

Mór in gním

An edition of some poems from the *Bórama*, with translation and textual notes

Desirée Goverts 0419842

MA thesis Celtic Languages and Culture, Utrecht University

Dr. Mícheál Ó Flaithearta

Prof. dr. Peter Schrijver

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Abbreviations

AS	Agallamh na Seanórach, Colloquy of the Ancients
BL	Leabhar Mór Leacain, Book of Lecan; RIA 23 P 2 (535)
CGH	Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae, M.A. O'Brien
DIAS	Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies
DIL	Dictionary of the Irish Language
EIHM	Early Irish History and Mythology, T.F. O'Rahilly
EIM	Early Irish Metrics, G. Murphy
FF	Foras Feasa ar Éirinn, Seathrún Céitinn
GOI	A Grammar of Old Irish, R. Thurneysen
ISOS	Irish Script on Screen, DIAS
LGÉ	Leabhar Gabhála Éireann, Book of Invasions
LL	Leabhar Laighneach, Book of Leinster; TCD H.2.18 (1339)
OG	Onomasticon Goedelicum, E. Hogan
Rawl. B 502	Rawlinson B 502; Bodleian Library, Oxford
Rawl. B 512	Rawlinson B 512; Bodleian Library, Oxford
RIA	Royal Irish Academy, Dublin
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
UM	Leabhar Ua Maine, Book of Uí Maine; RIA D.ii.1

Introduction

The word *bóraime*, which in the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (DIL) is assigned the meaning ‘tribute’ or ‘cattle tribute’, has been analyzed by Kuno Meyer as ‘a compound of *bó* and *ríme*, a feminine *iā*-stem, cognate with *ríim*, so that the original meaning is ‘cattle-counting’. It denoted a place where the cattle-tribute was collected and counted’, but then also came to be used ‘to denote the tribute itself’.¹ According to him, ‘*bórim* is undoubtedly the oldest form’, where the palatal quality of the lenited *m* is confirmed by rhyme, but, Meyer continues, ‘[w]e also find a de-palatalized form *bórama* rhyming with *tóroma*’.² According to DIL, in most of its attestations the word is used ‘[s]pecifically of the *bórama* or Leinster tribute imposed on the Leinstermen by the Tara kings’³ and it is part of the history of this tribute which will be the subject of the present thesis.

The *bórama* found its origin as the *éraic* or body fine of Fithir and Dáiríne, the two daughters of the king of Temair, which had to be paid in compensation when someone was injured or killed.⁴ The account of the history of the tribute, usually entitled the *Bórama* or *Bórama Laigen*, starts with Túathal Techtmar, who was king of Temair in the first or perhaps second century AD.⁵ The king of Laigin at this time, Eocho mac Echach Domlén, married the daughter of Túathal. After a while, however, he went back to Temair and, telling Túathal that the first daughter had died, asked for the hand of the second one. This request was granted, but when he brought his new wife home with him, the sisters saw each other and realized what had happened. One of them subsequently died from shame; the other died immediately afterwards of grief for the death of her sister. Túathal then, having received tidings about these events, gathered his allies around him and waged war on the Laigin. When his enemy was eventually defeated, he stipulated that an *éraic* should be paid to him for the death of his daughters caused by the treachery of Eocho, and this became the tribute called the *bórama*, consisting of cattle as well as a specified amount of gold and silver, which was exacted from Laigin by his successors for centuries afterwards. The rest of the text relates how the wars with Laigin continued throughout the ages and recounts the history of the kings who did or

¹ Kuno Meyer, ‘Brian Borumha’, *Ériu* 4 (1910), pp. 72-3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 72, n. 1.

³ DIL, s.v. *bóraime*.

⁴ Cf. Daniel A. Binchy (ed.), *Críth Gablach* (Dublin 1979), pp. 86; Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin 1988), pp. 79, 126; J. Loth, ‘Un genre particulier de compensation pour crimes et offenses chez les Celtes insulaires’, *Revue celtique* 48 (1931), p. 333; A.T. Lucas, *Cattle in ancient Ireland* (Kilkenny 1989), pp. 230-1.

⁵ His death is variably dated to 106, 183, or 135 (or 235) AD; cf. EIHM, p. 154.

did not succeed in levying the tax until it was finally, by means of a clever verbal trick from saint Mo Ling, remitted by Fíonnachta in the seventh century AD.⁶

Although there are many references in various kinds of collections and texts to the tribute the *bórama*, up to the present day, two different versions of the long narrative are known to exist. The earliest of these is found in the Book of Leinster (LL), TCD MS 1339, a twelfth century manuscript;⁷ the second one appears in the Book of Lecan (BL), RIA MS 23 P 2, which dates from the early fifteenth century.⁸ There are two main editions of the text as a whole which also include a translation. The first of these was published in 1892 by Whitley Stokes.⁹ He primarily based his work on the facsimile of LL, but also used some of the material from BL in order to provide the end of the story, which is lost in LL, or to supplement those ‘passages omitted by the scribe or now illegible’,¹⁰ because some of the pages from LL are stained or damaged and therefore very hard to read. However, Stokes never bothered to print the text of the poems included in the *Bórama*, since, in his own optimistic words, ‘the verses (...) merely repeat what has been already told in prose, and they are, as poetry, quite as worthless as the bulk of the metrical compositions in the Irish manuscripts’.¹¹

In the same year, Standish H. O’Grady published his *Silva Gadelica*, a collection of several Irish texts accompanied by English translations, among which is what he calls the *Bóramha* ‘the Boromean Tribute’.¹² As in Stokes’s edition, LL is the main source used, but O’Grady altered the manuscript text apparently without adhering to any system whatsoever, or, as he himself phrases it, having ‘followed lines of my own’. While he assures his readers, ‘[o]f set purpose or, as some would have it, of malice prepense, I have in the direction of uniformity tampered somewhat with the orthography (and that alone) of my sources, and have accentuated’,¹³ this seems a slight understatement when his text is compared to what is written in the manuscript. As a result of this adaptation, his version is highly unreliable from a linguistic perspective and its only advantage remains the fact that he, unlike Stokes, printed

⁶ Fíonnachta was king of Ireland from 675-95 AD, EIHM, p. 165; Cf. Eleanor Knott and Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Literature* (London 1967), p. 137, and Myles Dillon, *The Cycles of the Kings* (Oxford 1946), pp. 103-14 for a more extensive summary of the text.

⁷ Thomas Kingsmill Abbot and Edward John Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin 1921).

⁸ Thomas F. O’Rahilly (et al), *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, 30 vols. (Dublin 1926-70).

⁹ Whitley Stokes, ‘The Borama’, *Revue Celtique* 8 (1892), pp. 32-124.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹² Standish H. O’Grady, *Silva Gadelica* (London 1892), *Irish Text* pp. 359-90; *Translation and notes* pp. 401-24.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. xvii-xviii, xxiv-xxv.

the Irish text of the poetry completely, even though he did not translate it, which provides a better impression of the structure of the *Bórama* as a whole. O'Grady does mention Stokes's publication of the same year, but asserts that 'I first saw [it] on December 1st, long after mine was printed'.¹⁴

In addition to these works, the complete LL text of the *Bórama* may be found in volume 5 of R.I. Best and M.A. O'Brien's edition of the *Book of Leinster*, published in 1967.¹⁵ Although no translation is given, this work is very valuable because it contains both the prose and the poetry exactly as it stands in the manuscript.

Thus the main shortcomings of the available editions consist of the fact that they almost exclusively make use of LL and that no trouble has been taken to provide a translation of the poetical passages from the *Bórama*, let alone to make an attempt at a closer analysis of the language, style or metre. The purpose of the present study therefore is to provide an edition and translation of some of them, including a discussing of their metrical characteristics, language and possible date of composition. Any observations which are made with regard to language and dating criteria are based only on the poem or poems under discussion, and not on the *Bórama* as a whole, since a linguistic study of the complete text is beyond the scope of this thesis.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxvi, n. 3.

¹⁵ R.I. Best and M.A. O'Brien, *The Book of Leinster: formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, 6 vols. (Dublin 1954-83), vol. 5, pp. 1268-1318.

The poems of the *Bórama*

No less than 33 different poems are scattered between the various prose sections collected under the heading *Bórama*. Some of them consist of no more than a single verse, while others may contain up to 31 stanzas, but the majority of them do not exceed the number of ten stanzas. Stokes, for the reasons already stated above, did not consider the poetry worthy of research. Yet while he may be right in that their contents do not seem to add a large amount of new information to what has already been described in the prose passages, sometimes a few pages earlier, this does not alter the fact that their language and formal characteristics do deserve more attention than this, because there is no reason for an a priori assumption that the study of poems will not yield interesting results.

The subject matter of the poems selected for this edition is centered on the two daughters of Túathal Techtmar, their marriage to Eocho, and the origin of the *bórama*. Other references to Fithir and Dáiríne, the main characters in the present discussion, also appear in a number of collections outside the *Bórama*, the shortest of which, consisting of no more than the title *Tochmarc Fithirne 7 Darine da ingen Tuathail*, is included in one of the tale lists, whose origins may date back to the tenth century.¹⁶ Besides this, a few lines are devoted to the sisters in the *Bansenchus*, ‘the History of women’, ‘a list of famous married women in Irish literature and history’ of which ‘both metrical and prose versions’ exist.¹⁷ The earliest metrical composition, created in 1147 by Gilla Mo Dutu, has come down in LL and it briefly mentions the two women, also stating that the *bórama* was imposed on their account.¹⁸ In addition to this, their names occur in the prose version which was edited from the Book of Lecan and the Book of Uí Maine.¹⁹

A longer account of the history may be found in *Acallam na Senórach* (AS), ‘the Colloquy of the Ancients’, dating from the late twelfth century. Since different versions of this tale have been edited from various manuscripts, the only edition containing the section with ‘The story of the Rough Washing (Garbthanach)’, is the one by Stokes and Windisch, published in 1900.²⁰ Although Myles Dillon does not print the text of this passage in his *Stories from the Acallam*, a brief summary of it is given in the introduction to his edition written by Gerard Murphy, who characterizes it as ‘the best telling preserved for us in Irish of

¹⁶ Proinsias Mac Cana, *The learned tales of medieval Ireland* (Dublin 1980), pp. 42, 64-5, 66ff.

¹⁷ Margaret C. Dobbs (ed.), ‘The Ban-shenchus’, *Revue Celtique* 47 (1930), p. 283.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 300, 325.

¹⁹ Dobbs, ‘The Ban-shenchus’, *Revue Celtique* 48 (1931), pp. 175, 211.

²⁰ Whitley Stokes and E. Windisch, *Irische Texte* 4.1 (Leipzig 1900), pp. 117-8; for a translation, cf. O’Grady, *Silva Gadelica* II, pp. 109-10.

the tragic tale of Fithir and Dáiríne'.²¹ In addition to these sources, a short retelling is provided in *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (FF), 'the History of Ireland', written by Seathrún Céitinn (Geoffrey Keating) in the early seventeenth century.²² Nothing relating to Fithir and Dáiríne seems to be included in *Duanaire Finn* or the *Dindsenchas* texts.

'Mór in gním'

The focus for this study will primarily be on the poem 'Mór in gním', the complete first line in LL being *Mór in gním daringned sund*. It is found on pp. 238b34-299a46 in LL and on fols. 301ra12-b31 in BL; pp. 1283-7 in Best and O'Brien's edition.²³ The 31 quatrains of which it consists are found both in LL and BL in exactly the same order and none of them are missing in either of the manuscripts.

It starts with an introduction of Fithir and Dáiríne, their marriage and death, in the first seven stanzas. The rest of the poem gives an account of the kings who came together to aid Túathal in his attack on Laigin, their preparations for battle, the journey they made through Ireland, destroying and burning towns on their way, and eventually the battle in which many of them died. When the Laigin have been defeated and their king has been slain, it relates how Túathal demanded and received the *éraic* for his daughters, specifying the number of cows which had to be paid to him and also providing information on how the tribute was subsequently divided.

Although this is the most elaborate metrical account of the tragic fate of Fithir and Dáiríne, which would be expected to appear close to its prose counterpart, it is the ninth poem in the *Bórama*, well into the account of its history. In the text it is said to have been uttered by Finn mac Cumail, who is asked to fight beside Bresal Bélach, king of Laigin in the third century AD, against Carpre Lifechair, who seeks to exact the *bórama* from him. Finn, when he is on his way to join the king of Laigin, travels to the place where Fithir and Dáiríne died, sits down there and then speaks this lay.

²¹ Myles Dillon (ed.), *Stories from the Acallam* (Dublin 1970), pp. xxiv-xxv.

²² Patrick S. Dinneen (ed.), *The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating* (London 1914), vol. 2, pp. 254-5.

²³ Best and O'Brien, *The Book of Leinster*, vol. 5, pp. 1283-7.

Metrics ‘Mór in gním’

The quatrains discussed here follow the edited LL text; significant BL readings are supplied in square brackets, or where they are numerous and substantially different, the complete stanza from this manuscript is placed side by side with the one from LL. The first stanza of the poem gives a good indication of its verse structure:

- | | | |
|----|---|----------------|
| 1. | Mór in gním daringned <i>sund</i> | 7 ¹ |
| | má fúaratar fir forlund , | 7 ² |
| | dá ingin rí g Temrach túaid | 7 ¹ |
| | ropsat mairb and fri óenúair . | 7 ² |

It is a form of *deibide scailte (fota)*, where the syllabic pattern observed is normally $7^x 7^{x+1}$ or $2 7^x 7^{x+1}$, with the rhyme a:b c:d,²⁴ and it seems to be adhered to fairly consistently throughout the poem. In contrast, the *rinn 7 airdrinn* rhyme has not been applied quite as diligently; in several instances, consecutive lines sharing end rhyme both have a monosyllabic final word or a disyllabic one. Sometimes the second line of a rhyming couplet ends in a trisyllabic word, such as in 6b: *anforlund*, 6d: *Dárine*, and in compound place names: *Garbthonach* (7d). Lines of six syllables are 14a (LL), 29a, and 31b (LL).²⁵ Superfluous syllables occur in 19d, 2a, 21c, 26b, 31a.

Regarding the mutations and their effect on alliteration, Eleanor Knott notes that in syllabic poetry, ‘[w]hen a word is eclipsed the radical initial counts for alliteration (...). Lenition does not prevent alliteration, except in the cases of *f*, *p*, and *s*. As initial *f* is silent it is ignored for alliteration (...). Lenited *p* alliterates with *f*; lenited *s* alliterates with another lenited *s*’.²⁶ The rules laid out here are taken by Murphy ‘to apply to the older period also’.²⁷

The poem ends with the same word with which it started, *mór*. This device, called *dúnad*, shows that the text is a complete whole.²⁸

²⁴ Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin 1961), p. 65.

²⁵ Cf. notes infra for a discussion.

²⁶ Eleanor Knott, *Irish syllabic poetry, 1200-1600* (Dublin 1928), p. 11.

²⁷ EIM, pp. 36-7.

²⁸ EIM, pp. 43-5.

‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’

Another poem, ‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’, tells the tale of Túathal’s daughters as well, and it will therefore also be included in this collection. It is the first poem included in the *Bórama*, found on p. 295a26-37 in LL and fols. 295rb31-295va13 in BL. Although from the appearance of its LL form, which is found in Best and O’Brien’s²⁹ and O’Grady’s editions, it was expected to consist of only six stanzas, the BL version turned out to have fourteen quatrains in total. Four of LL’s quatrains correspond to those from BL, but the third and fourth verses from this manuscript have no counterpart in BL, while the remaining ten stanzas of BL do not appear in LL.

The first quatrain from LL, which is the second in BL, also appears in at least three other manuscripts as part of LGÉ,³⁰ of which only Rawl. B 512 is available online. In addition to this, it forms part of AS and FF. However, since they generally do not differ significantly from each other, they have been left out of the edition for the time being. This verse, which is generally considered to be the first or main stanza of the poem, is preceded by another quatrain in BL, and between the first and second stanza from LL, there is again an extra verse in BL. Then there are the two quatrains which are only found in LL, of which it can hardly be determined where exactly they belong in the sequence of verses. In the edition the choice has been made to keep them together with the preceding stanza from LL because in contents they seem to be more closely connected to the beginning of the poem. Six more verses have been inserted in BL before the two quatrains corresponding to the final two from LL, and an additional two stanzas follow at the end.

In the *Bórama*, ‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’ is placed at the moment when Túathal hears about the death of his daughters and calls the kings of Connachta and Ulaid to him to fight against Laigin. It is then that he presents the assembly with this poem. The LL version is mainly a lament on the death of the two women, which ends with the promise of revenge on the Laigin. The quatrains which have been added in BL provide a more extensive description, similar to the one from ‘Mór in gním’ of their marriage, death, and also their burial in the final lines.

²⁹ Best and O’Brien, *The Book of Leinster*, vol. 5, p. 1269.

³⁰ Cf. R.A. Stewart Macalister (ed.), *Lebor Gabála Éirenn : The Book of the taking of Ireland* (Dublin 1938-56), Part 5, p. 326.

Metrics ‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’

The metrical form of the poem ‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’, although it is also based on heptasyllabic lines, is rather different to that of ‘Mór in gním’ and also displays considerable variation in its appearance between the various quatrains. On the whole, the heptasyllabic line is kept intact throughout most of the verses from both manuscripts, but stylistic features such as alliteration and rhyme are applied less consistently. The six quatrains from LL show a quite regular metre throughout, which may be best exemplified by the second verse:

2.	Ataidbli na hécóra,	7 ³
	atberim ropa débla,	7 ²
	attromma na tuicthena	7 ³
	a tabairt i ndáil n-éca.	7 ²

Although the syllable count might correspond to the *aí freisligi* metre,³¹ the lack of rhyme between lines a and c would seem to point to a form of *rannaigeacht bec*, called *rannaigeacht fota recomarcach* by Murphy.³²

The intended rhyme scheme of the poem seems to be b:d. Alliteration seems to be less frequently observed for consonants in the first line of a stanza than it is elsewhere, but often alliterating vowels appear in these first lines. In the majority of the quatrains, the first and third lines contain trisyllabic rhyming words, while the second and fourth lines, often rhyming as well, usually end in disyllables.

