ceasair ingen Beatha 9 ceathracha 10 iar 11 Parrthalon 12 Sera 18 ched 14 re 15 Nemead 16 Agnoimean 17 Grecaib 19 tricha 24 Milead 20 Parrthalon 21 Bole 22 -siden 23 -sin 26 amail adfed in t-eolach annso: (.i. Fintan ec. sbs.).

(a) Ceasair glossed .i. Eriu in rough bad hand in M.

187. ¹Cia din ciata rogaibh Ērinn ar tossaigh talman¹? Is ead ²atbert ³Leabhar Droma ⁴Sneachta comad Banba ainm na cēt ingeine ⁵rogabh Ērinn rīa ndīlind, γ ⁴gomadh ūaithi nobeith Banba for †Ērinn. ⁵Trī ⁴caoga ¹¹ōgh ¹¹do dheachaidh, γ triar ¹²fer. ¹³Laghra, in treas ¹⁴fer, is ¹⁵esin cēt ¹⁶marbh Ērenn ¹†annsin, γ is ¹⁵ūadh ainmnighthear Ard ¹¬Laghrann. Ceathracha ²¬bliadan ²¹‡ rīa ndīlind || do ²²bhadar ²³isin n-indsi ²⁴sin. Dosfāinig īarom galar, ²⁵conerboiltidar uile an āen ṡeachtmoin. Dā ²⁶cēt bliadhan īarsin ²¬bāi Ēiriu ²¬sgan duine beo,²¬sgan conad īarum ³¬tāinig dīliu³¹: ceathracha ³¬bliadan γ lā ro bāi ³¬¬Ēriu fo dīlinn,

no is cethracha $^{32}$  lā  $^{34}$ robāi in dīle  $^{25}$ aga fearthain,  $^{36}$ ¬ cāoga ar cēt lā robāi  $^{37}$ gan tseargadh,

conadh 38 annsin 39 tug Dīa gāeth do 40 sūghudh in uisci.

In <sup>44</sup>deachmadh üathadh ēsga, isin mīs<sup>44</sup> Māi, <sup>42</sup>luid Nōe isin n-airc 7 a <sup>43</sup>muindtear ochtair <sup>44</sup>gus na huilibh <sup>45</sup>ainmindtibh rug leis. <sup>46</sup>In sechtmad<sup>45</sup> fichit imorro <sup>47</sup>isin mīs <sup>48</sup>cētna athorrach do <sup>49</sup>dechaid aiste, go mad secht lā dēg<sup>48</sup> 7 bliadain <sup>50</sup>desidhēin ro bāi <sup>51</sup>Nāi isin n-airc. I <sup>52</sup>seachtmadh dēg isin mī cētna, i. i mīs<sup>52</sup> Māi, ro <sup>53</sup>tindscain in dīliu fearthain.

I cind trī cēt blīadan ‡ īar ndīlind || 54rogab Parrtholon Ērind, ‡ no dono 55mar 56aderam bōs ||, treabhsad a 57sīl cōica bliadan ar cōic cēt, 58condaselgadar Concheind, go na terno neach 59di claind ana beathaigh. Tricha bliadan īarsin 60gan duine 61beo ar Ērinn.

187. Who then first took Ireland after the beginning of the world? This is what the Book of Druim Snechta says, that Banba was the name of the first woman who took Ireland before the Flood, and that from her Ireland is called "Banba." With thrice fifty maidens she came, and with three men. Ladra, one of the three men, he is the first dead man of Ireland at that time, and from him is named Ard Ladrann. Forty years [before the Flood] were they in that island. Thereafter a disease came upon them, so that they all died in one week. After that Ireland was for two hundred years without a living person, and thereafter came the Flood: forty years and a day was Ireland under the Flood.

or it is forty days that the Flood was a-pouring, and an hundred and fifty days it was without drying up,

so that then God sent a wind to suck up the water.

On the tenth unit of the moon, in the month of May, Noe went into the ark with his following of eight persons, and with all the animals which he took with him. Now on the twenty-seventh in the next month of the same name, he came out of it, so that thus Noe was a year and seventeen days in the ark. On the seventeenth in the same month, that is, in the month of May, the Flood began to pour.

At the end of three hundred years [after the Flood], Partholon took Ireland—[or, rather, as we shall say below], his seed dwelt in it five hundred and fifty years till the Cynocephali drave him out, and not one of his progeny remained alive. Thereafter there were thirty years without a living person in Ireland.

<sup>187.</sup> In marg. of B: a Cin Droma Sneachta in beac so sis conigi Ceassair 1-1 cid cia diducia rogob Eiriu iar tusmead in talman 2 asbert 5 rogob Erind 6 comad uaithi 7 Erind 4 Snechta 13 Ladra Luam 10 og 11 om. do dheachaidh 12 fer allin 9 chaechad 16 marb 17 om. 18 uada ainmnigther 15 e 21 om, ria ndilind do 22 badar 20 glossed no la B 25 conderbairt mile re hen seachtmainde inn Erinn: dosfainic iaram 29 ins. inti 30 thanic 28 can oen duine 27 do bai Eriu 26 ched 82-32 om. 33 Ern B 24 om. robai 31 ins. forsin n-uile doman coroibe 26 7 co roibi bliadain acht mi oc tragad na n-uiscead in dile

<sup>37</sup> ins. in diliu can tragad oc sugad do dreich in talman, 7 caeca 7 cet na n-uisced do dreich in talman, and om. gan tseargadh 38 airisin 39 tuc 42 doluid Nae 41-41 -maid uathaid escai i mis 40 sugad na nuisced 44 cus 45-45 anmandaib ruc leis 7 i seachtmaid andsa n-airc 43 muinter 48-48 chetna athirrach iar mbliadain do deachaid 47 SA 46 i.uii.xx, B 51 Naei 49 denum B 50 jarsinde sin aiste conad seacht la dec 53 thindscain 52-52 seachtmad dec don mi chednai .i. mis: om. mi B 55 ins. a B 56 adearam beos trebsad 54 rogob Parrthalon Erind 58 conad selgadar conchind cona terno 59 dia chloind i mbeathaid eo cen 61 a mbeathaid in nErinn.

188. Mad īar n-aroile 'slicht imorro, is 'iat so cētna °t roghabh no ∥ ro lā for ⁴Ērinn rē ndīlind .i. ⁵Capa ¬ Sluasad 7 Laighne: 6 acht cheana nī airmid 7 Gabhāla iad, <sup>8</sup>ar nīr aitreabhsad īath <sup>9</sup>n-Ērenn. Is ead so <sup>10</sup>tug an Ēirinn, a techt do "īasgach for muir, gu ro šēid in gāeth ō Easpāin 12gu Hērinn. 13Soissid dorīs ar ceann a mban do 14aitreabadh Ērenn. O 15du riachtadar 16Ērinn <sup>17</sup>dorīsi, <sup>18</sup>dosfarraid in dīliu <sup>19</sup>go rusbāid <sup>20</sup>ag Tuadh <sup>21</sup>Inmir. Conad <sup>22</sup>dīb rochan in <sup>23</sup>file,

# Capa is Laigni is Luasad grind.

189. ¹Ceasair ingean ²Beathadh meic ³Nāi, is ī cētna \*roghabh Ērinn īar \*tuistin talman, \*cethracha lāithe rē ndīlind.

Dalta-7sen Sabaill meic 8Manaill, 9ut dicitur

# Cessair ingen Betha būain.

190. Mad āil trā fis 'turrtugudh Ceasrach 'a tīr 'nĒrinn, i. <sup>4</sup>fāide<sup>(a)</sup> 7 <sup>5</sup>a techtaire dia <sup>6</sup>rādha ria Nõe mac Laimiach: Dēna aire 6adhuit-

B.

do crandaib edroma, ar gach mbeo,

triasin fingail moir doroindi Cain mac Adhaim ar a og-brathair: 7 ni thernoba gan tuitim sa tubaisti sin do sil Adhaimh,

M.

ar se, do chrandaib edruma, doragha diliu 7 dileaghbaid uair doroa in diliu, 7 bid dilgedach cach mbeo.

> triasin fingail moir doridne Cain mac Adaim ar a dearbrathair fodein, .i. ar Aibel mac Adaim. Ocus ni thernoba duine cen toitim isin tubaist sin do sil Adaim

188. If we follow another version, however, these are the first [who took or] who came over Ireland before the Flood, Capa and Sluasad and Laigne; howbeit, [the Book of Taking does not reckon them, for they did not settle in the land of Ireland. This is what brought them to Ireland: their coming upon the sea for fishing. so that the wind blew them from Spain to Ireland. They came back again to fetch their wives, to settle in Ireland. When they reached Ireland once more the Flood overtook them and drowned them at Tuad Inbir: so that of them the poet sang—

### Poem no. XXII.

189. Cessair d. Bith s. Noe, she is the first who took Ireland after the Creation of the World, forty days before the Flood.

She was the fosterling of Saball s. Manall, ut dicitur

### Poem no. XXVI.

190. Wouldst thou know of the adventure of Cessair into the land of Ireland: prophets [of God] and His messenger had said unto Noe s. Lamech: Make thee an ark-

B.

M.

of light timbers, for a Flood shall come and shall submerge the Flood shall come, and every every living thing,

by reason of the great kin-murder which Cain s. Adam wrought upon his younger brother: and none of the seed of Adam shall escape without falling in that catastrophe.

said he, of light timbers, for living thing shall be submerged

by reason of the great kin-murder which Cain s. Adam wrought upon his own brother, Abel s. Adam. And not a man of the seed of Adam shall escape without falling in that catastrophe.

<sup>188, 1</sup> sleachtaib B 2 iad 3 om. 4 Erind ria 5 Cappa " ins. i. saer | liaig | iascairi na cerda ro bai con triur sin ' this word dittographed " uair nir threbsad 9 nErind 10 imorro dosfue in Erind 11 iascach for muir co ro seit 13 soigsed fis ar cend 15 da 16 Eirind 17 doridise 14 thoidecht do aitreb co Herinn 18 a dot on the final d without significance B 10 CO 21 Indber 28 t-eolach andso. 22 doib

<sup>189. 1</sup> glossed .i. Eiriu sec. man. M. 4 rogob <sup>2</sup> Beatha 3 Nae Erind 5 thustin ceathracha laithi re ndilind 7 siden 8Manuaill om. ut.

<sup>190. 1</sup> turthugud Ceasrach 3 nErind 4 faidi 5 om. a: techtaireda "rada fria Nae 6a duid

<sup>(</sup>a) De has probably dropped out here by homoiotes.

acht tusu 7 do bhean 7 do tri meic 7 mna do mac.

uair nir cumthaigh sibh re clainn Cain.

Missi, ar Bith, cred dodhen? Ni leagar damhsa, ar Noe, air med do peccad, do legean sa n-airc. Missi amh, ar Findtan hua Laimiach, cred doghen? Missi, ar Ladhra, cred doden? Nimta a fis, ar Noe: nim long latrand in long so, 7 ni huaim thaidead.

acht tusu 7 do bean 7 do tri mec 7 7do tri hingena .i. mna do mac.

uair nir cumdaig sib re cloind Chain; ordaig is i do derbfing fil agad fodein 7 t'ingena co do macaib.

Misi, ar Bith mae Nae, craed doden? Ni feadar, ar Nae, uair ni leagar damsa thu ar med do pecaig dot ligen sa n-aire. Misi, ar Fintan mae Ni leam do comus, bar Nae. Laimiach‡ dearbrathair de Noell cred doden? Ni fillem do cumachtaib, ar Nae, do legan isa n-aire. Misi, ar Ladru luam mac Beathad, cred doden? Nimtha a fis, ar Nae, uair ni leagar . . . sa n-aire.

> Misi, ar Ceasair ingen Beathad. craed doden? Niconfeadar ol Nae, doig ni leagar sa n-airc lim. Do feargaidead Nae friu 7 adbeart.

Nim long ladrand in long-sa, 7 ni fuaim thechsaiget.

Airsin doluidh Bith i comairle 7 Findtan 7 Ladhra 7 7 Fintan 7 Ladru 7 Ceasair, 7 atbertadar: Cred dodhenum atbeartadar: Craed do denam don chomairli-sa, uair is foirceann gu tora dilind, 7 cindas frithailfimid sind? Ceassair: Tabhraidh aitidin ailfeam? Ninsa, ar Ceasair damsa, 7 dober ceadus daibh. ingen Beathad: .i. aitidiu 7 Rodbia in ni-si, bar iad. cendus damsa, ar si, 7 dober

Iarsin doluid Bith i comairli don comairli seo, ar siad, uair is foircend co tora in dilind Atbert tarsin doman, 7 cindis frith-

save only thou and thy wife and thy three sons and the wives of thy sons,

for ve did not company with the children of Cain.

I, said Bith, what shall I do? It is not permitted to me, said Noe, for the greatness of thy sins, to suffer thee into the And I, said Fintan grandson of Lamech, what shall I do? I am not thy keeper, said Noe. I, said Ladra, what shall I do? I know not, said Noe: for me, this ship is no ship of thieves, no den of robbers.

Thereafter Bith came into counsel with Fintan and Ladra. and they said: What shall we do for this counsel, for it is final that a Flood shall come, and how shall we make us ready? Said Cessair: Give submission to me, and I shall give the advantage to you. Thou shalt have it, said they.

save only thou and thy wife and thy three sons and thy three daughters, the wives of thy sons,

for ve did not company with the children of Cain, inasmuch as it is thy sister whom thyself hast, and thy daughters are with thy sons.

I, said Bith s. Noe, what shall I do? I know not, said Noe, for it is not permitted to me to suffer thee into the ark, for the greatness of thy sinfulness. I, said Fintan son of Lamech [brother of Noe], what shall I do? We would not stoop to the Powers, said Noe, to suffer thee into the Ark. I, said Ladra, the pilot, son of Bith, what shall I do? I know not, said Noe, for it is not permitted [to let thee] into the Ark.

I, said Cessair daughter of Bith, what shall I do? I know not, said Noe, for I have no permission to let thee into the Ark. Noe was wroth with them then, and said,

For me, this ship is no ship of thieves, no den of robbers. Thereafter Bith came into counsel with Fintan and Ladra and Cessair, and they said: What shall we do for this counsel, said they: for it is final that the Flood shall come over the earth, and how shall we make us ready? Easy! said Cessair daughter of Bith. Give me submission and head-

ins. above line glossed i. Ere in same hand and ink as note (1) in 188.

aigh fria Dia Noe.

Tabraidh don lamhdia cugaib, comairli daib. Rotfia amail ar si, 7 adhraidh 7 dhe, 7 deal- chuindgid, ar siad. Tabraid dono lam-dia chucaib, ar si, 7 adraid de, 7 dellaid fria Dia Noe.

Tugsad jarom dia chucu, 7 is i 10 comairle tug an di doibh: Dēnaid 11loingeas 7 12ēirghid for mūir. 13Acht nī feadadar-14sain, 7 nī fidir 15a ndīa, cuin do 16raghadh 17an dīliu. 18Conidh ead 19doronsat, 20in n-aire doghnim 7 dul 21indte, 22secht mbliadna 7 23 rāithe rīa 24 ndīlind.

191. Is ē ¹līn lōdar ²isin n-airc, .i. ³cāoga ingen im ⁴Ceassair 7 im Barrfind 67 im Balba 7 im Findtan im Bith 7 im Ladhru.

Ocus 8ro rāidh Nae friu: Ēirghid, 9ar sē, co 10himeall īarthorach in domain, beas 11gu ria in 12dīli.

192. Dia Mairt iarom, 7 ar a ¹cūigead dēg ²in ēsca, ro glūais ō 3indsibh Mara Hen for Sruth Nīl 4in Eigipt. Bāi <sup>5</sup>dēcc mbliadan ‡ <sup>6</sup>no a secht || <sup>7</sup>in Ēighipt. \*trāth dī \*for muinchind Mara 10 Casp. Da 11 trāth dēg dī for Muir 12 Caisp 13 fēin gu riacht 14 a Muir 15 Cimirdha. Ãen trath 16 o Aisia 17 Big 18 dī, co Mur Torren. Seoladh <sup>19</sup>fichit trāth dī co Slīabh <sup>20</sup>nEalpa: fria rē nōi trāth dhī asein co Heaspāin. <sup>21</sup>Seōladh nōi trāth dī ō Easpāin cu Hērenn ± 22.i. 23 ag Dūn na mBarc ||,

Take to yourselves an idol, said ship, said she, and I shall give she: worship it, and sunder you counsel. Thou shalt have you from the God of Noe.

thy request, said they. Take then an idol to vourselves, said she, worship it, and sunder you from the God of Noe.

Thereafter they took to themselves an idol, and this is the counsel that their idol gave them: Make a voyage, and embark upon the sea. But they knew not, nor did their idol know, when the Flood should come. Accordingly what they did was to make an Ark, and go into it, seven years and three months before the Flood.

191. This is the tally that went into the Ark, fifty maidens including Cesair, and Barrfhind and Balba and Fintan and Bith and Ladra.

And Noe said unto them: Rise, said he (and go) to the western border of the world; perhaps the Flood will not reach it.

192. Thereafter on Tuesday, the fifteenth of the Moon, she went from the isles of Meroe(a) upon the river of Nile in Egypt. She was ten years, [or seven], in Egypt. Twenty days had she upon the surface of the Caspian Sea. Twelve days had she on the Caspian Sea itself, till she reached the Cimmerian Sea. One day had she from Asia Minor to the Torrian Sea. A sailing of twenty days had she to the Alpine Mountain: for a space of nine days had she thence to Spain. A sailing of nine days had she from Spain to Ireland, [namely at Dun na mBarcl.

<sup>12</sup> ergid 13 nair 11 loinges 9 doradsad 10 comairli tuc in dia doib 16 thicfad 17 in 18 conad 19 doridne-seom 14 -son 15 in dia 24 tiachtain 22 .uii, miswritten .un. B 23 raithi 21 inti 20 an airc na dilenn.

<sup>191. 1</sup> lind B 2 isa 3 caeca 4 Cheasair 5 Barraind 6 om. 7 <sup>7</sup> Fhintan <sup>8</sup> roraid dono Eriu (glossed .i. Ceasair no Fotla, in different hand 10 himell iarthurach and ink from 1881, 1898) riu eirgid om. ar se 12 diliu.

<sup>192. 1</sup> cuiced dec 2 om. in a indsib an Egept 6 om. no a secht an Egept 8 tra B (the final th has been lost through the forgetfulness of the scribe at the beginning of a new line) 13 om. fein gu Par muincind 10 Caisp 11 thrath dec 12 Chaisp riacht a 14 7 for 15 Chimirda 16 di an 17 Bic 18 7 co Muir Toirriam 21 seolad .ix. trath di ota sin 19 fiched B 20 nElpa 22 om. .i.

<sup>(</sup>a) In the text "Of the Sea of Hen."

SECTION III.—CESSAIR.

B.

M.

amail asbert Hi cuigeadh uathadh gan eill port,

i Corco Duibne ro gob calad-

in cuicead uathaid esca for Satharn

do sonrad, ro gob cuan in Erind amail asbeart in t-eolach,

ut alias dicitur.

Is and ro gabsadar port.

In cuigead uathadh, for Conad do imtheachtaib Ceas-Satharrn, amail asbert in rach 7 dia sligig adfed in file file.

Cessair can as tāinic sī.

193. Lucht ¹trī mbarc ²dosrala do Dūn na mBarc, ³do crīch Chorco Duibhne. 4Ro bāitea dī 5bhairc dībh. <sup>6</sup>Tērno <sup>7</sup>Ceassair, lucht <sup>8</sup>ōen bairce, <sup>9</sup>.i. <sup>10</sup>cōica ingen <sup>7</sup> 11triar fear, .i. Bith mac 12Noe meic Laimiach, dīa n-aimnigther <sup>13</sup>Slīabh Beathadh—<sup>14</sup>is and ro adhnocht, i <sup>15</sup>carnn mõr <sup>16</sup>Slēibhi Beathadh. <sup>17</sup>Ladhra lūamh, õ 'nainmnighther Ārd 18Ladhrand, 197 is ē cēt marbh

<sup>20</sup>rē ndīlind, <sup>21</sup>conas eibil . . . <sup>22</sup>bananaigh; nō <sup>23</sup>sē lunnta in <sup>24</sup>reāmha dochuaidh <sup>25</sup>a tarbh a sliasta<sup>26</sup>. Ocus <sup>27</sup>cepsi cruth, is ē cēt marbh Ērenn.

> 28 Adbearait aroile is e in lenb robai cen airem sa luing leo robaithead i Tibraid Duin na mBare in la rogobsad port, .i. Bath mac Beathad, conad de ita in sen-focol, Ni fagand Bith Bath.

<sup>29</sup>Findtān mac <sup>30</sup>Bochna diadā Feart <sup>31</sup>Findtāin ōs Tul Tuinde, 7 32 Ceassair ōtā Cuili Ceasrac<h> i Connachtaib. as one saith

in Corco Duibne she took harbour

Poem no. XXVII.

On the fifth unit of the moon, on a Saturday

ut alias dicitur,

to be precise, she took port in Ireland, as the learned saith,

Poem no. XXVIII.