The stanzas from BL show a greater variety of metrical forms. The following verses deviate from the pattern just described:

5.	Nír an cách íarraich Eochaid, is catóga mar cluintir; co ruc <u>Fithir</u> leis dá tig, cárbo <u>rithir</u> le muintir.	7.	Dorad imdeargad d’ <u>Fidir</u> nírbim dergad re <u>úabar</u> Dáirfíne, d’aicsin a col, a purt mór <u>Muigi Núadan</u> .
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Something that is not observed in ‘Mór in gním’ and only occurs in a small number of verses of the poem under discussion now is the *aicill* rhyme between *dainim* and *Laigin* (B1cd).

³¹ EIM, pp. 62-3.

³² EIM, p. 16.

Quatrain eight from BL, although it is similar to the seventh in syllable structure, has a different rhyming pattern corresponding to the *deibide* metre observed in ‘Mór in gním’.³³

8. Tic Fider a bél re *lár*
 - nírbe in caridrad comlán -
 cor’ bris a **cr**idi ’na **clí**,
 ruc a **n**ert uili ar **n**emthní.

The last two verses in BL, which form what might be considered the second conclusion of the poem, again follow a different metre: 7² 7² 7² 7², with b:d rhyme: *rannaigecht bec*.³⁴

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>13. Dearg rúathar Túathail Teachtmair
 sochaidi dá <i>tuc imned</i>,
 gul cacha leasa i Llaignib,
 <i>tuc fa anraib a ingen</i>.</p> | <p>14. Tuc les cuirp áilli a ingen
 Túathal - do chardais <i>filig</i> -
 co Findcharn fáichgi in broga
 cor’ chuir orro co <i>frithir</i>.</p> |
|--|--|

The last quatrain from LL, ends by saying that Fithir and Dáiríne ‘will be avenged on the Laigin, on the warriors from the Life’. The two extra stanzas from BL then continue to describe how Túathal took revenge on Laigin and brought the bodies of his daughters back home to Tara with him. BL appears to have two endings to the poem; one being the same as LL, with *Lifí* as the last word, followed by the *F* with which the first quatrain started, but the other one ending with the word *frithir* ‘intense, bitter, painful’, again closing with the *F*. *Frithir* is more similar to *Fithir*, the name with which the poem begins, than *Lifí*, yet it is nevertheless unclear whether the poem originally ended with this very last stanza here, since even in BL the quatrain ending with *Lifí* seems to be acknowledged as a final verse, which is shown by the *F* as an indication that the poem is considered to end there. This might suggest that the scribe of BL gathered his material from various sources and in that way compiled a work different from any others.

³³ EIM, p. 65.

³⁴ EIM, p. 16.

The manuscripts

Although some loose quatrains of the poems found in the *Bórama* also appear in other manuscripts, the main sources for the poems under discussion here are the Book of Leinster and the Book of Lecan. In LL, the *Bórama* takes up pp. 294-308, slightly more than fourteen manuscript pages; in BL it appears on fols. 295r-310r, which is about thirty pages. In the latter manuscript, it is incorporated in *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (LGÉ) ‘the Book of the taking of Ireland’, often also referred to as ‘the Book of Invasions’, which is a description of the history of Ireland from the earliest times onwards. Although it may seem that the BL version of the tale is much longer than the one from LL, the sections on the *Bórama* here alternate with parts of LGÉ and also include long lists of battles, and it has yet to be discovered how much of this text actually belongs to the *Bórama* proper, if it is possible to separate these texts at all.

Generally speaking, the differences between LL and BL, for the poetry at least, are minimal and often only consist of variants in spelling, where BL, being a later manuscript, uses a more modern spelling system. Yet there are also places where the manuscripts differ markedly. In some of these cases, although different words are used, the heptasyllabic line is adhered to, while in others, no attention seems to have been paid to metrical requirements. For a more extensive discussion of individual cases, the reader is referred to the section on metrics and the textual notes to the poems.

Language and date

As has been pointed out earlier already, the language and date of the *Bórama* have not been discussed to any great extent before.³⁵ Yet various texts from LL, among which the *Bórama*, provide a substantial amount of source material for Breatnach’s study of Middle Irish.³⁶ The current discussion is based mainly on ‘Mór in gním’, since ‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’ only offers a small amount of comparable material as a result of the fact that the two manuscripts share but four of the quatrains. Linguistic observations are provided in the notes, where reference is made to the relevant passages from this section.

³⁵ Preterite formations of the *Bórama* and other Middle Irish texts have been studied by E.C. Quiggin, ‘The s-preterite in Middle Irish’, *Ériu* 4 (1910): 191-207; for other linguistic analyses providing a large amount of reference material, cf. Uáitéar Mac Gearailt, ‘Infixed and independent pronouns in the LL text of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 49-50 (1997): 494-515; ‘The language of some late Middle Irish texts in the Book of Leinster’, *Studia Hibernica* 26 (1991): 167-216; ‘Zum Irischen des 12. Jahrhunderts’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 43 (1989): 11-52.

³⁶ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, pp. 224-5.

The language of the *Bórama* as a whole, and of the poem under discussion here in particular, displays many linguistic features which warrant safely assigning the text a date in the Middle Irish period, generally taken to comprise the centuries between 900 and 1200 AD.³⁷ Although the language of the *Bórama* varies to a certain extent across different sections, especially with regard to its verbs where earlier and later forms are used interchangeably, yet probably not arbitrarily, it is mostly confined within the boundaries of Middle Irish. Since, as Breatnach points out, the difference between late Old Irish and early Middle Irish is hard to tell purely on linguistic grounds,³⁸ it is probably safe to exclude a very early Middle Irish date when considering the abundance of features in the *Bórama* pointing to an origin sometime during this period.

Spelling

In general, there seems to be an opposition between the two manuscripts regarding voiced and voiceless stops. Forms of the copula spelled with *p* in LL often appear with *b* in BL: *ropsat / robo* (1d), *ropa / robo* (2c, 5b, 10b), *rop / rob* (6b, 11bd), *ropa / robe* (8b), *ropo / robo* (10d). Also in a number of the verbal forms appearing in the text, this alternation is adhered to quite consistently. Most, but not all, of these instances concern a 3pl verbal ending in *-t/-d* or *-atar/-adar*: *fúaratar / fúaridar* (1b, 27b), *comraicit / comraicid* (13a), *daníat / doníad* (13c), *atubairt / adubairt* (14b), *atubairt / adbert* (15a), *gébat / gébad* (15d), *atrubairt / adubairt* (16a, 22c), *ro gabsat / do gobsad* (18a, 19a), *ráncatar / ráncadar* (18c, 24b), BL *dolodar* (20b), *gabsatar / do gobsad* (24a), *coro fersatar / coro fersadar* (25c), *rainnit / rainnid* (30b). Other examples are *lac / lag* (19c) and *teclaim / teglaim* (31b). However, as is shown by Breatnach's examples from LL, including a few from the *Bórama*, this manuscript also contains a small number of exceptions to the normal Old Irish spelling convention of using <p>, <t>, <c> for /b/, /d/, /g/, where , <d>, <g> are found instead.³⁹ An exception in BL is the form *ce(a)ngait* (21a, 25a), identical to the LL spelling with final *-t*. In BL, the copula form *ba* is generally written *fa* (23c, 25b); *fa* for LL *bat* (29b). A reversal of this practice may be observed in *anborlond* (27b), with *b* for *f*.

³⁷ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 221.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 225.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 228; cf. GOI, pp. 22-3.

The spellings <cc> and <tt> may be found in Middle Irish for the voiceless stops,⁴⁰ of which two examples appear in ‘Mór in gním’: *brattúani* (14d) and *coro thuitt* (21c). The liquids may be spelled double after particles that cause nasalization or place an *h* before a vowel,⁴¹ which is reasonably common in the *Bórama*.

In Old Irish, either <ch> or <g> could be found as a spelling for the lenited slender velar consonant, which alternation is still, although seldom, shown in LL.⁴² BL seems to have taken the practice a step further, because in this manuscript, in which lenited *d* and *g* are used interchangeably, <ch> also appears as a variant of lenited palatalized *d*, especially in verbal forms ending in *-id*: *ceisid*, *cesich* (5a), *cumaid*, *cumaich* (6d), *cóicid*, *chóicich* (9d), but *cóicid*, *chóicid* (24d). This tendency may be influenced by the fact that lenited *d* and *g*, mostly when palatalized, are beginning to fall together in the course of the Middle Irish period.⁴³ Confusion of lenited *d* and *g* is exemplified in forms such as the dative/accusative of *Temair*, which is consistently spelled *Temraig* in LL, but always appears as *Temraid* in BL. Similarly, lenited *b* and *m* may be used interchangeably when there is another nasal consonant in the word, which causes dissimilation or assimilation.⁴⁴

As was the case in Old Irish, an *h* without phonetic value may be prefixed to a vowel, for example in order to mark the separation between a pronoun and a form of the copula: *is hí*.⁴⁵ This is illustrated in the poem by the form in LL *rop hí* (11bd), where BL has *rob í*.

The alternation between *o* and *a* before a non-palatalized consonant is common in Middle Irish,⁴⁶ and many examples are found in LL, such as *tanach* (7a) for *tonach*, but *Garbthonach* (7d); *daníther* (7a), *rasoich* (8a), *dam* (14c), and *da* for *do* (25b).⁴⁷ The preposition *fo* (LL) is spelled *fa* in BL (21b, twice). In both manuscripts, final *-e* after a non-palatal consonant, Old Irish <ae> is spelled as <a>: *Berba* (14d), *febda* (15b).⁴⁸

In unstressed words, initial *c-* became *g-*, which Breatnach illustrates with an example from the LL *Bórama*: *gach* for Old Irish *cach*. It is also attested elsewhere in LL, where *gan* for *can* and *go* for *co* are found,⁴⁹ but these forms do not occur in the poems ‘Mór in gním’ and ‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’.

⁴⁰ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 228.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 228-9.

⁴² Ibid., p. 229.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 234-5.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 235.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 229.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 232.

⁴⁷ Cf. GOI, pp. 50-3.

⁴⁸ Cf. GOI, pp. 61-2.

⁴⁹ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 235.

The first syllable in unstressed words is often lost: *'na*, *'sa*, *gá rád* ‘at its saying’.⁵⁰ After the preposition *i* ‘in’, the full article may still be found: *isin*, but it could also be shortened to *'sin*.⁵¹ BL: *'sin maidin* (16d), *'na comair* (17c); LL *'sin matain*, BL *sa maitin* (18d); LL *'sin chath*, BL *sa cath* (27c), with lenition after the dative singular article in LL.

The vowel of the prepositions *do* ‘to’ and *de* ‘from’ frequently disappears before another vowel, which may be reflected in spelling, but this is not necessarily the case, as instances are found where *do* is written out but nevertheless has to be elided for the sake of the metre.⁵²

A schwa between a palatalized and a non-palatalized consonant may be written <i> instead of <e>.⁵³ The spelling <ea> rather than <e> before a non-palatalized consonant, which is quite frequent in BL, rarely appears in LL.⁵⁴ Similarly, the glide vowel *i* is mostly absent from LL. The development described by Breatnach that *i* and *a* in unstressed particles may alternate⁵⁵ seems to be taken further in BL, where *i* is used to spell a schwa even between two neutral consonants: *fúaridar* (1b, 27b), *allita* (17b); similarly *itá* is written for *atá* (7d).

Nouns

The nasalisation after *fáth* (u,m) in *fáth nguba* (21c) can hardly be explained as being caused by its function as an accusative, since the phrase seems to stand on its own in the stanza. DIL notes that the word may originally have been a neuter, which is supported by another instance in LL where the nominative singular is followed by nasalisation of a word beginning with *g*.⁵⁶ The neuter gender disappears from the language during the Middle Irish period, but remnants may still be found. Breatnach points out that in early Middle Irish, nasalization is still often found after the nominative singular of old neuter words, and, very rarely, unhistoric nasalization may be found after the nominative singular of masculine words. In chevilles, however, nasalization is regularly found after nominatives of any gender,⁵⁷ which thus greatly reduces the grammatical significance of this feature. BL reads *fán* ‘slope’, or perhaps, in an extended meaning ‘wandering’, which might have to be interpreted as a genitive plural in apposition with Fergus, itself again followed by another genitive plural,

⁵⁰ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 236.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 259.

⁵² Ibid., p. 236.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 229.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 230.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 236.

⁵⁶ DIL, s.v. *fáth*.

⁵⁷ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, pp. 239, 241.

guba, but it is unclear what the exact meaning of the construction would then be, with a translation along the lines of ‘Fergus of the slopes / wanderings of laments’.

A similar case is found in *láthar nglé* (26a), where again it could be argued that *láthar*, originally an *o*-stem neuter which later became *láither*, an *ā*-stem feminine,⁵⁸ is a genitive plural with *Lagen*, which itself is also a genitive plural here. Yet it seems more likely that it is a loose phrase, inserted to fill up the line, which retained the nasalizing function of old neuter words. In the phrase *ráncatar Nás línaib n-áth* (18c), even when *áth* itself is a genitive plural, the initial vowel should not be nasalized after the dative plural *línaib*, although the accusative *Nás* would cause nasalization of the following word.

The use of independent datives, not preceded by a preposition, was very limited in Old Irish prose but more common in poetry and *roscada*. When not used in comparisons or in apposition with personal pronouns or personal endings of verbs, it could function as an adverb.⁵⁹ In early Middle Irish verse, it is still reasonably common, but Breatnach only cites a few phrases from *Saltair na Rann*. The independent dative then disappears in the course of the Middle Irish period. Several instances of independent datives in the plural occur in ‘Mór in gním’: *línaib* (18c), *mílib* (23b), *tólaib* (24c). Since the preposition *dar* is normally followed by an accusative, although it may appear with a dative sporadically in Middle and Modern Irish,⁶⁰ *fáenlargaib* (20d) should probably also be taken as an independent dative.

BL seems to make no distinction between the different cases of *rí* ‘king’, *ríg* being the most commonly used form in all syntactical functions, which could be an indication of the fact that this *g* was no longer pronounced when the BL version of the story was written down and for some reason the spelling with *g* was generalized by this scribe. The form *rí* occurs in BL only four times: twice as a dative after the preposition *do* ‘to’: *do rí Themra* (2d), where LL has the required form *ríg*, and *do rí Conacht* (30d), where the word *rí* does not appear in LL, and twice used correctly as a nominative singular: *do ráid rí Temrach* (17a) and *is ed adubairt rí Breg* (22c). In many other instances where a nominative singular would be needed, however, *ríg* is found as well, as these examples with 3sg verbs show: *is é robo rí* (10bd), *adubairt rí na Temrach* (14b), *adbert rí Crúachna* (15a), and *impáid rí Temrach* (28a). Breatnach observes that in class two of the consonantal stems, of which *rí* ‘king’ is his

⁵⁸ DIL, s.v. *láthar*.

⁵⁹ McCone, ‘An tSean-Ghaeilge agus a réamhstair’, p. 210.

⁶⁰ DIL, s.v. *1 tar, dar*.

example, confusion of nominative *rí* and accusative *ríg* is uncommon, although he does mention the fact that a few examples are found in Harleian manuscript 1802.⁶¹

Pronouns

In Middle Irish, the infixed pronoun generally fulfils the function of an accusative with the verb in question. With the disappearance of the neuter gender during this period, verbal forms including an infixed neuter pronoun gradually acquired the same meaning as their counterparts without a pronoun, upon which the latter often fell out of use. This is also how the infixed pronoun left its trace in the lenition following the verbal particles *ro*, *no*, later *do*, and the negation *ní*, as well as in the form of the negation *nách* and several preverbs such as *at-*. Although infixed pronouns are still found in Middle Irish, they were largely simplified to the extent that the classes A, B, and C fell together and they eventually gave way to the independent pronouns.⁶²

A new development in Middle Irish, however, is the use of independent pronouns as the object of impersonal as well as active verbal forms. Yet no examples of this practice are found in *Saltair na Rann*, which means that it only came into the literary language in the 11th century.⁶³ The instances where both infixed and independent pronoun appear, referring to the same object, are probably partial corrections meant to conform to the older language with infixed pronouns.⁶⁴

Apart from the petrified neuter pronouns in forms such as *adbert*, *atubairt*, *adubairt*, and *atrubairt*, only one infixed pronoun is found in the poem, which would be another sign of its late composition: *ras teclaim* (31b) contains a 3pl object pronoun referring to the kings mentioned in the preceding line. BL has the variant *rodus teglaim*, with the Middle Irish form of this pronoun which ‘entered the literature in the early 10th century’.⁶⁵ As in Old Irish, independent pronouns appear in sentences and phrases without verbs, or with the 3sg form of the copula.⁶⁶ The independent 3sg neuter pronoun *ed* is written out in LL once, in the expression *iss ed* (12b), which appears here with abbreviated *(s)ed* in BL and again in both manuscripts in 22c. The 3sg masculine pronoun occurs twice: *is é ropa/ropo rí* (10bd), and similarly the 3sg feminine pronoun in lines 10bd: *rop hí* (LL), *rob í* (BL).

⁶¹ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 249.

⁶² Ibid., p. 265.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 271.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 272.

⁶⁵ DIL, s.v. *-das-*.

⁶⁶ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 268.

Verbs

The clearest traces of language development and in this case Middle Irish feature are probably found in the variety of verbal forms contained in the poems. Several instances are found of verbs in which the distinction between deuterotonic and prototonic forms was simplified, so that the old prototonic started to be inflected as a simple verb. Breatnach illustrates this by the example *impáid* (28a) from the *Bórama*, which is a 3sg present indicative of *imm-soí*.⁶⁷ A new ending for the 1sg absolute future form is *-t*, of which an example occurs in LL *gébat*, BL *gébad* (15c).⁶⁸

In deuterotonic forms surviving into the Middle Irish period, the first preverb, which is unstressed, is frequently changed and the form with the infix neuter pronoun takes the place of the old form. Thus the original *as-* in *as-beir* became *at-*, which is shown in a number of forms in ‘Mór in gním’: *atubairt* (14b), LL *atubairt*, BL *adbert* (15a), *atrubairt* (16a), or LL *atrubairt*, BL *adubairt* (22c).

Perfect tenses with *ro* appear in the text often, but they have generally lost their perfective meaning and merely denote a preterite tense. For example, there does not seem to be any difference between the forms *atubairt* (14b), LL *atubairt*, BL *adbert* (15a), *atrubairt* (16a), *ro ráid* (17a), or LL *atrubairt*, BL *adubairt* (22c), all of which are used as a narrative past. This perfective *r* was often lost in Middle Irish in forms of *as-beir*.⁶⁹ A number of historical presents are found as well: *ceisid* (5a), LL *rasoich*, BL *doroich* (8a), *comraicit* (13a), *daníat* (13c), *cengait* (21a), *brister* (27a), *marbthair* (27c), *térnaid* (27d), *impáid* (28c), *rainnit* (30b).

Whereas the preverbal particles *no* and *ro*, as well as the negation *ní*, in main clauses did not cause lenition in Old Irish but prefixed *h-* to a vowel,⁷⁰ the first two would lenite in relative clauses and *ro* was also followed by lenition when another particle preceded it, as in *níro* or *coro*. The forms with infix pronoun 3sg neuter, *na*, *ra*, and *ní*, on the other hand, did cause lenition, and when *-a* and *-o* fell together in Middle Irish this mutation was generalized in both main and relative clauses.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, pp. 282-3; cf. DIL, s.v. *imm-soí*.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 317.

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 324-5.

⁷⁰ Cf. GOI, pp. 152-3.

⁷¹ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 278.

When *ro* is not preceded by another particle, *ro* or *ra* is the usual form of this preverbal particle.⁷² The vowel of *ro* may be kept in the cases where it follows another particle, but very often it is lost, which is not necessarily reflected in spelling but can be deduced from the metre. Many examples are found already in *Saltair na Rann*.⁷³ In the course of the Middle Irish period, *do* takes the place of *ro* when not preceded by a conjunct particle, which was presumably not reflected in the literary language for some time after it had already been introduced in the spoken language.⁷⁴

The verb *do-gní* loses its *g* in Middle Irish, as in LL *daníat*, BL *doníad* (13c) and LL *daníther*, BL *donithear* (7a), but shows instances of *-ngn-* in deuterotonic forms as well: *daringned* (L1a),⁷⁵ which is a perfect passive of later language; DIL cites a separate perfect stem *do-ring-* beside *do-rig-*.⁷⁶ Thus what is found in LL corresponds to *dorigned*, which is the BL variant, *dorignead*, with modern spelling of the *a*-glide. This is a perfect in form, but with preterite meaning, as is common in Middle Irish, where *ro* loses its perfective meaning.⁷⁷

Other developments

The change of *ó* to *ú* after an initial *c-* and before a palatalized consonant,⁷⁸ on the other hand, is not generally reflected in the poems either in LL or BL. Of the three words in which this development takes place, only *cóic* ‘five’ appears in ‘Mór in gním’, abbreviated in LL but spelled *cúic* in BL. From the examples in DIL, it would seem that the earlier *cóic* is the more common form in LL. Yet Breatnach draws attention to the fact that at least in two instances, although the historical spelling with *ó* appears, rhyme confirms the fact that it actually stands for *ú* here.⁷⁹ In the present edition, the abbreviation has nevertheless been expanded as *cóic*. *Cóicid* ‘province’ is written with *ó* in LL and BL in both lines where it is found (9d, 24d).

Although words with hiatus, confirmed by the metre, are still common in *Saltair na Rann* and are also found in certain late 10th and early 11th century poems from LL,⁸⁰ they do not seem to appear in the *Bórama* poetry analyzed so far, which might point to a late 11th or

⁷² Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 279.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 279.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 280.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 325.

⁷⁶ DIL, s.v. *do-gní*.

⁷⁷ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 236.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 233.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 233.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 231.

early 12th century date, but this question would require further research into the full corpus of poems contained in the *Bórama*.

The nominative plural form for feminine and neuter, *na*, replaces the masculine *ind*:⁸¹ *na slúaig* (24a). The monosyllabic form *na* is the one normally used in Middle Irish, although the older *inna* still appears as well.⁸² Single *-n* slowly makes its way into the various forms of the definite article; one of the examples given is *tar marbad in fíchet rí*g (LL 38243).⁸³

⁸¹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 258.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

Editorial method

The transcriptions which form the basis for the present edition were made from the digital images of the manuscripts LL and BL which are available at the *Irish Script on Screen* (ISOS) website maintained by the DIAS.⁸⁴

For ‘Mór in gním’, capitalization of the LL text has been normalised according to modern standards, which includes placing capital letters at the beginning of a sentence, usually at the start of a new stanza where capitals are also found in the manuscript in most cases, as well as capitalization of proper and place names. The text from BL which is given in the footnotes is exactly as it appears in the manuscript with respect to capitalization and indication of vowel length, but individual words which were written together in the manuscript have been separated in order to facilitate comparison with LL. Most of the verse lines are separated by dots in both manuscripts, but these are not represented in either the edited text or in the footnotes. Instead, modern punctuation has been applied to the version from LL in the edition. The *n* prefixed to a word by nasalization is separated by a hyphen from words beginning with a vowel, but emphasizing particles, as well as preverbs which form an inherent part of the verb, are left connected to the words to which they belong.

Where a stanza starts with a capital *i*, the following letter is usually capitalized in the manuscript as well: 14a, 22a, LL 28a, BL 15a; these have been normalized in the edition, but not in the footnotes.

Macrons have been placed over those vowels which are expected to be long but whose length is not indicated in the manuscript, which includes marking long vowels followed by an *i*-glide as follows: *ái*, *óí*, etc. The diphthongs *ía*, *úa*, *éo*, *óe/oí* and *áe/aí* have also received a macron in the edition where a length mark was lacking in the manuscript, since there are a number of instances in LL where the scribe applied the same practice: *t(h)úaid* (1c, 25c, 28a), *sráenaib* (4b), *scéoil* (8a), *acbéoil* (8b), *coícaib* (8c), *slúa(i)g* (9ac, 14d, 18a, 24a, 28b), *óenláim* (9b), *crúadi* (14c), *brattúani* (14d), *táet* (17c), *úaib* (17c), *Gúalu* (18b), *fúachda* (18b), *Mag Múagend* (19c), *rúad* (23c), *crúaid* (25c), *úair* (27b), *noí* (29c), *trían* (30d).⁸⁵ Best and O’Brien print *Mor* (1a) with a short vowel, but LL does show a length mark over the *o*, albeit a very thin one. Similarly, they do not give the length mark, although it is clearly visible in the manuscript, on *sé* (12d), *ríg* (13d), *slúraig* (18a), *Gúalu* (18b), *slúraig* (24a), *ind néim* (26c). In *glē* (26a), and *Trīcha* (29a), they do have a length mark where there seems to be

⁸⁴*Irish Script on Screen*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. <<http://www.isos.dias.ie>>

⁸⁵ Cf. GOI, p. 20.

none. Since BL, apart from a few exceptions, contains no length marks whatsoever, words where the only difference with LL consists of their presence or absence are not given as variant readings in the footnotes here.

All abbreviations have been expanded both in the edition and in the footnotes, where they are printed in italics. In the case of word endings or complete words being abbreviated, reference has been made to other places where the same or a similar word occurs, in order to conform to the general spelling system of the manuscript as much as possible when expanding them. Where lenition of stops is marked in the manuscripts, this is shown by an *h* in italics in the edited text. Once, a lenition mark appears over an initial vowel in LL to indicate a prefixed *h* in *na hEmna* (16a). The *punctum delens* over an *s* or *f* is retained as such in the edition. Whenever an *n* is written out in LL which is followed directly by a *g*, a dot is placed over this *n*; no distinction is made between the *n* caused by nasalization and the *n* which is an inherent part of the word: *co ñgail* (10c), *dar Odba ñgnáth* (20b), *fáth ñguba* (21c), *láthar ñglé* (26a) *na llong* (27a).⁸⁶ These dots are printed in the edition as well. The only exception is found in *cengait* (21a). An *n* nasalizing a word starting in a vowel or *d-* does not have such a dot.

Various numerals in LL appear in the Roman notation: *.u.* and *.iiii.* (26b), *xii.* (26c), and *.ui.* (26d). These have been written out as *cóic*, *cethri*, *dá (míle) déc* and *sé* respectively, in accordance with other attestations from this manuscript as they are given in DIL and with the spelling practices observed for this poem in particular. BL has a later form for the first numeral, *cúic*, and *ceitri* for the second one, but since the glide vowel *i* is often left out in LL, and *cethri* as a genitive is found elsewhere in this manuscript, this is also the form which has been included in the edition, for after the Old Irish period, ‘the form *ceithri* is used for all genders and cases’.⁸⁷

The Latin abbreviation *s* with suspension stroke for *sed* has been expanded as such for LL in the phrase *iss ed* (22c), even though it could also stand for *ed* and the *is* was already written out, so that a second *s* would not be necessary here. Yet since BL has only an *i + s* suspension stroke, which would require the *s* to be included in *is ed* as well, double *s* is given for LL to indicate the difference between the two. In line 12c, where LL does not use an abbreviation sign but writes the words out in full, double *s* appears as well: *iss ed*, which is also true for several other places in the prose text of the *Bórama*. BL shows the same abbreviation in both cases in this poem.

⁸⁶ Cf. GOI, p. 24.

⁸⁷ DIL, s.v. *cethair*.

The few additions to the manuscript text or emendations considered necessary to reproduce the Irish as it was probably intended have been added in square brackets. Letters or words which should be omitted for grammatical or other linguistic reasons do not appear in the edition, but are given in a footnote; yet where the reason for their deletion is only metrical in nature, they have been left as they stand in the manuscripts.

In LL, *ae* is sometimes indicated by a hook below the *e* (4b, 5d, 17cd, 20d). In these cases, the *a* has been inserted into the word in the edition without further comment. The same practice has been applied to letters or words which appeared outside the regular lines of the manuscripts, although some remarks on these may be found either in the footnotes or in the textual notes following the poems.

The translation aims to stay as close as possible to the Irish original, but some idioms and expressions have been rendered by a more natural English phrase where a literal translation would not elucidate the meaning of the line; in these cases, the exact wording of the Irish text is discussed in the notes following the edition. For the spelling of personal, tribal and place names, a compromise has been sought between staying true to the forms in which they appear in the manuscripts and the currently common way of spelling them, where there is any standard at all. Anglicization, however, has been kept to a minimum. An index of names based on LL spelling is provided at the end of this study, containing the various forms which occur in the manuscripts, accompanied by further notes on the characters and tribes appearing in the poems, as well as on the geographical names which are mentioned.

Mór in gním

1. Mór in gním daringned¹ sund
mā fūaratar² fir forlund,
dā ingin ríg Temrach túaid³
ropsat mairb⁴ and fri ðenūair.⁵

Great is the crime which was done here
if men obtained domination,
the two daughters of the king of Temair in the
north, they died there at the same time.
2. Eocho mac Echach na n-āth
rānic reme⁶ tech⁷ Temrach;
ropa chlāmain,⁸ ro baí than,
do ríg⁹ Themra, do Thūathal.

Eocho mac Echach of the fords
came to the house of Temair;
he was a son-in-law, once upon a time,
to the king of Temair, to Túathal.
3. Dā ingin ic¹⁰ Tūathal trén:
Fithirt¹¹ is Dáiríne adér,¹²
Dáiríne is Fithirt cen ail,¹³
dā ingin Tūathail Techtmair.

Strong Túathal had two daughters:
Fithir and Dáiríne I will say,
Dáiríne and Fithir without reproach,
the two daughters of Túathal Techtmar.
4. Tucad d'Eochaid Fithirt fínd
i¹⁴ Temraig ós ráenaib¹⁵ rind;
ba¹⁶ roga nūachair cen¹⁷ ach
ingen Tūathail na Temrach.¹⁸

Fair Fithir was given to Eocho
in Temair of the rows of spear points;
the choice of spouse without a doubt
was the daughter of Túathal of Temair.

¹ dorignead

² fa fuaridar

³ temra thuaid

⁴ robo marb

⁵ re henuair

⁶ roime

⁷ superscript, Best and O'Brien: 'by later hand' (p. 1283).

⁸ robo cliamain

⁹ ri

¹⁰ oc

¹¹ fider (consistent throughout)

¹² LL a'tér 'd (cf. note infra)

¹³ oil

¹⁴ a

¹⁵ co srethaib

¹⁶ fa

¹⁷ can

¹⁸ da ingin tuathail temrach

5. Ceisid *in rí*¹⁹ *ar Fithirt find*
- *ropa*²⁰ *gním ēcóir imgrind* -
nó co *tuc Dáríne* *lais*
*anall ō Themraig thāebglais.*²¹ The king despised fair Fithir
- it was an unjust, very fierce deed -
so that he brought Dáríne with him
thither from green-sided Temair.
6. *Mar dorocht*²² *Dáríne dond*²³
- *rop adbol int anforlond* -²⁴
*marb Fithirt de náre de;*²⁵
*marb do chumaid Dāríne.*²⁶ As noble Dáríne arrived,
- great was the plight -
Fithir died of shame from it;
Dáríne died of grief.
7. *Daníther*²⁷ *tanach co trén*
*i tig maic Echach Domlén*²⁸
*d'ingenaib in*²⁹ *ríg co rath,*
*conid de atá Garbthonach.*³⁰ The washing of the dead is done bitterly
in the house of Eochu Domlén's son
to the daughters of the king with grace,
so that it is called Garbthonach from it.
8. *Rasoich*³¹ *Temraig fis in scéoil*³²
- *ropa gním áigsech acbéoil* -³³
trīcha ar trī cóicdaib – ammaig -³⁴
*marba do mnāib dā cumaid.*³⁵ News of the story reaches Temair
- it was a dreadful, harsh deed -
thirty on three times fifty – outside -
of women died of grief for them.

¹⁹ Cesich in rig

²⁰ robo

²¹ anall a temraid rindglais

²² doriacht

²³ donn

²⁴ rob adbal int anforlonn

²⁵ do nairi ar sin

²⁶ marb dairine dia cumaich

²⁷ Donithear

²⁸ doimlen

²⁹ superscript

³⁰ conad de ita in garbthanach

³¹ Doroch

³² na scel

³³ robe in gnim aicsich aicbel

³⁴ .L. amuig

³⁵ LL dó; BL marb i temraid dia cumaich

9. Érgit slúraig Ulad inn áig³⁶
7 a n-ardrí d'óenláim;³⁷
érgit slúraig Temrach³⁸ na tlacht
7 slúraig cóicid Connacht.³⁹
- The hosts of the Ulaid of the battle arose
and their high-king at the same time;
the hosts of Temair of the ornaments arose
and the hosts of the province of the Connachta.
10. Conrach mac Deirg ba⁴⁰ trén smacht,
is é ropa rí Connacht;⁴¹
Fergus⁴² Febail, fáth co ngail:
is é ropo rí d'Ultaib.⁴³
- Conrach mac Deirg who was strong of rule,
he was king of the Connachta;
Fergus Febail, wisdom with valour:
he was king to the Ulaid.
11. Dalta ríg Connacht⁴⁴ na cath
rop hí⁴⁵ Fithirt na prīmrath;
dalta ríg Ulad na n-ech⁴⁶
rop hí⁴⁷ Dáiríne dondgel.⁴⁸
- The fosterling of the king of the Connachta of
the battles was Fithir of the greatest virtues;
the fosterling of the king of the Ulaid of the
horses was noble, fair Dáiríne.
12. Rí⁴⁹ Temrach dá míle déc⁵⁰
iss ed tānic sund⁵¹ ar sét;
sé míle d'Ultaib cen ach,
sé míle do slūag⁵² Connacht.
- The king of Temair of twelve thousand
came here on his way;
six thousand of Ulaid without doubt,
six thousand of the host of Connachta.

³⁶ Ergid slog ulad in aig

³⁷ 7 a nairdrig d'enlaim

³⁸ 7 slog temra

³⁹ 7 slog choicich chonnacht

⁴⁰ derg fa

⁴¹ robo rig conacht

⁴² feargus

⁴³ robo rig ar ultaib

⁴⁴ condacht

⁴⁵ rob i

⁴⁶ nead

⁴⁷ Best and O'Brien: 'h made on n' (p. 1284); rob i

⁴⁸ doindgel

⁴⁹ Rig

⁵⁰ deg

⁵¹ is ed thanic sunn

⁵² rig

13. *Comraicit i Temraig tréin,*⁵³
*immon ngním n-áigsech n-acbéil;*⁵⁴
*danīat comairle*⁵⁵ *co mblad*
*la*⁵⁶ *ríg Temra, la*⁵⁷ *Tūathal.* They met in strong Temair,
on account of the dreadful, harsh deed;
they took counsel with fame
with the king of Temair, with Túathal.
14. ‘*Is ferr lemsa nā cath,*’⁵⁸
*atubairt rí*⁵⁹ *na Temrach,*
‘*ní*⁶⁰ *háil dam cath co crúadi*⁶¹
do slúag Berba brattúani.’⁶² ‘I prefer peace over battle,’
the king of Temair spoke,
‘I do not wish a battle with harshness
against the host of the green-cloaked Berbae.’
15. *Atubairt rí na Crúachna*⁶³
*a aithesc febda fūachda:*⁶⁴
‘*nība*⁶⁵ *coma acht cath mór mer*
gēbat ō rígraid Lagen.’⁶⁶ The king of Crúachu spoke
his excellent, sharp reply:
‘it will not be terms but a great, furious battle
that I will get from the kings of the Laigin.’
16. *Atrubairt rí*⁶⁷ *na hEmna*
*a athesec fūachda febda:*⁶⁸
*connā*⁶⁹ *gēbad acht mad cath*
*ō Lagnib arna bārach.*⁷⁰ The king of Emain spoke
his sharp, excellent reply
that he would not get but a battle
from the Laigin on the morrow.