On the fifth unit [of the moon on a Saturday, as Cessair and of her route, the the poet saith,

So that of the adventures of poet saith thus,

Poem no. XXIII.

193. The crew of three ships arrived at Dun na mBarc, at the territory of Corco Duibne. Two of their ships were wrecked. Cessair, with the crew of one ship, escaped-fifty women and three men: Bith s. Noe s. Lamech, of whom is (named) Sliab Bethad: there was he buried, in the great stone-heap of Sliab Bethad. Ladra the Pilot, from whom is named Ard Ladrand—he is the first dead man of Ireland

before the Flood, so that he died of female [excess]; or it is the stem of the oar that penetrated his buttock. Whatever form it took, he was the first dead man of Ireland.

> Others say that it was the child who was not reckoned in the ship with them who was drowned in the well of Dun na mBarc on the day when they took harbour -Bath s. Bith, whence is the old saying, Bith leaves not Bath.

And Fintan s. Bochna, from who is "Fintan's Grave" over Tul Tuinde named; and Cessair from whom is named Cuile Cessrach in Connachta.

<sup>5</sup> bairc 4 ins. 7 193. 1 ceathra 2 tra dorala 3 i Corco Dubne <sup>8</sup> a M. ibairce B e ins. 7 <sup>7</sup> Ceasair, glossed .i. Eriu as before 11 oen triar fer 12 Nae 13 Sliab Beatha 9 om. .i. 10 caeca 15 carn 14 ins. uair 16 Slebe 17 ins. 7: Ladru 18 Ladrand

<sup>24</sup> raime 23 is e lunda 22 -nigh B 19 doig is e 30 Bochra diata 28 in M only. 29 7 Fintan 25 i 20 ins. and 27 cepi 22 Ceasair diata Carn Ceasrach i Condachtaib. 31 Fintain oc T. Tuindi

194. Ocus dolodar cona mnāibh co ¹Mileadhach, γ²Bun ²Sūinbhi in inbaidh sin ⁴ba hainm dō, .i. sūaineam ⁵Siūiri γ sūaineam ⁶Beōri γ ʹsūaineim Bearbha; γ is ē sin Comar ⁵na Trī ⁶nUisci do ¹⁰cumasc na trī ¹¹n-abonn ¹²ann. Ocus ¹³roindseat ann in ¹⁴cāoga ingean ar trī, γ ¹⁵rug Findtān Ceassair do rogain γ ¹⁶sē mnā ¹づdēg maille fria. ¹⁶Rug Bith secht mnā ¹⁶dēc um Barrfind, ²⁰Rug Ladhra sē mnā dēc im Balbha, γ fa ²¹dīmgach de. Ocus doluidh leo ²²in Ard Ladhrand, γ rl.

195. Ocus dolodar na ¹sē mnā dēg co ²Ceassair ‡ dar ēis Ladra, || ¬ ³atbertsad: Crēd dodēnum budheasta? ⁴Fāidhigh Ceassair teachta co Bith dia ⁵fiarfaigh craed doghēndais na mnā. Doluidh imorro Bith co hāit a ʿmbī Findtān, ¬ ¹raindseat in cāoga bān ar dhō, ¬ ruc Bith ⁵cūig mnā fichet dīb co Slīab Beathadh ⁰a tūaiscert Ērenn, ¬ ¹⁰atbath and.

196. Īar sin lodar in bandtrocht ar ¹cūlu, co hāirm ²a roibhi Ceassair γ Findtān. ³Ēolāidh iaron Findtān ar ⁴teitheadh na mban tar Bun Sūainmhe, .i. tar Siūir, ⁵tar Slīabh Cūa ⁶a Cenn Fheabrad meic ¬Shin, γ lāmh clē rē Sinaind ⁶sair co Tul Tuindi ōs Loch ゥDeirgdere. Doluidh imorro ¹oCeassair co Cūil ¹¹Ceasrach γ a ¹²bandtracht lē, γ ¹³moighidh a craidhi ¹⁴indti do ingas a fir γ do ēg ¹⁵a hathar ‡ γ do ¹⁶easbaigh a ¹⁻brathar.¹⁵ || Ocus ro forbadh ¹⁰andsin in n-aimsir ō Ādhamh co dīlind acht sē ²olāithe don aimsir.

Sē bliadna 21 cāocat ar sē 22 cētaibh ar mīle ō 23 thossach domain 24 conuige-

in 25 aimsir sin:

sin, dia ndebairt in file Ced aimsear in beathad bind 194. And they came with their women to Miledach. At that time its name was Bun Suainme, i.e., the confluence of the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow, which is called the Meeting of the Three Waters, from the mingling of those three rivers. And there they divided the fifty women into three shares. Fintan took Cessair for choice, and sixteen women with her: Bith took seventeen women including Barrfhind: Ladra took sixteen women including Banba, and was dissatisfied thereat. And he went with them to Ard Ladrand, etc.

195. And the sixteen women came to Cessair [after < the death of > Ladra,] and they said: What shall we do now? Cessair sent messengers to Bith to ask what the women should do. Bith came to the place where Fintan was, and they divided the fifty women into two shares: and Bith took twenty-five women of them to Sliab Betha in the north of Ireland, and he died there.

196. Thereafter the women went back, to the place where Cessair and Fintan were. Then Fintan escapes, a-fleeing from the women, across Bun Suainme, that is, across the Suir, over Sliab Cua in the headland of Febra son of Sin, left hand to the Shannon eastward, to Tul Tuinde over Loch Dergdeire. Moreover Cessair came to Cul Cessrach and her women with her, and her heart brake within her on account of the absence of her husband, the death of her father, [and the loss of her brother]. And then the Age was completed from Adam to the Flood, save six days of the Age.

One thousand six hundred fifty and six years from the beginning of the world till—

that time.

then, whereof the poet said Poem no. XXIX.

<sup>194. 1</sup> Milidach 2 ins. co 3 Suaimni 4 fa 5 Suire 6 Beoiri 10 chumasc 11 naband som, na 9 nUisqi 12 om. ann 14 chaeca ingen 18 ro randsad andsin 15 ruc Fintan Ceasair 18 ocus ruc 17 dec mailli ria 19 dec im Barraind 20 ocus rucustair Ladru 21 dimdach don roind he. 22 inn.

<sup>195.</sup> ¹ secht mna dec ² Cesair tareis Ladraindi ³ adbeartadar tra,
... Craed dodenamni fodeasta ⁴ ro faidistair Ceasair techta ⁵ fiarfaide
dodendais ⁶ mbai Fintan ² ro roindsead na mna ar do ˚ coic ˚ i
³ adbath.

<sup>3</sup> Mar do chondaire sin <sup>2</sup> i roibe Ceasair 7 Fintan 196. 1 culaib Fintan ro elaid 4 teichead 5 ins. 7 67 co Cendabrad 5 Sin 8 om. sair 12 bandtrocht 9 Dergderc 10 Ceasair " Cheasra i Condachtaib 13 moidis 14 na cliab innti an ingnais 15 a dittographed: a brathar B 17 hathar B 18 ins. .i. Ladru luam 19 annsin in aimser 24 conice sin 20 lae 21 caecad 22 chedaib 23 thosach 25 above aimsir, in B, no i mbliadain.

7 is d'aimsir Adhaim domidhduan-

Doig is don aimsir sin Adaim ter in gabhail so Cheasrach, do midithear in gobail-sea Conadh do sin ro can in fili in Cheasrach, conaid desin rochan in t-eolach-

### Cethracha trāth don tūr tind.

197. 'Is iad so imorro anmanda in 'caogad ingen sin i ro imraidimar inneoch | robadar a fail Ceasrach.

<sup>5</sup>Ceasair, Lot, Luam, Mil, Marr, Feochair, Femair, Failbi, Forall, Cipir, Torand, Tamall, Tam, Abba, Ella, Ruicne, Sille: mnā Findtāin sin. Barrann, Selba, Della, Duba, Dos, Fothar, Traigia, Nera, Banda, Tamall, Tama, Nathra, Leos, Fodord, Dos, Clos, Las; mnā Beathad sin, Balbo, Bona, Allbor, Ail, Gothiam, German, Aithne, Inde, Rogairg, Raindi, Iacor, Ain, Rind, Easpa, Sinde, Samall; mnā Ladraindi sin.

## <sup>6</sup>Ut Findtān cecinit Cāin raind do raindsemar etrond.

Ocus nīr gabh neach do cloind Ādham rēn dīli Ērinn acht sain namā.

198. Andsin bliadain deireanaig re ndilind 'tanic Cesair in Erind', uair airmid eolaig na cronicead nach roibi Ceasair beo in Erinn acht se laithi roim dilind: ocus nir bo beo 'deis dileann don gobail sin Cheasrach ach Fintan na aenur. O dilind co Habram da bliadain nochat ar dib cetaib, 7 ni hairmiter comainsearrdacht risin acht clanna Noe uile ic imdugud 7 Fintan na aenur in Erind risi sin. O Abram co Dauid imorro dá bladan sescat ar nói cetaib eturru-sin: is andsin tindscainter comaimsearrdacht. Nin mac Pel imorro, cet rig na nAsarrda, .lii. Isin dara bliadain cethrachat do rigi Nin, do genead Abram. Isin deachmad bliadain aisi Abraim, bas Nin, Samiramis i, bean Nin a rigi da eis fen, xlu. Bas Airifacsad meic Sem 7 Failleach meic Airifacsat isin re sin. Zaineus .i. Ninias mac Nin meic Peil 7 Samiramis a mathair, ocht mbliadna trichad do, 7 ni airmidtear acht ceathra bliadna da flaithius in tan teasta Nae mac Laimiach. Isin seascadmad bliadain aisi Abraim tanic Parrthalon in Erinn, 7 isin sesed bliadain flaithiusa Ninias meic Nin meic Pel.

2 chaecaid 197. 1 Atiat andso 3 -eamar romaind neoch 4 i fail Cheasrach 5 this list omitted B conad doib sin adfet in file.

and it is to the Age of Adam this Taking of Cessair is es- of Adam that this Taking of timated: so that thereof the Cessair is estimated, so that poet sang the poem

Certainly it is to that Age thereof the learned sang

### Poem no. XXIV.

197. Now these are the names of those fifty women [whom we have mentioned], who were in the company of Cessair:

Cessair, Lot, Luam, Mil, Marr, Feochair, Femair, Failbi, Forall, Cipir, Torand, Tamall, Tam, Abba, Ella, Ruicne, Sille; those are the women of Fintan. Barrann, Selba, Della, Duba, Dos, Fothar, Traigia, Nera, Banda, Tamall, Tama, Nathra, Leos Fodord, Dos, Clos, Las; those are the women of Bith. Balbo, Bona, Allbor, Ail, Gothiam, German, Aithne, Inde, Rogairg, Raindi, Iacor, Ain, Rind, Easpa, Sinde, Samall; those are the women of Ladra.

Ut Fintan cecinit

# Poem no. XXV.

None of the children of Adam took Ireland before the Flood save those only.

198. In the last year before the Flood Cessair came into Ireland: for the learned men of the Chronicles reckon that Cessair was not alive in Ireland save only six days before the Flood; and of that Taking of Cessair there was not alive after the Flood any, but Fintan only. From the Flood to Abraham are two hundred ninety and two years, and no synchronism is reckoned therewith except all the children of Noe increasing, with Fintan alone in Ireland at the same time. From Abraham to David, however, there are nine hundred sixty and two years: then it is that synchronism begins. Ninus son of Belus, first king of the Assyrians, 52 [years]. In the forty-second year of the reign of Ninus was Abram born. In the tenth year of the age of Abram was the death of Ninus. Samiramis, wife of Ninus, in the kingship after himself. 45 years. The death of Arfaxad son of Sem and of Faleg son of Arfaxad (sic) in that time. Zaineus, that is, Ninias s. Ninus s. Belus, and Semiramis was his mother, 38 years had he: and only four years of his reign are reckoned when Noe s, Lamech died. In the sixtieth year of the age of Abram came Partholon into Ireland: in the sixth year of the reign of Ninias s. Ninus s. Belus.

198. This I in M only 2 the d underdotted.

1-1 these words om, and ins. above the line

# THE VERSE TEXTS OF SECTION III.

### XXI.

 $R^1$  ¶ 165 (L 2  $\delta$  4 : F 4  $\beta$  13).  $R^2$  ¶ 172 (V 3  $\alpha$  39 only).  $R^3$  ¶ 186 (B 12  $\beta$  3 : M 271  $\gamma$  31).

- 1. <sup>1</sup>Hēriu, <sup>2</sup>cīa <sup>3</sup>fiarfaigther <sup>4</sup>dim, 695 <sup>5</sup>atā <sup>6</sup>lim <sup>7</sup>co <sup>8</sup>grind, <sup>9</sup>cach <sup>10</sup>gabāil <sup>11</sup>rosgab ō <sup>12</sup>thūs <sup>13</sup>betha bind.
- 2. <sup>1</sup>Doluid <sup>2</sup>anair <sup>3</sup>Cessair, <sup>4</sup>ingen <sup>5</sup>Betha in <sup>6</sup>ben; 700 cona <sup>7</sup>cōicait <sup>8</sup>ingen, <sup>9</sup>cona <sup>10</sup>triar <sup>11</sup>fer.
- 3. <sup>1</sup>Tarraid <sup>2</sup>dīliu Bith i n-a <sup>3</sup>Shlēib, <sup>4</sup>cen <sup>5</sup>rūn: <sup>6</sup>Ladra <sup>7</sup>i nArd <sup>8</sup>Ladrand, 705 <sup>9</sup>Cessair <sup>10</sup>i n-a <sup>11</sup>Cul.
- 4. <sup>1</sup>Mad misi romadnacht, Mac Dē din, ūas druing: ro scib dim in <sup>2</sup>dīlin ōs Tul Tuindi thruim. 710
- Bliadain ¹dam ²fo dīlind³
   <sup>4</sup>i ⁵Taul ⁶Tuinne ²tend;
   <sup>8</sup>nī fuaras dom tomaltus
   <sup>9</sup>aen-¹⁰chodlad ¹¹bud ¹²ferr.

### THE VERSE TEXTS OF SECTION III.

### XXI.

- Ireland—whatever is asked of me
   I know pleasantly,
   Every taking that took her
   from the beginning of the tuneful world.
- 2. Cesair came from the East, the woman was daughter of Bith; with her fifty maidens, with her three men.
- 3. Flood overtook Bith in his Mountain, it is no secret: Ladra in Ard Ladrand, Cessair in her Nook.
- 4. But as for me, He buried me,
  The Son of God, above [the] company:
  He snatched the Flood from me
  above heavy Tul Tuinde.
- I had a year under the Flood
   in strong Tul Tuinde;
   I found nothing for my sustenance,
   an unbroken sleep were best.

<sup>1.</sup> ¹Eri F Eiriu M ²ce FM gia V ³iarfaigther LF (-ter F) iarfaiger V fiarfaigear B fiarfaidear M ⁴dom V ⁵ita M ⁵lium V ¹gu B ⁵grinn F ⁵gach VB ¹¹ gabal LFV gabhail B ¹¹ dogab F rogabh B rusgob M ¹² tus F ¹¹ bethad FV beathad B beatha M.

<sup>2.</sup> ¹Cessair luid anair V dolluid L dolud F doluid M doluidh B ² anoir M ³ Cessair F Ceassair B Ceasair M ⁴ ingin F ingean B ⁶ Beth V Beathadh and om. in B Beatha M ⁶ bind V bean R³ † caecaid V .l.aid B caeicid M ⁶ ingin F ీ ins. is FV: cana F ² ins. haen B: triur L -ar others ¹¹ fear B fear VM.

<sup>3.</sup> ¹taraid V tarraidh B tairraidh M ²dili in F diliud B ²sleib FVB sleb M ⁴can F gan B °rúin L °Ladru LV Ladhra B ¹i n-a ard V °Ladran F Ladhrand B °ins, is M: Cessair in cul V Ceasair M ²ºom, i M: om, n-a V ²¹cúil LBM.

<sup>4.</sup> This quatrain in M only diliu Ms.

<sup>5.</sup> ¹damh B ²fa B ³ins. déin LB ⁴sic L, a others ⁵sic L, Tul others °Tuindi FM Tuinde VB ¹thend L tend following erasure of three letters V teann B theann M °ni fuaras ní im tholmaltus L ni uarus am F ni fuarus V ni fuarus im thomultus B nir codlad ni coiteltar M °om. aen L en VBM ¹ocotlud L cotludh V colludh B ¹¹bo F bad LM budh B ¹²ferr V fearr R².

OF SECTION III.

6.	<sup>1</sup> Missi <sup>2</sup> i nĒirind <sup>3</sup> sund, <sup>4</sup> ba <sup>5</sup> suthain mo <sup>6</sup> šēt,	715
	<sup>7</sup> conostoracht <sup>8</sup> Partholön, <sup>8</sup> anair a tīr <sup>10</sup> Grēc.	
7.	<sup>1</sup> Missi <sup>2</sup> sund i nĒirind, <sup>8</sup> is ī <sup>4</sup> Ēriu <sup>5</sup> fās,	720
	<sup>6</sup> co toracht mac <sup>7</sup> Agnomain— <sup>8</sup> Nemed, <sup>9</sup> nīamda <sup>10</sup> a gnās.	
8.	Fir <sup>1</sup> Bolg <sup>2</sup> is Fir <sup>3</sup> Galian <sup>4</sup> tāneatar, <sup>5</sup> ba cīan;	
	4tāncatar Fir Bomnand, 7gabsat Birrus 9thīar.	725
9.	<sup>1</sup> Īarsin <sup>2</sup> tānic <sup>3</sup> Tūath Dē <sup>4</sup> i n-a <sup>5</sup> cāebaib cīach; <sup>6</sup>	
	<sup>7</sup> comba <sup>8</sup> tormailt damsa, <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> cīar bo <sup>11</sup> sāegal cīan.	730
10.	<sup>1</sup> Tāncatar Meic <sup>2</sup> Mīled, a <sup>3</sup> Hespāin <sup>4</sup> andess,	
	<sup>5</sup> comba <sup>6</sup> tormailt damsa <sup>7</sup> friu, <sup>8</sup> cīar thrēn a <sup>9</sup> tress.	
11.	Do ¹roacht ²sāegul sīr ³damsa, ⁴nocho ⁵chēl;	735
	<sup>6</sup> conomtharraid <sup>7</sup> creitem <sup>8</sup> ō <sup>9</sup> Rīg <sup>10</sup> Nime nēl.	

6. <sup>1</sup> misse L misi FM <sup>2</sup> in Herind L in Er. F ind Erind V an Erinn B <sup>3</sup> sunn FB <sup>4</sup> fa R<sup>3</sup> <sup>5</sup> suastin L <sup>6</sup> set F sed R<sup>3</sup> <sup>7</sup> conas FVB conus M <sup>5</sup> Partalon F Parrtalon V Parrtholon B Parrthalon M <sup>9</sup> anoir VR<sup>3</sup> <sup>10</sup> Greg R<sup>3</sup>.

7. ¹messe L misi FM: missi in Er (óig isí) Eriu, bracketed words ins. sec. man. in rasura V ² in Herind fós L an Erinn sunn FB in Erinn fos M ³ sisi LM ⁴ Heriu L Eiriu B Eri M ⁵ fass FV ac fas M ⁶ co tanic L contoracht V ¬ Agnon L Agnamaid F Adnomain V ¬ Nemid F Nemedh V Neimead R³ (-dh B) ¬ ⁰ nimtha gnás L ¬ ⁰ om. a, gnass V a ghnas B anas M.

8. Bole VM 27 B 3 Galion L Gailoin F Gaileon B Gailian M tangadar B (bis) -cadar FM (bis, except second time F) 5 fa M nann F 7-sad FM gabhsad B 3 ins. in L: irruss FV hirrus M tar R'R3.

- 6. I was in Ireland here,
  my journey was everlasting,
  till Partholon reached her,
  from the East, from the land of Greeks.
- 7. I was here in Ireland, and Ireland was desert, till the son of Agnomain reached— Nemed, brilliant his fashion.
- 8. The Fir Bolg and Fir Gailian came, it was long ago:
  the Fir Domnann came,
  they landed on a headland in the west.
- 9. Thereafter the Tuath De came, in their masses of fog, so that there was sustenance for me though it was a long lifetime.
- 10. The sons of Mil came from Spain, from the south, so that there was sustenance for me at their hands, though they were strong in battle.
- 11. A long life fell
  to my lot, I shall not conceal it;
  till Faith overtook me
  from the King of Heaven of clouds.

<sup>9.</sup> ¹sic VB, sain others ²tancatar R¹V tancadar D tangadar B
³Tuatha L ⁴om. i FR³: om. a V ⁵caipaib L caebaibh B
¹ins. cian R¹R² ¹cian como L coma FM go mba B ⁵tormalt LV
the dam of damsa dittographed and expuncted B ¹ins. friu R¹B riu M
¹¹ cebo F gerbo B cerbom M ¹¹ saegul L.