⁵³ *Comraicid i temraid tren*

⁵⁴ Best and O’Brien: ‘Acbeóil MS, with ó expunged’ (p. 1285); *imon ngnim naicsech naicbeil*

⁵⁵ *doniad comairli*

⁵⁶ *re*

⁵⁷ *re*

⁵⁸ *IS fearr leam sith ina cath*

⁵⁹ *adubairt rig*

⁶⁰ *na*

⁶¹ *cruaide*

⁶² *-úani* superscript, end of line; *bratuaine*

⁶³ *IS and adbert rig cruachna*

⁶⁴ *aithesc fedba firuachda*

⁶⁵ *nifa*

⁶⁶ *gebad o læchraid laigen*

⁶⁷ *Adubairt rig*

⁶⁸ Best and O’Brien: ‘*fuachda* follows *febda* MS., with marks of transposition’ (p. 1285); *int aithesc fuachda feadba*

⁶⁹ *co nach*

⁷⁰ *sin maidin arna marach*

17. Ro⁷¹ rāid rí Temrach cen⁷² tár
athesc allata imlán:⁷³
‘táet cāch úaib ina chomair⁷⁴
fo Lagnib⁷⁵ in lāechdolaid.’
- The blameless king of Temair spoke
a famous, perfect answer:
‘let each of you come forward
against the Laigin of the warrior-damage.’
18. Ro gabsat slúai⁷⁶ na Crúachna
dar Gúalu⁷⁷ - ba⁷⁸ gním fúachda -
ráncatar Nás línaib n-āth⁷⁹
’sin matain arna bárach.⁸⁰
- The hosts of Crúachu proceeded
over Gúalu – it was a keen deed –
they reached Nás with the multitudes of fords
in the morning the next day.
19. Ro gabsat slúai⁸¹ na Temrach⁸¹
dar Grafrend - ba gním febda -⁸²
dar Mag Múagend - líth nād lac -⁸³
dar sruth Rige,⁸⁴ dar Mag Nūadat.
- The hosts of Temair proceeded
over Grafrend – it was an excellent deed –
over Mag Múagend – a success which was not
weak - over the river Rige, over Mag Nūadat.
20. Ro gabsat⁸⁵ slúai⁸⁶ Ulad ré cāch
dar Ésa, dar⁸⁷ Odba ñgnáth,
dar Fichart⁸⁸ cusna fonna,
dar⁸⁹ fāenlargaib Fāendromma.⁹⁰
- The hosts of the Ulaid proceeded before
everyone over Ésa, over well-known Odba,
over Fichart with the foundations,
over Fáendruim with the outstretched hillsides.

⁷¹ Do

⁷² can

⁷³ briathar allita imslan

⁷⁴ na comair

⁷⁵ co laigniú

⁷⁶ Do gobsad sluag

⁷⁷ the *a* is illegible; *guala*

⁷⁸ fa

⁷⁹ rancadar nas linib cath

⁸⁰ sa maitin arna marach

⁸¹ Do gobsad sluag na temra

⁸² tar grafann fa gnim feadba

⁸³ tar mag muaigend gnim nar lag

⁸⁴ dar rigi

⁸⁵ Best and O’Brien: ‘with ref. marks to *Ro gabsat supra*’ (p. 1286)

⁸⁶ Do gob sluag

⁸⁷ dolodar tar

⁸⁸ fichirt

⁸⁹ tar

⁹⁰ final *a* subscript, end of line; *fændroma*

21. Cengait Lagin ina ndāil⁹¹
fo⁹² *chomrepind*, fo *chombáig*,⁹³
coro *thuitt* Fergus - fāth⁹⁴ ṅguba -
*arin leirg*⁹⁵ ós *Lethduma*.
- The Laigin proceeded to meet them
under mutual tearing, under mutual contending,
until Fergus fell – the cause of lamentations -
on the battlefield above Lethduim.
22. *Innister* do rí^g Themra⁹⁶
mar dorochair rí⁹⁷ Emna;
*iss ed atrubairt*⁹⁸ rí Breg:
‘is ascult rí^g a muntir.’
- It was told to the king of Temair
as the king of Emain fell;
this is what the king of the Brega spoke:
‘it is scarcity of a king for his people.’
23. *Loiscther*⁹⁹ Nás is Ailend¹⁰⁰ án;
loscther Maistiu¹⁰¹ mīlib dāl;
loscther Róiriu ba¹⁰² rúad d’fúil
7 mūrther Barc Bresail.¹⁰³
- Nás and splendid Ailend were burned;
Maistiu with thousands of tribes was burned;
Róiriu which was red of blood was burned
and Barc Bresail was destroyed.
24. *Gabsatar*¹⁰⁴ na slúraig iar sain¹⁰⁵
co ráncatar Ráith Immil,¹⁰⁶
slúraig¹⁰⁷ na Temra tōlaib tlacht
7 slúraig cóicid *Connacht*.¹⁰⁸
- The hosts proceeded after that
until they reached Ráith Immil,
the hosts of Temair with abundance of ornaments
and the hosts of the province of the Connachta.

⁹¹ Ceangait laigin erim naig

⁹² LL fó

⁹³ Best and O’Brien: ‘*b* made on *n*’ (p. 1286); fa comergi fa chombaig

⁹⁴ cor *thoit fergus* fan

⁹⁵ lerg

⁹⁶ INdister do rig temra

⁹⁷ mar adrochair rig

⁹⁸ is *ed adubairt*

⁹⁹ Loiscthear

¹⁰⁰ aillenn

¹⁰¹ loiscter maisten

¹⁰² loiscter rairiu fa

¹⁰³ 7 murthar bairc breasail

¹⁰⁴ Do gobsad

¹⁰⁵ sin

¹⁰⁶ co rancadar raith imil

¹⁰⁷ slog

¹⁰⁸ 7 slog choicid chonnacht

25. Ceṅgait Lagin¹⁰⁹ ina ndáil,
da¹¹⁰ ríḡ Temra, ba¹¹¹ trénbáig,
coro fersatar¹¹² cath crúaid
ra Ráith nImmil anairtúaid.¹¹³
- The Laigin proceeded to meet them,
to the king of Temair, it was strong contending,
until they waged a hard battle
before Ráith Immil from the northeast.
26. Tinól Lagen¹¹⁴ - lāthar ṅglē -
cōic mīle is cethri mīle,¹¹⁵
dā mīle dēc - mór ind neim -¹¹⁶
is sē mīle 'na n-aigid.¹¹⁷
- The assembly of the Laigin - a clear arrangement
- five thousand and four thousand,
twelve thousand – great the virulence –
and six thousand against them.
27. Brister ar Laignib na llong¹¹⁸
úair fūaratar ēcomlond;¹¹⁹
marbthair rí Lagen 'sin chath¹²⁰
7 térnaid rī¹²¹ Temrach.
- The Laigin of the ships were defeated
for the odds were against them;
the king of the Laigin was killed in the battle
and the king of Temair escaped.
28. Impáid rí¹²² Temrach fa thúaid¹²³
co rīacht Temraig in tromslúaig;¹²⁴
īar marbad in fīchet¹²⁵ ríḡ,
ruc leis éraic cen imsním.¹²⁶
- The king of Temair returned to the north
until he reached Temair of the heavy host;
after the twenty kings had been killed,
he took with him an éraic without trouble.

¹⁰⁹ Ceṅgait laigin

¹¹⁰ do

¹¹¹ fa

¹¹² fersadar

¹¹³ last *a* subscript; re raith imil anairtúaid

¹¹⁴ laigen

¹¹⁵ cuic mile is ceitri mile

¹¹⁶ LL néim; da mili deg mor a nem

¹¹⁷ 7 se mile ar slegaib

¹¹⁸ long

¹¹⁹ o fuaridar anborlond

¹²⁰ marbthar rig laigen sa cath

¹²¹ 7 terna rig

¹²² rig

¹²³ fo thúaid

¹²⁴ temaír in trowsloig

¹²⁵ trichaid

¹²⁶ ruc les eric cen imsním

29. *Trīcha* bó findfērgga¹²⁷
 - bat *imlána*, óidergga -¹²⁸
 nóí míle¹²⁹ bó do rí Breg
 i n-ēraicc¹³⁰ a dā ingen.
30. A *trīan* isin Temuir¹³¹ *truim*
 - is *amlaid* rainnit¹³² Leth Cuind -
 a *trīan* i nEmain cen acht,
 a *trīan* i Crūachain Connacht.¹³³
31. Mór de¹³⁴ rígaib tīar 7 tair¹³⁵
 ras¹³⁶ teclaim co Temraig¹³⁷
 int seachtmad¹³⁸ blīadain - ba¹³⁹ brón -
 is and *berair in chāin*¹⁴⁰ mór.
 M.
- Thirty white-angry cows
 - they were perfect, red-eared -
 nine thousand cows to the king of the Brega
 as the *éraic* of his two daughters.
- A third of it into heavy Temair
 - it is thus that they divided Leth Cuind -
 a third of it into Emain without doubt,
 a third of it into Crúachu of the Connachta.
- Many kings of west and east
 he gathered to Temair
 the seventh year – it was sorrow –
 it is then the great law was brought.

¹²⁷ findfearrda
¹²⁸ fa Inmlana oderga
¹²⁹ nai mili
¹³⁰ a neraic
¹³¹ do ri temra
¹³² rainnid
¹³³ is a trian do ri conacht
¹³⁴ do
¹³⁵ is toir
¹³⁶ rodus
¹³⁷ teclaim co temraid
¹³⁸ in seachtmad
¹³⁹ cen
¹⁴⁰ bearar in cain

Notes

1a: *Mór in gním*. The connotations of the word *mór* ‘great’, usually seem to be positive, yet the phrase as such in the poem here is not meant to describe a praiseworthy as much as a lamentable deed. It is *gním* for which DIL gives the possible meanings ‘wicked deed, crime’ and cites other places where this word, or indeed the whole expression, is connected to killing.¹ Binchy, in his discussion of a *rosc* passage in which the word *mórgnimo* occurs, notes that ‘*gním mór* is used of a tragic or violent action in the Annals as well as in poetry; cf. the cheville *mór (in) gním* ‘dire the deed’’.² Finn mac Cumail, who is supposed to have been the composer of this poem, appears in other traditions as Finn Fili as well and ‘is even more distinguished as a poet and seer (*fili*) than as a warrior.’³ Interestingly, the fourth quatrain from a poem by Finn contained in AS also features this characteristic phrase: *As mor an gním damsa*.⁴ Besides this, the first line of a verse from *Fingal Rónáin*, *Is mór bríg*, is found in Rawl. B 502 as *Is mór gním*.⁵

1a: *sund*. This word, which later became *sun*,⁶ still retains the *-nd* in both manuscripts, but not in 12b, where BL has *sun*. However, as Breatnach points out, double *n* could be spelled *nd* as well as *nn* in Middle Irish,⁷ which reduces the significance of examples like these. This is shown in *forlund* (1b) and LL *anforlund*, BL *anforlonn* (6b), which do not seem to have an original *-nd*, but are nevertheless also found with this spelling elsewhere.⁸

1b: *má fúaratar*. *Fúaratar* is the preterite 3pl of *fo-gaib*.⁹

1b: *forlund*. *Forlann*, *-lonn* (< *for* + *lán*), ‘superiority in strength or numbers’, but also ‘in wider sense unfair domination, oppression, ill-treatment’.¹⁰

1c: *dá ingin*. A dual form of *ingen* (ā,f) is found here, and also in 3ad, after the numeral *dá*.¹¹ In the course of Middle Irish, the nominative/accusative masculine form of the numeral ‘two’, *dá*, became generalized, although the nominative/accusative feminine *dí* may still occur here and there. Yet in this poem, as well as in ‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’, the form is always *dá* and

¹ Cf. DIL, s.v. *1 gním*.

² Daniel A. Binchy, ‘Varia Hibernica 1. The so-called ‘rhetorics’ of Irish saga’, *Indo-Celtica: Gedächtnisschrift für Alf Sommerfelt* (München 1972), p. 35, n. 4.

³ EIHM, p. 275, n. 5.

⁴ Stokes and Windisch, *Irische Texte* 4.1, p. 30.

⁵ David Greene (ed.), *Fingal Rónáin and other stories* (Dublin 1955), pp. 11-12.

⁶ DIL, s.v. *sund*.

⁷ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 238.

⁸ DIL, s.v. *forlann*, *-lonn*, *anforlann*.

⁹ DIL, s.v. *fo-gaib*, *fo-geib*.

¹⁰ DIL, s.v. *forlann*, *-lonn*.

¹¹ DIL, s.v. *1 ingen*.

Breatnach does not give examples of *dí* for the *Bórama* either.¹² Cf. 29d: *a dá ingen* (genitive dual). When a possessive pronoun 3sg precedes *dá*, its normal mutation follows the numeral. With other possessives, the pronoun may follow *adá*, which for the 1sg would give *adám*, but sometimes it is found twice, as in *bás mo dám ingen* (LL 37675).¹³

1c: *Temrach túaid*. *Temair* was an original *i*-stem, with genitive *Temro*, which became a *k*-stem later. *Temra* is the earlier form. Initial consonants of prepositions, prepositional pronouns and adverbs are often lenited in Middle Irish, of which the BL form bears witness, but unlenited forms such as *túaid*, *túar* and *tair* are still found as well.¹⁴ The phrase *Temrach túaid* also appears at the end of a line in other verses, where it rhymes with a preceding or following line.¹⁵

1d: *ropsat mairb*. For adjectives of the *o/ā*-stems used as substantives, the old masculine form with palatalized ending was kept in use in the nominative plural, but in attributive or predicative function a form identical to the nominative plural feminine, with non-palatalized final consonant(s) + *-a* replaced this older one. Breatnach gives a few examples of the old form as found in *Saltair na Rann* and LL, and draws special attention to two lines from the *Bórama*, where this is even used predicatively to refer to a feminine plural subject: *ropsat mairb na hingena* (LL 38130) and *ropsat mairb and* (LL 38136).¹⁶ The singular form in BL, *robo marb*, on the other hand, is a late Middle Irish development, whereby the singular form of the copula is used with both singular and plural predicates.¹⁷

1d: *fri óenúair*. The phrase ‘at the same time’ is often alternatively expressed as *i n-óenúair*. In Middle Irish, *fri* is replaced by *re/ri*, as in BL *re hénúair*, where the *h*-prefix after *fri*, characteristic of later spelling, is also shown. BL here has a long *é* in the first syllable of the compound, while LL retains the *óe*. However, the latter manuscript also contains evidence of the diphthongs *áe/aí*, *óe/oí* developing into long vowels in the Middle Irish period, such as *énrand* ‘one verse’ and *éiner* ‘a specific man’, which also contain the element *óen-* ‘one, single’.¹⁸

2a: *na n-áth*. The phrase which appears in the manuscripts as *nanath*, probably only there to fill the line, could be interpreted in two different ways. The word *nath*, with a genitive plural

¹² Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 260.

¹³ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 260; cf. Osborn Bergin, ‘Varia II’, *Ériu* 11 (1932), pp. 146-8.

¹⁴ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 238.

¹⁵ Cf. EIM, p. 49.

¹⁶ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 253.

¹⁷ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 332.

¹⁸ Cf. Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 233.

of the same form, according to DIL of ‘doubtful’ gender and declension, refers to a ‘poetical composition’ of some kind.¹⁹ Yet the most plausible one in terms of meaning is probably to take it as a form of the word *áth* ‘ford’, were it not for the fact that this is a *u*-stem and would therefore be expected to have a genitive plural in *-(a)e*.²⁰ However, as Thurneysen observes, ‘[t]hose *u*-stems in which *u*-quality had either always been absent in the final consonant or had gradually yielded to neutral quality were identical with the *o*-stems in all cases of the singular except the gen.; in the acc. dat. pl. the two declensions had already fallen together much earlier’, for which reason it is not entirely surprising to find a genitive plural identical to the nominative singular.²¹ This is strengthened by Breatnach’s remark that the genitive plural for *u*-stems is generally the same as the nominative singular, except in petrified expressions.²² The example from a later poem, *dá mealltaói ar áoi n-annsa, / na háith oram-sa* ‘if through softness of heart the fords were forced against me’,²³ showing a nominative/accusative plural with a slenderized final consonant, would also support this idea of the declensions falling together. In addition to this, it is possible that the trace of a length mark is still visible in LL, although it appears to have been scratched out or to have become very faint for other reasons. The word *áth* reappears in *línaib n-áth* (18c), without a length mark in LL, but BL has *línib cath* in this case. In both these verse lines, however, the following line ends in a syllable containing a short vowel: *Temrach* (2b) and *bárach* (18d), which would be a good reason to assume (*n*)*ath* should have a short vowel as well.

2b: *ránic reme*. In Middle Irish, the preposition *ré* with reflexive pronoun is commonly used with verbs of motion in the sense of ‘on, forwards’, here found in 3sg m.

2c: *ropa chlíamain*. Breatnach mentions this phrase in a long list of examples where a form of the copula is followed by lenition, but does not comment on it further.²⁴

3b: *Fithirt is Dáiríne*. The name of the first daughter, spelled Fithirt in LL, is consistently rendered Fider in BL. Dáiríne appears with the *i*-glide only in this line in LL, but BL always writes this vowel.

3b: *adér*. Best and O’Brien give the manuscript reading *atér*, but fail to recognize the correction following the word, indicating that the *t* should be a *d*. Instead, they take the faint *d*

¹⁹ DIL, s.v. *nath*.

²⁰ Cf. GOI pp. 194-9.

²¹ Ibid., p. 196.

²² Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, pp. 245-6.

²³ DIL, s.v. *ath*.

²⁴ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 237.

to be a punctuation mark and add a footnote: ‘*sic, for adér*’.²⁵ It is a later 1sg fut. form of *as-beir*,²⁶ which lost its *b* after another consonant.²⁷

3c: *cen ail*. The phrase is given in DIL as a cheville.²⁸

4a: *Tucad*. This is a perfective form, passive 3sg, of *do-beir*, from the stem *to-ucc-* ‘brings’,²⁹ but a translation ‘was given’ might be better here.

4b: *ós ráenaib rind*. DIL suggests ‘rows of spear-points (?)’ for *os raenaib rind*,³⁰ lit.

‘ways/paths of points’. *Sraen*: ‘defeating, routing’, = *róen*, most commonly in senses (c) and (d), these being ‘(the way of) rout, flight; defeat’.³¹ Yet there is also an example where a compound of *sraen* has a more general meaning: *sráide agas sraoin-shlighte* ‘streets and cross ways’.³² Furthermore, *róen* itself can mean ‘way, path, route’, or be ‘used loosely of surfaces, spaces and in other derived senses’. In addition to this line from the *Bórama*, three other instances are cited where the word occurs with the preposition *ó(s)*: *mor d’eniuch dorigne os raen*, ZCP viii 272.12 (= on the earth, while alive?); *compert Mugain . . . os róen ruamach ré / in nÁed sáer sluagach Sláné*, LU 4325 = LL 145 b 45 (SG 84.40); *os róen na ndrúad find`* ‘above the ranks of the noble druids’, Met. Dinds. iii 230.67. BL’s reading *co srethaib*, with *sreth* ‘row, line, etc.’,³³ implies a meaning more similar to those given for *róen* earlier.

4c: *cen ach*. BL has the later form *can* (cf. also 17a),³⁴ both manuscripts have *cen* in 3c, 12c. Although *uch*, *och*, *ach* exists as an ‘exclamation generally denoting woe’ which can also be used substantively ‘lamentation, sigh, groan’,³⁵ what is meant here is probably the cheville *cen acht*, ‘without doubt’,³⁶ where the *t* is left out in order to ensure rhyme with *Temrach* in the following line. In 30c, the expression is indeed *cen acht*, where it has to rhyme with *Connacht* in the next line. But cf. 12c, where *cen ach* is supposed to rhyme with *Connacht* as well.

²⁵ Best and O’Brien, *The Book of Leinster*, vol. 5, p. 1283; cf. Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 324.

²⁶ DIL, s.v. *as-beir*.

²⁷ Cf. Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 324.

²⁸ DIL, s.v. *2 ail*.

²⁹ DIL, s.v. *do-beir*.

³⁰ DIL, s.v. *róen (ráen)*.

³¹ DIL, s.v. *sraen (=róen)*.

³² Eugene Curry (ed.), *Cath Mhuighe Léana, or The Battle of Magh Leana* (Dublin 1855), pp. 76-7.

³³ DIL, s.v. *sreth*.

³⁴ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 326.

³⁵ DIL, s.v. *uch, och, ach*.

³⁶ DIL, s.v. *4 acht*.

4d: *ingen Tuathail na Temrach*. BL repeats the phrase *dá ingen* which occurred several times before this, referring to both Fithir and Dáiríne, but since this stanza is mainly about the eldest daughter, the first to be given away in marriage, the reading of LL is preferable here and also fits better with the 3sg construction *ba roga núachair*.

5a: *Ceisid*. The verb *ceisid* ‘complains, grumbles’, appears as a rule with the preposition *for* (*ar*), in this case *ar*.³⁷

5b: *imgrind*. *Imm* can be ‘used as an intensive prefix. Rare in Old Irish. Becomes very common in Early Modern Irish. Sometimes appears to add little or nothing to the meaning of the word. It is used with (...) adjectives, (...) nouns, and (...) verbs’.³⁸ *Grind* generally seems to have positive connotations: ‘accurate, diligent; pleasant; swift’, but DIL also tentatively proposes meanings such as ‘strong, vigorous, fierce (?)’, supported by a small number of uncertain examples. Since the first set does not suit this context well, *imgrind* may here be assumed to mean ‘very strong, very fierce’ as in DIL’s two examples under this heading, one of which comes from O’Grady’s edition of the *Bórama*.³⁹

5c: *nó co tuc*. DIL, for *no co* ‘unless, until’, notes that the ‘original form is *na > no*, but examples of *nó* occur fairly early’ referring to *Lebor na hUidre* (twelfth century);⁴⁰ *Breatnach* would also ascribe this development of *nó* to the Middle Irish period.⁴¹

5d: *ó Themraig tháebglais*. BL chooses a different preposition, *a* ‘from, out of’, and a different adjective, *rindglais*, again linking back to the word *rind* ‘point; end, top’ already used before, but losing the alliteration of the phrase.⁴²

6a: *dorocht*. 3sg pret. of *do-roich*, later form *doríacht*.⁴³

6a: *dond*. It seems as if the scribe placed an abbreviation stroke above the *n* initially, but then decided to turn it into a *d* at the end of the word. Although DIL has an entry for the noun *donn* ‘chief, noble, ruler (poetic)’ separate from the adjective *donn* ‘dun, brown, etc.’,⁴⁴ the word is more rarely attested as an adjective ‘princely, noble (?)’.⁴⁵

³⁷ DIL, s.v. *1 ceisid*.

³⁸ DIL, s.v. *2 imm*.

³⁹ DIL, s.v. *grind*.

⁴⁰ DIL, s.v. *no co* (*na co, nó co*).

⁴¹ *Breatnach*, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 281.

⁴² Another poem uses the alliterating construction *Temair tóebglan* (CGH, p. 23).

⁴³ DIL, s.v. *do-roich*.

⁴⁴ DIL, s.v. *1 donn*.

⁴⁵ DIL, s.v. *2 donn*.

6b: *int anforlond*. Here, a strengthened form of *forlann* ‘superiority in strength or numbers, odds’ (1b) is found: *anforlann* ‘great superiority in numbers, over-whelming odds’.⁴⁶

6cd: *marb Fithirt de náire de; / marb do chumaid Dáirine*. (BL: *marb Fider do náiri ar sin / marb Dáiríne día cumaich*.) According to DIL, ‘*de* [is] very rare in Old Irish; *di* [is the] usual Old and Middle Irish writing’. *Do chumaid* (LL) and *do náiri* (BL) may be examples of the ‘confusion of *di* and *do* in proclisis’ which ‘dates back to the Cambr. and the Wb glosses’ (DIL), but on the whole the preposition in *día cumaich* (BL) seems to be more commonly used in this expression. Nevertheless, this does not alter the fact that even though the heptasyllabic line is preserved in the BL version, albeit with elision of certain vowels, the endrhyme between these two lines has disappeared as a result of the reordering of the words, while a parallelism is created at the beginning: *marb Fider... / marb Dáiríne...*

7a: *daníther*. Pass pres sg *do-gní: dogníther*.

7a: *co trén*. The adjective *trén* ‘strong’, used adverbally with *co*, here assumes a negative connotation. One of DIL’s examples is translated as ‘bitterly’,⁴⁷ which comes close to what is meant here. Where in Old Irish the dative singular neuter could be used with adverbial function, it was even then already giving way to the construction *co* + accusative, which is the most common way of creating an adverb in Middle Irish, although remnants of the Old Irish practice still occur.⁴⁸

7d: *conid de atá Garbthonach*. As Müller explains, the ‘preposition *de* ‘of, from’ in what can be described as a causal function occurs, in the narrative material, most often in the fixed phrase *is de atá*’.⁴⁹ The connection of the placename, ‘rough washing’, with the burial of the two daughters does not become fully clear by this stanza, which only mentions the fact that it should be done *co trén*, ‘bitterly’. Yet it receives further explanation in a prose passage at the beginning of the *Bórama*, where people are reported to have said: *is garb in tonach-sa*, ‘rough is this washing’.⁵⁰

8a: *Rasoich*. In Middle Irish, the present 3sg, originally *rosaig*, becomes *rosoich* under the influence from the enclitic stem *roich*-.⁵¹ The form in BL, *doroich* (*to-ro-saig-), is not found

⁴⁶ DIL, s.v. *anforlann*.

⁴⁷ DIL, s.v. *trén*.

⁴⁸ Cf. McCone, ‘An tSean-Ghaeilge agus a réamhstair’, p. 122; Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 263.

⁴⁹ Nicole Müller, *Agents in Early Welsh and Early Irish* (Oxford 1999), p. 175.

⁵⁰ Stokes, ‘The Borama’, pp. 38-9.

⁵¹ DIL, s.v. *ro-saig*.

in Old Irish glosses;⁵² which shows that is a later formation than the one from LL. Cf. 6a, where both manuscripts have a form of *doroich*.

8a: *in scéoil*. The old gen sg *scéuil* became *sceoil* in Middle and Modern Irish;⁵³ BL has a genitive plural: *na scél*.

8b: *ropa gním áigsech acbéoil*. There are various adjectives with slightly different spellings and corresponding meanings similar to the last word. It can be found under *aichéil* in DIL, which sometimes appears as *aichbéil*, but the ending *-éoil* does not seem to occur elsewhere. On the other hand, a form of the less frequently attested *aidbéil*, ‘in the sense of *aicbéil*, ‘fierce’’, does show this ending: *do thogaibh a ghuth nard naibheoil* (RC xv 63.4). In BL’s reading of the line, *robe in gním áicsich aicbéil*, the final adjective has its more common ending, rhyming with *scél* in the preceding line. Cf. 13b. Breatnach notes that rhyme in other examples from LL seems to show that *éo* had, if not a single long vowel, at least become a rising diphthong,⁵⁴ which suggests that this is probably a conservative spelling.

8cd: *trícha ar trí coícaib – ammaig - / marba do mnáib dá cumaid*. With higher numerals followed by a noun, the construction found is often: independent numeral + *do* + noun (dative).⁵⁵ This is also the case in *sé míle d’Ultaib* (12c) and *sé míle do slúag Connacht* (12d). In the last instance however, BL has *do ríge Connacht*, which does not allow this use of the preposition. Although a word *ammaig* (BL *amuig*) ‘from outside, in (with implication of motion)’ exists,⁵⁶ it is noted that this is often confused with *immaig* ‘outside’, which appears in Middle Irish as *ammaig*, Modern Irish *amuigh*.⁵⁷ Since the word virtually stands on its own in the verse here, its exact connotation is hard to deduce, but it seems most likely that it is to be taken as *immaig* ‘outside’. The verb *marbaid* ‘kills’ only exceptionally has an intransitive function in the sense of ‘dies, is killed’ and DIL cites but one example of this usage from the *Book of Lismore*.⁵⁸ This is therefore an instance of the adjective *marb* ‘dead’ in the copula construction *is marb...*, ‘as periphrasis for the verb ‘to die’’, here with ellipsis of the copula;⁵⁹ a similar example with the plural adjective occurs in *Fingal Rónáin: marba iarum a triur* ‘(the) three then died’.⁶⁰ Cf. 6cd where singular forms are used for the two sisters separately.

⁵² DIL, s.v. *do-roich*.

⁵³ DIL s.v. *scél*; cf. GOI, pp. 44-5.

⁵⁴ Cf. Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 233.

⁵⁵ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 262.

⁵⁶ DIL, s.v. *ammaig*.

⁵⁷ DIL, s.v. *immaig*; Cf. M.A. O’Brien, ‘Short notes’, *Celtica* 4 (1958), p. 100.

⁵⁸ DIL, s.v. *marbaid*.

⁵⁹ DIL, s.v. *marb*.

⁶⁰ Greene, *Fingal Rónáin*, p. 8.

9a: *Érgit slúaiḡ Ulad*. Another verb which was based on the prototonic stem of a compound verb, *éirgid* ‘rises, stands up’ comes from *at-reig*, whose inflected forms always contained an infix pronoun ‘agreeing in number, person and gender with subject in meaning ‘rises’ (often also ‘rises and goes, goes’)’. While the form is plural in LL, BL has the 3sg in *érgid slóg Ulad*.

9b: *7 a n-ardrí d’óenláim*. DIL gives ‘together, unanimously’ for *d’óenláim*. BL: *7 a nairdríg d’énláim*. If one king is referred to, ‘at the same time’ may be a better translation, but if more kings are in question here, ‘together’ would fit as well.

12a: *dá míle déc*. DIL notes that the dual/plural form *míle* was used with numerals in the time of the glosses and gives an example from Wb.: *di míli déec*, with the feminine form of the numeral, but after that *míle* was used both in singular and in plural constructions.⁶¹ Where the form is not abbreviated to a simple *m*-stroke, LL has *míle* (12acd, 29c), but although BL has *dá míle dég* and *sé míle* in 12acd as well, and *cúic míle*, *ceitri míle* and *sé míle* in 26bd, this manuscript also contains the forms *dá míli dég* (26c) and *naí míli* (29c).

12b: *iss ed tánic sund*. Mac Cana, in his study on the accusative of destination, also discusses ‘the use of the neuter pronoun *ed* after the copula before a verb of motion’, where ‘it seems simplest to take *ed* as an accusative to the following relative verb. This would probably hold also for the familiar syntagm in which *ed* is used proleptically before a verb of motion with reference to a following route or destination’,⁶² which in this case would be the adverb *sund*. The same construction, but with a different kind of verb, already containing a petrified infix pronoun, is found in *iss ed atrubairt rí Breg* (22c).

13a: *Comraicit*. For this verb, ‘[d]euterotonic and prototonic forms influence each other in preterite and perfect, and present indicative 3sg prototonic *-comraic* tends to spread as general stem (e.g. *-comraicet* for *-comaircet* with syncope and secondary vowel)’.⁶³

14a: *Is ferr lemsa ná cath*. LL here is one syllable short of the heptasyllabic standard, whereas BL has the correct number of syllables. There, the line appears as *Is fearr leam síth ina cath*, with the addition of the word *síd*, *síth* ‘peace’. Taking *ina cath* as a genitive plural, ‘the peace

⁶¹ DIL, s.v. *míle*.

⁶² Mac Cana, ‘On the accusative of destination’, *Ériu* 41 (1990), p. 35.

⁶³ DIL, s.v. *conrice* (recte *conrice*).

of the battles’ does not seem very attractive, and the best line in this case would be a combination of both: *Is ferr lemsa síth ná cath* ‘I prefer peace over battle’.

14b: *atubairt*. BL: *adubairt*. Both are later forms of the pret 3sg of *as-beir*, as well as *Atrubairt*, with the originally perfective *-ro-*, in 16a, where BL still has *Adubairt*.

14c: *ní háil dam*. This expression for ‘I do not wish’ is rendered *ná háil dam* in BL, but the negation *ná* does not fit well into this context.

14d: *do slúag*. Literally ‘to the host’, but here it is perhaps used in the sense of ‘(a battle) against the host’.

15a: *Atubairt rí na Crúachna*. BL, *Is and adbert rí Crúachna*, preserves the original t-pret form *adbert*.

15b: *febda*. BL spells *fe(a)dba* here as well as in 16b and 19b, but since no such word exists and the adjective is based on the noun *feb* ‘excellence’, LL provides the better reading.

15d: *gébat*. *Gaibid* future 1sg.

15d: *rígraid*. BL has *láechraid* ‘warriors’ instead, which may be preferable in this line, perhaps not on account of the meaning, but for alliterative purposes: *láechraid Laigen*.

16b: *a athesec fúachda febda*. LL appears to have a stray *e* in *athesec*, which Best and O’Brien leave out of their edition.⁶⁴ Yet it may have been put in there to complete the heptasyllabic line, if the first *a* is to be elided with the initial syllable of *athesec*. This, however, would then also have to be true for 15b: *a aithesc febda fúachda*, in which no extra syllable appears. BL solved the problem by making a slight change to the final adjective in 15b: *aithesc fedba fírúachda*, adding *fír* ‘true’ as an intensifying prefix and inserting the definite article in 16b: *int aithesc fúachda feadba*.

16d: *ó Lagnib arna bárach*. DIL explains the construction as follows: ‘(í)ar(n)a (= prep. *ar* or *iar* + poss. pron. 3s.) *bárach* ‘the next day, on the morrow’.⁶⁵ Although the variant from BL, ‘*sin maidin arna márach* ‘in the morning of the following day’, may appear to use an abundance of words for a simple indication of time, it is likely that in this case again the phrasing was motivated by metrical considerations. Since the *m* in *maidin* would be lenited by the definite article in the dative case and lenition of the *b* in *bárach*, in this case written as *m*, is expected after the possessive pronoun 3sg and is indeed indicated in spelling in the later

⁶⁴ Best and O’Brien, *The Book of Leinster*, vol. 5, p. 1285.

⁶⁵ DIL, s.v. *bárach*; cf. Anders Ahlqvist, ‘Old Irish *imbúaruch* ‘this morning’, *imbárach* ‘tomorrow morning’’, *Celtica* 12 (1977), pp. 108-12.

sources cited by DIL, they may be considered to alliterate. Generally speaking, however, alliteration was not dependent on the consonant mutations, but instead a lenited or nasalized consonant still alliterated with its unmutated counterpart, which may have been the reason why *bárach* is spelled as *márach* in BL, to give the impression of alliteration despite the fact that it was a *b* originally. Cf. 18d: LL ‘*sin matain arna bárach*, BL *sa maitin arna márach*.’

17a: *Ro ráid*. The later form of the perfective preverb, *do*, is found in BL. Yet even though LL preserves the *ro*, both manuscripts have the Middle Irish perfect form *ro ráid*, with preterite meaning, rather than the older pret. *ráidis*, perf. *ro ráidi*.

17b: *athesc allata imlán*. About *allata*, DIL notes: ‘lit. ‘famous, renowned’, but often in vaguer sense in groups of alliterating adjectives’.⁶⁶ The context here is clearly one of alliteration, but the accumulation of superlative descriptions surrounding the king of Tara in this quatrain, including *cen tár*, *allata* and *imlán*, would suggest that this praise of Túathal Techtmar was genuine.

17cd: *táet cách úaib ina chomair / fo Lagnib. Do-tét*, imp 3sg *táet*. *Comair* ‘in front of’,⁶⁷ preceded by the preposition *i*ⁿ + poss. pron. 3sg ‘in his’, probably with reflexive meaning in connection with *táet*, imperative 3sg of *do-tét*,⁶⁸ ‘let all come in front of himself’, therefore ‘let all come forward’. In combination with the preposition *fo* ‘under’, then, the sentence assumes the more specific meaning ‘attack’. BL here has the preposition *co* ‘to’.

17d: *in láechdolaid*. The word is not contained in DIL as a separate headword, but this example can be found under *dolud*, *dolaid* ‘distress, loss, damage, havoc’,⁶⁹ compounded with *láech* ‘warrior’.⁷⁰

18b: *dar Gúalu*. About the preposition, DIL remarks: ‘The proclitic form *dar* is frequent in O.Ir. beside *tar*. It occurs also in Mid.Ir. (...) In Wb the more frequent form is *dar*. From MI on *tar* is the more frequent, but *dar* is the only form in SR.’⁷¹ Despite the fact that the dominant form of the preposition ‘over’ seems to be *tar* from an early period onwards, both manuscripts here have *dar* with voiced initial consonant. Whereas LL continues to make use

⁶⁶ DIL, s.v. *allata* (-ae).

⁶⁷ DIL, s.v. *comair*.

⁶⁸ DIL, s.v. *do-tét*.

⁶⁹ DIL, s.v. *dolud*, *dolaid*.

⁷⁰ DIL, s.v. *láech*.