<sup>10.</sup> All MSS. prefix a hypermetric iarsain (LV) or iarsin (FR³)

\*Milid R¹ Miledh V Mileadh B

\*Espain F Heaspain R³

\*aneas R¹

\*aneas R¹

\*aneas R³

\*como L coma FR³

\*tormalt LV

\*riu R²

\*cerb tren F ger thren V gerbo tren (a letter erased before tren) B cer bo tren M

\*tres FM tress V treas B.

<sup>11.</sup> ¹sio L, others 'riacht ²sio LB others saegal ²-mh-B ⁴noca F ¹cel V a faint mark like a small i above the e, of no apparent significance F ¹sio L imtarraid F im taraid me V conamtarraigh B coraintarraid (the first three letters yo) M ¹sio L, creidim F credim V -dem B -deam M ²ins. 6g L ²righ B ¹ºnime F nime na nell B nimi nell M; nell also V.

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OF SECTION III.

12. <sup>1</sup>Missi <sup>2</sup>Fintān <sup>3</sup>find mac <sup>4</sup>Bochna, nī chēl; <sup>5</sup>d'ēis na <sup>6</sup>dīlend <sup>7</sup>sund <sup>8</sup>am <sup>9</sup>sruith <sup>10</sup>ūasal <sup>11</sup>ēr.

12. <sup>1</sup>misse L is me M <sup>2</sup> Findtan VB <sup>3</sup> finn F <sup>4</sup> Bochra LM <sup>5</sup> deiss V <sup>6</sup> dilind F dileann B dilinn M <sup>7</sup> sunn F <sup>5</sup> im F fam M

### XXII

R¹ ¶ 168 (F 4  $\gamma$  30). R² ¶ 173 (V 3  $\beta$  11 : E 2  $\gamma$  13 : R·76 B a 30 [first line only] : D 5 a 21). R³ ¶ 188 (B 12  $\beta$  50 : M 271  $\delta$  42).

- 1. <sup>1</sup>Capa <sup>2</sup>is <sup>3</sup>Laigni <sup>4</sup>is <sup>5</sup>Luasad <sup>6</sup>grind, <sup>7</sup>badar <sup>8</sup>bliadain <sup>9</sup>rīa <sup>10</sup>ndīlind for inis <sup>11</sup>Banba na <sup>12</sup>mban; 745 <sup>13</sup>badar <sup>14</sup>co calma <sup>15</sup>comglan,
- 2. Do <sup>1</sup>riachtatar <sup>2</sup>Ērinn <sup>3</sup>huill cīan ō <sup>4</sup>Cholomnaib <sup>5</sup>Ercuill; rogabsat <sup>6</sup>rīghe ar <sup>7</sup>cach <sup>8</sup>dinn, <sup>9</sup>robōi <sup>10</sup>ind <sup>11</sup>Hērinn for a <sup>12</sup>ciond. 750
- 3. Sāer 7 līaig luaiter sin, ocus īascairi angbaid: cēt triar thānic sund re sel, an inis mōir Mac Mīlead.
- 4. Is <sup>1</sup>ed <sup>2</sup>dosfuce <sup>3</sup>asa <sup>4</sup>tig 755 in triar—<sup>5</sup>ingnad <sup>6</sup>anaichnid do <sup>7</sup>chur līn <sup>8</sup>i n-uisgi <sup>9</sup>n-ūar; <sup>10</sup>co riachtatar in <sup>11</sup>cāem-chūan.

1. 1 Cappa R2M 2 om. R2 <sup>3</sup> Laighne VB Laigne M 4 om. R2 5 Luasat R2 grinn DE ngrind B batar R2 bhadar B bliadin F re n- B roim M 10 om, n- DM <sup>11</sup> Banbha EB <sup>12</sup> mbagh VE mbag D 14 gu B 15 comlan R2 (mh E). 18 gabsat R2 (bh E) 2. this quatrain om. R1R3 1 -adar DE 2 Herind V Her- D <sup>8</sup> uill VE \*Columnaib V -uib D -mh- E <sup>5</sup> Hircuill VD Iarchuill E rigi V rige D 'gach V 8 dind VD Probui VD 10 in VD 13 chind V cind D. " Erind V Herind D

I am Fintan the white son of Bochna, I shall not conceal it; after the Flood here
I am a noble great sage.

9 tssruth F sruth M 10 written uasal :: er : · F 11 hér L eir VBM.

#### XXII.

- 1. Capa and Laigni and pleasant Luasad, they were a year before the Flood over the Island of Banba of the women; they were valorous and equally pure.
- 2. They reached great Ireland far from the Pillars of Hercules; they took kingship over every hill-fort that was in Ireland before them.
- 3. As a wright and a leech are those celebrated, and a ruthless fisherman: they were the first three men who came here for a space, into the great island of the sons of Mil.
- 4. This is what took them out of their dwelling—
  the three—a wonder unheard-of!
  For setting nets into cold water;
  and so they reached the fair haven.

3. This quatrain in M only.

4. ¹ead B sead M ² dosfuc FVDM dosfug B ³ as o F assa V ¹ tigh VB tich DE ⁵-adh B ° anaichnig VM anaichid D anaithnigh B ¹ cur FBM ³ an uisgi F an us. V in us. D in usqi E in uisge B an uisqi M ° om. n- VDM (uair D) fuar B: uar with prefixed f yc E ¹ gu riachtadar B no co rancadar M: riachtadar also E ¹¹ cain F coem- VM caom- D chaem- E: -cuan B.

- 5. Ō ¹do ²riachtatar in ³cūan do ⁴chur a līn—⁵do bo ⁶trūag— 7codosēidis in ⁵gāeth grinn
   ³ādō ¹ºEsbāin ¹¹co ¹²Hērinn.
- 6. <sup>1</sup>Ō do riachtatar <sup>2</sup>Ērinn, in triar <sup>3</sup>trēnfer <sup>4</sup>can creidim, <sup>5</sup>do <sup>6</sup>sīred leo <sup>7</sup>Ēriu āin 765 <sup>8</sup>ādā Lī-indber co <sup>9</sup>Espāin.
- 7. ¹Ōrbdar eōlaig in ²cach ³tīr ¹sechnōin īath ⁵Banba ⁶co mbrīg, ²do ⁵thriallatar, nir ⁶bo gar, ¹otecht ar ¹¹cūl ar ¹²cenn ¹³a mban. 770
- 8. Tan ro ¹thriallsat in ngnīm nglē—
  ²tuidecht ar ³cūl ⁴dorisse—
  ⁵dosfarraid in ⁶dīliu-dīl
  co ²rusbāig ie ³Tuaig ⁶Indbir.
- 9. Is 'iad 'sin 'stesmolta in trīr 775

  \*cēt gabsat 'sĒrinn 'eo mbrīg:

  'facsat 'sĒrinn 'gcan 'lomaca,

  'luasad, 'laigni, 'lais 'laga.

5. 1 do dittographed and expuncted F: ro R2 da M 2 siachtatar R2 ba leor (-dar E) riachtadar R3 a gan D eur FB chor VD truag R2 (lor D): ro R3 truagh E thruag M rodiseidis F rodussetis M: rosseit (roseit D roseit E) gaeth fri gluaire ngrinn (ngrend V) co (ind glossed no co D) hinber (inber D) n-uaine (om. n- E) nErend (an Er. E) R2 8 ngaeth ngrind B gaeth grind M 9 sic F ota R3 10 Easpain B Espan M " gu B 12 Herind R3.

7. ¹or bat eolaich R² orbdar eolaigh B o rob eolach M ² gach B
² thir VDMB ⁴ sechnon V sethno DE seachnoin B seachnoin M ⁵ mBanba
R²B (-bae E) ⁴ con brig F gu mbrigh B ¹ ro R² ⁵ t for th in

- 5. When they reached the harbour for setting their nets—what a pity! the pleasant wind blew them from Spain to Ireland. (a)
- 6. When they reached Ireland, the three champions without religion, noble Ireland was explored by them from the Li-estuary to Spain.
- 7. After they had knowledge of every region throughout the land of Banba with virtue, they endeavoured—it was no short [journey]—to return for their wives.
- 8. When they attempted the glorious deed—coming back again—the Flood-fate overtook them and drowned them at Tuad Inbir.
- Those are the details of the three, the first who invaded Ireland with valour.
   They left Ireland without progeny, Luasad, Laigni, and Capa.

almost all MSS, -satar  $R^2R^3$  (thrials, D -dar  $ER^3$ )  $^9$  bho B  $^{10}$  tocht B teacht M  $^{11}$  culu VE cula D  $^{12}$  cend V  $^{13}$  aman F.

8. This quatrain in R<sup>2</sup> only <sup>1</sup> thrialsat D triallsat E <sup>2</sup> tudhecht E <sup>2</sup> ql D <sup>4</sup> dorise D <sup>5</sup> -uidh DE <sup>6</sup> dile D <sup>7</sup> rusbaigh V rusbaid E rosbaid D <sup>8</sup> -gh VE <sup>9</sup> inbir D, others -ber.

9. ¹iat R² ²sain D ²tessmolta F testmolta V tessmalta E teasmolta B ⁴cet gabsad F cetna gab R² cet gabsad B ced gobsad M <sup>8</sup> Erind VM Her. D Banba B ⁴co mbrigh E gu mbrigh B ¹fagsat VB faccat D facsad M <sup>8</sup> Her. V Eir. D Erind B ⁴cen VE cin D gan B <sup>10</sup> maco V macca D macu E maccu M <sup>11</sup> Luasat VD Luassatt E Sluasad R² ¹Laighne VEB Laigne DM <sup>13</sup> sio, E, others 7 <sup>14</sup> Cappa R²M.

<sup>(</sup>a) At the end of this quatrain there is a note in D, partly cut away: Miss Muirges q is mor in scel adcluinim ii. [about 14 letters lost] ide . . . na Herenn,

#### XXIII.

R<sup>1</sup> ¶ 169 (F 4  $\delta$  31). R<sup>2</sup> ¶ 176 (V 3  $\beta$  50 : E 2  $\gamma$  41 : D 5  $\gamma$  6 : R [first quatrain only] 76 B  $\beta$  21). R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 192 (B 12  $\gamma$  51 : M 272  $\beta$  19).

- 1. <sup>1</sup>Cessair, <sup>2</sup>can as <sup>3</sup>tāinic sī, <sup>4</sup>a triar <sup>5</sup>ar <sup>6</sup>chōicait <sup>7</sup>co lī <sup>9</sup>, 780 Dia Mairt <sup>8</sup>ro <sup>9</sup>glūais, <sup>10</sup>garb in <sup>11</sup>scēl, <sup>12</sup>ōtā <sup>13</sup>indsib <sup>14</sup>Meroēn,
- 2. <sup>1</sup>Deie <sup>2</sup>mbliadan dī <sup>3</sup>i nĒgipt aird <sup>4</sup>fri <sup>5</sup>tāeb <sup>6</sup>na n-airir <sup>7</sup>nirt-gairb: <sup>8</sup>fichi trāth dī <sup>9</sup>i n-aire, <sup>10</sup>cen aise, 785 <sup>11</sup>dar<sup>8</sup> <sup>12</sup>muincind Mara mōr-<sup>13</sup>Chaisp.
- 3. <sup>1</sup>Dā trāth <sup>2</sup>dēc <sup>3</sup>dī <sup>4</sup>ō <sup>5</sup>Muir <sup>6</sup>Caisp <sup>7</sup>chrom co <sup>8</sup>riacht <sup>9</sup>Cimerda <sup>10</sup>trom: <sup>11</sup>trāth <sup>12</sup>dī <sup>13</sup>i nAissia <sup>14</sup>Bic, <sup>15</sup>sel sīar, <sup>16</sup>idir <sup>17</sup>Aissia is <sup>18</sup>Muir <sup>19</sup>Torrīan. 790
- 4. <sup>1</sup>Fichi trāth <sup>2</sup>dī <sup>3</sup>ō <sup>4</sup>Aissia <sup>5</sup>Bic, <sup>6</sup>seōlad <sup>7</sup>co <sup>8</sup>Halpa <sup>9</sup>n-ordairc; <sup>10</sup>fri <sup>11</sup>rē nāi trāth <sup>12</sup>luid <sup>13</sup>alle, <sup>14</sup>co <sup>15</sup>huillind <sup>16</sup>n-aird <sup>17</sup>nEspāine.
- 1. ¹Ceassair F Cesair R Ceasair R² ² cid dia R² (cidh E) ³ tanic VM tanuig D tainig B ⁴ om. R²B ⁵ ins. fer R²R³ ° l.aid F chaecait V caechait E choicad D coecait R l.a B chaecaid M ¹ fo R² 8 do B ° ghl- E ¹⁰ garbh isen B ¹¹ sen R²R³ (an sen R) ³² ado F otha REB oda R³ ¹³ hindsib FB innsi VDR indse E ¹⁴ Moroen F Meroen R² (Maraoen R) Mara Hen R³.
- 2. ¹ secht R² cuic M ² om. m- M ² an Egift F an Eigipt E: Eigipt also VB Egept M ⁴ re R²R³ ⁵ taebh B ⁶ cach (gach E) airir imaird R² cach n-airir nirt-gairg M ¹ -garb FR² neart-gairg B 8-8 ocht trath decc (dec V) i (a yc E) mbairc (-cc E) nirb aise os (aisec oss E) R²: .x. trath B ⁶ a naire F anoir M ¹ can F gan B cen M ¹¹ ar B co M ¹² muncind V muincinn E muinciund D ¹³ Caisp R² Casp B.
  - 3. 1 fichi R2 da .x. di M 2 deg FB 8 om. R2 4 ar F R3 ho V

### XXIII.

- 1. Cessair, whence came she, her three men and fifty with complexion? A Tuesday she set forth, rough the story, from the islands of Meroe.
- 2. Ten years had she in lofty Egypt alongside the coast of rough might: twenty days had she in an ark, without reproach, over the surface of the great Caspian Sea.
- 3. Twelve days had she from the crooked Caspian Sea, till she reached the heavy Cimmerian [Sea]:
  A day in Asia Minor, a space westward, between Asia and the Torrian Sea.
- 4. Twenty days had she from Asia Minor, a-sailing to the glorious Alps: for a space of nine days she went hither, to the lofty corner of Spain.

Terom B chruim V crum E 6 Chaisp VDM Casp B 5 Muiri E in Cimirdaid F Cimerdha V Cimere E 8 muirib ED chrumm D 10 comtrum V, apparently also Cimeri D in Cimirdha B in Chimearda M 12 om. M DE, but unintelligibly contracted (cm) 11 ins. aen M "bice D bhig B <sup>13</sup> dAissia VE dAissia D an Aissia B in Aisia M 17 Siria R2 Assia B Aisia M 15 seal B 16 etir VE itir DM om. M 19 Toirrian VDM Thorr- B. 18 mur F

4. ¹ fiche D ² om, R² ³ ond R² in FM an B ⁴ Assia VDB Asia E Aisia M ⁵ bicc E bhig BM ⁵ ins. ic R² (hic VD): seoladh B ¬ d' R² Elpa R² Healpa B Helpa M ° n-ordraic F airrdirec V airdire ED nurrdraic B noirrdric M ¹ ofri (om. V) ocht trath (om. E) dec (decc E) tanic (ossin V tainic E) ille (hille D) R² ¹¹ rae nae F ¹² luidh B¹¹ ale F ille M ¹⁴ gu B ¹⁵ hullid F huillinn V ¹⁴ om. n- FM n-airdd E¹¹ Esbaine (om. n-) F nEspane V nEasp. B om. n- M.

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5. <sup>1</sup>Assiden <sup>2</sup>dī <sup>3</sup>i nĒrinn āin
<sup>4</sup>seōlad <sup>5</sup>nāi <sup>6</sup>trāth <sup>7</sup>a <sup>8</sup>Hespāin:
<sup>9</sup>dia <sup>10</sup>Sepōit, <sup>11</sup>sin <sup>12</sup>cōicet <sup>13</sup>chlē,
<sup>14</sup>tānie <sup>15</sup>coscar <sup>16</sup>ār <sup>17</sup>crīche.

5.  $^1$ aisiden FM assaide  $R^2$  asiden B  $^2$  om.  $R^2$   $^3$  an Er. F co hEr.  $R^2$  (hEirind E) in Eirn B: the i of following  $\bar{a}$  in sec. man. in rasura  $^4$  fri re  $R^2$  seoladh B  $^5$  noi  $R^2$  x. M  $^6$  trat B  $^7$  o E co D (the c effaced)  $^8$  Esp. F Heasp. B  $^9$  om. dia DE  $^{10}$  Sathairnd V Satharn DE

#### XXIV.

R<sup>1</sup> ¶ 171 (F 5 a 25). R<sup>2</sup> ¶ 185 (V 3  $\delta$  48 : E 3 a 20 : D 6  $\gamma$  7 : R 77 a 17 [first quatrain only]). R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 196 (B 12  $\delta$  41 : M 272  $\gamma$  32).

- 1. <sup>1</sup>Cethracha trāth <sup>2</sup>don <sup>8</sup>tūr <sup>4</sup>tind <sup>5</sup>ro <sup>6</sup>frith <sup>7</sup>Ēriu <sup>8</sup>rē ndīlind: 800 <sup>9</sup>Cessair <sup>10</sup>do fuair <sup>11</sup>n-a cucht <sup>12</sup>cain, lucht <sup>13</sup>a <sup>14</sup>curaig <sup>15</sup>codal-glain.
- 2. <sup>1</sup>Ass <sup>2</sup>tānic, <sup>3</sup>oirdere <sup>4</sup>in seēl, <sup>5</sup>ōtā <sup>6</sup>hindsib <sup>7</sup>Morahēn, <sup>8</sup>do Muir <sup>9</sup>Torrian <sup>10</sup>can <sup>11</sup>time, <sup>12</sup>ar <sup>13</sup>teched na <sup>14</sup>dīlinde.
- 3. Triar <sup>1</sup>fer, <sup>2</sup>cōica <sup>3</sup>ingen ard, <sup>4</sup>fa <sup>5</sup>hē <sup>6</sup>a līn <sup>7</sup>co <sup>8</sup>racht ro-garg; <sup>9</sup>rostimairg <sup>10</sup>gāeth, <sup>11</sup>grinn in <sup>12</sup>mod, co <sup>13</sup>Hērinn <sup>14</sup>ar imarchor.

1. ¹cetracha FD ceathracha R³ ² din VDR ³ tuir VERR³ dind F thind VE thinn D tinn R thend M ⁵ fo frith R² (fofuair E) ⁶ frit F ˚ H- V Eire R² (Er. D) Eiriu B Eri RM ⁵ ria R² iar M ˚ Cesair ER Ceasair B Ceasair M ¹ ofosfuair VER fofuair DM fobhuair B ¹¹ na cuct F fo chucht R² (cucht ER) ¹² chain VDM ¹³ om. B ¹⁴ craig, a u sprs. yc F curaigh ERB curaich M ¹⁵ cuchtadglan F chodalglain R² (codal- E) codhail-glain B co caemgail M.

2. ¹ sic FV as others ² tainic FE tanig DB ³ irdraic F (written irdic, with a sprs. to the d. This letter is in a similar hand to the sprs. u in c(u)raig in the line above, but is not, like that letter, in a different ink) airdirec V airdeire E aird[er]e D oirrdraic B airrdric M ¹ iscel B

5. Thence had she into noble Ireland a sailing of nine days from Spain: on Sabbath, on the unlucky fifth, there came the conquering of our country.

Seaboid B Saboid M

11 for VER3: dec after this word sprs. ye V

12 .u. chle F coicedh VD coicid E cuigedh B

13 ins. dec ED: cle ED

14 tainie E tainig B

15 do asenam R2 (aseam V) guscar B co hur M

16 om. R2

17 erich F chriche D crich ce B Misi Torna do Murcertach

added here E.

### XXIV.

- 1. Forty days of the rapid search was Ireland found before the Flood: Cessair found it in its fair shape, the crew of her canoe of clean hide.
- 2. She came forth, glorious the story, from the islands of Meroe, to the Torrian Sea without fear, a-fleeing from the Flood.
- 3. Three men, fifty tall maidens, that was her tally with very rough fury: a wind drave them, pleasant the fashion, to Ireland a-wandering.

<sup>5</sup> ado F otha R<sup>2</sup> do B <sup>6</sup> insi VD innsi E indsi B indsib M <sup>7</sup> Mora hen F Meroen R<sup>2</sup> (Maeroen E) Marahen R<sup>2</sup> <sup>8</sup> dar R<sup>2</sup> tar M <sup>9</sup> Toirrian R<sup>2</sup> Torren B Thoirian M <sup>10</sup> cen VDM gant time E gan B <sup>11</sup> timmi D timi M <sup>12</sup> for VE <sup>13</sup> teicid F teichedh V teithedh B teichead M <sup>14</sup> -ndi FM -nni D.

3. ¹ fear B ².1. F caoga E caeca M ³ ingin F ⁴ ba VEDB som, he a F: he i B ° allin D ¹ fria V fri ED gu B s recht R² rostimart R² (air with t yo E) ¹ gaoth E ¹ granda V grainne ED grind B mor M ¹ mogh V an mod E modh B ¹ om, H-F: Heir-E ¹ iar n-iomarcor E ar immarchor D ar imochor B.

OF SECTION III.