⁷¹ DIL, s.v. *tar*, *dar*; cf. GOI, pp. 530-1.

of *dar* in the following quatrains, the spelling in BL shows more variation: *dar* in 19d (twice) and 20c, but *tar* in 19bc and 20bd. *Gúala* ‘shoulder, slope (of a hill)’.⁷²

18b: *ba gním fúachda*. The meaning of the adjective is unclear, but according to DIL ‘the lit. meaning may be ‘sharp, keen, acute’; used fig. of persons and things both in favourable sense and the reverse’.

18c: *línaiþ n-áth*. BL *línib cath*. In DIL, the phrase *lín catha* is assigned the meaning ‘enough to give battle’.⁷³

19a: *slúaiþ na Temrach*. The genitive *Temra* would be required in order to ensure rhyme with *febda* in the following line, but where BL indeed has *Temra*, an abbreviation stroke has been placed over the *a* in LL, perhaps out of habit, indicating that the *-ch* should nevertheless be added.

19c: *lith nád lac*. The primary meaning of *lith* (u,m) is ‘festival, feast-day’, but it can also refer to ‘luck, prosperity’.⁷⁴ This phrase, as well as the remark *ba gním febda* (19b), suggests that the expedition was not a mere game. The same words are found in a poem contained in the Middle Irish tale called *Suidigud Tellaig Temra*, ‘Settling of the Manor of Tara’: *lith nad lacc*, describing the bestowal of the gift of 27 languages, where the editor translates them as ‘no trifling festival’.⁷⁵ BL offers a different phrase: *gním nár lag* ‘a deed which was not weak’, similarly emphasizing the significance of this destructive march.

19d: *dar sruth Rige, dar Mag Núadat*. The line consists of eight syllables. Best and O’Brien give a footnote for *sruth*: ‘sic: omit’,⁷⁶ yet it is not entirely clear why they would have *sruth* deleted. Most likely they noticed that the line contains too many syllables, although they do not draw attention to the other quatrains where this is the case as well. Deleting *sruth* is the easiest solution to the metrical problem and supported by the reading of BL, where this word does not appear.

20a: *Ro gabsat slúaiþ Ulad ré cách*. The reading from BL, *do gob slúag Ulad ré cách*, with verb and subject in the singular, is preferable to that of LL for metrical purposes, since the eighth syllable consisting of the verbal ending has disappeared.

⁷² DIL, s.v. *l gúala*.

⁷³ DIL, s.v. *lín*.

⁷⁴ DIL, s.v. *lith*.

⁷⁵ R.I. Best, ‘The settling of the Manor of Tara’, *Ériu* 4 (1910), pp. 136-7.

⁷⁶ Best and O’Brien, *The Book of Leinster*, vol. 5, p. 1285.

20b: *dar Ésa*. This place is not mentioned in BL, where a verbal form is inserted instead: *dolodar* ‘they came’.

21a: *ina ndáil*. DIL gives the idiom under *2 dál* ‘(hostile) meeting’ as *i ndáil n-* ‘towards’, which is here used with the possessive pronoun 3pl: ‘towards them’.⁷⁷ The exact same line is repeated in 25a in both manuscripts, but BL has different words at the end of 21a: *érim n-áig*, probably meaning ‘on a course of battle’, with *érim*, *érimm* ‘driving, riding’, often found ‘in poetry in chevilles, where its meaning is vague’⁷⁸ as the object of the verb *cengait*. Of course, *n-áig* provides a perfect rhyme with *-báig* in the following line, but in 25a *dáil* rhymes with *-báig* in BL as well.

21b: *fo chomrepind*. The only example given in DIL for this noun is the line under discussion here, without any suggestion regarding its possible meaning.⁷⁹ A connection is tentatively proposed with the word *comrépaid*, which is again supported by only a single attestation in *Trí bior-ghaoithe an bháis: do comhraobadh an gaiste* with the Latin rendering: *contritus est*, ‘the snare was torn’, from the verb *rénaid* ‘tears, rends; breaks’.⁸⁰ An additional phrase from LL can be found under *repind*, where the corresponding passage in BB has *rebad*, for which reason it is translated as ‘rending, demolishing?’⁸¹ In combination with the prefix *com-*,⁸² it would then assume a meaning like ‘mutual tearing’ or ‘great tearing’, referring to the battle that took place. The manuscript reading from BL shows a different word in this context, *comérgi*, which is notably better represented in DIL as the verbal noun of *con-éirge*, *coméirge*, ‘rising up (together), attacking’.⁸³

21c: *coro thuitt Fergus*. The older preterite and perfect forms of *do-tuit*, based on the stem **to-cer-*, were *docer* and *dorochair* respectively. Despite the fact that the ‘forms *docher* and *torchair* continue in use to [the] beginning of Modern Irish (...) in [the] sense ‘was killed’, often with prefix *ad-*’, in this line of the poem the perfect tense is expressed by a form of the simple verb constructed on the basis of the stem *tuit-*, *toit-*,⁸⁴ also in BL: *cor’ thoit Fergus fán nguba*. The perfective particle, although practically without function in the phrase, is still *ro* as opposed to *do*, which was generalized later. Note that although the vowel in *ro* is spelled in LL, as it is the eighth syllable in the line, it was probably not pronounced and is consequently

⁷⁷ DIL, s.v. *2 dál*.

⁷⁸ DIL, s.v. *érim*, *érimm*.

⁷⁹ DIL, s.v. *comrepind*.

⁸⁰ DIL, s.v. *comrépaid*.

⁸¹ DIL, s.v. *repind*.

⁸² DIL, s.v. *1 com-*.

⁸³ DIL, s.v. *coméirge*.

⁸⁴ DIL, s.v. *do-tuit*; cf. GOI, pp. 437, 474.

not written in BL. In contrast, the older perfect occurs in 22b: LL *dorochair*, BL *adrochair*,⁸⁵ where BL has the later preverb *at-* replacing the original *do-*.⁸⁶

21c: *arin leirg ós Lethduma. Lerg*, normally ‘hillside’, could also mean ‘battlefield’.⁸⁷

22a: *Innister*. The form as such, *indister* in BL, which supposedly is a passive present sg. of *in(d)-fét*, is not the earlier *innethar*, but probably a later formation on the basis of a new stem *innis*, as *indisid* ‘replaces *ad-fét* in Middle and Modern Irish’.⁸⁸

22d: ‘*is ascult rí g a munter.*’ Under the seldom attested *ascalt* ‘scarcity, dearth’, DIL introduces this phrase, in which the word is used ‘of the death of a king’,⁸⁹ but this remark does not help to clarify the meaning of the expression. *Munter*, ending in a broad consonant, could be either a nominative singular or a genitive plural, but to take *ascult rí g* together as the predicate and *a munter* as the subject of the sentence does not improve things much. With *rí g* as a nominative and *a munter* as a genitive dependent on it, the literal meaning would become something along the lines of ‘kings of their peoples are a scarcity’, probably referring to kings who take good care of their subjects.

According to DIL, the word *munter* could in Old Irish be spelled alternatively with palatal or non-palatal *-nt-*, while from the Middle Irish period onwards, the palatal variant became more common.⁹⁰ Since the final syllable is represented by an abbreviation stroke over the *t* in LL, exactly as with the ending in *innister* above, it is unlikely that a broad consonant cluster was intended here; instead it would probably have to be taken as another case where the *i*-glide is not represented in LL’s spelling. BL abbreviates the word as an *m* with a *t* over it, giving no clue as to the intended spelling, but it could hardly be more archaic than LL in view of the other writing conventions displayed in this manuscript.

23a: *Ailend án*. The choice of the adjective *án* ‘fiery, bright, glowing’⁹¹ is remarkable in the description of a place which is burned down.

24a: *íar sain*. BL: *sin*. For the demonstrative *sin* ‘that’, which is the historical form, *sein* and *sain* are also found, as well as *sen*, which is very rare. In many cases, the *s-* assumes the

⁸⁵ Cf. note to ‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’ L5a.

⁸⁶ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 285.

⁸⁷ DIL, s.v. *lerg*.

⁸⁸ DIL, s.v. *indisid*.

⁸⁹ DIL, s.v. *ascalt*.

⁹⁰ DIL, s.v. *munter*.

⁹¹ DIL, s.v. 2 *án*.

quality of the consonant preceding it, but not as often as this happens to the demonstrative *so* ‘this’.⁹² However, according to DIL examples of *íar sein* are found as well.⁹³

24b: *tólaib tlacht*. This is a cheville, according to DIL.⁹⁴

25c: *coro fersatar*. *Feraid* ‘grant, afford, supply’ is used with objects like *cath* ‘battle’ in the sense of ‘give battle’.⁹⁵

25d: *ra Ráith nImmil*. In Middle Irish, the preposition *fri* ‘against’ was gradually replaced by *ri, re*, which is the form found in BL, or *ra*, ‘common to some LL texts’.⁹⁶ It could not stand for the preposition *ré* ‘before’ here, since that would be followed by the dative and the nasalisation of *Immil*, caused by the accusative after *fri*, would remain unexplained.

26c: *ind neim*. The feminine article is preserved in LL, where BL has a possessive pronoun in *a nem*. The word here is taken to be *neim* ‘poison, venom’, which could also have the meaning ‘virulence, keenness, penetrating power’.⁹⁷ LL seems to contain a lengthmark, but if, as DIL suggests, *ném* is a variant, or perhaps even the original form, of *níam* ‘lustre, sheen, brilliance’,⁹⁸ the final *m* would be broad in the nominative case. Yet remarkably enough, this is a case where the glide vowel *i* does appear in LL, but no glide, either *i* or *a*, is written in BL. Although in both manuscripts the last word of the following line ends in a palatal consonant, its final syllable does not contain a long vowel, which would be problematic from a poetic point of view.

26d: *’na n-aigid*. Literally ‘in their faces, facing them’.⁹⁹ BL has *ar slegaib* ‘on (with) spears’.

27a: *Brister ar Laignib na llong*. Literally ‘the Laigin of the ships are broken’. The verb *brísid* in combination with the preposition *for* ‘on’, which was replaced by *ar* later, generally means ‘defeats’, often with a direct object such as *cath*,¹⁰⁰ similar to the construction ‘*maidid*

⁹² Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, pp. 275-6.

⁹³ DIL, s.v. *l sin*.

⁹⁴ DIL, s.v. *tlacht*; cf. Language and date supra for a discussion of the independent dative.

⁹⁵ DIL, s.v. *feraid*.

⁹⁶ DIL, s.v. *fri*.

⁹⁷ DIL, s.v. *neim*.

⁹⁸ DIL, s.v. *ném*.

⁹⁹ Cf. DIL, s.v. *agad, aiged*.

¹⁰⁰ DIL, s.v. *brísid*.

(in *cath*, etc.) *re (ria) A for B* ‘(the battle) breaks before A on B = A defeats B’’.¹⁰¹ The implied meaning here is therefore ‘the Laigin of the ships are defeated’.

27b: *úair fúaratar écomlond*. Literally ‘for they found unequal force/number’, here referring to the unequal battle that took place. BL has *ó fúaridar anborlond*, using the word (*an*)*forlann* ‘(great) superiority in strength or numbers’, which also appeared earlier in the poem: 1b *má fúaratar [BL fa fúaridar] fir forlund*, and 6b *rop adbol int anforlond / rob adbal int anforlonn*, describing the contrast between the influence the men, and Eochu in particular, had on the situation concerning the marriage of the two sisters, and the women themselves, who had no say in the matter.

27d: *térnaid rí*. DIL gives the stem of the simple verb which was formed on the original *do-éрни* as *terná-* or *ternó-*,¹⁰² but since LL has *térnaid* rather than *ternáid* or *térnaid*, the form is left as such in the edition. The verb in BL’s variant *térna rí*g is probably the same *térnaid*, with the loss of the final *-id*, which was silent at that period, as a conjunct form would not be expected in this context.

28a: *fa thúaid*. Best and O’Brien print these words as one, but they are usually separated in DIL’s examples, although *a(n)túaid* ‘from the north’ is mostly written together.¹⁰³ BL’s reading, *fo thúaid*, is a variant also found elsewhere.

28b: *co ríacht*. This preterite form of *ro-saig* was common throughout the Middle Irish period. In late Middle Irish, an *s*-preterite was developed for the simple verb *roich-* based on the stem *ruacht-*, *rocht-*, *riacht-*.¹⁰⁴

28c: *iar marbad in fíchet rí*g. Literally ‘after the killing of the twenty kings’. BL has *tríchaid* ‘thirty’, but the prose text at the beginning of the *Bórama* has twenty as well.

28d: *éraig*. Verbal noun of *as-ren* ‘pays away (of compensation)’; it denotes the compensation or *éraig*-fine which had to be paid after someone had been injured.¹⁰⁵

28d: *cen imsním*. This expression appears often in chevilles.¹⁰⁶

29ab: *Trícha bó findfergga / - bat imlána, óidergga*. Thurneysen points out that for the medial and final voiced stops, ‘[i]n several manuscripts *gg dd bb* are occasionally written after vowels and consonants alike. This spelling is doubtless due to the fact that voiced consonants

¹⁰¹ DIL, s.v. *maidid*.

¹⁰² DIL, s.v. *do-éрни* and *térnaid*.

¹⁰³ GOI, p. 305.

¹⁰⁴ DIL, s.v. *ro-saig*.

¹⁰⁵ DIL, s.v. *éric*, *éraig*.

¹⁰⁶ DIL, s.v. *sním*.

were originally geminated in all these positions'.¹⁰⁷ In Middle Irish, <bb>, <dd>, <gg> were used more commonly than in Old Irish to indicate /b/, /d/, /g/,¹⁰⁸ yet this double spelling is not found in BL here. Since the first line contains only six syllables, and if elision occurs in the second one that would give six as well, it may be argued that *-fērgga* and *-dergga* are supposed to consist of three syllables, with an epenthetic vowel between the *r* and the *g*, rather than two. The BL variant *fearrda* could be for *ferda* 'male', which would not allow a trisyllabic reading, or may be an alternative spelling for *ferga*¹⁰⁹.

Kelly briefly discusses the nature of the white red-eared cows, frequently mentioned in Irish and Welsh texts, which are 'particularly prominent in tales with magical or mythological elements', but 'may after all be based on reality'.¹¹⁰

30b: *is amlaid*. In Middle Irish *samlaid* 'thus', especially common with the copula in *is samlaid*, became *amlaid*.¹¹¹

30b: *rainnit*. The verbal forms with palatal *-nn-* appear 'early in Middle Irish and [seem] to be used indifferently with *rann-* or *ronn-* till Modern Irish when *roinn-* prevails'.¹¹²

31a: *tair*. BL has the later spelling *toir*, but no lenition of the initial consonant.¹¹³

31b: *ras teclaim*. Best and O'Brien give a footnote stating that BL has *nodus* instead of *ras*, yet although the left stroke of the *r* is not very long in the manuscript, the reading should almost certainly be *rodus*.

31c: *ba brón*. BL's reading *cen brón* 'without sorrow' may seem more or less appropriate in this context, depending on the speaker's point of view. A follower of Túathal would probably approve of the tribute, while people in Laigin might see things differently. The rhyme *brón : mór* also appears elsewhere in the LL *Bórama*.¹¹⁴

31d: *in cháin mór*. *Cáin* (i,f) often refers to ecclesiastical law¹¹⁵ but can also be used in the sense of 'fine, tax, tribute' paid by 'the members of the *túath* to the king',¹¹⁶ and is one of the words used elsewhere in the *Bórama* to describe Túathal's tribute in particular.

¹⁰⁷ GOI, pp. 22-3.

¹⁰⁸ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 228.

¹⁰⁹ DIL, s.v. 1 *ferg* 'anger' and *fergach* 'angry'.

¹¹⁰ Kelly, *Early Irish farming*, pp. 33-4; cf. Bergin, 'White red-eared cows', *Ériu* 14 (1946), p. 170.

¹¹¹ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 235.

¹¹² DIL, s.v. *rannaid*.

¹¹³ DIL, s.v. 1 *tair*.

¹¹⁴ LL p. 305a37; cf. Best and O'Brien, *The Book of Leinster*, vol. 5, p. 1302; GOI, p. 676, n. 50 (but note the incorrect LL page number).

¹¹⁵ Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* (Dublin 1997), p. 13.

¹¹⁶ Binchy, *Críth Gablach*, p. 79; cf. T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Early Mediaeval Gaelic Lawyer', *Quiggin Pamphlets on the sources of mediaeval Gaelic history* 4 (1999), pp. 42-63; DIL, s.v. *cáin*; M.A. O'Brien, 'Etymologies and notes', *Celtica* 3 (1956), p. 172.

Fithir 7 Dáiríne

LL

1. Fithir is Dáiríne,
dā *ingin* Tūathail turaig;
marb Fithir do náríne;
marb Dáiríne dá *cumaid*.
2. Ataidbli na hécóra,¹
atberim ropa dékla,
attromma na tuicthena
a tabairt i ndáil n-éca.
3. D'ōenlámnaid ructhasom
dā *ingin* Tūathail trétaig;
attréna na tuicthena
inn úair aile la hécaib.²

BL

1. Fider *ocus* Dáiríne,
dā *ingin* Tūathail Teachtmair;
sochaidi darsad dainim,
tucsad Laigin 'na leachtmaig.
2. Fider 7 Dáiríne,
dā *ingin* Tūathail toraid;
marb Fider do náríne;
marb Dáiríne dīa *cumaid*.
3. Dáiríne thuc ar thosaich
Eochaig fa fer co [so]sthaib,
cor' indiseig Dáiríne:
nīrba i[n]gine dā *muintir*.
4. Adaidbli na hēgōra,
adberim robo dēkla,
attruma na taigena
a tobairt i ndáil n-ēga.

¹ final *a* added in superscript, form slightly different

² MS *hécaib*

4. Fithir³ álaind inmálla,
ingen ardríg na Temra,
ro bí a tochmarc diṅgbála,
in ben dorat rí Berba.

5. Nír an cāch íarraich Eochaid,
is catōga mar cluintir;
co ruc Fithir leis dā tig,
cāarbo rithir le *muintir*.

6. Tuc Tūathal tre thairisi
in mnaī d'Eochaid co n-anraib;
ara tindsca nār tubad
cumal cach lesa i Laignib.

7. Dorad imdeargad d'Fidir⁴
- nīrb' imdergad re ūabar -
Dāirfīne, d'aicsin a col,
a purt mōr Muigi Nūadan.

8. Tic Fider a bēl re lār
- nīrbe in caridrad comlān -
cor' bris a cridi 'na clī,
ruc a nert uili ar nemthnī.

9. Mar adchondairc Dāirfīne
dīth Fidir ic en ātha,
is and adbath Dāirfīne
dā seirc d'ingin na flatha.

³ MS Fithit^hir

⁴ MS didfīr.