- 4. <sup>1</sup>Rainnset <sup>2</sup>in triar <sup>3</sup>fer <sup>4</sup>co lī in <sup>5</sup>cōicait <sup>6</sup>n-ingen <sup>7</sup>ar trī; <sup>8</sup>secht mnā <sup>9</sup>dēc <sup>10</sup>d'Fhintān <sup>11</sup>can tas, a secht dēc <sup>12</sup>ruc Bith <sup>13</sup>barr-chas.
- 5. <sup>1</sup>A sẽ dẽc <sup>2</sup>ruc <sup>3</sup>Ladra lõr, 815 <sup>4</sup>ba <sup>5</sup>bec <sup>6</sup>leis sin, <sup>7</sup>nīr <sup>8</sup>bo <sup>9</sup>mõr; do dul <sup>10</sup>chuca, <sup>11</sup>ba <sup>12</sup>gnīm <sup>13</sup>gand, <sup>14</sup>de is marb <sup>15</sup>Ladra <sup>16</sup>i nArd <sup>17</sup>Ladrand.
- 6. <sup>1</sup>Rainnset <sup>2</sup>in <sup>3</sup>dīas <sup>4</sup>aile <sup>5</sup>i ndō <sup>6</sup>a <sup>7</sup>sē <sup>8</sup>mnā dēc-<sup>9</sup>son <sup>10</sup>īar lō: 820 <sup>11</sup>is <sup>12</sup>iat <sup>13</sup>cēt-fir, <sup>14</sup>fri <sup>15</sup>sāiri <sup>16</sup>seng, <sup>17</sup>taesat <sup>18</sup>fri mnāib <sup>19</sup>i <sup>20</sup>nĒrinn.
- 7. ¹Cōic mnā ²fichet ³ruc ⁴Bith ⁵benn co ⁶hairther ⁵tūaiscert ⁵Ērenn; °co Slīab ¹ºBetha, ¹¹ōs an muir ¹²mas— 825 ¹³ann ¹⁴tānic a ¹⁵thiugradus.
- 8. De-sin ¹atā ²Slīab ³Betha,

  d'če ⁵in ⁶lāich ¹co līn ⁶ngretha:

  do na ⁶mnāib fa mōr in ¹⁰mod,

  liṣin ¹²tslēib ¹³a ¹⁴adnacol.

4. ¹rainset F randsat V randsad EB rannsat D roindsead M ²an E ³fer yo V fear B ⁴go B ⁵.l. ingin FB coecait V coicaid D caeca M ³ingen R³ ¹a trii V a tri EB hi tri D ³ocht E ³deg B ¹odintan F do Finntan V d'Findtan EB dFinntan D ¹¹ can tais F gan tas yo in marg. V, yo E cen tas D adclas B roclos M ²² rug EB ¹² barrchass VB barrcas E.

<sup>2</sup> Ladru V 5. ¹ a sse dec V a se deg EB se mna dec M 2 rug EB 6 les sin VD leisium B 5 beg EB Laghr E Ladhra B fa M ins, is R3: nir bo changed by a re-inker to uirbo V 8 bu D om. R3 11 fa M 12 gniomh E 9 lor F 30 chuco V cuetha E chuq D chucu R3 14 atbath VDB adbath EM 15 Ladran (but looks like 13 gann FDB 17 Ladrann ED. -nan) F Ladhra EB 16 an E in nArd B

6. ¹rainsid F randsat V rannsad an E rannsat D roindsead B roindsed M
²an E ²diass V ⁴aili F oile E eli D ele B ⁵ar lo R² ar do R³
(dho B) ⁵fa B ¹xuii. FB se M ⁵mnaibh B ⁰om. F som VD
sin B ³⁰ar do V in do E an do D ar lo B ¹¹om. is VED: siat FB

- 4. The three complexioned men divided the fifty maidens into three shares: seventeen women to Fintan without a dwelling, Curl-haired Bith took seventeen.
- 5. Ladra the sufficient took sixteen, he thought it small, not great: from going to them—it was a mean action thence is Ladra dead in Ard Ladrann.
- The other twain divided into two shares his sixteen women, on the following day. They are the first men, with slender nobility, who foregathered with women in Ireland.
- 7. Twenty five women did Bith of peaks take to the north-east of Ireland; to Sliab Betha, over the beautiful sea—there came his last liability.
- 8. Thence is Sliab Betha [named],
  from the death of the warrior with abundance of
  outcry:
  to the women the work was great,
  to bury him in the mountain.

<sup>12</sup> iad EM <sup>13</sup> .c. fir F ched M <sup>14</sup> re B om. M <sup>15</sup> saire ED saeri B <sup>16</sup> sing F seing EB <sup>17</sup> taetsad F faiset R<sup>2</sup> (faisid E) faised M taethsat B <sup>18</sup> re R<sup>2</sup>R<sup>3</sup> <sup>19</sup> an FVEB ind D <sup>20</sup> Erenn V.

7. ¹cuic FM coig E

5 bann F bend V beann B

6 hart- F hiarthar VED horrthar B hoirthear M

7 tuaiscirt F indsi R²M thuaiscert B

8 Herenn VD Heir- E Herend M

9 cosin VD cusan E

10 Beatha F om. R² Sliabh Beathadh B Beathad M

ossin V

11 os in EDB os (om. an) M

12 mas, last two letters re-inked F

mass V mhass B

13 hi R² (a E) and B de M

14 tainic FB tainig E

tanuig D thanic M

15 tignadus (sic) F thiugradas R² (-dhass V tiugradhus

E) thiug-flaitheas R³.

8. <sup>1</sup>ita M <sup>2</sup>sliabh B <sup>9</sup>Beathadh B Beathad M <sup>4</sup>deg FB decc E deis M <sup>6</sup>a F an E <sup>6</sup>laoich E laech D laith B <sup>7</sup>co lion E collin D <sup>8</sup>gretha E aigretha D ngreathad B ngreathad M <sup>9</sup>mnaibh ba mor an mod E: ba also VD <sup>10</sup>modh VB <sup>11</sup>issin V <sup>12</sup>sleib V tleibh B tleb M <sup>13</sup>da V dia B <sup>14</sup>adnocad F adhnac- E adhnocol B adnocol M.

- 9. <sup>1</sup>Doluid <sup>2</sup>Fintān <sup>3</sup>rīa na <sup>4</sup>mnāib, <sup>5</sup>dar <sup>6</sup>Miledach, <sup>7</sup>fa sūan <sup>8</sup>sāim: <sup>9</sup>dar Bun <sup>10</sup>Sūainme <sup>11</sup>re snīm slat, <sup>12</sup>dar <sup>13</sup>Slīab <sup>14</sup>Cūa, <sup>15</sup>tar <sup>16</sup>Cenn Fhebrat.
- 10. Īar na ¹n-airther—nūall ²can ³gāi— 835

  doluid ⁵Fintān mac ⁶Bochrāi:

  co ¹rāinic, īar ⁵ndīth a ⁵nirt

  co Tul ¹ºTuinde ¹¹ōs Loch ¹²Dergderc.
- 11. ¹Īar sin ²doluid ³Cessair ⁴chain,

  5co Cūil 6Chessra 7i 8Connachtaib: 840

  9conad ¹¹oann ¹¹dochūala, ¹²īar ¹³ffes,

  ¹⁴ēc a ¹⁵hathar na hēcmais.
- 12. <sup>1</sup>Iachtaid in <sup>2</sup>ben co <sup>3</sup>hachar <sup>4</sup>d'ēis a fir, <sup>5</sup>d'ēc a <sup>6</sup>hathar: <sup>7</sup>do mebaid <sup>8</sup>dī, <sup>9</sup>fa <sup>10</sup>maich mōr, a <sup>11</sup>crīdi <sup>12</sup>n-a cert-<sup>13</sup>medōn.
- 13. Is 'iat 'sin, 'sūair is bechta,
  a 'n-aided, a 'n-imthechta:
  nī 'raibi acht 'sechtmain 'snamā,
  "ūadib 'o'cosin 'i'cethracha.
  850

4 mnaibh FEB <sup>2</sup> Findtan VEB 3 re FR3 9. 1 -Inidh VEB <sup>5</sup> tar M <sup>6</sup> Milidach F Miledhac V Miledhach E Miledech D Mileadhach B 10 suanba F <sup>8</sup> sam F saimh B 9 tar M 7 ba R2B Mileadach M 13 Sliabh B " ro VD tar M 12 tar FB suanmi V suainmi E Cenn Fhabhrat B cend nAbrad M.

10. 'nairter FV naircer E nairrthear B noirthear M 'cen V gen D gan B 'gói R' '-dh E 'Finntan V Findtan EDB 'Bocrai F Bochroi E Bochnai B 'ranic VM ranuig D 'nith F 'nert V neirt EB 'D' Tuindi FVM Tuinne D 'cen V 'Dergert F Dergdeire DB.

11. <sup>1</sup>iarsain V <sup>2</sup> doluidh VB <sup>2</sup> Cesair FED Cheasair M <sup>4</sup> cain R<sup>2</sup>B choin M <sup>8</sup> go B i M <sup>6</sup> Cesra FR<sup>2</sup> Ceassair B Cheasra M <sup>7</sup> hi V a E <sup>8</sup> Conachtaib FEM (-bh E, also B) <sup>9</sup> conid R<sup>2</sup> (-dh V) <sup>10</sup> and V is and R<sup>3</sup>

- 9. Fintan came before the women, over Miledach, it was a pleasant repose: over Bun Suainme with weaving of rods, over Sliab Cua, over Cenn Febrat.
- 10. Behind their breasts—a cry without falsehood—came Fintan son of Bochna: till he reached, having lost his strength, Tul Tuinde over Loch Dergdeire.
- 11. After that came fair Cessair, to Cul Cessrach in Connachta: so that there she heard, after slumber, of the death of her father in her absence.
- 12. The woman utters a sharp scream after her husband, for the death of her father: there brake for her—it was a great sadness—her heart in her very middle.
- 13. Those are, for they are accurate, their death, their adventures:

  There was not more than a week from them till the Forty.

 $^{11}$ do cuala F rochuala $R^2$  (rocual [sic] E) ro chualaidh B rochualaich M  $^{12}$ a F ar  $R^2$   $^{13}$  fes VDM bfeis E feis B  $^{14}$  eg FEDB  $^{15}$  athar F hegmais FB hegmuis D.

12. ¹iachtais R² iachtaidh B ²bean B ³athar F achar R² (-air V) gu halalamh B hathlam M ⁴des FM ⁵deg FEDB °athar F hatar B ¹co ro chnomuigh V co ro cnomuidh E go ro chnomuid D cor mebaid M ³om. R² °ba ED ¹o muich VDB muidh E ¹¹ cradi F cridhi V cridhe E craidi B ¹² ina B ¹³ medhon E meadon B.

13. ¹iad ER² ²sain V ³iar nuair fechta R² (fectha V fecta D fechda E) beachta B ⁴n-aidid F naidhedh R² (-dedh V -ded D) naigeadh B noiged M ⁵nimtechta VE nimdechta D nimtheachta B ⁴raibe (-bhe E) R² roibi B roibe M ¹sechd- D seachtmain (mh B) R³ ⁵ama F namba B ³uaidib VD uaidhib E uaithib B uathu M ²o comad VD somadh E cosna B cusin M ²¹ cetracha VE ceathracha (-tra- B) R³.

### XXV.

R<sup>1</sup> ¶ 171 (L 2  $\delta$  41 : F 5  $\beta$  30). R<sup>2</sup> ¶ 178 (V 3  $\gamma$  25 : E 2  $\delta$  13 : D 5  $\delta$  9 : R 76 B  $\gamma$  9 [first line only]). R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 197 (B 13  $\alpha$  15 : M 272  $\delta$  24).

- 1. <sup>1</sup>Cāin <sup>2</sup>raind <sup>3</sup>do <sup>4</sup>raindsemar <sup>5</sup>etrond, <sup>6</sup>Missi is Bith is <sup>7</sup>Ladra <sup>8</sup>lond; <sup>9</sup>ar <sup>10</sup>sīth is <sup>11</sup>ar <sup>12</sup>cēill <sup>13</sup>dorigned, <sup>14</sup>imon <sup>15</sup>cōicait <sup>16</sup>n-ingen <sup>17</sup>n-oll.
- 2. <sup>1</sup>Secht mnā <sup>2</sup>dēc <sup>3</sup>rucus im <sup>4</sup>Chessair— 855

  <sup>5</sup>Lot, is <sup>6</sup>Luam, <sup>7</sup>is <sup>8</sup>Māil, is <sup>9</sup>Marr,

  <sup>10</sup>Froecar, <sup>11</sup>Femar, <sup>12</sup>Faible, <sup>13</sup>Foroll,

  <sup>14</sup>Ciper, <sup>15</sup>Torrian, Tamall, <sup>16</sup>Tam,

  <sup>17</sup>Abba, <sup>18</sup>Alla, <sup>19</sup>Raichne, <sup>20</sup>Sille:

  <sup>21</sup>is ē <sup>22</sup>līn <sup>23</sup>bāi <sup>24</sup>sinne <sup>25</sup>and. 860
- 3. <sup>1</sup>A <sup>2</sup>secht <sup>3</sup>dēc <sup>4</sup>rue Bith <sup>5</sup>re <sup>6</sup>Bairrfind—
  <sup>7</sup>Sella, <sup>8</sup>Della, <sup>9</sup>Duib, Addeōs,
  <sup>10</sup>Fotra, Traige, <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup>Nera, <sup>12</sup>Buana,
  Tamall, <sup>13</sup>Tanna, <sup>14</sup>Nathra, <sup>15</sup>Leos,
  <sup>16</sup>Fodarg, <sup>17</sup>Rodarg, <sup>18</sup>Dos, Clos: <sup>19</sup>cluinter—
  <sup>20</sup>rop iad <sup>21</sup>sin ār <sup>22</sup>muinter <sup>23</sup>beos.

1. caoin E <sup>2</sup> roinn yc E an roinn R roind R<sup>3</sup> 3 ro LR <sup>4</sup> randsammar L rindsamar F roinnsemar ER rainnsemar D rindsimar B <sup>5</sup> edraind FE etroind V etraind D etrainn R adraind B roindseamar M <sup>6</sup> messe L misi FEM misse V mise D eadroind M 7 Ladru LR2 Ladhra B 8 lonn FD 9 iar B 10 sid LFD sidh V sisd B 12 cheill R2 cell M 11 om, F tria R2 (tre E) iar B 13 doringne L dorignid F dorighned D dorigneadh B 14 immun V iman E 15 cóecait V coiccaid D l.ad B caeca M 16 ingen LE ningin F ningiun D ningean B 17 oll L.

2. ¹ seacht R³ 2 deg FEB 3 rucas F rucussa V -cusa D rugus EB
4 Cessair FV Chesair E Ceassair B Cheasair M 5 Loth B Lotis Luama M
6 Luamna F Luamh E Luamhna B 7 om. is FVR³ 8 Mil FR³ Maen
(with 7 for is following) V Maol E Mael D Milis mBarr M 8 Barr L
Mar F 10 Froeochair F Fraech is V Fr. (only) E Freachach D Froechair
B Feochair M 11 Femair FVR³ Femmair ED 12 Faibli FEB
Failbe VD Failbi M 13 Forall E 14 Cipir R²M 15 Torand F Toirriam

### XXV.

- 1. A just division we shared between us, myself and Bith and bold Ladra; for peace and for reason was it done, in the matter of the fifty magnificent maidens.
- 2. Seventeen women I took, including Cessair—Lot, Luam, Mail, Mar,
  Froechar, Femar, Faible, Foroll,
  Cipir, Torrian, Tamall, Tam,
  Abba, Alla, Raichne, Sille:
  that is the tale which we were there.
- 3. Seventeen Bith took, with Bairrfhind—Sella, Della, Duib, Addeos, Fotra, Traige, Nera, Buana, Tamall, Tanna, Nathra, Leos, Fodarg, Rodarg, Dos, Clos: be it heard—those were our people further.

V Tarriam ED Torond B Torann M
Abhla E

18 Ulla L Ealla V Ella M
Ruigne B Ruicne M

20 Silli F
baoi E boi D

21 sine F sinde VR3

19 Ruene F Ruichne VD Raichni E
21 hise VD

22 lion E

23 bi F

25 ann FD.

<sup>2</sup> sé L seacht M <sup>3</sup> ins. mna R<sup>2</sup>: deg B 3. 1 om. a R2 (dittographed E) 5 ri L fri R2 le R3 6 Bairind LED Baraind F Bairrind V Barrfind B Barraind M \* Sealla EB Selba DM \* Dealla EB 9 Dubados FM Dib adeos R2 (dibi V dibh E) Duba Doss B away L Foth Traicia F Fota Traice R2 (Foda Traighe E Traige D) Fothar 12 Banna F Buanna ED Banda R3 Traigia BM "Nena R2 Neara B <sup>13</sup> Tama FM Tuamma R<sup>2</sup> Tamma B 14 Natra FV 15 Leoss V 16 Fodarc R2 (dh E) Fogarg B Fodard M 17 om. M: in other MSS. uniform with preceding name 18 Doscloss V Doss closs B 19 ins. to L: 20 rob iat FB ba hiat R2 (hiad E iat D) cluindter VE cluindtear B 22 muinnter V muindtear B robiad M 21 om. L sein V preceded by i scratched out F foss V.

4. <sup>1</sup>A sē dēc <sup>2</sup>īarsin <sup>3</sup>re <sup>4</sup>Ladraind:

<sup>5</sup>Aba, <sup>6</sup>Bona, <sup>7</sup>Albor, <sup>8</sup>Ail,

<sup>9</sup>Gothiam, <sup>10</sup>German, <sup>11</sup>Aithne, <sup>12</sup>Inde,

<sup>13</sup>Rodarg, <sup>14</sup>Rinne, <sup>15</sup>Iachor, Ain,

<sup>16</sup>Irrand, <sup>17</sup>Espa, <sup>18</sup>Sine, <sup>19</sup>Samoll:

<sup>20</sup>rop ē sin <sup>21</sup>ār <sup>22</sup>comand cain.

4. ¹asse V ²iarsain L ³la V ⁴Ladrain F Ladhraind VB Ladrann E Ladrainn D ⁵Alba L Albo FM Balba V Labhra E Labra D Balbo B ⁴Bonna R² Bana B ¹om. L sic F Abloir VD Abhloir E Allbor M °om. L °Goithiam R³ ¹of Germoc VD Grimoc E Germar M ¹¹Aiche R² om. B ¹²Inne L Inge R² Inde B ¹³ Roorc R²

#### XXVI.

 $R^2$  ¶ 174 (V 3 β 31 : E 2 γ 28 : R 76 B α 36 : D 5 B 15),  $R^3$  ¶ 189 (B 12 γ 10 : M 272 α 14).

1. <sup>1</sup>Cessair <sup>2</sup>ingen <sup>3</sup>Betha būain, dalta <sup>4</sup>Sabaill <sup>5</sup>meic <sup>6</sup>Manūail, in <sup>7</sup>chēt <sup>8</sup>ben <sup>9</sup>chalma ro chind, <sup>10</sup>rogob <sup>11</sup>Banba <sup>12</sup>rīa ndīlind.

1. <sup>1</sup> Cesair R Ceasair R<sup>3</sup>: glossed .i. Eri y M <sup>2</sup> ingean B <sup>3</sup> Beathadh

#### XXVII.

R³ ¶ 192 (B 12 γ 46).

Hi cuigeadh uathadh, gan eill, do ruacht Ceassair in Eirinn: i n-a secht dec, gan bron, ro ghabh i port Parrtholan.

880

#### XXVIII

 $\mathbb{R}^{3}$  ¶ 192 (B 12  $\gamma$  47 : M 272  $\beta$  15).

Is and <sup>1</sup>ro gabsadar port <sup>2</sup>oe <sup>3</sup>Dūn na mBare in bandtrocht: <sup>4</sup>i Cūil <sup>5</sup>Ceasra <sup>6</sup>i crīchaib Cairn, hi cūicead <sup>7</sup>dēc, <sup>8</sup>dīa Sathairn.

¹rogobsadar M ²ig B ³Dunnairce B ⁴hi B ⁵Cheasra M

### XXIX.

R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 196 (M 272 y 28).

Ced aimsear in beathad bind,
oda Adam co dilind:
se bliadna caecad, rad ngle,
ar se chedaib ar mile,

4. Sixteen thereafter with Ladra: Alba, Bona, Albor, Ail, Gothiam, German, Aithne, Inde, Rodarg, Rinne, Iachor, Ain, Irrand, Espa, Sine, Samoll: that was our fair company.

Rogarg B Rogairg M  $^{14}$  Ridi F Rinde B Rindi M  $^{15}$  Iuchair R $^2$  Iacor B  $^{16}$  Irrind FB Urrand R $^2$  (-ann D) Is Rind M  $^{17}$  Easpa R $^3$   $^{15}$  Sindi F Sinni R $^2$  (-nne E) Sinde R $^3$   $^{19}$  Samall FR $^3$  Somall R $^2$   $^{29}$  rob FR $^3$  ba hiat (hiad E iat D) sin R $^2$   $^{21}$  in R $^2$   $^{22}$  comond L comann FDM qmand E coman B.

### XXVI.

1. Cessair daughter of enduring Bith, fosterling of Saball son of Manual, the first valorous woman who set forth, who invaded Ireland before the Flood.

R³ (-thad M)  $^4$  Sabuill VDM  $^5$  mic D  $^6$  Manuaill RR³  $^7$  cet VERB ched M  $^8$  bean B  $^9$  calma VERB: ro cinn R  $^{10}$  rogab VEDR roghabh B  $^{11}$  Banbha B  $^{12}$  ri B iar M: ndilinn R.

#### XXVII

On the fifth unit, without advantage, Cessair arrived in Ireland: on seventeen, without sorrow, Partholon came to harbour.

#### XXVIII

It is there that they came to harbour, the woman-crowd, at Dun na mBarc. In the Nook of Cessair, in the lands of Carn, on the fifteenth, on Saturday.

<sup>6</sup> a crichaibh B i cricaib M <sup>7</sup> deg B <sup>8</sup> dia Satharnn B de Saithairn M.

#### XXIX.

The first age of the tuneful world, from Adam to the Flood: fifty-six years, a clear saying, added to six hundreds and a thousand.

### NOTES ON SECTION III

PROSE TEXTS

### First Redaction

¶ 166 (= R<sup>2</sup> ¶ 172, R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 186). This ¶, which appears in all three redactions, [with its sequel, which appears in R<sup>2</sup> (¶ 184)] is probably the only part of the original LG which is contained in LO in its present form. The compiler of LG had no concern with the aborigines, and for his purpose the bare list of pre-Milesian invasions here set forth was quite sufficient to identify the people whom the Milesians found on their arrival in Ireland. It is probable that originally Cessair was not included in the enumeration: the particle em, found in R1R3, is suggestive of a marginal gloss objecting to her exclusion. Against this is the fact that the number of the invasions is specified (seven in R1R3, five in R2). and Cessair is needed in each case to fill up this number. But a subsequent adjustment of the numbers is not impossible, and is indeed indicated by the discrepancy in this respect between the redactions. The ¶ follows a tradition differing from that adopted by LO, for it treats the Fir Bolg invasion as consisting of three separate events, enumerated differently-thereby making a total of seven pre-Milesian "takings." The same tradition of seven takings underlies poem XXXIII (Sechtmad gabāil rodusgab), but it has a different enumeration: see the poem and the notes thereon (vol. iii). In ∞ R2 editorial interference has toned down the discrepancy, cutting out the Fir Domnann and the Gailioin, and changing the numeral secht to coic. The only other differences in the three presentations of the text are glossarial interpolations, easily detected by comparison of the three versions, and sufficiently marked in the printed page. The editorial instincts of  $\infty$  R<sup>2</sup> have led to interference with the dating of Partholon. Naturally the Milesian invasion was not originally included in this list of pre-Milesian captures, and it is absent from F's version of R<sup>1</sup>:1

but it was inevitable that the usual myopic glossator should make haste to fill in what he imagined to be an omission. The difference between the glosses in  $R^2$  ( $G\bar{a}idil$ ) and  $R^3$  ( $Meic\ M\bar{i}lid$ ) show that they must come from different hands. Once more  $R^3$  testifies to the affinity of  $F^*Q$  by following the variants of F as against L.

¶ 167 (= R<sup>3</sup> ¶ 187). Here F\*Q have a variant of the Cessair invasion, independent of the main tradition of PA, and professing to be extracted from the lost historical miscellany called The Quire of Druim Snechta, where it probably was an independent saga. It differs from the PA tradition in calling the heroine Banba, and in triplicating the number of the train of women, but in mentioning Ladra only of the male companions. It also dates her arrival 200 years before the Flood, assigns to the colony a stay of 40 years in Ireland, and brings them to an end by means of an epidemic.2 This story is thus entirely independent of the Flood-saga, and therefore originally independent of the orthodox Cessair story, though each narrative has contaminated the other to such an extent that they have become almost identical. The division of the women seems to have been unknown to this story: and the Cynocephali introduced into the subsequent Partholon story have no place in the orthodox narrative, unless we are to equate them to the Fomoraig. Keating knows of the Banba story, and of its crigin in the Quire of Druim Snechta; but he ignores Cynocephali.

The opening question of the ¶, which appears corruptly in both R¹ and R³, must be the original beginning of PA: for it is found in R² ¶ 174, which knows nothing of the Druim Snechta story of Banba, apart from an interpolation in ¶ 175 peculiar to V.

Ard Ladrann is usually identified with Ardamine, on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But as it appears in L this omission may be accidental, and the interpolation may have been in \*Q.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Book of Fenagh contains a long poem which inter alia recapitulates the legendary history of Ireland (ed. Kelly and Hennessy, pp. 46–111). In a transcript of this compilation by Micheál Ó Cléirigh, now in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels, there is a variant reading of the third quatrain which combines the plague with the forty-day story—reading In lucht sin bat mairbh do támh for the first line of the quatrain. The printed text has In lucht sin huili ba marb.

Wexford coast, but the terrestrial identification of dreamland sites is unprofitable.

 $\P$  168 (=  $\mathbb{R}^3$   $\P$  188: another version  $\mathbb{R}^2$   $\P$  173). The story of the Three Fishers may have been in PA, but rejected by the compiler who incorporated PA with LO: and returned to the document by later glossators.  $\mathbb{R}^3$  as usual follows  $\mathbb{R}^1$ . R1 and R2 elearly take the story from different sources, and R1 makes it plain that its source is not the Druim Sneachta book from which the preceding paragraph has been borrowed by F\*Q. The story is so drastically condensed that nearly all the interest is squeezed out of it. The three names Capa, Luasat, Laigne, are in the alliterative formula which betrays dioscuric affinities (the prosthetic S in Sluasad, R3, is a mere corruption): the p in the first name arouses suspicion of a non-Celtic origin. Tuad Inber, the estuary of the Bann, is a strange place for the landing of travellers from Spain: if we had the whole story before us, we should probably find a record of long inland voyaging before the final catastrophe. Keating mentions the story (I. v. 2) but adds nothing of importance: he apparently took it from a copy of the shorter version in R2.

¶ 169 (= R³ ¶ 189, 192: variant, R² ¶ 176). Just as ¶ 167 preserves the opening words of PA, so ¶ 169, (in L) preserves the opening words of LO: that they belong to the composite book (LO + PA) and not to the originally separate PA, is shown by the plural word gabālaib. It is remarkable how the plural of this word is avoided in the original text of LG; even in ¶ 166, where it would be appropriate, we have na secht tūatha rogabsat. It seems as though the compiler of LG did not recognize a legitimate "taking" other than that of the Milesians. The word varum in these opening words of L's version shows that predecessors of Cessair were originally enumerated, and have been editorially excised. Such were the Banba and Capa settlements mentioned in previous paragraphs, the three daughters of Cain (Keating I. v. 1) and perhaps Adna son of Bith, who according to Keating (I. vi. 1) was an early post-diluvian; but whose parentage obviously connects him with Cessair, although Keating's authorities link him with Ninus son of Belus.

Presumably in the original PA the Cessair story followed these earlier and vaguer traditions. The heading of LO has been modified by F\*Q in order to link on with their preceding interpolations. \*Q, as set forth in R³, has few variants; it substitutes  $\bar{\imath}ar$  tuistin talman for ar  $t\bar{u}s$ ; by omission it exposes F's mad  $\bar{\imath}arsin$  . . . . doluidsem sunn as a gloss; while itself takes in Cessair's fosterfather Saball s. Manall (sic), borrowing him from R² ¶ 174. The short passage common to L, F, but lost from \*Q by reason of the substitution of the long voyage-interpolation presently to be commented upon—(is  $\bar{e}$  fochond . . . bes noco ria in  $d\bar{\imath}liu$ ) is probably the original statement in PA as to the cause of the voyage.

The voyage-story has been interpolated into F\*Q; it is unknown to L. Apparently it is based upon the poem XXIII (Cessair can as tāinic sī). It is obviously a mere promenade through a dreamland, the landmarks of which may bear terrestrial names, but have no traceable relation to terrestrial geography.

The following table shows the slight variations in the versions:—

	R <sup>1</sup> (¶ 169).	$R^2$ ¶ 176.	$R^3$ ¶ 192.	Poem XXIII.
Leave Meroe	Tuesday, 15th	Tuesday	Tuesday, 15th	Tuesday
In (or along) } Egypt	10 years	7 years	10 or 7 years	10 years
On Caspian	20 days	18 days	20 days	20 days
Caspian to )	12 days	20 days	12 days	12 days
Asia Minor	1 day	1 day	1 day	1 day
To Alps	20 days	20 days	20 days	20 days
To Spain	9 days	18 days	9 days	9 days
To Ireland	9 days	9 days	9 days	9 days
Arrive Ireland	Saturday,3 5th	Saturday, 15th	Saturday, 5th	Saturday, 5th

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Cōic uathad, which we have translated as literally as may be "a unitary five," is merely a verbal expression of the numeral "05," i.e. 5 not preceded by any number in the decimal place. It voices, in an interesting way, the notorious and fatal deficiency in early European systems of numerical notation—the absence of a special symbol for zero: and the exasperating clumsiness of the numerical system with which the Celtic family of languages is burdened.

Thus R1R3 follow the poem the most closely: but in one important point R2 agrees with it as against the others. R<sup>1</sup> R<sup>3</sup> give the travellers a journey of 12 days on the Caspian to the Cimmerian Sea, in addition to the previous 20 days on the Caspian. R<sup>2</sup> and the poem make 20 (or 12) days from the Caspian to the Cimmerian. Evidently the scholars of the R1 tradition, followed blindly by R3, held by the ancient idea, perpetuated by Strabo, that the Caspian was an inlet of the northern ocean; those of R2 (following the poem) were aware of its true nature as an inland lake, a fact known to Ptolemy<sup>4</sup>: recognising that a long overland trek would be necessary to pass from the one sea to the other. How and why they got back to Asia Minor in a single day it would be futile to enquire; and obviously the calendar data of the beginning and end of the voyage are entirely without meaning (but see below, p. 238).

As before, I leave the expression "Torrian Sea" untranslated: it may be the Mediterranean; or it may be the Tyrrhene Sea. Again, as before, it matters little which we choose!

¶ 170 (=  $R^2$  ¶ 193: same story in different words  $R^2$  ¶ 177). The only details that call for notice in this ¶ are topographical.

Dūn na mBarc in Corco Duibne. No place of this name is otherwise recorded in Corco Duibne as usually defined (Corkaguiney, the northern promontory of Kerry): but the Corco Duibne originally extended beyond that barony, and the expression Irrus Deiscirt Corco Duibne "Southern Headland of C.D." suggests that the name of the territory formerly extended over Iveragh as well. This is confirmed by the association with the Skelligs, as was seen long ago by O'Curry; who therefore sought to establish Dūn na mBarc in Ballinskelligs Bay. The place-name does not appear to survive there: it is found near Bantry, which is too far to the South. Mr. H. Morris has argued very persuasively for fixing the site on the Sligo coast, north of the Rosses

promontory; and he has shown that there is actually a complex of identifiable Cessair topography in that neighbourhood. But when shadowy figments like Cessair are involved. topographical traditions move about with the stories, and localize themselves in the neighbourhood of individual narrators: it would be very misleading to take the Find mac Cumhaill topography in Scotland as indicative of the locality of origin of the Find legend. None of the other references to Dun na mBare in Hogan's Onomasticon have any light to throw upon the topographical problem: they are all either one version or another of the Cessair story, or else (as in The Courtship of Momera, ed. O'Curry, p. 159) are obviously derived from it. As all the versions of the story agree in placing the site in Corco Duibne, it is a question whether we are justified in looking for it elsewhere than in Kerry: but it may also be questioned whether we are justified in looking for it anywhere in the material world. But see the further suggestions given above, in the introduction to this section.

Slīab Betha is identified with "Slieve Beagh" at the junction of Counties Fermanagh, Tyrone, and Monaghan. A presumably bronze-age carn, on the top of the mountain, is referred to by the Four Masters (A.M. 2242) as the grave of Bith. The carn was still in existence in O'Donovan's time, though it has since been injured by quarrying. It may have had an influence in shaping the tradition.

Ard Ladrann we have already seen ( $\P$  167).

Fert Fintāin over Tul Tuinde. The latter name survives in Tountinna (Tipperary O.S. map 19) on the shore of Loch Derg. Fintān's grave, however, does not appear to be now extant in the locality. Other traditions as to the topography of this personage are recorded in O'Donovan's notes to the Four Masters i, p. 5.

Cūl Chesra, identified by earlier writers with one or other of the carns on Knockma, Co. Galway, has been identified more reasonably by Mr. Morris with a large mound overlooking the town of Boyle, called Knockadoobrusna. Here again, however, the topography of fairyland is hardly to be pinned down to telluric sites: the most that we can say is that the mythologies were localized by the story-tellers who narrated them, and that in some cases this artificial process

<sup>\*</sup>See Tozer, History of Ancient Geography (index s.v. "Caspian"), for history of knowledge regarding this sea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Battle of Magh Leana, p. 34-5, footnote.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, lxiii, 69 ff.

had a determining influence on local topographical nomenclature. A quatrain quoted by Mr. Morris in support of his thesis is an interpolation: see below, p. 246.

¶ 171. On the names of the women, see the notes on poem XXV, below, p. 246.

### Second Reduction.

¶172. On this paragraph see the notes to ¶166. It comes from the original LG, but has been editorially harmonized with the tradition of LO, probably after that compilation had become part of the composite text.

¶ 173. See the notes to ¶ 168. It differs verbally from ¶ 168 to such an extent that it cannot come from the same source, though it narrates practically the same story. Note that the fishermen are named in a different order, evidently dictated by the appended poem. This authority, however, gives much fuller details about these personages, which the prose text in all its versions ignores.

¶ 174. This gives us (a) the title of the Cessair pericope, modified from the opening words of LO (as in  $\mathbb{R}^1$  ¶ 169, version of L); (b) the opening words of PA ( $\mathbb{R}^1$  ¶ 167, 169, first sentences of each, version of F); and (c) an interpolation from another source, naming Cessair's foster-parent. On this see the introduction to the present section. V's reading, iar ndīlinn "after the Flood" is probably a mere mistake, but it might perhaps embody a different tradition as to the chronology of Cessair.

¶ 175-8. The PA story of Cessair's departure and voyage, but treated with great verbal freedom, although the influence of poem XXIII prevents serious modifications in the actual sequence of incidents. But the differences in detail are considerable: see the note on ¶ 169.

¶ 179. Here begins the document which in the introduction we have called C<sup>B</sup>. It is parallel to C<sup>A</sup>, the story which R<sup>2</sup> had from the first; and it has been inserted as a block of matter at an early stage of the history of this version, presumably because it added details not given by C<sup>A</sup>.

Comparison between CA and CB indicates the following

differences:—(1) The foster Saball s. Manual is unknown: the reference to him must therefore be a late interpolation in C<sup>\*</sup>. (This does not negative the suggestion made above that Saball was from the beginning an intrinsic element in the tradition: in fact the most reasonable explanation for the interpolation is that the glossator considered him essential to the narrative, and thought that he ought to be mentioned. He knew who Saball was supposed to be: we do not.)

(2) The emphasis on the relationship of Cessair and her friends to Noah. It is interesting to see how this certainly artificial "fact" oscillates between emphasis and oblivion. In R<sup>1</sup> Noah suggests the voyage; in R<sup>2</sup> (C<sup>A</sup>), beyond the bare mention of Noah in genealogical statements—which may here be interpolated—the patriarch does not appear at all. In C<sup>B</sup>, however, the Noah connexion is brought into great prominence. The Flood is prophesied, and there is a laboured description of the rejection of the Cessair party's application for admission to the Ark. But Noah does not counsel their setting forth in an ark of their own: clearly he expects and desires them to drown.

(3) The subsequent council, and the adoption of an eracular "hand-god" (or baetyl), from whom the advice to take the journey comes. This is peculiar to C<sup>B</sup>.

(4) The special mention of two women companions of Cessair, giving three chief women balancing the three men. This also is peculiar to C<sup>n</sup>. One of these women is called Balba (= Banba), showing a reminiscence of the story in the *Quire of Druim Snechta*. The journey presumably followed the same lines in C<sup>n</sup> as in C<sup>n</sup>, as the redactor who took in C<sup>n</sup> omitted it as superfluous.

(5) The party is driven to Ireland by a storm. This is apparently borrowed from the tale of the Spanish fishers. An important difference between C<sup>A</sup> and C<sup>B</sup> is that in the latter Cessair has only one ship (called an "ark"), whereas in the former she has three, two of which are lost with all hands at the landing.

(6) The emphasis laid on the division of the women is a special feature of C<sup>B</sup>, and the subsequent events—the re-division after Ladra's death and the grotesque flight of Fintān—are peculiar to it. The latter looks like a popular "droll," which the scholastic compilers have condescended

to include, possibly for reasons already suggested (ante, p. 174).

The play of words in Noah's reply to Ladra (nī long ladrand in long-sa) will not escape notice.

A lām-dīa was a portable object, possibly an elongated water-worn stone, more or less flattened, a rounded oval in shape, such as were found in a bronze-age burial-carn on Carrowkeel mountain, and also in New Grange when it was opened in 1699. Such objects, like the fetish known as Cermand Cestach at Clogher, appear to have been used (as here) for oracular purposes, but the method of their use is not known. The limitation of knowledge ascribed to the idol is interesting: it appears that the writer felt constrained to accord some supernatural prescience to the object, but without any special enthusiasm.

Though the  $C^n$  account of the voyage is lost, there is a hint that it was identical with  $C^{\wedge}$ , differing from the  $R^1$   $R^3$  version in making the sojourn in Egypt seven instead of ten years. For they set forth  $7\frac{1}{4}$  years (secht mbliadna 1 rāithi) before the Flood. The seven years are spent in Egypt (or sailing along the coast thereof): the rāithi, or quarter year, is distributed over the rest of the voyage. This (see the table, p. 233, above) contains 18 + 20 + 1 + 20 + 18 + 9 = 86 days, which is exactly three lunar months of 28-29 days each, a strong argument for the originality of this distribution of the time; a conclusion further corroborated by the symmetry of the numbers. (The calculator has, however, forgotten the 40 days, said to have been spent in Ireland before the Flood.)

Miledach, Bun Suainme, and Comar na ttrī nuisce, all denote the place of confluence of the Barrow, Nore, and Suir, and the territory around it. What mythological connexion there may be between the three rivers and the three heroes (or heroines) it is useless to try to guess: but such a place, liable at times to excess of waters, might very well be connected with a localized flood-legend. If Dūn na mBare was

on the western coast, this meeting of the waters would have been an inconvenient place for the colonists to assemble; and there must be some reason, now forgotten, for their association with this special place. (See *ante*, p. 172.)

¶ 180. The writer is at the stage of cultural development which regards a name as an intrinsic and essential part of the thing named. "Bun Sūainme" was at the time the name of a certain place, although by hypothesis there were no people in the country to bestow the name upon it. Compare the story of the stars in vol. i, ¶ 27, which have their names even before the angels discover them.

¶ 181. Ladra's dissatisfaction, at getting only 16 women whereas his associates got 17 each, appears here for the first time. Note that in secht mnā dēcc maille fris, we must assign to maille an inclusive meaning, not merely associative ("17 women, of whom she was one").

¶ 183. Fintan's flight is conceived of as starting from the meeting of the three waters—the confluence of the Barrow and the Suir, for the Nore runs into the Barrow about 8 miles above that point—westward through the low-lying seaboard of Co. Waterford as far as Dungarvan Harbour, then, turning northward, crossing the Knockmealdown Mountains (Slīab Cūa) into Tipperary; then west by north, into Limerick as far as Kilfinnane (near which is Cenn Febrat); then turning northward, striking the Shannon somewhere between Limerick and Killaloe, and following it upstream, left-hand to the river, to the goal at Tul Tuinde (on which see notes to ¶ 170 above).

¶ 184 is most probably the sequel to ¶ 172 in the original LG. It gives us the bare chronological details about the aborigines which are needful; and leads us back to the invasion of the Milesians, which was the special interest of that document. It adds one more item to the parallel that has already been drawn between the Milesian and the Hebrew history: for it makes the building of Solomon's Temple, which practically inaugurates the history of the Hebrew kings, contemporary with the inauguration of the Milesian kings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy, xxix, § C, p. 334; and the illustration accompanying Molyneux's description of New Grange in his Discourse concerning the Danish mounts, forts, and towers in Ireland (Dublin, 1725), p. 203.

### Third Redaction.

¶ 186. The awkward adfeadsam is to be excised as an intrusive gloss upon aisneidheam. The other differences from the parallel texts have already been commented upon.

¶ 187. The Banba story, as we have already seen, was independent of Noah and the Flood. The discrepancy has puzzled the scribes of the R³ tradition; Banba and her friends were in the country 40 years, two centuries before the Flood, and, therefore, could have had nothing to do with it. They have accordingly made nonsense of the whole episode by interpolating some Biblical extracts about the Flood. The duration of the Flood, according to R³—40 years and 1 day, instead of 40 days and 1 year—is a mere scribal slip; but it does not improve matters.