5. Má dorochair Dárīne
ac rīg Lagen do línib,
atbiursa ní máigīne
is dimsa tic a dígail.
6. Mā ra thuit in ingenrad
- rádīm rib; nī rád clithī -
dīgēltar ar Lagnechaib
ar na lāechaib a Llifī. F.
10. Dorīacht fīs na heasbada
co Temraid, co teach Tūathail,
scēla mar *cuiread* cēt cath
fada amach nem a nūachair.
11. Mar adrochair Dāirfīne
ac rīg Laigen dīb līnaib,
adbiursa ní⁵ máigfīne
is *dimsa* thic a ndīgail.
12. Mar do thoit *an* ingenraid
- rē dīamraib nī rād clithī -
dīgēltar ar Laigneachaib
ar na lāechaib a Lifī. F.
13. Dearg rūathar Tūathail Teachtmair
sochaidi dā *tuc imned*,
gul cacha leasa i Llaignib,
tuc fa anraib a ingen.
14. Tuc les cuirp āilli a ingen
Tūathal - do *chardais* filig -
co Findcharn fáichgi in broga
cor⁷ *chuir orro co frithir*. F.

⁵ MS ni ní

Fithir and Dáiríne

LL

1. Fithir and Dáiríne,
the two daughters of princely Túathal:
Fithir died of shame;
Dáiríne died of her grief.
2. The very greatness of the injustice,
I say it was reckless,
very heavy the fate
their bringing towards death.
3. Of one birth were born
the two daughters of Túathal, abounding
in flocks; very strong the fate
at another time in death.
4. Lovely, stately Fithir,
daughter of the high-king of Temair,
her wooing was worthy, the woman
whom the king of the Berba gave.

BL

1. Fithir and Dáiríne, the two daughters
of Túathal Techtmar; a multitude
over which was a blemish, which the
Laigin brought in their grave-strewn plain.
2. Fithir and Dáiríne,
the two daughters of princely Túathal:
Fithir died of shame;
Dáiríne died of her grief.
3. It was Dáiríne whom at first
Eocho took, who was a man with abodes,
so that Dáiríne would say:
she was not a daughter to her people.
4. The very greatness of the injustice,
I say it was reckless,
very heavy the fate
their bringing towards death.

5. Eocho was not the one asking,
it is deception as it is heard
and he took Fithir with him to his house,
although it was bitter with the people.
6. Túathal gave through confidence
the woman to Eocho with indignation;
for her dowry which was not opposed, a
cumal of every dwelling in Laigin.
7. She gave shame to Fithir
- it was not shame on account of pride -
Dáiríne, seeing her wrongs,
in the great place of Mag Núadat.
8. Fithir's mouth came against the ground
- the friendship was not perfect -
so that her heart broke in her body,
all her strength took on nothingness.
9. As Dáiríne saw
the loss of Fithir at the water of the ford,
there Dáiríne died
for her love of the daughter of the ruler.
10. News of the loss came to Temair,
to the house of Túathal, tidings of how a
hundred battles were sent far out, on
account of the shame of her spouse.

5. As Dáiríne fell at the hand of
the king of Laigin on both sides,
I say it is not desolation
it is from me that their revenge comes.

6. If the daughters fell
- I speak to you; speech is not hidden -
they will be avenged on the Laigin,
on the warriors from the Life.

11. As Dáiríne fell at the hand of
the king of Laigin on both sides,
I say it is not desolation
it is from me that their revenge comes.

12. As the daughters fell
- against secrets speech is not hidden -
they will be avenged on the Laigin,
on the warriors from the Life.

13. Bloody the attack of Túathal Techtmar
a multitude which he gave suffering,
weeping of every dwelling in Laigin, he
gave for the indignation of his daughters.

14. Túathal – whom poets used to love - took
with him the lovely bodies of his daughters
to a fair tomb of the green of the land
and he buried them bitterly.

Notes LL

1b: *Túathail turaig*. The nominative *turach*, which is given in DIL as the epithet of Túathal Techtmar means ‘princely’, of which the only citations are a line from the LL *Bórama* and FF.⁶ The BL reading *toraid* could be a spelling variant of this form, or refer to the noun *torad* ‘produce, increase, etc.’, whose genitive *toraid* may be used as an adjective in the sense of ‘fruitful’, here perhaps ‘successful’.

1c: *do náiríne*. Cf. ‘Mór in gním’ *de náire, do náiri* (6b). The personal name Dáiríne is here supposed to rhyme with the diminutive of *náire* ‘shame’, *náiríne*, a word only attested in this context (LL, AS, FF), for which reason the second syllable contains a long *í*.⁷ Note that BL in its second verse, which corresponds to this one, also includes a lenited *f* in *náiríne*, in analogy with the spelling of the name Dáiríne.

2a: *Ataidbli na hécóra*. The noun *aidble* (iā, f) is preceded by the intensifying prefix *ad-* and followed by a genitive singular of *éccóir* (i,n), which became feminine later, as in this line.

2b: *atberim*. This is a later form present indicative 1sg of *as-beir*. Although according to the prose text preceding this poem, Túathal is supposed to be the one speaking, his name occurs regularly and there are only a few instances where a 1sg form is used.

2c: *atromma na tuicthena*. The prefix *ad-* is assimilated to *t* in both manuscripts here, as expected; in the first line of this quatrain, LL has a *t* in *ataidbli* as well, but this is more likely to be its regular spelling of intervocalic *i* and conforms to the general tendency to write voiceless stops where BL would have their voiced counterparts, here *adaidbli*. For *tuicthena*, which would have to be an accusative plural of *toicthiu* ‘fortune, chance’, BL has *taígena*, from *taíden* ‘band, troop, company’,⁸ which would have an unclear function in this context.

2d: *a tabairt i ndáil n-éca*. BL has *a tobairt* with an *o*-spelling for *a*, which was common in Middle Irish.⁹ As DIL notes under *2 dál* ‘meeting’, the phrase *i ndáil* + genitive often means ‘towards’; it is commonly used in *dál báis* ‘a meeting with death’, but *dál éca* is also found with the same meaning.

⁶ DIL, s.v. 2 *turach*.

⁷ DIL, s.v. 2 *dáiríne*; *náiríne*.

⁸ DIL, s.v. *taíden*.

⁹ Cf. Language and date supra.

3a: *ructhasom*. *Ructha* is a passive perfect plural from *beirid*,¹⁰ here combined with the emphasizing particle *-som*, which was used for 3sg masculine and neuter, and 3pl for all genders.¹¹

3d: *la hécaib*. In Old Irish, *la* ‘with’ was followed by the accusative, but here a dative plural is found.

4a: *Fithir*. The manuscript, LL, has *Fithithir*, which must be a scribal error for the woman’s name, since the line would consist of eight syllables were it to be left as it stands. Besides this, *Fithithir* as a name, or spelling variant for *Fithir*, does not seem to occur anywhere else; *Fithir* itself is rarely found. This mistake might have been caused by confusion with the word *fithidir* (m) ‘teacher’, of which an alternative spelling *fithir* does exist.¹²

4c: *dingbála*. The genitive singular of *dingbáil*, verbal noun of *do-ingaib* ‘keeps away, takes away’, may be used as an adjective ‘worthy (of), fitting’.¹³

5ab: *Má dorochair Dáríne / ac ríge Lagen*. Müller observes that there are five prepositions which could be used to indicate the agent of a passive verb: *la* ‘with’, *ó* ‘from’, *oc* ‘at’, *do* ‘to’, and, very sporadic *ra/re* (an amalgamation of Old Irish *la* and *fri* ‘against, towards’). She assumes that the constructions with *oc* here are later and more restricted than those with *la*,¹⁴ but the examples she discusses are of a different nature than the phrase in question here, because this does not involve a passive, but an active verbal form with its subject. Yet she also mentions ‘lexically fixed constructions’ in which what she calls the indirect agent is introduced by a preposition, such as ‘the phrase *do-tuit X la/ra/oc Y* ‘X falls (i.e. dies) at the hands of Y’’, where *la* is most frequently used,¹⁵ but in this case *ac* is found as an alternative. The perfect forms in this line, LL *dorochair*, BL *adrochair*, as in ‘Mór in gním’ 22b, contrast with the later formations *ra thuit* (L6a) and *do thoit* (B12a), which are paralleled in ‘Mór in gním’ 21c.¹⁶

5c: *atbiursa*. This is a later form, present indicative 1sg of *as-beir*, with a petrified infixed pronoun.

¹⁰ DIL, s.v. *beirid*.

¹¹ DIL, s.v. *som*.

¹² DIL, s.v. *fithidir*, also *fithir*.

¹³ DIL, s.v. *dingbáil*.

¹⁴ Müller, *Agents*, pp. 140, 143-4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-1.

¹⁶ Cf. note to this line for a discussion.

5c: *ní máigíne*. DIL does not offer a translation of *máigíne*, but only gives a few examples from the *Bórama* and cites O’Grady’s suggestion ‘desolation’.¹⁷ It may be taken as *báigín*, diminutive of *bág* ‘boast, threat; fight, contest’,¹⁸ which meaning would fit the context, but a spelling <m> for would be unusual.¹⁹

5d: *is dimsa tic a dígail*. The preposition *di* ‘from’ can be used in contexts of killing or wounding to denote the instrument, means or cause of the action.²⁰

6a: *Má ra thuit in ingenrad*. The preverbal particle *ro* appears in LL as *ra*, which was a common variant in Middle Irish, whereas in BL the later substitution *do* is found. From what is written in LL, the first *in* could also be *m*, the possessive pronoun 1sg: *m’ingenrad* ‘my daughters’, which would imply Túathal speaking. Yet since BL has the definite article here: *an ingenraid*, which completes the heptasyllabic line, it is more likely that this is intended in LL as well.

6b: *rádim rib*. The reading from BL, *ré díamraib*, suggests another interpretation; the spellings of the two manuscripts differ too much to assume that the same phrase is meant in both. Although LL tends to leave out glide vowels in some places, *díamair* ‘secret’ never seems to be written with only a single *í* in the first syllable, which would favour the reading with a verbal form present indicative 1sg of *ráidid* ‘speaks’ and a prepositional pronoun 2pl from *ré* ‘before’.

Notes BL

1c: *darsad dainim*. The first word consists of the preposition *tar*, *dar* ‘over’, which in its relative form becomes *darsa*, + a preterite 3sg of the copula *is*. The more common word for ‘blemish, defect’ is *ainim*, but *dainim* here alliterates with the preceding word.

1d: *tucsad Laigin ’na leachtmaig*. The word *tucsad* comes from *do-beir*, perfective stem **to-ucc-* ‘brings’.²¹ For *mag* (s,n) ‘plain’,²² an accusative plural *na maig* would be unusual; the form looks more like a dative singular instead.

¹⁷ DIL, s.v. ? *máigíne*.

¹⁸ DIL, s.v. *bág*.

¹⁹ Cf. note to BL 3d.

²⁰ DIL, s.v. *1 de, di*; cf. Greene, *Fingal Rónáin*, p. 53, ll. 1010, 1015.

²¹ DIL, s.v. *do-beir*.

²² DIL, s.v. *mag*.

3a: *thuc*. This is a relative form of *do-beir*,²³ with Eochaig in the following line as the subject, and Dáir·fíne, which precedes it, in the function of direct object.

3a: *ar tosaich*. This phrase with *tosach* ‘beginning’, which may take the form of *ar tosach* or *ar tosaig*, means ‘first, at first’.²⁴

3b: *Eochaig fa fer co [so]sthaib*. This line, as it stands in the manuscript, has only six syllables and the word *costhaib* as such is hard to interpret. It could be a contraction of *coa fostaib*, or *co fostaib*, from the adjective *fossad* ‘stationary, fixed’, with the meaning ‘stable position; abode’ as a noun. An initial *f* here could alliterate with *fer*, but not in lenited position, when it would be likely to disappear. Breatnach does not mention examples of *f* disappearing from spelling through lenition, although he does note that there is no difference between a word beginning with lenited *f* + vowel and a word simply starting with a vowel, in which context an unhistoric *f* could arise.²⁵ Another word with a similar meaning is *sosad* ‘station, position, abode, seat’,²⁶ and the erroneous spelling of *co sostaib* as *costhaib* is easy to understand.

3c: *cor’ indiseig Dáirfíne*. MG has *innister*, *indister* (22a). The verb *in(d)-fét*, has a past subj 3sg *infessed*.²⁷ The verbal ending *-eg* for *-ed*, pret pass 3sg conj., looks unusual, but the alternation between lenited *d* and *g* is generally well exemplified elsewhere in BL.

3d: *nírba i[n]gine dá muintir*. The manuscript reading *nirbaigine* is hard to analyze, as various possibilities exist. The word *ingen* ‘daughter’,²⁸ seems a plausible candidate in view of the general subject of the poem and an *n*-stroke could easily be forgotten, but a genitive singular *ingine* does not fit the context well. Taking *i* and *gine* as two separate words does not improve the situation much, since even though there are several different words with a nominative *gen*,²⁹ the only form that would come close to this one is still a genitive singular, out of place after the preposition *i* ‘in(to)’. A form of the adjective *ginach* ‘greedy, gaping’, used in the sense of ‘act of gaping? act of laughing?’ is cited in the form *gine*.³⁰ Alternatively, the words could be interpreted as *nír báigíne*, from *bág* ‘boast’,³¹ but this would still not explain the *-e* ending.

²³ DIL, s.v. *do-beir*.

²⁴ DIL, s.v. *tosach*.

²⁵ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 235.

²⁶ DIL, s.v. *sosad*.

²⁷ DIL, s.v. *in(d)-fét*.

²⁸ DIL, s.v. *1 ingen*.

²⁹ DIL, s.v. *1 gen* ‘smile, laugh’; *2 gen* ‘favour, fondness, liking’; *3 gen* ‘woman, girl’; *4 gen* ‘sword’.

³⁰ DIL, s.v. *ginach*.

³¹ DIL, s.v. *bág*.

The form of the preposition *do* + poss. 3sg was *dia* or *doa* originally; similarly for 3pl, where DIL also gives the later form *dá*, which is probably the form found here for the 3sg as well. Alternatively, it could be *di* + poss. 3sg, for which in the Middle Irish period the form *dá* often replaced the earlier *dia*. Cf. L1c.

5ab: *Nír an cách íarraich Eochaid / is catóga mar cluintir*. Although both these lines contain seven syllables, there is b:d rhyme and alliteration, they are unclear with respect to the words which are meant here and their supposed meanings. If 5a is read as *Ní rán 'c ach íarraich Eochaid*, something like *Ní ráinic Eocho ach ac íarraid* 'Eocho came only to ask' may be implied, but there does not seem to be any reason why *íarraich* and *Eochaid* could not have been inversed in the poem itself. Alternatively, the intended word could be *íarrath*, *-rad*, *-raith*, *-raid* 'dowry',³² but 'only a dowry reached Eocho' is as unsatisfying a translation as any for this line. The manuscript seems to favour a word division as in *Nír an cách*. While Breatnach draws attention to the fact that apart from a few remnants of the old neuter definite article, the initial consonant of the article is almost always *i-* rather than *a-*,³³ it is not surprising to find the form *an* in BL, an early modern manuscript.

Similar difficulties apply to the interpretation of the word which appears as *catoga* in the manuscript. It could be a compound of *cath* 'battle'³⁴ and *-óga* from *óc* 'young man, warrior'.³⁵ The only other option seems to be taking it as a form of the verbal noun of *con-toí* 'turns, converts; changes',³⁶ which may assume forms such as *catúd*, *catód* 'act of wrapping, entwining', but later also *cadogha* 'wrap'.³⁷ If this word could be taken in a figurative sense referring to Eocho's deceit towards Túathal, it might connect to the previous line

5d: *cíarbo rithir le muintir*. The definite article or possessive pronoun which would be expected before *muintir* was probably left out for metrical reasons. From what DIL has to say about the adjective *frithir*, which '[h]as not been found in very early texts; the general meaning seems to be 'keen, intense', used of things and persons, usually but not necessarily in an unfavourable sense', it becomes clear that various different meanings may be ascribed to this word. DIL cites two instances of this word from the LL *Bórama*, of which the second corresponds to a line in AS, and here suggests 'bitter, painful' as a possible translation.

³² DIL, s.v. *íarrath*, *-rad*, *-raith*, *-raid*; cf. Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, pp. 87-9.

³³ Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', p. 258.

³⁴ DIL, s.v. *1 cath*.

³⁵ DIL, s.v. *óc*.

³⁶ DIL, s.v. *con-toí*.

³⁷ DIL, s.v. *catúd*.

6a: *tre thairisi. Tairisiu* (n,[f]), ‘later also *tairise*’ which was indeclinable.³⁸ Since an accusative is expected to follow the preposition *tre*, it seems to be the later form which is intended here, although the final vowel, reduced to schwa, is written as *i* rather than *e*.

6b: *co n-anraib*. There does not seem to be a word of which *anraib* could be a dative plural or any form like it with a lenited *b* or *m*. Although this phenomenon is very rare, Breatnach draws attention to the fact that lenited *b* might stand for lenited *g*,³⁹ which would allow reading this word as *anraig* ‘fury, indignation, excessive rage’.⁴⁰ It occurs again in *fa anraib* (13d).

6c: *ara tindscna nár tubad*. *Tindscna* may have to be read as *tinnsra* ‘dowry, bride-price’,⁴¹ the value of which is specified in the following line. Alternatively, the form could be the verbal noun of *do-inscanna* ‘begins; attempts, devises, undertakes’,⁴² but this would be hard to fit in semantically. On the basis of the compound verb *do-ben* ‘strikes at, attacks, opposes’,⁴³ a simplex *tubaid* ‘touches; reproaches’ was developed later.⁴⁴

6d: *cumal cach lesa i Laignib*. A *cumal* was a female slave,⁴⁵ but the term is also used more generically as a unit of value ‘which may be realized in gold, silver or land’ but could sometimes even refer to a ‘payment, fine’.⁴⁶ DIL has *1 les* (u,m), of which *lesa* is the genitive singular.⁴⁷ Cf. 13c: *gul cacha leasa i Llaignib*.