The latter part of this  $\P$  (from I cind 300 bliadan) is the first fragment of the synchronistic tract isolated by Professor MacNeill.<sup>8</sup>

¶ 188. The Capa story, from  $^*Q$ —with mere verbal and orthographical differences from the text of F. The gloss acht chena ni hairmid must have lost the word Lebor before Gabala already in  $\sqrt{F^*Q}$ .

¶190. Here begins R³'s copy of C³. It is taken over from R², but with numerous interpolations and variations. The most important of these are—

(1) A sentence making the Flood the penalty for Cain's murder of Abel.

(2), in M, a reference to the endogamy attributed to Noah's domestic *ménage*, otherwise known only from glosses in  $\mathbb{R}^2$  (¶ 11).

(3), in M, a gloss emphasising Fintan's fraternal relationship to Noah. In B he is Noah's nephew, as in R<sup>2</sup>.

(4) The answer of Noah to Ladra has become corrupted. Nī leam do comus should be Nī liom [or, as in R², nīmtha] a chomas. The a has become do; and we must now translate comas "control" [see Meyer, Contribb. s.v. commus]—"I have no control of thee, am not thy keeper." In M, Nī fillem do cumachtaib, here provisionally translated, "We would not stoop to the Powers" [to petition for thy deliver-

ance] has apparently grown out of Ni lium a cumas, the s of the last word having been read as though  $\bar{s}$  (= acht).

(5) Addition in M of a petition of Cessair on her own behalf, and an extension of Noah's punning remark about the "ship of thieves" to include the whole company, and not Ladra only.

¶ 192. The evolution of the sea Mara Hen and of the island Meroen is a good illustration of what was said above, p. 175, about the instability of proper names.

¶ 193. The lacuna in both MSS. of R³, in the passage describing the death of Ladra, is hardly to be attributed to a sense of prudishness such as induced the translator of the parallel text in the Book of Fenagh to render atbath do fhurail banaich by "he died of female persecution"! M here inserts a note about a son of Bith named Bath, which professes to explain a current saying. It shows that there were other elements in the Cessair saga of which our compilers made no use. The well of Dūn na mBarc does not appear elsewhere.

The rest of the extract from C<sup>B</sup> follows on to ¶ 196 with no point worthy of special notice.

¶197. On the names of the women, see the notes to poem XXV. The note at the end of the paragraph apparently expresses an annotator's scepticism regarding the other antediluvian colonists.

¶ 198. This is the first paragraph of one of several tracts in which Irish "history" is placed in a setting of world-chronology, based on the compilation of Eusebius, as it is preserved for us at second-hand in a Latin translation by Hieronymus, and also in an Armenian version<sup>9</sup>: the original Greek text survives in fragments only. The Irish version correctly reproduces the dates here, except that the reign of Semiramis is wrongly written .xlu.; it should be .xlii. For Zaineus, the alternative name of Ninias, we should read Zames, as we find it in the relevant fragment of the Greek, preserved by Syncellus, and also in the Armenian translation.

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<sup>\*</sup> Proceedings R.I.A., xxviii, C, p. 123 ff.

<sup>°</sup>I use Scaliger's edition (Leyden, 1606) for the Hieronymian version, and Aucher's edition (Venice, 1818) of the Armenian translation.

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Hieronymus has Zameis. The complete text of this Irish tract will be found in the Book of Lecan (facs. fo. 186 d 46 ff.): it is a different document from Professor MacNeill's chronicle, for which see note to ¶ 187 above.

### VERSE TEXTS.

#### XXI

Anonymous poem, put into the mouth of the antediluvian Fintan. Metre: very faulty, but reckoned as  $cr\bar{o}$  cummaisc etir rindaird ocus lethrannaigecht. The formula is  $6^2 + 5^1$ , the short lines rhyming: but the long lines sometimes end in monosyllables, as in quatrains 3, 12, or in trisyllables, as in 4, 6. In the first stanza, the scansion of line 695 is obscure:  $c\bar{\imath}a$ -fiar must be treated as one syllable. Line 697 is short of a syllable, and is probably corrupt.

(2) 699. The false reading in R<sup>2</sup> is probably due to someone whose ear had been led astray by the imperfect line 697 preceding it, and who tried to bring this line into conformity with it.

(3) 703. Another imperfect line, lacking a syllable; and once again R<sup>2</sup> has modified line 705 to conform to it metrically, as well as to carry through the formula of the statement in the lines preceding and following [his mountain, (his height), her nook].

(4) 708. Though the name Druing appears several times in Irish toponymy, it is not otherwise recorded anywhere that could be described as being underneath Tul Tuinde. We must, therefore, treat the word as dative of *drong*.

(6) 715. This is the order of words in all the MSS., but for metrical reasons it should be emended to *Missi sund i*  $n\bar{E}irind$ , as in the following quatrain.

(8) 726. Irrus thiar, that is Irrus Domnann (Erris, Co. Mayo).

(10) 731. The prefixed *varsin* in all the MSS is impossible metrically: it has clearly crept in from the two preceding quatrains. Fintan's lack of sustenance until the arrival of the Tuatha De Danann has no parallel in the prose texts: otherwise the poem adds nothing to our knowledge of the episode.

### XXII.

Metre debide scāilte, with the loose construction of oglachas in which the number of syllables in the rhyming words is not strictly regulated.

(2) 749. dinn must be translated natural stronghold here, if we are to make exigent claims on the poet's logic: for by hypothesis there had been no one to build artificial fortresses before the arrival of Capa and his friends.

(6) 766. Lī-indber is the mouth of the Bann. This couplet expresses compactly that, starting from that northern point, they explored all Ireland and so ultimately worked their way back again to Spain.

### XXIII.

Metre debide scāilte, of superior construction to the preceding poem. The only points to notice about it are that it makes Meroe an archipelago of islands (782): calls the vessel of Cessair an ark (785): and recognises the existence of land between the Caspian and the Cimmerian seas, though it does not explain how Cessair navigated her vessel over it.

This poem and the next are probably parts of the same composition; and they appear as one in K.  $K^1$  (i.e., the first quatrain of the poem in K) =  $XXIV^1$ ;  $K^2 = XXIII^1$ ;  $K^3 = XXIV^2$ ;  $K^4$  is a remote variant of  $XXIII^2$ ;  $K^{5-7} = XXIII^{3-5}$ ; and the rest follows, corresponding with the remainder of XXIV (interpolating a quatrain before the last).

(1) 779. K follows R<sup>2</sup> in reading cid dia, and adds the needless gloss cidh im a ttanaicc si, no cia la tainicc? 780. Fo lī K, as in R<sup>2</sup>, glossed ar a mbaoi deghgne. 781. Sēn for scēl is probably the true reading, being in K as well as R<sup>2</sup>R<sup>3</sup>. K's gloss lion luinge no lucht luingi, no bae sen garbh ar a ttangatar seems to presuppose a word sēn, meaning "troop, company."

(2) 783. K's version of this quatrain is as follows—

Bai mar atherat baird: fri toebh cech airir iomaird, ocht tuath decc i mbairc, nirb aisc: os muincind mara mor-Caisp.

the first line glossed mar aderit na heolaigh, the third nirb aithiseach no imdeargthach; and os muincind glossed os uachtar. The last couplet is as in R<sup>2</sup>.

(3) 788. K has a corrupt reading ccuimm for trom, glossed by guesswork i ccuim no i fosgad Mara Cimerdha. Riacht is a dissyllable, but some scribes have made it a monosyllable and inserted in to mend the metre. 790. K follows R<sup>2</sup> in reading Siria.

(4) 791. K's reading of this quatrain follows R2.

(5) 797-8. K's reading is a modification of R<sup>2</sup>: Satharn for coicced decc g№ (.i. glan no follus): tanice d'ascenam (.i. tanuig si do ceimniughadh) crìche.

#### XXIV.

Metre: debide scāilte.

(1) 799. don tūr tind, glossed don iarraidh tinnesnaigh K. K's readings in this poem follow those of R<sup>2</sup> as a rule. 801. na cucht cain: fo cucht cain K, glossed fo ghne caoin no taithnemhaigh. It is not quite clear whether the "cucht" is referable to Cessair or to Ēriu. 802. codal-glain, glossed croicenn-gloin K.

(2) 803. Ass in the sense of "out of," "forth," which it frequently has after verbs. 804. Here again Meroe is treated

as an archipelago.

- (3) 808. K, reading fri recht, glosses fri dlighedh no fri riochtain co rogarcc. 809. grinn is the reading of R<sup>1</sup> R<sup>3</sup>, but the granda of R<sup>2</sup> gives better sense. K has graindi, and glosses ro tiomsaigh nō ro tiomāin an gaoth iad i modh cruinn, presumably meaning "in a roundabout way." 810. K fatuously glosses ar imorchor by ar iomchar muiridhi no ar sechrān: apparently analysing the word into im-muir-choir.
- (5) 815. Ladra is described meaninglessly as "sufficient" merely to provide a rhyme for  $m\bar{o}r$ . The exigencies of verse have in any case driven the poet to take refuge here in  $\bar{o}glachas!$  And in line 817, wanting an adjective of disapproval to rhyme with Ladrand, he is compelled to fall back on the overworked and here scarcely appropriate gand. K expresses his bewilderment thereat by glossing this word

ba gniom goirt, no tinn, no tiachair. 817. K substitutes do forail banaigh for do dul chuca, a reading not found in any of the pre-K versions.

- (6) 821. fri sāiri seng appears to mean "with slender nobility": K, thinking of fōaim in connexion with taesat, and joining sāiri seng to mnāib (both being governed by the same preposition), gives the wild gloss as iat ceidfir do luigh no do righne feis, re mnāib saora seanga i nErinn o thās. Taesat fri mnāib "they came with women" hence, foregathered, consorted with women.
- (7) 823. benn is glossed by K rug Bioth ar a roinn do na mnaibh, which suggests a misunderstanding of the epithet. 825. It is straining language to describe "Slieve Beagh" as being in the N.E. of Ireland, nor does it stand above any "stately sea" (Loch Erne is rather too far away). Assuming the correctness of the identification, the geographical indications here must be dietated by metrical exigencies. 826. thiugradus with a variety of spellings, is glossed i. tanaic a dedhen-cheim ("last step" with gradus in mind): "tiugh" deidhenach, 1 "rathus" cion, i. a cion deidhenach basaighteach. The latter part of the gloss seems to hit the nail: rathus is a legal term (= liability), see Atkinson, Glossary to Ancient Laws. The last liability is, of course, death.
- (8) 828. co līn ngretha, glossed co n-iomat ngaire i. occa caoineadh. This seems to be a correct rendering. Līn is masculine, but here causes nasalization of the following initial.
- (9) 831. K has atlai, glossed ro elaid, for dobuid—a reading not found in the older MSS. 832. fa sūan saim, a cheville meaningless in this connexion, but presumably a sort of quasi-etymological anticipation of Bun Sūainme in the following line. 833. re snīm slat. Snīm means (1) trouble, (2) spinning, wrenching, creaking; slat means a rod, branch, reed, or the like. The expression may be either descriptive of the site, as a place "of creaking of branches" or else a suggestion of the way in which Fintan crossed the waters of Bun Suainme "with [a raft of] weaving of rods." Such an operation would be familiar in Ireland: rods were woven to form the wattle structure of the walls of huts, and also to

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provide the footings of crannog-structures. K, who glosses the passage *re sniomh do dul ina fearrdha*, seems to have understood it in a grotesque sense best forgotten.

(10) 835. Here  $\bar{\imath}ar$  is used in the less usual spatial sense "behind." Airther means "front part"; as applied to mountains, the brow, breast, or bluff.  $N\bar{u}all$ , usually "outcry, noise," is here glossed radh in K.

(11) 841. var ffes is understood by K to mean "dwelling, or adultery, or feasting." 842. na hēcmais may mean "in her absence" or "absent from her." There is no reason to prefer either rendering to the other.

(12) 843. Achar is glossed by K do rinni sī ēccaoini no ēigem gēr no tinn no luinn no tren.

(12 A). The following quatrain, not found in any ancient MS., is here interpolated by K—

Athnaicset na mna ar dile: Isin carn os Büill messaigh:

sethnuch soer na hinghine; cor lil a hainm o Aird-Ceassair.

glossing athnaicset by adhnaicset, sethnuch, etc., by corp onorach na hingeine, no corp uasal, and messaigh by iasccach no bradanach.

847. K, following the reading of R<sup>2</sup>, glosses fechta by turusa.

(13) 848. The plural *aideda* (oidedha) appears in K, but not in any other of the older MSS. But perhaps the *a* was lost early before the possessive pronoun following.

### XXV.

Metre, a loose form of Sētrad mör, in which the internal rhyme is neglected. As in XXI, the "poet" speaks in the name of Fintan.

The composition is a list of names, compiled for mnemonic purposes. The frequent alliterations and assonances (Sella-Della, Fodarg-Rodarg) show that the list in its present form is artificial; and the numerous variants prove that it is very corrupt. Moreover, some of the words seem to have been adapted from sentences which were embedded in some previous form of the list (e.g., Duib Addeos in the "Bith" group, which K quite naturally glosses inneosat, but which

must be treated as two names, because otherwise it would be impossible to fill up the number of seventeen). Compare Asdia Cuimniu Gudsain in some versions of the list of languages, ante, p. 150. Rodarg Rinne Iachor Ain Irrand Espa looks like another such sentence: with a little adjustment it could be made to mean "Rodarg who made a noble boundary in a part of Spa[in]." Further, the numbers of 17+17+16 have been made up by repetitions. Tamall, Tam in the "Fintan" group corresponds to Tamall, Tanna (which is so printed here, after L, but in other versions appears as Tamall, Tama) in the "Bith" group; Rodarg appears both in the "Bith" and in the "Ladra" group; and Aba at the head of the Ladra group (which certainly ought to be Balba or Banba) corresponds to Aba or Abla in the Fintan group.

This being so, and no earlier form of the list being available, it would be futile to endeavour to conjecture—for we could do little more—the shape in which it was first drawn up. But in its original form it was probably as old as the rest of the story, and was an essential part of it. For, as has already been hinted in the Introduction, we must assume that originally Cessair and her companions survived the Flood and re-peopled the earth. The extension of the Flood to Ireland, and its drowning of the company, is artificial, to bring the story into accordance with the postulated teaching of Holy Writ. The fifty women were undoubtedly meant to be the mothers of the post-diluvian human communities: one line in the "Ladra" list shows this quite clearly—

"Gothiam, German, Aithne, Inde,"

where it is easy to see names eponymous of Gothia, Germania, Athenae, and India. Elsewhere we have Cipir (= Cyprus), Torrian (= Tyrrhenia), Traige (= Thracia), and possibly some others which corruption has rendered less obvious. And it may be further suggested that the partition among the three men is late and artificial. The original story knew

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> But it shows a parallelism, which may mean anything or nothing, with the distribution of the post-diluvian nations among the three sons of Noah.

of only one man (Adna "the ancient," afterwards Ladra) with one wife, daughter of Bith ("cosmos"), and a number (not necessarily fifty) of subordinate women. Adna being son of Bith, he is consequently brother of Cessair (a relationship attributed to Ladra by an interpolator in ¶ 196). We seem here to be on the track of a myth of a divine brothersister union, comparable with the connexion of Zeus and Hera, or with those of the cosmogonic ennead in Egyptian mythology. The married pair in time became a triad, for certainly Cessair = Bairrfind = Banba [= Fotla = Ēriu]. After the Flood the man united with all the women—there is possibly a hint of this in Ladra's "excess of women." although in the end he actually had the smallest numberand became the progenitor of the peoples of the world. Further than this we cannot go, but there is a considerable potential interest in the list, as an early compendium of geographical knowledge; though its manifold corruptions have deprived it of most of its kinetic value.

### XXVI.

Metre: Debide scāilte. This quatrain also appears in Keating (I. v. 1) with slight verbal differences, the most important of which is the substitution of Nionuaill for Manuail.

#### XXVII.

This quatrain in the form here given is metrically corrupt, but is meant to be *debide scāilte*. A better version is given in M in the Partholön section (poem no. XXXVI).

### XXVIII.

Metre: debide scāilte. Carn Cessra is sometimes used, as more or less synonymous, for Cūl Cessrach, see Hogan, Onomasticon, s.v. Carn Cesra. Carn is such a common placename in Ireland that it gives no real help in the discussion of the topography of the story. The quatrain also in Keating, I. v. 3.

### XXIX.

Metre: debide scailte.

#### LIBER PRAECURSORUM.

The section now before the reader is the second of the two originally independent narratives which (as we have seen in the Introduction) break into the middle of the history of the Milesian Invasion. In the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius this document is thus summarized: I translate from the Harleian text, as printed by Faral:

"Now first came *Partholomus* with 1000 persons, both men and women, and they increased till they were 4000: and an epidemic came upon them, and in one week they all died, and not even one remained of them.

"Secondly Nimeth, a certain son of Agnomen, came to Ireland, who is said to have sailed for a year and a half upon the sea: afterwards he took harbour in Ireland, having suffered shipwreck, and he remained there for many years: and once more he put to sea with his followers and returned to Spain.

"Afterwards there came three sons of a Spanish soldier (militis Hispaniae) having thirty ships and thirty wedded couples in each ship, and they remained there for a space of one year. Afterwards they behold a tower of glass in mid-sea, and they were beholding men on the tower, and were seeking to speak with them, but these would never answer: so in one year they set out to assault the tower with all their ships and with all their women, except for one ship which suffered wreck, and in which were thirty men and as many women. The other ships sailed to capture the tower: and when they had all alighted upon the shore which surrounded the tower, the sea came upon them and they were drowned; not one of them escaped. Of the crew of the ship which was abandoned by reason of the wreck, all Ireland was filled unto this day. Afterwards people came, little by little, from regions of Spain, and occupied many territories.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>La légende arthurienne, iii, p. 11.

"Last of all came Damhoctor (into Britain) [and dwelt there until this day with his whole progenyl. Istoreth son of Istornus with his followers held Dalrieta; Buile and his followers held Eubonia Insula [Isle of Man] and other islands around; while the sons of Liethan found possession in the region of the Demeti and in other regions, that is Guir Cetgueli, till they were driven by Cunedda and by his sons from out of all the regions of Britain."

Nennius then proceeds to narrate a much perverted version of the adventures of Nel and his successors in Egypt, nearly, though not quite, as corrupt as that prefixed by Fordun to the Scottichronicon. With this we need not trouble ourselves. The foregoing extract shows that Liber Praecursorum, by the time of Nennius, was taking shape much as we have it; though Nennius evidently quotes some of it from memory. and has confused certain of the details. Partholon and Nemed are clear, and the departure of the Nemedians from Ireland is also clear. The next invasion of Nennius obviously shows confusion with that of the Milesians (militis Hispaniae = Mil of Spain); it must, however, correspond to the FirBolg. The incident of the Tower of Glass is a mixture of the two doublet stories, of the Tower of Gold and the Tower of Conaing, which appear in the Nemed section.

The text relating to "Damhoctor" reads as follows:-Nouissime uenit Damhoctor et ibi habitauit cum omni genere suo usque hodie in Brittaniam. The first three words form the only genuine part of this sentence. Some one added in Brittaniam (it should have been in Hiberniam): and then another scribe interlined et ibi . . . . hodie, which has now broken most awkwardly into the text. The tale of dispersion with which this paragraph closes can be no more than a bad memory of the story of the scattering of the FirBolg into various islands.

"Damhoctor," damh ochtair, which Nennius has taken for a personal name, means "a troop of eight persons." We cannot determine which of the series of Invasions is intended; for it is suggestive that this numerical grouping persists throughout them all. The expression is applied to the people of Partholon in the Dindsenchus poem on Inber in Buada

(Gwynn, M.D., iii, 418). In ¶ 248 we find Nemed-ochtar; and other examples will meet us from time to time. Remembering that these tales are theological rather than historical, we seem here to be on the track of a primary group of eight deities, comparable with the central ennead of Egypt or the di consentes of Rome.

The story of the Precursors was in a more fluid condition than the alleged history of the Milesians. This is a natural result—and incidentally a demonstration—of the varied origin of the two documents. We have seen, in the Introduction to vol. I, that the story of the Milesians is from the first an artificial product, primarily the work of an individual writer, and anchored to the Israelite history upon which it is founded. The story of the Precursors is more of the nature of genuine folklore, no doubt artificially worked over, but still preserving some germs of a real, though unhistorical, tradition. Fortunately it never received a final literary form: the two recensions, R1 and R2, are almost as different as they well can be, within the necessary limitations imposed by telling the same story. They are here far more diverse than in the "Milesian" portion of LG, or even in the section which deals with the Antediluvians. This divergence, it is unnecessary to point out, makes them all the more valuable.

As will be more clearly shown in the analyses prefixed to the successive sections, Liber Praecursorum is capable of further analysis, with at least two component and parallel constituents. The Partholon-Nemed tales form a single group, corresponding to the FirBolg-Tuatha De Danann tales; the pairs are doublets of one another, although redactional interference has obscured their mutual relations.

The Partholon and Nemed sections seem to have been absent from \*Q. It is possible that it never contained them: but on the whole it is most likely that the neglect of \*Q by ∞ R³ in these sections is due to a further mutilation of that fundamental manuscript, which compelled him to rely exclusively on R2 in this part of his work. The loss of the first folio of \*Q would leave its conjunctive loose, and under a grave risk of being lost also: it is more than probable that this further calamity actually occurred before  $\infty$  R<sup>3</sup> began his operations. Calculation, based on the data collected in

Vol. I, pp. 10–13, suggests that in a gathering of three diplomas (six leaves) at the beginning of \*Q the matter would be so distributed that a large part of the end of Partholon and the beginning of Nemed would have been contained on the sixth folio, which would be the conjunctive of the lost opening leaf. This gives a further hint towards the reconstruction of \*Q.

The "lowest common measure" of the two parallel stories will to some extent put us in possession of the genuine folklore underlying the artificial form in which the documents have. unfortunately, been delivered to us. It must be understood quite clearly that there is not a single element of genuine historical detail, in the strict sense of the word, anywhere in the whole compilation. After many efforts, I find myself forced to the conclusion that it is altogether chimerical to attempt to draw any correlation between the successive waves of historical immigration, to which Archeology and Ethnology introduce us, and the wild tales contained in this book. These latter are partly mythological, partly ritual in their origin; and it should be obvious that this gives them an enormous value, which they would not possess if they were merely dull narratives of pointless slaughter and silliness such as, on the surface, they appear to be.

### SECTION IV.

### PARTHOLON.

## Introduction.

The origin of this, the first section of Liber Praecursorum, has been a matter of frequent discussion on account of the remarkable name borne by the leader of the expedition. The initial P shows that the name is not Goidelic; some critics have sought an aboriginal, pre-Goidelic origin for the name and for the associated legends, while others favour a late (Christian) origin. The name is actually used in Irish Christian literature to represent the ecclesiastical Bartholomeus: and whether this is an original equivalent or a mere adaptation of an existing vocable is the question which is the essential kernel of the dispute.

The articles of Van Hamel (Revue Celtique, 1, 217) and Thurneysen (Z.C.P., xx, 375) summarize all the available literature possessing any value; and although in details of interpretation they take opposite views, these articles collectively produce the impression that what we have is a drastically artificial elaboration, by scholastic pedants, of primary folk-traditions.

At the end of all the discussion, however, the name of Partholon still remains unexplained; unsuccessful efforts by Hieronymus and Isidore to find the etymology of the name of the apostle Bartholomew have in one way or another influenced the treatment of the saga in the hands of the native historians. By this route, perhaps, if we adopt a suggestion of Thurneysen, the hero has become "son of Sera" (= "the Syrian")² and is thus linked to the Milesian pedigree.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> But see ante, p. 129.

Thurneysen considers the *Dindsenchus* element to be so prominent in this narrative as to be primary: the various personages after whom lakes and mountains are named having been invented to explain those names, and not vice versa. Undoubtedly this aspect of the subject is of great importance, and must not be lost sight of; in any case, actual narrative, in this story, is evidently reduced to its lowest terms. But as we shall presently see, there are other elements in the complex which have an equal claim to consideration. Besides the *Dindsenchus* material, Eusebius has supplied the synchronistic chronology, and Orosius the "Inber Scene" with which he has pestered Irish historical tradition. These are enough to show that we must make allowances for pseudo-learned artificial manipulation.

We shall be in a better position to consider the significance of this narrative after we have analysed its details.

## First Redaction.

Partholon's parentage, date of arrival, synchronism with Abraham (¶ 199). He comes with three sons, Laiglinne, Slanga, Rudraige, who are eponymous of certain geographical features (¶ 200), as is also an unexplained Fea, one of his company, the first to die in the country (¶ 201). The settlers are attacked by mysterious beings called Fomoraig, who are defeated (¶ 202). Seven lakes burst forth (¶ 203) and four plains are cleared (¶ 204); and then Partholon and his following, who have by now amounted to 9,000 persons, all die of a plague. His nephew Tuan is the only survivor; it has been found necessary to invent him in order to explain the preservation of a story about an annihilated community (¶ 205). Here, probably, ∞ R1 ended: but a paragraph has been added giving a totally different account of Partholon's family (¶ 206), and another, in which Partholon appears as a "culture-hero," the originator, in Ireland, of certain details of civilization (¶ 207).

## Second and Third Redactions.

In this and the following section these two redactions can be taken together.  $R^3$  is here an interpolated  $R^2$  text, doubtless because, as we have seen, \*Q failed  $\infty$  R<sup>3</sup>, being mutilated at this place. In this section:—

- ¶ 208 corresponds to ¶ 199 in R¹, but is greatly expanded, and in detail has nothing in common with it except some verbal coincidences, possibly accidental.
- $\P$  209: a similarly expanded account of Partholon's genealogy, his origin in Sicily (changed to "Micil" by a confusion of  $\Sigma$  and M in some Greek geographical glossary), and the details of the voyage to Ireland.
- ¶ 210 corresponds to ¶ 200 in R¹, but is again verbally independent of it; the names of the wives are added; some additional names are interpolated in R³.
- ¶ 211 explains Partholon's exile as due to an act of parricide, and the final plague as a penalty for that crime. This paragraph reads like the end of an independent narrative: its material is quite foreign to R¹.
- $\P$  212 (R<sup>2</sup> only) corresponds to  $\P$  207 (R<sup>1</sup>), but is quite independent of it both in matter and in manner. The same may be said of  $\P$  213 (here also in R<sup>2</sup> only) which in a like unconformable manner corresponds to R<sup>1</sup>,  $\P$  202.
- ¶ 214 enumerates the four plains of ¶ 204 (R¹) but in a different order, and with extensive orthographical variations in the names.
  - ¶ 215 tells of Fea (R¹ ¶ 201) again with extensive

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A synchronistic tract in the *Book of Lecan*, which is quoted at ¶ 230 (on which see the notes), tells us that Partholon—as well as all the subsequent invaders of Ireland—came from "Sociainia" in "Sceithia Clochaid" (Scythia Petraea).

additions, and with no more than accidental verbal coincidences.

 $\P$  216 has a little more in common with  $R^1$  than its doublet  $\P$  213, but is still independent of it.  $\P$  217–8 form a sequel to it found only in  $R^3$  ( $\P$  217 in M only).  $\P$  218 is the same as  $\P$  213 in  $R^2$ .

¶ 219 enumerates the lake-bursts of R¹ ¶ 203, again in a different order and with greatly expanded details.

¶ 220 gives the death of Partholon (¶ 205 R¹) but again with a complete difference of matter and of manner. The story is repeated in ¶ 221—the third repetition of the narrative in this composite recension!

¶ 222 tells the full story of Tuan (of whom we had only a bare mention in  $\mathbb{R}^1$  [¶ 205], which may possibly be an interpolation).

 $\P$  223 is identical with  $\P$  206: both versions have borrowed this irrelevance from some common source.

¶ 224-5, an interpolation in R³, with an additional short paragraph (226) in B, greatly expanding the previous lists of Partholon's companions. M then adds the story of Partholon and Delgnat, told in K but not elsewhere in any ancient version of the text; and gives one more version of the Tuan story. The text ends with the first long instalment of the ancient synchronistic chronicle, to which Professor MacNeill first called attention.⁴

From the above analysis it is clear that R¹ and R²R³ follow entirely different versions of the tale: even in the order of the paragraphs the two texts have little in common. It is also clear that the tale was extant in other forms as well, some of which were laid under contribution, especially by the school of R³: with the effect of giving that version a formlessness reminiscent of primaeval Chaos! The foregoing facts may be summarized thus in tabular form:—

Incidents	$R^1$	$R^2R^3$
P.'s parentage, date of arrival, synchronism with Abraham, companions	199	208-9, 224-6
P.'s three sons	200	210
P.'s parricide		211
Fea	201	215
Fomoraig	202	213 (R <sup>2</sup> ) 216-8
Lakes	203	219
Plains	204	214
Plague	205	211, 220-1
Tuan	205	222, 236 (M)
$P_{\cdot} = Mil$	206	223
P. = Culture Hero	207	$212~({ m R}^2)$
Delgnat	-	232-5 (M)
Synchronisms	-	227-31

Throughout R2 R3 give much fuller details than R1.

Reviewing these, the first point we notice is that the Cessair and Partholon stories must have developed independently of one another, and that the Cessair tale cannot have been originally a part of Liber Praecursorum. If it had been, Cessair's Fintan would have been available to carry on the record, and the invention of a second immortal, Tuan, would have been superfluous.<sup>5</sup> In connexion with such stories as this of Tuan, it may be worth while recalling the legends of the exploits of certain Indian fakirs. In Stoll, Suggestion und Hypnotismus, p. 76 ff., we read of such a person who simulated death and was buried for forty days, after which he revived: and at pp. 82–3 there is a tale of another, found buried and resurrected in the same way, "who told many tales out of the ancient life."

In the second place, the Partholon story is *not* independent of the tale of the FirBolg. Two of Partholon's sons, Rudraige

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy, xxviii, C, p. 123.

In ¶ 236 there is a suggestion of an identification of these two personages, but this must be due to a harmonistic redactor. The identification is also adumbrated in ¶ 205, where a (probably interpolated) sentence makes Tuan narrate, at the end of his career, the invasions, including that of Cessair. Nennius apparently had no knowledge of Tuan, or disbelieved in him.

and Slanga, reappear as leaders of the FirBolg. On the other hand, the duality Gann and Sengann, who appear in the Nemed story as Fomorian enemies, along with a third member of the group, Genann, are associated with Rudraige and Slanga as FirBolg leaders. As we shall see later, the line between the FirBolg and the Fomorians is not clearly drawn. The former are the children of Dela son of Lot: More mac Deled (the difference of declension must be acknowledged, but it does not necessarily present an insuperable difficulty in the way of an ultimate identification) fights with the Fomorians against the Nemedians, and the name of Lot is prominent among the Fomorian opponents of Partholon.

The character of the Fomorian invasion is the crucial problem in estimating the nature of the Partholonian episode. Who were these beings, and what is the meaning of their hostility to the successive occupations of Ireland (with the significant exception of the FirBolg)?

First as to their origin: of this there are two versions current.

- (a) They were indigenous; apparently local beings, demoniacal or quasi-human, who resented the arrival of foreigners ( $\P$  202 =  $\P$  216).
- (b) They were of foreign origin; they came from a land so far (¶ 213) that their voyage to Ireland lasted 200 years, during which they had nothing to eat but sea-produce (birds and fish).

Their place of origin is called Sliab Emor (Amor in Dindsenchus, Ughmōir corruptly in Keating). This cannot be anywhere within Ireland: there is nothing to commend the suggestion (in Hogan's Onomasticon) that it was somewhere near Loch Da Caech, based on a Dindsenchus poem (MD, iii, 184) which the editor of the Onomasticon has misunderstood. The whole point of the story there told (which is unknown to the LG canon) is that the invaders came, to the lake named, from somewhere else. (In another respect the poem is at variance with the LG tradition, in that it makes the invaders attack the Milesians, not the Partholonians). If it be necessary to seek any terrestrial identification for Sliab Emor (as it is envisaged by the Christian historians who have systematized these tales) we

might perhaps suggest Mount Hermon; the association of that mountain, in apocryphal literature, with the Biblical Antediluvians and with the fallen angels, might indicate it as a suitable place from which to derive the uncanny Fomorians.

According as these people are or are not indigenous, their arrival is not or is spoken of as an "invasion." This is specially the case in ¶ 213, 218, where it is called Sechtaabāil "seven-taking." We are not to understand "Seventh Taking," in spite of the interpolation ¶ 218 in R<sup>3</sup>:6 in fact the Fomorian invasion cannot by any method of calculation be numbered as the seventh, unless we are to suppose that it was originally an invasion after the Milesians, and that it was transferred subsequently to the place where we now have it. In numerical order it would be the third taking, or, if the shadowy Antediluvian tales are all counted in, the sixth,7 It may possibly be that the Scandinavian raids have coloured the traditions, and that this has led to an uncertainty as to the exact chronological sequence of the story. But beyond doubt we are not occupied primarily with a contest between human combatants, although the historians have laboured to tie the event down in time and in place. The date of the battle is (a) in the third year of Partholon's occupation (¶ 202, 216) or (b) unspecified (¶ 213). Keating has misunderstood the story, and has supposed that the Fomorians arrived 200 years before Partholon, the diet of fish and fowl being consumed in Ireland.

The invaders are described as having single arms and single legs ( $\P$  206, 216) to which  $\mathbb{R}^2$  in  $\P$  216 adds single eyes. These deformities do not appear in  $\P$  213, 217, but that may be because they had already been specified, and did not need to be repeated.

This is enough to show that we have to do with non-human personages. Supernatural beings are often imagined as being

Or of the enumeration of seven conquests made in ¶ 166, by counting the three sub-divisions of the FirBolg separately.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Nor can the expression mean "an invasion by seven persons" as that conception would not be expressed in any such way, and even if it were, such an interpretation would not greatly help us. We must be content with admitting that we do not know what secht-gabāil means.

in some way defective: \* the demonic Ghormuhas, who enter into the folklore of the aboriginal Santals of Chhota Nagpur, have a close analogy to the Fomoraig. Persons casting spells are sometimes represented as putting themselves, so far as possible, into the same state—standing on one foot, gesticulating with one hand, closing one eye, and speaking a formula in one breath¹o (for examples see R.C., xii, 98, xxi, 156, xxii, 581; also the note, ib. xxi, p. 395: see also O'Davoren's Glossary, ed. Stokes in Archiv für Celt. Lex., ii, s.v., corrguinecht, and references there.)

Their leader is said to be one Cicul (the name is variously spelt), on whose parentage our authorities disagree profoundly, and to whose name an adjective is appended which denotes some peculiarity in his leg or his gait. He has a mother called Lot the Active.

These names reappear suggestively elsewhere. As we have seen above, Lot, turned masculine, is the father of Dela, who is father of the FirBolg leaders. Cicul, turned feminine, appears in the story of Da Derga's Hostel as the wife of a certain Fer Caille. Van Hamel and Thurneysen have both called attention to this fact.

Fer Caille is there described in these terms: 11 a man with black cropped hair such that if a sack of crab-apples were poured on his head, they would all become transfixed thereon. so that not one would fall to the ground: with a single arm, a single eye, a single leg. If his snout were hooked across the branch of a tree it would stay there. Each of his shins [the author has for the moment forgotten that he had only one!] was as long and as thick as a voke, his buttocks as big as a cheese. He had an iron forked pole in his hand, and a black-bristled singed pig on his back, perpetually squealing. His wife Cichuil (as the name is there spelt) was not any more prepossessing: she had a big mouth, and was great, black, doleful, and ugly; her snout also would hang on a branch, and she had an under-lip which hung down to her knee. These people meet king Conaire when on his way to the Hostel of Da Derga, and, fatally in opposition to a tabu laid on the king, they subsequently occupy an imda or cubicle in the Hostel, where they are seen and are once more described by the spy of the raiders as they come to attack the building.

With the description of Cichuil we may compare the details reported in Poem no. XXXIII, quatrain 3, of Lot, who, as we learn there, had "blubber lips in her breasts, and four eyes in her back." The actual wording of this unpleasant description is borrowed from another source, as is shown in the notes on the passage: but the borrowing would hardly have taken place if it had not appeared to be appropriate. It is suggestive that "Lot, Luam" occurs in the enumeration of Cessair's women; see ¶ 197 ante. Just as the single foot, hand, and eye help to identify Fer Caille with the Fomorian leaders, these details in the bisexual Lot help us to identify this being with the bisexual Cicuil.

I have no scientific knowledge of Teratology, so can only hope that I am right in supposing that these horrible monstrosities transcend the limits of physical possibility, and that as descriptions of human beings they are preposterous, not to say abominable. But a very slight experience of ethnological museums is enough to show that they would be nothing out of the way among the idols which Oceania, Egypt, India, and other centres contribute to such collections; and I take it that these descriptions are, in fact, actual records

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See for example J. G. Campbell, Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands, p. 15. Compare also the magical pig without ears or tail in the story of Diarmait and Gräinne (Preservation Society's edition, part ii, p. 42)—a story which, though extant only in a modern form, possesses many archaic features.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> C. H. Burgess, Folklore of the Santal Parganas (London, 1909), p. 132. In the journal called Discovery, vol. xvii (1936), p. 185, there is an interesting paper by Capt. Wm. Hichens, entitled "Demon dances in E. Africa." The inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Mombasa and Zanzibar live in a life-long terror of many kinds of demons, and a hysterical "possession" by these beings is a frequent phenomenon. Among these demons there is a group of one-armed, one-legged and one-eyed spirits called milhoi, who are "of stealthy habits and great malevolence." The whole article, which includes details of the dances by which these evil influences are counteracted, is of extreme interest and suggestiveness: I must express by acknowledgments to Dr. F. H. Maberley for bringing it to my notice.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The games of children sometimes reproduce the serious pursuits of their elders of former generations, so it may be just worth while to remark in passing that I have seen, in Donegal, children amusing themselves by challenging one of their companions to repeat a rhyme or a jingle a certain number of times without drawing breath.

of certain grotesque carved idols. With this clue in hand we obtain immediately a new light on the Hostelry of Da Derga. It was essentially no hostelry; indeed no one in his senses would at any time of the world's history have established a hostelry with a river flowing through it, especially a river so liable to spates as the Dodder. But such a place is not at all improbable for the establishment of a worship-centre; we may compare Tech Mairisen at Tara, situated above the spring called Nemnach, and undoubtedly a sacred building of some kind. Such a building, on an elaborate scale, I take the House of Da Derga to have been. It was a sort of pantheon: its numerous "cubicles" were shrines, each with its idol; and the quaint creatures seen and described by the spy in the service of the raiders were the images which the shrines contained.

We may compare the patriae portenta ipsa diabolica, pene numero uincentia Aegyptiaca, lineamentis deformibus uel toruis uultibus which were still mouldering in British or Romano-British pagan sanctuaries when Gildas wrote his Liber Querulus. Indeed, if the interminable description of Da Derga's Hostel and of its contents, which this narrative contains, is not to be interpreted in some such way, it becomes a mere dreary piece of silliness such as might be written by a rather foolish schoolboy with a still raw and uncultured sense of humour. So interpreted, on the other hand, it immediately assumes an importance for the history of European culture second only to that possessed by the painted "chambers of imagery" in the Palæolithic caves.

No doubt the description has been written in an unsympathetic spirit. The inmates of the shrines, who are represented as spending their time in a variety of unmeaning tricks of jugglery and the like, are made absurd with evident intention. The author of the Da Derga story, in the form in which we have it, had no sympathy with the gods of his Pagan ancestors, and deliberately set himself to ridicule them. This to some extent detracts from the anthropological value of his record, while investing it with a certain historical value; but at least we can say for him what cannot be said for his colleague who, from the same standpoint, re-wrote the story of *The Second Battle of Moytura*; that he does not seriously transgress the limits of good taste. The latter

person mocked In Dagda, "the good god" of former times, with a ribaldry which an editor, not usually troubled with unscientific squeamishness, decided to be unprintable.<sup>12</sup>

It is quite reasonable to maintain that the person, or rather the object, which bore the name Fer Caille, "man of the wood," was a famous fetish, originally discovered in some wood or sacred grove; a chance freak of tree-growth, which, in the eyes of its discoverer, resembled a misshapen man, and which was on that account appropriated and deposited in the shrine, as possessing "big medicine."

What then is the meaning of the contention of Partholon

with these supernatural beings?

There seems to be very little room for doubt that the story is essentially a "ritual-pattern" narrative, analogous to those which recent research has identified in the ancient legends of Egyptian, Babylonian, Minoan, and other oriental centres, and which there is good reason to believe were universal. The primary needs of mankind are food and the continuation of the race: and endless experiments are tried, to make certain by magical means that Nature will not fail in her efforts to secure fertility in the fields, the stalls, and the human species. These vary in detail, but they conform to one general formula, which has been stated by Professor Hooke<sup>14</sup> in the following terms:—

(a) The dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god.

(b) The recitation or symbolic representation of the myth of creation.

(c) The ritual combat, in which the triumph of the god over his enemies was depicted.

(d) The sacred marriage.

(e) The triumphal procession, in which the king played the part of the god, followed by a train of lesser gods or visiting deities.

12 Revue Celtique, xii, p. 86.

<sup>14</sup> S. H. Hooke, Myth and Ritual (Oxford, 1933). See also Lord

Raglan, The Hero (London, 1936).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> For suggestions as to the possibility of natural features in trees provoking cults of the kind, see L. Siret, "La dame de l'érable" (L'Anthropoligie, xxx, p. 235). It is not irrelevant to recall the treestumps worked into grotesque god-figures which, as Lucan tells us, were to be seen in the sacred grove of Massilia (*Pharsalia*, iii, 412).