7a: *dorad imdeargad d’Fidir*. What appears in BL as *didfir* may be interpreted in different ways. If the final two words of the line are taken as *did’fir*, this could be an instance of the preposition *di* for *do*, with a possessive pronoun 2sg which lenites, and *fir* as a dative of *fer* for Old Irish *fiur*, ‘to your man’, although the address in 2sg is not supported by any other word in the poem. The verbal form looks like a perfect 3sg of *do-beir*, from the stem **to-rat-* ‘gives, places’,⁴⁸ but according to Breatnach, endingless forms also occurred in Middle Irish for 1sg and 2sg of strong verbs,⁴⁹ which would allow interpreting this as a 2sg and giving a translation along the lines of ‘you gave shame to your man/husband (...) Dáiríne’. Since the

³⁸ DIL, s.v. *tairisiu*.

³⁹ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 235.

⁴⁰ DIL, s.v. *anraig*.

⁴¹ DIL, s.v. *tinnsra*; cf. Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, p. 89.

⁴² DIL, s.v. *do-inscanna* and *tinnsra*.

⁴³ DIL, s.v. *2 do-ben*.

⁴⁴ DIL, s.v. *tubaid*.

⁴⁵ DIL, s.v. *1 cumal*.

⁴⁶ Kelly, *Early Irish farming*, pp. 591-3.

⁴⁷ DIL, s.v. *1 les*.

⁴⁸ DIL, s.v. *do-beir*.

⁴⁹ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, pp. 303-4.

story line would demand a reversal of these roles, Eocho being the one bringing shame to the women, the construction meant here might otherwise be *do-beir de* ‘takes from’.

The alternative approach is based on the assumption that *didfir* in fact stands for *do* ‘to’ + *Fider*, which in pronunciation would be very similar to *did’fír* ‘to your man’.

7b: *imdergad re úabar*. Since the nasalization caused by preposition *ré, ría* would be visible on a word beginning with a vowel, this *re* is probably a later form of the preposition *fri*, which could appear as *re, ri, or ria*. Similarly in 8a, *re lár* is found for *fri lár*.

7d: *Muigi Núadan*. The genitive of *Núadu*, which normally ends in *-at*, is *-an* here in order to ensure rhyme with *úabar* in the second line. DIL also observes that *Nuadha* is mentioned in the *Irish Grammatical Tracts* (par. 8.9) as following the *n*-stem declension,⁵⁰ which might be an indication of the fact that a genitive in *-an* was accepted as a variant form. In the prose section from FF, where Fithir and Dáiríne’s story is told, the name appears as Magh Luadhat.⁵¹

8d: *ruc a nert uili ar nemthní*. In Middle Irish, various different spellings are found for the word *neimní* (*nem + ní*) ‘nothing’, including *neph-*, *nef-*, *ne(i)m-*, *ne(i)mp(h)-*, and *ne(i)mth-*. In combination with *téit ar*, it may assume meanings such as ‘vanishes, perishes’, but presumably *ruc ar nemthní*, with a later preterite form of *beirid* refers to the same concept.⁵²

9b: *ic en átha*. *En* ‘water’ seems to be mainly a glossary word, but it is not entirely out of place in this construction. Yet the notion that Fithir would find death by drowning is not mentioned anywhere else. Besides this, in view of the rhyme with *flatha* (9d) a short syllable would be needed in *atha*, which might be a form of the word *athaig, athach, athad*, ‘interval’. DIL cites one example where the final consonant has been lost (*atha*), and gives *co cenn athaid* or *i gcionn athaigh* ‘after a while’ as possible phrases in which the word could be used.⁵³ The manuscript reading *i cen atha* admittedly does not correspond well to either of these, and placing Dáiríne’s death sometime after Fithir’s does not conform to the general tradition of the sisters dying the moment they lay eyes on each other, but it could nevertheless be considered as an alternative interpretation.

⁵⁰ DIL, s.v. *Núadu*.

⁵¹ Dinneen, *The History of Ireland*, vol. 2, pp. 254-5.

⁵² DIL, s.v. *neimní, beirid*.

⁵³ DIL, s.v. *athaig, athach, athad*.

9c: *adbath*. The 3sg preterite of *at-bail* used to be *atrubalt*, but in later language, the ‘[n]arrative tense [is] supplied by suppletive verb *ad-bath*’.⁵⁴

10d: *nem a núachair*. The word *neim* ‘poison, venom; malefic power’⁵⁵ appears in Broccán’s Hymn: *cen neim*, where it is glossed *cen imdergad* ‘without putting to the blush’,⁵⁶ which suggests a connection of this word with the *imde(a)rgad* ‘shame’ in lines 7ab.

14a: *Tuc les cuirp áilli*. The accusative plural of *corp* (o,m) would be *corpu* in Old Irish, but, as Breatnach observes, already in *Saltair na Rann*, there are many examples of cases in which the nominative plural form of an *o*-stem functions as the direct object of a verb.⁵⁷

14c: *faichgi in broga*. The spelling in BL for the word *faithche*, *faidche* ‘green, lawn’ shows both a substitution of *ch* for *th* and the spelling *g* for palatalized *ch*.

⁵⁴ DIL, s.v. *at-bail(l)*.

⁵⁵ DIL, s.v. *neim*.

⁵⁶ Whitley Stokes John Strachan (eds.), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus II* (Dublin 1975), p. 328.

⁵⁷ Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, p. 242.

‘Mór in gním’ - Index of personal and tribal names

Connachta; gen. Connacht, 9d, L10b, L11a, 12d, 24d, L30d; gen. Condacht, B11a; gen.

Conacht, B10b, B30d. OG: Connachta, ‘Connacht, and the people of Connacht’.⁵⁸

Conrach mac De(i)rg, 10a.

Dá(i)ríne, 3bc, 6ad, 11d; acc. Dáiríne, 5c. The personal name is given in DIL under Dáiríne (iā,f), which is otherwise attested as the name of the mother of Colmán mac Dáiríne, and, although the number of examples given does not support this statement, it is said to be spelled Daránae ‘more usually’.⁵⁹ The tribal name Dáiríne (io,n), ‘formed from Dáire with neutral suffix –ne,’ is ‘[u]sually written Dáirfíne through false association with *fine*’.⁶⁰ Stokes always gives the personal name as Dáirfíne in his translation. Since length marks hardly ever appear in BL, it is not a reliable source in this matter, but in LL, where the long *á* in the first syllable is generally marked in the poems, this is never the case for the *i*, which might suggest that it is meant to be short.⁶¹ In *Irish Names*, it is noted that the personal name Dáiríne may also be a derivative of Dáire, a name based on ‘an old root meaning ‘fruitful, to make fruitful, fertile’. Dáire is one of the commonest names in Irish legend and mythology and seems to be the name of an early bull-god or god of fertility. In secular sources the name is almost invariably a divine name’.⁶² In this light, a connection between fertility and *fíne* ‘a vine’, which also appears in names, might account for the elements found in the second part of the compound.⁶³ Note that in ‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’, the BL spelling of the latter name always includes the lenited *f*.

Eocho (mac Echach Do(i)mlén), 2a; gen. maic Echach Do(i)mlén, 7b; dat. Eochaid, 4a. The name Eochu is given in *Irish Names* as a ‘pet-form of Eochaid with which it is hopelessly confused in the manuscripts’, and ‘the second most popular name in early Irish society’.⁶⁴ Bergin, in addition to his etymological notes, points out that despite what the spelling *eo* might suggest, ‘*Eochu (Eocho, Euchu)* and *Eochaid* do not contain this diphthong; the *o* is merely the glide marking the breaking of *e* before *ch*

⁵⁸ OG, p. 290.

⁵⁹ DIL, s.v. 2 *Dáiríne*.

⁶⁰ DIL, s.v. *Dáiríne*; cf. EIHM, p. 7.

⁶¹ Cf. the metrics of ‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’.

⁶² Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Fidelma Maguire, *Irish Names* (Dublin 1990), pp. 68-9.

⁶³ Cf. Ó Corráin and Maguire, *Irish Names*, pp. 99-100.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.

originally followed by *ū*'.⁶⁵ Cf. the BL version of 'Fithir 7 Dáiríne' for examples of the lack of distinction between Eocho and Eochaid.

Fergus (Febail), 10c, 21c. Fergus, 'man-strength', is again 'an extremely common name in the early period'.⁶⁶

Fithirt (BL Fider), 3bc, 6c, 10b; dat. Fithirt/Fider, 5a; acc. Fithirt/Fider, 4a. *Irish Names* provides no other information on the name Fithir other than stating that she was 'the daughter of the legendary king Túathal Techtmar'.⁶⁷

La(i)gin, 21a, 25a; gen. La(i)gen, 15d, 26a, 27c; dat. La(i)gnib, L16d, L17d, 27a; acc. Laigniu, B17d. OG: Laigin, 'the people of Leinster, Leinster'; 'the Liffey divides Meath from Leinster' and 'it divides Uí Néill from Laigin'.⁶⁸

Túathal (Techtmar), gen. Túathail, 3d, 4d; dat. Túathal, 2d, 3a; acc. Túathal, 13d. According to O'Rahilly, the name Túathal, from '*Teuto-valos, means 'ruler of the people', and is a name devoid of mythical associations'.⁶⁹

Ulaid; gen. Ulad, 9a, 11c, 20a; dat. Ultaib, 10d, 12c. OG: Ulaid, 'originally the whole province of Ulster'.⁷⁰

'Mór in gním' - Index of Place names

Ailend (BL Aillenn); acc. Ailend/Aillenn, 23a. OG: Aillenn, 'al. Ailend, a seat of the King of Leinster'.⁷¹

Ba(i)rc Bre(a)sail; acc. Ba(i)rc Bre(a)sail, 23d. OG: Bairc Bresail, 'the men of Ulaid, Connacht, and Tara razed Bairc mBresail, a stronghold of the King of Leinster' which was found 'in Leinster, probably near Naas, built by Bresal Bráthirchend'. For Barc Bresail, it is noted: 'in Leinster, seems near Ráiriu', with a reference to Bairc Bresail.⁷²

Berba; gen. Berba, 14d. OG: 'Berba Laigen, one of the ten original rivers of Ireland'.⁷³

Brega; gen. Breg, 22c, 29c. OG: 'Brega Midi, people and plain in Meath', which 'seems to stretch from the Boyne to the Ríge, which divides Meath from county Kildare'.⁷⁴

⁶⁵ Osborn Bergin, 'Varia II', *Ériu* 11 (1932), pp.140-6.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 97.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 104.

⁶⁸ OG, p. 473.

⁶⁹ EIHM, p. 170.

⁷⁰ OG, p. 679.

⁷¹ OG, p. 19.

⁷² OG, p. 93.

⁷³ OG, p. 111.

⁷⁴ OG, pp. 123-4.

Crúachu; gen. Crúachna, 15a, 18a; acc. Crúachain, L30d. OG: Crúachu, ‘chief royal residence of the divisions of Connacht’.⁷⁵

Emain, gen. Emna, 16a, 22b; acc. Emain, 30c. OG: Emain, ‘capital of Oirgialla’.⁷⁶

Ésa; acc. Ésa, L20b. OG: Esa, ‘the Ulaid marched against the Leinstermen over Esa, Odba, Fithairt, Faendruim to Lethduma’; one other reference is given, stating that Tara was visible from Ráith Esa.⁷⁷

Fáendruim; gen. Fáendrom(m)a, 20d. OG: Faendruim, ‘between Fithairt and Lethduma; seems in or near Leinster’.⁷⁸

Fichart (BL Fichirt); acc. Fichart/Fichirt, 20c. OG: Fithairt, ‘between Odba and Faendruim (...), on line of march from Tara to Leinster’.⁷⁹ Best and O’Brien print *Fithart*.⁸⁰

Garbthonach, 7d. OG: Garbthanach, ‘between Naas and Maynooth; al. Carnn na Curad (...), al. Ráith Immil in Leinster (...), a palace of the king of Leinster (...), al. Garbthonn in Roeriu’.⁸¹

Grafrend (BL Grafann); acc. Grafrend/Grafann, 19b. OG: Grafrenn is given as one of the places on ‘the line taken by Tuathal Teachtmair’s army against Leinster’, lying ‘between Tara and Mag Muagenn, on the road to the river Ríge and Maynooth’. On the other hand, the name found in BL, Grafann, is rendered ‘Knockgraffan; a seat of the King of Munster’, while Grafand, or Graphann, Graffan, was the ‘seat of the King of Cashel’.⁸²

Gúalu (BL Gúala); acc. Gúalu/Gúala, 18b. OG: Gúalu; there is some confusion regarding its forms, because hardly any attestations are found, but it is suggested that this might be an accusative plural, and it is further noted that ‘there is ‘Guala vicus’ near Dublin’.⁸³

Leth Cuind; acc. Leth Cuind, 30b. OG: Leth Cuinn, ‘so called from Conn Cétchathach (...), the northern half of Eire’.⁸⁴ Note that Conn is Túathal’s grandson and lived in the third century AD; Finn mac Cumail is the composer of this poem.

Lethduma; dat. Lethduma, 21d. OG: Lethduma, ‘in Leinster or near it’, cited as part of the list of places Túathal marched through.⁸⁵

⁷⁵ OG, p. 311.

⁷⁶ OG, p. 396.

⁷⁷ OG, p. 401.

⁷⁸ OG, p. 404.

⁷⁹ OG, p. 425.

⁸⁰ Best and O’Brien, *The Book of Leinster*, vol. 5, p. 1286.

⁸¹ OG, p. 436.

⁸² OG, pp. 448-9.

⁸³ OG, p. 452.

⁸⁴ OG, p. 484; cf. EIHM, p. 191.

⁸⁵ OG, p. 484.

Mag Múa(i)gend; acc. Mag Múa(i)gend, 19c. OG: Under Mag Muagenn,⁸⁶ reference is made to Mag Buaignige (p. 514), Búagnech (p. 132), Grafrenn (p. 449, cf. supra), and Buaidgein, which is listed among the names ‘a way or march from Tara to Naas (...), so between Graifrenn and the Rige’.⁸⁷

Mag Núadat; acc. Mag Núadat, 19d. OG: Mag Nuadat, ‘between the Ríge and Nás’.⁸⁸

Maistiu (BL Maisten); acc. Maistiu/Maisten, 23b. OG: Maistiu, ‘in Leinster’, the genitive is Maisten, accusative Maistin.⁸⁹

Nás; acc. 18c, 23a. OG: Nás, ‘near Mag Nuadat’, and said to be a ‘seat of the Kings of Leinster’.⁹⁰

Odba; acc. Odba, 20b. OG: Odba, ‘in Meath (...), but between Tara and Leinster (...), between Esa and Fithairt’.⁹¹

Ráith Im(m)il; acc. Ráith Im(m)il, 24b, 25d. OG: Ráith Imil, Ráith Immil, ‘al. inGarbthanach, in Leinster (...), a palace of the King of Leinster’.⁹²

Rige; gen. Rige, L19d, acc. Rigi, B19d. OG: Ríge, ‘al. Rige Laigen divides Meath from Leinster (...), between Buaidgein and Maynooth’.⁹³ Rig seems to be ‘almost a generic river name’.⁹⁴

Róiriu (BL Ráiriu); acc. Róiriu/Ráiriu, 23c. OG: Although Roeiriu ‘al. Róiriu i tírib Lagen’ and Roeriu are listed as well,⁹⁵ the citations from the *Bórama* are found under Ráiriu.⁹⁶

Temair; gen. Temra, B1c, 2d, B9c, 13d, B19a, 22a, 24c, 25b, B30a; gen. Temrach, L1c, 2b, 4d, L9c, 12a, 14b, 17a, L19a, 27d, 28a; dat. Temraig, 4b, 5d; acc. Temuir, L30a; acc. Temair, B28b; acc. Temraig, 8a, L13a, L28b, L31b; acc. Temraid, B13a, B31b. OG: Temair, ‘the Latin Temoria (...) and genitive Temro (...) show the old nominative singular was Temuir’.⁹⁷

⁸⁶ OG, p. 691.

⁸⁷ OG, p. 132.

⁸⁸ OG, p. 528.

⁸⁹ OG, p. 535.

⁹⁰ OG, p. 554.

⁹¹ OG, pp. 556-7.

⁹² OG, p. 572.

⁹³ OG, p. 581.

⁹⁴ Seán Mac Airt, ‘Lexicographical notes’, *Celtica* 3 (1956), pp. 262-3.

⁹⁵ OG, p. 583.

⁹⁶ OG, p. 565.

⁹⁷ OG, p. 629.

‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’ - Index of personal and tribal names

Dá(i)ríne (BL Dáirfíne), B1a, L1a, B2a, L1d, B2d, B3c, B7c, B9a, B9c, L5a, B11a; acc. Dáirfíne, B3a.

Eocho; nom. Eochaig, B3b; nom. Eochaid, B5a; dat. Eochaid, B6b.

Fithir (BL Fider), B1a, L1a, B2a, L1c, B2c, L4a, B8a; gen. Fidir, B9b; acc. Fithir, B5c.

Laigin, B1d; gen. La(i)gen, L5b, B11b; dat. Laignib, B6d, B13c.

Laignech; dat. pl. La(i)gne(a)chaib, L6c, B12c.

Túathal (Teachtmar), B6a, B14b; gen. Túathail (Teachtmair), B1b, L1b, B2b, L3b, B10b, B13a.

‘Fithir 7 Dáiríne’ - Index of Place names

Berba; gen. Berba, L4d.

Findcharn fáichgi in broga; acc. Findcharn fáichgi in broga, B14c. OG: Finncharn fáichgi in broga is only found in this line from BL; Finncharn and Finncharn na foraire are mentioned elsewhere, but these are different places.⁹⁸ Brug, gen. Broga is given as an ‘old pagan burial place’ in Meath.⁹⁹

Life; dat. Lifi, L6d, B12d. OG: Life, ‘divides Meath from Leinster’.¹⁰⁰

Mag Núadat; gen. Muigi Núadan, B7d.

Temair; gen. Temra, L4b; acc. Temraid, B10b.

⁹⁸ OG, p. 420.

⁹⁹ OG, p. 129.

¹⁰⁰ OG, p. 489.

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