This ritual is performed afresh each year, and so becomes familiar. It gradually crystallizes into a story, and the story becomes stereotyped by the perpetual repetition of the ritual and is fixed immovably in the popular memory. The essential fact which the ritual is meant to show forth is this: the god of the life-giving vegetation, incarnate in the king, dies with the winter, and is reborn in the springtime. It is impossible to trace out here all the evidence that extant Celtic literature supplies for the existence of such a ritual-pattern among the people to which that literature belongs: the rites at the inauguration of the King of Tara follow the oriental pattern with striking closeness. We must here confine ourselves to the Partholon story; and we shall have little difficulty in seeing that its apparent pointlessness vanishes, when we realize that in it, also, is the narrative of a fertility-ritual drama It has suffered extreme deformation by arbitrary editorial manipulation; but most, if not all, of the component elements are still clearly recognizable.15

At this point it will be appropriate to cite a brief text, contained in a fragment bound into the MS. H. 4 22 (p. 37, col. 2) in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (there is another, slightly variant, copy in the same library, in H. 3. 18, part I, p. 46):—

Mad ail a fis cid ara tainic Parrtalón as a tír féin, nī. Parrtalón do marb [a] athair 7 a mathair i. Sru mac Praimint meic Athachta meic Mághoice meic Iafet, ac iarraid righi da derbrathair i. Becsomus a ainm-side; 7 fa sine é na Parrtalon. Ro indarb Srú Parrtalon 7 gur loit he, cur ben a suil cle as 7 co roibe .uii. mbliadna for indarbad. Co tanic isin Bigin Grec, lucht luinge, cur loisc tech for a athair 7 for a mathair, gur loisg iat a ndis, 7 do rat rigi da brathair. Ocus tanic fein co Heirinn ar teichim na finghaile sin. Ocus is inand Sera isin berla Grecda "fingalach" isin berla teibide. Is aire

aderar Parrtalon mac Sera fris. Ocus for indarbad rucadh dis do clann Parrtaloin .i. Rudraige 7 Slainghe, conid aire sin tainic taimlecht forra ina fingail. Ba he tinne [leg. truime] in taimlichta: in cruth ina mbid gach fer dib ina suide no na sesam no na luige a ec, 7rl.

"Wouldst thou know wherefore Partholon came out of his own land, 'tis easy. Partholon slew his father and his mother, namely Sru s. Prament s. Athacht s. Magog s. Iafeth, seeking kingship for his brother, whose name was Becsomus, and he was his senior. Sru drave out Partholon and wounded him, and cut his left eve out from him: and he was seven years in exile. Then he came into Bigin (?) of the Greeks16 [with] a ship's crew, and burnt a house over his father and his mother, and burnt them together, and gave the kingship to his brother. He himself came to Ireland, fleeing that kinmurder. Now Sera means in the Greek language what "fingalach" (= parricide) means in the Chosen language [Goidelic]. That is why he is called Partholon son of Sera. In exile were two of the children of Partholon born, Rudraige and Slanga. Wherefore there came a plague upon him in kinbloodguiltiness; such was the heaviness of that plague that in whatsoever attitude any man was, sitting, or standing, or lying down, he died," etc.

The Egyptian version of the "pattern" story has certain points in common with the above narrative. Not to enter here into more than necessary details, Set, the enemy, slew Osiris, his brother, the king-god; Osiris was reborn as Horus, who avenged his father's murder upon Set, in which fight he, Horus, lost an eye; the eye was given to the dead Osiris to eat, and the latter was thereby equipped with a soul. It is not too much to say that from Ireland and from Egypt we appear to be listening to far-away echoes of one and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The second element in the pattern—the creation-narrative—is not emphasized in the story as we have it. But it is there. A gloss in ¶ 247 traces the descent of the Nemedians from "Agla son of Partholon." This person can hardly be other than the "Adna son of Bith" of whom we have already heard (§ III). Partholon, therefore = Bith, Cosmos, and takes his rightful place as a creator.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The other MS., reads asin mBethail Gregda. It means the Micil or Sicil of the LG text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> See Budge, Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection, vol. i, pp. 62 ff., for the full story. There are various versions of the fate of the eye: that here adopted will be found, *ibid.*, p. 82.

same primitive story, of sunrise and sunset, and of the death and re-birth of a god of vegetation. The tearing out of the eye appears to be connected with the creation or re-creation of the sun or of the moon<sup>18</sup>—with their death at setting and re-birth at rising.

The other details of the Irish narrative then drop into their place. Partholon, according to a glossator, is the same as Ith,19 who is the same as Topa; in other words, the dead king is re-born as these new personalities, just as Osiris is reborn as Horus. The ritual combat is very prominent, the hideous Fomoraig being the enemies with whom the vegetationgod has to contend. In one illuminating passage (¶ 216) we are told that no one was killed in the combat, for it was a druidical battle: this is simply a more or less contemptuous way of saying that it was a religious ceremony which took the form of a sham fight.20 The sacred marriage is conspicuous also, though it has degenerated into the unpleasant story of Topa (= Partholon) and Delgnat. That the advances are made in the first instance by Delgnat is entirely in keeping with the ordinary pattern. And the train of attendants of Partholon each of them the tutelary deity of this or that activity or accomplishment of a simple pastoral life. corresponds to the fifth element in the ritual, in which the king led a triumphal procession of his subordinates. Even the killing of the dog Saimer has its place in the pattern; it inevitably recalls the κυνόφοντις, which was part of the periodical ceremonies in honour of the Argive vegetationdaemon Linos.

The final plague we can safely brush aside as a mere editorial trimming. The synthesists had to get rid of the Partholonians somehow, in order to leave the stage clear for the Nemedians; and a plague was a convenient way of wiping out that population. But they have not been successful in concealing that a different story was told: or to be more accurate, the glossators, useful for once, have let the cat out of the bag. The god of vegetation must die under

See also Lord Raglan, Jocasta's Crime, pp. 142, 164.
 For which we may now venture to write "(B)ith."

the strokes of the winter-daemon, that he may be re-born in the springtime; and Partholon must therefore die of the venom of the wounds of Cicul (¶ 217, 220).

Van Hamel reminds us that there was a god Cicollos (so Thurneysen corrects the name) of whom several altars have been found in the department of Côte d'Or. He is there equated to Mars, which may mean anything or nothing. Whether this Continental god has or has not anything to do with Cicul, we may presume that the actor who represented the latter personage in the drama danced or walked with some kind of limping gait, of which there is a reminiscence in the chscure adjective affixed to the invader's name in the LG story: and that he wore a grotesque mask, such as have been used all over the world from the Palæolithic period onward, in rites of this kind.

In the later texts, K gives yet another estimate of the length of time between the Flood and Partholon—278 years; Keating accepts the 300, and specifically rejects the 1002 of previous authorities. Kg brings him from Mygdonia, K from Grecian Sicily; both authorities relate the parricide story, but Kg makes it a little easier—though not on that account more authentic-by a slight change: that Partholon slew his parents, seeking the kingdom from (not for) his brother. K reduces the journey from "Aladacia" to Gothia from nine days to three, and dates the arrival at Inber Scene to Tuesday the 17th of an unspecified moon: Kg says 14th May. Kg gives Partholon a following of 1000; K specifies only the three sons, the ten daughters, and their respective wives and husbands. The retinue of culture-patrons is given much as in R<sup>2</sup>R<sup>3</sup>; we have Samaliliath in Kg, Malaliach in K. Both have Biobal and Babal, with slight differences of spelling. K "spreads himself" on the Topa-Delgnat incident; Kg abbreviates it, omitting the retoriccs, naming the erring attendant Todhga, and omitting Partholon's vengeance upon him. None of the LG texts know the Dindsenchas story (the importance of which is indicated in the notes below), that he was eaten by dogs and birds (MD, iv, 290). The Fomorian invasion is told very briefly; Kg, as already noted, makes the mistake of anticipating their landing by 200 years. four "unorthodox" sons of Partholon are enumerated by Kg, not by K, along with their division of Ireland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> On such ceremonies and their meaning, see H. J. Rose, "A suggested explanation of ritual combats," *Folklore*, xxxvi, p. 322.

#### SECTION IV.

Partholön.

First Redaction.

## L 3 a 5: F 5 y 16.

199. Ba fās trā ¹Hēriu ‡ īarsain || fri rē trī ²chēt mbliadan ‡ ³no dā dēce ar trī cētaib, quod ucrius est ³|| conostoracht ⁴Partholōn mac Sera meic Srū. Is ē ⁵cēta rogab ⁶Hērinn īar ¬ndīlinn, Dia Mairt, for ⁵ceithre dēcc ēsca, in Inbiur Scēne: ¾ ūair fo thrī rogabad Hēriu a Hinbiur Scēine ||.¾ Do ¹ochlaind Magoth meic Iafēth ¹¹ē, ‡ ut dixi supra(a)||: isin tsescatmad bliadain¹¹ āisi Abrāim ¹²roghab Partholōn ¹³Hērinn.

200. ¹Cethur airech tānic Partholōn: .i. sē ²fēin, ¬ ³Laiglinne ⁴a mac, diatā Loch ³Laiglinne la ⁵Hū mac Cūais Breg: Slānga ¬ ʿRudraige, dā mac ¬aile Parthalōin, diatā Slīab Slānga ¬ Loch ʿRudraige. ³ In tan ro ¬class a fert ʿRudraige ¹¹is ¹¹and ro memaid in loch fo thīr. ¹²

201. Secht ¹mbliadna do Partholōn ²in Hērind in tan ³atbath in cēt fer⁴ dia ⁵muntir, .i. Fea, diatā Mag Fea; ūair is ⁵and ro hadnacht, ⁵i m-Maig Fea.

199. Now Ireland was waste [thereafter], for a space of three hundred years, [or three hundred and twelve, quod uerius est] till Partholon s. Sera s. Sru came to it. He is the first who took Ireland after the Flood, on a Tuesday, on the fourteenth of the moon, in Inber Scene: [for three times was Ireland taken in Inber Scene]. Of the progeny of Magog son of Iafeth was he, [ut dixi supra]: in the sixtieth year of the age of Abraham, Partholon took Ireland.

200. Four chieftains strong came Partholon: himself, and Laiglinne his son, from whom is Loch Laiglinne in Ui mac Uais of Breg; Slanga and Rudraige, the two other sons of Partholon, from whom are Sliab Slanga and Loch Rudraige. When the grave of Rudraige was a-digging, the lake there burst forth over the land.

201. Seven years had Partholon in Ireland when the first man of his people died, to wit Fea, from whom is Mag Fea; for there was he buried, in Mag Fea.

201. ¹bliadna ²an Erinn ²itbath ⁴ins, atbath (expuncted sec. man.) and om. dia ⁵muintir ⁵ann ¹imuig.

<sup>199. &</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Er. iarsin <sup>2</sup> cet <sup>2-3</sup> om.: conastoracht <sup>4</sup> L usually abbreviates this name, stopping short before the second vowel: F prefers the spelling -thal- throughout. This may be said here once for all. <sup>5</sup> cetna <sup>6</sup> Erinn <sup>7</sup> nilind <sup>8</sup> .xuii changed sec. man. to .xiiii. <sup>9-9</sup> om. F <sup>10</sup> claind F <sup>11-11</sup> do Parthalon autem 7 .lx.agissimo aetatis Abram tenuit Parthalon Hiberniam, .i. insin .uii. bliadain <sup>12</sup> rogab <sup>13</sup> Erinn.

<sup>200. 1</sup> ceatrar aireach tainie 2 fen 3 Laiglindi (bis) 4 ins. i.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hua mae Uais <sup>6</sup> Rudraigi (ter) <sup>7</sup> om. aile <sup>8</sup> ins. i. is ann ro hadnacht (spelt meaninglessly hadn-acht) <sup>9</sup> clos a fert <sup>10</sup> ins. 7 a adnacht <sup>11</sup> ann dombebaid <sup>12</sup> ins. in tan sin.

<sup>(</sup>a) Written vtdxs.

202. ¹Isin tres bliadain ²īarsain, cēt ³chath Hērenn, ro ⁴briss Partholon i Slemnaib ⁵Maige Ītha for ⁶Cichol nGricenchos d'Fhomōrchaib: ⁶ ¬(a) fir con ¹ōen-lāmāib ¬ con ōen-chossaib ro fersat friss ⁵in cath.

203. Secht ¹loch-thomadmand in ²Hērind in amsir ³Parthalōin; ⁴.i. Loch ⁵Laglinne la ⁶U mac Cūais Breg, Loch Cūān γ Loch ¹Rudraige la Hultu, Loch ⁵nDechet ⁶γ Loch Mesc γ ¹⁰Loch Con la ¹¹Connachta, ¹²γ Loch ¹³nEchtra la ¹⁴Airgialla; ār nī fuair ¹⁶Partholōn ar a cind ¹⁶in Hērind acht trī locha γ nōi n-aibne, .i. Loch ¹⁷Fordremain i ¹⁶Slēib Mis ¹⁰γ Loch ²⁰Lumnig fo ²¹Thīr Find, Loch Cera in ²²Irrus; ²³Aband Lifi ²⁴γ ²⁵Luī ²⁴γ ²⁶Muad γ ²⁷Slicech γ ²⁶Samāir forsatā ²⁰Es Rūaid, Find γ ³⁰Modorn, ³¹Buas γ Banna ³²etir Lē γ Elle. ³³Cethri bliadna ³⁴ria n-ēc Partholōin, tomaidm ⁵⁵Brēnnai fo thīr.

204. Ro slechta ¹cethri maige la Partholōn in ¹Hērind: Mag nĪtha la ³Laigniu, Mag Tuired la ⁴Connachta, Mag Lī la Hū ⁵mac Cūais, Mag ⁶Ladrand la Dāl ¹Araide. Ar nī ⁵fuair Partholon ar ⁰a ¹⁰chind ¹¹in Hērind acht ¹²ōen-magh, .i. sēn-mag ¹³nEtair. Is aire atberar sēnmag dē, ar nīr ās frem nā flesc feda¹³ trīt rīam.

202. In the third year thereafter, the first battle of Ireland, which Partholon won in Slemna of Mag Itha against Cichol Clapperleg of the Fomoraig. Men with single arms and single legs they were, who joined the battle with him.

203. There were seven lake-bursts in Ireland in the time of Partholon: Loch Laiglinne in Ui mac Uais of Breg, Loch Cuan and Loch Rudraige in Ulaid, Loch Dechet and Loch Mesc and Loch Con in Connachta, and Loch Echtra in Airgialla; for Partholon did not find more than three lakes and nine rivers in Ireland before him—Loch Fordremain in Sliab Mis <of Mumu>, (b) Loch Lumnig on Tir Find, Loch Cera in Irrus; Aba Life, Lui, Muad, Slicech, Samer (upon which is Ess Ruaid) Find, Modorn, Buas, and Banna between Le and Elle. Four years before the death of Partholon, the burst of Brena over the land.

204. Four plains were cleared by Partholon in Ireland: Mag Itha in Laigen, Mag Tuired in Connachta, Mag Li in Ui mac Uais, Mag Ladrand in Dal nAraide. For Partholon found not more than one plain in Ireland before him, the Old Plain [of Elta] of Edar. This is why it is called the "Old Plain" for never did branch or twig of a wood grow through it.

<sup>202. &</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> isan <sup>2</sup> iarsin <sup>3</sup> caath (dittography due to change of line) Erenn <sup>4</sup> bris <sup>5</sup> Muigi Hitha <sup>6-6</sup> Cichar nGlicarcosach domorchaib <sup>7</sup> aencosaib <sup>7</sup> con aenlamaib ro fersad fris <sup>8</sup> om. in cath: ins. i. demna irachtaib daine do fersad fris.

<sup>203, 1</sup> lochmadmanna 2 Erinn 3 Partal-4 om. .i. 5 Laiglindi " Hu mac Uais 7 Rudraigi 8 Tecid <sup>9</sup> 7 Loch nEchtra L (om. 7 Loch 10 7 Loch Con om. and ins. cL 11 Conachta F 12 om. 7 Mesc) 15 Partalon 16 an Erinn 13 nEctra 14 Hairgiallu 17 Fordremair 19 om. 7 18 Sliab Mis la Mumain 20 Luimnig (the first r yo) <sup>21</sup> Tir F: written fo thir. Findloch Cera, L 22 Irrass 23 abann 24 om. 7 (bis) 25 Lai 26 Muaid 27 Slicach 28 Samer 29 Ess 30 Modarnn B1 ins. 7 32 itir 33 ceitri 34 re nech (sic) Partal. Brena.

<sup>(</sup>a) 7 is presumably miswritten for i.

<sup>(</sup>b) "Of Mumu" ins. in F.

<sup>(</sup>c) End of page here: in the lower margin there is a graffito in Ogham letters, partly defaced and unintelligible (apparently cryptical). This does not appear to have anything to do with the text.

205. ¹Ocus is ²and-side atbath Partholōn, ³.i. cōic ⁴mīle fer γ ceitre ⁴mīle ban, do ⁵thām sechtmaine ⁶i callann Māi. Dia ¹Lūain rosgab ⁶tām, γ ⁶rosmarb in ¹otām ¹¹ule, acht ¹²ōen-fer ¹³tantum — .i. Tūān mac ¹⁴Stairnn meic Sera meic brāthar Partholōin: ocus ¹⁵rondelb Dīa ¹⁶i r-richtaib¹¹ imdaib, γ ro mair in ¹⁶t-ōenfer sain ō ¹⁶amsir Partholōin co ²⁰hamsir Finnēn γ Coluim Cille: ²¹condecaid dōib Gabāla ²²Hērenn ō ²³amsir Chesra, ²⁴cēta ragab, cosin ²⁵n-amsir sin. Ocus is ē sin Tūān mac Cairill meic ²⁶Muridaig Mundeirg.²⊓ Is dō ²⁵sin ro ²⁶chan in sūi senchasa in lāid-se sīs—

## A chōemu clāir Cuind cōem-find . . .

206. Ceitri meic Parthaloin ro cet-raindsid Erind ar tus, i. Aer, Orba, Fergna, Feron. Robadar cetrar a com-anmand sin ag macaib Miled, n ni hiad fein. Ota [Ath] Chliath Laigin co Hailach Neid, is i raind Aer sin. Ota Ath Cliath co Hailan Arda Nemid, raind Orba sin. Ota in Ailach co Ath Cliath Medraigi, raind Feroin insin. Ota in Ath Cliath (sic) sin co Hailach Net, raind Fergna insin. Conad amlaid sin ro cet-rainnid Erinn.

207. Bai ic Parthalon in cethar dam, is e sin buar Erenn. Ba dia daim Brega mac Senbotha ca n-ernnad tech 7 feoi 7 comrac aenfir ar tus an Erinn. Ba dia daim Samailiath, ca ndernnad ol corma 7 rathaigecht ar tus an Erinn. Ba dia daim Beoir, ca nernad tech n-aigidh ar tus Erinn. Amail isbert in file,

Ro bo maith in muinter mor . . .

Do t-inrab Parthaloin inso ebus (sic)-

Partholôn can as tāinic . . .

Is iad sin tra scela na cet gabala Erenn iar ndilind.

[Continued in Vol. III.]

205. And it is there that Partholon died, five thousand men and four thousand women, of a week's plague on the kalends of May. On a Monday plague took them, and the plague killed them all except one man tantum—Tuan son of Starn son of Sera nephew of Partholon: and God fashioned him in many forms, and that man survived alone from the time of Partholon to the time of Findian and of Colum Cille. So he narrated to them the Takings of Ireland from the time of Cessair, the first who took, to that time. And that is Tuan son of Cairell son Muiredach Muinderg. Of him the history-sage sang the following song—

SECTION IV.—PARTHOLON.

Poem no. XXX.

206. It was the four sons of Partholon who made the first division of Ireland in the beginning, Er, Orba, Fergna, Feron. There were four men, namesakes to them, among the sons of Mil, but they were not the same. From Ath Cliath of Laigen to Aileeh Neit, is the division of Er. From Ath Cliath to the island of Ard Nemid, is the division of Orba. From Aileeh to Ath Cliath of Medraige, is the division of Feron. From that Ath Cliath to Aileeh Neit, is the division of Fergna. So that in that manner they first divided Ireland.

207. Partholon had the four oxen, that is the first cattle of Ireland. Of his company was Brea son of Senboth, by whom were a house, a flesh [cauldron], and duelling first made in Ireland. Of his company was Samailiath, by whom were ale-drinking and suretyship first made in Ireland. Of his company was Beoir, by whom a guesthouse was first made in Ireland. As the poet saith

Poem no. XXXI.

Further of the voyaging of Partholon-

Poem no. XXXII.

So those are the tidings of the first Taking of Ireland after the Flood.

<sup>4</sup> mili (bis) 3 om. .i. coic L 205. 1 om. 7 2 annsin adbath 9 dosmairb F: rosmarb uile in tam 6 hi <sup>7</sup> Luann s ins. in 11 om. ule 12 aen-18 om. 14 sic F Starn L 10 tamh ale acht L 18 taenfer sin 19 aimsir 11 ins. in amsiraib 16 arichtaib 22 Erenn 20 aimsir Finnain Muigi Bili co Colam Cille 21 coneccaid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> aimsir Cessrach <sup>24</sup> cetna rogab Er. <sup>25</sup> om. prefixed n- <sup>26</sup> Muiridaig <sup>26</sup> ins. do Hulltaibh <sup>28</sup> om. sin <sup>29</sup> can in senchaid in duan so.

<sup>206.</sup> This ¶ in F only.

<sup>207.</sup> This \ in F only.

